



Nov 1

LITTLE MAGAZINE, WORLD FORM

ERIC BULSON



Contents

acknowledgments

introduction: little magazine, world form

1. a worldwide network of periodicals

2. transatlantic immobility

3. in italia, all'estero

4. little exiled magazine

5. little postcolonial magazine

6. little wireless magazine

afterword: ~~the~~ digittle magazine

notes

index

**LITTLE MAGAZINE,
WORLD FORM**

modernist latitudes

modernist latitudes

Jessica Berman and Paul Saint-Amour, Editors

MODERNIST LATITUDES aims to capture the energy and ferment of modernist studies by continuing to open up the range of forms, locations, temporalities, and theoretical approaches encompassed by the field. The series celebrates the growing latitude (“scope for freedom of action or thought”) that this broadening affords scholars of modernism, whether they are investigating little-known works or revisiting canonical ones. Modernist Latitudes will pay particular attention to the texts and contexts of those latitudes (Africa, Latin America, Australia, Asia, Southern Europe, and even the rural United States) that have long been misrecognized as ancillary to the canonical modernisms of the global North.

Barry McCrea, *In the Company of Strangers: Family and Narrative in Dickens, Conan Doyle, Joyce, and Proust*, 2011

Jessica Berman, *Modernist Commitments: Ethics, Politics, and Transnational Modernism*, 2011

Jennifer Scappettone, *Killing the Moonlight: Modernism in Venice*, 2014

Nico Israel, *Spirals: The Whirled Image in Twentieth-Century Literature and Art*, 2015

Carrie Noland, *Voices of Negritude in Modernist Print: Aesthetic Subjectivity, Diaspora, and the Lyric Regime*, 2015

Susan Stanford Friedman, *Planetary Modernisms: Provocations on Modernity Across Time*, 2015

Steven S. Lee, *The Ethnic Avant-Garde: Minority Cultures and World Revolution*, 2015

Thomas S. Davis, *The Extinct Scene: Late Modernism and Everyday Life*, 2016

Carrie J. Preston, *Learning to Kneel: Noh, Modernism, and Journeys in Teaching*, 2016

Gayle Rogers, *Incomparable Empires: Modernism and the Translation of Spanish and American Literature*, 2016

Celia Marshik, *At the Mercy of Their Clothes: Modernism, the Middlebrow, and British Garment Culture*, 2016

Christopher Reed, *Bachelor Japanists: Japanese Aesthetics and Western Masculinities*, 2016

Donal Harris, *On Company Time: American Modernism in the Big Magazines*, 2016

Eric Hayot and Rebecca L. Walkowitz, eds., *A New Vocabulary for Global Modernism*, 2016

**LITTLE MAGAZINE,
WORLD FORM**

ERIC BULSON

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS
NEW YORK



Columbia University Press

Publishers Since 1893

New York Chichester, West Sussex

cup.columbia.edu

Copyright © 2017 Columbia University Press

All rights reserved

ISBN 978-0-231-17976-8 (cloth : alk. paper)

ISBN 978-0-231-54232-6 (ebook)

LCCN 2016026233

Cataloging-in-Publication data is on file with the Library of Congress.



Columbia University Press books are printed
on permanent and durable acid-free paper.

Printed in the United States of America

Jacket design: Nancy Rouemy

Book design: Lisa Hamm

for the three loves of my life:

leif,

finn,

&

mika



contents

acknowledgmentsix
introduction	1
1. little magazine, worldwide network	33
2. transatlantic immobility	74
3. in italia, all'estero114
4. little exiled magazines151
5. little postcolonial magazines	189
6. little wireless magazines229
afterword: little digittle magazine264
notes273
index323

acknowledgments

I WAS FASCINATED by little magazines long before I had any intention of writing about them. If I had to pinpoint a moment when this fascination turned into something more like scholarly interest, it would have to be the fall of 1998, when I was enrolled in Jonathan Levin's seminar on modernist poetry. For one of the assignments that semester, we had to pick a little magazine title, track down the collection at the New York Public Library, and report back on what we found. Along with serious admiration for the poems of Mina Loy, whom I had never heard of before then, and enormous gratitude to Jonathan for sending me there, I returned with something else: a passion for little magazines. The experience of handling a single issue felt like time travel, and though I had never quite thought much about it before, there was something to be learned from what these pages and covers were made of and how they were designed and colored. Figuring out just what that something was would take time, more than I anticipated, but as is true with everything else in life, you have to start somewhere.

For the countless hours of feedback, encouragement, intellectual exchange, and everything else, I am grateful to my dear friend Kent Puckett, someone I could always count on when thinking and writing about all things little grew tiresome. Joe Keith was another reliable supporter, and I benefited from his uncanny ability to tell me where I might find the big picture. Andreas Huyssen continues to remind me why any of this stuff matters to begin with, and I was lucky enough to have him read through early drafts of the pages that follow in the wilds of Woodstock and high

acknowledgments

up above Riverside Drive. And where would I be without Jean-Michel Rabaté? During the middle stage in this process, he generously agreed to read the chapters I had finished, giving valuable advice about how to map out the terrain ahead. At a much later stage, I was fortunate to have Roger Conover read and comment on the entire manuscript. His incredibly detailed report was formative during the revision process, and it made me realize that the intellectual interest in little magazines may be interdisciplinary, but the kinds of conversations it inspires are not everywhere the same.

And then there were always others: more friends, colleagues, acquaintances, and students. Included among them are Edi Giunta, for getting me interested in all of this to begin with and then continuing to provide her love and translation advice; Rob Carson, for telling me all about cats, and David Weiss, for building a castle; Kevin Dettmar, for patiently listening to me talk on and on and on; Mark Wollaeger, for asking me to contribute to *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*; Peter Brooker, Andrew Thacker, and Sascha Bru, for including me in the third volume of their *Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines* series; Sarah Cole, for providing crucial advice about framing and delivery; Effie Rentzhou and Joshua Kotin, for inviting me to their avant-gardes seminar at Princeton to talk about wireless magazines; the members of my little magazines seminar at Claremont Graduate University (Jacob Aplaca, Kristen Brownell, Francesca Gacho, Katrina Kass, Bridget O'Reilly, Michael Bishop, and Jacqueline Piros), for their own infectious enthusiasm with this material; to Warren Roberts, for making those Futurist maps come alive; and, finally, to my research assistant, April Anderson, for her incredible patience, diligence, and keen critical eye, the things that were needed to get this manuscript ready for publication.

And where would I be without the libraries and archives? Included among them are the Division of Archives and Manuscripts and the Berg Collection at the New York Public Library, the Museum of Modern Art Library, the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale, Princeton University's Archives and Manuscripts, the Getty Research Institute Library, the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University,

the Wolfsonian, the Poetry-Rare Books Collection at the University of Buffalo, the Fondazione Arnaldo e Alberto Mondadori in Milan, and the British Library. There are also the online digital collections I have relied on heavily, including the Catalogo Informatico Riviste Culturali Europee from the University of Trento, the Modernist Journals Project at Brown University, the International Dada Archive at University of Iowa, Gallica at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Hemeroteca Digital at the Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Digital National Library of Serbia, Monoskop, UbuWeb, and the Princeton Blue Mountain Collection.

A short-term fellowship at the New York Public Library in the fall of 2011 was crucial to the development of this project, and it gave me the time to recalibrate the scope and scale just when I needed to. I am particularly grateful to Thomas Lannon, curator extraordinaire, for patiently guiding me through the John Quinn collection and helping me find other materials in the library that were off the radar. A 2012–2013 Charles A. Ryskamp fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies gave me a year of uninterrupted time to bring all of these chapters together. I was also fortunate enough to have a room of my own at the Heyman Center at Columbia University thanks to Eileen Gillooly: more than a space to write and keep stacks of books, it also gave me access to a lively intellectual community.

I would like to thank Oxford University Press for permission to print portions of the following in chapter 3: “Milan, *la rivista*, and the Deprovincialization of Italy” in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines: Europe 1880–1940*, vol. 3, eds. Peter Brooker, Sascha Bru, Christian Weikop, and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 511–35. I would also like to thank OUP for permission to print a revised version of the following as chapter 5 in this volume: “Little Magazine, World Form,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, ed. Mark Wollaeger, with Matt Eatough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 267–87.

I owe so much of my own intellectual development to my experience as a graduate student at Columbia University, so it is particularly thrilling for me to have this book come out under the Columbia University Press imprint. David Kastan was, as always, a trusted confidant, adviser, and friend,



acknowledgments

and along with Jim Shapiro steered me in the right direction when it was finally time to get this book out. Philip Leventhal showed interest in the very early days, and I am grateful to him now for his astute editorial advice and encouragement all along the way. The anonymous readers, who provided the kinds of detailed reports we often dream of and seldom get, helped me think through the big/little details during the revision process, and Paul Saint-Amour and Jessica Berman gave me candid advice about what to cut and how to end, when I needed it most. This book is better because of them, and the entire experience of writing and revising it was a powerful reminder that the network can work.

A lot of time has passed since I first walked into the New York Public Library in search of little magazines. Since then, I've had Finn, Leif, and Mika who show me all of the other things that matter in life both in New York City and the wide world beyond. If there was a little magazine I could make that would let me express my love and gratitude to them, I would have made it. In the absence of that, there's this book, which I dedicate to them.

**LITTLE MAGAZINE,
WORLD FORM**



introduction

re: magazine

NO LITTLE MAGAZINES. no modernism: it's as simple as that. No Gertrude Stein, James Joyce, Ezra Pound, Marianne Moore, T. S. Eliot, Wyndham Lewis, Mina Loy, Hart Crane, Wallace Stevens, e.e. cummings, H. D., William Carlos Williams, or Ernest Hemingway. And what's true of authors is true of titles: no *Ulysses*, no *Waste Land*, no *Tarr*, no *Love Songs*, no *Harmonium*, no *Making of the Americans*, no *Sea Garden*, no *Tulips and Chimneys*, no *Cantos*. The list, significantly longer than what is here, would also have to include the historical avant-gardes as well, all of them fanatical magazine makers: no Futurismo or Expressionismus, no Dada or Surréalisme, no Ultraísmo or Constructivism. And if you want to move beyond the more well-trod modernist and avant-garde itineraries, there's Italy's *secolo delle riviste* between the world wars, France's *petites revues* during and after Symbolism, Germany's *zeitschrift*, Russia's post-Communist *zhurnal*, not to mention the *dōjinshi* in Japan following the Meiji Restoration, the *revista* or *periodico* in Argentina, the *patrika* in India under British colonial rule, or the Anglophone *little magazines* in the West Indies and Africa after decolonization. But I'm getting ahead of myself.

Let me just say from the start that the technology of the little magazine, the one so intimately connected with the rise and fall of Anglo-American/European modernism and the diffusion of avant-gardes, has lived a rich and varied life on five continents throughout the twentieth century, and it



introduction

managed to do something that no book or network of books ever could.¹ That is, it brought scores of experimental literary works into the world and with them modern critical standards when no other option was available. Back in 1943, Frederick Allen, who contributed to the first comprehensive history and bibliography on the subject of little magazines, estimated that the number of post-1912 writers sponsored by the commercial book business was somewhere around 20 percent, leaving 80 percent to the little magazine start-ups.² And this percentage, it should be added, only took account of the American titles, so who really knows what the final global tally would be. These magazines may have been little, but they were many. The sheer diversity challenges us to think more seriously not just about what little magazines did individually to revolutionize literary production and consumption in their respective nations, regions, and continents but also about how together they worked within and against an emerging literary network that was truly global in scope and scale.

That, in effect, is the subject of *little magazine, world form*. It's one attempt to explain how the little magazine actually worked, where it came from and went over the course of the twentieth century, and why any of that even matters when we're thinking about modernism. For at least half a century, the little magazine has maintained its mythical status as the medium that faithfully transported writers from the island of unknowns to the continent of Giants, and there has been a tendency all the while to treat the magazines themselves as once-ragged vessels that carried texts safely into the port of the Western canon. As exciting as all of this may be, however, the little magazine itself has, until more recently at least, been shoved aside, treated as a container for literary transmission without having a character of its own.

That's part of the problem. Every little magazine has been shaped by specific social, political, and economic realities that determined when it could be printed, where, how, and for whom. *little magazine*, as I've been using it so far, is the English term associated with an Anglo-European print culture and used to define this noncommercial, experimental medium produced in limited quantities (usually under one thousand) for a select group of readers between 1910 and 1940. It's an integral part of Western

modernism's David and Goliath story, the stage on which the fight against the commercial book business and the popular press was waged. But what do we do with the *rivista*, *revista*, *periódico*, *zhurnal*, *zeitschrift*, *dōjin zasshi*, *tidsskrift*, *samizdat*, *folyóirat*, and *patrika*? These are the terms used to identify the little magazine in countries such as Japan, Italy, Argentina, Norway, Germany, Russia, Hungary, and India. As evidenced from this list of approximate translations, this medium has indeed traveled far and wide, but the perspective so far has been restricted primarily to the New York–London–Paris nexus or the avant-garde diffusion across western, eastern, and central Europe. These limited geographical and temporal frameworks have made it impossible for us to see how the little magazine (under its various names) was actually involved in a more complex system of literary and critical exchanges. So even while we continue to think about the little magazine as a technology that made modernism in the West, we can't ignore the fact that it was a world form, which enabled literary production in countries like India, Japan, and Argentina in the 1920s, Trinidad, Jamaica, and Barbados in the 1930s and '40s, and Nigeria and Uganda in the 1950s and '60s.

In the chapters that follow, then, I use different clusters of little magazines from countries that include Nigeria, Uganda, India, Japan, Jamaica, Barbados, the United States, Italy, France, England, and Germany to try and recover some of the little magazine's worldliness, a term I am adapting here to identify the concrete conditions under which it was brought into and made to travel through the world. While the geographical range may be expansive, it is not driven by any encyclopedic (or cartographic) impulse, and it does not serve as an occasion to try and produce a unified or unidirectional history. Instead, by enlarging the geography and expanding the timeline, I want to show how this particular medium actually assumed a plurality of shapes, styles, and formats around the globe both in response to modern advances in transport and communications technologies, which enabled the formation of an increasingly interconnected (but not totalizing) global infrastructure, and to world historical events that included two world wars, the rise and fall of Fascist dictators, the dismantling of the British and other European empires, and the cultural games of Cold War geopolitics.

introduction

I'll be using the term *little magazine* (and its non-English equivalents on occasion) throughout this book in reference to a wide variety of different print formats that include both avant-garde experiments and their more conservative, occasionally more commercially oriented, counterparts, and like Ian Morris and Joanne Diaz note in their preface to *The Little Magazine in Contemporary America*, *little* is better than *literary* since so many titles incorporated “nonliterary” content, and they were not, strictly speaking, made up entirely of words.³ For some critics, this might seem too capacious, with the potential of minimizing the little magazine's awesome power. My rationale for doing so, however, is simple. The medium itself never assumed any pure, static form that was the same everywhere. It was malleable and could be adapted as much for conservative ends as it could for countercultural ones, some composed entirely of poetry, others with a mixture of images and prose.⁴

The littleness of the little magazine, then, has been a convenient, if problematic, qualitative designation used to identify the size of the audience, its physical dimensions, a limited budget for production, a paltry print run, and short duration, but is one or two of these qualities really enough to make a magazine “little”? In some cases, such as the *Little Review* or *transition* or *Zenit*, the combination of content, design, size, budget, print run, and duration all line up, but for others, things are more complicated; for example, the *Dial* published a number of modernist writers and experimental texts but was intended for a more mainstream audience, and it adopted a structure, size, length, and design that had more in common with academic periodicals and general culture reviews than it did with an ephemeral pamphlet culture. And how about *VVV*, the oversized Surrealist magazine printed in New York City that was intended to introduce the members of a recently exiled avant-garde movement to a new American audience? The elegant design and experimental layouts resembled those done in *Minotaure*, which was published back in France in the 1930s by Albert Skira, but in the American context, *VVV* would have seemed more like a strange hybrid caught somewhere between an art catalogue and a fashion magazine. But if we restrict the definition of the little magazine too much, then we lose sight of the way littleness, though

at times a qualitative attribute, was also a condition, a way of being in the world for different titles and different times in the twentieth century. And as I'll explain in the chapters that follow, littleness came to involve bouts of homelessness and exile, transatlantic immobility, national isolation, subversive transnational globetrotting, and anticolonial posturing.

When situated in these contexts, the little magazine looks quite different from what we're used to, less a stable container for literary storage, as its sixteenth-century Arabic etymology *makazin* (plural of *makzan*, storehouse) implies, and more a live wire through which local and global energies alike were transmitted all at once. The story that I tell, then, involves the little magazine coming of age in multiple countries around the globe not long before World War I, only to be followed by the rise of Fascism and Nazism in Europe and the decolonization of countries across Africa and the West Indies after World War II. The little magazine, as I see it, is not something that simply registers the shocks during these tumultuous moments; it actively responds to them by establishing literary and critical communication when it could prove difficult, if not impossible. Understanding these adaptations requires a comparative approach that focuses less on individual texts that appeared in these magazines and more on the "concrete situations" out of which they emerged.⁵

It will soon become apparent to anyone who reads the following chapters that Ezra Pound is a recurring presence, popping up sometimes in the most unlikely places. This pervasiveness derives, in part, from his direct involvement with some of the British and American magazines I discuss and has, more recently, even earned him the title "founder of modern periodical studies."⁶ Pound, I suspect, would have been pleased with the idea, but such an accolade should make us reflect not just on what is problematic about his role as the founder of an emerging if still undefined field but also on its implicit Anglo-American emphasis. While Pound certainly had a lot to say on the subject of big and little magazines in his own time, he was necessarily limited. In fact, the oft-cited 1930 essay "Small Magazines," a foundational text for those interested in the subject, is devoted entirely to the American side of the story (as the editors of the *English Journal*, where it was published, recommended).⁷ Indeed, Pound was regularly




introduction

in the middle of the little magazine scene in England, France, and Italy, but his participation was limited, directed very often by his desire to effect cultural change in America; he didn't show much of an interest in avant-garde publications coming out around him, including the Futurist magazines that would have appeared during his extended stay in Rapallo, Italy. And while he may have contributed to the *Modern Review* in Calcutta in 1913, the truth is that his network, though significantly wider than that of his contemporaries, was still narrow and did not actually extend far beyond Europe or the United States.

I mention these facts about Pound in order to emphasize that his vision of the magazine world in the first few decades of the twentieth century should not be ours. Any attempt to reconstruct it then without assuming a more critical attitude toward his blind spots and biases threatens to reinforce, indeed to valorize, the restricted coordinates of a medium that never belonged to a single person, culture, or country. Part of what might open up research on little magazines is an examination of these minor networks in Western and non-Western countries alike and the transnational processes that neither Pound nor anyone else could possibly have discerned. And I'm confident that he wouldn't begrudge our attempt to enlarge the parameters of the literary field in which he was a part. It was a lifelong battle he fought, one that began when he got involved with Harriet Monroe's Chicago-based *Poetry* in 1912 while living in London. It didn't take long before he wanted to break out on his own to generate a more lively form of international communication between Paris, London, and New York. His receipt for a dummy magazine from Ballantyne, Hanson and Co. in 1915 is revealing in this regard (figure I.1). "Monthly Magazine" is all that appears in the subject heading, and as it turns out, this is all that remains of the magazine. Though the magazine was unnamed, we know from Pound's correspondence with John Quinn that the *Transatlantic Vortex Monthly* was going to look and feel like the *Mercure de France*, and there's a lesson here, Pound surely knew, that's worth remembering: the little magazine is above all an object, but part of its power derives from the fact that the form could circulate better than any individual title. Why else would he have needed the *Transatlantic Vortex*

ESTIMATE No 14564



Ballantyne, **H**anson & Co. Ltd.
 PAUL'S WORK, EDINBURGH
 TAVISTOCK STREET, COVENT GARDEN
 LONDON **Sept. 25** 19**15**

Title of Work **Monthly Magazine**

Size **Medium 8vo.** Type **9.7. Pica**

Estimated to make _____ Sheets of _____ pages. Total pages **about 118 per month**

Composition of text per 32pp including	
8. 11. proofs in slip & page	2s. 1. 0
Printing 2500 copies per 32pp	1. 15. 0
do do 16pp oddment	1. 5. 0
Cover:- Composition of 4pp title & advts	
& printing 2500 copies	2. 3. 0
Supplying paper for text per 32pp	
2500 copies	2. 17. 6
do for cover 2500 copies	14. 6
Author's Corrections additional. Extra for small type (fancy) advts & initials,	P.T.O.

Terms: **Net**

To **Douglas Goldring Esq.**

1.1 Receipt for Ezra Pound's dummy magazine. John Quinn Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library. Courtesy of the New York Public Library.

Monthly when the *Mercure de France* was still in circulation just across the English Channel?

No matter how high the circulation, little magazines were never part of a totalizing world system. Even when printed or circulated within the various metropolitan capitals, they were either part of a small but dominant class of high-minded intellectuals and artists looking abroad for others to form alliances (think T. S. Eliot's *Criterion*) or used by a small but dominated class of intellectuals and artists reacting against a more localized political and social situation (think Antonio Gramsci's *L'ordine nuovo*).⁸ And when running at the same time or in the same country, little magazines

introduction

tended to work within different clusters without a central station, plugging in to channels that were not organized along strictly conceived geographical or geopolitical lines. Focusing on the little magazine's minor status on a global scale lets us recover some sense of how it could be a national form with limited mobility while still inspiring fantasies of a cosmopolitanism that it only occasionally fulfilled.⁹

re: world literature

Too many titles, too many languages, too many countries and continents—that's the lament heard whenever anyone tries to take a global approach to literary analysis, whether it involves print media, literary styles, genres, or data sets.¹⁰ And no one is quite sure how (or even if) it should be done anyway, which might help to explain why the little magazine, under its different names, has been circumscribed for so long by national literary histories that celebrate its cultural and historical specificity even when there were other versions just across the border. More recently, and influenced no doubt by the lively discussions over the possibilities and limits of world literature, critics have begun to try and imagine modernisms (always plural) on a global scale, and there is no consensus about what a global, geo-, planetary, or hemispheric modernism might even look like, let alone whether it would be possible (or even responsible) to throw the little magazine into the mix without lapsing into crude generalizations or relying too heavily on the work of others for more specialized knowledge outside one's immediate field.¹¹

Goethe may have tried to imagine *weltliteratur* in terms of direct connectivity, but if we want to envisage the *welt* in its entirety, we need to abandon the fantasy that it was always achieved through point-to-point communication. If we do not, then we will be excluding a significant portion of little magazine cultures outside the Western orbit that was interested less in an international critical standard (to be judged by the West) and more in a national one from which the West itself could be judged. What I'm arguing for, then, is a way to think about *weltliteratur* and the little magazine together without jettisoning the category of the nation and

the concept of a national literature. Pound and Goethe, writing from within their established literary traditions, never really had to question the legitimacy of their status whenever fantasies about a global vision of the literary network arose: it was a given. And from a position of power, they were able to imagine, albeit erroneously, a situation in which all the literatures of the world and their critics were equal and united. For cultures under the colonial yoke, however, the very idea of a national literature was something that had to be fought for precisely in order to exist *in the world*. In the case of India, it was a struggle that involved an indigenous literary culture that paradoxically developed both within and against foreign influence.

For Pound and Goethe, *weltliteratur* was synonymous with the construction of an international critical standard and the belief that literary works regardless of their “time or country” could be judged using the same criteria. It’s a noble but seriously flawed goal for reasons that are too numerous to go into here.¹² I will say, however, that what they share in common is a belief that the little magazine was the place where such radical changes could happen. It was, in other words, the ideal medium for intellectual exchange because it enabled literary works to circulate back and forth across national borders and to be judged in real time.

In the scattered statements Goethe made on the subject of *weltliteratur*, he believed that the post and the periodical were revolutionizing the speed and reach of literary and critical exchanges in post-Napoleonic Europe.¹³ By providing translations, reviews, and criticism, the *zeitschrift* was effectively shrinking distances between countries, making it possible for conversations that would have been unthinkable just a decade earlier. Goethe, an editor himself, was able to see that the periodical could do for international literature and criticism what the letter did for the Enlightenment and its *Respublica literarum*.¹⁴ But whereas the letter was personal and private, based on the one-to-one correspondence between individuals (even when intended to circulate over time to a much larger community), the periodical was public and collective, open to anyone with access to a printing press, who could then decide whether to establish points of contact elsewhere.¹⁵ Indeed, that’s one of the more pronounced

differences between the letter, used by members of this Republic, and the little magazine, beloved by modernists and avant-gardists: *contact was not required*. And the option for self-containment, in whatever form, ensured, ironically enough, a freedom *not to belong*, not to be part of any group, especially the kind that would regulate entry through erudition.

Still, for Goethe, literary worldliness was dependent on a specific medium.¹⁶ Installments would come out over time (week to week, fortnight to fortnight, month to month, etc.), thereby allowing for the elaboration, correction, and revision of ideas as well as the critical acknowledgment whenever domestic and foreign books and periodicals were published. And it also helped that radio, film, the telephone, and wireless telegraphy were not yet in the media mix, so there was no need at the time to reaffirm print's relevance as a communications tool. But what Goethe sees, or thinks he sees, on the horizon in the 1830s is not what Pound saw in the 1910s, when he was writing to Harriet Monroe about the possibility of "a Weltliteratur standard" that disregards "time or country."¹⁷ For one thing, the number of countries in the network was significantly larger than what Goethe had in mind, and it spread far beyond Europe and the Rhine. For another, the medium itself changed significantly in less than a century for reasons to do with advances in printing technologies and the break away from commercial, political, academic, religious, and literary institutions. Modernist and avant-garde little magazines certainly belong to the periodical family (like chromium to the periodic table), but they are not exactly what Goethe held in his hands when this cloudy vision of *weltliteratur* appeared. Instead of *Merz* or *De Stijl* or *Der Sturm* or *Dada* or even *Das Wort*, the *Dial*, or *Dinamo*, he was raised on *L'eco* (Italy), *Le globe* (France), and the *Edinburgh Review* (Scotland) and started his own *Kunst und Altertum*, all of them general culture reviews made up primarily of criticism and catering to a small but growing class of bourgeois intellectuals scattered across Europe.¹⁸

Though Pound was involved with some of the most influential little magazines of his day, his tastes and range were seriously limited, preferring the handful of magazines he was directly connected with in France, Italy, America, and England, and he had very little interest in what was

happening with the experimental avant-garde publications in Europe and elsewhere. Therefore, by 1931, when he seemed convinced that an international critical standard had finally arrived, it was a pretty provincial affair belonging to a handful of English-language magazines. Like Goethe, Pound was, in fact, right to believe that the little magazine was going to make *weltliteratur* a possibility, but not because it would enable the formation of a “universal critical standard.” To the contrary, this concept of *weltliteratur* was code for a more Euro/Anglo-centric one that could be applied wholesale to national literatures everywhere. And that, of course, is one of the reasons that both of them fail to recognize just what the relationship between the magazine (or periodical) and *weltliteratur* was: an opportunity for literary production within specific nations that may or may not be connected with international currents and/or guided by critical standards all too quickly identified with universality. *Weltliteratur*, as I’m describing it here, then, was made possible by the unprecedented accessibility of print technologies at the beginning of the twentieth century that not only allowed for modes of unregulated literary production, free from commercial restraints, but also the construction of a network of writers and readers connected through modern print practices. Instead of being synonymous with standards, *weltliteratur* was a strategy for literary production in the twentieth century, which, because of the medium’s non-commercial status, was open to writers and critics everywhere.

I’m not foolish enough to think I could, like some modernist Magellan, map out the entire little magazine universe all by myself. In fact, I should add the disclaimer that I have no intention of trying to follow every possible route around the globe: there is world enough, but time? Not only are there too many magazines; there are also too many languages that those magazines were written in, and almost none of them have been translated, assuming you can even track down the individual issues, let alone get your hands on the full runs in their original print format or through a digital reproduction.¹⁹ To make matters worse, this long critical tradition has cordoned off little magazines by nation or language so that a *revista* like *Proa*, which was started by Jorge Luis Borges in 1922, remains primarily a subject for those who are interested in Argentinian or South and

introduction

Central American modernism, with very limited appeal elsewhere unless it involves the international circulation of a specific author or text. The five-volume *Vanguardia latinoamericana: Historia, crítica y documentos* is one of the more recent examples of this tendency. It provides critical accounts of the personalities behind various avant-garde magazines in Central and South America, along with some representative excerpts, but the chapters are organized around single nations. This kind of mononational thinking about the magazine has had the unfortunate effect of limiting the kind of comparative approach that can let us see what relevance it has, if any, outside the more tightly regulated national and transcontinental paradigms already in place.²⁰

Though certainly global in scope, my goal is more modest: an attempt to read modernism comparatively through the medium of the little magazine and, in doing so, to demonstrate how such a simple serial technology for literary reproduction and critical communication could shape a vast and complex literary ecosystem that is still with us today.²¹ In working through such an eclectic collection of primary sources in search of answers, I've necessarily had to leave my own comfort zone, moving outside my areas of expertise and linguistic competence. In some cases, I've had to rely on translations in languages I can read (whenever available), and in others, I've had to immerse myself in various histories of modernist and modern literature and print culture outside my specific area of concentration. No matter how far afield I've had to go, however, my research has always been guided by the desire to identify the national specificity and transnational translatability of the little magazine, and doing so has allowed me to generate comparisons that might have seemed unlikely only a decade ago. Moreover, I should add, *little magazine, world form* is very much a product of its time and place. The research itself was facilitated, in some instances, by a rapidly emerging digital archive of little magazines that has made entire print runs accessible with the mere click of a mouse. The recent incarnation of the digital little magazine, which has made so many titles circulate more widely than ever before, is also an opportunity to revisit many of the concepts, themes, histories, and chro-

nologies underpinning a modernism that is very much in the process of getting rewritten.

By calling the little magazine a *world form*, I am not trying to wrest it entirely free from the clutches of the nation-state, with its entrenched and highly canonical literary histories, nor do I hope to relocate it in some global no-man's-land where little magazines are everywhere the same. Rather, *world form* is one way to identify the magazine's multiplicity and in doing so foreground the fact that it never belonged to a single country or continent and was never contained by geopolitical borders, no matter how they were configured. In fact, positioning the "world" against the "little" magazine is intended more as a "deflationary gesture" (a term Emily Apter uses in another context) that brings both of them down to size, reducing the potentially dizzying, incongruous scale and allowing us to see how, like William Blake's grain of sand, a medium known for its small size can still give us a peek into a much larger universe.

Working through this tension between the two is one way to engage with the ongoing debates about world literature, including the postcolonial responses skeptical of its limits both as a potential methodology and a uniform collection of texts, many of them generated through processes of translation. Already, the positions for and against world literature are many, but together they share an interest in the politics behind literary circulation both as it happened in the past and as it will continue to happen in the future. For David Damrosch, world literature is intimately connected to the process by which individual works transcend the specificity of their time and place through translation; for Franco Moretti, it involves finding a more comprehensive and, indeed, more quantitative approach, for demystifying the evolution of genres and the formal compromises they make whenever in transit; for Pascale Casanova, the international literary field where texts circulate is separate and unequal, controlled by editors, critics, and translators based in Western metropolitan centers, who decide what gets in and what stays out; for Gayatri Spivak, the entire enterprise of an all-inclusive world literature is doomed from the start because local, regional, and interregional contexts inevitably

complicate translation; and for Emily Apter, proponents and detractors alike have failed to acknowledge the “untranslatable” whenever texts move from one culture to another, and this recalcitrant untranslatability is a powerful reminder of what world literature cannot do, that is, create a unified methodology or a corpus of texts that would be open and equal to everyone.²² The positions, as I said, are many, but none of them so far have taken into account the media, print or otherwise, through which literary texts in whatever language can and cannot travel. Even Casanova, who organizes so much of her argument around modernist writers and critics, fails to acknowledge the presence of anything other than the “book” as the vehicle for literary transmission. In her model of a world literary system, writers from the periphery can achieve international literary recognition only by moving *their books* through Paris, the literary capital of the world, in her theory, if not the universe.

The little magazine, however, was different. It provides an alternative model of the literary field that emerged during and after modernism, one that was *decommercialized*, *decapitalized*, and *decentered*. There was never a single city to monitor or regulate movement, and even though Paris, London, New York, and Berlin were lightning rods for cultural activity, there was never any unified infrastructure between them, no international cadre of editors or translators or publishers with the power to regulate the flow of texts in every direction. And while it is true that individual writers and critics were blocked from some magazines and cities and embraced in others, the stakes were very low. Not only was there no capital involved in the little magazine world, but there was really no prestige either, since the little magazine was a jumping-off point, the place to get published before breaking out into the world of commercial publishing with its agents, editors, and booksellers.

When Goethe first began discussing *weltliteratur* in the 1830s, he wasn't anticipating the formation of a unified marketplace with writers from the *welt* happily hawking their literary wares. Instead, he was emphasizing the emergence of a new “communication concept,” as Fredric Jameson once described it, one that could develop through the medium of the scholarly review.²³ This concept never fully took shape in Goethe's lifetime, but the

little magazine provides one particular manifestation of it that lets us think about the possibilities and limits of print communication within an emerging world literary culture that came to include writers and critics from the Western metropolitan centers and the colonial, and later postcolonial, periphery. And as it turned out, this particular division had an enormous impact on the way the little magazine was used to establish local, regional, and transnational literatures precisely because it created pockets for literary production that never developed into any fully integrated network.

This leads me to one of the larger arguments underpinning the chapters that follow: the world of the little magazine was characterized by *disconnection* and not free, unimpeded flow.²⁴ *Disconnection*, in fact, describes the situation of this particular print medium the way that Apter's "untranslatability" does for language, and it includes those moments when communication gets blocked, sometimes because of the infrastructures and technologies through which little magazines were made to circulate, other times because of their own structural deficiencies. It is through an analysis of the many causes and effects for these inevitable disconnections that we can better understand what was actually at stake whenever the little magazine was moving and not moving in the world. There was never the possibility for any unmediated communication in and between the continents where little magazines were produced, which, in fact, is one of the reasons why something like a "world magazine" could never come into being. The medium was too bound up with local, regional, and national contexts and print cultures, which were, in turn, defined within and against international and transnational processes. Reading the little magazine through these disconnections is one way that its relevance to the world literature debate is most clearly visible. For it is not, in the end, an attempt to smooth over the differences between such a multitude of literary cultures, nor does it exaggerate them in the false hope of keeping them separated. Instead, by attending to these communication failures, it is possible to imagine a modernism defined by modernization processes encouraging strategies for global interconnectivity that were, finally, bound to fail. In doing so, they paradoxically managed to shape little magazines by limiting what they could do and where they could go.

This last point takes me back to my title (and leads to a few concrete examples): *little magazine, world form*. I've separated these two phrases with a comma to signify the gap, disjuncture, resistance, in short, the friction that actually existed between them.²⁵ The little magazine may have been made for the world, but it was never a medium that moved easily within it; and the reasons were many. There were customs officials and censors, of course, sniffing out material that was considered incendiary, subversive, or lewd, but there were also the logistical headaches involved with shipping nationally and internationally, with a long list of titles delayed, damaged, and lost in transit. Transatlantic immobility, it turns out, was a common fate for the little magazine, and even if a world war was mostly to blame for the first few years, the postwar decades didn't prove much easier. Transatlantic shipping remained expensive for already strapped budgets, and without any editorial offices on the ground, it was a particularly unreliable way to find readers since the distribution itself was so difficult to monitor. Not long after T. S. Eliot assumed his role as the editor of the *Criterion*, he was convinced that the *Dial* could never make it in England because the form was too bloated, but he didn't realize that there was a bigger problem: the *Dial* couldn't really make it to England. Subscriptions were few and far between (fifty-seven total in 1923), with issues frequently late, and even if there were bookstores willing to distribute copies (fewer than five was the average), they couldn't be counted on to pay up for or return what didn't sell.

None of this was made any easier by the fact that the history of little magazines is one that involves so many exiles, expats, and émigrés moving back and forth across national borders and through transnational capitals in search of what Raymond Williams once called an “art without frontiers.”²⁶ The mistake critics make, however, is to confuse the myth of their easy circulation with the media they relied on. Exile, it turns out, was just as common as immobility. In some cases, editors, many of them enterprising Americans, ended up in Italy, France, and Germany in search of cheaper paper and printing (made possible by exchange rates favoring the American dollar) only to discover that the international postage back home effectively gobbled up what was left. That was only part of the prob-

lem. Even when these “little exiled magazines” (Malcolm Cowley’s phrase) managed to make it back across the Atlantic, there was never any assurance they would arrive on time, if at all, and the experience of finding waterlogged issues was not unheard of.²⁷

Tales of voluntarily exiled American magazines like *Broom*, *This Quarter*, *Secession*, *Gargoyle*, the *Exile*, and *Tambour* have long attracted critical attention, but they are seldom, if ever, read alongside the ones that didn’t have much of a choice. In the 1930s and ’40s, for instance, it was the Nazis and Fascists that drove out scores of artists and intellectuals, generating the need for little magazines made in one country but intended for a readership scattered across dozens of others. *Das Wort* was one of them. It was a German-language magazine of the Popular Front printed in Moscow between 1936 and 1939 during the Stalinist purges and distributed to anti-Fascist intellectuals through bookstores and by subscription in France, Belgium, Romania, the Soviet Union, Palestine, countries in North and South America (via New York City), England, Lithuania, China, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Spain, Australia, Turkey, Germany, Switzerland, and Czechoslovakia.²⁸ Exile, for this particular magazine, was less about finding a way back home than it was about constructing a makeshift home elsewhere, a place where fellow exiles could communicate via print from so many different locations. The homelessness was literal, and it generated a version of the exile magazine in which the production *and* the consumption were displaced.²⁹ And no matter how cozy and familiar the magazine may have seemed at times, for the exile, there was never any illusion about what it all meant. “Every line we succeed in publishing today,” Walter Benjamin wrote to Gershom Scholem, “—no matter how uncertain the future to which we entrust it—is a victory wrenched from the powers of darkness.”³⁰ Publishing in exile was, as Benjamin observed, a mode of survival, a way to ensure that intellectual activity could go on even as these “powers of darkness” continued to operate across Europe. Exile magazines like *Das Wort* were printed in German under the nose of Stalin’s henchmen and made to look just like the ones back home, but it was all an illusion: home was gone. For that reason, the magazines were a constant reminder of home’s absence and represented, to the very core,

a stubborn refusal to embrace the comforts of what T. J. Demos has so aptly called a “fascist homeliness” that didn’t include them.³¹

Benjamin’s relationship with *Das Wort* was marked by one disappointment after another. Over the course of three years, he published one essay there about “Fascist theories of art” (*Pariser Brief*, “Andre Gide et son nouvel adversaire”), had another one commissioned, accepted, and then forgotten (*Pariser Brief*, “Fotografie und malerei”), a book review commissioned and then denied (on a two-volume edition of Brecht’s plays), and another one accepted and then returned (on Brecht’s *Der Dreigroschenroman*).³² David Pike suspects that these reversals were happening because of a power struggle going on behind the scenes at *Das Wort* between Bertolt Brecht, one of the coeditors stationed in Denmark, and György Lukács, one of its most influential contributors, who was then living in Moscow. Once Lukács’s allies were firmly installed in Moscow after Willie Bredel’s departure for Spain in 1937, they did everything in their power to minimize Brecht’s influence, and Benjamin was caught in the crossfire, unable to do anything about it. Brecht, for one, was never foolish enough to confuse *Das Wort* with some imagined community of friends extending all the way to Moscow. “I have no friends there at all,” he told Benjamin, “and the Muscovites themselves don’t have any either—like the dead.”³³

This strategy for adapting an exilic mode of magazine production and consumption was later modified by the Surrealists at the beginning of World War II when they fled the Fascists and relocated to cities like Buenos Aires (Roger Callois, the editor of *Lettres françaises*), Mexico City (Arthur Paalen, the editor of *Dyn*), and New York (André Breton, Max Ernst, and Marcel Duchamp, the coeditors of *VVV* along with its founder, the American artist David Hare). For Breton and Duchamp, in particular, this experience of displacement informed their experiments with the little magazine, and they used its qualities as an object to stage exhibitions that would allow them to demonstrate Surrealism’s continued relevance as an international movement far away from France.

Disconnection, as I define it, doesn’t just involve the production and consumption of individual titles. It is also one of the forces that shaped how little magazines, cut off from any direct international communication,

defined themselves against one another. Avant-garde magazines in Japan are one example. Though modern Japanese writers relied on *dōjinshi* in the 1910s, there was no typographical experimentation until the mid-1920s. Tokyo-based movements like *Mavo* communicated through design practices in an effort to establish themselves as part of an avant-garde in Germany, Russia, Italy, France, and Denmark. Typography, collage, and multimedia print constructions reflected the impact of Western design and print techniques and established the presence of a method for communication that exceeded any single language. Design, then, was both a symptom of and antidote for disconnection. It gave avant-garde movements like *Mavo* the opportunity to define themselves at home as belonging to an international avant-garde, and though direct interaction was seriously limited, communication was itself reimaged as a print practice.

Disconnection can also be synonymous with the deliberate act (or art) of unplugging. In the case of a *patrika* like *Kallol* in Calcutta, there were two contributing factors: the Western embrace of Rabindranath Tagore (which culminated with his winning the Nobel Prize in 1913) and the emergence of a young generation of writers looking to develop a modern Bengali prose and poetry. Members of the *Kallol* group, in particular, sought to distance themselves from Tagore's Western influence by producing works in Bengali focusing on the grittier, more "realistic" aspects of modern urban life. In order to do so, they produced a magazine intended entirely for consumption within and around Calcutta. Indeed, connections were made with other magazines in Western and non-Western countries (such as those in Norway, Spain, Russia, Japan, and France), mostly by way of exchanges, but there was an avoidance of the British circuit, which one critic has interpreted as a deliberate refusal to engage with the literary culture Bengali writers inherited through colonialism.³⁴ In the case of *Kallol*, then, disconnection within the global magazine network was a necessary precondition for national self-determination. Not only did *Kallol* not expect to find an audience in England; it didn't necessarily want one.

So much, then, for Henryk Berlewi's idea in 1922 of a "worldwide network of periodicals" that would be everywhere accessible and interconnected without blocks, borders, or blackouts. The truth is that this network was

introduction

always organized around clusters of magazines, some of them managing to encourage movement in various transnational directions, others confined voluntarily and involuntarily by national borders. None of the magazines I just mentioned were willing or able to establish any meaningful connection with one another. They were united, in other words, mainly by the condition of their own isolation. Still, it's necessary to figure out why and how, whenever possible, we can imagine them in relation to one another. If the little magazine was, in fact, a global technology that made modernism, then what can we do to make connectivity part of this narrative as well?

re: world form

That's the kind of question I want to tackle, the little magazine *as a world form*, one that will make it possible for us to read modernism comparatively and on a global scale. The trick is figuring out how to do it. Martin Puchner did something similar with the manifesto in his *Poetry of the Revolution*. Instead of concentrating on a single culture or decade, he demonstrated how the *genre of the manifesto* traveled over the course of a century and a half in Europe, North and South America, Russia, and England, getting recycled along the way to stir up political and artistic revolutions. Through this careful, comparative analysis of the manifesto's global history and geography, Puchner demonstrates how powerful one genre could be in the consolidation of political vanguards and avant-gardists alike. But where Puchner sees genre, I see form.³⁵ And the difference comes from our approaches to trying to answer a similar question. How is it possible to study the global effects of a specific print medium (be it a manifesto or a little magazine)? For Puchner, it's really what's in the manifesto that counts. The manifesto, he argues, is an occasion for political and artistic performance, and whether used by Communists, Constructivists, Surrealists, or Situationists, the content gets repeatedly emptied out and refilled over time, but the form itself never really changes. A manifesto is a manifesto is a manifesto . . .

That is not the case for the little magazine. It is precisely by examining the form that we can better understand how the little magazine functioned in the world. Though a primary consideration for art historians and graphic designers, *form* is not usually the term that comes to mind with modernist literary critics interested in the subject. I'm using it here to emphasize the little magazine's status both as a *medium*, with a structure and design in the individual issues and full runs, and as a *material object*, constructed out of paper and ink and through printing processes before it could move nationally and transnationally.³⁶ Modernists and avant-gardists, of course, weren't the only ones to use the magazine as a vehicle for literary, artistic, and critical transmission, but as Johanna Drucker explains, they "paid an unprecedented amount of attention to the specificity and formal properties of their media," which, in turn, demands, as Gwen Allen has demonstrated more recently in her study of artists' magazines, "the same kind of close attention to their form, content, and conditions of production and reception as more traditional works of art."³⁷ The attention to these "formal properties" of layout, design, texture, type, size, and scale radically changed how readers experienced the "visible word," and even more than that, it was intimately connected with the way the modernist literary field took shape, involving, as it did, a global network (sometimes a "not-work") of writers and artists tasked with figuring out what this medium could do (and could not), how it could be adapted to connect (and disconnect) writers, readers, magazines, and movements, and when and where it could go (and not).

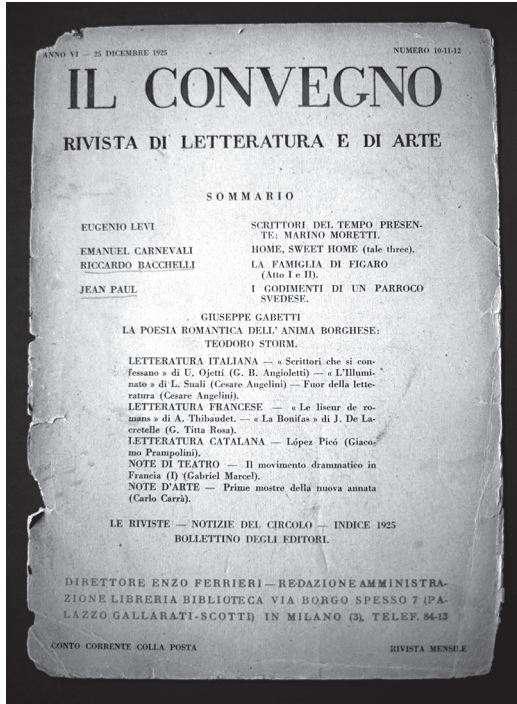
When it comes to the little magazine, form is material, material is form, and the analysis of one necessarily involves factoring in the other.³⁸ More recently, Matthew Kirschenbaum has used the phrase "formal materiality" in reference to digital media, and like N. Katherine Hayles before him, he's interested in the way that the physical properties of any medium play an integral role in how it can be adapted for artistic ends.³⁹ This continued emphasis on new and old media's materiality, whether it involves typewriters, computers, hard drives, record players, screens, and books, has made it impossible for us to ignore how mediation itself is so intimately

introduction

tied up with the experience of touch, smell, taste, and sound. That's one reason why one of F. T. Marinetti's fellow Futurists, bored stiff by the standard functionality of the codex, came up with the idea for a book you could drink, and another recommended the invention of a featherweight version composed of a single page.⁴⁰

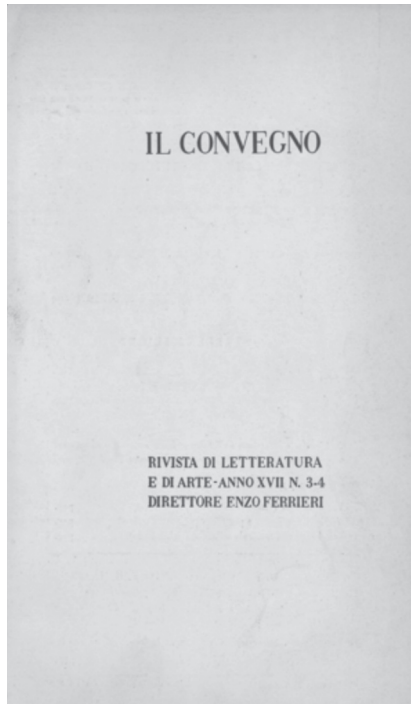
The little magazine is one more medium to add to the list, one with a genealogy that includes the scholarly periodicals of the *Respublica literarum* in the eighteenth century, but with a marked difference. Part of what made little magazines unique at the beginning of the twentieth century was the wide availability of printing technologies that were not overseen by scholars or the academic, governmental, commercial, or religious institutions within which they worked.⁴¹ Modernism emerged along with the linotype, monotype, the rotary press, offset lithography, and the letterpress, but that was in large part because printing itself was becoming less costly (or under the thumb only of commercial, governmental, or academic institutions), and there were more opportunities for amateur experimentation that helped to generate a DIY culture long before the mimeograph and the xerox. And it turns out that so many modernists and avant-gardists didn't just publish in magazines, they also made them, setting type, inking, and wrapping individual issues to be put in the mail. Figures like Pound, Tristan Tzara, Theo van Doesburg, Lissitzky, F. T. Marinetti, and Alexander Rodchenko were regularly active on the ground, but there were also the indefatigable editors like Margaret Anderson, Ford Madox Ford, Malcolm Cowley, Gorham Munson, and Eugene Jolas running around in search of affordable paper and reliable printers.

Form, as I use it throughout this book, identifies both the internal structure of the magazine and its external shape, design, and construction.⁴² Such an emphasis makes it possible to recover the specificity of each magazine within a national, regional culture and within a transnational network, and it is one of the ways we can see how local production (and local print cultures and histories) was always bound up with more abstract social and political forces. Seen this way, the little magazine is a "form symptom" (Fredric Jameson's phrase), a print medium that conceals social relationships and political conflict within the concreteness of its struc-



1.2 Cover of *Il convegno*. Courtesy of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations. Permission to reprint from Oxford University Press.

ture. Take, for example, Enzo Ferrieri's *Il convegno*, which was printed in Milan and lasted for two full decades between the world wars. The cover, which was modeled closely after the *Nouvelle revue française*, betrayed its intentions from the start: the creation of a deprovincialized literary culture within Italy after World War I that would be capable of competing with the latest developments in Paris (figure I.2). And it worked: in the first ten years, *Il convegno* managed to bring many of the major figures of literary modernism in translation to Italy, including Joyce, Woolf, Kafka, Rilke, Mann, Pound, Proust, and Yeats. But then look again at the cover from 1937: *Il convegno* was transformed into something else entirely, a little magazine within a repressive cultural and political environment,



1.3 Cover of *Il convegno* 17, no. 3–4 (1937). Courtesy of the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

looking to express its opposition to Mussolini's *camicie nere* (blackshirts) through the whiteness of the cover and the seemingly misnumbered Roman numerals corresponding to the year of the magazine's founding and not that of the Fascist Party, as was required by law on all newspapers and serials (figure I.3). Once a major international hub for literary modernism in the 1920s, *Il convegno* within Fascist Italy ended up becoming something else: a significantly slimmer version of itself, catering to a demoralized cadre of writers in Milan who were cut off from a Europe positioned just on the other side of the Alps.

An analysis of formal materiality is one way to recover some of the history and politics of little magazines.⁴³ *Il convegno* is such a compelling case

precisely because both in the early and late stages it held a mirror up to Italy and was capable of registering the shift from a cosmopolitan culture, open to the latest modern developments across Europe, to an aggressively national literary one that followed Italy's cultural withdrawal from its European neighbors. In the chapters that follow, I rely on other configurations as well, including T. S. Eliot's *Criterion* (1922–1939), which appeared in England during this interwar period. When taking on the role of editor, Eliot was convinced that the *Criterion* couldn't be modeled after an American little magazine like the *Dial*, no matter how successful, because his British readers were accustomed to fewer pieces per issue, all of them united by a common "tendency."⁴⁴ And even if, as Eliot believed, the *Criterion* had a chance of finding a sympathetic American audience, the reverse would not be true. The disorganized form of the *Dial* was enough to dash any hopes Scofield Thayer may have had in generating a significant transatlantic readership.

When Rajat Neogy started his own little magazine in Uganda in 1961, he had a different problem. For him, *Transition* belonged to a little magazine tradition in Europe and the West Indies but as an African magazine was "faced with burdens and responsibilities that [its] counterparts in other countries do not have to shoulder."⁴⁵ Neogy was aware that the social and political realities for little magazines are different when produced in colonized countries, and for him, this came to involve accommodating the emergence of a new East African literature and culture with a diasporic readership. Over the decade, then, Neogy's decisions about everything from page size and length to the location and duration of letters and editorials were determined by this need to find a form capable of accommodating the growth of a global readership along with the consolidation of a regional and pancontinental Anglophone literary and critical field.

Though there are significant differences between Eliot's *Criterion* and Neogy's *Transition*, they share in common an interest in trying to solve a basic question: what form should the little magazine take? The answer cannot be found only by looking at the writers and texts that appeared between the covers. It also depends on figuring out how the magazine itself was designed to present literature and criticism to a reading public. Eliot

introduction

was counting on selling about eight hundred copies, Neogy twelve thousand. But in order to understand such a discrepancy in these distribution numbers, it's necessary to consider that Eliot was bringing out the *Criterion* in an imperial metropolis with a long, established print culture and literary tradition. He may have been eager to steer a course between tradition and innovation in an effort to institutionalize an experimental modernism, but the overall goal was to generate a cosmopolitan culture within England. In Kampala, where *Transition* was printed, the circumstances were drastically different. There was no established modern Anglophone literary or critical scene to navigate, thereby reducing competition and anticipating an audience that was centered in Uganda but would extend well beyond Africa. If in the first instance, the cosmopolitanism of the little magazine was defined by isolation within a single national culture, in the second, it required transnational diffusion capable of connecting the little magazine with countries on the other side of the globe.

These marked differences between the *Criterion* and *Transition* raise other questions as well: how can we better understand this relationship between modernism and postcolonial literature and culture through the form and materiality of the little magazine? If we cut the timeline at 1939, the year the *Criterion* closes shop and Europe erupts into another war, then that's not much of a concern. By continuing to follow the medium into the second half of the twentieth century, however, we have to explain not only how modernism prepared and complicated later incarnations of this medium but also how this process worked in reverse. It is the postcolonial magazine's backward glance at Anglo-European modernism in the postwar years, in fact, that allows us to analyze this vexed relationship not just in terms of Western poetic influence and the circulation of styles and genres but also through print practices, which with a Nigerian poet like Christopher Okigbo, who published in *Transition*, involved confronting the legacy of European modernists who once used the little magazine before the canonization process began. Opening up the little magazine to an examination of this tension gives us some sense of how it could be adapted as an anticolonial tool that could remobilize littleness in order to accommodate an emerging postcolonial literary scene.



re: medium

Though so much of my argument in *little magazine, world form* was shaped by documents I stumbled upon in various magazine archives, my approach has been influenced enormously by old and new developments in media theory and book history. In all of these fields, critics continue to examine how the materiality of media provides access to the more complex dynamics of cultural production. For Friedrich A. Kittler, it was the typewriter, film, and gramophone. For Philip Gaskell, it was the book. And as I imagine it, the little magazine belongs somewhere in between, a technology that shares the printing press in common with the book but comes of age just when print itself is getting challenged by the arrival of film, radio, and telephony.⁴⁶ Even back then, the “print is dead” refrain was ringing in the air; and yet instead of disappearing from the media landscape, the little magazine endured, and it was actually energized by the competition.

Thinking about the little magazine as a medium reminds us that the print universe at the beginning of the twentieth century was beset on all sides by the arrival of new media technologies capable of transmitting visual and auditory information faster and farther than ever before. Indeed, the Kindle, Nook, and iPad were far off on the horizon, but the telegraph, radio, and telephone were up and running, each one a reminder that the word was no longer strictly the province of the printed page. During this period, then, the little magazine was under attack, the entire reason for its existence threatened by obsolescence. *Remediation* is the term Jay Bolter and Richard Grusin use to describe this process, and it very often involves an old medium getting appropriated by a new one.⁴⁷ It’s a concept they picked up from Marshall McLuhan to identify a common phenomenon in the evolution of media: handwriting to print, painting to photography, film to computer. What interests me more, though, is remediation in reverse, a concept I’m borrowing from Andreas Huyssen to explain how an old, and potentially outmoded, technology appropriates a new one precisely in order to remain relevant in such a fierce and ever-changing media economy.⁴⁸ Kittler was on to this idea when he made the passing observation that “operating at their limits, even antiquated media become sensitive enough

introduction

to register the signs and indices of a situation.”⁴⁹ But I would add that an antiquated medium like the little magazine wasn’t just registering the “signs and indices of a situation” out of which it emerged: it actively responded to that situation and developed ways to rescue itself from the dustbin of media history.

No, there was never a little magazine with a mouthpiece, nor could any of them be played with a needle or tuned in with a knob.⁵⁰ What did happen, though, is a process of remediation both at the level of the object, including how the magazine could be used, and in its adaptation as a communications technology, including how many of them together could be organized to send and receive information. In the first instance, the little magazine remained a site for typographical experiments with the written word. But with the Italian Futurists, in particular, that involved trying to mimic in visual form the mysterious processes of wireless and radio transmissions, and it gave them an opportunity to exploit print’s power to counteract the ephemerality of modern media by putting down on paper what would otherwise have remained invisible in the electrical signals of the telegraph or the voice heard through the radio. In the second instance, the little magazine could function as a channel for communication between individuals, groups, and movements precisely when these new media were unavailable. At a time when radio, telegraphy, and the telephone required governmental or commercial approval for sending and receiving messages, the little magazine remained a low-cost, high-performance technology still capable of manipulating the privileges allowed by the printing press and the postal system.

The Italian Futurists, as I mentioned, were particularly fascinated with the wireless telegraph, which preceded radio, and they used both technologies for their experiments with the written and spoken word. But for all their enthusiasm, the Futurists were also forced to acknowledge very real limits, and faced with the restrictions surrounding radio broadcasts in Italy (limited to ten-minute segments after the precirculation and approval of the script), they came to realize that the little magazine was, in fact, the most effective way to keep the movement alive. This may help to explain just why they printed more than one hundred magazines within

Italy between 1910 and 1940: it was one way to centralize Futurism through the dispersal of print transmitters in both urban and nonurban locations. For the Dadaists and neo-Dadaists, who managed to generate more than 175 titles between 1916 and 1926, consolidation was never really the problem, since they preferred working within a decentralized network, using little magazines precisely to communicate under the radar and, whenever possible, without the intervention of the authorities.⁵¹ Matthew Witkovsky, in fact, has argued that Dadaists' mobilization of the movement's magazines, combined with their use of the international postal system, was influenced by the first "full scale media war" going on around them at the time, and they inspired other Dadaists to develop military communications strategies involving misdirected telegrams, severed cable lines, and blocked signals.⁵² What they shared in common with the Futurists in the end was a fascination with the little magazine as an object, experimenting with every aspect of its materiality to establish, and at times to sabotage, circuits through which it could enable and block domestic and international communication.

We are now living in the age of the "digittle" magazine. In the past decade or so, libraries, universities, and museums have begun to digitize their collections, making little magazines more accessible, and indeed less ephemeral, than ever before. Because of this aggressive remediation phase, the little magazine is beginning to assume a shape that not even Marinetti or his fellow Futurists could have imagined. There still might not be a magazine you can drink, but in this emerging network of digittle archives, researchers will be able to do what their predecessors, many of them working with microfilm or the rare, fragile originals, never could: search. The search function within digittle magazines promises to give researchers an opportunity to jump into the little magazine's cultural unconscious, which for some involves unraveling the discourses so long embedded in the content.

While author and title searches are ideal for reception studies, the keyword, as Raymond Williams demonstrated so convincingly, is more about tapping into the zeitgeist of a particular culture and society to reveal the ideological underpinnings, unconscious desires, tensions, secrets, and

taboos.⁵³ And what is true about the keyword in the days of print remains so in the digital age: find *le mot-clé*, and you might just unlock the figure in the carpet. Adorno, at least, had his doubts. In his essay “Bibliographical Musings,” he argues that the “lexicon” (the print-based precursor of the computer’s dialogue box), which can lead the reader to specific passages with ease, cannot always be trusted. “The relief that lexica afford is invaluable,” he writes, “but often the most important formulations fall through the cracks because they do not fit under any keyword or because the appropriate word occurs so infrequently that lexical logic would not consider it worth including.”⁵⁴ Adorno concludes with one pithy, albeit powerful, example: “‘Progress’ does not appear in the Hegel lexicon.”⁵⁵

Indeed, “lexical logic,” to borrow Adorno’s phrase, cannot always be counted on to lead the researcher to the “most important formulations” of a writer or the culture to which he or she belongs. In some cases, it is possible that the keyword barely gets mentioned, or it is entirely absent. And what is true of the unnamed keyword is true of its overnamed counterpart: a flood of references to a single word might indicate that a specific “topic” is circulating in the cultural sphere at a particular moment in time, and when sifted through and given some context, it can potentially lead toward a more nuanced understanding of its meaning within a particular culture. But the critical activity of finding, diagnosing, and then narrativizing the keyword in magazines, books, and newspapers just as often works in reverse and involves figuring out what is not said or scrutinizing why certain keywords appear in some places and not in others.

It should be clear enough by now that this content-oriented approach hardly lives up to the digittle magazine’s revolutionary potential. Searching for the keyword is a bit like researching by numbers: plug in the word, collect the results, and voilà: you can develop, retract, or confirm a preexisting theory about the little magazine or the culture of which it was a part. There are certainly other ways to adapt this technology, but it requires a more rigorous examination of our archival methods and critical and methodological assumptions. And instead of simply superimposing preexisting concepts, themes, and frameworks before the research even begins, what we have now is an opportunity to *browse* the archive in an

effort to generate new questions that will necessarily lead us in unexpected directions.⁵⁶

There's an equally urgent problem ahead: the architecture of the archive itself. At the moment, the websites and servers that house these digittle magazines are largely delinked. For that reason, the researcher working on Caribbean or French or Spanish or German Expressionist magazines is not able to navigate easily from one site or server to another. That kind of separation will not matter to everyone, but at least we should be aware of the fact that it reinscribes the kind of nation-based thinking about magazines and modernism that the digittle archive actually has the power to counteract. This delinked, and I would add nationalized, mode of organization in digittle archives has been determined, in part, by the institutionalization of the field itself. Nowadays, so much of the funding for these projects comes from academic and governmental institutions willing to offer their support in return for digital forms of cultural heritage. This relationship between the archives and the institutions that support them limits not only what gets digitized but also how it gets used and where it goes. Such a compromise might be better than nothing, but why should we simply relinquish all control of the archives to institutions? And what benefit would there be in working against them?

I'm not recommending here that the servers need to be smashed and the university funding cut (that will likely happen without any interference). However, I do think that a more rigorous examination of this relationship can help us figure out how these digittle magazines and the archives that house them can be best utilized in the future. Though once subversive, the little magazine is now part of an academic industry with its own journals, anthologies, symposia, and conferences, as well as a flood of dissertations (soon to be books) that are following not far behind. As happens in any discipline, the more deeply embedded in the institution a subject or field becomes, the less open it is to unorthodoxy, opposition, and surprise, which is one of the reasons why, at this particular juncture, I'm recommending that critics and researchers take over some of the digitization themselves and, in doing so, decide how the little magazine can function within this ever-expanding archival network. In doing so, we

might even refang the little magazine and help to give back some of its bite. Part of this process will necessarily involve reading the little magazine in, through, and against a wider world, realizing, of course, that such a connection is perfectly logical, coming as it does at a moment when “the electronic dissemination of information, even in countries with restricted Internet and Web access, has transformed the economics of literary distribution and editorial gatekeeping.”⁵⁷ Now, more than ever before, the little magazine is a world form, diverse and accessible, circulating as bits of data, and open to a readership united by the worldwide web (even if the connections remain to be made).

Scores of researchers now and in the future will experience the magazine as an image on the screen, and if they don’t actually consult the originals, there’s a good chance many of them will never experience its form and materiality in a visceral way—which is not, in fact, a coded attempt on my behalf to fetishize the materiality of the magazine or to cringe like the unrepentant bibliophile whenever any reference to the iPad, Kindle, or Nook gets made. Instead, I want to emphasize that from now on it will be impossible *not* to know the little magazine through these digital technologies, interfaces, and archives. No matter how much we continue to consult the originals, the truth is that the wider circulation will only accelerate so that going back to the static archives will be a lot like listening to vinyl when everyone else is streaming MP3s. That’s not the worst thing that can happen. If nothing more, the digittle magazine will serve as a powerful reminder of the little magazine’s status as a print medium in the past. Indeed, if the Futurists wanted to remediate their magazines so that they could function wirelessly, a similar process is at work today, though this time around, we’re using new media to gain access to an older or, as Kittler might say, “antiquated” past. Moving ahead, we need to continue studying the little magazine and the digittle magazine together, using the remediated present to go in reverse. Doing so, we will have the chance to recover a materiality we thought was lost and gain a perspective on a digital future that in the past must have looked as if it would never arrive.

little magazine, worldwide network

Only connect.

▸ E. M. Forster, *Howard's End*

I

“*Network* (n.): a piece of work having the form or construction of a net; an arrangement or structure with intersecting lines and interstices resembling those of a net.”¹ I begin with a simple definition of *network*, and it is one that functions by way of metaphor. A net is a material object, of course, but a *network* suggests something more abstract, a resemblance rather than the thing itself. Like all words, the *network* has a history, and in the dictionaries charting its development, it is one whose origins go back to the sixteenth century, when it was first used to describe reticulated structures, before getting modified in the nineteenth century to identify the layout of railway lines, roads, and canals. By the twentieth century, *network* was associated as well with the infrastructures being put in place to broadcast sound, transmit voices from one place to another, and standardize timetables.

The formation and organization of literary networks at the beginning of the twentieth century were no doubt influenced by the arrival of these new technologies for communication. Being in the network would often

involve engaging with the materiality of the network itself. Writers, of course, existed long before the telephone, telegraph, and radio were invented, but it's also the case that these same technologies came to influence not just how they imagined who they were (in relation to other writers and their audiences), but also where they were (including how they fit in and did not with trends, movements, across the globe), and not even a writer like Proust in his cork-lined room could free himself entirely from the increased burden of connectivity. This burden of connectivity is what I focus on in this chapter. More specifically, I explore how the network as a concept and literary networking as a process influenced how people imagined literary production and circulation on a global scale. Clusters, cadres, and schools are some of the categories we use to organize literary history, but in the twentieth century, it was also the presence of an ever-expanding network that shaped not only the materiality of literary production but also the contingent fantasies around which connection and communication were being built.

None of this networking would have been possible on such a scale without the little magazine. The little magazine is to the modernist network what the wires are to the radio, telephone, and telegraph, and that connection, I think, goes some way toward explaining why the two terms continue to get thrown together so frequently nowadays. PRELIA (Petites revues de littérature et d'art), for instance, a website collecting digital reproductions of French *revues* published between 1870 and 1940, refers to a now defunct "international network of little magazines," and it is one that Beatriz Colomina identifies as a precursor for the "networks of little [architectural] magazines" that popped up in the 1960s and '70s.² Faith Binckes describes little magazines as "a set of *volatile intersecting networks*"; Celia Aijmer Rydsjö and AnnKatrin Jonsson believe that "the little magazine networks form an exciting cultural map of modernism, spreading out across European borders and overseas"; Aránzazu Ascunce Arenas focuses on the "multiple social networks" operating through the little magazines published in Barcelona and Madrid in the first half of the twentieth century; and using Jean Toomer's *Cane* as a single case study, Eurie Dahn sets out to "highlight the possibilities of periodical

studies in illuminating global networks that magazines and individual works of literature construct and engage with.”³

Network has become one more keyword in the literary lexicon, associated as much with the formation of a globally conceived modernism as it is with the medium that made it. The widespread acceptance of this association has, no doubt, been bolstered by the arrival of digital technologies (network analysis programs like Gephi) that make it possible for us to visualize the once hidden dynamics of the literary field on a macro scale using large data sets and social scientific methods. In every case, there is an emphasis on circulation and connectivity, accompanied by the hope of decoding lost linkages that were once formed through the physical exchange of letters, books, and other printed matter. Six degrees of literary separation is part of the new critical rubric, one that critics from so many different fields are using to revisit questions about how ideas, texts, and people circulate, all of them hoping to disrupt the more conventional paradigms already in place.⁴

At the moment, there are various collaborative projects under way to help demystify avant-garde and modernist networks by generating big data about the number of titles, their locations, and routes of circulation. “Global Literary Networks” is one of the more ambitious examples promising to deframe “traditional literary categories” like “influence and dissemination” by applying methods of network analysis. To get started, Richard So and Hoyt Long have used publication data (“who published when and where,” as the say) from little magazines first printed in the United States, Japan, and China in order to generate network diagrams that can reveal the makeup of more abstract social relationships and structures.⁵ For them, little magazines are like nodes and edges with poems, novels, and essays that generate data sets, and the relationship between all of these parts can be converted into potato-shaped “visualizations” with the power to reveal what words, magazines, texts, or authors were in vogue in any given month, year, or decade. Part of their goal for recovering these lost linkages involves figuring out “what the poets themselves seem to have felt was happening around them, even if they could not rise up into the air and discern the overall shape of the literary field.”⁶

As exciting as it may be to arrive at a data-driven bird's-eye view, it's worth taking a step back to ask ourselves what, in fact, is at stake in thinking about the literary field as a network in the first place. In this instance, the two terms are elided, but they don't necessarily mean the same thing. *Literary field* is a sociological category, and it is one that understands the relationship between writers, patrons, markets, and audiences in the context of social, economic, and political forces. *Network*, on the other hand, is more commonly linked with computing processes and the kinds of social interaction that different media interfaces allow. I bring this distinction up if only to emphasize the need to think historically about the category of the network and, in doing so, to bring these invisible political, social, and economic forces into the way we think about how modernism itself happened within little magazines that were getting published around the globe.

To do so, we should not lose sight of the fact that networks, then and now, are as much a concrete reality as they are a fantasy about the structure of a world that modernists and avant-gardists alike wanted to see. To understand what they are and how they work, then, it's necessary to examine how the materiality itself plays into the fantasy and vice versa. In doing so, it will then become possible to see the network less as an empirical fact and more as a concept that had a profound impact on what so many little magazines would look like, where they would or could go, with whom they would connect and disconnect, and how. My goal, however, is not to try and imagine the network as the modernists themselves did or map out all of the edges, nodes, and clusters (which would be one way of ensuring that we were *not* seeing it as the modernists themselves did). Rather, by going back to a few of these earlier attempts to visualize the little magazine network, we can figure out what they missed and in doing so recover some sense not only of how a network of print and paper functioned during modernism but also how it might guide future attempts to give the little magazine network, in particular, a digital afterlife.⁷

What follows, then, is a prehistory of the little magazine network before the software was available to organize the information and the technician-scholars arrived to visualize, sift through, and interpret it. In-

stead of diagramming, graphing, or mining magazines, though, I go back to some of the modernists and avant-gardists who tried to figure out how they could trace the contours of a network that somehow managed to elude them all. Examples I draw from include a map on the cover of the Polish Constructivist little magazine *Blok* identifying its global destinations, another by *L'esprit nouveau* locating subscribers, and a geometrical equation in *La gaceta literaria* describing the domestic hierarchy of little magazines in Spain. Made within a few years of each other (1922, 1925, 1928), these visualizations were attempts to represent how the process of literary distribution through little magazines worked, each one a snapshot of the network from a specific location and point in time. All of them fail to capture the full complexity of a global magazine network, but taken together, they are a compelling reminder of what was really at stake in trying to imagine the little magazine in the world in the first place. Is tracing distribution really the most effective way to describe a global process for literary consumption? Does being in the network necessarily involve moving through the world?

Though the feet of the Polish Constructivist Henryk Berlewi were firmly planted on the ground, the strange presence of an ineffable network was one of the things that he felt in 1922 when visiting the first International Exhibition of Modern Art in Düsseldorf. Walking through a collection of works by Cubists, Neo-Impressionists, Italian Futurists, Constructivists, Expressionists, and Dadaists, he concluded that a critical moment in the history of modern art had arrived, and it was enabled, in part, by the emergence of “a worldwide network of periodicals.”⁸ This *network*, as the editors of *Het Overzicht* dubbed it a few years later, was a particularly effective term for describing an emerging international configuration of avant-garde movements that never existed before on such a scale.⁹ The question, though, is not who or what was circulating in and between them but how any of this was happening at all. How, in other words, did the *net work*? And is it really a concept that should be reserved only for the avant-garde magazines instead of being applied more widely to include an expansive modernist structure that was emerging simultaneously?

Berlewi, after all, may have been thinking specifically about avant-garde connectivity, but his observation applies to a “worldwide network of periodicals” that would have to include so many titles that he would never know printed in places he had probably never even heard of. This worldwide network (like the worldwide web) abstracts the space of the globe so that the destinations within it are defined not by geographical location but through these invisible threads (whether webs or nets) that exist in between. The *Oxford English Dictionary* definition of *network* that I mentioned earlier is useful in this regard: “a piece of work having the form or construction of a net; a collection or arrangement (of some thing or things) resembling a net.” The net is a form above all but is one, Bruno Latour reminds us, “made first of all of empty space.”¹⁰ Not everyone in the net gets caught or connected, in other words, and what makes the *OED* definition so striking is its emphasis on construction. The network is not already in place when the avant-gardes and the modernists arrive on the scene: it is an “arrangement” that gets made by them. In the context of Berlewi’s observation, you might even say that this network was made to function differently from the ones preceding it, in large part, because the technologies for print production were more widely available, international travel (including exile and emigration) easier, and literary culture and its production through print media capable of generating conversations between cities, regions, and towns that were previously isolated or deliberately cut off from one another.

Even if Berlewi and his fellow Constructivists were convinced that *network* was the best term for describing this new artistic universe, they were still imagining it in cartographic terms. The cover of the tenth issue of *Blok* (April 1925), where Berlewi was one of the editors, is a case in point (figure 1.1). At the top of the page, above the editorial information, date, title, and design by Kazimir Malevich, is a crudely drawn sketch of the world with the words “Dokad Dociera Blok” (Where *Blok* reaches) beneath it. This image is there on the cover as testimony of *Blok*’s global influence, and the editors want their readers to know that if issues can reach Vladivostok, Tokyo, San Francisco, and Buenos Aires, then there’s no saying how far the magazine might go.



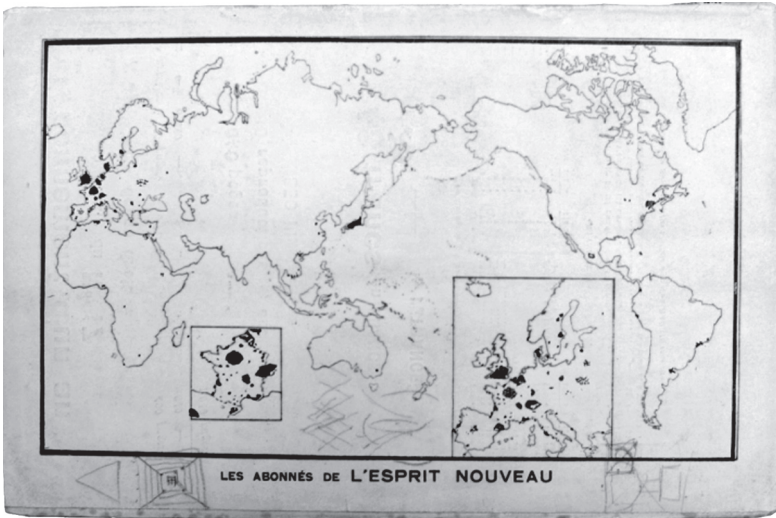
1.1 Cover of *Blok*, no. 10 (April 1925).

At least that was the intention. Here we have a cluster of destination sites for a single title with lots of blank space in between. Africa, one of the most prominently displayed and blankest continents, is planted in the center, with the darkness of Europe, much smaller in scale, positioned right above it. Though an image like this one is meant to advertise “reach,” it inadvertently delivers the opposite message: Australia, Africa, central Europe, and South and Central Asia remain untouched, and North and South America only get three *B*’s each. At first glance, then, this network doesn’t seem like much: it documents the itinerary of a single magazine but does not identify any points of contact with other titles along the way. That, of course, is part of the trick. *Blok* is not actually finding new routes within the avant-garde network. Instead, it is tapping into an itinerary

already established by the other avant-gardes (Italian and Russian Futurists, Dada, Surrealists, Expressionists). To be read in this collection of cities is one of the ways *Blok* identifies where it fits in and with whom. Put another way, *Blok* codes its connections through routes of consumption, and the implication here is that knowing where you are read is one way to position yourself within an increasingly global literary and artistic culture that can be difficult, if not impossible, to represent in its entirety.

Another map from Le Corbusier's *L'esprit nouveau* identifying the global coordinates of its "abonnés" in 1922 provides an interesting point of comparison (figure 1.2). Printed on the back cover of issue 17, it was intended to attract advertisers with a group of potential clients, compliment readers on their cosmopolitan taste, and reassure the editors of the magazine's global appeal. Le Corbusier's map has sharper outlines that make the individual countries and cities easier to recognize, but there's one important exception: Europe and Africa have been offset to the left, leaving a vast and empty Pacific Ocean prominently displayed in the middle, partially eclipsed by two enlargements located at the bottom. This particular orientation of the map has a way of emphasizing that Europe occupies only one of many positions, and its relative smallness has a way of making the rest of the world seem much bigger. Indeed, there are blank spaces on this map as well, but no continent has been missed as *L'esprit nouveau* makes its monthly journey from Paris to Egypt, Sydney, Algiers, Johannesburg, Mexico City, Hong Kong, Honolulu, and beyond.

The enlargements, though, are the most striking detail. This map could have conveyed the same message just as well without them, but Le Corbusier, for whatever reason, decided to include them. It's almost as if by decentering Europe, he felt compelled to overcompensate by reminding viewers where the greatest concentration of subscribers was located. If the blank space on the *Blok* map signified a form of Eurocentric repression, then this dark space, you could say, is symptomatic of a latent anxiety about a global cultural experience that was increasingly common to little magazines at the time. *L'esprit nouveau* may be able to document where it goes, but with every new subscriber from a different town, city, country, or continent, the network expands further. As much as the prospect of a



1.2 “Les abonnés de *L'esprit nouveau*” (back cover),
L'esprit nouveau 17 (June 1922).

global readership can be thrilling for little magazine makers, it also has the potential to inspire more troubling thoughts as the magazine travels to zones far from the location where it was produced. Perhaps that’s why this particular map looks more like a document tracking the spread of infectious diseases, the point being that global distribution may have shrunk the world, but it subsequently allowed for more intimate degrees of contact with so many “foreign” others, inspiring the realization that the more *L'esprit nouveau* traveled, the less could be known about where it was ending up, how it was being read, and by whom.

The fear and loathing of global distribution: that’s one potential side effect of this worldwide network. It might all sound a bit paranoid, but this response is not so different from the one Franz Kafka had that same year when he was thinking about the potentially alienating social implications of the postal system. “How on earth,” he wrote, “did anyone get the idea that people can communicate with one another by letter?”¹¹ Friedrich Kittler has argued that the postal system that Kafka found so unnerving

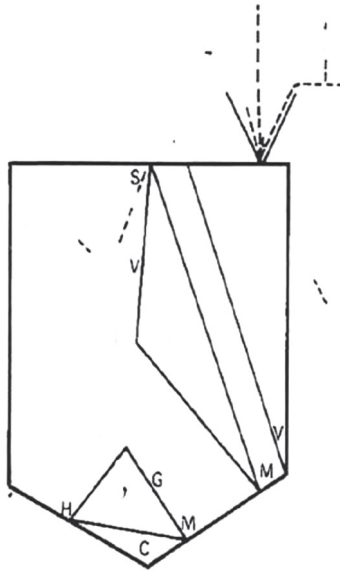
was also responsible for the formation of a modernist discourse network, the same one through which magazines like *Blok* and *L'esprit nouveau* circulated.¹² Indeed, Kafka was one of the many individuals to benefit from the postal system's relative speed and efficiency, but he was not blind to the fact that it also facilitated a mode of communication that privileged the physical distance between individuals. With little magazines and their readers/subscribers, the same was true: the global reach of literary production continued to reduce the distance between consumers and producers, but it also ensured anonymous contact. Readers, no matter how isolated, were never really alone, and while the very idea of an imagined global community could be thrilling for some, it was troubling for others because it had the potential to invite contamination.

All too often, the global reach (and proximity) enabled by technologies of modernization gets characterized positively as if there could never be a dark side. But with little magazines, in particular, there is a way that this opening up to new readers and landing in foreign destinations expanded the coordinates of the network but forced little magazines into new relationships with local literary cultures, some more congenial to their arrival than others. *Blok*, for instance, may have landed in Buenos Aires in April 1925, but it was then in the company of *Proa*, *Martín Fierro*, and *Inicial*. And what did the Polish Constructivists know about these magazines and vice versa? Chances are, very little. Landing on foreign soil did not automatically trigger dialogue or interaction, and though some magazines preferred to establish long-distance relationships organized through exchanges, it was just as common to find geographical contiguity without contact. This particular aspect of the little magazine network is not what tends to elicit critical attention, but it played an equally formative role in the way that little magazines would and could function within an increasingly global literary and critical culture. The more interconnected the world became and the more that there was an infrastructure in place to allow for the increased distribution of individual titles, the more unsettling it all could be, requiring the creation of maps like these to try and organize what was otherwise so disorienting. Maps can be a way to exercise control, in part, by cordoning off what is unknowable,

but these examples reveal something else: an awareness of global communication's limits and the recognition that if there was indeed a network emerging in the 1920s, it was filled with gaps and impossible to conceptualize without relying on more traditional modes of cartographic representation.

If you begin to think of the network more in terms of its holes (or empty spaces) and less of its threads, then you begin to realize, as Latour does, "that there is something deeply wrong" in the way that networks get represented (and read) both then and now. All too often, there is an emphasis on its questionable status as a thing that can be brought into focus and made visible. Indeed, the very idea of the network-as-object privileges the *net* over the *work*. It is, after all, a formation that does not remain static even if it is something that once existed in time and that remains after the fact the subject for a sociologically charged literary-historical analysis. More a dynamic force field, the network generates actual and virtual relationships as much as it negates them, so that there is always the opposition between those who belong *in the network* and those who do not. All of this might sound obvious, but the oft-repeated references to the existence of a little magazine network defined by direct physical encounters proves to the contrary that critics all too often focus on what's caught in the net and not what falls between the cracks.

In this regard, I agree with Latour that it is more productive to use the term *network* to "designate a mode of inquiry" capable of identifying the attributes through which it becomes visible at any given moment in time as it produces a "complex ecology of tributaries, allies, accomplices and helpers."¹³ Latour's reference to allies and accomplices should not be confused with sympathizers. It is just as necessary to account for the detractors, *isolatoes*, and hecklers, who become visible precisely by refusing to inhabit the lines, or tributaries, that the others travel. The cartographic representations I've discussed so far are suggestive because they fail to represent the actual and virtual relationships the little magazine network encoded and blocked. *Blok* and *L'esprit nouveau* may want to position themselves in the network, but they can do so only cartographically using the miniaturized backdrop of the world to mask the relative isolation of their



1.3 Ernesto Giménez Caballero, “Teorema de la nueva literatura española,”
La gaceta literaria (April 15, 1928), 7.
Courtesy of Aránzazu Ascunce Arenas.

own location. As a result, their global relevance comes from the *where* but not the *who*. Who else, these images inadvertently ask, is out there, and how can they be represented alone and together if not on a map?

In 1928, Ernesto Giménez Caballero, the editor of the Madrid-based *La gaceta literaria*, came up with another idea. He decided to represent the literary network of little magazines across Spain in the form of a geometrical equation, which he titled “Teorema de la nueva literatura española por Gecé” (figure 1.3). This “theorem” was his attempt to justify why Madrid was at the center of this new literary scene, with Barcelona, Andalusia, and Galicia straggling behind. The Iberian Peninsula here takes the shape of a pentagon with five triangles distributed therein, and each one contains the first letters of the most influential periodicals published in the regions to which they corresponded. Greek letters (alpha, beta, gamma, delta) were added to each triangle/region, and above the delta (Catalonia/

Valencia), Caballero placed a funnel indicating where influences from abroad could pour in. In the attached key to his theorem, Caballero explains that Spanish magazines were “el núcleo donde se insertar numeradores y denominadores” (the absolute nucleus where numerators and denominators can be found), and he hoped that a united literary culture in Portuguese, Catalan, and Spanish languages could eventually be mobilized through them. For Aránzazu Ascunce Arenas, Caballero may have been eager to link these cultures within Spain and Portugal, but he failed to emphasize the actual interconnections that existed between them. In addition, she explains, his desire to abstract the geography through this geometrical equation made the network seem more decentralized than it actually was. If you were to revise the diagram today, she believes that it would resemble “a telephone map from the late 1920s” with a few centers and clusters scattered across Spain.¹⁴

That, however, was not Caballero’s point. Eager to literalize the diagram, Arenas misses out on the fact that the theorem translated into a telephone map would actually alter the message. Caballero had found a way to describe the abstract relationships that existed between little magazines, and he deliberately used the geometrical shapes in order to downplay the influence of geography. The actual distances between locations, in other words, were less significant than their position within these hidden cultural processes. Indeed, his geometrical shapes still corresponded with the location of cities, but it’s clear that he was trying to find a way not to represent connectivity, as Arenas would have it, but disconnectivity. For as much as there was actual communication among some of these little magazines, Caballero was also trying to account for the fact that they existed within the same national space without establishing direct contact. In this way, the theorem is itself one attempt to imagine the network *as a space of disconnection* and not as a geographical container in which all of the locations near and far were within reach of one another. Unlike the other images, though, this one is strictly national, free of any ambition to trace global influence through consumption. That in itself is a way for *La gaceta literaria* to describe how networking, both as connection and disconnection, could not be stripped from the location of its production.

Seen another way, production itself was one of the categories through which little magazines worldwide could be seen in relation to one another: that is, it lets us imagine the global network by taking into account the production of little magazines, not where the little magazine reaches but where it begins.

In spite of the many differences between *Blok*, *L'esprit nouveau*, and *La gaceta literaria*, they share in common the desire to define degrees of literary interaction through distribution: the farther the various magazines can go in the world, in fact, the better. But no matter how far a magazine may travel, it is always defined within and against national borders of countries such as France, Poland, and Spain. This particular association makes it impossible to imagine the little magazine network as something that existed in spite of physical geography and the national borders through which many magazines had to travel at the time. Moreover, the emphasis is inadvertently placed on the assumption that the network needed distribution and chatter between titles to exist. If we analyze the network only along these lines, however, then our perspective on the way it worked will be seriously limited. What, after all, do we do with the little magazines that never traveled anywhere but the cities or countries in which they were produced, some of them deciding to stay off the global network? And how about the ones that inserted themselves in the global network through shared design practices and formal mimicry without establishing any direct contact?

Indeed, distribution is certainly part of a much bigger, messier puzzle involving the little magazine, but all too often there is the temptation to conflate degrees of globality with the kinds of empirical data that can be compiled about reception. However valuable this information may be for letting us trace points of contact between little magazines (on their own or in clusters), it still does not explain what they shared in common with other titles in the countries and on the continents they never reached. *Martín Fierro*, for instance, may have appeared in Buenos Aires between 1923 and 1925, picking up readers in countries throughout Central and South America, but how do we even begin to talk about it in relation to *Kallol* in India, *Mavo* in Japan, or *L'esprit nouveau* in France? If distribu-

tion is our guide, then we don't. None of these titles actually crossed paths with one another, traveled similar routes, or shared readerships, and there was never a chance that *Mavo*, let's say, would end up someplace like France except as a curiosity.¹⁵

More recently, Susan Stanford Friedman has argued that circulation is precisely what should guide comparative approaches to modernism in the future, though she warns that in the process of tracing these "global networks," critics should not end up ignoring "local knowledge."¹⁶ She is not alone. Her arguments about global modernism have been shaped by a world literature debate that has not been directly concerned with modernism or its little magazines. The positions for and against world literature are all based on the assumption that circulation, and with it translation (both formal and linguistic), is what enables us to study the process by which texts (not print media like books or magazines) move through the world. Except when they don't. For us, the difficulty involves figuring out what sustained the network if it was not a coherent set of linkages in and between magazine cultures around the globe. And if it's not distribution that defines the network, then what does? Moreover, what makes it possible for us to analyze the network without using the rubric of a connectivity that has been all too literally understood?

In *République mondiale des lettres*, Pascale Casanova has provided a sociological model for thinking more generally about a "circulatory network of literature" in the twentieth century, one organized hierarchically with critics, translators, publishers, and editors at the top deciding who gains access to an international book market and readership in the West.¹⁷ These mediators are more like border guards between East and West, center and periphery, with the power to decide who will receive literary consecration and who will not. Though other cities will have cultural capital, Paris, in Casanova's model at least, is at the center of the network, the place where writers have to pass through if they have any ambitions of becoming international and, by extension, universal. Casanova has been widely criticized for her Francophilia and for falsely conflating national literature with the periphery and an international, denationalized literature with the center. Still, her transnational approach, which adapts concepts from Pierre

Bourdieu's nation-based literary sociology, was immensely effective in getting critics from a wide variety of fields to think about the structure of this abstract literary world system and the way that it has been shaped over the centuries by concrete structures of power. The literary universe, she reminded us, may be vast, but it is also separate and unequal; some Western readers, though they may pick up books from "foreign authors," are very much at the mercy of translators and publishers responsible for deciding what texts will see the light of day.

Though Casanova traces the conditions for literary inequality across four centuries, *République mondiale des lettres* is ultimately a tale about modernism, modernity, and the globalization of the literary field in the twentieth century. But with the exception of a few references to the *Nouvelle revue française*, it is the medium of the book, and not the little magazine, that dominates her discussion. That, in fact, presents a problem.¹⁸ If modernism was made in and through its magazines, then why look only to the book and an unfair capitalist marketplace for answers about its globality, especially when the marketplace itself was so rigidly divided along national lines and hampered by high tariffs and international copyright laws?¹⁹ The little magazine, though it certainly had problems (censors and postal officials among them), just didn't function this way, and the network it generated was organized according to a different set of rules and defined by a different set of power relations. First and foremost, this had to do with the fact that the little magazine was not a commercial medium. Therefore, it was not designed as a commodity for a marketplace where the accumulation of capital, and profit, mattered. Second, because there was no marketplace in which magazines were traded, a centralized power structure of editors, critics, and translators didn't exist. Translations and critical appraisals, book exchanges, and reviews were still happening in and between different magazine clusters (and their respective satellites), but they were not overseen by an organized band of border guards. Third, the network of little magazines did not have a metropolitan capital through which anyone or anything had to move. As a result, there was never a single city responsible for controlling the national and/or international circulation of writers and critics.

Decommercialized, decentralized, decapitalized, disconnected: these are the terms that best describe modernism's little magazine network on a global scale. But before going any further, I want to refine them a bit more. Capital cities were frequently the places with the greatest concentration of little magazines, and they often had the power to pull in others from center and periphery alike. It was also the case that a few of them even managed to assume the coveted role of international cultural arbiter. *Nouvelle revue française*, for example, was one of the brighter beacons in the sea of English, French, Spanish, German, and Italian magazines and was as much a source of inspiration for content (who to read and translate) as it was the model for critical sophistication (how to write). The same was true in Spain for Gasset's *Revista de occidente*, in England with Eliot's *Criterion*, in the United States with Scofield Thayer and James Sibley Watson's *Dial*, in Italy with Alberto Carocci's *Solaria*, in Russia with Vladimir Mayakovsky and Osip Brik's *Lef*, in Argentina with Jorge Luis Borges's *Proa*, and in Japan with Yasunari Kawabata's and Yokomitsu Riichi's *Bungei jidai*.²⁰ All of them assumed a dominant role within their respective nation-based literary cultures, and all of them were foundational in the creation of international critical standards throughout the 1920s. What I'm describing here, however, is different. Though positioned in cities such as Madrid, London, New York City, St. Petersburg, Florence, Buenos Aires, and Tokyo, none of these titles actually occupied a position in the center of any system. They were part of a network, the kind of rhizomatic configuration described by Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari that is nonhierarchical, acentered, and nonsystematic with the capacity to resist unification and control. Instead of a few avant-garde threads, no matter how stretched, torn, or frayed, there was a mass of them in other directions around the world, each one with the potential to weave multiple patterns that did not necessarily connect.²¹ And though decentralized, this magazine network also had "multiple central hosts, each with its own set of satellite nodes," so that a title like *Actual No. 1* from Mexico City could connect with a central host in Buenos Aires and another in New York City, while still maintaining regional affiliations closer to home and ignoring, or being ignored by, the others established elsewhere.²²

Disconnection was the name of the game in the magazine network. No matter how influential a single title could be, there were always limits (linguistic, economic, geographical) to its influence and/or capacity for control. Moreover, there was the added fact that disconnection, which can be defined partly by the inability or refusal to exchange issues, offer reviews, and circulate texts for translation, could generate nonverbal modes of communication. In fact, because language was such a major impediment to a global magazine culture, this disconnected mode of communication depended a great deal on the protocol of print. "If networks are the structures that connect organisms and machines," Alexander Galloway and Eugene Thacker argue, "then protocols are the rules that make sure the connections actually work."²³ Though nowadays *protocol* is associated more with computer-to-computer interaction and the formatting, addressing, and routing of data across the Internet, it also describes an earlier print practice that was developing within little magazines. Titles that were, in reality, geographically distant from one another came up with ways to communicate by design; this kind of long-distance communication was made possible by the fact that there were protocols being put in place, and they had the power, as Galloway explains in relation to computer networks, to "regulate flows, direct netscape, code relationships, and connect life-forms."²⁴ The Italian Futurists, whom I discuss more fully in chapter 6, provide one of the more obvious examples. They developed an advanced form of this practice using an identifiable typographical style to signal affiliation and in the process created a feedback loop reaffirming the illusion of Futurism's status as a centralized movement no matter how scattered its individual members and titles were. At the same time, there was the popular practice of affiliation by design in avant-garde and modernist circles alike, and it was most evident on covers, in page layouts, and through printing techniques and the choice of materials.

In practical terms, print protocol affected some of the most basic aspects of little magazine production around the globe, including the one thing for which it is most celebrated: typographical experimentation. The Italian Futurists claimed this practice for themselves with their *parole in libertà*, and later the Dadaists, guilty, as El Lissitzky put it, "of crimes of typo-

graphic disobedience,” modified it for their own ends.²⁵ Futurists and Dadaists alike conducted their experiments on the little magazine, and it was the one print medium that traveled farther than any single piece of content. After first encountering a Dada publication, for instance, the Japanese poet Takahashi Shinkichi remembers being floored by the overall composition: “the vertical and horizontal typographical arrangements were mixed. There are sometimes even diagonal arrangements.”²⁶ As part of an initiation into *Dadaizumu*, a number of Japanese writers started their own little magazines, including *GE.GJMGJGAM.PRRR.GJMGEM*, (abbreviation *GGPG*, Selling shame, scandalous sentences) *Bachi shūbun*, and *Kyomu shisō* (Nihilism). This act of tapping into an expansive global network “out there” was determined by print protocol above all else, and it could work concretely through a mode of exchange encoded by design. And the range of protocols could change depending on the kinds of magazines with which one wanted to connect—and for that there were more subtle signals that could be transmitted through the most mundane details: font selection (serif or sans serif), page size, length, layout (symmetrical or asymmetrical or diagonal), paper (handmade or mass-produced, pulp or deluxe), and the organization of content.

The Dada grid provides a particularly compelling example. Not long after World War I ended and members of the movement continued to spread outward from Zurich and Berlin, the grid began appearing on the back cover of dozens of avant-garde magazines. There are a variety of different designs, though all of them share a single goal: to organize the titles and locations of like-minded magazines. It’s difficult to pinpoint who is responsible for bringing the grid into the magazine: it appears as much in Constructivist and Russian Futurist magazines as it does in the neo-Dada offspring. During this period, there is also a great deal of cross-fertilization between movements, with individual artists and graphic designers like El Lissitzky, Kurt Schwitters, Theo van Doesburg, and Lazlo Moholy-Nagy collaborating on everything from cover design to organization and page layout. The grid, however, does not belong to any single movement. The shape itself, with a history that goes back to the Paleolithic brick of ancient Mesopotamia and looks ahead to the abstract

representations of the World Wide Web, surfaced with a vengeance at the beginning of the twentieth century, when visual artists began experimenting with flat, geometric shapes. The structure of the grid was reimagined as a symbol of modernity itself, the rationalized design that could be endlessly reproduced.²⁷ The grid's two-dimensionality and the resistance to any representational claims made it, as Rosalind Kraus explains, "anti-natural, antimimetic, antireal." And this turn away from representationality in the grid marked a major shift in the history of modern art. The grid is, as Kraus puts it, "what art looks like when it turns its back on nature."²⁸

When the grid begins appearing in the back pages of little magazines, the avant-garde is not turning its back on nature: it is holding a mirror up to the network. The grid, after all, functions like a global positioning system in print form, letting the magazines identify where they are and with whom they are connected. Theo von Doesburg's redesigned *De Stijl* was one of the first magazines to apply the grid in such a way. On the back cover of issue 5 (1922), black bars (one red) divide the page neatly into two sections (figure 1.4). None of the bars are touching, and this composition as a whole resembles the cross section of two buildings positioned side by side. In this early version (with only four magazines listed), Constructivist rationalism is combined with Dada-inspired typography to produce a condensed image of a design, and a network, that was in the process of being built. Distribution lists, of course, were not new to magazines little or big, but this particular design was. And what is so striking about the grid is how quickly it becomes part of a design vernacular in avant-garde magazines. The grid was there to organize information, but it was also an expression of being *in the network*, a way for magazines to identify their connections with and disconnections from one another.

In 1923, *Merz* provided a model of the grid that quickly became something of a standard: its fourth issue included an arrangement of boxes in bold black lines containing information about other *zeitschriften*, subscription rates, distribution sites, and a few book titles (figure 1.5).²⁹ Concrete distribution numbers are impossible to come by here, but if we believe the countries and currencies listed at the bottom of the page, readers could be found as far afield as Germany, Japan, Mexico, the United States,



1.4 Back cover of *De Stijl* 5, no. 7 (July 1922).

Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and England. By *Merz* issues 8/9, the form and function of the grid came together seamlessly (figure 1.6). In this symmetrical arrangement of blue and red lines, information about the “eingesandte zeitschriften” (identified by title and city) are placed vertically in the middle of the page and flanked by a list of back issues and book advertisements. At the top is a list of cities, mainly within Germany, where *Merz* can be purchased and a table of converted subscription rates (in four currencies) to the left.

As these two examples reveal, *Merz*, an abbreviated form of the word *commerz*, is indeed self-conscious about the system of international circulation and exchange of which it is a part. There are four different currencies for subscriptions, but not all of them correspond with the geographical locations of the magazines listed: *Zenit* (Yugoslavia), *Zwrotnika* and *Blok* (Poland), *Contimpuranol* (Hungary), and *Inicial* (Argentina) are the most

„G“ MERZ 3 ist eine Mappe von 6 mit der Hand auf den Stein gemerzten Lithographien von Kurt Schwitters, SOBLEN ERSCHEINEN. - VORSTELLUNG bis 1.7.

Der Sturm, Berlin, Potsdamstr. 134a
g., Berlin-Friedrichshagen, Eschstr. 7.
PA., Wien, Arndtstr. 28.
PA., Wien, Leopoldsdorfergasse 41.
PA., Zürich, Meistersingerstr. 17.
S., 4. N., Nottmann-Platz, U.S.G.
Z., Köln, Zoebig, Sternencentre 10, Seifens.
Contimporani, Burenest, 89 A. St. Trinitatis.
Provence, Paris, 3 rue Ordener.
MANOCHRE, Herausgeber **Emile Haleschne**, Zeitschrift in mehreren Sprachen, Probennummer gratis. Lyon, 49 Cours Gambetta.

ZEITSCHRIFTEN:

Vom MERZVERLAG sind zu beziehen: Grand price
Anna Blume 1,-
Kathedrale 1,-
Blei 1,-
Blume Anna 2,-
Auguste Bolte 2,50
Sturm Bilderbuch IV 5,-
Die Wahrheit über Anna Blume 1,-
MERZ 3 - Merzmappe 75,-
Buch neuer Künstler 10,-
 Für Ausland Preise entsprechend dem Abonnement von I.R.Z.
IN ARBEIT Franz Möllers
DRAHTFRÖHLING, der Roman der Anna Blume.
 Der Merzverlag bereitet eine aussergewöhnliche Sammlung von **RELLISVERSEN** vor.
 Gosthapulver gegen Verstopfung nur auf Subskription zu haben.

Der Abonnementspreis von **Zeitschrift MERZ** für 4 Lieferungen im Jah. beträgt jährlich in **Deutschland** 3 Mk. x Börsenziffer. In **Holland** 1,40 Fl., in **Frankreich** 6,50 Frs., in **England u. Kolonien** 2 sh., in **Schweden** 2,50 Kr., in **Dänemark u. Norwegen** 3 Kr., in **Rußland** 1 Goldrubel, in **Tschechien** 11,50 cK., in **Italien** 7,50 Lire, in der **Schweiz** 4 Francs, in **Spanien u. Portugal** 2,50 Pes., in **Japan** 1,25 Yen, in **Verein. Staat. v. Amerika u. Mexiko** 0,75 Dollar.
 Die **MERZMAPPE** ist in 50 Exemplaren gedruckt, handsigniert, Stein abgeschliffen. Preis Nr. 1—25 Jahresabonnement Merz x 25, Nr. 26—50 Jahresabonnement Merz x 20. Für alte Abonnenten von Merz 10% Nachlaß, bei Bestellung bis 1. Juli 1923 außerdem 20% Nachlaß. **Bestellung beim Merzverlag.**

1.5 Back cover of *Merz* 4 (July 1923).

ABONNEMENTS- PREIS FÜR MERZ

JÄHRLICH **4** NUMMERN
 4 Mark
 2 1/2 Fl.
 5 Bate. Frs.
 1 Dollar

JAHRGANG I 1923
 PREIS: 6 M., 4 Fl., 10 frs., 2 Dollar

MERZ 1 HOLLAND-DADA
2 A/
3 MERZ-MAPPE LITHOS VON 2 S. SCHWITTERS, 60 M.
4 BANALITÄTEN
5 ARP-MAPPE 5 ARPADEN VON HANS ARP, 80 M.
6 IMITATOREN
7 TAPSHEET
10 BAUHAUS-BÜCH
11 TY-RE

ANZEIGE

VON DIESEM HEFT AN SOLL JEDES MERZHEFT EINEN BESONDEREN CHARAKTER HABEN, NICHT, WIE BISHER EINE GEGENÜBERSTELLUNG VON DADA UND KUNST SEIN. BESONDERE NUR DEM DADAISMUS GEWENDE HEFTE, WERDEN DEN UNTERTITEL „AR-PP-ALLGEMEINES RELATIVITÄTS-PRINZIP TRAGEN. DAS NÄCHSTE HEFT SOLL DER TYPOKLAME GEWIDMET SEIN.

MERZLITERATUR: ANNA BLUME, BLEI, AUGUSTE BOLTE, KATHEDRALE, FRANZ MÜLLERS DRAHTFRÖHLINGS

ANZEIGE

ES IST ERSCHEINEN: DIE FIGURINENMAPPE VON E. LISITZKY. ELEKTRO-MECHANISCHE SCHAU, 10 VIELFARBIGE AUTO-LITHOS. AUFLAGE 75 NUM. EXEMPL. GRÖSSE 50x-60 cm. PREIS 150 M.
 BESTELLUNGEN BEI FRAU S. KÖPPERS, HANNOVER, BODECKERSTR. 4D.

MERZ-Abonnent **Sturm**, 34. April, 1923.
 ABONNEMENTS- PREIS FÜR MERZ
 JÄHRLICH 4 NUMMERN
 4 Mark
 2 1/2 Fl.
 5 Bate. Frs.
 1 Dollar

ANZEIGE

EINEN TEIL DER KLISCHÉES ZU DIESEM HEFTE VERDANKEN WIR DEN VERLAGEN: DE STIL, FRÖHLICH, GUSTAV FISCHER, MERZ.

MERZ-Abonnent **Sturm**, 34. April, 1923.
 ABONNEMENTS- PREIS FÜR MERZ
 JÄHRLICH 4 NUMMERN
 4 Mark
 2 1/2 Fl.
 5 Bate. Frs.
 1 Dollar

ANZEIGE

ES IST ERSCHEINEN: DIE FIGURINENMAPPE VON E. LISITZKY. ELEKTRO-MECHANISCHE SCHAU, 10 VIELFARBIGE AUTO-LITHOS. AUFLAGE 75 NUM. EXEMPL. GRÖSSE 50x-60 cm. PREIS 150 M.
 BESTELLUNGEN BEI FRAU S. KÖPPERS, HANNOVER, BODECKERSTR. 4D.

1.6 Back cover of *Merz* 8/9 (April-July 1924).

obvious examples. They are in the grid, but they are still outside the economic system that would make them easily convertible from one currency to another, from one bookshop or newsstand to another, from one subscriber to another. That disconnect between the real and imagined, however, is precisely why the grid could be such an effective device for avant-garde magazines around the world: it provided the visual architecture for an abstract concept, a way to try and imagine what an avant-garde “movement” might even look like at any given time. And in a decentralized network such as this one, that was the challenge since links between magazines were not organized hierarchically and there was no center for regulation or standardized routes for transmission.

The grid is rhizomatic. It is the symbol, par excellence, of the decentralized disorganization that characterized Dada and neo-Dada movements in the early 1920s. It is both a map of the avant-garde print world and a ticket intended to affirm inclusion. Writing “Kablepoema za okean” (Cablepoem abroad, 1920–1921), the Ukrainian Panfuturist Mykhail Semenko understood the grid’s capacity to represent communication and transport simultaneously (figure 1.7). The title itself is a clear reference to Guillaume Apollinaire’s *Lettre-océan* (1916), the poem in which he tried to reproduce on paper the transoceanic movement of a wireless transmission between himself and his brother. In this instance, however, the world has been flattened out into six separate boxes on the left, each one corresponding with an individual line of free-verse poetry on the right. In this minimalist cablepoem, one that begins in America and ends in Oceania, each box is at once a relay in the wireless transmission and a passenger ticket for travel.

What Semenko did in a single poem is what magazines like *L’esprit nouveau*, *Noi*, *G.*, *De Stijl*, *Merz*, *Het Overzicht*, *Ma*, and *Mavo* did for entire print runs: they incorporated the grid to communicate with one another—a complicated process when you consider the wide variety of languages involved (including Italian, Japanese, German, Danish, Hungarian, and French). The grid did not establish an open channel for content to pour in (though exchanges between editors were frequently arranged). Rather, it was there to identify each magazine’s location (indicated by city or town),



1.7 Mykhail Semenko, “Kablepoeма za okean,” 1920–1921.

along with its web of interconnections around the globe. Connectivity was the message, in this case, not the content of communication, and though the grid was organized around geographical points, it did not ever claim to centralize them.

These boxes, which do not correspond to any cartographic logic, are in no particular order. They can be read from left to right, bottom to top, or diagonally, and the absence of any hierarchy or clear direction reaffirms the idea that the network is not here or there in a sequence: it is everywhere, spanning the globe, all at once. The network of little magazines expanded largely because different strains of the Dada virus continued to spread. The grid, then, was an expression of the avant-garde’s global circulation, an attempt for various subgroups to see their own reflection in the mirror. Print provided the infrastructure necessary for this kind of connectivity, but not because the magazines themselves were physically moving between readers, writers, and editors in Tokyo, Zagreb, Budapest, and Rome. Rather, global communication was being conceptualized

on the page, and at the time, putting foreign titles and addresses in the grid was the equivalent of “friending” someone on a social networking site.

Between 1923 and 1925, the grid was a common fixture in Dada and neo-Dada magazines, but what is so striking is the sheer number of shapes it could take. *G.* is severe: three boxes separated by two bold lines. *Mavo* is simple: a closed box broken up like a table. *Noi* is lively: a sequence of open and closed rectangular boxes (titles in blue). *Ma* is clean: closed boxes, symmetrical or asymmetrical depending on the issue, that resemble an architect’s blueprint. *Zenit* is utilitarian: a narrow black box surrounding two rows of magazines with capital letters for each title that make it seem like an eye chart. In every case, the grid is there to be seen, but the design and color have been manipulated so that each magazine can distinguish itself. Indeed, the individualization of the grid conceals the contradiction. It is at once the place for these magazines to announce their conformity while simultaneously reassuring readers that they’re not like everyone else.

Alliances were formed inside the grid itself (figure 1.8a–e). With one exception, these five titles name one another, providing nothing more than a title and a place. From issue to issue, titles will be added and dropped, lines of influence invited and denied, but this activity demonstrates just how the grid was more than an empty flourish. It was put into the magazine so that readers and writers alike could know who else was out there. Indeed, the enterprising reader in Tokyo, Zagreb, Rome, or Antwerp could use the information for a subscription, but that was not its *raison d’être*. The grid was a place for readers to see the magazine moving in the world, each box a ticket providing access to a conversation that was ongoing and membership to a community of avant-gardists around the globe. Though it may not be surprising to find the grid in so many avant-garde magazines influenced by Constructivism, it is surprising to see this design used again and again to contain the same kind of information. The titles and locations of magazines within this structure functioned symbolically, and they were there to identify a frequency on which they would communicate in a little magazine universe that extended far beyond them. Once the avant-garde print network breaks down around 1926, the grid disappears.³⁰



II

Moving ahead, I concentrate on two examples that did not have any contact with one another on or off the grid: *Mavo*, which appeared in Tokyo between 1924 and 1925, and *Kallol*, which appeared in Calcutta between 1923 and 1925. Though their publication dates coincide with the timeline of so many high-modernist and avant-garde magazines, neither of them is part of the more familiar narratives that have been deployed to explain what the little magazine was, where it went, or how it worked. And yet both *Mavo* and *Kallol* remain foundational to the respective national literary and print cultures out of which they emerged, and they played a critical role in the development of Japanese and Bengali modernism. The presence of this hole in the net makes you think that if we are, in fact, interested in finding ways to think globally about the network, then we need to develop comparisons that will let us bring different clusters (or nodes) into conversation with one another even if, paradoxically enough, it is only to reveal why there were no edges. In doing so, we will then be able to concentrate on the places where the net was unbound, forcing us to consider what was responsible for the disconnectivity. If it is true, as Berlewi believed, that a little magazine network existed in the past, then it will be our challenge to explain not just why the holes were there but why we've become so accustomed to not seeing them.

Critics interested in Japanese *modanizumu* have tended to emphasize a unidirectional model for literary influence: modernism and its magazines arrive from the West, get adapted in the 1920s, and then are rejected in the mid-1930s during Japan's hypernationalized, militaristic phase. But what happens if we try to imagine the process in reverse? How might we even begin to think about the relationship between the print practices used by the Surrealists in countries like France and Belgium and the ones adopted by their Japanese counterparts?³¹ Central and western European avant-gardes eventually came to play a significant role in Japanese magazine design and production, but in the earlier stages, especially (1890–1910), Japan's influences came more from China, Korea, and Russia than anywhere else. In addition, it should be added, the magazine as a technology

was a late arrival in Japan because of the censorship laws imposed by the Tokugawa Bakufu effectively blocking the spread of Western ideas and controlling the flow of information vis-à-vis print. The first Japanese-language newspaper, for example, didn't appear until 1862, but with the collapse of the Bakufu in 1868, which was followed by the restoration of the Meiji emperor, the conflagration of print began, dominated at first by block printing before giving way to moveable lead type and the rotary press at the end of the century.³²

During the Meiji period (1868–1912), Japanese society began to modernize more rapidly, and so too did its literature and the technologies for reproduction. By 1885, the first Japanese literary magazine appeared in Tokyo, *Garakuta bunko* (Miscellanea). The first eight issues were produced as single handwritten copies on rice paper, before the magazine's creators switched over to the handpress and expanded their print runs. James Morita sees the late arrival of this medium and its shoddy quality as a reflection of "Japan's world of letters" in these years, arguing that *Garakuta bunko* was more like a throwback to the Tokugawa era than a leap forward.³³ Throwback or not, it embodied all of the contradictions of that particular moment in Japan's history: Japanese literature was, in fact, beginning to modernize, and the magazine, though newly arrived, was a residual technology caught between the past and the present. Over the next few decades, these printed *dōjin zasshi* (also known as *dōjinshi*) continued to flourish. They were noncommercial magazines with a circulation of around two hundred copies catering to small groups of like-minded writers and critics.

Here we have modernism's chicken-and-egg story all over again. Does modern and modernist literature arrive first and then the magazine, or is it the reverse? In Japan's case, literary *modanizumu*, which reached its high point in the 1920s, was enabled by the evolution of the *dōjinshi* that first began appearing in the 1890s.³⁴ Free from the demands of a commercial marketplace, these coteries began to experiment with colloquial Japanese (*genbun itchi*) and different poetic and novelistic forms, including the I-novel.³⁵ In a story first published in *Kōdō*, Funahashi Seiichi described the coteries this way: "What did they care about being recognized by the

established leaders in the world of letters? Insofar as they were able to generate a steady stream of their own highly original works, their own productivity gave sufficient meaning to their lives. That was what mattered.”³⁶ You could imagine these same lines getting inserted into every narrative about modernism around the globe. But as generic as they may sound, it’s necessary to remember that these are Japanese writers described here, the ones forced to eke out their existence through a medium that, when these lines were written, had become an indispensable part of an underground, noncommercial literary culture.

The *dōjinshi* that began appearing in the early 1900s were part of a more widespread tendency in Japan to treat literature as a “linguistic art.”³⁷ *Shirakaba*, which was founded by a group of wealthy samurai aristocrats and members of the Kyoto nobility reacting against a Naturalism that was very much in vogue at the time, was one of the most influential titles in the 1910s, and it brought together poetry, reviews, and criticism, with a special interest in Leo Tolstoy and Maurice Maeterlinck.³⁸ For the anarchist poet Osugi Sakae, *Shirakaba* was the only title out there with a “freshness, depth, and strength” that none of the others (*Waseda bungaku*, *Mita bungaku*, and *Teikoku bungaku*) could match.³⁹ Other *dōjinshi* continued to appear throughout the 1910s, and they catered to this swift rise of modern Japanese poetry and prose. That said, the medium itself was still not a site for any formal experimentation, and it was similar in form to the prototypes that preceded it. The more radical experiments with material, layout, spacing, and typography were delayed until 1924, four years after Futurism and Dada began to inspire splinter groups in Japan.⁴⁰

It was the 1923 Kantō Earthquake in Tokyo and Yokohama, not World War I, that helped trigger this change, and in the world of *dōjinshi*, it was an opportunity to begin experimenting with a technology that was still developing.⁴¹ If you factor in the ensuing aftershocks and fires, the Kantō Earthquake killed more than one hundred thousand people, and Seiji Lippit has argued that this natural disaster had a profound psychological impact on Japanese culture, forcing some people to second-guess the modernization process and others the stability of the national institutions that were formed during the Taisho democracy (1912–1926).⁴² And still there

were others for whom the earthquake was an opportunity for radical change, a huge leap forward into a future that “intensified the sense of distancing from the past.”⁴³ The magazine was one place where this “distancing” was explicit. If, as Lippit claims, the earthquake “signaled the end” of older titles like *Shirakaba*, it marked the beginning of something else, the arrival of new ones that adapted printing practices used by the Futurists, Constructivists, and Dadaists⁴⁴—the same kinds of typographical experimentation in Europe that emerged during World War I, a style that critics have associated with the desire to capture in visual form both the speed and excitement of modernity and its potential for destruction and annihilation.⁴⁵

The process was under way with the publication of *Aka to kuro* in January 1923, an anarchist *dōjinshi* that appeared with a manifesto on the cover declaring, “Poetry is a bomb! A poet is a dark criminal who throws a bomb against the fortified walls of a prison!”⁴⁶ With the reconstruction under way and Japanese society still reeling from the disaster, the bombs continued to drop with *Mavo* (July 1924), *Damudamu* (November 1924), *GE.GJMGJGAM.PRRR.GJMGEM*, *A*, and *Baichi shūbun*. All of these *dōjinshi* adapted avant-garde printing strategies that relied on asymmetrical layouts, mixed media, collage, disjointed typography, and innovative spacing. Of particular interest, however, is the way that each of them was the product of a compromise between foreign graphic design practices and a local print history and culture.⁴⁷ The increased influence of Western literature, though immediately apparent in the number of translations coming into Japan, was also happening through the reconfiguration of this medium. Writers, editors, and printers, who were eager to modernize, were coming up with ways to try and make the magazine format reflect a Japanese literary culture very much in flux. *Mavo* was one of the most radical examples. Its editor, Tomoyoshi Murayama, had lived in Berlin for a brief period (attending the same International Art Exhibition in Dusseldorf as Berlewi) and, upon his return, continued to follow the Constructivists and Dadaists through their magazines.⁴⁸ *Mavo*, well oversized by *dōjinshi* standards, was a tribute to this Western design revolution, and it remained a singular creation, mixing together formal elements that

reflected all at once a Dada love of anarchy, a Bauhaus adherence to rationalization, and a Japanese adoration for and suspicion of them both.

And it was all happening materially with the typography and layout. In a book-length study of the *Mavo* movement, Gennifer Weisenfeld argues that this group of artists was quick to incorporate Constructivist grids and bold black lines, while also making sure that the “standardized, mechanistic-looking typography was juxtaposed with more organic, free-flowing letters and characters.”⁴⁹ This juxtaposition made each issue look both mass-produced and handmade, a modernized *dōjinshi* still dependent on older printing techniques, reminiscent of the early Futurist experiments on the letterpress. This same kind of tension between old and new, mass-produced and handmade, was visible in the materials as well. Every issue had a unique linocut cover design and was printed on different colored paper (sometimes newspaper) with black-and-white photographs and a variety of random objects glued or taped on by hand.⁵⁰ *Mavo* was one of the first, and arguably the last, *dōjinshi* to attach itself so forcefully to a “foreign” avant-garde scene, and it did so less through direct communication than by design and structure, even going so far as to adopt the Western mode of opening from right to left for the first four of its seven issues. Sure, there were magazine exchanges between Murayama and editors in the West, but it was the production of the magazine above all else that let *Mavo* mark out a position within the Japanese cultural scene, while finding points of identification in the network elsewhere. In *Dada au Japon*, Marc Dachy makes a compelling case that *Mavo*, knowing that so few of its Western readers would actually know how to read Japanese, developed tactics for communicating by way of cover design. Details like the mechanical wheel on the back cover of issue 4 adapts the cover image from Theo van Doesburg’s *Mécano*, and there is a nod to Lajos Kassák’s *MA* in issues 5 and 6 with the capitalization of *Mavo*’s first two letters.⁵¹

At this point, however, I want to bring the example of *Mavo* to bear on the questions I raised earlier about decentralization, print protocol, and the formation of a worldwide network of little magazines. For it should be clear by now that a magazine network never emerged spontaneously out of the avant-garde ether. It was part of a more gradual process that

included moments of cultural lag (in the case of typographical experiments), with some developments taking root and others not. In any case, though, Japanese writers didn't import the little magazine from the West. The *dōjinshi* already existed, and it was particularly well suited for the coterie of groups that continued to pop up after the 1910s. The most obvious clash of these print cultures, however, involved the importation of avant-garde graphic design practices after 1923. *Mavo* forced the *dōjinshi* to undergo a makeover, adapting strategies that effectively transformed it into a communication device and an objet d'art. But it's also worth noting that this particular kind of radical experimentation was short-lived in Japan and never fed into a more expansive magazine culture that continued to flourish there throughout the 1920s with *Kaizō*, *Shi to shiron* (changed to *Bungaku* after 1932), *Dora*, *Shōbi•majutsu•gakusetsu*, and *Bungei jidai*, the latter of which published the New Sensationalists. These were all major sites for what is generally considered modernist literary production in Japan, but none of them used avant-garde graphic design tactics, preferring instead a style that was modern by virtue of its typographical restraint, decluttered simplicity, and unabashed littleness.

The *dōjinshi* in Japan tell us a story about the little magazine network that we don't often hear, and it's one that involves extended spells of disconnection. Modern (and modernist) Japanese literature was seldom exported to other parts of the world through this medium. It stayed put in cities like Tokyo and Yokohama because it was intended for national consumption. Modern Japanese writers went on to import and adapt Western themes and techniques, but the *dōjinshi* continued to assume a shape and a size from the early 1900s that remained the same, even after the explosive intrusion of *Mavo* and its fellow avant-garde sympathizers. Perhaps this consistent littleness and the simplicity of the design on the page were a reaction against a modernization process that came to be identified too closely with a Western avant-garde that fell out of fashion almost as quickly as it appeared, but it's also possible that the little magazine's modernity in Japan was already found in this size and could be expressed more effectively on the page instead of through bold typographical experiments. Japanese modernism didn't need to import the little magazine in

order to happen: it was already there. And this particular example challenges the assumption we often make about global literary production at the beginning of the twentieth century. For it's clear that this is not a case of a foreign form getting imported and adapted for local material. In fact, it follows the pattern of a local form adapting elements of a foreign one before reassuming the shape it had before. Making the *dōjinshi* new, then, was paradoxically connected with keeping it older, tied to a national coterie tradition in print dating back to the end of the nineteenth century, when modern Japanese literature first began to emerge.

And there's a way in which this narrative about the *dōjinshi* in Japan can productively estrange how we imagine the beginning, middle, and end of little magazines in the West. Take a look, for example, at an image from the January 1931 issue of *Shin bungaku kenkyū*: it's the reproduction of a page, left untranslated, from Molly Bloom's soliloquy in Joyce's *Ulysses*, and it's positioned immediately after the cover (figure 1.9). It was a subtle design choice intended to show readers, who would not expect to find anything there, just how strange modernist Western literature could be, and not because of what the words say or as a result of asymmetrical typographical fireworks: it's how they look, their arrangement on the page, a thick block of roman text in a sequence of lines moving from left to right, top to bottom. *Ulysses*, in this case, is distinguished from the rest of the pages that surround it, the quintessential modernist text represented for another audience in the same medium where parts of it originally appeared. And the point to make here is that modernism itself was always bound up with the production of literature that would, at the time it was consumed, seem strange, shocking, unfamiliar. In this case, however, the strangeness didn't need experimental typography or design and was, most likely, not something that would come from any reading of the words: it was generated simply by reprinting one paragraphless page. By the late 1920s and into the early 1930s, many of the major works of Anglo-American modernism were arriving in *dōjinshi* like *Shi to shiron*, its editors keen to create a rigorous critical platform for evaluating modern Japanese poetry within an international context. In Japan at this time, publishing like a modernist was not tied explicitly to the medium that made modernism in

711

recognized myself the change I had a splendid skin from the sun and the excitement like a rose I didnt get a wink of sleep it wouldnt have been nice on account of her but I could have stopped it in time she gave me the Moonstone to read that was the first I read of Wilkie Collins East Lynne I read and the shadow of Ashlydyat Mrs Henry Wood Henry Dunbar by that other woman I lent him afterwards with Mulveys photo in it so as he see I want without and Lord Lytton Eugene Aram Molly havens she gave me by Mrs Hungerford on account of the name I dont like bookswitha Molly in them like that one he brought me about the one from Flanders a whore always shoplifting anything she could cloth and stuff and yards of it this blanket is too heavy on me thats better I havent even one decent nightdress this thing gets all rolled up under me besides him and his fooling thats better I used to be weltering then in the heat my shift drenched with the sweat stuck in the cheeks of my bottom on the chair when I stood up they were so fattish and firm when I got up on the sofa cushions to see with my clothes up and the bugs tons of them at night and the mosquito nets I couldnt read a line Lord how long ago it seems centuries of course they never come back and she didnt put her address right on it either she may have noticed her wogger people were always going away and we never I remember that day with the waves and the boats with their high heads rocking and the swell of the ship those Officers uniforms on shore leave made me seasick he didnt say anything he was very serious I had the high buttoned boots on and my skirt was blowing she kissed me six or seven times didnt I cry yes I believe I did or near it my lips were twittering when I said goodbye she had a Gorgeous wrap of some special kind of blue colour on her for the voyage made very peculiarly to one side like and it was extremely pretty it got as dull as the devil after they went I was almost planning to run away mad out of it somewhere were never easy where we are father or aunt or marriage waiting always waiting to guide him toooo me waiting ne speeded his flying feet their damn guns bursting and booming all over the shop especially the Queens birthday and throwing everything down in all directions of you didnt open the windows when general Ulysses Grant whoever he was or did supposed to be some great fellow handed off the ship and old Sprague the consul that was there from before the flood dressed up poor man and he in mourning for the son then the same old reveille in the morning and drumsrolling and the unfortunate poor devils of soldiers walking about with messings smelling the place more than the old longbearded jews in their jiljibees and levites assembly and sound clear and gunfire for the men to cross the lines and the warden

此後の事のハナズケキ

1.9 A page from the “Penelope” episode of *Ulysses* as reprinted in *Shin bungaku kenkyū* (January 1931).

the West. It was still a practice that belonged to Japan’s own modern literary past, and there is a way in which this opening up to Western modernism and the European avant-gardes effectively validated what so many other writers (in Japan and elsewhere) were already up to.

The situation I’m describing here is not unlike the one Pound was in when he first began using Ernest Fenollosa’s “The Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry” to justify his own poetic experiments with Imagism in 1913. For Pound, this essay affirmed the legitimacy of a mode of poetic writing with a non-Western origin. In doing so, he came to believe that his own modern literary practice had roots deeply embedded in the poetic traditions of the Far East, and this discovery did not lead to the kinds of false elision between East and West that would erase their differences. Instead, it foregrounded a shared uniqueness, the same kind that

we can also learn to appreciate between the *dōjinshi* and the little magazine once we begin realize that seeing them together within the network also requires learning to appreciate them apart.

III

Had you traveled to Calcutta around the time that Pound had his nose in Fenollosa's notebooks, you would have found that another story about the little magazine network was beginning to unfold. This was the year that the Bengali poet Rabindranath Tagore won the Nobel Prize for literature, and it was an event that effectively forced the existence of modern Indian literature into the Western world. The previous year, Pound had been one of Tagore's most enthusiastic supporters, not only declaring the publication of *Gitanjali* an "event in English poetry and world poetry" but also going so far as to rename the twentieth century the "Age of Rabindranath."⁵² It didn't take long before Pound's adoration began to cool, and by 1917, he claimed to prefer "the solidity" of Li Po, whom he first discovered through Fenollosa, over "Tagore and the back-wash from India."⁵³

Pound wasn't the only one to change his mind. Back in Calcutta, an equally critical reassessment of Tagore was under way, and it came to involve questions about his continued relevance within an India that was beginning to imagine the possibility of a decolonized future. The nature of this confrontation between Tagore and a younger generation of Bengali writers has been well documented, but what interests me, in particular, is the way the little magazine was caught in the middle—a technology that arrived in India with the British Empire, got picked up by a British-educated Indian upper class (including the Young Bengal movement of the 1830s and Tagore), and was adapted by a post-Tagore generation searching for a literary (and soon political) independence that was synonymous with an anticolonial internationalism.⁵⁴

The trajectory I've just sketched out here looks like one more case of a colonized culture dismantling the master's house with the master's tools, but it involves the complicated question about the relationship between modern Bengali literature and the West and between Tagore and this

modernist generation. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Tagore had successfully helped to build a bridge between India and the West, but it was one that this younger generation, all of them raised on his writing, didn't want to cross with him as their guide.⁵⁵ This resistance had less to do with any complete rejection of Tagore (which it was not) or their disinterest in literary developments abroad (which they emphatically were not) and more with the fact that they were waiting for a new literature to develop, one capable of capturing their experience in a Calcutta that continued to modernize. And even though Tagore and his detractors accused one another of aping the West—Tagore by relying on British and European writers as models, his opposition by importing Western ideas like Marxism, feminism, and psychoanalysis—neither of them seemed concerned that the medium they were using to stage their debates was borrowed, a medium inherited from the British Empire that was effectively changing the direction of modern Bengali literature.⁵⁶

For magazines to get made, of course, there needed to be printing presses. As was true of so many other colonized countries, it was the Christian missionaries who first brought this technology to Calcutta.⁵⁷ The Serampore Mission Press was founded in 1800, and it didn't take long before the formation of the so-called Native Press, with many of the compositors and pressmen trained by the missionaries, was under the watchful eye of an anxious British government. In India, printing and surveillance went hand in hand, and numerous attempts were made over the course of the nineteenth century to catalogue, classify, and, in general, regulate everything that was published.⁵⁸ In reality, the surveillance, which increased with the appointment of a British Raj, was ineffectual because the government simply couldn't keep up with the amount of printed material coming out in India's cities and suburbs. By 1911, and with ninety-nine presses up and running, printing was the second-biggest industry in Calcutta.⁵⁹ It is a statistic that goes some way toward explaining the low cost, accessibility, and ease with which little magazines and other printed matter could be made during this period.

In India, the little magazine came of age with Empire, but it was not always adapted for the same ends. Tagore and his contemporaries had used

it to create a Bengali literature that was distinct from a British literary tradition yet still connected through shared critical values and borrowed genres and styles. For the generation that followed, however, the magazine was more of an anticolonial device that would allow them not only to break with Tagore but also to provide examples of a modern Bengali literature that was not so clearly based on British models. And this distinction is absolutely critical if we want to understand just what the literary production of the little magazine means in a city like Calcutta at the beginning of the twentieth century: it is a strategy for independence, a way in which the very category of *the literary* could be modified and expanded. Understanding that this colonial context shapes what a magazine can *do* in India is very much what Rajat Neogy had in mind when he observed that “literary magazines in Africa are faced with burdens and responsibilities that their counterparts in other countries do not have to shoulder.”⁶⁰

To develop this point further, I need to backtrack a little to show how Tagore fit into all of this. He started out modestly enough as someone dependent on Calcutta’s lively magazine culture in the 1890s, including the ones he edited, like *Sadhana* (Enterprise, 1891), *Pradip* (1897), *Bharati* (Indian muse, 1898), and *Bangadarsan* (1901). He may have managed to attract a large Western audience, but it was not because any of these magazines traveled. In fact, Tagore was a writer who arrived in translation quickly circumscribed by the essays and reviews written by “foreign” critics. This situation is not unlike the one I described with Japan, where an entire nation-based magazine culture was largely cut off from any significant contact with a Western magazine network.

Once the magazine arrived in a country such as India, it underwent a process of assimilation and adaptation. But I’m not thinking here, in this instance, about design, style, and structure (although that certainly factors into it). Rather, I have in mind the way that the little magazine is at first a place to absorb Western models before an indigenous literature can emerge. In the case of Calcutta, this emergence involved the break with an inherited imperial tradition and the discovery of a modern, national one that was both new, in the history of Bengali literature, and cosmopolitan. By way of an example, I want to focus on *Kallol* (Rippling current, 1923–1929), a

Bengali little magazine started by Gokulchandra Nag (born in 1895) and Dineshranjan Das (born in 1888) and widely considered one of the first modernist magazines to appear in India.⁶¹ Unlike *Mavo*, the “modernist” designation has very little to do with format, design, or structure, and though used to describe formal experimentation, it is not the kind associated with the high modernism of Joyce, Woolf, and Pound. Rather, “modernism,” in this case, defines the self-conscious posturing of its young editors and contributors as they set out to define a modern Bengali literature that could engage with contemporary Western ideas while still maintaining its focus on the demands of an increasingly restless and still unrealized nation, whose desires were being communicated, in part, through the noncooperation movement (1920–1922) of Mahatma Gandhi.

“I am the wave, rudderless, tumultuous, chasing sleep away,” was the slogan printed on the cover of the first issue, and it was there to signal *Kal-lol*’s youthful impatience with the past, which, in this particular case, regularly involved propping up Tagore as a punching bag. Even though Tagore had begun as a nationalist himself, supporting Home Rule for India and using his international status to criticize the more egregious displays of power by the British in India, his political engagement faded significantly after 1909, giving way to a mysticism that many of his detractors identified with an unchecked Anglophilia.⁶² To make matters worse, they claimed, Tagore was willfully disengaged from the social realities of modern Calcutta.⁶³ *Kal-lol*, then, was driven by the desire less to look outward from India than to look inward, and in order to do so, it actively fashioned a new optics that would bring “the world of the lower middle classes,” including “the coal mines, . . . slums, pavements into the neighborhoods of those who were rejected and deceived.”⁶⁴ Another contributor, particularly perturbed by Tagore’s pure and immaculate heroes and heroines, elaborated further: “In their troubles, they are still bereft of muddiness or filth. But it could be that in the very mud that Tagore avoids, there reside sparks of a person’s true nature. . . . Tagore searches for truth in beauty and has never been tempted to descend into the dirt to search for the great truths that may be hidden there.”⁶⁵

Kallol may have had an explicit social agenda, but its literary politics were visible, ironically enough, in the relative absence of English writers. Kris Manjappa points out, in fact, that in its six-year run, there were thirty-one different modernist writers who appeared in its pages, and with the exception of six, all of them were from Norway, Japan, Russia, and the defeated nations of postwar Europe. This particular detail reveals that *Kallol's* unspoken editorial program involved finding contemporary writers from countries outside the British Empire, and in doing so, it could imagine itself within a world literary scene without having to move across the English Channel. With *Kallol's* literary politics in mind, then, it will come as no surprise to discover that the term *world literature*, which gets picked up from the English and translated into Bengali (*Viśva Sāhitya*), was one of the critical keywords employed by those who were involved with the magazine, carrying with it an anticolonial valence that Manjappa reads as a desire “to delimit zones for artistic and political life that opposed literary forms of classic English literature and impugned the moral claims of the British imperial order.”⁶⁶ *Kallol* was actively asserting itself into an international magazine network by establishing its distance from England. In fact, you could argue that it provided a model for the modernist Bengali magazines that followed—*Kalikalam* (1926), *Pragati* (1927), *Parichay* (1931), and *Kabita* (1935)—none of them looking for links abroad to legitimize what they were doing at home. This leaves us, finally, with one more example of the network as a site for production that worked through disconnection. *Kallol's* internationalism was defined by its relative isolation, refusing to measure its worldliness against what was happening in the metropolitan centers of the West.

Berlewi's *worldwide network of periodicals* remains a dynamic cultural formation for literary historical analysis even if it continues to elude any comprehensive attempts to explain how it functioned in the *welt*. Indeed, we may have the digital archives, the computational data, and the algorithms under construction, but we still need the critical methods that will make it possible to think comparatively about little magazines on a global scale and identify the connections as much as the disconnections

(deliberate and accidental), the dispatches and the design. The modernist histories of the Japanese *dōjinshi* and Bengali *patrika* make it clear that the categorical definitions of the medium itself are so entrenched in local, national contexts that it's impossible to ignore the effects of specific print cultures, histories, and political climates on production and their influence on where each title could fit, and not, in the network. If network analysis is ever going to bring us closer to an understanding of little magazines *worldwide*, it will invariably have to confront the materiality itself, acknowledging that even if magazines can be abstracted for their data and visualized on the screen, they are and remain a medium first and foremost. Together they generated a national and international system for communication that had the power to make writers and critics alike feel as if a network was *out there somewhere*, even if they were not exactly sure how to map it or where they fit in.

It's tempting to consider the network as a postnational paradigm for modernism and its magazines, an imagined community that the technology of today is moving far beyond the nation. And yet, as I've tried to explain, doing so, we risk losing out on that transnational friction and locational specificity so crucial to little magazine production, communication, and disconnection. When describing the "global aspect" of Fluxus in the 1960s, George Brecht believed that the movement was more "anational" than "international" because all the points could proliferate "at any place on earth where there is life."⁶⁷ Little magazines played a critical role in the global proliferation of Fluxus but not because the members or their media were somehow "anational." They derived their force from production at a specific address within the borders of a specific nation, using the world post as a convenient transport system that could connect individuals, leaving traces along the way. In that way, I guess you could say, they were *postnational*, the addresses and stamps that appeared on the magazines, postcards, and letters marks of a global journey, reaffirming the idea that a network, which could never be seen in its entirety, was, in fact, working.

The little magazine effectively put an end to traditional ideas about literary geography and print communication. Writers and critics, of course,

were still place bound, but they were able to enter into relationships with so many faceless others, thereby influencing ways in which basic concepts of near and far could be experienced. No single magazine, then, was ever connected to all the others at any given moment. There were clusters and satellites formed along the way, and over time some magazines were plugging in and others dropping out or staying away so that the network could never assume a single, static shape. Instead, it was always evolving, and much like the computer networks established decades later, the process involved the inevitable reality of inclusion and exclusion. The configuration of this magazine network was uneven, with the metropolitan centers generating the most activity, allowing other locations to decide if/when connectivity was desirable. Any attempt in the future to diagram the little magazine network will need to account as much for the dead links as for the well-trod routes of exchange and regional/national affiliations that reveal how the experience of literary nearness and farness was, in fact, changing. More recently, Ulises Mejias has argued that networks always have this power to generate new “nears” and “fars” but warns that we shouldn’t lose sight of the space in between. “To ignore this *dark matter*,” he goes on, “is to ignore the very stuff on which the network is suspended, much like the fish ignoring the water around it.”⁶⁸ The same lesson applies to us: ignore the space in between the little magazines, and we’re going to miss out on what was holding the modernist network together.

transatlantic immobility

Le rythme de l’océan berce les transatlantiques.

▸ Arthur Cravan in 1912, the same year the *Titanic* sank

a preamble

“There is no earthly reason why *Poetry* shouldn’t ‘reach England.’ ‘England’ is as dead as mutton.”¹ That’s Ezra Pound in 1912 writing to Harriet Monroe, editor of the recently launched little magazine *Poetry*. On this first point, Pound was right. There should not have been any reason, earthly or otherwise, why *Poetry*, a little magazine based in Chicago, couldn’t reach England with relative ease at that moment in time. Transatlantic cables were already in place to enable quick communication (accompanied by antennas on boats and land for wireless transmissions), transatlantic shipping companies and ocean liners were in the business of carrying bags of mail, and there was sufficient individual movement in both directions to make sure that the logistics of production and distribution could be taken care of.² And yet that’s not what happened. In the history of little magazines, the Atlantic Ocean proved to be more inhospitable than Pound, Monroe, or anyone else could have imagined. Modern transport and communications technologies may have continued to shrink the distance between England, the United States, and France, but this didn’t result in the formation of any substantial transatlantic magazine com-



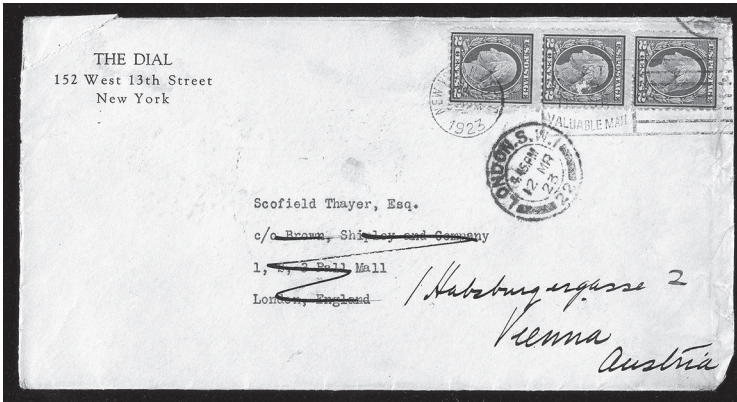
munity, one where large numbers of readers, editors, and critics were united by the same titles arriving at the same time. In fact, the reverse very often proved to be true. In the decades that followed Pound's pronouncement, little magazines continued to pop up like so many mushrooms overnight, but the Atlantic was a formidable foe, and it ended up shaping the literary field on both continents precisely by keeping magazines out of the hands of a transatlantic reading public. Though we still identify the Atlantic Ocean at the beginning of the twentieth century with the romantic thrill of adventure, movement, migration, and literary cross-fertilization, it also had the power to hinder and/or stop the flow of the people, boats, books, and magazines that tried to cross it. With the little magazine, the causes were many, involving everything from postal import regulations during World War I to the general unreliability of international mail delivery to the carelessness of booksellers slow to pay up (if they did at all) to the dearth of overseas subscribers (many of them too lazy to renew). But if we still want to go on arguing that modernism was a transatlantic phenomenon, then we will also have to be willing to acknowledge it was in spite of the fact that communication through the little magazine was seriously restricted, connectivity hard to come by, and mobility more of a critical myth than a triumphant historical reality.

I

The concept of a "transatlantic axis for modernism" is as old as modernism itself.³ It is an "axis," in fact, identified with the expats, émigrés, and exiles, who crossed and recrossed the Atlantic Ocean in both directions, and it is linked up again and again with the transnational circulation of literary texts even if there is still very little critical work done on the subject. Strangely, though, it was not books that were bringing these texts to audiences on both sides: it was little magazines, and though they could be cosmopolitan in what (and whom) they published, they were never particularly mobile. For the *Little Review* and the *Egoist*, World War I was largely to blame. Not only was it costly to send individual issues back and forth across the pond, there were also import regulations on bulk mail

coming into England and an import tariff on the other side. After signing on as the foreign correspondent for the *Little Review* in 1917, Ezra Pound, then living in London, repeatedly had to remind its editor, Margaret Anderson, not to send him more than six copies at a time. “Malhereusement [*sic*] there can be no importation in bulk into England until after the war, but I’ll send a couple of dozen names of the people who really matter and they can have single copies. If the thing is GOOD ENOUGH we can dispose of bound vols. post bellum.”⁴ A couple of dozen names for single copies and the hope of selling bound volumes of back issues at the war’s end: that might be one way to find readers, but it doesn’t really seem “GOOD ENOUGH” to build an axis for anything.⁵

And after the war ended, the situation didn’t improve very much, and the regulations on bulk mail weren’t to blame. It was the general unreliability of the transatlantic mail system.⁶ As late as 1922, Scofield Thayer, the cofounder of the *Dial* (with James Sibley Watson) who was then living in Vienna, was up in arms because his individual copies were repeatedly arriving late from New York City (if they arrived at all). In his correspondence with the *Dial*’s New York office, he agonizes over the delays, rages against those who might be responsible, and tries to come up with reasons why the *Dial*, a funny name in this context, just wasn’t showing up on time. In one particularly cranky dispatch, he provided Gilbert Seldes, his assistant, with a breakdown of the facts: “The May number of the *Dial*, reached me upon the morning of May 20th, a full week later than I usually received the *Dial*. Mr. Riccius and others have informed me that they receive their *Dials* very irregularly. Would you be so good as to let me know upon what date approximately these *Dials* were dispatched to me and whether you yourself have any knowledge of why they took apparently four weeks to come to Vienna.”⁷ Though Seldes was keen to dissociate himself from the “vagaries of the international postal union,” he didn’t have an answer, but he was forced to keep looking for one as the distribution delays continued.⁸ A few months later, and with no improvements in sight, Thayer requested a detailed report regarding the dreadful state of *Dial* distribution outside the United States: “I find it was impossible for London subscribers to *The Dial* to get their copies at different times during



2.1 Scofield Thayer envelope. Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

the autumn and that therefore it was generally said in London that *The Dial* had gone out of business, was indeed bankrupt. Friends from Paris have also written me that they have been quite unable to get their *Dials*.”⁹ After all his ranting and raving, Thayer discovered one possible explanation for the delays, but they only applied to the route between New York and Vienna. It turns out the U.S. Senate had passed a law requiring that American ships, which were limited in number and known to be much slower, transport all German and Austrian mail to and from the United States. For the rest of Thayer’s stay in Europe, then, he rerouted his letters and his *Dials* through London in the hope that they would travel on the *Mauretania* or the *Aquitania*, two of the more celebrated express ocean liners at the time (figure 2.1).¹⁰

Equally problematic was the distribution arrangement that little magazines like the *Dial* made with overseas bookstores and subscribers. After Thayer asked his other assistant, Samuel Craig, for a breakdown of “foreign sales,” Thayer, I’m sure, was as surprised as anyone to discover that the situation was pretty bleak. “We have a great deal of difficulty in dealing with the English bookstores,” Craig informed him. “In almost every case they allow their accounts to run for months before paying.

<u>BOOKDEALERS IN ENGLAND</u>		
<u>No. of copies shipped monthly</u>	<u>Average no. of copies sold monthly</u>	<u>Name and Address</u>
8	4	Basil Blackwell 50 Broad Street Oxford, England
2	1	Cambridge Magazine Bookshop 6 King's Parade Cambridge, England
10	10	Frank Henderson 66 Charing Cross Road London, W. C. 2, England
40 (10 sent free)	12	Cecil Palmer Oakley House 14 Bloomsbury Street London, W. C. 1
6	4	Alex. Whitehead Chelsea Book Club 65 Cheyne Walk London, S. W. 3

SUBSCRIBERS IN ENGLAND ----- 57

2.2 List of bookdealers for the *Dial*. Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University.

Cecil Palmer, who gets more than fifty per cent of the copies sent to England, has never paid us a cent, and now owes more than 43 pounds. Frank Henderson, another bookdealer, owes us 24 pounds. We have written these dealers numerous letters and they get our monthly statements, but none of these has so far been effective. A friend who will be in London this spring has agreed to see what he can do to collect these sums for us.”¹¹ The few British subscribers they managed to locate weren’t much better about remittance or renewals, and Craig was convinced that any future success building a reliable transatlantic readership would have to involve having “someone on the ground” in London.¹² No one, as I’ll explain later, was ever put there.¹³ Attached to Craig’s letter was a report for the *Dial*’s British circulation in 1923 (figure 2.2). All in all, sixty-six copies went to five different bookdealers (of which thirty-one sold on average per month), and fifty-seven went to subscribers. That’s less than one hundred copies per month for a little magazine whose circulation hovered around

twelve thousand that year (including domestic mail circulation and newsstand sales).¹⁴ On the basis of this evidence, and bearing in mind the *Dial* would have been in the best possible position to ensure transatlantic distribution because of its budget, I think it's safe to conclude that if there was indeed a "transatlantic axis for modernism" between England, America, and France, in particular, it was not because there was ever a reliable system in place for the transatlantic distribution of little magazines.¹⁵

This leads me to the larger point I want to make in this chapter: though critics have been quick to associate the little magazine at the beginning of the twentieth century with the benefits of modernization (including transport, communication, and printing technologies), mobility was not one of them. Sure, a small percentage of individual issues for some magazines moved through bookstores and subscriptions, but with the *Little Review*, the *Dial*, the *Egoist*, and the *Criterion*, there was never any robust infrastructure in place that would enable the easy transatlantic circulation of any one of them. This is a necessary corrective to make because critics have been conflating the transatlantic internationalism of so many modernist writers—whose works were published in different countries and languages—with what was really a more restricted, nationally defined geography of the little magazines where they published. And this point has larger implications for the way we continue to theorize the formation of a transatlantic literary field during these decades, in large part because it emphasizes the very real limits of circulation within this medium. If writers were moving, in other words, the magazines were not.

In his analysis of a globally conceived literary transnationalism in directions east and west, north and south, Jahan Ramazani points out that the "transatlantic" was one route out of many, including those that existed between the first and third worlds, ex-colonizer and ex-colonized.¹⁶ So much of Ramazani's argument rests on this productive migration of literary texts, and the emphasis, in the end, is always on the identification of a modernist cross-cultural poetics that depends on strategies of collage, adaptation, and subversion. Texts, in Ramazani's argument, move between so many different cultures, but there is no explicit attention to the medium they were moving in: books, pamphlets, anthologies, magazines,

transatlantic immobility

newspapers, what? I understand, of course, that Ramazani is less interested in the material aspect of transnationalism and transatlanticism, but this search to uncover the synergy of a transnational poetics is still very much bound up with the material processes that would allow for any poem to travel in the first place.

So I want to distinguish here just what I'm after in this chapter. *Influence*, *migration*, and *cross-fertilization* are terms used to define the interaction between writers from different cultures who come into contact with one another. Such interaction tends to be read either formally, through the critical and creative appropriation of a particular work, or historically, through a focus on the sources out of which that work emerges. I'm interested instead in a more concrete approach that tries to identify the friction of transnationalism through the transatlantic ambitions of the little magazine in the hopes of explaining how such fertilizations, if they ever happened, were not facilitated in the way we have been led to believe. Modernism's magazines, where so many writers published, were subject to the laws, timetables, and business practices of transnational movement, some of them stopped dead in their tracks, but this provided, in the end, different strategies for interaction between magazines, which, in turn, influenced how certain works could and could not travel from one side of the Atlantic to the other. Consider, for instance, two of the most monumental examples, involving *Ulysses* and *The Waste Land*. Both of these works appeared in two magazines at once precisely because transatlantic circulation was impossible. A few dozen subscriptions might have made the journey, but there was no way for either of them to appear in both places at once in any significant number. And that's precisely what I mean when it comes to the materiality of transatlantic literary distribution. Texts were not magically flowing from one destination to another: they were getting stopped, tangled up, mutilated, and sunk along the way, some of them trapped in the very magazines that promised safe transport.

Transatlantic, then, is a misleading term since the prefix itself promises movement "across" the world's second-largest ocean, when what I'm really interested in is the immobility, slowness, and deceleration that too often

came whenever the journey was made. But even if all of the magazines I discuss in this chapter are, finally, transatlantic failures (at least as far as mobility is concerned), it's not because they clung to the shore for dear life. In fact, as I'll explain, every one of them tried to find a successful passage in both directions, east to west, west to east. After all, it had worked well enough for Charles Dickens and Henry James when they serialized their novels in British and American magazines and newspapers. In this case, however, there's one major difference to consider: the medium. Not only did little magazines never have the budgets; they also didn't have the circulation numbers to justify such an expense. Transatlantic immobility, then, was a common fate for the little magazine, one that inspired editors on both sides to come up with creative solutions: for the *Little Review* and the *Egoist*, this involved the simultaneous publication of a single novel in two different magazines; for the *Dial* and the *Criterion*, a similar approach was taken, only to be followed by botched plans for a magazine cooperative based in London; and for the *transatlantic review*, it involved the crushed fantasies of a united (and simultaneous) three-country readership. And maybe that, in the end, is one of the little magazine's more memorable triumphs in the first half of the twentieth century: making us forget that the Atlantic was always an ocean separating literary cultures and audiences on two continents and not a bridge successfully joining them.

II

Before signing on as the transatlantic liaison for the *Little Review* (in 1917) and the *Dial* (in 1919), Ezra Pound had dreams of editing his own little magazine. Funded, in part, by John Quinn, the *Transatlantic Vortex Monthly*, as he planned to call it, was going to reconnect Paris, London, and New York at the war's end.¹⁷ Indeed, Pound's plans were ambitious from the start, motivated by the desire to create the conditions for a transatlantic conversation that would change the course of modern literature. It was a *vortex* he wanted above all, a swirling maelstrom of creative and critical energies that would eventually get American and British literature up to speed with the modern advances taking place on the

Continent. As part of his protracted pitch to Quinn, which lasted between 1915 and 1917, he worked through all of the production details, including everything from format and size (octavo) to word count (three hundred words per page) and type (pica). The *Transatlantic Vortex Monthly*, which was modeled very closely after the *Mercure de France*, would be 112 pages (forty of them reserved for *chroniques* detailing current literary and cultural events), be printed on thick paper without advertisements, and sell for twenty-five cents a copy, with twenty-two hundred subscribers paying three dollars a year.¹⁸ By this time, Pound already had experience working in an editorial capacity with American and British magazines (*Poetry*, *New Age*), but it's clear from his correspondence with Quinn that he still didn't understand exactly how transatlantic communication would work, focusing his attention more on what the *Transatlantic Vortex* would look like and where it would be printed (London or New York) and less on questions of circulation, how it would actually move between these three cities.¹⁹

In 1917, and quite out of the blue, Pound finally got his chance to try it all out after getting hired on as the "foreign correspondent" for Margaret Anderson's the *Little Review*. "Two years of the L.R.," he told Quinn, "will be enough to show what a small magazine ought to be."²⁰ And, as it turned out, he was right. In less than two years, not only did Pound manage to corral writers now regarded as modernist heroes, but, and more to the point, he learned how to make the "small magazine" function transatlantically. As the foreign correspondent, he mediated between the editors back in New York City and the writers and readers based in England and across Europe, collecting subscriptions, channeling the money through a bank account in Pennsylvania, and vetting/editing the British and European contributions, which he sent back to Margaret Anderson.

One of Pound's earliest and most significant contributions as foreign editor was "A Study of French Modern Poets" (February 1918), a special issue devoted entirely to Jules Laforgue, Tristan Corbière, Arthur Rimbaud, Remy de Gourmont, Charles Vildrac, Jules Romains, and others.²¹ For this particular issue, transatlantic communication was the primary goal, and Pound was determined that his readers would not miss the point.

Throughout these pages, he assumes the role of the cheeky editor, commentator, and critic, but as he explains in the preface, this was not something he planned on doing. Instead, he had imagined publishing this issue without any commentary so that readers coming across these texts in the original French would be forced to make their way without any critical guidance (many of them, it is safe to say, with a dictionary in hand). But there was an interesting legal hitch that Pound hadn't anticipated when he first began putting everything together. Upon asking Alfred Vallette for permission, via the critic Henry Davray (in charge of the "Lettres Anglaises" section for the *Mercure*), to reprint poems that had originally appeared in the *Mercure*, he was informed that French copyright law wasn't so clear on the subject. Vallette explained that if the *Little Review* was publishing a study of a literary movement, it had the right to cite the poets from that movement. The law, however, wasn't explicit about the length of these citations, and further, if Pound wanted to publish them without commentary, then he would have to contact the authors themselves for permission, which would prove lengthy and complicated since they were scattered across Europe. Davray, who was fully in support of Pound's project, recommended another solution: *entrelarder* (intersperse) the full poems with lines of explication. In doing so, Pound would be able to avoid the problem of overquoting, and at the same time, he could present these texts as a unified study of a literary movement, which, in effect, would secure him the right to reprint these poems in the first place.

Seen this way, the structure of Pound's "Study," with its mixture of commentary and lengthy quotation, was determined, at first, by the pressures of French copyright law. And throughout the entire issue, the necessity to comment on these poems very often ends up exaggerating the presence of an American mediator anticipating the negative reactions of his audience. Laforgue's "Locutions des pierrots," for instance, receives the following gloss: "I am well aware that this sort of thing will drive most of our bull-moose readers to the perilous borders of apoplexy." Corbière inspires the recollection of an American acquaintance in Paris, who complained that "all French poetry smelt of talcum powder." And a single poem by Stuart Merrill occasions a gentle note of caution: "There is no need to take this

sort of tongue-twisting too seriously, though it undoubtedly was so taken in Paris during the late eighties and early nineties.”²² There are many other places where the criticism is more serious, but the overall tone is still bound up with the personality of an editor/commentator leading his band of curiosity seekers through the landscape of modern French poetry after Baudelaire.

Pound had another trick up his sleeve as well. Even before the unexpected legal need for commentary had arisen, he had decided to make this particular number of the little magazine “a simple anthology.”²³ T. S. Flint first had the idea when he published a series of “French chronicles” in Harold Monro’s *Poetry and Drama*, and it proved a lucrative venture because it maintained the value of the bound volumes after the fact. For this very reason, Pound wanted Anderson to raise the price on this special issue from twenty-five to fifty or seventy-five cents, arguing that it was superior and significantly cheaper than Amy Lowell’s anthology, which had come in at a whopping 488 pages for \$2.50.²⁴ This wasn’t the first time Pound had the idea to disguise a little magazine as an anthology (and it wouldn’t be his last), but in this instance, I suspect that there was a specific motivation behind it: transatlantic tariffs.²⁵ During these years, American tariffs on books and magazines were one of Pound’s obsessions, and he was convinced, as he explained during one of his many tirades in the *Little Review*, that they were “an [sic] hindrance to international communication, serious at any time, and doubly serious now when we are trying to understand France and England more intimately.”²⁶

Pound, it turns out, might have been overreacting. Robert Spoo explains that after the passing of the Underwood Tariff Act of 1913, import tariffs in America applied only to “foreign books and periodicals” written in English and not to those in other languages, which were given “free list” status.²⁷ It’s unclear just how thoroughly Pound understood the intricacies of U.S. tariff laws, but if he had, in fact, printed an anthology in France, a 15 percent tariff would not have been added if and when imported into the United States, assuming that it was treated as a foreign-language publication. Copyright, however, was a different issue. The manufacturing clause of the 1909 act ensured copyright protection to books and periodi-

calls “typeset, printed, and bound on American soil,” and a French anthology printed in France could also get copyright protection if it had the appropriate copyright notice.²⁸ The trick, however, would involve determining the language of the anthology. To avoid potential problems with French copyright and to ensure American copyright for foreign authors, Pound relied on the *entralarder* trick suggested by Davray, but in doing so, he ended up making it a French-English hybrid. For that reason, this anthology could have been treated as an English-language publication, which, if coming in from abroad, would have then required that the printer follow the ad interim provision of the manufacturing clause for U.S. copyright requiring a copy get sent to the Copyright Office within sixty days, followed by a reprinting and binding in the United States. It’s doubtful Pound would have known all of this, but the larger point I want to make involves the way that the little magazine was getting adapted to avoid tariffs and copyright snafus.²⁹ In 1917, then, this domestically printed American little magazine, with its second-class domestic mailing privileges, was able to do what no other anthology from abroad could. And for twenty-five cents a copy, readers, it turned out, were getting quite a deal.³⁰

An announcement on the back inside cover of the same February 1918 special issue also indicates that the *Little Review* had even bigger plans in store for the future: “I have just received the first three installments of James Joyce’s new novel, which is to run serially in *The Little Review*, beginning with the next number. It is called ‘Ulysses.’ . . . This announcement means that we are about to publish a prose masterpiece.” Pound and Anderson had just managed to pass off a little magazine as an anthology, but now it was clear that they wanted to try something similar with a novel, one getting written in Europe while a war was raging and sent back to the United States for publication and distribution. Running *Ulysses* serially for an unknown number of installments, under cover as it were, they were already anticipating more of a marathon than a jog, but I want to emphasize here that with this arrangement, Pound would have been aware of the irony that Joyce’s novel was, in fact, coming into America from abroad. Serialization in the little magazine provided a backdoor into America, a way for a foreign novel written in English to reach an audience without

paying the necessary tariffs at the border or requiring ad interim protection years before it would even see the light of day as a self-contained book.

At the time, of course, no one could have predicted that *Ulysses* would end up attracting so much attention from British and American censors, eventually leading to the abrupt cessation in the *Little Review* after two years, when it was still incomplete. But in a compelling twist, it was, in fact, the serialization of *Ulysses* and its circulation through the U.S. mail that actually opened it up to legal trouble. Because Joyce refused to censor any of the more explicit chapters (with scenes of defecation and masturbation), *Ulysses* was a liability, and what Pound conferred to Quinn after reading the “Circe” episode was right all along: “All the human humiliations must fall upon le cher Leopold. That being so J.J. is artistically right for the whole book. BUT he has no case for serial publication.”³¹ What Pound meant, in fact, was what Quinn had already told him a month earlier when preparing his defense of *Ulysses* in front of the New York State Court of Special Sessions: “There are things in ‘Ulysses’ published in number after number of ‘the Little Review’ that never should have appeared in a magazine asking privileges of the mails. In a book, yes. In a magazine, emphatically no.”³² Indeed, if seriality in a little magazine was one way around import tariffs, it also opened *Ulysses* up to censorship laws banning the circulation of lewd material through the U.S. “mails” and led to the prosecution of *Ulysses* under the New York State Obscenity penal code and not U.S. postal sanctions.³³

Even with all of the legal woes, the serialization of *Ulysses* was Pound’s crowning achievement as a foreign correspondent. The contract was formalized between Joyce and the *Little Review* via Pound in February 1917, serialization began in March 1918, and by November of that same year, seven episodes were published in full. Almost half of the serialized *Ulysses*, then, appeared during wartime, and the triangulated arrangement between Joyce, Pound, and Anderson stayed intact even after the war was over. In practical terms, the exigencies of the war meant that transatlantic distribution was severely restricted (six copies at a time), but they allowed Pound to develop a two-magazine solution for the serialization of *Ulysses*. Instead of transporting issues in bulk across the Atlan-

tic, they would be printed in London and New York at the same time.³⁴ “Egoist for controversy. L. Review for creation,” was Pound’s motto, with the promise of leading “to the complete culture and education of etc suffering humanity.”³⁵ *Simultaneous* publication obviated the need for an international postal network, and it was a way to bring *Ulysses* to two audiences at once, a *serial simulcast* in which the magazine would function more like a radio streaming a live event in two different places. The situation, as is well known, became more complicated as soon as the printing was under way: *Egoist* printers in England, who could be personally punished for violating censorship laws and libel actions, refused to set individual episodes (beginning with the first one), and even with the few that made it in, they regularly took the liberty of “editing” offensive passages on their own. All in all, then, only three and a half episodes appeared in the *Egoist*, a full year after their appearance in the *Little Review*.

But if this two-magazine solution didn’t work as planned, this back-and-forth between Pound and the editors of the *Little Review* (with the hope of keeping the *Egoist* in the loop) ended up shaping how the novel itself was produced and received. When Pound first contacted Joyce, a handful of episodes had been drafted, but Joyce was still plotting out the overall direction of the novel. Instead of publishing a collection of randomly ordered excerpts, then, they decided that complete episodes brought out in order would be a much more effective way to present *Ulysses* to the public.³⁶ And here’s how the arrangement worked: Joyce wrote episodes in Zurich and Trieste, paid for three or four copies to be put into typescript (where he made corrections), and sent two of them to Pound, who then forwarded one to the *Little Review* and the other to the *Egoist*. Joyce kept the third and sometimes fourth copies of the typescript for himself, anticipating the day when he could revise again and use them for the preparation of page proofs. This arrangement reveals just how out of the loop Joyce was during the entire process: once he sent Pound the copies of the typescript, that ended his involvement with the serial publication. He never had the chance to revise episodes published in these magazines and very often didn’t even receive issues until months after they were published (if he did at all).³⁷

It was precisely because of this transatlantic triangle that things got interesting. From the beginning, Pound was the self-appointed mediator, but he also took on the role as Joyce's "dear editor," reading and commenting on individual episodes and figuring out when/where they could be broken up for serialization. Interruption was one of Pound's most important tasks in this process, a place where he had to decide when and where the longer episodes (those exceeding eight thousand words) could be divided, and it was an exercise that helped to transform *Ulysses* from a sequence of typescripts into a serialized novel.³⁸ Before looking more closely at how this process worked, it's necessary to mention that Pound was completely in the dark about Joyce's overall plan. Never having access to any "skeleton key," Pound would not have known about the breakdown and structure of the episodes: every installment, in fact, was a surprise to him. Victorian novelists were often unsure of the direction for their plots as they were being serialized, but there was a major difference: they often corresponded directly with their editors during the serialization process. Joyce, to the contrary, worked through a third party, and he was never forthcoming about where he was going from one episode to the next. Nine months into the serialization, in fact, Pound finally wrote to him asking, "Has 'Ulysses' 24 Odyssean books? I don't want to ask silly questions, and I hope it continues forever, but people are continually asking ME about it."³⁹ Readers of the serial *Ulysses* were in the same boat. Installments were appearing in the *Little Review* without any indication of when they might come to an end. In the May–June 1920 issue, containing the second installment of "Nausikaa," one particularly anxious reader wanted clarification: "Now tell the truth—do you yourselves know where the story is at the present moment, how much time has elapsed—just where are we? Have you any clue as to when the story will end?" Anderson and her coeditor Jane Heap didn't have any clue: "Nausikaa," they replied, took place on Tuesday at 5:30, and the novel was going to end with the "Circe episode."⁴⁰

Critics tend to mention serialization either when talking about the production of *Ulysses* as a book or when trying to settle a genetic discrepancy between the *Little Review* version and earlier and later drafts. Missing from the equation is any consideration that serialization—this process of print-

ing individual episodes on a monthly/bimonthly, sometimes trimonthly, basis in a little magazine—could have affected its form, by which I mean, in the broadest possible sense, the novel's structure and design (especially in this early phase of its development), the shape and direction of the plot, the length of individual episodes, even the arrangement and sequencing of events. *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, which was serialized in the *Egoist* between February 1914 and September 1915, provides an interesting point of comparison. Again, Pound was the force behind the entire arrangement. After reading the manuscript, he told Joyce, "I am sending it off at once to THE EGOIST."⁴¹ In a year and a half, *Portrait* appeared in twenty-five installments (six sections per chapter when it was published bimonthly, three sections per chapter after it became a monthly), but the novel was written before serialization began. Joyce may have been revising the text from month to month, but he was not making any substantive structural changes along the way.

The situation was wildly different for *Ulysses*. Only a handful of episodes were written when the serialization process started. Joyce had a general breakdown of the number in mind (settling at one point on twenty-two and then on seventeen and then on eighteen after writing episode nine) and the order in which they were to appear, but the intricacies of the plot and the overall design were still being worked out. Which makes you wonder if we can really ignore the fact that the novel was being written as it was being serialized. Joyce may have been following his plot and his characters from one episode to the next, but the serial structure, and the material constraints of the magazine itself, would have made it more difficult for him to go wherever he wanted. We know, after all, what happened once the serialization of *Ulysses* in the *Little Review* stopped: you end up with a monstrous episode like "Circe." I don't think anyone would want *Ulysses* to be longer than it is, but in the early stages of the composition, Joyce was figuring out how to prepare for publication within a restricted form, roughly sixty-four pages (and around twenty-five thousand words) per issue.

Once these episodes got too long for a single installment, however, it was Pound's job to figure out where they could be interrupted.⁴² The typescript, as I mentioned before, was arriving from Zurich, and Pound, in London,

would read and correct it before passing everything on to America. After receiving the first batch, he immediately wrote to Joyce asking for clarification: “Your 17 pages have no division marks. Unless this is the first month’s lot, instead of the first three months, as you wrote it would be, I shall divide on p. 6, after the statement that the Sassenach wants his bacon, and at the very top of page 12.”⁴³ Pound’s response reveals just how confusing this editorial arrangement from afar could be: Pound was expecting three months of material (Joyce sent a single episode); Pound contemplated dividing this batch into three installments (Joyce intended it to be published together all at once). Nevertheless, this first exchange provides a peek into the subsequent challenges that Pound faced as the transatlantic mediator. There is no evidence to suggest from the surviving typescripts that Joyce would ever indicate where later, and longer, episodes like “Lestrygonians,” “Scylla and Charybdis,” “Wandering Rocks,” “Sirens,” “Cyclops,” “Nausikaa,” and “Oxen of the Sun” should be divided (and it was Joyce’s habit always to send full episodes). “Lestrygonians” is particularly strange because it could have fit into a single issue, but instead it was broken up into two installments, one of twenty-three pages (8,371 words) followed by four pages (1,453 words) the next month.⁴⁴ Indeed, it is possible that the printer ran out of space late in the production of the issue; whatever the reason, it was here that the first interruption was staged, and it tells us a lot about how this process worked. In this instance, the first installment of “Lestrygonians” ends just as Paddy Leonard orders another drink at Davy Byrne’s pub immediately after Bloom leaves. “Ay, Paddy Leonard said, a suckingbottle for the baby.” The next installment of “Lestrygonians” opens with Bloom out in Dublin walking down Dawson Street, with the implication that some time has elapsed since his departure.

“Scylla and Charybdis” was divided into two installments as well (thirteen pages with 4,440 words, seventeen pages with 6,446 words). The first one ends with the arrival of Buck Mulligan in the library during Stephen’s lecture on Shakespeare; the second one picks up with his humorous quip, “You were speaking of the gaseous vertebrate, if I mistake not?” Already in these two examples, we see that Pound was coming up with some inventive strategies for interrupting *Ulysses*. In the first in-

stance, he capitalized on a spatial shift in the plot, one that occurs when the action moves from the pub to the street. In the second instance, he interrupts the episode, brilliantly enough, after the interruption of Buck Mulligan, and it gets followed up with a question that is itself a recap of what's been happening when he was not there. In subsequent episodes, editorial interruptions were staged the same way, involving a change in location/perspective ("Wandering Rocks," "Sirens") or the creation of an artificial pause in the action ("Cyclops," "Nausikaa"). "Nausikaa," which appeared in three installments, plays off both, but I suspect that Pound was up to something else here as well. After Joyce sent him the episode, he knew that the censors were going to stage their own interruption (a.k.a. confiscation) of the entire issue ("I recd. in London & forwarded Nausika [sic] Bloom by the sea waves & the lady of the delectable shins"⁴⁵). On October 31, 1920, after the issue was already seized by the U.S. postal authorities, Pound made the point to John Quinn that while it might not be obvious that Bloom is going off "in his pants at the sight of Nausikaa's leg," he remembers making cuts to the manuscript before sending it on, suspecting that Anderson "may have erased" the "black pencil."⁴⁶

In addition to these excisions (which were ignored if they were ever made), Pound had other editorial tricks up his sleeve. When breaking up "Nausikaa" into three installments, he framed the action more around the character of Cissy Caffrey and less on Leopold Bloom and Gerty MacDowell. The first installment, then, ends with Gerty's thoughts on Cissy ("but she was sincerity itself, one of the bravest and truest hearts heaven ever made, not one of your twofaced things, too sweet to be wholesome"); the second installment ends with Cissy returning to Gerty after speaking with the "man on the beach," Bloom. All three installments of "Nausikaa" open with flowery descriptions of the beach at sundown, two of them involving the sermon that can be overheard in the distance. "Nausikaa" is one of those episodes in *Ulysses* to have a natural break, which occurs immediately between the fireworks on the beach, when Bloom goes "off in his pants," and afterward, when he walks away. To frame "Nausikaa" in this way would not only have featured Gerty and Bloom more prominently: it would also have made the orgasm of this scene, and the aftermath, function

as both crescendo at one end and opening at the other. Despite Pound's clever editing, however, this issue ended up in the hands of the daughter of a New York lawyer, who brought it to the attention of the district attorney, and the rest was history. John Sumner and the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice brought the *Little Review* to court, Anderson and Heap lost the case, and the serialization of *Ulysses*, which was in the process of bringing out the first installment of "Oxen of the Sun," was over.

As I've been arguing so far, *Ulysses* assumed the form it did in the *Little Review* and the *Egoist* because of the conditions surrounding its transatlantic publication. The simulcast, the interruptions, the excisions, the communication delays and/or blackouts, and the editorial misunderstandings: all of these factors determined how two little magazines separated by the Atlantic Ocean could (and could not) bring out the same novel at the same time. No matter how familiar the serialization process might have become, things just never went as planned: and when the war ended and the possibility for a true simulcast was a possibility, the censors were waiting on one side of the Atlantic (New York City), and the printers, who refused to set the type, were walking away on the other (London). The serial *Ulysses* was, among other things, part of a failed transatlantic experiment, and all that I've been talking about so far—the interruptions, the two-magazine solution, the triangulated transmission from author to editor to printer—these were not just unfortunate circumstances in the publishing world at the time. They were part of a mode for transatlantic literary production that determined just what this novel and the little magazines—where it was published—became in England and the United States between 1918 and 1920. When *Ulysses* finally appeared as a book in Paris two years later, it was still banned in the United States, and its safe transatlantic journey as a book was postponed for another decade.

III

The lessons of *Ulysses*, good and bad, didn't stop T. S. Eliot from orchestrating his own "transatlantic simulcast" with *The Waste Land* in 1922. In fact, considering how well the international publicity ended up work-

ing in Joyce's favor, it's more than likely that Eliot was deliberately following his lead. Shortly after completing his poem, and at a time when he was preparing to take on the role as editor of the *Criterion*, Eliot wrote to Pound (March 12), "I see no reason why some things should not appear in this [the *Criterion*] and in the *Little Review* concurrently."⁴⁷ Half a year later, when preparations for a simulcast of *The Waste Land* were all set, he was also entertaining the possibility that his poem should appear in "two sections in the first and second numbers" of the *Criterion*, as a way both to bring in new readers and to ensure that he wasn't pigeonholed as a "prose essayist."⁴⁸ But given what I've said so far about the mechanics of transatlantic circulation, one magazine for *The Waste Land* should have been sufficient: the war was over; the international postal system, including the route between the United States and England, was open again; and regulations on the importation of bulk mail in England were lifted. Still, Eliot in these immediate postwar years decided that two little magazines for *The Waste Land* were better than one. Why?

There's money, of course: two payments, when you can get them, are usually better than one (especially if the *Dial*, with its generous contributor's fees and the promise of a cash prize, gets involved). There's prestige: the possibility of assembling a larger transatlantic audience using two different magazines with their own subscription lists and bookdealers. There's precedent: it already worked well for *Ulysses*, and Eliot would have had to worry significantly less about attracting the attention of the censors. And there's copyright: orchestrating publication in England and America simultaneously would provide a better chance of securing the "dreaded and elusive American copyright that the poem's coeval, *Ulysses*, famously lost."⁴⁹ For Lawrence Rainey, this particular transatlantic arrangement between the *Dial* and the *Criterion* was more of a secondary outcome than anything else, and it came out of the difficult negotiations that went on behind the scenes between Eliot, Thayer, Watson, and Pound as they were trying to determine when and where *The Waste Land* would appear.⁵⁰ In a careful reconstruction of these events, Rainey argues that Eliot's decision, and the contract he managed to negotiate, was motivated as much by the need to earn some cash as it was by the desire to publish

his poem in a magazine with the appropriate cultural pedigree, nothing too low/little, à la *Little Review*, and nothing too big/commercial, à la *Vanity Fair*.⁵¹ The *Dial*, Rainey argues, had its own “sensibility” and was associated with a “form of production supported by massive and unprecedented patronage that facilitated modernism’s transition from a literature of an exiguous elite to a position of prestigious dominance.”⁵² Coupled with the *Criterion*, which was based on a similar model of production supported by elite patronage, the cultural, noncommercial “dominance,” in England and America at least, would be complete.

As compelling as the evidence behind Eliot’s decision to choose the *Dial* over *Vanity Fair* may be, it still does not explain why two magazines in two different countries bringing out *The Waste Land* at the same time was so desirable.⁵³ I want to suggest that Eliot’s simulcast still had more to do with a basic reality about transatlantic publishing in little magazines at that time, a reality that Pound and Eliot knew all too well from their firsthand experience in the teens: neither the *Dial* nor the *Criterion* could do it alone. In spite of their prestige and the promise of cultural dominance, neither of them could engineer the kind of transatlantic production and distribution that Eliot wanted, and I want to suggest further that the transatlantic immobility of each magazine wasn’t caused only by the more immediate material circumstances involving international postal transport with its woeful delays or the unreliability of book dealers. There was also the increased institutionalization of an elite little magazine culture both in America and in England that was bringing with it a more restricted national focus.⁵⁴ And there were reasons for this. By the early 1920s, the little magazine was entering another stage in its development: many experimental writers had already achieved critical notoriety and, in some cases, commercial success. Bigger little magazines like the *Dial* and the *Criterion*, then, were less interested in breaking new ground than they were in showcasing consecrated writers already discovered in the war-torn teens. It was also very much the case that both magazines positioned themselves as border guards standing at the gates separating the literary-cultural field in and between England, America, and France. For both of them, this role of cultural mediator within the medium of the

little magazine was contingent on a nationally defined exclusivity: the *Criterion* for England, the *Dial* for America, and both for *The Waste Land*.

For Eliot, there were obvious reasons for this exclusivity. In his mind, the form of the *Dial* was all wrong.⁵⁵ Not long after it was revived in 1920 by Thayer and Watson, who offered Eliot a regular position as their London correspondent (which he declined), he complained to Quinn that there was just “too much in it.” This excess, he worried, would make it necessary for the *Dial* to publish too much inferior material, which, in turn, would compromise “the good stuff.”⁵⁶ And there was more: each issue had too many articles about similar subjects without the presence of separate “departments” that would, in clearly delineating where each article belonged, make them more “readable.” Eliot was soon to become an editor himself, and he was thinking a lot about magazine form at this time, coming to the conclusion that British and American little magazines tended to be different from one another in structure and appearance and that these differences dramatically influenced how they would be received on domestic and foreign soil alike. To him, it was clear: the *Criterion* in America, positively; the *Dial* in England, negatively.⁵⁷ His explanation deserves to be quoted in full:

I think it might be possible for *The Criterion* to secure a small circulation in America and I do not see why it should interfere with the success of *The Dial*. Of course I should not want to compete with *The Dial* in any way but I think that the two papers will be so different in form and appearance that there should be no risk of this. I wish that *The Dial* could secure some circulation in this country, but that seems to me a much more difficult matter. For one thing it is a monthly and the more often periodicals appear the less easily they can be transplanted. For another thing it contains a great deal of local matter and in order to make it really successful in another country, the editors would have to give it a form perhaps which would make it less valuable at home. If *The Criterion* were a monthly, we could of course work a good deal together in exclusive fields, but of course it would be impossible for me to edit a *monthly* magazine unless it were to provide enough income for me to devote myself to that and no other regular work.⁵⁸

Form and frequency are everything, it seems, when mobility is at stake. They have the power to determine transplantability abroad and rootedness at home, and any deliberate attempt to try and adapt will more than likely backfire, making a magazine like the *Dial* a driftless vessel caught somewhere *in the Atlantic* instead of one firmly anchored on either coast. Taken further, Eliot is suggesting that the *Criterion* is just the kind of magazine that can successfully straddle both. Indeed, the circulation numbers in England would be higher, but an unspecified “small number of readers” could still be found in America.⁵⁹ The *Dial*, however, was a “more difficult matter”: its movement was limited by a form that just couldn’t be changed. When Eliot tried to explain all of this directly to Thayer (as he reported to Quinn), including his negative assessment of the *Dial*’s bulkiness, its lack of diversity in the rubrics, the improper sequencing of the articles, and the fact that it “was not got up brightly enough for the British public,” he was met, as one might expect, with some opposition.⁶⁰ Thayer, offended by Eliot’s bluntness, refused to take the criticism seriously. “The present form,” he reported to Watson, “was the best for America.”⁶¹

All of this begs the question of what Eliot means by *form*. He’s making some big claims here for the identification between magazine form and the success and failure of assembling a national and/or transatlantic readership. The British, he claims, have one idea about how form works in the little magazine, the Americans another, and it is the American form, in particular, that lacks any transatlantic adroitness. If you compare the September 1921 issue of the *Dial*, when this letter was written, with the first issue of the *Criterion* a year later, when it first started, you begin to see more clearly what Eliot means. The *Dial*, though certainly not a literary miscellany in any pejorative sense, is still a hodgepodge, made up, in this issue at least, of twelve pieces that include criticism, short stories, poems combined with commentary, letters (from London, Paris, and Dublin), book reviews, brief blurbs, and a chatty bit of commentary from the editors. Not only does the *Dial* lack any overarching editorial focus, but it fails to indicate how all of these moving parts might fit together. Moving from a piece of criticism on Greek tragedy by Arthur Schnitzler to a single poem by Yeats to an essay on Balzac by Benedetto Croce to a short story by Paul Morand, readers

would certainly pick up on the fact that an intellectual and international eclecticism was prized above all—but, they would probably be left wondering, to what end? The *Dial* was designed to appeal to this general reader with broad literary tastes, but the connections between these subjects, disciplines, and fields would not have been so easily discernable.

For Eliot, this same judgment could not be leveled against the *Criterion*. Order in these pages was king, and Eliot, in trying to get the form right from the beginning (which would necessarily take some tweaking over the years), was following the lead of the *Nouvelle revue française* (*NRF*), which was, by this time, one the most important general culture magazines in Europe.⁶² Interestingly, though, the order that he seems to value so highly is not immediately visible from the explicit organization of the contents. There are no sections defining these pieces by genre, field, or discipline or an overarching editorial statement explaining how they might be related to one another, and unlike the *NRF*, there is still no section for letters, reflections, and notes. Still, the form he's thinking about is something that emerges from within the contents of the magazine itself: an essay by George Saintsbury, critical notes for a novel by Dostoevsky (translated by Virginia Woolf), an essay by T. Sturge Moore, a poem by Eliot, a short story by May Sinclair, a survey of contemporary German literature by Herman Hesse, and an essay on *Ulysses* by Valery Larbaud (translated without indication by Eliot). Read together and in this sequence, it's obvious that there's a deliberate internationalism and eclecticism in the *Criterion*, as there was in the *Dial*, but with a marked difference: the material was consistently made up of "the good stuff," indicating, albeit subtly, the unmistakable presence of a discerning editor behind the scenes who knows the difference. In addition, there were fewer pieces in the *Criterion* (seven total, compared with the twelve of the *Dial*), making the entire issue feel more condensed, helping to foreground the effect of a unified "tendency," the word that Eliot uses in his 1926 essay "The Idea of a Literary Review," to describe the cultural connectedness that the formally perfect magazine is capable of creating between "editor, collaborator, and occasional contributors."⁶³

"Tendency" was not to be confused with *program*, the kind so often promoted by literary movements, with a rigid set of principles that frequently

led to personal infighting. For Eliot, the term had a more catholic valence and was associated with the spirit of the modern age, which, at this moment at least, could be identified with a collective European culture united by liberal democratic ideals. Of course, the success of this communication would inevitably depend on the reader, who may or may not be able to identify it. As Eliot explains in the essay I just referenced, “Even a single number should attempt to illustrate, within its limits, the time and the tendencies of the time. It should have a value over and above the aggregate value of the individual contributions. Its contents should exhibit heterogeneity which the intelligent reader can resolve into order.”⁶⁴ What a novel like Joyce’s *Ulysses* did for the “immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history,” as he explained in “*Ulysses*, Order and Myth” (published a year later) is precisely what a magazine like the *Criterion* could do as well: shape, order, control the chaos of modern life, giving it a universal meaning (The European Mind) that transcends any single moment (or issue). Whether this will happen depends on how tuned in that reader is to the currents of contemporary history and life, but at least it is something attainable if the proper form within the magazine gets found.

Returning, then, to Eliot’s belief that the *Dial* could not circulate successfully in England, I suspect this had a lot to do with the assumption that the proper “tendency” wasn’t embedded in the form. Even more to the point, by making the *Dial* “too bulky,” its editors were ensuring that each issue would seem more like a collection of individual contributions and less the “aggregate” of an age waiting to be resolved “into order” by the “intelligent reader.” I’m not arguing here about whether I think Eliot is right about this distinction between good and bad form in the little magazine, but it is useful for continuing to think about the way that the concept of form itself was getting used by him at this moment to distinguish between the compatibility and incompatibility of these transatlantic literary cultures, which came to define Anglo-American modernism as we know it. Known for his own unapologetic Anglophilic tendencies, Eliot’s judgment might seem like a backhanded slap at the stupid Americans who always seem to miss the point. In this instance, however, it’s the Americans who

actually come out on top. One of their most serious little magazines, the *Dial*, might have had a hard time attracting British readers, but they would be prepared for the challenge were a magazine like the *Criterion* to arrive on America's shores, which, as I'll explain shortly, it never really did.

Even with all of the formal faults of the *Dial*, it was still valuable to Eliot as an American ally. In 1923, Eliot and Thayer even began to kick around the idea of forming a transatlantic cooperative, the details of which remain vague. On the basis of the few pieces of correspondence that exist, it's possible to determine that the proposition was first introduced by Eliot not long after Thayer's copies of the *Dial* were failing to arrive in Vienna on time. Though completely in the dark about the *Dial's* limited circulation in England, Eliot took the opportunity to offer Thayer some advice: "I think that if you could have a London office or even simply a London Agency to which English subscribers could address themselves, and if you could advertise a bit in some of the best English papers, that your circulation would be greatly increased."⁶⁵ The suggestion of a "London office" that could cater to British subscribers, something the *Little Review* had with the indefatigable Pound, soon developed into the possibility that the two magazines could share office space, with the assumption, of course, that they could both benefit from the affiliation by cutting down on production, advertising, and distribution costs.⁶⁶ I suspect further that because of their serious reputations, both would benefit, and it is likely that working together at such close quarters would have inevitably triggered various exchanges and certainly increased the possibility for more simultaneous publications between them.⁶⁷

Thayer, already soured on Eliot after the tense negotiations over *The Waste Land*, began to suspect that the *Dial* would inevitably lose out on the deal, even going so far as to accuse Watson of plans to defect: "It seems to me that from your point of view association with Lady Rothermere, and Eliot, and *The Criterion* to make out of *The Criterion* an Anglo-American sheet, with you perhaps as American editor would ensure to you much more field and scope for your heart's desires than association with me and the *Dial*."⁶⁸ Though irritated by Thayer's accusation of an Anglo-inspired careerism, Watson concluded a few months later, and without

any explanation, that “there is no longer any attraction nor hope of gain in a U.S. mag. circulating in England, nor of an English journal circulating in the States.”⁶⁹ Thayer, touched by Watson’s change of heart, took the pleasure of informing Eliot, “it would not be of pecuniary advantage to us.”⁷⁰ All parties agreed, the deal was dropped, the *Criterion* continued to cater to a British audience, the *Dial* to an American one, and the myth of transatlantic magazine mobility somehow lived on.

So far, I’ve been arguing that a more restricted national self-definition and its expression through the magazine form was happening, in part, because of this increased institutionalization and restricted geography of a little magazine culture. Now I want to focus on the way that this all played out with the publication of *The Waste Land* itself. I’ve mentioned a few times already that *The Waste Land* was “serialized,” and, of course, I’m aware that “serialization” is a mode of literary production usually reserved for novels, not poems, even more so when they appear in a single issue.⁷¹ In this instance, however, I’m using the term (as Eliot himself did) to identify the staggered publication of each version of *The Waste Land*, first in the *Criterion* (in its October issue, published on October 16, 1922) and then in the *Dial* (in its November issue, published around October 20).⁷² Serialization defines the lag between installments in different magazines in different countries and, in this instance, highlights the fact that even if the words of *The Waste Land* were the same (give or take a few variant spellings and botched spacings), the timing and the overall formatting were not.

Eliot, as is well known, was outraged by what the *Criterion*’s printers did to his poem: standardizing spelling, changing punctuation, and altering the spacing in and between lines. But in the version that appeared in its pages (which came after the setting of the Boni and Liveright proofs for a book version that were subsequently used for the *Dial*), a number of other details are revealing: the poem appears fourth in the list of contents (instead of first), there is no epigraph from Petronius’s *Satyricon*, there is no nameplate (present with a date), and there are no Roman numerals before each of the five sections. In both versions, there is also no consensus about what foreign words and phrases should be italicized: Baudelaire’s

“*hypocrite lecteur*” is in both, but Dante’s “Poi s’acose nel foco che gli affina” is in one and not the other. The list of variations is much longer, and though they reveal a great deal about house printing styles, they are, most of all, a sign of something else. In that week or so in October 1922 (when both issues appeared), there were two *Waste Lands* in the world, not one, and this formal multiplicity is the concrete expression of a transatlantic reality, one that was followed up by two printings of the book: the Boni and Liveright one in December 1922 and the Hogarth Press one in September 1923. Had it been possible for *The Waste Land* to move in a single magazine, one version would have been enough before book publication. But each magazine was, in a sense, appropriating Eliot’s poem for its own purposes and adapting it to established formatting conventions. The *Dial*’s nameplate at the top of the very first page of the November issue, then, functions more like a passport stamp, marking *The Waste Land*’s arrival in America and reaffirming the magazine’s own role as cultural arbiter in the transatlantic transfer. As might be expected, it was also packed with a wide range of critical and creative pieces that would have given the issue its characteristic bloatedness.

The situation was different with the *Criterion*. For one thing, it was the inaugural issue, and Eliot was keen to strike the proper tone. As if the severe look of the cover wasn’t enough, Eliot made sure that the organization would fulfill his objective of finding the proper form. *The Waste Land*’s embedded placement within the first issue of the *Criterion* among a series of critical essays (including the one by Larbaud on *Ulysses* that had already appeared in the *NRF*) was as much an expression of Eliot’s forced humility as it was an announcement that modernist experimentation was fast becoming institutionally acceptable. “If the poem threatened outrage,” as Michael Levenson suspects, then it was “the intellectual pedigree of the adjacent essays” that helped provide “reassurance.”⁷³ And it was a reassurance indeed for British, not American, readers.

Here we find another example of this *entrelarder* of poetry and commentary: that’s how Pound got his French anthology into America after all, and, as it turns out, that’s how Eliot got his long poem into England, planting a “bomb” right in the middle of the *Criterion* so that it would function

more like an experimental menace awaiting unsuspecting readers.⁷⁴ What I want to emphasize here, however, is the fact that the “form” of each little magazine actually determined the shape that the poem would take not just on the page but in the entire issue. The two *Waste Lands* of October 1922 were symptomatic of a real divide between different literary cultures on both sides of the Atlantic, and they were, as was true of *Ulysses*, organized around a temporal interruption. In this case, however, the time passing in between didn’t lead to a new or continued episode as it did with *Ulysses*. Instead, it involved the delivery in America of something that British readers had already glossed, a point that Eliot himself was careful to ensure also by stalling the delivery of complimentary copies to American agencies and bookstores until after the *Dial* appeared. Who knows, finally, what American readers would have made of the version that appeared in the *Criterion*, but in the end what matters most is the fact that there was never a decision to make in the first place.⁷⁵ *The Waste Land* was printed and posted both in England and in America, complete with all of the discrepancies regarding spelling, spacing, italicizing, formatting, and even the choice of typeface.⁷⁶ And is it really a surprise to discover that in the two versions of the poem, neither acknowledges the existence of the other, as if *The Waste Land* itself was ever meant for publication in one magazine and not two?

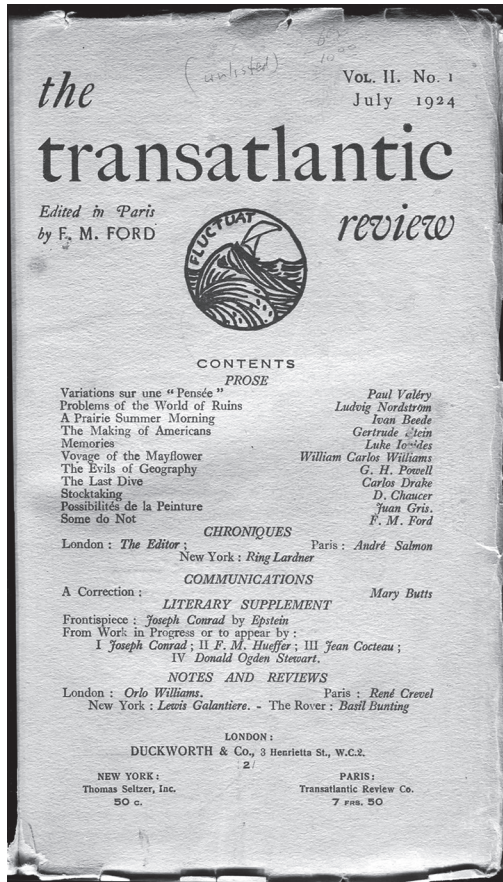
IV

Ford Madox Ford’s *transatlantic review* was intended to counteract the national entrenchment of literary cultures in the years immediately following World War I, a bridge that would connect London, Paris, and New York and include a wide range of writers and critics from allied and hostile countries alike. It was a noble idea, indeed, guided by postwar idealism and betrayed, finally, by ignorance. “There is no British Literature, there is no American Literature,” Ford wrote in the circular he sent to potential subscribers and contributors, adding further that there “are no English, no French—for the matter of that, no Russian, Italian, Asiatic or Teutonic—Literatures.”⁷⁷ The mere wish for a denationalized literary field, Ford soon

discovered, did not make it so, and what made the situation even more difficult was the expatriation of so many Americans in Paris in the early 1920s, the dearth of British writers interested in modern experiments, and Ford's personal disinterest in avant-garde developments within France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and elsewhere.

In short, what you find in this particular example is a *transatlantic* wish in 1924 that was divorced from the reality of the literary situation in America, England, and France. Even Eliot, who contributed a guarded letter for the opening issue, refused to accept Ford's characterization of the contemporary cultural scene, arguing instead that literary nationalism can actually be productive when it is properly directed: "If anyone has a genuine nationality—and a genuine nationality depends upon the existence of a genuine literature, and you cannot have a nationality worth speaking of unless you have a national literature—let him assert it, let the Frenchman be as French, the Englishman as English, the German as German, as he can be: but let him be French or English or German in such a way that his national character will complement, not contradict the other nationalities."⁷⁸ French, German, American, or English: it didn't matter. Ford believed that by throwing everyone together in the pages of a single magazine, almost always in English translation when necessary, the transatlantic exchange would inevitably happen. This is not what motivated Eliot, as can be seen from his comment. Literary internationalism to him was a way of importing foreign writers so his British audience would be aware of what was going on elsewhere. Ford's model worked differently. Because the *transatlantic review* was not destined for publication within a single city or country, it tried to cater to all three. In doing so, and much to Ford's chagrin, he found that all three locations were dissatisfied about their position within the transatlantic circuit. And just think how difficult striking that balance could be: with bridges between Paris, New York, and London, regulating the flow and maintaining a fair balance would prove impossible.

Here's one way it happened. Look closely at figure 2.3: it's the July 1924 issue of the *transatlantic review* with a fragment of Paris's motto ("Fluctuat nec mergitur"), the Greek-blue color evoking the cover of *Ulysses*, a list of the contents organized under different categories, and the address



2.3 Cover of the *transatlantic review* 2, no. 1 (July 1924).

of the British distributor, Duckworth & Co., positioned prominently in the center at the bottom, above the ones for New York and Paris. You may have already begun to suspect from the arrangement of these distributors, the ones at the very bottom set in smaller type, that there's more to the story. And, indeed, there is. This is a cover from the *transatlantic review*, but to be more specific, it is the British cover, the one that was printed in England and attached after the contents of the issue arrived by ship from Paris. For the American edition, Thomas Seltzer Inc., assumed Duck-

worth's place at the top, both of them relegated to the bottom when issues were bound in Paris.

What's not immediately discernible, however, is the fact that the date at the top on the American version would have been a month behind. The June issue printed in Paris, in other words, would actually be the July issue distributed in New York City. Though Ford later claimed that this adjustment was necessary to secure copyright in America, Thomas Seltzer believed it was a practical solution to the unavoidable delays caused by transatlantic shipping.⁷⁹ Instead of worrying too much about bringing the *transatlantic review* to the United States a month late, Ford modified the date on the cover so it appeared to be arriving right on time, even if readers in Paris would already be flipping through the next issue.⁸⁰ Following in the wake of so many other little magazines that had tried, and failed, to cross the Atlantic with any real success, the *transatlantic review*, at least from issue 6 onward, was convinced that it had found a way to make the journey as smooth as possible: print the contents in one place, and put on the backdated covers in another. This particular arrangement sounds logical enough, and by 1924, six years after the war had ended, giving the international shipping business enough time to get back on its feet, there was certainly reason to believe that the infrastructure would be secure enough to make the dream of simultaneous publication come true. That's not what happened. The *transatlantic review* wasn't, as the motto promised, capable of "floating" on the open seas for too long: after one year and twelve issues, it ended up shipwrecked like all of the others before it that dared to make the journey, one more little magazine that started out with enough hubris to believe the Atlantic Ocean was made for crossing.

Instead of blaming it all on the vicissitudes of transatlantic distribution, which would also involve the noncollection of funds from overseas distributors, I want to emphasize something else: lateness. No, I'm not talking here about the strange fact that Ford decided to reserialize a novel he cowrote with Joseph Conrad sixteen years earlier (*Nature of a Crime*) or the twenty-year-old one that Ernest Hemingway managed to commission from Gertrude Stein (*The Making of Americans*). Lateness, as I'm using it, describes this disconnect between the *transatlantic review* and the world

it inhabited. It is a condition of being behind the times instead of ahead of them or even in step with them, and of course that's not normally a quality we associate with modernism's magazine culture. And yet, in this case, lateness is a likely diagnosis for what was, in effect, one of the *transatlantic review's* many weaknesses from the start. It was created to unite three different countries without realizing that the moment for this mode of connectivity had already passed. Little magazine cultures by the mid-1920s may have been open to the introduction of foreign writers and critics, but the act of importing a foreign magazine was another story entirely. Nation-based literary cultures were providing space for outsiders, but it was the local magazines that continued to dominate. And for the *transatlantic review*, coming in from the outside in every direction (France, England, the United States), this proved to be particularly problematic since it was created precisely to counteract these national forms of literary belonging.

Over the years, critics have tended to treat the *transatlantic review* as the clearest expression of a magazine-inspired cosmopolitanism whose origins can be traced back, in the Anglo-American calendar at least, to 1910.⁸¹ What they fail to acknowledge, however, is the fact that the form itself and this model for its production and distribution had undergone a number of significant changes before and after World War I, changes that I've already discussed in relation to the *Little Review*, the *Egoist*, the *Dial*, and the *Criterion*. By the time Ford set out to produce a truly transatlantic magazine, he still had his eye on these earlier days and was unwilling, or perhaps unable, to learn from the mistakes of the people around him. Consider, for instance, the frequently cited statement, first introduced by Ford himself, that the *transatlantic review* was picking up where the *English Review* left off, that is to say, in 1908, when Ford served as an editor for one year before getting forced out.⁸² On the one hand, it's tempting to think that Ford was merely referring to the good old days, when he managed to assemble an impressive crew of established and newly emerging writers. On the other, the idea of a revived *English Review* under a different title and printed in a different city also has the stink of nostalgia about it, anchored as it is in the assumption that the same results could be

arrived at sixteen years later even after the literary field, and the European world at large, had undergone such revolutionary changes.⁸³

It's a heartening prospect but highly unlikely. For one thing, Ford, relying a great deal on Pound's guidance, was hoping to create a magazine modeled on one Pound never even got the chance to edit, one that was, in turn, based on the *Mercure de France*, a magazine that Ford admired greatly in his early days.⁸⁴ The *transatlantic review*, you could say, is the child of this strange coupling between the *English Review* and the *Mercure de France*, with the *Transatlantic Vortex Monthly* as the benevolent fairy godmother standing in the background. But, as I said before, the question, at this moment, involves lateness, which I'm associating here with the idea that the *transatlantic review* just didn't arrive in England, France, or the United States at the right time. Had such a magazine and such a distribution model been in place around 1908–1909, it might have actually worked. The war put an end to all that, and even if literature was becoming international and the lines of influence more intertwined in the postwar years, this did not counteract an increased literary nationalism that was receiving its clearest expression within the market where magazines themselves circulated.

I suspect that this failed cosmopolitanism has something to do with the fact that the mechanics of a transatlantic literary culture had changed, and Ford, for one, wasn't making the necessary accommodations.⁸⁵ Consider, for example, the basic production and distribution arrangement. Paris, in this case, is the production hub, with New York City and London as the main circulation sites. Presumably, these three cities are equal, with the same number of magazines getting parceled out each month. It's impossible to know exactly what the final breakdown was since Ford failed to keep track himself, but Bernard Poli suspects that the five thousand or so issues were likely divided equally into thirds.⁸⁶ This would mean, of course, that every country received roughly sixteen hundred issues per month. What Ford failed to realize, and what Eliot himself already knew a few years earlier when he was thinking of that "small circulation" for the *Criterion* in America, is the stubborn national rootedness, as I have

called it, of little magazine cultures in the early 1920s. So while Eliot was aware of a problem without any immediate solution, Ford was moving ahead with the belief in a denationalized cosmopolitanism where writers from three different countries could communicate without getting tangled up in the barbed wire at the borders.

Worse, perhaps, was the fact that Ford underestimated the power that these national magazine cultures had to determine the success or failure of a foreign import. Poli concludes in his diagnosis of the situation that by attempting to unite three different national literatures at once, the *transatlantic review* ended up unable to satisfy any one of them completely. It was, as he puts it, “too expensive and not interesting enough for French readers and was too foreign to compete favorably with locally published periodicals in England and in the United States.”⁸⁷ Indeed, Poli provides two different reasons here, one economic (too expensive), the other cultural (too foreign). If, in the first instance, a high price kept French readers at bay, it was the foreignness of the content that turned off its Anglo-American audience. It’s an interesting hypothesis but one that contradicts Poli’s more damning indictment that the *transatlantic review* failed to live up to its name: it promised equality for all but delivered a much compromised and limited vision of the international literary scene. Ford may have decided to print his magazine in Paris, but he was uninterested in local developments on the ground, which, by 1924, would have involved the various avant-gardists either stationed in Paris or passing through. In the few French contributions he did manage to print, only a few of them were experimental, and the effect, overall, was that the Parisian literary scene was largely absent from the entire arrangement, more of an island isolated from the rest of the world than an international hub.

There was the added fact that the American expatriates and exiles in Paris ended up dominating each issue, and this was happening, in part, because Ford was unable to find enough British writers, young or old, interested in modern experiments. But the *transatlantic review* was not an exile magazine, the kind, as I explain in chapter 3, meant for production in one country and consumption in another. It was a transatlantic review, which meant that it was bound for audiences in three different countries

at the same time. And if, as I've already suggested, this particular incarnation of the medium arrived on the scene too late to serve any real purpose, it also failed to capitalize on the fact that it could have transported French and other European writers to England and the United States. In twelve issues, there were no big discoveries, and what appeared between the covers, with the exception of excerpts from *Finnegans Wake* and Gertrude Stein's *The Making of the Americans*, could just as easily be found elsewhere. This is why a magazine like *Broom*, which was printed in Rome and then Berlin, could succeed where the *transatlantic review* did not. It was precisely by moving abroad and focusing on contemporary developments in Europe that *Broom* ended up giving its American audience literary examples that would have otherwise remained out of reach. Issues, then, ended up crossing the Atlantic, but they were only meant to go in one direction, that is, back home.

In 1924, Ford edited another review, but it was not, in the end, transatlantic in the way he had hoped. This comes as a surprise when it might have seemed from the previous examples that peace between foreign nations and a more reliable transportation network were all that stood in the way. It turns out, in fact, that transatlantic mobility was also contingent on other factors, including the ability of a single magazine to become entrenched in the culture of its production even when intended for audiences elsewhere. This is why the title itself is so ironic, taken as it was from the name of a French shipping company, Compagnie Générale Transatlantique, but translated into English and made to appear as if it belonged equally to everyone, the French included. But even the owners of the Compagnie knew something that Ford did not. When they launched their famous luxury liner, the *Paris*, in 1921, they went to great lengths with the decor and haute cuisine so that it would feel like a "floating bit of France" even when docked in New York. The point is, finally, that the identification with one culture can actually bring you one step closer to a meaningful engagement with the others. And that, after all, might have been one of the reasons why Ford should have stuck with the original title: the *Paris Review*.

After Ford's magazine folded, he began to express his own misgivings about the three countries he tried to connect, resorting to generalizations

about national character to explain it all away: the French were unreliable, the British apathetic, and the Americans untrustworthy.⁸⁸ As part of the diagnosis, he should have also been thinking about the timing, placing, and design of a magazine that arrived more than a decade too late. During this time, the little magazine may have continued to function as the primary vehicle for contemporary literary distribution, but the transatlantic spirit that Ford wanted to harness was simply not going to be the same everywhere; and the challenges would be even greater when it involved a magazine christened on the Seine but made to look as if it was equally at home in the docks of the Hudson and the Thames, which it was not.

Less than two years after the *transatlantic review* ceased publication, *transition* arrived on the scene and managed to succeed where its predecessor had failed, coming out in quarterly installments until 1938 (with an interruption between 1930 and '32 and a relocation to the United States in 1936).⁸⁹ The title itself is a useful starting point when trying to figure out possible reasons why it managed to survive for so long when so many others were falling by the wayside. “Bridge” and “Continents” were two of the early possibilities, and it’s clear that like Ford, continental connectivity was a primary consideration for Eugene Jolas, founder and editor of *transition*.⁹⁰ But you can see why these titles, in particular, wouldn’t have worked: as generic nouns, they lack any kinetic energy. And Jolas, ready to pave the way for this revolution of the word, was looking for something that could, as he put it, “best symbolize the epoch”: *transition*, spelled and defined the same way in French and English, was it.⁹¹ There is the lower-case *t*, of course, which Jolas later identified as a publicity stunt to attract the attention of journalists (bypassing the affiliation with the *transatlantic review*), and it’s the first letter of the prefix, which, as I explained earlier, defines movement. But whereas *transatlantic* identifies the location of that movement, *transition* keeps it necessarily vague. For that reason, it is less focused on a specific geographical frame, direction, or destination and more open to a general application that would allow it to have a “temporal” valence as well: transition as a passage in time, the movement from one age to another, with the potential to be peaceful or violent, smooth or abrupt.

In practical terms, this meant that *transition* was openly announcing its desire to be a magazine in the present, tuned in to what was happening on multiple national fronts and aware all the while that the clock was ticking. As Malcolm Cowley looked back on his European adventure in the 1920s, with *Broom*, *Secession*, *This Quarter*, the *transatlantic review*, *Tambour*, *Gargyole*, and the *Exile* starting up and then folding in rapid succession, he noticed that *transition* was different. Instead of publishing the same old American expats, many of them simply moving through each of these magazines as if caught in a game of musical chairs, *transition* opened up its pages to a wider range of movements and individuals, many of them blocked from the *transatlantic review's* itinerary a few years earlier: André Breton, Hans Arp, Franz Kafka, George Grosz, Italo Svevo, Lazlo Moholy-Nagy, Kay Boyle, Samuel Beckett, Antonin Artaud, Philippe Soupault, Alfred Döblin, Tristan Tzara, Hugo Ball, and Kurt Schwitters were among them. This openness turned out to be one of *transition's* most enduring strengths: it was able to find common ground with magazines like *De Stijl*, *Der Sturm*, the *Double Dealer*, and *Nouveaux cahiers alsaciens*, opening its pages to Surrealists, Dadaists, Expressionists, and Constructivists alike, and in doing so, it became, as Celine Mansanti puts it, “un gigantesque panorama rétrospectif des avant-gardes historiques,” one that involved the publication and republication of so many classic avant-garde texts.⁹² At the same time, it was making history by bringing out installments of Joyce’s *Work in Progress* (eighteen in all), which was itself one of the works that synthesized *transition's* larger objectives: it prized literary experimentation and was interested less in consolidating modernism and more in helping it evolve in real time.

Whereas *transition* was live, the *transatlantic review* was dead: when *transition* was right on time, the *transatlantic review* was late in coming, and the repercussions of these differences were significant. *transition* managed to become a fulcrum for experimental, international modernism at a moment when there was the switch to political magazines organized around a collective ideological program, a majority of them springing up after the Great Depression and in response to Fascism, Nazism, and Communism. This is not to say that *transition* refused to acknowledge that the

world was changing or that it was unable to play an active role. Rather, it continued to provide one creative response to the increasingly repressive social and political environments across Europe. And the point, finally, is that *transition* was there in Europe in a way that the *transatlantic review*, with an orthodoxy that Ford attributed to his Toryism, never was or could be. Determined to capture the “epoch,” that ever-changing, amorphous spirit, *transition* was able to see contemporary literature actually coming into being with every issue that came off the press.

Part of being on time also requires knowing when to leave. By 1938, Jolas realized that the transition he managed to document with his magazine was nearing its end. In twenty-seven issues distributed over the course of a single decade, *transition* was a linchpin between a middle and late modernism with roots that extended back to Dada and ahead to Beckett. All the while, it always kept one foot firmly planted in the present, ready and able to register the changes that were taking place all around. Up until the last issue, the goal was to showcase the “intellectual and artistic forces of Europe and America,” the ones that were not “already enslaved by the shallow realism that had been introduced by the totalitarians.”⁹³ To this end, Jolas provided the necessary space for the American expats (many of them back home) and European independents, placing them alongside the Expressionists, Surrealists, Dadaists, and Constructivists, who continued to represent an artistic freedom that was increasingly under attack.

transition turned out to be transatlantic without announcing it. And it did so, in part, by accepting the fate of its transatlantic immobility from the start. More than one thousand subscriptions were sent to individual American readers every month, with five hundred copies reserved for its main distributor, the Gotham Book Mart, in New York City (principal agent after 1928).⁹⁴ That left roughly thirty-five hundred copies per month for France and the rest of Europe. By this time, however, there were no illusions about simultaneous publication, worries about the equal representation of writers from America, France, or England, or the assumption that two-way communication would take place in and between Paris, London, and New York. *transition* was actively transporting works that

wouldn't appear in British or American magazines, and part of its popularity in America at least had to do with the fact that so many expats from the '20s still craved this contact with the literature coming out of Europe. It was a contact, however, that wasn't to be confused with communication. This particular transatlantic dispatch worked only one way, with issues getting printed not far from Paris and arriving in America three to four weeks later, which, by this time, shouldn't have surprised anyone at all.⁹⁵

V

"THERE IS NO PERIODICAL WHERE ONE CAN LOOK FOR CURRENT KNOWLEDGE OF *EVERYWHERE*."⁹⁶ That was Pound (in all caps) in 1915 complaining, as he always did, about the limits of international communication. And in the quarter century that followed, nothing of the sort ever came into being, but that was because the little magazine, alone or in mixed company, wasn't designed for such a task. Finding the knowledge "*OF SOMEWHERE*" turned out to be challenging enough. What we see again and again in the history of this medium is the desire for a mode of literary communication that was, finally, impossible: little magazines came on the scene with big hopes, but every one of them was quickly forced to acknowledge its limits, including the direction of where, when, and if it could travel. Serial simulcasts, distribution cooperatives, and cover replacements were designed as short-term solutions, but none of them could conquer the Atlantic, let alone capture the elusive ideal "*OF EVERYWHERE*." Going ahead, critics interested in continuing to develop this concept of a transatlantic modernism will need to think more seriously about the materiality of this medium, and doing so will require dismantling this preconception of an international, borderless mode of literary production and consumption that has been around for decades. Don't get me wrong: there was indeed transatlantic mobility at the beginning of the twentieth century, but it was not a luxury reserved for the little magazine. And that, in the end, is what made all of these modernist crossings and recrossings possible, not the freedom of movement but the fate of immobility.

in italia, all'estero

Di più nei giovani scrittori venuti su con la “Voce” e con la “Ronda” c’era pure una bramosia di ritrovarsi di comunicarsi proposte e speranze tenendo l’occhio all’estero ma cercando proprio e oneste cammini.

What’s more among the young writers who grew up with la “Voce” and with la “Ronda” there was also a longing to find oneself communicating ideas and hopes keeping an eye abroad but also searching for the right and honest path.

▸ Carlo Linati, “Di un ritrovo della intelligenza e di una rivista letteraria”

I

IN ITALIA, ALL'ESTERO: in Italy, and abroad. This phrase is familiar enough to anyone who has had to navigate the Italian postal system, and it was one originally intended to distinguish between destinations for foreign and domestic mail. Little magazine editors at the beginning of the twentieth century were soon attaching this phrase to their subscription notices, and before long “all’estero” was a subtle way for them to advertise international range, taste, and connectivity. More than implying that a particular title was simply going to readers abroad, “all’estero” was there to signify that



the transmission was also happening in reverse with foreign influences, ideas, and writers coming back in. For that reason, “in Italia” was paradoxically a way for some little magazines to acknowledge that they were benefiting from “un apertura,” or an opening, that made it impossible to close Italy off from within.

In the years immediately preceding World War I, there was enough sympathy among European nations to encourage dreams of a shared literary culture that could be effectively mediated by little magazines. All of that changed, however, once the war erupted, and by 1918, when a tentative peace was finally achieved, there was a sense that Italy had lost its way, its path to modernity blocked by years of senseless destruction. In 1919, Vincenzo Cardarelli founded *La ronda* in Rome precisely to jumpstart the process of a “ritorno all’ordine” (return to order), and in the opening editorial, he gave readers a pretty bleak diagnosis of the situation: “Ritardata la nostra modernità di più di un mezzo secolo a causa di avvenimenti storici che non é il caso di discutere e rifatta l’Italia grettamente nazionalistica e provinciale nelle arti, la nostra letteratura intraducibile è poco valida ad attestare della nostra universalità tra le nazioni contemporanee, forse è giusto per noi il momento di uscire e di farci intendere in questo contagioso crepuscolo della civiltà moderna europea” (Having delayed our modernity by more than half a century because of historic events not worth discussing further and having remade an Italy narrowly nationalistic and provincial in the arts, our untranslatable literature is of little use to prove our universality between contemporary nations, perhaps it’s the right moment for us to leave and make ourselves understood in this contagious twilight of modern European civilization).¹ As Cardarelli and his more liberal-minded compatriots believed, the hypernationalization that began with unification and reached fever pitch during the war brought with it an increased provincialization and isolation of Italy’s culture. Any hope in the future for a more meaningful engagement with developments abroad, then, depended on the production of a modern literature and art that could be translated and exported elsewhere.²

So began what the Milanese critic, writer, and translator Carlo Linati described as a process of keeping “l’occhio all’estero” (an eye abroad). The

ability and inability to keep an “eye abroad” defined a fraught Italian cultural field in the period between the world wars and came to include books and writers, which once seemed, as Enzo Ferrieri, the editor of *Il convegno* put it, “troppo lontano da noi” (too far away from us).³ In the “primo dopoguerra” (the first postwar period), different groups of artists, writers, and intellectuals, many of them organized by city or region, were eager to deprovincialize Italy, but it was a process that involved finding innovative ways to generate a national literature, art, and criticism capable of engaging with the best of what could be found in other European nations. The strategies, as I’ll explain in what follows, were varied, but together they marked a pivotal moment in a cultural awakening process driven by the desire to make Italian literature and culture both modern and European.

The years 1919 to 1921 represent a brief, utopian moment in the history of modern Italian literature, art, and criticism before the Fascist takeover marked by Mussolini’s March on Rome. Magazines like *La ronda* and *Il convegno* were started precisely in order to provide an outlet for international communication involving groups of solitary intellectuals “diffusa in tutte le provincie della nostra letteratura” (spread out across all the provinces of our literature).⁴ By 1919, Italy already had an established magazine tradition that had witnessed the arrival of titles as varied as Benedetto Croce’s *La critica*, Giuseppe Prezzolini’s *La voce*, Giovanni Papini and Ardengo Soffici’s *Lacerba*, F. T. Marinetti’s *Poesia*, and Piero Gobetti’s *Energie nove*. But even in this abbreviated list, it’s possible to see just how elastic the category of the *rivista* could be. The English phrase *little magazine*, in fact, fails to define adequately the print medium that appeared in Italy during these years. In most cases, these “magazines” were not even “little” and could look more like newspapers, notebooks, or oversize exhibition catalogues than literary or general culture reviews. *Rivista*, then, was the preferred term, and it could refer at once to the staid academic periodical, an avant-garde four-column folio, a monthly devoted entirely to poetry, and a political student newspaper.

Modern Italian culture before and during Fascism was radically defined by this “ventura delle riviste” (destiny of *riviste*), and the cultural landscape was so littered with titles that the Italian twentieth century earned the

designation “il secolo delle riviste” (the century of *riviste*).⁵ What’s interesting about this particular history of the medium is not just the number of *riviste* published in cities and towns across Italy: it was the way they were adapted by liberal democrats, academics, aesthetes, Futurists, Communists, and Fascists alike to generate and protect different versions of an Italian culture that was very much in flux. In spite of the many ideological programs around which these various groups coalesced, each of them believed that the *rivista* would play an integral role in cultural production, a tool for communication with the power to consolidate groups by connecting individuals.

The effect of Fascism on the development of *riviste* across Italy cannot be underestimated.⁶ Fascist intellectuals and writers adapted it as a tool for propaganda, using it to continue defining a culture that was gradually developing alongside a political program.⁷ Already by 1924 with Mussolini’s *decreto legge*, the opportunity for explicit political opposition in periodicals and newspapers through articles, notes, comments, titles, illustrations, or vignettes was prohibited.⁸ For that reason, editors who did not pledge their allegiance to the Partito Nazionale Fascista, or PNF, had three choices: they could close down, self-censor, or face suppression. During the first phase of consolidation, the Fascists flaunted their power by openly crushing dissent in the press, and the suppression and violence that followed came to influence how the anti-Fascist *riviste* would select, organize, omit, and conceal material in the following decades.

Gobetti’s *Il Baretto* (named after the eighteenth-century author and model of free speech Giuseppe Baretto) was one of the most famous casualties in this early struggle against Fascism. First published in Turin in December 1924, *Il Baretto* began as a four-page literary supplement to the political weekly *La rivoluzione liberale*, and throughout its two-year run, it was intended to unite the liberal opposition (including Populists, Republicans, Socialists, Communists, and Unitarians) by connecting Italy with Europe. Considering that one of the most successful and longest running Fascist magazines had the title *Antieuropa* (1929–1943), it’s easy to see that this was no easy task for Gobetti or anyone else. Europe was symbolic of an enduring liberal democratic ideal that many Fascists associated with

antinationalism, and it was connected with a sickness that Marinetti called “esterofilia.”⁹ But for Gobetti and his collaborators, any chance for cultural renewal required the direct engagement with a contemporary literary scene abroad, one that could provide a refreshing counterpoint to the more restrictive, and indeed more provincial, Fascist cultural program that was in the process of being formed at home.

Il Baretto's political agenda was communicated more subtly through Gobetti's choice of writers, critics, and translators. Within its fifty-three issues, there appeared reviews, essays, and translations of works by the Surrealists and Dadaists—James Joyce, Rainer Marie Rilke, Virginia Woolf, André Gide, Paul Valéry, Stephane Mallarmé, Marcel Proust, and Charles Baudelaire—with special issues dedicated to contemporary French literature and German theater. This embrace of current literary developments and critical conversations abroad was certainly intended as an antidote to a nationally defined program, but equally important, it enabled Italian writers and critics to position themselves within and against non-Fascist, European examples. In doing so, however, they were not automatically united across the country. In fact, Ferrieri argued that these scattered pockets of resistance, though certainly crucial to the loose formation of an anti-Fascist intellectual network, tended to have a more regional focus and lacked any significant national coordination.¹⁰ Antonio Gramsci held a similar opinion. The regional dispersal of *riviste* was problematic, he believed, because it reduced the possibility of establishing any unified front and would not allow for the broader organization within the nation-based cultural institutions, the kind that could move beyond the “quadri chiusi” (closed cadres) to the masses.¹¹

Nevertheless, as the Fascist regime became more repressive throughout the 1920s, including the beating of Gobetti by Mussolini's thugs, ending with his death in exile, these anti-Fascist *riviste* kept appearing. Ferrieri's *Il convegno*, though often excluded from the histories of the *riviste*, was one of the more resilient titles, and it managed to last for two decades.¹² Part of *Il convegno's* success stemmed from Ferrieri's ability to adapt, organizing cultural activities in Milan, while refusing to become part of the state's cultural apparatus. In fact, the writers and critics who appeared in its pages and

frequented the events organized by the “Circolo del Convegno” counted on the fact that the regime was largely ignorant about contemporary literary and artistic developments abroad. Had they known just who was coming into Italy via Milan, Ferrieri was convinced that his entire operation would have been “immediatamente stroncata” (immediately crushed).¹³

Still, it wasn't just who was crossing the border into Italy that mattered; it was how. Editors like Gobetti, Ferrieri, and Alberto Carocci realized that the *rivista* was incredibly effective as an oppositional medium precisely because it could assume the form of an “anthology.” In the 1920s, in particular, the production of the so-called *rivista-antologia* represented a more coded refusal to follow a single, and indeed less tolerant, cultural program. Instead of editors using the manifesto to announce their intentions, they tacked on open-ended statements about who and what would appear in their pages. Using the *antologia* as an anti-Fascist device was Gobetti's idea. Though warned by Edoardo Persico that the absence of an explicit editorial program would make *Il Baretto* “un invertebrato, incapace di tener stretti perfino i redattori” (spineless, unable even to keep the editors in line), Gobetti refused to give in. By doing so, he created an inclusive space capable of combining not just different national literatures but also critical works that were often ideologically opposed to one another. With carefully curated eclecticism, *Il Baretto* became, as Gobetti explained in an advertisement for the first issue, “il centro di raccolta della nuova letteratura e darà un bell'esempio di rivista indipendente aperta agli spiriti più nuovi e più audaci, europea nei risultati e nell' ispirazione” (the collection center of the new literature, and it will offer a perfect example of an independent *rivista* open to newer and bolder spirits, European in its accomplishments and inspiration).¹⁴

Open, independent, new, bold, European in spirit and inspiration: these were the adjectives associated with so many of the *riviste* that chose to oppose Fascism. Ferrieri did not originally conceive of this so-called *forma antologica* as a tool for political or cultural resistance. *Il convegno* began more simply as an expression of its cosmopolitanism in the immediate postwar years before the Fascists were even in power. At the time, though, there was always the risk that by accommodating different writers and

critics, old and new, with a mix of criticism, prose, and poetry, *Il convegno* would be interpreted by supporters and detractors alike as lacking any clear direction. “Non avevamo nessun fatto personale contro la parola antologia,” Ferrieri explains in an unpublished introduction, “però successe, con l’andare del tempo, che questa definizione ‘antologia,’ che in fondo per noi era un pretesto per contrabbandare un preciso programma (come si vide nei fatti) e che non sceglieva nel vecchio, ma addirittura ne produceva del nuovo, ci fu affibbiato come un marchio d’infamia, da parte di quelle consorterie riunite dai loro interessi creati, per escluderci dai loro elenchi di candidati all’posterità!” (We didn’t have anything personal against the word anthology, but it happened with the passage of time that this definition of “antologia,” which was basically a pretext for us to sneak in a specific program [as evident in the facts] and that was choosing not what was old, but was rather producing something new, and was attached to us like a mark of infamy, by those cliques held together by shared interests, in order to exclude us from their lists of candidates for posterity).¹⁵ The inherent eclecticism of the anthology was eventually adapted as a sign of protest, and though it is certainly true that this form can be more local or regional, by bringing in foreign writers from abroad and providing the space for a new generation of Italian critics who could communicate with their European counterparts, Ferrieri was able to generate a cultural model for modern Italy that capitalized on the exchange in both directions into and out of Europe.

By 1926, when *Solaria* first started appearing in Florence, Carocci had no illusions about what the form of the anthology meant. By this time, Gobetti was dead, Gramsci was in jail, and the struggle over the direction of Italian culture was very much under way. But instead of using the anthology as a vehicle for oblique political engagement (through editorials about literary figures and topics or through the choice of foreign writers and reviews), it was there to provide, as much as possible, an autonomous space in an increasingly politicized cultural sphere.¹⁶ Critical essays and reviews appeared in its pages, among them Leo Ferrero’s provocative “Perche l’Italia abbia una letteratura europea,” but *Solaria* (like *Il convegno*) devoted itself primarily to bringing out works by modern Italian writers (Svevo,

Montale, Saba) along with translations of American and Anglo-European modernists (Woolf, Hemingway, Faulkner, Joyce, Eliot, Proust, Rilke, Kafka, and Mann among them).¹⁷ But *Solaria*, a title inspired by Tommaso Campanella's novel *La città del sole* (1692) describing a utopian society, did not achieve its autonomy through content alone. It was transmitted through the form of the anthology itself, one that provided a panoramic view of the contemporary literary scene, bringing together collections of writers who were increasingly identified by their national affiliations. Up until 1936, when *Solaria* was officially shut down, it never stopped reminding readers that being Italian did not have to mean severing European connections.

The decision to keep “un occhio all'estero” was a fraught one, indeed, but it influenced not just what would appear in *riviste* during the *primo dopoguerra* but also what forms they could take along the way. Instead of trying to follow the direction of every current or trace the configuration of every network, I limit myself in this chapter to one city (Milan), tracing the development of four *riviste* (*Poesia*, *Il convegno*, *Pegaso*, and *Corrente di vita giovanile*) over the course of thirty years. I chose Milan, in part, because of its geography. As an industrialized, metropolitan city positioned so close to the northern border, Milan was historically one of the primary sites for European cultural exchange in Italy. Not only was it widely considered Italy's most modern city, which explains why it was the first home of the Futurists, but it was also one with the greatest concentration of wealth and cultural influence, second only to Rome, which was the seat of government and the Catholic Church.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Milan quickly evolved into a powerful publishing center, which allowed writers and intellectuals, many of them uninterested in the commercial literary marketplace, to track down printers who could publish their work cheaply. Milan, like Florence, Rome, and Turin during these years, was undergoing a series of seismic cultural and political transformations, and the *rivista* was a barometer that effectively registered the shocks. When Marinetti founded *Poesia* in 1905, Milan was as cosmopolitan as it ever had been, but when World War I erupted, Italy closed its borders. In the postwar years, the *rivista* was effectively called on to access Europe, allowing for literary and critical

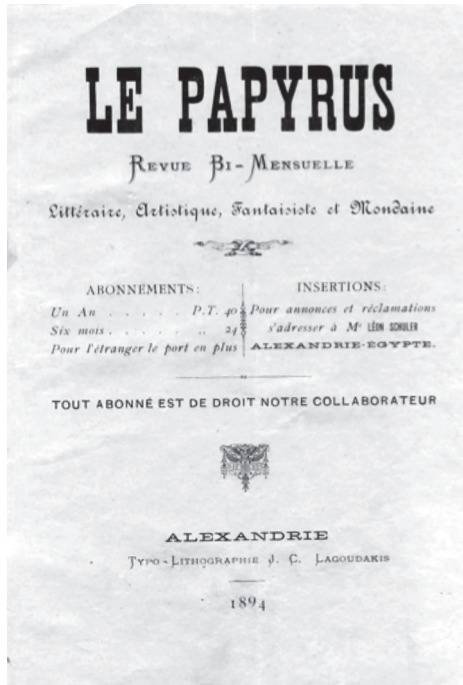
conversations that could contribute to the formation of an Italian cultural scene on par with the capital cities of Paris, New York, and Berlin.

It wasn't always easy being modern in Milan. Tracing a line of development within this city from F. T. Marinetti's *Poesia* (1905–1909) through Enzo Ferrieri's *Il convegno* (1920–1940) to Ugo Ojetti's *Pan* (1933–1935) and Ernesto Treccani's *Corrente di vita giovanile* (1938–1940), we can understand just how the *rivista* was on the front line of this battle over the future of Italian culture. There are some revealing differences between them, but together they share in common a desire to transform an increasingly modern print medium into what Giuseppe Langella has called “un luogo di cultura” (a place of culture).¹⁸ It was a “place” that was always taking Milan as a point of departure and deciding whether it would become a gateway into Europe or a gate that could keep Europe and the rest of the world out.

II

Milan and modernity went hand in hand. At the beginning of the twentieth century, it was one of Europe's cultural capitals and a model for other, less industrialized Italian cities to follow. That's what the Italian Futurists, of course, believed when they arrived en masse to stage their takeover of the city in 1909. They adopted Milan as a base of operations and depended on the sounds and sights of the crowds, trams, trains, electricity, and airplanes to jump-start an outmoded art and culture. In order to become a Futurist city, Milan could not remain isolated from metropolitan centers around the globe. Instead, it needed to act as “the puffing locomotive of the peninsula-train” (*la locomotiva sbuffante della penisola-treno*), as the Futurist painter and sculptor Umberto Boccioni put it, one that could carry Italy to the rest of the world and back.¹⁹

Milan, as I already noted, did have a magazine culture in place long before the Futurists arrived to lead the peninsula-train out of the station, but its modern transformation in the first few decades of the twentieth century cannot be fully understood without taking a brief detour through fin-de-siècle Alexandria, Egypt, where Marinetti first learned how magazines could be printed, posted, and sent. At the time, poets in Alexandria



3.1 Cover of *Le papyrus* (1894), first version.
Permission to reprint from Oxford University Press.

were heavily influenced by French Symbolism and Decadentism, and if their eye was on the French capital, their hands were turning the pages of the French *revues* to keep up with current trends. Born and raised in Alexandria, Marinetti was captivated by the modern literary experiments being conducted abroad, but instead of relying entirely on them for information, he did what any enterprising young writer with a budget might do: he founded his own French-language magazine in February 1894 and called it *Le papyrus* (figure 3.1).

Claudia Salaris argues that this early experience for Marinetti represented “the first step in a long initiation that would develop into futurism, the first symptom of a rupture with the present world” (*il primo passo di una lunga iniziazione destinata a sfociare nel futurismo, il primo sintomo di*

una rottura col mondo presente).²⁰ Indeed, *Le papyrus*, which belongs to the prehistory of Futurism, was instrumental in Marinetti's development as a cultural mediator, giving the young editor-poet-publicist the chance to participate in an emerging international magazine network in and between France and Egypt. In its original incarnation, *Le papyrus* was pretty conventional. Individual issues were printed on thin paper with block lettering on the cover (a different color for every issue), which contained information about subscriptions and the relevant editorial addresses along with a copyright notice protecting the rights of its contributors. No one knows for sure about the scope of *Le papyrus*'s transnational distribution, but the line beneath the subscription rates indicates that some arrangement was made with French bookstores and, quite possibly, newsstands.²¹ After the first six issues, *Le papyrus* underwent a serious makeover: the format was enlarged so that it looked more like a newspaper than a periodical; it changed color, turning a washed-out clay red that remained consistent from issue to issue; a hastily drawn sketch of palm trees, seated pharaohs, and sand with a border of hieroglyphs was added to the cover; and all the editorial, copyright, and subscription information was placed inside (figure 3.2).

These two covers reveal, among other things, a shift in tone. The sketch is more amateurish and looks as if it was dashed off in a hurry. But this transformation makes sense if you want to advertise the youthfulness of your magazine, which Marinetti, who was only eighteen years old at the time, did. Lest his readers miss the point, a new slogan was placed beneath the masthead: "Rédigée par une société de jeunes-gens" (Directed by a group of young people). *Le papyrus* was not simply another *revue* in the French circuit: it was made by and for the "jeunes-gens" of Alexandria and provided the space where creative and critical work could be exchanged. *Le papyrus* was not to be confused with a museum that hangs up old masters on the wall. Rather, Marinetti and his collaborators imagined it more as a studio where poets could test their work on an audience while the paint was still drying.

Le papyrus in its original format could hardly be distinguished from the literary *revues* published in Paris. In fact, anyone who came across it on a newsstand in Alexandria was likely to see *Le papyrus* as a Parisian import.



3.2 Cover of *Le papyrus* (Spring 1894), second version.
Copyright © Artist Rights Society.

And that is precisely what makes the reformatting so significant: it signifies a break with the magazine model already in place, making it less derivative and, for that reason, more modern. But if *Le papyrus* emerged as another satellite for channeling French literary culture, it soon began to identify itself with the local context and the historical conditions that set it apart. Reformatting, then, was a sophisticated maneuver that made Marinetti's first magazine less of a colony in the French literary-critical circuit and more of an autonomous agent tied to an Egyptian culture that existed long before Napoleon's arrival.

Le papyrus was Marinetti's crash course in magazine production and distribution. Moving to Milan in 1902, he collaborated with *La plume*, *La revue blanche*, *La rénovation esthétique*, *La vogue*, and *Verse et prose*, working for one magazine as a foreign editor (*Anthologie revue*). By 1904, however, he decided that it was time to put Italy on the map of modern literature and asked Carlo Linati to codirect the enterprise. The plan, Linati reflected later, did not make any sense: why would anyone publish "una rivista di poesia" at a time when the Italian literary field was becoming more and more commercialized?²² It didn't make any sense to him at the time, but Linati soon discovered that it was the adversity of the marketplace that spurred Marinetti on. He wasn't interested in making a *rivista* that reaffirmed current cultural trends. Quite the opposite: Marinetti wanted to change the direction entirely by showing a wide audience of readers just how modern and relevant poetry could be. The print run of the penultimate issue of thirty thousand and the final one of forty thousand clearly demonstrated his enormous success.

Marinetti christened his second magazine with the most generic title of all: *Poesia*.²³ That, of course, was the trick. Provocation was slyly concealed beneath a generic signifier. Marinetti's *Poesia* (thirty-one issues in all) was designed to promote modern poetry from dozens of countries, and yet, instead of arguing for the autonomy of the literary field, he employed many of the editorial and marketing strategies that belonged to the mass marketplace. Contests were staged asking readers to participate, free copies of individual issues were sent to entice bookshops and newsstands, and letters of praise from well-known writers and critics were frequently reproduced in excerpted form. Marinetti's most inventive promotional scheme involved the *panettone*, a popular Milanese sweet bread loaf, wrapped in a cover from *Poesia* that would be sent as a token of appreciation to esteemed contributors. *Poesia*, in other words, was not going to remove serious literature from the commercial sphere. Rather, it was going to plow right through it and wake up anyone who might think that poetry should be detached from mass culture. Marinetti knew that it was a "crazy act" (*gesto da pazzi*), but he still firmly believed that *Poesia* could "surprise" (*epater*) Italy "barbogia and carducciana."²⁴ His ambitions, in

fact, went far beyond modernizing Italy and the Italians. “Marinetti,” as Paolo Buzzi remembered, “wanted to found a review capable of including the newest products from all modern poets in all the languages of humanity” (*volle fondare una rassegna destinata ad accogliere il prodotto nuovissimo di tutti i poeti moderni in tutti gli idiomi dell'umanità*).²⁵ More than one reviewer was struck by the irony that the editorial offices, typesetters, and printers were based in and around Milan, “the most apoetic city in Italy” (*la più apoetica d'Italia*) but one capable of providing “the machines, the industry, and the traffic” (*delle macchine, delle industrie, e dei traffici*).²⁶

Poesia was an unexpected triumph. In the global history of the modernist magazine, it occupies a distinguished position not only because it eventually became an important platform for the foundation of Futurism (publishing the Italian translation of the first manifesto in 1909 and adding the words “Il Futurismo” to the bottom of the cover in the last few issues) but also because it revolutionized the medium itself and served as a powerful example of how a more global form of literary transmission could work in the first half of the twentieth century. And it's worth remembering that when Marinetti founded *Poesia*, he was still regarded as a foreign transplant in Italy, a doubly displaced expatriate, who arrived in Milan from Alexandria speaking and writing in French. Indeed, some people have even suggested that his naïve distance from the realities of post-Risorgimento Italy, fueled by his deracinated identity, actually gave him the necessary detachment to embark on such a bold venture.

Poesia's internationalism, though modeled after the French Symbolists of the 1890s, was much wider in scope and extended to dozens of countries in western, central, and eastern Europe, South Asia, and into South America. From the first issue in 1905, *Poesia* advertised itself as a “*rassegna internazionale*” (international review), a qualifying term that referred as much to the contents of each issue as it did to its zones of distribution (figure 3.3). In the opening pages, readers would regularly come across snippets from enthusiastic reviews and private letters, which proved, in every case, that *Poesia* (and by extension Marinetti) was attracting admirers as far afield as Cairo, Berlin, Buenos Aires, and London. This self-promotion was certainly a way to attract new readers, and it was based on



3.3 Cover of *Poesia* 2 (May–June 1905). Courtesy of the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Permission to reprint from Oxford University Press.

a simple strategy for making the internationalism concrete, flaunting the modernity of Marinetti's enterprise precisely by advertising an expansive geographical terrain. Marinetti developed other tactics as well. He frequently announced a new "inquest" (*inchiesta*) on topics as varied as the beauty of Italian women, free verse, and the search for an unpublished

Italian novel. The number of responses always exceeded the available space in the magazine, so the list of respondents, many of them famous writers, artists, and critics, was regularly printed alongside carefully chosen excerpts.

Because of Marinetti's earlier experience with *Le papyrus*, he understood how magazines could generate a community of like-minded readers at home and abroad. What made *Poesia* different from its predecessor, however, was the scale. The production was much larger, the audience more widely dispersed; it was importing poets as much as it was exporting them and establishing points of contact with writers and critics interested in "making it new." The global ambition of *Poesia*, then, was not dependent on a pass-along readership, as was the case for so many other magazines. Issues, of course, would move through informal networks, but Marinetti was beginning to experiment with what Salaris has termed a finely tuned "communication system" (*una sistema di comunicazione*).²⁷

First, to distribute a large number of magazines, they need to be beautiful objects. Marinetti spared no expense in the production of *Poesia*, helped from 1907 by money inherited from his father. Every issue was printed on thick, uncut paper with a stunning cover designed by Alberto Martini that changed color every month. The high-quality paper, the modern design of the poetic muse on the jagged rock, and the brilliant colors increased the production costs, but they also alerted reader-consumers to the fact that they were making a worthwhile investment. The magazine they were buying was as beautiful and well made as any modern book, and with Marinetti supplementing the production costs, issues could be had for a reasonable price: one lira per issue within Italy, one lira fifty abroad. *Poesia*, then, was unlike anything else on the newsstands and in the bookshops. In fact, in an age of mass-produced magazines intended for quick consumption, it was an oddity of sorts: an anthology of contemporary world poetry meant to be preserved on shelves and saved for the future.

Second, a magazine worth buying and selling requires distribution sites. On this point, Marinetti was a visionary. Even before the official launch of *Poesia*, he assembled a list of bookshops within Italy and abroad willing

to receive issues on the twentieth of every month. Instead of keeping this information off the record, however, Marinetti included it as promotional material. Every issue, then, contained “un elenco delle librerie” (a directory of bookstores) on the back inside cover, with the Italian cities assembled alphabetically in a box at the top and the non-Italian cities below. It was also during Marinetti’s tenure as editor of *Poesia* that he recognized how effective free copies could be for enticing distribution sites and potential contributors, and it was a ploy he continued to rely on after establishing a separate publishing house (Edizioni Futuriste di Poesia) for the production of high-quality books.²⁸

Third, alliances are a must. For this, Marinetti adapted a strategy that magazine editors had long relied on; he published an inventory of like-minded reviews on the back page, broken down not by field or genre but by city. Looking closely, however, it’s clear that even here, Marinetti was modifying conventions. To the two dozen or so French magazines, most of them with Symbolist associations, has been added a small collection that includes Moscow, Bruges, Madrid, and Budapest. Whatever the location, the titles are all in French, with the implication that if this is the lingua franca of modern poets and poetry its lexicon, then the magazine is its voice box. The list of reviews on its own would not actually do much. But combined with all the other details, it demonstrated how internationalism was actively inscribed within the pages of *Poesia* itself. The lists, inventories, and snippets of letters and reviews functioned like passport stamps that readers could show off whenever they wanted to advertise their own literary worldliness. And, indeed, that’s what Marinetti would do himself whenever he had the chance to write the words “la mia rivista internazionale *Poesia*” (my international review *Poesia*).²⁹

By the time *Poesia* reached its fifth year, Marinetti was ready to move on. Though his audience had grown accustomed to surprises, the most pivotal one arrived in the first issue of 1909. Here, the manifesto of Futurism, which originally appeared in *Le Figaro*, was published in French and Italian, signaling a dramatic change in direction. Once the home for modern world poetry, *Poesia* was making space for manifestoes and an Italian literary movement. By the final two issues published that year, “Organe de

Futurisme” (Organ of Futurism) appeared below the title on the cover page, marking the end of *Poesia* and the beginning of Marinetti’s lifelong role as Futurism’s ringleader. What may have begun as a “gesto da pazzi” ended as a wild success story involving an editor who managed to transform Milan, and by default Italy, into an international hub for modern literature. It put Marinetti on the radar of many poets, critics, and writers, allowing him, in the process, to assemble faithful allies for the global reception of Futurism.

If Futurism grew out of *Poesia*, it also outgrew *Poesia*. By 1909, Marinetti was taking his literary and editorial experiments in other directions, and just as it was inconceivable that a single genre should be privileged, so too was it inconceivable that a single *rivista* could carry the burden. Throughout the 1910s, Marinetti turned his attention to book publishing, the promotion of Futurism, and the Italian war effort, though he continued to edit from afar, mostly by working through other editors. When *Poesia* was resuscitated in April 1920, lasting five issues until the end of that year, the young and energetic Mario Dessy stepped in as the editor. Marinetti, of course, sanctioned (and funded) the entire venture in the hope that it could help jump-start Futurism at a time when Italy seemed lost. Futurists would continue to find a home here, but Dessy also opened up the pages of *Poesia* to developments in world poetry beyond Marinetti’s usual orbit and actively sought to engage with other avant-garde movements, including Dadaism, Ultraism, and “l’espirit nouveau.”³⁰

Under Dessy, *Poesia* experienced an intense, albeit brief, second life. Salaris suspects that its closure in 1920 had to do with divisions between the various factions within the Futurist party itself. The glory days of the first phase were officially over, and no one was sure what place Futurism or modern art in general would have in postwar Italy. But it’s also crucial to recognize that Marinetti did something that ran contrary to his own Futurist beliefs: he looked backward. Already by 1909, *Poesia* belonged to a different age, a pre-Futurist moment when Marinetti was still figuring out how to internationalize modern poetry. He continued to assemble followers in the 1920s, but a new generation raised on the avant-garde militarism of the 1910s was looking for something different, and it was not

going to be found in a *rivista* from the past no matter how successful or modern it might have been.

III

In May 1923, Marinetti delivered a series of three lectures at the “Circolo del Convegno” on modern French poets. This particular event, sponsored by *Il convegno*, a *rivista* for contemporary literature and criticism based in Milan, was not as unusual as it might at first seem. Marinetti still lived in his adopted Italian city, not far from the “Circolo del Convegno,” and he had just completed an Italian translation of Mallarmé. He arrived, in this instance, not as a Futurist or a Fascist (or both) but as a poetry lover, one willing to entertain an audience of nonspecialists, the kind of general readers who were rapidly emerging in cities like Milan in these postwar years.³¹ And that, indeed, was the purpose for such an event: not a political rally or a bombastic performance but a lecture about literature to an audience largely unfamiliar with the material. The “Circolo” was founded a year earlier to provide a forum for discussions about art, literature, and music, many of them ending up in printed form as articles, making it possible for others who were not there to follow along. In this way, *Il convegno* was unique. At a time of dramatic political, social, and cultural upheaval in Milan (and across Italy), it was transformed into a cultural center complete with a library and bookshop (1921), a publishing house (1921), a lecture hall (1922), and a theater (1924).

Enzo Ferrieri, the thirty-year-old editor, first started *Il convegno* in 1920 to combat the widespread Milanese ignorance about literary developments abroad. In his mind, he was continuing a process that began before World War I with the founding of *La voce* and *Lacerba*, both based in Florence, and in the postwar years, his *rivista* became part of an interurban network that included *La ronda* (1919–1923), *Il Baretto* (1924–1928), and *Solaria* (1926–1934). All of these magazines had different agendas, but together they shared the belief that Italian culture could be rebuilt only by establishing contact with writers from Europe and elsewhere. Ferrieri was lucky, then, to have an older guide like Linati by his side, someone who was

not only more experienced with Italian *riviste* (collaborating, most notably, with *La voce*, *La Diana* [published in Naples between 1915 and 1917], and *La ronda*) but also better connected to Italian and European writers, critics, and their magazines. By 1920, Linati had translated William Butler Yeats and John Millington Synge into Italian, begun collaborating with James Joyce on a translation of *Exiles*, and received a commission from Ezra Pound to write a few letters about Italian literature for the *Dial*. Not long after the first issue was published, Linati advised Ferrieri against a strictly regional focus and, inadvertently, ensured a longevity and internationalism that was matched only by Alberto Carocci's *Solaria* in Florence six years later.

Linati, who by this time would have realized how misguided he had been about Marinetti's "gesto da pazzi," provided Ferrieri with a simple formula for success: "continue to do your Review with the best Italian and foreign names; that is the best way to do it and the public will desire nothing better."³² *Il convegno* would not become the foundation for an exclusive literary or artistic movement or program. Rather, it would provide for an open and ongoing literary conversation that included criticism, translations, essays, and reviews from an international ensemble of critics and writers. The title, in place from the very beginning, was entirely appropriate for defining the mission at hand. *Il convegno* would be the place for the informal rendezvous, one where texts, critics, and writers could be thrown together in unexpected ways from issue to issue: Franz Kafka to Isaac Babel, D. H. Lawrence to Umberto Saba, Luigi Pirandello to Marcel Proust, Rainer Maria Rilke to Anna Akhmatova, Albert Thibaudet to Carlo Carrà. *Il convegno* avoided any dogmatic editorial program, searching only for examples of modern literature wherever they could be found.³³

The original cover (February 1920), designed by the architect and graphic designer Giò Ponti, had the title stamped in large red block letters at the top with a summary of the contents, the name of the editor, the editorial address, and the price listed at the bottom. The industrial typeface and minimalist layout certainly signified the modern turn *Il convegno* was taking, but together they conveyed a timelessness meant to assure readers that these writers, many of them unknown in Italy at the time,

belonged to an emerging pantheon of world writers in the process of making literary history. There was another message encoded in this new cover design, one that most readers would have recognized immediately. It was modeled after the *Nouvelle revue française* (*NRF*), the celebrated French review then under the editorship of Jacques Rivière, later Jean Paulhan. If ever there was a cosmopolitan magazine, the *NRF* was it, and in Italy, every writer, critic, and translator with the slightest interest in contemporary literature followed each issue.³⁴ This was the place where the “consecration” of modern writers was happening in the 1920s, and any positive attention from the *NRF* was enough to launch an international career.³⁵ *Il convegno*'s identification with the *NRF*, however, went far beyond the cover design. Throughout the 1920s especially, the two magazines swapped critics, exchanged advertisements, moved writers between Milan and Paris, published essays simultaneously, and swapped books for review.³⁶ There were Italian critics at the time who interpreted this exchange as another symptom of Milan's long-standing Francophilia, but Ferrieri saw things differently. Both magazines in these postwar years were developing strategies for cultural renewal dependent on the construction of collaborative networks that would allow nations to communicate with one another. And they both had something to gain: the *NRF* picked up a sympathetic Italian ally, while *Il convegno* earned cultural prestige.

Il convegno's distance from Fascism's cultural and political program could have been interpreted as flagrant dissent, and yet throughout the 1920s, it was not. Even the “Circolo del Convegno” managed to avoid paying the obligatory subscription to the “circolo fascista di cultura,” and the many public events, which included musical performances by Sergei Prokofiev and Béla Bartók, never attracted negative attention, though it would for other *riviste* after 1937 when the Fascists issued their “Manifesto della Razza” (Manifesto of Race). Whatever noble intentions Ferrieri had from the beginning, he still needed to solve some very basic problems. How, for instance, do you open up your *rivista* to Europe and the world? How much translation would be involved and in what languages? What standards are in place to measure the quality of a particular literary work? What makes a literary work translatable from one national culture to another? And who

decides what gets in and what stays out? The last question, the most pressing of all in the process of literary transmission, allows us to work backward through all of the others: who decides what to import and export? In the case of *Il convegno*, it was less a single personality than a collective body of critics, translators, and writers with different specializations. Stationed at the borders between Italy and the rest of Europe was a team of mediators charged with finding original literary works to translate, books to review, foreign magazines to set up exchanges, and critics—all of them well known—ready to chart developments in their respective national literatures. Giacomo Prampolini was put in charge of German, Scandinavian, and Slavic literature, Giuseppe Prezzolini (and later Eugenio Montale) the French, Eugenio Levi and Cesare Angelini the Italian, and Linati (later Emilio Cecchi) the American and British.

Linati was a reliable ally from the beginning to the end of *Il convegno's* reign. In fact, he agreed to break with the Rome-based *La ronda* in order to offer his services exclusively to *Il convegno* for 350 lire per month. Because of his connections with Pound and Joyce, he was put in charge of British, Irish, and American literature. As much as mediators like Linati were working behind the scenes to assemble material for future issues, they were also required to be on-site for readers in need of guidance, who were attending the lectures of the “Circolo” and visiting the library with an impressive collection of over one hundred literary magazines from Italy and abroad. That contact between mediators and the reading public helped to establish an intimate bond with the *rivista* itself. They were, in a sense, a physical link between Italy and the world outside, specialists with a secret knowledge that they were willing to share with others.

Mediating the literary field in real time can be a lot like gambling: betting on a future that may or may not bring rewards. In some cases, the odds were not very formidable, especially when a writer already had an established reputation. Bringing Dostoevsky, for instance, into Italy in 1925 was less about gauging his greatness than about announcing his existence to a wider audience. There were also the search and rescue efforts of magazines across western Europe, many of them crafting the

posthumous reputations of writers like Franz Kafka, Isaac Babel, and Rainier Maria Rilke. Italo Svevo was a unique case because he was an Italian writer “discovered” by the French before being imported back into Italy, in large part because of Eugenio Montale’s enthusiastic review of *Senilità* in *L’esame* (1925). *Il convegno* was one of the first *riviste* to lend its support to Svevo’s cause, including critical essays on his novels, invited talks, and after his death, an entire special issue assembling personal memories and critical evaluations from leading French and Italian critics. Proust, Joyce, and Thomas Mann were regular fixtures in these pages, for instance, but there is a conspicuous absence of avant-garde writers and movements. Considering that 40 percent of the articles, reviews, and translations involved foreign writers,³⁷ it is easy to see how some contemporary Italian critics would complain of an unapologetic Eurocentrism. Striking a balance between foreign and domestic literature is always a tricky process, and it involves, as Paul Valéry put it in a letter to Ferrieri, “the most delicate balance between tradition and invention. To grow without shrinking” (*un delicatissimo equilibrio della tradizione e della invenzione. Crescere senza diminuire*).³⁸ In the case of *Il convegno*, importing was a strategy for modernizing Italian literature. Instead of devaluing Italian writers and critics, this foreign presence had just the opposite effect, and in the process of expanding the frame of reference, *Il convegno* was not only educating a small reading public but also making it possible to imagine where Italian writers would fit into a much wider cultural universe.

Though Ferrieri repeatedly advertised *Il convegno* as a vehicle for exporting Italian literature, there is little evidence of any significant international distribution.³⁹ It was more active as an importer of mostly European literature, a window into a world “beyond Chiasso” (*oltre chiasso*), the border crossing between Italy and Switzerland. The distinction, in fact, is crucial, because it forces us to think about the politics of “literary exchange” within Milan during these years. Whatever the global ambitions of a *rivista* like *Il convegno*, it was not entirely democratic. It had to choose which currents to follow, creating networks of circulation that privileged some regions over others. And no matter how prescient the mediators were in this process, they were never acting alone. Their decisions were based

on the judgment of critics from the respective nations of the writers in question. Cases like Svevo were extremely rare. It was more common to find writers in *Il convegno* with preestablished national reputations, many of them receiving an added boost from the French critical circuit.

Il convegno wanted to access a wider literary system in the wake of a world war, but this meant that writers and critics were selected on the basis of universal moral and intellectual values. Indeed, specific national and regional contexts and literary traditions were acknowledged but only insofar as they contributed to the idea of a Universal Europe that was itself just as ideological. Throughout the 1920s, *Il convegno* was one of a handful of Italian *riviste* manufacturing the figure of the modern European writer, someone opposed to nation-based provincialism and open to modes of literary communication that emphasized cross-cultural, transhistorical connections. James Joyce was an ideal example of this enlightened European figure. He was first introduced to *Il convegno*'s readers through Linati's Italian translation of *Exiles* in 1920. Linati considered an Italian translation of *Ulysses*, but with an authoritative French version on the horizon (complete with Joyce's imprimatur), he decided against it. Instead, he agreed to translate a series of six excerpts from *Ulysses*, all of them selected by Ezra Pound and presented in a single issue under the title "Da l'Ulysses di James Joyce." When making the case to Ferrieri, Linati explained that a special issue could be a publishing event for *Il convegno*. Best of all, Joyce was a writer *Il convegno* gambled on long before he had international celebrity status—a triumph sporadically reported on the inside cover.

Il convegno, then, was worldly by association. And embracing Joyce ended up validating a program of "deprovincialization" that was in place from the very beginning. In the first half of the 1930s, sporadic efforts were made to establish contact with other national literatures—Russian, Scandinavian, and Icelandic among them—but Ferrieri, like so many others, began to turn his attention to film and radio. In 1931, *Il convegno* sponsored a conference that asked writers and critics to consider the impact of radio on mass culture. It published the findings in a special issue and two years later began a supplement, *Cine-convegno*, devoted entirely to film criticism (it lasted only a year). This focus on new media was generated,

in part, by genuine curiosity, but considering Ferrieri's editorial prowess, it was also his way of accommodating the political restrictions that were shrinking the literary field. Once double and triple issues began appearing in 1933, the death rattle of *Il convegno* was officially under way.⁴⁰ Though a new generation of Italian writers started to appear in these pages—Guido Piovene, Leonardo Borgese, Mario Robertazzi—there were not enough of them, and the imported material became so sparse that twelve issues a year at sixty pages each were too many to fill.⁴¹ Ferrieri, however, refused to let his magazine become part of the Fascist propaganda machine or dwindle into obsolescence. But even if the contents took a decidedly muted, Italo-centric turn, Ferrieri saved his most overt political message for 1936, when he published *Il convegno* as a bimonthly with a white cover designed by Leonardo Borgese, one of several anti-Fascist Jewish contributors who had the greatest difficulty with the censors.

The whiteness of the cover symbolized opposition to the *camicie nere*, or black shirts, the militant branch of Mussolini's Fascist Party. The red letters were replaced by smaller black ones (offset to the right); the summary of the contents and office address were removed; and the date, once indicated by month and year on the top left-hand side of the cover (January 1921), was replaced by Roman numerals. That last detail, like the color, was another anti-Fascist jab. The practice of marking the passing year with Roman numerals was adopted for the new Fascist calendar, beginning with October 1922 to mark Mussolini's March on Rome. At first, Borgese kept the Fascist year off (and the year of *Il convegno* on), but when it was added, careful readers would discover that the calculation on the cover corresponded not with Mussolini's rise to power but with the appearance of *Il convegno's* first issue.⁴² The correct Fascist date was, however, placed on the inside cover page as protection against attentive censors.

In the editorial note, Ferrieri explained that the color change reflected a new *realtà* across Italy, one he refused to define, choosing instead to revisit the original objectives outlined sixteen years earlier. "*Il convegno*," he said, "does not follow any fashion"; its lasting ambition had been "the will to understand, to stimulate interest in moral, literary, and artistic problems and distribute this awareness to a relatively large public. This is the

reason that has kept *Il convegno*, after seventeen years of life, without contradictions, one of the youngest Italian reviews.”⁴³ In 1936, readers would have been acutely aware that Ferrieri was describing a world that no longer existed, one where writers spoke the same language, making it possible to “have a conversation” (*dare convegno*) in the pages of a single *rivista*. In fact, by the time this note was written, the Fascist censors had already begun to cut, modify, and on one occasion, seize individual issues of *Il convegno*—bringing the autonomy of the 1920s to an abrupt end.

The cover, which Ferrieri described as “white like a dove” (*candida come colomba*) could mean a lot of things: the nostalgia for cultural autonomy, the desire for oblivion, or an expression of political resistance. But in this instance, it also could, like the white flag, be taken as a sign of surrender. Issues continued to come out sporadically until January 1939, but like so many other intellectuals across Italy, Ferrieri realized he was fighting against a totalitarian regime that was becoming only more powerful over time. In the final issue, there was no formal farewell, which suggested that the entire operation was shut down rather abruptly.⁴⁴ As Ferrieri looked back on his experience, he reaffirmed his belief that *Il convegno* helped protect Italy from “the total enslavement, from superficiality, and from cultural ignorance” (*totale asservimento, dalla superficialità e dall' incultura*) of Fascism.⁴⁵ Maybe that wasn't enough to alter the course of history, but at a time when the horizon looked bleak, *Il convegno* provided a peek across the Alps just before Europe became, once again, a battlefield.

IV

If Marinetti wanted to make Milan the literary capital of the twentieth century, Ferrieri was happy enough to fashion it as a port of call for literary travelers. But in the late 1920s and early 1930s especially, Fascism was changing the rules for cultural production, and the repressive laws against print publications began to influence everything from their content to their design and layout.⁴⁶ Ferrieri made the most of an increasingly dire situation, refusing to close down, but even he knew that the original plan to deprovincialize Italy through alliances with the United States, western

Europe, central Europe, and Scandinavia was breaking down. From 1933 onward, there was a dramatic drop in the number of foreign writers published in the pages of *Il convegno*, and it was accompanied immediately by a complete break with the magazine exchanges it once depended on for its perspective on the contemporary scene.



While *Il convegno* was lamenting its decline, there were other *riviste* in Milan that actually thrived in such a repressive environment. Ojetti's *Pan* (1933–1935, twenty-five issues) was one of them.⁴⁷ Like *Pégaso*, which he coedited in Florence between 1929 and 1933, *Pan* was a general literature and culture magazine that set out to define *Italianità*, an Italian identity, by bringing a classical past in line with the ideology of a modern, Fascist present. Unlike Ferrieri, Ojetti was a Fascist supporter, though, with the exception of a few direct references to current events and one article devoted explicitly to Mussolini (“Scritti e discorsi di Benito Mussolini”; Writings and speeches of Benito Mussolini), he tended to avoid direct political discussion. Instead, *Pan* was devoted to a form of Fascist cultural renewal, looking back to Italy's glorious past in order to imagine the future.

At 160 pages a month, *Pan* looked more like an academic quarterly from the previous century than a contemporary review.⁴⁸ But it was also true that Ojetti's latest venture, published by Rizzoli, was motivated by the commercial desire to assemble an audience of general readers ready to consume Italian culture. For this reason, *Pan*, in spite of its rather staid appearance, had more in common with the glossy magazines of the 1930s than with the smaller and edgier reviews, which had all but disappeared. Its ideal reader was someone who might enjoy *Lei* (a woman's illustrated weekly), *Piccola* (a weekly with short stories), or *Il secolo illustrato* (a photography magazine)—all of them owned by Rizzoli—and the advertisements at the back covered everything from tourist bureaus and newly printed editions of the classics to the latest Fiat.

Even with this commercial apparatus built into *Pan*'s pages, it was designed to resemble an academic periodical (figure 3.4). On a yellow back-



3.4 Cover of *Pan* 2, no. 1 (January 1934). Courtesy of the New York Public Library. Permission to reprint from Oxford University Press.

ground, the title was written in oversized letters with an image of the Greek god, holding a pipe in one hand and a dotting *putto* in the other. Ojetti's name is inscribed below in large type, followed by the name and location of the publishing house, "Rizzoli e C." The layout of the cover suggests that the identity of *Pan* was very much tied up with the personality of its editor, who was well known in Italy as a journalist, art critic, and novelist.

Whereas Ferrieri had a team of mediators to assemble each issue, Ojetti had Giuseppe de Robertis, an established literary critic based in Florence who directed *La voce* between 1914 and 1916.

For Ojetti and de Robertis, the Fascist culture they were helping to shape did not depend on chaos, violence, and revolution, and there was no need to look beyond Italy for guidance. Instead, the newness of Fascist culture, what Ojetti called *novità*, could be generated through a contemporary critical engagement with art, literature, and music. In his one and only editorial for *Pan*, Ojetti wrote, "Therefore, this will be a *rivista* of the humanities and culture. . . . This consensus we intend to obtain by continuing here with dignity the most useful [*usati*] studies of history, art, criticism, other ideas, and trying to bring clarity, order, and Italian honesty in every area of original intelligence."⁴⁹ A note of this sort makes it sound as if the *Pan* of 1933 had a lot in common with *Il convegno*: two Milan-based magazines with an eye on Europe and dreams of creating a modern Italian culture. They did not, however, mostly because *Pan* and *Il convegno* had very different ideas about Italy's future: the one looking back on the cultural achievements of a narrowly defined Italian past to shape the present, the other looking outside Italy to imagine a modern culture that could be Italian *and* European.

Instead of establishing lines of communication between Italy and the rest of the world, this critical work helped to reinforce an Italian exceptionalism being articulated at the same time by the PNF. Italy, in other words, was a modern nation whose greatness could be traced back to its glorious past as an empire and cradle of civilization. The editorial offices of *Pan*, then, may have been based in Milan, but the rules for any exchange *in Italia, all'estero* had changed dramatically since the immediate postwar years. Establishing global literary and critical circulation was less necessary than generating a form of cultural self-sufficiency.

News about foreign literature and culture trickled in, some of it in the form of book reviews, some as a stray advertisement from a foreign publisher. Most of it, however, could be found in "Notizie" (Notices), a section at the back of *Pan* devoted entirely to gossip about everything from art exhibitions, book publications, and contests to actors and the film industry.

Readers of the February 1934 issue, for instance, would have found out about the sculpture contest in Milan, the goings-on of Kurt Weill (who fled Germany for Paris), and the giant hand of King Kong. While it is tempting to see “Notizie” as Ojetti’s acknowledgment of a wider cultural world, it should not be confused with the kind of critical engagement found in the pages of *Il convegno* or *Poesia*. “Notizie” was not created to generate any substantial dialogue between nations or to hold Italy up for comparison. Instead, it was a place where readers could consume bits of book-related information quickly. But this increased exclusivity was also fueled by the financial dependence of *Pan* on Rizzoli, a commercial publishing house eager to entice reader-consumers to buy from its catalogue. Unlike so many other Italian *riviste* that founded publishing houses to print books that would not otherwise see the light of day (*Poesia* and *Il convegno* among them), this process worked in reverse: Rizzoli published *Pan* to steer its literary-minded readers toward “I Rizzoli Classici,” high-quality, reasonably priced copies of the classics edited by none other than Ojetti himself.

The last issue of *Pan* was published in December 1935 without any farewell. Readers, however, might have had some premonition of what was to come when they stumbled across this note in the October issue: “In adherence to the orders of the Ministry of Print and Propaganda, from this month onward *Pan* will be published in reduced format by a quarter” (*In ottemperanza alle disposizioni del Ministero della Stampa e Propaganda, da questo mese “Pan” esce in fascicoli ridotti di un quarto*).⁵⁰ Far from being a punishment, this “reduction” was a chance for *Pan* to support the Fascist cause just at the moment when the Italians were invading Ethiopia. The Italian propaganda machine needed paper, among other things, for spreading its message both within Italy and abroad. It was the current political climate, no doubt, that influenced Ojetti’s decision to close down *Pan* for good. Maybe his decision had something to do with the new paper restrictions, but I suspect that it was also motivated by the realization that the Fascists were entering their imperial phase, and the cultural machine would have to adapt accordingly. *Pan* was noticeably thinner in the final issues, with the most conspicuous reduction made to “Notizie,”

where the usual eight categories were cut down, without any editorial comment, to three.

V

“This newspaper was born two years or so ago to fill a lack: that of not having in Milan a place for new cultural activity to converge” (*Questo foglio è nato due anni or sono per colmare una mancanza: quella di non avere a Milano ove convergere le nuove attività culturali*).⁵¹ This is the kind of generic editorial announcement found in any *rivista* that looks back on its own beginning. There is an absence in the cultural field that only this particular medium can fill. But in 1939, when this line appeared on the front page of *Vita giovanile* (later changed to *Corrente di vita giovanile* and then to *Corrente* with the *vita giovanile* much reduced in size), Milan was flooded with cultural activity, much of it organized by the Fascist Ministry of Popular Culture, which had effectively taken control of the mass media since 1937. By the end of the 1930s, the *rivista* was already an older technology in Italy, but it was being mobilized both by the Fascist government ready to enlist a new generation and by a young population that was disillusioned by its increasing intellectual isolation.⁵²

Corrente was made by and for the youth of Italy.⁵³ “We maintain that our journal can give young people a place to test their strength, a springboard from which they can be better equipped to take a leap toward a particular reality, and not into the emptiness of illusions.”⁵⁴ It was a bi-monthly (fifty-three issues) with a national readership of five thousand, and its founding editor, Ernesto Treccani, who was eighteen years old when it began (like Marinetti with *Le papyrus*), helped to transform *Corrente* into a lively intellectual forum where competing ideologies and personalities could battle it out. The first page was reserved for Italian political life, but the subjects that followed ranged everywhere from urbanism and the economy to film and figurative art. This interdisciplinary eclecticism was what made *Corrente* so effective as a cultural force. Instead of separating art from politics, or from social life more generally, as so many other *riviste* had done, it combined them, thereby allowing for a dialecti-

cal engagement that exposed the tensions, contradictions, and incompatibilities within Italian culture. Art (visual, plastic, literary) could not simply be judged in accordance with its adherence to the party line. In fact, it was often the case that the opposite effect was produced. The “subversive eclecticism” (*eclettismo presovversivo*) of *Corrente*, as Giansiro Ferrata called it years later,⁵⁵ challenged readers to think about the restrictive political logic that would, to take one example, try to ban the poems of Federico García Lorca.

Corrente was a strange hybrid in Milan. It looked like a newspaper (six oversized pages), but it read like an academic quarterly that combined literary analysis and poetry (in translation when necessary) with political, economic, and social critique. The newspaper format had associations with the more militant line of *riviste* that included *Lacerba* and *Il Baretto*, and the academic quarterly for general readers was very much linked with the postwar model established by *La ronda*, *Il convegno*, and *Solaria*. Treccani was not always sure himself what to call *Corrente*, referring to it on some occasions as a *foglio* (paper) and others as a *giornale* (newspaper), *periodico* (periodical), or *rivista* (review). The generic tag would change to accommodate whatever cultural function *Corrente* was serving at the time: on occasion, acting more like a newspaper issuing a call to action to a wide range of readers or, when necessary, encouraging the need for intellectual reflection from young and old alike. But the youthful exuberance, which combined a love of tradition and an embrace of foreign and domestic innovation, was really what made this entire enterprise reminiscent of Marinetti's *Poesia*, a model for how the young and old in Italy could be mobilized around a *rivista* for a common cause.

Looking at the cover page of an early issue, with its six columns of newsprint, a quotation from Mussolini at the top (“We want our young people to pick up the torch” [*Noi vogliamo che i giovani raccolgano la nostra fiaccola*]), and the title in bold letters superimposed on a red, green, and white banner, between two *fasci littori*, the Fascist symbol, it's tempting to conclude that *Corrente* was just another cog in the propagandistic machine. And yet, once you learn that Mussolini closed down the offices of *Corrente* in June 1940, you realize just how complicated the cultural politics of

Fascism could be in these years. But instead of racing to *Corrente's* end, I want first to consider what made it such a lively intellectual space, one where Catholics, Socialists, and Communists could jockey for a few columns amid literary reviews, cultural essays, and poems from contemporary Italian and foreign authors.⁵⁶

To get a sense of *Corrente's* complicated literary politics, it's worth looking at a single quantitative statistic: in its two-and-a-half-year run, 9 percent of the literary essays were devoted exclusively to contemporary non-Italian writers, with another 6 percent of the overall content reserved for poetry translations. When combined, the "foreign" presence might not seem significant, but it is worth considering it in light of the political situation. Unlike *Il convegno*, which did a bulk of its foreign importing in the 1920s, *Corrente* was active at a time when the Ministry of Popular Culture, formally established a year earlier, was reaching its most repressive phase, and the "Manifesto of Race" made importing foreign writers, especially Jews and anti-Fascists, even more dangerous than ever before. And yet in spite of the repressive mechanisms the Fascists set in place, *Corrente* continued to keep its eye on European literary developments, and instead of cutting down the number of foreign writers from year to year, it actually increased them, doubling the number of translated poems, for instance, between 1939 and 1940.⁵⁷

Corrente managed to survive, in part, by adopting the Fascist codes of behavior, including, for a time at least, the ceremonial bow to Mussolini on the cover and the political articles on the first page. And some of it, especially in the first year or so, was genuine. But it didn't take long for this "palestra di giovane" (gym for the young) to morph into a refuge for artists and intellectuals of all ages, many of them dissatisfied with the political direction of the Fascist Party, especially its increased antagonism toward foreign literature and art. This desire for ideological distance became visible on the cover when the *fasci littori* were taken off the masthead (by March 31, 1938), followed shortly thereafter by the removal of Mussolini's quotation (October 15, 1938). By March 1939, the subtitle, *vita giovanile*, was shrunken down, becoming barely legible, and the title, now larger, took up the entire masthead (figure 3.5). The design shifts on the

cover were part of a more unified process: *Corrente* was gradually composing a farewell to youth, refusing to pick up the Fascist Party's torch or blindly carry out its ideological program.⁵⁸ And as this dissatisfaction grew, the political first page functioned more like a screen that could distract censors from the more subversive contents hidden inside.⁵⁹ This included articles about the Jewish composers Béla Bartók and Arnold Schoenberg (now banned by the Racial Laws in Italy); poems by García Lorca, Antonio Machado, Sergei Yesenin, and Paul Éluard (who participated in the Congress of Anti-Fascist writers in 1935); and editorials critical of the Premi Cremona, a Fascist-sponsored art exhibit, and the aggressive militarism of modern nations.⁶⁰ It was this final editorial by Carlo Cattaneo, appearing in the same issue as García Lorca's "Oda a Salvator Dalí," that earned *Corrente* a note from *il duce* himself: "Basta, ora basta!" (Enough, that's enough!).⁶¹ That same day, Italy declared war on England and France, and the closure of *Corrente*, as with so many other *riviste* across Italy, signaled a new phase in Fascism's takeover of the cultural field. By this time, no one was surprised by the closure of *Corrente*. The Fascists had been implementing restrictions on cultural production throughout the late 1930s, and the noose was only getting tighter, making it a matter of time before the floor was kicked out from below. The last issue appeared on May 31, 1940.

VI

That same year, Giuseppe Bottai, minister of education, launched *Primato* in Rome as an attempt to unite Italian writers and intellectuals (including historians and philosophers) regardless of their political affiliations.⁶² Bottai was still serving as coeditor of *La critica fascista*, which he started in 1923, but with this particular title, he wanted to generate a more inclusive discussion about Fascist culture (still excluding Jews and women), one that would actively challenge the increased Nazi hegemony across Europe. In an effort to attract Linati to his cause, Bottai, in fact, explained that *Primato* "intende riunire tutte le forze vive e operanti della cultura italiana, offrendo quindicinalmente a un largo pubblico un quadro armonico di

tutte le attività intellettuali, *in Italia e all'estero*" (wants to reunite all the living and active forces of Italian culture, giving every other week to a large public a harmonious picture of all the intellectual activities, in Italy and abroad).⁶³ By this point in time, Linati would have known that this definition of a "cultura italiana" worked by exclusion, so that even the promise of a look "all'estero" would come with serious restrictions. And even if a few lively debates unfolded in the pages of *Primato*, Luisa Mangoni has pointed out that they were all adapted to fit the restrictive ideological framework provided by the anonymous editorials. In this sense, she explains, *Primato* was caught between "un vecchio modo di fare riviste letterarie" (an old way of making literary *riviste*) and "una nuova realtà" (a new reality), one that put all culture in the service of politics.⁶⁴ Like Linati, Ferrieri was never convinced by Bottai's promise of a "liberal" Fascist culture. And having lived in Milan during these tumultuous decades, he came to believe that it was precisely by keeping his eye abroad that he was able to survive: "L'importante era di uscire dalle clausure fasciste," he later reflected, "dimenticare un falso stile d'accatto, sempre più lontano dalla realtà e incompatibile con la nostra formazione, riprendere antiche consuetudini, amicizie interrotte, ravvivare curiosità insoddisfatte, ridare vigoria a tante domande, alle quali, l'Europa aveva, fin da quando avevamo imparato a leggere, risposto" (It was important to get out of the Fascist stranglehold, to forget a false borrowed style, always more and more distant from reality and incompatible with our plan, to recover old customs, interrupted friendships, to revive unsatisfied curiosities, to reinvigorate so many questions, to which Europe had been answering ever since we had learned to read).⁶⁵

The world had changed since Marinetti's arrival in Milan. What is so compelling about the *rivista* in these decades, and in this city, was its stubborn resilience and its capacity to respond to concrete conditions in the cultural field, sometimes in support of the dominant political machine and other times as a site of resistance. Indeed, *Poesia*, *Il convegno*, *Pan*, and *Corrente* provide different windows onto the intellectual life of Milan between 1905 and 1940, but reading them together allows us to understand the complex negotiations of an Italian literary field that was trying to



in italia, all'estero

reconcile the freedom of international exchange with the restrictions of national politics. The *rivista* was a technology that promised to open the lines of communication between intellectuals isolated from one another, effectively shrinking real geographical distances and providing connections for cultural transmission that had never existed before on such a scale. When World War II erupted, Italy retreated into the hypernationalism and isolated regionalism that so many writers, critics, and readers had fought against for two decades. At least this time around, there was a model in place, and a medium, for a form of cultural renewal that could bring Italy back into Europe and the world beyond.



little exiled magazines

The list of exile magazines is long, and the motives for publishing them various.

- Frederick John Hoffman, Charles Albert Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography*

I

LITTLE MAGAZINES, LIKE people, can be exiled. In 1916, the German government provided financial support for a group of Iranian intellectuals to publish *Kāve*, one of the so-called *exilzeitshriften* (exile magazines) that lasted until 1922.¹ In 1917, Francis Picabia eluded military service in France by fleeing to Barcelona, where he started *391*, bringing issues out sporadically until 1924 from New York, Paris, and Zurich. In 1919, Lajos Kassák fled to Vienna from Budapest to escape Admiral Miklós Horthy's repressive regime and continued to publish *Ma* until 1925.² And when scanning through the list of the more prominent titles from the 1920s, you may even begin to suspect that exile was a necessary precondition for magazine making. *Broom* (1921–1924), *Secession* (1922–1924), *Gargoyle* (1921–1922), the *Exile* (1927–1928), *Tambour* (1929–1930), and *This Quarter* (1925–1932) were all designed by Americans who migrated to countries like Italy, Austria, France, and Germany; the *transatlantic review* was the brainchild

little exiled magazines

of a Brit with a German father who moved to Paris; the trilingual *Veshch-Gegenstand-Objet* was designed by Russians in Berlin for German, French, and Russian readers; and *transition* came into being when a twice-displaced Frenchman moved back to France after spending his youth and adolescence in the United States.³

All of this exile in the universe of little magazines didn't go unnoticed at the time, inspiring reactions that ranged from quiet envy to outrage. One commentator in the New Orleans-based *Double Dealer* smugly observed in 1922 that the urge to go abroad is so "vigorous" that "we find ourselves now well in the midst of a new crop of 'magazines for the discriminating,' which though published in continental Europe can nevertheless hardly escape the stigma of America."⁴ Four years later, the review editor of Eliot's the *Criterion* was already joking that an entirely new category for "Exiles" needed to be inserted in the "Foreign Periodicals" section to accommodate these misfits.⁵ A year after that, Ezra Pound started the *Exile* in Rapallo, Italy (and printed in Dijon, France, for distribution in the United States, Paris, and England), to pick up where *Broom*, *Secession*, *Gargoyle*, the *transatlantic review*, and *This Quarter* had left off, and Eugene Jolas was right there with him, launching *transition* in Paris because he believed that such an enterprise would have been impossible in America.

By 1930, the "little exiled magazine," as Malcolm Cowley dubbed it, was already making its way into the premature histories of the medium.⁶ When William Troy compiled his "Story of the Little Magazines" for the *Bookman*, he admitted, albeit begrudgingly, that "any résumé at present must conclude with that volatile group of expatriate journals, those internationals of letters, which have found better reasons for being born on European soil than on our own."⁷ In Pound's retrospective on American little magazines, published that same year, he singled out a handful of "fugitive publications" from the 1920s that had attained their "recognized right to exist by reason of work performed."⁸ These "fugitive publications" were short-lived, but in the other sense of the term, they were also on the run, *in esilio*, and wandering far from home. This particular incarnation of the little magazine, Pound observed, helped to move modern literature forward in the twentieth century, and at the time he was writing on the

subject, it didn't show signs of disappearing from the magazine-scape any time soon.

And here, you could say, these early accounts were necessarily incomplete. When taking inventory in 1930, Troy and Pound had to limit their observations to a single decade, focusing on titles published by editors who *voluntarily* fled to western European countries in search of cheaper paper, better printing, and experimental content. With the rapid decline of the U.S. dollar after the stock market crash and the rise of Nazism and Fascism in the 1930s, this production/distribution model just wasn't viable any longer, and instead of having American exiles making magazines in Europe, there were European exiles performing the same task in North and South America or wandering across Europe to escape the repressive political situations in their native countries. *Das Wort*, for instance, was printed in the Soviet Union between 1936 and 1939, with its German editors, Bertolt Brecht, Willi Bredel, Fritz Erpenbeck, and Lion Feuchtwanger, planted in Paris, Denmark, and Spain; *Lettres françaises* was edited by Roger Callois, a Frenchman, in Buenos Aires between 1941 and 1947; *Dyn* was printed in Mexico City between 1942 and 1944 under the direction of Wolfgang Paalen, an Austrian; and *VVV* came out those same years as a platform for exiled Surrealists like André Breton, Max Ernst, and Marcel Duchamp when they were waiting out the war in New York. Taking this wider look, the exile magazine was clearly not reserved only for that lost generation of Jack Rose–drinking Americans.⁹ It also belonged to groups of involuntary exiles from western and eastern Europe eager to use the medium of the magazine to reconsolidate movements (international Communism or Surrealism) and reconnect individuals.

Instead of fostering the idea of a unified international community located somewhere “out there,” the exile magazine could also reinforce the distance between contributors, editors, and their audience, and this distancing had a lot to do with the fact that the displaced site of production and the multiple sites for distribution generated a cultural field that made it impossible for everyone involved to get the coordinates right and figure out just where they fit in and with whom. And while, for some people, the exile magazine could conjure up feelings of community, for others, it also

little exiled magazines

had the power to reinforce a dreaded isolation, reminding the exile just how far he actually was from home and the friends, family, and colleagues that were once part of it.¹⁰

Writing *The Little Magazine* in the mid-1940s, Frederick John Hoffman, Charles Albert Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich were well aware that the little exiled magazine was part of a more complex history of the medium, though they still preferred to emphasize its American roots.¹¹ Indeed, that seemed to be the case for the reviewers as well, even if the evidence was there in the annotated bibliography to suggest otherwise.¹² One reviewer, for instance, was stunned by the “geographical spread” of little magazines, pointing out that “a hundred and thirty-nine of the 540 little magazines and 43 of the 96 ‘fellow travellers’ are listed as published outside the United States.” But even with the hard facts in place, he fails to go any further, mentioning casually that “it is interesting, if nothing more, to find three of them published in Mexico, three in Spain, eleven in Australia, three in the USSR (at Moscow).”¹³ “Interesting, if nothing more” seems to have been the common refrain in the decades that followed, with critics noting this strange circumstance but refusing to figure out if there was something more to it after all. And even if this same reviewer was willing to acknowledge, like Eric Bentley before him in a review of the same volume, that “the little magazine movement has not been so much international as homeless,” the truth is that this homelessness has never been examined.¹⁴ How, after all, can a little magazine be homeless? Is it a condition related to the routes of distribution, the location of production, a combination of the two? And how does this model of exilic production and consumption change our understanding of the magazine as a medium in an increasingly globalized literary field in the first half of the twentieth century?

And why, finally, might any of this even matter? For one thing, the very existence of exile magazines asks us to consider how any little magazine can be national, international, transnational, or global in the first place.¹⁵ As it is now, the location of production defines provenance regardless of the geographical range of the distribution: *Novyi lefi* is Russian (printed in Moscow), *Noi* is Italian (printed in Rome), the *Dial* is American (printed in New York City), *Kallol* is Indian (printed in Calcutta), *Sur* is Argentin-

ian (printed in Buenos Aires), and so on. The location of production is one of the most common ways we identify just what this or that magazine is, and it is very often a point of departure for questions related to design, quality, format, material, even size, cycle, and circulation patterns. But what do you do with little magazines such as *Broom* or *VVV*, the one printed in three different cities in that many years, the other fixed firmly in New York for its entire run? If we follow critical protocol, then *Broom* should, by all accounts, be Italian or German even if the contents were entirely in English and the readership American. *VVV*, on the other hand, should be American, even if it was a Surrealist outpost for mostly French exiles under the direction of André Breton and David Hare and intended to pick up where *Minotaure* left off in 1938, that is, in Paris.¹⁶

In both cases, the identification of a nationality requires that we disregard the location(s) of production in order to emphasize their site(s) of distribution. While such an approach is certainly convenient for identifying things such as readership, it fails to account for what is, in reality, an exilic mode of production that influences how we can even begin to understand what was involved in the entire production and distribution process before the reading experience was under way. *Broom* may have ended up in the hands of American readers, but it was made in Europe; and the people who flipped through its pages consistently remarked on the quality of the paper (Fabriano when made in Italy, an unnamed “exclusive paper” when printed by Labisch and Co. in Berlin), the oversized format, and the page layout (with three-inch margins). It was this materiality and design as much as the physical journey through the international postal system that made *Broom* American and something else: a foreign import that looked like a little magazine from Europe.

VVV is another case. It was printed in New York City and read in the United States because transatlantic distribution was blocked during the war. Unlike *Broom*, however, *VVV* did not have to travel to another country to benefit from “foreign” craftsmanship. It was consciously designed to follow the tradition of the glossier Surrealist magazines printed in France by commercial firms like Skira. In addition to the luxurious format, it was filled with high-quality photographs, many of them of paintings,

little exiled magazines

sculptures, drawings, experimental collages, and sketches. If *VVV* looked foreign to an American audience, in this instance, it had little to do with the location of its production. Rather, it was the way *VVV* was designed as an object printed in New York City but intended to look as if it came from France. And what can be said of *Broom* can be said of *VVV*: instead of becoming denationalized, or deracinated, as a result of this exile, the reverse was true. Exile was one of the reasons that these magazines achieved some abstract, and often misunderstood, national character.

That, of course, was the paradox. The national quality of exile magazines was actually generated by processes we identify more broadly with globalization. Increased mobility and displaced production, in particular, were making the little magazine move in ways, and in directions, it never had before, and they were also forcing the little magazine to undergo concrete checks, monitoring transnational movement in a world that was, as Roman Jakobson noted in 1921, becoming isolated “by visas, currencies, and cordons of all sorts.”¹⁷ Take Pound’s the *Exile* as one more example. The first issue was printed in Dijon by Maurice Darantiere, and three hundred or so copies were shipped to the United States, where it was going to be distributed by J. M. Price.¹⁸ Because there was no month printed on the cover (only the year) or stamp indicating its country of origin, U.S. customs officials refused to recognize the *Exile* as a magazine, instead designating book status, which came with a 25 percent tariff and a 10 percent penalty on top of the regular postage costs and customs fees. Pound, of course, was enraged not only because the *Exile* was, in fact, a little magazine that would, under American law, have deserved access to second-class mailing privileges, as was true with the *Little Review*, but even more importantly, because it was an American magazine. Yet, as he came to discover, according to the U.S. postal regulations, the *Exile* was not American. It was a foreign import arriving from France and looking for distribution rights within the United States. The exile of the magazine was complicating its national affiliation in some unexpected and inconvenient ways. By the second issue, Pound got the point. With the help of Pascal Covici, he moved the printing to Chicago (then New York) so that international postage delays and customs surprises could be obviated entirely. In *Without Copy-*

rights, Robert Spoo has also revealed how this plan to print the *Exile* back in the United States was also motivated by Pound's desire to secure U.S. copyright for the writers appearing in his magazine (many of them foreign), an issue I discussed in chapter 2 in relation to the French "anthology" he edited for the *Little Review*.¹⁹ In this instance, however, Pound was forced to accept that the manufacturing clause of this same U.S. copyright law required that books and periodicals be set, printed, and bound in the United States to secure copyright, and it stood in the way of "legal protection for transatlantic writers."²⁰ There's a good chance that the *Exile* would have survived longer if printed in Europe, but then Pound would have had to deal with the vagaries and costs of the international postal system and, of course, the reality that printing anything abroad would keep it unprotected and open to piracy at home.

Exile magazines were at the core of modernism's expansive "mediascape."²¹ They were exiles not because of who or what they carried but how they carried, where they were produced, and in what directions they traveled. The materiality of the medium, then, is one of the places where this condition of exile becomes manifest. Exile leaves traces on the paper, in the ink, and in the printing, traces that are critical for helping us understand what it actually meant for this medium to exist in the world in such a displaced way. And none of this would have been lost, finally, on the individuals who were supposed to pick up and read. Exile magazines were different because of how they looked, how they felt, and even how they smelled at times after the journey in crates and by steamship across oceans and past customs officials, and that multisensory experience was enough to indicate that something was arriving from afar. "Typographie E. Desfossés, 13, Quai Voltaire—Paris, Le gérant responsable Simon de Vaulchier," one reads on the contents page of *Gargoyle*; "Impreso en la Argentina," "Imprimé en Argentine," and "Printed in Argentina" on the back of *Lettres françaises*. In these cases, exile was printed very clearly on the page, but that was because these magazines were following the laws governing print production and circulation within the countries where they were made. For *Gargoyle* to be read in France, for instance, the name and address of the printer and a local *gérant* was required by law, and for *Lettres françaises*

little exiled magazines

to arrive in France or America, customs officials on both sides needed to see the country of origin.

Modernity in the magazine, as I argue throughout this chapter, was connected with this condition of homelessness. In continuing to unpack this idea further, I want to return to that distinction Bentley made between an international and homeless little magazine culture. *International* implies the relatively free and easy circulation across national borders. And regardless of where exactly this movement takes place, there is an origin, a locatable point from which the journey begins, and it is one that can be traced back no matter how far any single title travels. *Homelessness*, however, works differently. It implies that even if there once was a point of origin, there is no fixed point where the little magazine is destined to end up as it travels through the world to nowhere in particular. We tend to think about modernist little magazine production as something that begins domestically and often ends internationally. For exile magazines, it turns out, production was international *before* the distribution even began. And as was often the case, distribution worked in reverse, moving magazines from the international site of production back to a national or “home” base. Homelessness does not imply that national boundaries and origins have been dissolved. For some little magazines, it was one way to find the nation in the first place, and for others, it was a way to acknowledge its absence. That, in effect, was one compelling reason why a homeless little magazine movement could be contrasted with an international one, because it defines a state not of cosmopolitan urbanity, of being at home wherever the production takes place, but rather of not being at home precisely because the distribution is always intended for somewhere else.

Seen in these terms, then, the exile magazine was involved in a series of complex transnational negotiations that influenced not only the shape any single title could take but also the way it might even change shape while moving through the world, at different speeds and in different directions and durations. Exiled or not, the little magazine was never free to go wherever it wished, and that was especially true if it had any intention of using the national and international postal networks instead of the more covert channels provided by pass-along readerships (as so many of the Dadaists preferred). That last point brings me back to the issue of

production. Exile magazines were made to move in the world, but we cannot fully explain how they helped to generate such a dynamic cultural field if we keep our eye out only for information regarding print runs and sites for circulation (assuming they are even available, which they so often are not). Instead, we need to analyze how a transnational experience was encoded within the materiality and form of the magazine itself and, in doing so, to discover how modernism between the world wars was something happening somewhere, anywhere, and, above all, elsewhere.

Broom (1921–1924) and *VVV* (1942–1944): moving ahead, I focus specifically on these two titles, each one of them presenting a different problem and/or possibility associated with exile in the 1920s, '30s, and into the '40s. In *Broom*, it was an opportunity to capitalize on international exchange rates and the costs of postage, paper, and printing; in *VVV*, it generated new ways of thinking about the magazine as an exhibition space for displaced Surrealists and a site for anticolonial critique. Both examples remind us that the causes and effects and contexts of exile were not the same everywhere, making it necessary to distinguish between various degrees of cosmopolitan freedom and a more fettered internationalism. Doing so, it becomes possible to appreciate the singularity of each magazine, including its ability to adapt to specific political and social situations, without losing sight of its place within a much more expansive, and indeed more fraught, cultural landscape that was riddled with all kinds of traps, blockades, pitfalls, disappointments, and, on occasion, possibilities.

II

Broom is published in Rome:

3266 miles from New York,
 4269 miles from Chicago,
 6227 miles from San Francisco.
 ▶ *Broom* 2, no. 4 (1922)

The story behind *Broom*'s clean sweep has been well documented.²² Its editor, Harold Loeb, an enterprising Princeton graduate with literary

little exiled magazines

ambitions, some influential connections (including his cousin Peggy Guggenheim), and sufficient capital to get started, set off to Italy in search of cheaper paper. At least that's part of the story he tells in the autobiography he later published about this whole experience abroad. Loeb arrived in Rome in 1921 looking to make a little magazine that he could have shipped back home, and he actually managed to pull it off for a few years, printing the first eleven issues in Italy and the next four in Berlin before the entire enterprise was relocated to New York City and handed over to other editors. Indeed, paper may have been the principal reason for all of this wandering, but, as it turned out, there was more to the cost of exile and the economics of this exchange than Loeb or anyone else at the time could have imagined.

"Foreign exchange" was the phrase Loeb used to describe the situation in his first editorial for *Broom*. "Economic oppression and spiritual coercion," he writes, were the primary causes for the departure of so many American artists after the war: the effect was a "proximity of foreign culture" that had the potential to reinvigorate contemporary literature (that's American literature).²³ His own position in the field as the editor of an exile magazine was less clear. *Broom* was going to be a vehicle for this exchange, but it really worked in one direction: America would be getting imports from abroad instead of exporting, and *Broom* would intervene in an American little magazine market that was more or less isolated from a European one (even if there was limited distribution in a handful of European bookshops). As Loeb looked back at the end of his European tour, he was more direct about his motivations: "Owing to the *valuta*, it was possible to provide an exotic luxury in makeup, which attracted many readers who otherwise would have failed to single out from the scores of literary periodicals that spring up and pass along with the seasons?"²⁴

Valuta: exchange. Even the decision to use the Italian word reflects an ironic distance from a moment that has passed, a word that was once on the lips of so many Americans on the continent that it became, albeit briefly, a catch phrase for opportunity. *Valuta* is what drove Loeb overseas, making that "exotic luxury" possible. Without it, *Broom* would have been just another magazine on the shelves struggling to make it past a single sea-

son in New York City. But this raises an important point about *valuta* and the profit of exile: the exchange rate at the time, which significantly favored the American dollar, made it possible for Americans to buy more expensive materials and services for magazine production. And it was a primary, not a secondary, consideration. Americans like Loeb benefited enormously from a debilitated Italian and German currency after World War I, and they were capitalizing on this overseas opportunity.²⁵ *Valuta* was really about value, getting more for your money and transforming economic capital into literary capital while the European economy was on its knees. This was good old-fashioned American capitalism at work, but that didn't make it entirely fair. Malcolm Cowley, who wrote a poem by the same name and published it in *Broom* after Loeb's editorial appeared, later recalled that there was something a bit insidious about it all: "We too were waiting: a few dollars in our pockets, the equivalent of how many thousand crowns or pengos, we went drifting onward with the army of exploitation."²⁶

Rather than argue about the ethics of this editorial "exploitation," which included shipping jobs overseas, I want to emphasize that exchange was about the procurement of high-quality material, something that would make the magazine different from all the others in the American periodical world. In this regard, Gorham Munson's *Secession* provides an interesting point of comparison. It was also printed in several different European cities during the same years, but unlike for Loeb, luxury was not a primary concern for Munson. Munson opted instead for lower-quality paper and printing so that his magazine could stay afloat longer, and on top of it all, he gave away more copies than he sold.²⁷ *Secession*, then, wasn't designed to stand out on the shelves back in New York City, and, in fact, as one bookstore owner wrote in to complain, the small size and shape made it easier to "lift" for those who were unwilling to pay at all.²⁸

In the fifth issue of *Secession*, Munson attached a "Market Report" to the subscription slips that exposes the contradictions of the *valuta* within the little magazine economy (figure 4.1). Included among a list of American oil companies are a few recognizable titles—*Vanity Fair*, the *Double Dealer*, *Secession*, the *Dial*—with their rising and closing costs for the day.

Market Report					
New York, July 5,					
		Yesterday's closing	Today's opening	Today's closing	Rise & Fall
Amer Brake S. & F.	6800	88 $\frac{1}{2}$	81 $\frac{3}{4}$	84	+ 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Dial	700	116	115	116	+ 1
Double Dealer	1100	237	234	235	+ 1
Endicott-Johnson	7600	89 $\frac{1}{4}$	87 $\frac{1}{4}$	88	- $\frac{1}{2}$
Mex Pete	9100	210	201	210	+ 9
Secession	450	61	54	60	- 5
Tidewater Oil	700	136	128	136	+ 8 $\frac{1}{4}$
Vanity Fair	810	116	112	116	+ 1

4.1 "Market Report," *Secession* 5 (July 1923).

Secession is not faring well in these fictional numbers, but a larger and more serious point is being made here: *Secession*, even though printed in Europe, is part of an *American* economic system made possible by American dollars that are getting spent abroad. And in this way, it is, like these other titles, American and not European, made by an American dollar that has gone up in value in the international market. There are no European titles on this list because Europe is not where *Secession* belongs, and, in fact, this international economy is the reason: *Secession* is being made to function within an American cultural sphere that is lagging behind, in the hope that the *valuta* will, in fact, make it catch up.

National magazine production in exile, then, was enabled by the formation of an international economy. This point raises questions about the way that literary competition at this moment and in this medium was being organized. Instead of passing through metropolitan European centers and working within a critical apparatus of foreign publishers and critics, the kind described by Pascale Casanova, national magazines were instead getting beamed back to a domestic audience that provided a strange kind of protection from foreign influence and opinion.²⁹ The European marketplace was never the primary destination, making it possible for these magazines to create an autonomy that translated into a form of economic and cultural protectionism. Exile, in this case, was all about eco-

conomic opportunity, but it was creating a literary field that was getting more, not less, nationalistic.

The foreign exchange rate that was making these new forms of production possible was also responsible for allowing another mode of distribution that bypassed the rules of an international literary/cultural exchange. *Broom* would be judged at home and within a domestic cultural space even if it was made abroad out of Italian/German materials and through Italian/German labor. So when Loeb sings the song of *valuta*, finding in it an opportunity for the rejuvenation of American letters, he inadvertently identifies the existence of a much more antagonistic system for literary production and consumption that was built on the outsourcing of skilled labor, the quality of foreign materials, and the fluctuation of foreign currencies. All of these factors, in fact, were bound up with the three things that Loeb needed to keep *Broom* alive: paper, printing, and an international, transatlantic postal system.

Paper. Little magazines in the United States were not typically known for the quality of their paper.³⁰ Leafing through any of them today, in fact, you can feel the low-grade pulp used in the manufacturing process. Since so many little magazines were produced with shoestring budgets, it's logical to assume that questions about quality would be irrelevant. Munson, as I mentioned, didn't even think paper was a legitimate expense, arguing instead that well-leaded type and "neatness of format and readability of text" would do the trick.³¹ For the more discerning little magazines with bigger budgets, however, it mattered, and the situation was complicated for anyone looking to make a magazine in the United States during World War I, when demand in the marketplace was exceeding supply even though the mills continued to run full tilt. By 1916, prices were higher than they had been in previous years because the international transport cost for paper stock, chemicals, and raw materials from other countries, including Canada, increased.³² After the war, the price of paper was still relatively high, but the industry recovered by 1923, when new mills and new machines were built to meet the demand, thereby lowering the price.³³ When Loeb came up with the idea for an exile magazine, the cost of paper in the United States had fallen, but he also realized that he could benefit even

little exiled magazines

more from the devaluation of the Italian lira and the deutschemark. And so his tour began.

But Loeb wasn't just interested in volume: he wanted the highest quality paper his American dollars could buy. And that was what he got through the assistance of Giuseppe Prezzolini (paid US\$40 a month), an established writer and critic who had already been involved with some of the most influential Italian *riviste* of the period, including *La voce*, which he founded with Giovanni Papini and edited on and off between 1908 and 1914.³⁴ No doubt with Prezzolini's help, the Italian issues of *Broom* were printed on Fabriano paper, which averaged 5,500 lire per ninety-six-page issue: that's roughly US\$240.³⁵ Considering that the average monthly paper expense for the *Dial* at the same time was US\$667 per issue, that was certainly a significant difference.³⁶

None of this was lost on Loeb, who, upon receiving the first issue, was dazzled by the "fine paper, the three-inch margins, and the orange and blue cover."³⁷ Nat Shaw, his assistant back in New York City, agreed. "The quality," he reported, "is superfine. People say so here, too. Not the newspapers, but the advertising fraternity, the bookshops, and the readers—which is a damned sight more important, believe me. And by readers I don't mean the self-appointed critics and would-be contributors, but the people back in the country."³⁸ One of these self-appointed critic/readers "back in the country" was Pierre Loving, who speculated in the *Double Dealer* that "each issue represents a comfortable fortune invested in hand-made paper."³⁹ That "superfine" quality might have earned *Broom* lavish praise from various quarters, but none of it would last if the contents couldn't keep up with the *carta*. It wasn't long before Loeb began to worry that "little distinguished *Broom* from the other experimental magazines except the James Stephens's story [which appeared in the first issue], the elegant paper, and the large size."⁴⁰ He was right: little did distinguish *Broom* from what else was out there, especially in France, Italy, and Germany, where the most innovative little magazines were getting published by the Dadaists, Russian and Italian Futurists, and Constructivists. But Loeb was somehow missing the point here. *Broom* was an American magazine intended for consumption by an American audience. The fact that

it was printed in Italy on handmade Fabriano paper and transported by steamship back from Naples to the United States is what made it different. *Broom* wasn't just a foreign import according to international postal regulations: it looked like an import, and this material fact was what kept it going at first.

The expense reports and other documents make it impossible to ignore something else: the symbolic value of that paper far exceeded the actual cost, which was on average 5,500 lire per issue and did not include cover paper (about 1,000 lire), paper transport (about 750 lire), or the printing (5,000 lire).⁴¹ In order to cut expenses, Loeb fired Prezzolini (December 1921) and bought out his partner, Alfred Kreyemborg (sometime between April and May 1922), who cost 2,500 lire per month, but he never let go of that "luxurious format" even though it would have been possible to downgrade. This makes you realize just how significant paper was to *Broom*'s entire project. There was a materiality to the exile of *Broom*, one that was there *in the page*, waiting for the quality of the contents to catch up (which it more or less did).

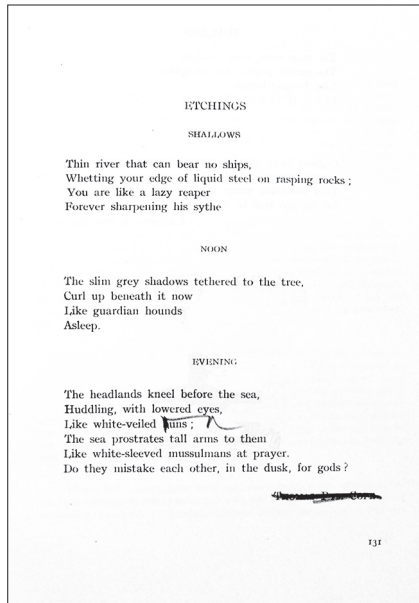
Printing. The words and reproductions, of course, needed to be there too. In order to get them on paper, Loeb relied on two reputable printers: L'Universelle imprimerie polyglotte in Rome and Labisch and Co. Graphische Kunstanstalt in Berlin. What was true of the paper was true of the printing: it wasn't better when compared with the experimental magazines printed by the European avant-gardes, including *G.*, *Procellaria*, *Zenit*, *Ma*, and *De Stijl*, but it was when compared with what else was coming out in the United States—and not because of the typesetting, which, after all, could be done just as well (though it would be more expensive). Rather, the presence of these foreign printers was manifest on the page itself: the three-inch margins had the effect not only of enlarging the page, which was already big enough (22½ cm × 31½ cm), but of emptying it out, leaving space so that the words (whether prose or poetry) and images would appear uncluttered.

Typos, on the other hand, were another problem entirely. That was part of the risk that Loeb ran when he decided to rely on printers who did not speak English. Typographical errors in little magazines, of course, were

quite common since cheaper printers were often poorly skilled, reducing cost, and overworked, taking on too many jobs at once to maximize profit. In this case, however, the skill was there, as was the prestige of the printing press, but it was the language that could confuse the compositors responsible for setting the type in reverse.⁴² The occasional typo was certainly more painful to Loeb than any of his readers, but issue 11 was an exception. It arrived a month later than expected from Naples with significant water damage and a slew of typos, one more hilarious than the other. Among them was a line planted in a poem and attributed to the wrong author that substituted “white-veiled *buns*” for “white-veiled nuns”; Lenin was given an extra *e* at the end of his name; and an article on the language of Joyce’s *Ulysses* received the title “One Thous and and One Nights in a Bar-Room,” which seemed as if the type might have actually been set in a barroom. Loeb, who was given a few advanced copies before the crates were due to be sent out from Naples, was horrified, but there was nothing to be done. A month passed, the issues finally arrived on the SS *Colombo* water soaked, and his new assistant, Lola Ridge, who never received the errata slips from Loeb in the meantime, substituted all of the *nuns* for *buns* by hand, three thousand of them (figure 4.2).⁴³

Typos are not unique to the exile magazine. In this case, however, the number of typos per issue would, I suspect, be higher in *Broom* than in most other little magazines set by compositors who knew the language of the type they were setting. Whatever the case may be, the point remains that the typo, this error on the page that comes from either misplacing, disordering, or omitting letters and words, was a necessary risk in the production process. It was, in effect, another sign of *Broom*’s exile, a flaw in the actual fabric of the text that pointed to its status as a transnational object, something generated by a process that depends not only on the separation of production and consumption but also, and in a quite literal way, on human labor, in this case, the hand picking and choosing the letters and arranging them on the printing bed.⁴⁴

Readers who stumble on the typo are asked to recognize the apparatus itself as an *apparatus*, the machine that makes it possible to see the word not once but three or four thousand times in the “same” place. The typo



4.2 Lola Ridge's corrections to *Broom* 3, no. 2 (September 1922).

screams out from the page, and even if the letters on the type bar are standardized, made of steel, the imprint on the page foregrounds the invisible presence of flesh and blood. What was lost in translation from the page proofs to the compositor's eye and hand was found in production, and this imperfection, which may have marred particular texts within the magazine, ended up providing a degree of authenticity that it might have otherwise lacked. And what Theodor Adorno said about his own books, the ones packed up in crates, shaken up, and knocked about during his immigration to the United States and back to Germany, applies to the little magazines: they are "real," the damaged ones that have suffered and persevered.⁴⁵ Typos were like passport stamps, and whether funny or tragic or a bit of both, they were there to signal the presence of an elsewhere. A flawless, typo-free version of *Broom* might have been possible had it been printed in New York City (and set by compositors fluent in English) from the beginning, but then it would have been something else, another little magazine

on the edge of the United States with its eye straining to see what was happening far away on the other side of the Atlantic.

Looking for traces of exile in *Broom's* typos is not unlike decoding an individual's personality through samples of handwriting, where the slightest variation in the line of a letter could reveal something unsaid and, perhaps, unsayable.⁴⁶ Created by the imprint of the type bars against paper, type has its own secrets to share, but they are hidden less in the rigidity, angle, or looseness of the letter that leaves its mark on paper than in the misplacement of letters in the word (or the missing word) that appear on the page (and do not). There is not an individual personality waiting to be discovered in or behind the typo, someone who, like compositors B and E from Shakespeare's *First Folio*, can be identified by their variant spellings or mistakes. The personality in these pages is the process itself, the one that involves the reproducibility of a little magazine by an anonymous someone setting and missetting "foreign" words in reverse.

Postage. The exile of *Broom* was organized around the paradoxical repetition of a homecoming that was intended to take place on a monthly basis. I say "intended" precisely because things never worked out so smoothly: there were always snags on both sides of the Atlantic, crossed lines, delays, and dropped communications that threatened to dismantle any hopes for serial regularity. Issues 1 and 2 arrived late in the United States for no particular reason, but 3 was one of the more egregious cases.⁴⁷ After delivering four crates of *Brooms* to the American Express office in Rome on December 15, 1921, where they would then travel to New York via Naples on the SS *Canada* on January 11, 1922, Loeb awaited some form of confirmation. In a letter dated January 28, Shaw finally reported that the ship did indeed come in, but there were "no brooms on board."⁴⁸ When they were finally tracked down, minus one of the crates that had been left with the customs appraiser, it took three more weeks to get them released. The January issue, then, finally appeared in the middle of February, with number 4, the February issue, fast on its heels. When writing to American Express about a reimbursement for the damages and delay, Loeb argued that it wasn't just about the money: "To that must be added the loss in prestige, as an advertising medium, the loss in confidence of prospective

subscribers as well as the undoubted undermining of our general reputation for punctuality and reliability.”⁴⁹

Two different issues in a single month: that was the problem.⁵⁰ Reputation was contingent on punctuality even with such a complicated, and indeed more costly, distribution arrangement. Loeb may have dreamt about cheaper paper in the beginning, but transatlantic postage proved to be a real nightmare and not just because of the delays, which continued with the publication of the next nine issues in Italy.⁵¹ Costs to transport *Broom* across the Atlantic and then throughout the United States were much higher than Loeb anticipated. Consider, for instance, some of the expenditures for the first issue that appeared in November: Kreyemborg’s salary: 2,450 lire; Prampolini’s cover design: 300 lire; cover paper: 1,020 lire; printing: 5,688 lire; and another 3,313.90 lire for the wrapping, glazed paper, additional cover paper, and wrapping paper for cases (figure 4.3). Added to this in the following month was the “extraordinary expenses” for shipping issue 2 “express,” 2,588.70 lire. In a single month, it cost half as much to ship *Broom* as it did to print it. And that was even before issues were distributed to bookstores and subscribers on the other side of the Atlantic.⁵² Back in New York City, Nat Shaw delivered issues by foot and/or taxi to bookstores and newsstands, but the rest required stamps, which averaged between 700 and 800 lire per month and were put on envelopes specially sent from Italy (250 lire per month).⁵³

If high-quality paper was cheap in Italy, the postage back to the States was not, and it contributed significantly to *Broom*’s financial woes. By the time issue 11 was published, Loeb had already relocated his headquarters to Berlin (still keeping the New York office), motivated by the hyperinflation of German currency that lowered the costs on production and raw materials. Unfortunately, by the time issue 12 was ready for the printers, the price of paper had doubled.⁵⁴ The moment for “big savings” may have passed, but paper for the first Berlin issue still only cost US\$100, half of what it was back in Rome.⁵⁵ Strangely enough, there is no documentation for postage from Germany to be found either in the *Broom* archive or Loeb’s memoir (though he does provide a detailed breakdown of other costs). In the end, that didn’t really matter very much since their self-imposed exile

little exiled magazines

TOTAL EXPENSES FOR THE NOVEMBER ISSUE OF
BROOM.

(continued from sheet one - since Sept. 12th)

October 10th, 1921.

✓ Reproductions - Bernheim Jeune	80.	
✓ Services rendered by R. Rendi	500.	
✓ Salary H.A. Loeb	2,450.	100
✓ Salary A. Kreyberg	2,450.	
✓ Expenses H. A. Loeb	507.	
✓ (Stationery, stamps, Remington repairs, etc.)		
✓ Banalgette - for services rendered	350.	
✓ Advance payment on Craig essay	50.	(3rd issue)
✓ Stationery	151.20	
✓ R. Rendi - stamps, etc.	105.60	
✓ D. Kreyberg - for services	400.00	
✓ A. Kreyberg expense account	517.60	
(Trip to Rapallo to see Craig, stationery, etc.		
This also includes exchange for Kreyberg checks deposited to Broom account)		
✓ Pansel - for reproductions	345.40	
✓ Services of Prezolini and Rendi - plus petty cash	1,009.10	
✓ Prompolini - for cover design	300.00	
✓ Stamps	50.	
✓ Stationery	94.50	
✓ Paper for cover	1,020.	
✓ Reproductions	753.60	(2nd no.)
✓ Check book	3.40	
✓ L'Universelle (printers)	5,688.-	
✓ Frediani (for drawings)	100.-	
✓ Cover paper (for second number)	864.-	(2nd no.)
✓ L'Universelle - for wrapping and shipping subscription nos., glazed paper, additional cover paper, wrapping paper for cases.	3,313.90-	
✓ Mrs. James Stephens - for services rendered in London	1,800.-	
	21,303.30	

4.3 *Broom* expense report for October 10, 1921 to November 18, 1921.

Box 2, folder 11, *Broom* Correspondence of Harold Loeb, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J.

was coming to an end largely because the well was finally dry: after four issues, and less than six months, *Broom* left Berlin for New York City, where it appeared for another five issues, noticeably thinner and smaller than before: forty-eight pages in an eight-by-eleven-inch format. After so much hard-won success abroad, *Broom* was finally back home, cut down to size and looking more American than it ever had before.⁵⁶

Coda. Exile was one possible strategy for making little magazines, but it was dependent ultimately on finding material worth printing in the first place. When *Broom* cleared out, others were ready to jump in and capitalize on its absence. In the 1920s, exile was driven as much by opportunities for foreign exchange as it was by the desire to find experimental work by writers and artists from all camps. As Loeb and so many other editors discovered, there was never enough to go around, making little room for

more than one or two exiled titles at a time.⁵⁷ The first issue of Ford's *transatlantic review* appeared the same month as the last issue of *Broom*; *This Quarter* popped up a few months after the last issue of the *transatlantic review*; the *Exile* arrived in April 1927, the same month as *transition* but with significantly less stamina. After four issues, Pound's printer was unable to support the "luxury" of a little magazine, and *transition* trudged on until late 1938, making the title a prophecy of sorts. Indeed, *transition* was, according to Cowley, the last of the "little exiled magazines" that managed to span two decades, living long enough to see a European literary field that had grown inhospitable to experimentation.⁵⁸ By the time copies of *transition* were thrown on top of a bonfire at a Nazi rally, Jolas could no longer ignore the fact that the door to one era had shut forcefully behind him, and there was no way of knowing what the opening of another one would bring.⁵⁹

III

V as a vow—and energy—to return to a habitable world.

▸ André Breton, "Declaration VVV," *VVV* 1 (1942): 1

When bands of Surrealists finally landed at various destinations in North and South America after the German invasion of France, they understood something about the exile magazine that many of their British and American precursors did not: because of the relatively low cost for photographic reproductions, it was an ideal space to exhibit works of art, especially when exhibition spaces were already so hard to come by, fellow artists were scattered far and wide, and detractors were all too eager to declare that *sur-réalisme est mort*.⁶⁰ In what follows, I explain how these exhibitions were staged within *VVV*, one of the most exemplary Surrealist magazines of the early 1940s, which continued a print practice that first began during World War I, when, as Emily Hage has shown, the Dadaists first started using magazines as traveling exhibition sites to distinguish Dada from the place-bound display practices of Futurism, Cubism, and Expressionism.⁶¹

little exiled magazines

Surrealist experiments with word and image have long been a topic of discussion among art historians, including Dawn Ades and Rosalind Kraus, both of whom have singled out illustrated magazines as the “true objects produced by surrealism.”⁶² And though the Surrealists’ example has certainly been followed by a long tradition of artists who have used the magazine as an “alternative space” to display works of art within a work of art, the connection with exile has been lost and with it the larger point that by using the magazine as an exhibition space in exile (and outside of western Europe), the Surrealists were preparing for a geopolitical shift that would involve the struggle over decolonization and the uncertain fate of Surrealism in the postwar years.⁶³

But first a few words on the exhibit: As photographic reproductions became more affordable, magazines, big and little, increasingly came to incorporate images. Not all of them were intended as works of art, but for avant-garde movements in particular, with so many of their members geographically dispersed, reproductions were a cheap and easy way to open their studios and circulate works that were normally bound by time and place. Walter Benjamin, as always, was quick to notice that something was different about these exhibition sites. “The scope for exhibiting the work of art,” he writes, “has increased so enormously with the various methods of technologically reproducing it that, as happened in prehistoric times, a quantitative shift between the two poles of the artwork has led to a qualitative transformation in its nature. Just as the work of art in prehistoric times, through the exclusive emphasis placed on its cult value, became first and foremost an instrument of magic which only later came to be recognized as a work of art, so today, through the exclusive emphasis placed on its exhibition value, the work of art becomes a construct [*Gebilde*] with quite new functions.”⁶⁴ For the magazine, already a reproducible object stripped of an aura, there is no cult value to speak of. And yet Benjamin has put his finger on something here: the potential for immediate, widespread, and simultaneous exhibition through a reproduction changes the work of art from its inception.⁶⁵ You could even say that reproducibility changes the work of art during its inception long before anyone has been able to experience the final result. With works of art made for reproduc-

tion (and circulated in multiple copies simultaneously), there is never a process by which they obtain some kind of cult value before the transfer from an original to a copy begins. They are always already copies even in their status as originals, which is why the reproducible work of art is a construct with a different (social) function: because it is made for reproduction, it is not automatically part of a cultural sphere that would prize, say, the space of the museum over the page of the magazine.

It is precisely in this change in the social and political function of the Surrealist exile magazine where we can see its singularity. It doesn't just exhibit works of art through photographic reproductions: it produces them by using the space, format, and materiality of the magazine itself. Let me focus, then, on a few examples to explain what I mean. The first one is taken from the second issue of *VVV*, where it appeared under the title "Le règlement des comptes," sponsored by the fictional "Banque obscurantiste 'pour l'étranger.'" Positioned horizontally on the left-hand page, this "poème-montage (à une voix hélas) atmosphérique, prophétique, e autocritique" looks like a bank statement with separate columns for "Operations," "Debit," "Credit," and "Balances, Sources ou Points de repere" (figure 4.4). Because it is a *Surrealist* bank statement, however, things are not quite what they seem. In the first slot under "Operations" are the words "Train-train," followed by a series of hyphens (tracks perhaps) under "Debit," a few poetic phrases under "Credit," and the words "Poésie 'moderne'" accompanied by the dates 1914–1918, 1939–Alger 1943–194?" under "Balances, Sources ou Points de repere." Since this is, as the title states, a document settling accounts, one reading implies that Breton and his friends are taking inventory of modern poetry since World War I, while also alluding to contemporary historical events, in this case the recently ousted Vichy government in Algeria (November 1942).

The generic design of the bank statement was reappropriated for a Surrealist montage, but I would add that the concept of "foreign exchange," which recalls the title of Loeb's editorial for *Broom*, conveys a rather different message. Exchange, in this instance, does not involve the explicit use, or abuse, of international currency rates. If anyone is benefiting from the exchange, it is the Americans, who, in a sense, are getting the cultural

BANQUE OBSCURANTISTE "POUR L'ETRANGER"
SOCIETE ANONYME SUBJECTIVE

DATE DE LA POSTE.

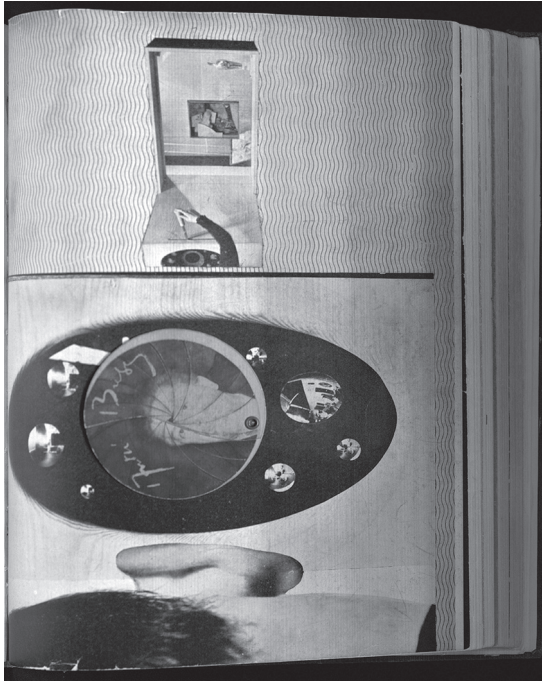
LE REGLEMENT DES COMPTES
Poème - montage (à une voix, hélas) atmosphérique, prophétique et auterrique.

OPERATION (S)	DEBIT	CREDIT	BALANCE, SOURCES ou POINTS DE REPÈRE
Train - train		Au petit déjeuner Desire le journal défilé Du côté enfantin de Guillaume Apollinaire Le soleil se lève tricolore	Poésie "moderne" 1914 - 1918 1939 — Alger 1943 — 1947...
La Vie	Travaillez prenez de la peine Quelque vulgairié n'est pas pour nous déplaire		Jean de LaFontaine: Fables Exemple: Paul Nougé (D'une lettre à un ami — "Documents 34" - N° 2 - page 65)
La Voix "extérieure"		"Quand tout va mal "La Charte de l'Atlantique	
	"Quand tout va bien "Rien		Air connu
Train - train	Travaillez prenez de la peine Un coup d'œil dans l'œil ça n'écrite rien		"La Rime en 1940" par Philippe Pétaïn
		Un pauvre labourneur sentant sa mort prochaine Il n'avait pas d'enfants—s'adressa à son chien	[1] H. M. V. - 2 ^e André Breton (dans VVV N° 1 - page 24)
La Voix "antérieure"	"J'ai jeté aux poutreaux "Les perles de ma cousine."		Le "dernier" discours du Pape, Liquidation de la III ^e me International; Retour de la "Vande-Bonne".

UN ADMINISTRATEUR - DELEGUE
G. C. T. Merys

4.4 "Banque obscurantiste 'pour l'étranger,'" VVV 4 (February 1944).

capital from the seasoned avant-gardists who have landed on their shores. As presumptuous as it may sound, Surrealists like Breton, Ernst, and Duchamp didn't need the Americans for artistic development (economic sustenance was another story). In fact, you could say that the reverse was true, with this Surrealist influx spurring on the development of Abstract Expressionism in the United States.⁶⁶ For the first time since the European avant-gardes came on the scene, there was a branch anchored in America and carrying on with the traditions and techniques it carried from the Old World. The magazine was one of the things it carried. The Surrealists, of course, didn't need any help getting it all together, and they made that perfectly clear from the précis they attached to the back inside cover of the first issue, indicating that "VVV will be in the tradition of those European reviews which published (immediately upon completion) imaginative works of unusual interest whether they be in poetry, the plastic arts, anthropology, psychology, sociology, the evolution of science, comparative religion, or in what may simply be called the field of the wonderful."⁶⁷



4.5 Unnamed insert, *VVV* 4 (February 1944).

The “tradition” belongs specifically to Surrealism, but it’s also necessary to point out that *VVV* wasn’t going to be an Americanized version of something the Surrealists had already done before (figure 4.5). After a lineup that included the varied formats of *La révolution surréaliste* (1924–1929), *Le surréalisme au service de la révolution* (1930–1933), and *Minotuaire* (1933–1938), the Surrealists were ready to experiment again in another country, and the results were extraordinary.⁶⁸ There was, as Jeanne Reynal recognized at the time, “nothing else like it” in the wartime magazine world, and that same assessment could be applied retroactively and expanded: nothing had ever been quite like *VVV* for as long as the little magazine was around.⁶⁹ Monica Sawin argues that this had a lot to do with the fact that the design and quality of the form matched the eclecticism of the content: “Inconsistencies in typefaces and colors of paper, combinations of drawings,

little exiled magazines

photography, and old engravings, and uneasy juxtapositions of texts that might be anthropology on one page, poetry on the next, made perusing an issue of *VVV* at the very least an adventure in the unexpected.”⁷⁰ One page to the next, two pages together, two pages divided, one page back: an older design was repurposed to accommodate an entirely new reading “adventure.” Instead of seeing the little magazine as a container for texts and images, the Surrealists began to imagine it as an interactive three-dimensional object with intrinsic artistic properties that could be manipulated. The bank statement was one example. Printed horizontally on the page, it forced readers to turn the magazine clockwise so that it could be read. Even this gesture, simple and clean, is an acknowledgment that the magazine is an object *in space*, something that should be moved and turned around. And that was just the beginning. Once readers finished trying to make sense of this page (assuming that they did), they were confronted on the page opposite with an image of Jacqueline Lamba Breton seated on the floor with her legs wrapped under a skirt and looking away to the right; whatever there is above her has been covered over by another sheet of white paper. Turning this half sheet over, readers came across two works of art at the same time: one, the printed reproduction of an ethereal green watercolor by Max Ernst, the other a photographic reproduction of a large canvas (in black-and-white) hanging on the wall above Breton (figure 4.6).

An exhibition is very much in progress here. Readers are not just leafing through a magazine: they are strolling through a gallery, and the effect of movement comes from the interactivity that takes place in and between the pages. When turned around, Ernst’s untitled image hangs on the left of the page as if it were tacked on a wall just like the reproduction of Breton’s “real” canvas on the page opposite. Equally striking is the juxtaposition of the green shades against the black-and-white photograph, which makes Ernst’s image pop out while Breton’s recedes into the distance, part of it blocked in the photograph itself by a hanging bar and a houseplant.

The aura may have been destroyed by technologies of reproducibility in a medium like film, but this particular sequence and format in the mag-



4.6 Jacqueline Lamba Breton, *VVV* 4 (February 1944).

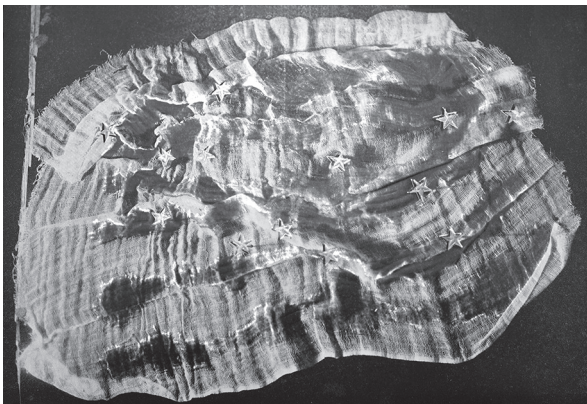
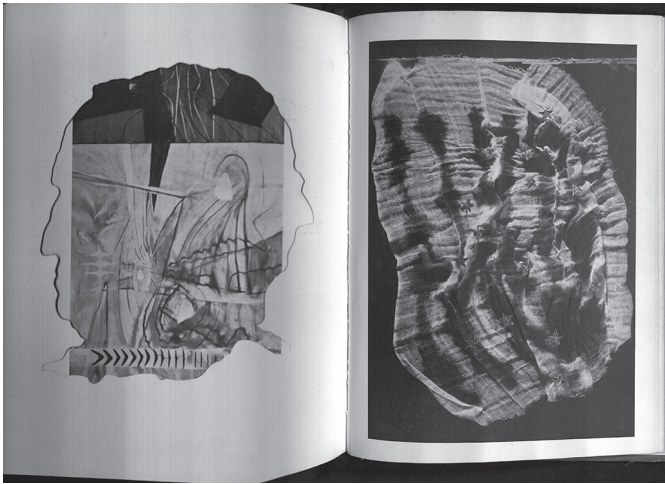
azine offers a unique counterpoint. Indeed, the Ernst is a reproduction, and yet it is also an original that was made exclusively for *VVV* and intended for the lucky readers who happened to pick up the issue. Breton's canvas, on the other hand, is an original that appears in a photograph, and it looks even more like a reproduction that very few people will ever see directly. It is there in black-and-white resembling a staged photograph, the kind used to corroborate the authorship of a work of art, not its authenticity as *a work of art*. The third and final issue (no. 4) is filled with exhibition sequences like this one, half-page color sketches inserted between two page spreads made to look as if they're hanging on the "walls" of the magazine. In addition, there are enlarged, caption-less photographs mounted across two pages that jump out at unsuspecting readers/viewers without any

little exiled magazines

context: a rocky desert landscape, for example, that looks like a painted canvas as seen through a microscope or a series of mystical drawings that can be unfolded beyond the frame of the magazine. And it's clear here that a new mode of reading/viewing is encouraged, one that forces readers to interact in unusual ways with the structure of the magazine.

As compelling as all of this is, however, I don't want to lose sight of the fact that the innovation of the exhibition was connected with this new experience of exile for the Surrealists. It is happening in these pages because Breton, Ernst, and Duchamp have left France behind, and the magazine was made to function like an impromptu gallery. Exhibition in the magazine was a tactic first developed by the Dadaists during World War I, but at this moment, it was adapted for another historical and political context and in another place. The Surrealists, though eager to get their work circulating, were equally interested in creating the kind of experience that would bring the audience to them. In the 1938 Surrealist exhibition designed by Duchamp, they had already come up with ways to turn spaces inside out, in this instance by incorporating the street into the bourgeois salon, covering the ceiling with twelve hundred coal sacks and lining the inside with mannequins. Something similar was happening here as well. The magazine, normally reserved as a place to announce an upcoming exhibition or report on it, was being transformed into an exhibition hall, placeless, made of paper, and capable of evading (or at least disguising) all the trappings of the bourgeois institution that controlled them.⁷¹

Nowhere is this more apparent than in Marcel Duchamp's "L'allégorie de genre," a piece that was first commissioned as a cover for a special Americana issue of *Vogue* but later rejected and subsequently picked up by *VVV* (figure 4.7a). It's not difficult to see why such a work might have been found unsuitable. Look closely: is that a map, a profile of a head with strips of blood? And what are those black lines against the blue? And does the title "Prince of Blood," attributed to Roberto Matta, on the left-hand side correspond with what's there on the right? For this ingenious readymade, Duchamp designed a paper cutout that combines the profile of George Washington's rounded globe on the left with Abraham Lincoln's jagged dome on the right. Turn the entire magazine counterclockwise, and you



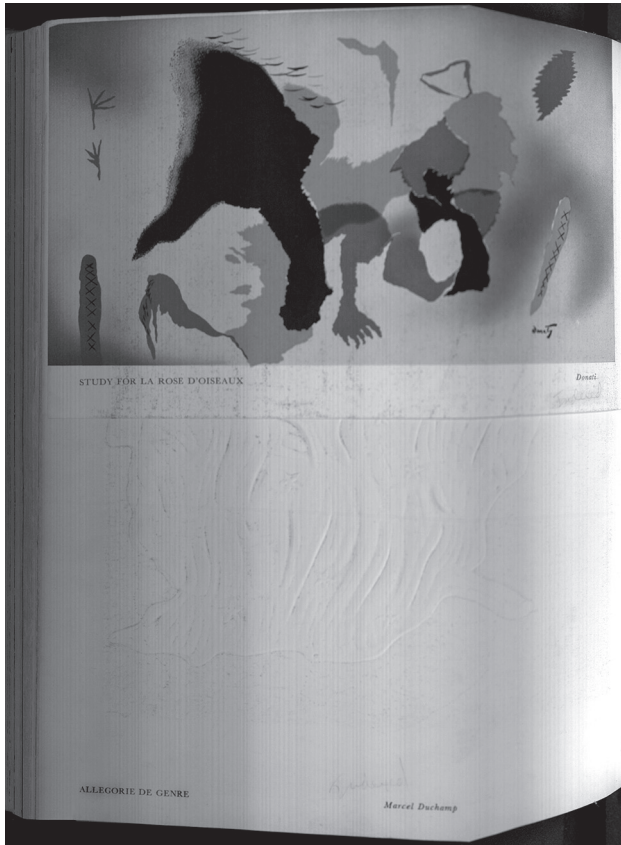
4.7a-c Marcel Duchamp, "L'allegorie de genre," VVV 4 (February 1944).

little exiled magazines

are staring at a map of the United States, with Texas positioned where Washington's nose used to be and silhouettes of Canada and Mexico above and below. That's just the beginning.

Turn the page, in fact, and you are staring at the "Prince of Blood," a black-and-white reproduction of Matta's colored triptych (canvas), through the heads of Washington and Lincoln, who have now switched positions (figure 4.7b). At this point, however, the stripes are revealed more clearly on the right-hand side as stains of blood on a piece of gauze with gold stars stamped in. One more turn, and you see Washington and Lincoln embossed on a white sheet of paper, this time around with the title of the piece and its author finally revealed at the bottom, providing a compelling spin on the very idea of allegory, which in this case associates two of America's presidents with violence and bloodshed (figure 4.7c). The title, though in French, puns in English on the word *gory*, which is, in fact, the adjective that best describes this particular image and its attempt to convey the idea that while a war is raging across Europe, exiles like Duchamp are trying to imagine it from afar under the protection of America's Stars and Stripes.⁷²

And there's more. Turning another page, the reader comes across two more images; one is a half-page colored sketch by Enrico Donati, and the other is a black-and-white photograph of a wooden mask from Alaska (figure 4.8). Particularly striking about this moment in the sequence is the way that Duchamp's "Allegorie" continues to haunt the experience. Instead of simply turning the page and moving on to something new, it remains, the delayed identification of the piece still visible along with the design while the other works are on display. And it's possible to imagine that the titles for these works could be switched without too much trouble. Duchamp's cutout as "La rose d'oiseaux" or Donati's sketch as "L'allegorie de genre": both would work, but only by changing the meaning of the images they were supposed to name. Indeed, what we have here is a pronounced version of montage. The juxtapositions in image and text, the layout and design, the multimedia content, and the variety of different textures and shapes let VVV function like a work of art on wheels, moving through the world precisely so that it can establish some sen-



4.8 Enrico Donati, “La rose d’oiseau,” VVV 4 (February 1944).

sual connection between the works of art, their makers, and the readers/viewers who experience them.

The politics of VVV during these years were necessarily complicated, and Duchamp’s “Allegorie” was itself a representation of the reality facing so many displaced Frenchmen, who were thousands of miles away from the battlefield. Tristan Tzara, who stayed in France, was disgusted by the Surrealist flight, all of it made worse by the fact that in VVV one couldn’t find “the slightest allusion to the war and the Occupation.”⁷³ When the war ended, Tzara was convinced that Surrealism no longer had a place in

little exiled magazines

French intellectual or political life: “What is surrealism today and how does it justify itself historically when we know that it was absent from this war, absent from our hearts and from our activities during the Occupation?”⁷⁴ Tzara’s comments raise a number of poignant questions about political commitment and artistic practice. I will only say here that it influences how we understand just what *VVV* was doing in America during the war. It wasn’t delivering propaganda or broadcasting nationalist messages or encouraging political debates. Instead, *VVV* functioned unapologetically as a site for the publication of art, literature, and criticism. Tzara may have seen these exiles and their magazine as an apolitical haven for cowards, but on the other hand, it still allowed for artistic production to continue, giving the Surrealists a place to circulate their art and writing during wartime.

Exhibition in exile was political. It represented a stubborn refusal to be silent and was an expression of creativity, imagination, and spirit, the very qualities, in other words, under attack by the Fascists and Nazis. That, I think, is why Tzara got it wrong. Commitment in *VVV* was happening through the exhibition, the title itself announcing the desire for freedom by adapting the two Vs used by black American soldiers, who were fighting the war abroad and racism at home. In this case, however, the third V was aimed at another target: colonialism. Breton’s interest in the subject had been growing throughout the 1930s, leading to a number of significant encounters with artists from Senegal, Martinique, Algeria, Morocco, and Haiti. For Breton, as for so many others, colonialism was the most pronounced expression of a post-Enlightenment delirium that was founded on principles of reason skewed deliberately to justify the irrational domination of other races.

This anticolonial message in *VVV* is framed subtly. There are no manifestoes or editorials explicitly denouncing the colonial situation in Africa or the West Indies, but there is the constant presence of Aimé Césaire, the poet from Martinique, educated in France, who founded *L’étudiant noir* with the Senegalese poet Léopold Senghor in 1935 and in 1939 returned home, where he remained for the rest of his life. Césaire’s poems appear in every issue of *VVV* along with an advertisement at the back for his

magazine *Tropiques*, published under the watchful eye of the Vichy government, which temporarily suspended publication in 1943, before it was overthrown.⁷⁵ That in itself wouldn't be so compelling if it wasn't for the fact that Césaire is one of the few outsiders allowed to occupy such a prominent position within the magazine. And I want to focus specifically on the way that the space of *VVV* accommodated both the poet and his work through exhibition techniques already discussed.

Césaire was not in exile when he published his poems in *VVV*. He had already returned to Martinique and was continuing to revise *Cahiers d'un retour au pays natal*, a poem documenting his exile in France, a version of which first appeared in the French journal *Volontés* in 1939, while he edited *Tropiques* and wrote other poems for what later became *Les armes miraculeuses* (1946). Much has been made of the fact that Breton first met Césaire accidentally in 1941 when his ship stopped over in Fort-de-France en route to New York City, but I want to emphasize that it brought the newly minted exile face-to-face with the returnee, who was actively transforming his experience into art. Once Breton had *VVV* up and running in New York City the following year, Césaire became the voice of the exile, someone who, having lived through the experience, was already capable of describing it through a style of writing that was both *surréaliste* and *étranger*.

In *VVV*, exile gets expressed as exhibition. Césaire was an unknown quantity in the United States in the early 1940s, and for that reason, the Surrealists were responsible for preparing his introduction to a new audience.⁷⁶ To do so, they capitalized on the fact that Césaire's race would not be identifiable by name alone. For the first two batches of poems, then, all of them composed in French without English translations, it would have been impossible to know exactly who he was by race even if the location was there at the end to identify where he was from. By the third issue, however, Breton and his fellow editors staged a performance that would dispel any doubts. A page before Césaire's poem "Batouque" begins, there is a photograph of the poet in a white suit, standing on a rooftop with a few buildings and mountains visible in the background (figure 4.9). In the bottom left-hand corner is Césaire's name, with a poem by Philip Lamantia



4.9 Aimé Césaire, *VVV 4* (February 1944).

on the page opposite. By turning the page, the reader comes across a photographic reproduction of a sculpture by Maria Martins, accompanied underneath by the beginning of Césaire's poem. After four pages of single lines layered at different lengths, the poem ends with a full-page black-and-white photograph of the Cuban painter Wifredo Lam, crouched in front of an oversize canvas and holding a paintbrush (figure 4.10). Lam, who is



4.10 Wifredo Lam, *VVV 4* (February 1944).

pictured in his studio in Havana, painted *La jungle* after visiting the Absalon forest in Martinique with Césaire while en route to Cuba from Paris. He was on the same ship, in fact, that brought Breton to America, and the painting that he is pictured in front of was actually on display in 1943 in New York City, where it received rave reviews. In this instance, the photograph of *La jungle* gestures toward a shared experience together in Martinique as exiles and, as it were, the transformation of that experience into art: the painting for Lam, the poem for Césaire, and the magazine for Breton.

All of the elements for the exhibition within the magazine are here, including the remediation that makes it possible to incorporate reproductions of visual artworks on the printed page. Particularly striking, however, is the sequencing of the images: Césaire appears before his poem like the

painters who pose in front of their canvases. In this case, however, his poems have already preceded him in the previous issues, and once readers get to see the *black* man behind them, another one is already in progress, surrounded on both sides by a network of artists working within traditions from Africa, South America, and the West Indies. This rapid-fire exhibit of artists effectively unites them, making the poet from Martinique part of a diasporic tradition involving the painter from Cuba and the sculptor from Brazil, and all of it is orchestrated by a group of displaced Frenchmen waiting out the war in the United States.

I mentioned before that the presence of exiles does not an exile magazine make, and the same point applies here. It is through the device of the exhibition within the magazine that exile gets staged, embedded into its very structure from the sequencing and arrangement to the formatting and photography. Césaire makes such a compelling case because of the way that his exhibit gets drawn out over time, and it was done in this way, I suspect, as a provocation, the delayed introduction to a poet, who, the audience eventually discovers, is black, the same one who, along with Senghor, coined the term *négritude* during these years to describe positively an ethnic identity and displaced historical experience of a population that exists within and beyond national boundaries. The Surrealists may have experienced exile concretely and collectively during these years, but it prepared them to understand the legacy of a much longer history of this condition, which was connected with the colonial realities of places like Martinique and of poets like Césaire, who chose to return.

Envoi(x). By appearing in *VVV* as an exhibition imported all the way from Fort-de-France, Césaire was effectively brought into the Surrealist movement as a fellow exile, but the affiliation also worked in reverse, identifying the exiled Surrealists with an anticolonial struggle that was gaining momentum during those years and that involved the ousting of the Vichy government from Martinique in 1943, followed by Césaire's appointment as its mayor and the redesignation of Martinique's status in 1946 from colony to *département d'outre-mer*. And if, as has been suggested, *VVV* was an explicit reference to the *VV* (Double Victory) of black Americans fighting in the war, I argue that the extra *V* identifies, more subtly

perhaps, the *voix* [Fr.: *voix*] of poets like Césaire, the one who Breton accidentally stumbled upon in 1941 when he picked up a copy of *Tropiques* in a bookshop in Fort-de-France and immediately noticed “la *voix* de l’homme n’était en rien brisée, couverte, elle se redressait ici comme l’épi même de la lumière.”⁷⁷ It was the same quality, in fact, that Suzanne Césaire recognized in “la grande *voix*” of Breton, the one who, in his exile, was quick to hear “à New York, au Brasil, au Mexique, en Argentine, à Cuba, au Canada, à Alger . . . des *voix* qui ne seraient pas ce qu’elles sont (timbre et resonance) sans le surrealisme.”⁷⁸

Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich were right: the list of exile magazines is long.⁷⁹ But what I want to foreground above all is the way that this condition of exile got inscribed within the materiality, structure, and design of the magazine itself for more than two decades: the paper and typos, the silences and sequences, the exhibitions and excisions. Other titles, of course, are part of this list (Alejo Carpentier’s *Imán* in Paris, Wolfgang Paalen’s *Dyn* in Mexico, Roger Callois’s *Lettres françaises* in Buenos Aires, Vicente Huidobro’s *Creación* in Madrid and Paris), and there will be ways that they elaborate on, and perhaps depart from, some of the arguments I’ve already made.⁸⁰ What remains, however, is the fact that the little magazine became modern in the twentieth century because of its adaptability as a communications technology and the way that it could be “refunctioned” to accommodate concrete economic and political changes in the world, which, in the interwar years, involved fluctuating exchange rates and the forced displacement of so many individuals and movements around the globe.

Fascists and Nazis, it turns out, couldn’t stamp out the little magazine no matter how hard they tried. And this same resilience would be required once again in 1975, when a group of exiled Arab Surrealists in Paris started *Le desir libertaire*, an antireligious, antinationalist magazine banned from the mail and bookstores in every Arab country.⁸¹ Published in mimeograph, *Le desir libertaire* used the freedom it found in France to take an oppositional stance against the religious and political hypocrisy it identified across countries in the Arab world. Once again, the little exiled magazine was symptomatic of an intellectual restlessness and a place of



little exiled magazines

refuge for the imagination. But it was also, as was true in Breton's case, an unmistakable sign that one was in exile in the first place. Thirty years had passed since the founders of Surrealism returned to France and watched the original movement make way for the arrival of other avant-gardes. But the necessity for this magazine in the 1970s was a reminder that there always will be unreason to fight in the world, and thankfully there is, and always will be, a medium whose greatest virtue, it turns out, is a littleness that can be manufactured on the run just about anywhere.

little postcolonial magazines

The history of contemporary letters has, to a very manifest extent, been written in such magazines.

- Ezra Pound, “Small Magazines”

The history of literary movements is more often written in some long forgotten dead little magazine.

- Lewis Nkosi, “On *Okyeame*”

I

LITTLE MAGAZINES MADE literary history in the twentieth century. On that point, Lewis Nkosi and Ezra Pound would agree. But if you begin to ask for more specific details—whose history? what literature? which magazines?—these two would necessarily part ways. When Pound was writing his brief history of “the small magazine,” he had in mind an Anglo-American high modernism made in the pages of *Others*, the *Egoist*, the *Little Review*, the *Criterion*, and the *Dial* in the 1910s and into the 1920s.¹ Nkosi, who made this observation in a review of *Okyeame*, a little magazine published in Ghana in the 1960s, was referring more generally to modern African literature published after 1950.² Same medium, different time and place: modern but not necessarily modernist. And in both cases, the little magazine functioned as a world form, a place where writers,

little postcolonial magazines

readers, critics, and translators could imagine themselves as part of a global community that consisted of, but was not cordoned off by, national boundaries.

And yet you begin to wonder if that's all there really is to this story of the little magazine: European, British, and American modernists and avant-gardists using the medium to house and exhibit their literary experiments, and postcolonial writers adapting it in the second half of the century to accommodate the rise of independent, national literatures. This particular spin on the little magazine's transmission ends up making Anglo-European modernism responsible on some level for the birth of modern literature in places like Africa, the West Indies, South Asia, and the Pacific Rim, which is to radically oversimplify and misrepresent the issue. The form of the little magazine, so often identified with modernism, does not, as I've already discussed in the introduction, belong only to England, the United States, and Europe, even if it was the vehicle that carried so many modernist texts to readers in and between them. When the little magazine comes to West Africa in the 1950s, for example, it owes as much to the legacy of Anglo-American and European avant-garde and modernist magazines as it does to an expansive network of Lusophone and Francophone newspapers and periodicals that had ballooned in the 1940s along with a lively pamphlet culture transported from India by African soldiers after World War II.³ The African little magazine, in particular, is a strange amalgam of print media (newspapers, pamphlets, academic periodicals), something that could only emerge in the postwar conditions when independent nations were being born out of the wreckage of collapsed empires and a modernist magazine culture that was already a thing of the past.⁴

Though critics regularly make this connection between modernist and postcolonial little magazines, it is never given much scrutiny, treated more as an obvious historical fact than a problematic possibility that didn't necessarily have to happen. What gets lost along the way is any sense that the two actually shared a common, if vexed, past, and when read diachronically, it can change our perspective on the print cultures of modernism and postcolonialism in some unexpected ways. Debates about the relationship between the two have tended to focus on questions of influence, genre, lan-

guage, style, and technique, with some critics emphasizing the creative appropriations and others the deliberate breaks. For more than half a century, in fact, modernism itself was regularly identified with a Eurocentrism bolstered by the institutions and ideologies of colonialism that postcolonial writers could subsequently expose and attack.⁵ As a result, there was considerably less interest in the continuities between them, and there remained a great deal of suspicion about modernism's productive influence on the development of postcolonial literature in the decades after World War II.

More recently, however, critics such as Neil Lazarus, Jahan Ramazani, Peter Kalliney, and Simon Gikandi have provided new ways to frame this relationship, acknowledging the adversity but also tracing lines of connectivity and commonality that enable us to read modernism through the postcolonial and vice versa.⁶ Lazarus, in particular, has argued that in postcolonial critics' effort to break with Euromodernism, they have, in fact, gone too far and ended up ignoring a critical, anticolonial dimension that he identifies explicitly with "modernist protocols and procedures" employed by contemporary writers (not all of them postcolonial). The little magazine, I would add, is one of the "protocols and procedures" that has been repeatedly ignored by modernist and postcolonial critics alike, in large part because both groups prefer to treat 1945 as a convenient, if problematic, dividing line. For this reason, the modernist and postcolonial magazines have been unnecessarily cut off from one another even if, as I argue, the postcolonial mobilization of this medium in the West Indies and Africa allowed for the radical reconsideration of what the little magazine was to Euromodernism and what it could mean afterward.

What follows is an attempt to read modernism and postcolonialism against each other through the medium of the magazine. To do so, I focus on the little magazine both as a set of media procedures used by postcolonial writers for literary transmission and as a material object designed to function within a transnational literary field that emerged in colonial and postcolonial countries after World War II. This chapter takes seriously the idea that publishing in little magazines in these postwar years was an activity associated with an established and, for many colonial countries,

inherited Euromodernist tradition. And while Gikandi has made the bold claim that postcolonial literature “would perhaps not exist” without modernism (citing the establishment of colonial schools and universities consuming the English literary canon), I would add further that it would not exist without the historically validated material practice of publishing *like a modernist*.⁷ Not everyone, of course, wanted to be like Pound or Eliot, but for a poet like Christopher Okigbo, whom I discuss at the end of this chapter, it was impossible to ignore the fact that their greatness was first glimpsed in the pages of little magazines published in England, Europe, and the United States. *Transition*, where Okigbo first brought out so many of his poems, was quite different from the *transition* that preceded it by a few decades, but as I explain, the sheer variety of structural differences within this and so many other postcolonial little magazines indicates just how malleable the form could be as it moved beyond Western metropolitan centers after modernism and how the arrangement of everything from the contents and cover design to the presence or absence of book reviews, correspondence, distribution lists, and editorial blurbs reflects the complicated process by which this medium negotiated local, regional literary production and the emergence of a global literary field in modernism’s wake.

The postcolonial little magazine isn’t just one more category to add to the mix of immobile, exiled, anti-Fascist little magazines or an afterthought in modernism’s genealogy. It challenges some of the most basic assumptions that have been in place for so long to describe how the little magazine was made to function in the world throughout the rest of the twentieth century. In previous chapters, I’ve exposed some of the myths about transatlantic mobility and the harsh, though productive, realities of homelessness and exile, but in this instance, I’m interested in the fact that the postcolonial magazines had to deal with circumstances that their Euro-modernist counterparts did not. And not all of them were alike. They developed in countries such as Trinidad, Jamaica, Barbados, Martinique, Nigeria, and Uganda, each one of them with unique political, economic, and social situations, literary histories, and print institutions and cultures. Together, however, they managed to transform the little magazine into a medium that could consolidate national and regional literatures while also

constructing transnational networks capable of catering to a widely dispersed diasporic readership.

Before any comparative analysis of postcolonial and modernist magazines is even possible, we need to enlarge the geography and expand the timeline. It's a step, in fact, that requires adjusting a narrative about the rise and fall of little magazines that has been in place for almost a century: born on or around 1910 during Ford Madox Ford's brief reign as editor of the *English Review* (1908–1909) or the founding of Harriet Monroe's *Poetry* (1912), Harriet Shaw Weaver's the *Egoist* (1914), and Margaret Anderson's the *Little Review* (1914), reaching middle age in the 1920s with the *Dial*, the *Criterion*, the *transatlantic review*, and *transition*, and taking its last gasp in the late 1930s with the closing of the *Criterion* and the *NRF*. Accurate to a degree, this tale is, finally, partial, incomplete, and misleading. What do you do with *La revue indigène* (1927) in Haiti, *Vöörslag* (1926) and *Drum* (1951) in South Africa, *Trinidad* (1929) and the *Beacon* (1931) in Trinidad, *Tropiques* (1941) in Martinique, *Kyk-over-al* (1945) in Guyana, *Bim* (1942) in Barbados, *Focus* (1943) in Jamaica, *Black Orpheus* (1957) in Nigeria, *Transition* (1961) in Uganda, and *Okyeame* (1961) in Ghana?

Here we have a dozen little magazines outside the usual transatlantic or trans-European orbit, and this is only a tiny fraction of the titles and places they were published. They appeared during the rise and, in some cases, after the fall of the Euromodernist little magazine, and none of them were actually plugged into this network. In most cases, they flew under the radar, some of them becoming part of an emerging flood of Francophone and Anglophone magazines crossing and recrossing the Atlantic, others remaining stubbornly anchored in their town, province, or nation (sometimes voluntarily, other times involuntarily). And perhaps that's why they have been so easily excluded from view. They have nothing explicitly to do with the production or reception of European modernism (western, eastern, or central), many of them belonging instead to that pile of "long forgotten dead little magazines" that Nkosi first identified back in the mid-1960s.

A medium-based history, however, brings modernism and postcolonialism together, not because they circulated the same texts or writers but

little postcolonial magazines

because they encouraged similar literary and critical practices. In fact, it's interesting to discover how familiar the origin narratives are for both. Take, for instance, Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane's classic account in *Modernism: A Guide to European Literature, 1890–1930*: "It was largely through such magazines that the evolving works of modernism achieved their transmission, sought out their audiences, as *Ulysses* did through the American *Little Review*. And, gradually, it was the self-consciously small paper, in an era of large publishing ventures, that began to take over not only the localized work of particular movements but the larger tasks of cultural transmission."⁸ Now compare it with a statement in 1950 by A. J. Seymour, editor at *Kyk-over-al* (Trinidad, 1945–1961), which refers specifically to the West Indies but will get modified by later critics writing about Africa: "It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the Little Reviews appearing in the West Indies because they have been and still are the nursery of literature."⁹ At the most basic level, this repetition suggests that the framework used to describe modernist literature can easily be emptied out and recycled for its postcolonial successor. In Seymour's account, the "Little Reviews" (still capitalized and kept in the plural), which once named a specific modernist magazine, have become a generic signifier for the medium itself in the postwar, and soon postcolonial, period. This slip reveals a connection, but one that has been deflated. For as much as Seymour wanted to suggest at the time that West Indian writers were repeating history, it was, in fact, a history that remained to be written, making the "Little Reviews" in the West Indies more like nurseries than museums. Seymour, it turns out, was on to something here; but subsequent critics didn't pick up on the modernist magazines' postcolonial legacy, and it didn't inspire much critical reflection on the pronounced differences between the two.

II

While the little magazine in Europe, England, and the United States developed in response to an increasingly commercialized literary culture, in the West Indies and Africa, it was in response to colonialism and decolo-

nization. These contexts, in fact, generated one of the most striking differences between little magazines in the “West” and those in the West Indies and Africa. The little magazine may have played a significant role in the realization of modernism’s larger cosmopolitan project, which involved the emphasis on a denationalized internationalism, but just the opposite was true for the postcolonial magazines: they helped to generate national and regional literary fields, which, instead of being isolated from one another, actually fostered transnational linkages that had never existed before.¹⁰

Little magazines published in the West Indies and Africa fostered the kinds of literary and critical affiliations that would end up reinforcing their status as both national, regional *and* international, cosmopolitan. It was an association that editors and reviewers attributed to the rise of a global book business firmly anchored in modernism’s metropolitan centers (London, New York, and Paris). One reviewer in *Black Orpheus* (1964), for instance, pointed out that magazines like *Bim* (Barbados) and *Présence africaine* (Dakar) were “reservoirs for Afro-Caribbean literature” precisely because they published “a great deal of indigenous writing that might otherwise never be printed in English, French, and American journals which demand a kind of compromise from their overseas contributors in order to make their material suitable for their own readers.”¹¹ For A. J. Seymour, whom I just mentioned, the so-called third-world magazine was a repository for the “values of the past” with the power to guide African and West Indian writing in the future.¹² And for Emilio Rodriguez, a reviewer at *Bim*, little magazines were an antidote to the exclusionary practices of “metropolitan publishing houses,” allowing for the preservation of a “national linguistic expression” that would otherwise have been lost.¹³ Indeed, the little magazine’s impact on the emergence of global literary production often came from its isolation, and these various testimonies articulate the strange paradox that the formation of national languages and literatures within this medium actually required occupying a position on the margins of the system free from the burden of ever having to pass through a Western metropolis for validation.

The *Beacon*, which appeared irregularly in Trinidad between 1931 and 1933 (thirty issues in all), was one of the places where it all began, intended

little postcolonial magazines

to counteract the demoralizing effects of the West Indian magazines where, as Albert Gomes put it, “immaturity assumes concrete form.”¹⁴ In this context, “immaturity” was synonymous with a lack of originality and reflected, in Gomes words, “what slaves we still are to English culture and tradition.”¹⁵ And at a time when magazines like *transition* and the *Criterion* were busy catering to an established modernist tradition on the other side of the Atlantic, the *Beacon* was designed to take on the role of cultural agitator. In this case, however, the target for this agitation was more explicitly a foreign British empire that had effectively controlled literary production up until that point through both its ownership of the machinery and the dominance of its literary models. Writers like Gomes, C. L. R. James, and George Mendes contributed prose fiction to the *Beacon*, interspersed with more politically explosive essays about colonialism in East India and Africa, which repeatedly offended the Catholic Church, the British government, and the indigenous middle-class elite and often ended in boycotts, bans, and seizures.¹⁶

The *Beacon* was an early example of what soon became the more common practice of adapting the little magazine as an anticolonial device. And all of the qualities associated with the littleness of modernist magazines in the West were getting modified to accommodate the development of a modern Anglophone literature in the Caribbean. All too often this relationship between modernism and the formation of postcolonial literatures gets read as a process of subversion taking place within, through, and against European high-modernist styles, languages, conventions, and genres, but what gets repeatedly ignored is the presence of medium itself as both a concrete and a symbolic form for literary and critical transmission.¹⁷ So many of these newly emerging writers from the West Indies were not just working through imported, modernist models they were using the same medium to do so, and I want to emphasize that the very idea of any anticolonial subversion came to involve a simple strategy for publication. To publish in a little magazine in the 1930s, '40s, or '50s was to be part of a tradition that was already tried and tested, complete with a long list of underdogs who had managed to make their mark. In this context, however, littleness was associated, consciously or not, with

the reality of writing as a subject living under foreign domination instead of voluntary exile, and it identified as much a connection with this Euromodernist tradition as it did a marked departure.

Consider, for example, one of the few explicit references to the little magazine tradition as it appeared in an editorial from *Kyk-over-al* (1950): “Traditionally the little review in Europe has been the vehicle for experimental writing and free expression of criticism without concession to the convention of commerce. In Britain, there has been a recent island outcrop of periodicals displaying literature and the arts on a regional basis (e.g. Wales, Scotland and even a smaller unit such as the Reading area of England), and at the same time making available the best ideas from outside the area. In the West Indies also the little review has begun to express West Indian culture.” Here’s another one thirteen years later in *Transition*: “And so the small American magazines, which were the first publishers of Hemingway, Faulkner, Frost, Pound, Eliot, William Carlos Williams, Katherine Anne Porter—and, in fact, an estimated 80 percent of all American writers of any literary stature since 1912—have been run out of the pocketbooks, if not the sheer nerve of their editors.”¹⁸ Many people have heard some version of this story before, but when it gets spun in *Kyk-over-al* or *Transition*, the moral is different. These little magazines in Europe, America, and Britain, now part of a tradition, have become something to emulate, and magazine editors living in colonies on both sides of the Atlantic were beginning to wonder if the process could be repeated under radically different historical, political, and economic conditions, in island outcrops instead of urban centers.

Unlike genres, styles, or even literary techniques, however, the little magazine didn’t have any single national origin precisely because it had already been adapted by so many different cultures in such a short period of time. Still, if it was going to be identified with a European, British, or American modernist tradition (to use the locations identified earlier), it did not have to be pinned down to a specific place, and I suspect that this was why the little magazine was so readily adaptable in such an uncritical way in the decades that followed. Writers living in colonized countries, so many of them barred from a book industry abroad and frustrated by the absence

little postcolonial magazines

of one at home, used the little magazine as their own: it was a resource capable of providing them with an opportunity to generate an independent literary field. *Bim* (1941) in Barbados and *Kyk-over-al* (1945) in Trinidad are frequently identified as two of the most successful examples of this process in the West Indies, both of them starting out as isolated island ventures before expanding outward to embrace the entire region and eventually coming to define a West Indian literature that included writers such as Sam Selvon, George Lamming, Edward Kamau Braithwaite, Andrew Salkey, V. S. Naipaul, Derek Walcott, and Roger Mais.¹⁹

“Regional cradles” is the term Reinhard Sander employs to describe *Bim* and *Kyk-over-al*.²⁰ They nurtured new writing, of course, but the term also describes the fact that they were at a crossroads in the Caribbean, each of them bringing together writers, isolated in the past, who began to imagine the possibility of a collective literary future. *Bim*, once referred to as “an oasis in that lonely desert of mass indifference,” was the earliest and longest lasting of them all, and it started out, modestly enough, as an alternative to the periodicals sponsored by the conservative, and by all accounts dull, literary clubs.²¹ It didn’t take long before *Bim* was transformed from an “island magazine,” as George Lamming remembers it, to “a regional magazine,” and this shift was made possible by the fact that writers from around the archipelago were beginning to circulate their work more than ever before.²² By 1948, when the Montego Bay Conference was held to discuss the possibility of a West Indian Federation, *Bim* was already seven years old, and it served the following year as a platform for the *Caribbean Quarterly*, an academic periodical sponsored by the recently founded University College, West Indies, in Jamaica.

The 1940s were a pivotal decade in the history of Anglophone West Indian literature. For the first time, a small network of independent magazines worked together to connect writers on the various islands, all beginning to imagine themselves serving the same literary, and quite possibly political, future. The mass exodus of so many West Indian novelists to London in the 1950s, however, has effectively obscured the fact that these magazines continued to exist, sharing writers and critics and often reviewing one another in an act of regional solidarity. Though the *Beacon* folded

shortly after James and Mendes went abroad in 1932, *Bim* and *Kyk-over-al* kept on running, the former bringing out issues until 1961 (five years before Guyanese independence), the latter making it all the way to 1981. I bring up the fact of their longevity in order to emphasize that mass migration to the metropolis actually ended up having a positive effect on the Caribbean magazine scene. Not only did writers such as Lamming, Selvon, Salkey, Naipaul, and Braithwaite continue to publish pieces back home, but their positive critical reception abroad effectively brought their native countries into the metropolitan spotlight. So if, as Simon Gikandi contends, the condition of exile was the “ground zero of West Indian literature,” generating a nationalist identity and fanning the desire for decolonization, it was the little magazine that played a formative role in the articulation of any independent literary and political program, opening up its pages to discussions regarding a West Indian identity that was being realized as much through literary production as it was through political action (the short-lived West Indian Federation being the primary example, 1958–1962).²³

The BBC’s *Caribbean Voices* program facilitated this transatlantic exchange between London and the West Indies, bringing together exiled writers, who would read from their work, with critics reviewing the latest publications.²⁴ The little magazines where so many of them first got their start weren’t forgotten in the process: *Bim*, for instance, would frequently publish work that was already broadcast, sometimes even choosing to pass along original material straight to the radio. At the same time, Frank Collymore would communicate regularly with BBC programmers about the selection of material, and on one occasion, Henry Swanzy, the producer, scheduled a reading from Derek Walcott so that it would coincide with a review of *Bim*, *Focus*, and *Kyk-over-al* because he knew that audiences across the Caribbean “would be turning on their radios.”²⁵ For writers and editors back in the Caribbean, there may have been a legitimate fear that a radio program of this stature, one produced in London no less, could put an end to the little magazine, but it never did. And as Gail Low has recently discovered in her work in the BBC archives, the eradication of this print outlet was never the intention. Swanzy was particularly sensitive about undermining the influence of little magazines in

little postcolonial magazines

the Caribbean, occasionally offering to review issues of *Focus*, *Bim*, and *Kyk-over-al* in order to reaffirm the idea that the BBC's "main purpose" was to stimulate West Indian writing in the West Indies.²⁶

West Indian writing *in* the West Indies: that may be true, but it was not always writing *for* the West Indies. The gradual move from a more local literature organized by island to a regional one organized by archipelago eventually led to an international one organized along the shadow lines of a diaspora that led all the way back to Anglophone West Africa. That, in fact, was one of the ways that the West Indian little magazine continued to maintain its relevance over the decades: after helping to regionalize West Indian literature, it established links with a West African literary scene that exploded in the 1960s and came to include Gabriel Okara, Wole Soyinka, Christopher Okigbo, Chinua Achebe, J. P. Clark, and D. O. Fagunwa. Already by 1957, when the first issue of *Black Orpheus* appeared in Nigeria, a new narrative of the little magazine was being written, and it was one that involved a celebrated cast of West Indian *isolatoes*, first nurtured in regional cradles like *Bim* and *Kyk-over-al*, who then managed to prove themselves on an international stage, putting the West Indies on the map of a much expanded British literary scene.²⁷

Based on the success of these *isolatoes*, it's no surprise to discover that many of them helped launch this awakening of Anglophone literature in West Africa. In the first three years and seven issues of *Black Orpheus*, during what Bernth Lindfors has called its "West Indian infancy," writers from this region dominated the pages, contributing eighteen of the twenty-six poems and six of the ten short stories and serving as the subject for twelve of the sixteen essays (including those devoted to French West African poets and novelists).²⁸ With numbers like these, it's safe to conclude that Anglophone Africa was looking westward during this early period, and a magazine like *Black Orpheus* was more than heartened by the fact that so many West Indian writers, all of them raised in colonized countries, had created a new literature that was nationally, regionally, and internationally relevant. Indeed, it was a fate that awaited this new generation of West (and soon East) African writers as well, one that makes it impossible for us to ignore how far the little magazine traveled

since the days of its infancy in the United States, England, and across Europe, stubbornly refusing to die out even if so many individual titles found it impossible to stay alive.

III

When the little magazine arrived in West and East Africa, the issue of readership and distribution was complicated immediately. Transport and communications technologies were lagging far behind those connecting London, Paris, and New York, making the most basic movement of people, print, and paper from region to region difficult, costly, and time-consuming. Sure, there was an infrastructure that British, French, and Belgian empires helped to create, but with the independence of dozens of African countries in the 1950s and '60s, movement by land, sea, and air became even more difficult, unreliable, and expensive. In the early years of *Transition*, which was based in Kampala, Uganda, there were plans to publish a West African edition with more space for criticism and the potential to reach a wider non-African public. Once *Transition's* editors Rajat Neogy and Christopher Okigbo realized just how expensive such a collaborative venture would be (including exorbitant air freight costs for the distribution), they were forced to drop it.²⁹ That may help to explain why Okigbo arranged for the simultaneous publication of his own poem "Lament of the Drums" in *Transition* and *Black Orpheus* in 1965, much like Eliot did for his *Waste Land*: it was one way to meet the demand of two audiences at once.³⁰

The rise of the little magazine in Africa is intimately linked with two related changes in the geopolitical and world-economic order in the mid-twentieth century: decolonization and the formation of the global book business.³¹ The withdrawal of Western empires from African nations in the 1950s and '60s coincided with the entrenchment of commercial conglomerates eager to establish their interests in newly independent nations, and the book business was no exception. British publishers (Oxford University Press, Heinemann, Longman), in particular, realized the potential of an untapped Anglophone market and soon began consolidating their interests. This commercial literary exchange between imperial metropolises

little postcolonial magazines

and their former colonies was also working in the other direction: Anglophone African and West Indian writers were getting published by these same British firms and becoming part of a postcolonial novel boom that is still with us today.³²

Amos Tutuola's *Palm-Wine Drinkard* was one of the first modern African novels to reach a wider Western audience. It was composed entirely of Yoruba folktales woven together around the figure of the trickster (in this case one who loves palm wine) and written in what Tutuola described self-consciously as "wrong English." When Faber and Faber published the novel, it included an image of an original manuscript page in Tutuola's own hand with a few editorial corrections in order to authenticate their latest discovery.³³ Eileen Julien has called this novel and so many others produced during these decades "extroverted."³⁴ It is a term that identifies those novels produced in one place (in this case Nigeria) for consumption in another (in this case England). And there is a very real cost to this extroverted literary production. Extroversion is, very often, dependent on exclusion. Writers like Tutuola, Cyprian Ekwensi, and Chinua Achebe were being published abroad throughout the 1950s, but their books very often could not be afforded or, in some cases, even found in their native countries.³⁵

This is where the little magazine comes in. While so many commercially motivated foreign publishers were "extroverting" African literature, the little magazine, you could say, was "introverting" it by bringing together, issue by issue, modern Anglophone texts for an African readership.³⁶ Looking specifically at *Black Orpheus* and *Transition*, Peter Benson has argued that this process was critical to the formation of a postcolonial literature in Africa. And more recently, Peter Kalliney has pointed out that it was enabled, in part, by the promotion of a modernist autonomy once associated in the first half of the twentieth century with political and aesthetic detachment. For some of the African writers who were publishing in these magazines, however, autonomy was redeployed to signify nationalist, anticolonial engagement and a rejection of Cold War ideologies promulgated by the United States and the Soviet Union. Once it was revealed in 1967 that both magazines had received funding from the Congress for Cultural Free-

dom (CCF; *Black Orpheus* beginning in 1961 and *Transition* in 1962), a nonprofit front for the CIA, Neogy and Ulli Beier (founding editor of *Black Orpheus*) lost their credibility, even if both were completely unaware of what had been going on behind the scenes.³⁷ The truth is that institutions like the CCF may have provided funding to these (and other) magazines in Africa and elsewhere, but they did not dictate what appeared in their pages, literary or critical, and made no attempt to control the message in order to maintain the utmost secrecy. Kalliney believes that this “no strings attached” policy of CIA-sponsored organizations coincided with its desire to promote democratic freedom (as opposed to Soviet authoritarianism) and “backed the idea that emerging African cultural institutions were autonomous of colonialism, of the nation-state, even of Cold War ideologies.”³⁸

Black Orpheus and *Transition* may have cultivated this sense of autonomy in order to promote an independent literary and critical sphere in countries across Africa, but the network to which they belonged, and the affiliations established therein, made it impossible to detach completely from the geopolitical games going on around them. Even if both editors, then, were ignorant of the funding that was arriving from Western political institutions, they were still involved with them. This oblique relationship, in fact, may not have compromised the content or form of their magazines, but it did force their affiliation with other titles in this foreign-funded network, including *Encounter*, the CCF’s Anglo-American magazine, which was being used as part of a more extensive propaganda machine to enlist intellectual, and anti-Communist, sympathizers worldwide. In the decentralized Dada network, which I discussed in chapter 1, it may have been possible to get off the grid in order to resist political and commercial appropriation (and the very design of the grid in the magazines was an expression of it), but this was not the case for those titles plugging into a Cold War network that was bringing countries and continents into even closer contact with one another. In an interesting twist, modernist autonomy may have been adapted for a political end, but it was not to be confused with avant-garde strategies for autonomy that were always already political, adapted by Dadaists to reaffirm their detachment from bourgeois

little postcolonial magazines

institutions (political, cultural, and commercial). Decentralization, then, may have worked in the Dada network, which was largely based in Europe, but it should not be confused with a Cold War version that was using globalization, and a black diaspora, as an opportunity to try and consolidate power and increase the range of cultural and political influence.

When *Black Orpheus* first started out in Lagos, Nigeria, in 1957, bringing out twenty-two issues until 1967, Nigeria already had a lively and established print culture in place.³⁹ In addition to the many foreign-controlled newspapers, there were literary magazines, leaflets, periodicals, and scholarly journals printed and distributed by the University of Ibadan. With the exception of the popular general culture magazine *Nigeria Magazine*, which regularly included a literary supplement, most of them were amateurish ventures intended for a small audience composed mostly of students and faculty.⁴⁰ With a matte cover, woodcut images in bold colors, and thick paper, *Black Orpheus* stood out (figure 5.1). Between the covers, readers would find the contents laid out on the page with generous margins, free from advertisements or letters from readers (and/or the editor). *Black Orpheus* was professional in quality, but it would never be confused with a popular magazine. Before long, issues were being picked up by Nigerian universities and used as anthologies for the classroom.

Black Orpheus, unlike so many of its Western precursors, was a little magazine intended for a general readership; it was not predisposed to experimental writing; it was not an enemy of the mainstream commercial literary marketplace, because there was none. There were no wealthy patrons (such as John Quinn or Harriet Shaw Weaver) to support production, so *Black Orpheus* relied on funding it received from a government-sponsored agency (the Ministry of Education) and, after 1961, from a foreign, Western one (the CIA). The circulation numbers were on the “high” end of the spectrum (around thirty-five hundred at its peak), and that was because it did not have to compete with other commercial or noncommercial publications for contemporary Anglophone literature. Instead of *Black Orpheus* catering to the fit and few, its readership was still very much in the making, and the editors were more preoccupied with finding an audience than offending one.



5.1 Front cover of *Black Orpheus*.

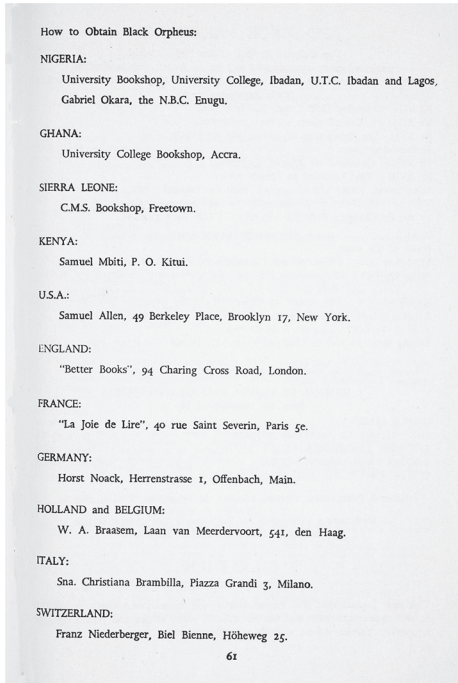
Black Orpheus from its inception wanted to do for Anglophone literature what *Présence africaine* had done for Francophone literature a decade earlier: provide a space for African writers to publish their work and establish a network of contacts that would put them in dialogue with writers and readers from the West Indies, the United States, and Europe, as well as East, West, and, when possible, South Africa. And the impact of *Présence africaine* on the overall scope, scale, and direction of *Black Orpheus* cannot be overemphasized. *Présence africaine* set the standard for African magazines during this period. It was an ambitious venture devoted to Francophone art, politics, and culture with bases of operations in Dakar and Paris. Not only did it help consolidate the philosophical and aesthetic principles behind the *négritude* movement, but it was also an active ideological force behind anticolonial movements worldwide. *Présence africaine* was as much a magazine as an institution with connections to

little postcolonial magazines

the leading Francophone and French writers and intellectuals of the time (included among them Léopold Senghor, Aimé Césaire, André Breton, and Jean-Paul Sartre), and it was part of a subversive tradition of Francophone periodicals published in Paris, Senegal, and New York that were, as Brent Edwards explains, “a threat above all because of the transnational and anti-imperialist linkages and alliances they practiced.”⁴¹

From the beginning, the founding editor of *Black Orpheus*, the German expat Ulli Beier, believed that the magazine could mediate between Francophone literature and an Anglophone reading public.⁴² In Beier’s one and only editorial statement in the first issue, he laments the fact that “it is still possible for a Nigerian child to leave a secondary school with a thorough knowledge of English literature, but without even having heard of such great black writers as Léopold Sédar Senghor or Aimé Césaire.”⁴³ Indeed, *Black Orpheus* lived up to its promise of making the Francophone world accessible to a wider non-French-speaking audience, and its association with writers and editors from *Présence africaine* provided the cultural prestige that it needed to get started. The title itself is a direct translation of “Orphée noir,” the title for an essay written by Sartre and appended in 1948 to the wildly popular *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie nègre et malgache*, which was edited by Senghor.⁴⁴ The Francophone and Anglophone writers were part of a shared colonial history, but if the case of *Black Orpheus* is any indication, there were often marked ideological differences. *Black Orpheus*, though sympathetic to the *négritude* movement, eventually distanced itself, focusing more explicitly on literature. Contemporary political and social critiques were avoided, and there was an almost stubborn attempt to keep Anglophone writers free from politics.

The task of reading *Black Orpheus* for its form requires taking a panoramic view of its entire print run with an eye toward the structural additions and omissions.⁴⁵ As much as the content changed with every issue, the format remained largely the same: a matte cover with a woodcut image, the magazine title in block print on the masthead, printing and publication information with names of the editorial board, table of contents, an assortment of prose, poetry, and fiction in no particular order,



5.2 "How to Obtain *Black Orpheus*," *Black Orpheus* 4 (1958): 61.

followed by a note on the contributors. One of the more curious, though fleeting, formal changes occurs in the fourth issue when a distribution list appears with the addresses of bookstores that carry *Black Orpheus* (Nigeria, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Kenya, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden), a list that gets reprinted an issue later (with England, the United States, France, and Belgium added) and then is never seen again (figure 5.2)

The disappearing distribution list, much like the network maps I discussed in chapter 1 and the private list of British book dealers in chapter 2, raises an interesting question about the real and imagined globality of little magazines in general, all of them forced to deal with the question of advertising their range and, in doing so, defining their audience. Being global

little postcolonial magazines

in such concrete terms does have its benefits: for one thing, it provides clear geographical parameters, making the world of the magazine mappable and showing readers that they are connected to a community of others in Ghana, Germany, and Sweden who are leafing through the same material at the same time. But global concreteness can also work the other way: it can make the magazine seem more provincial precisely by drawing attention to gaps in and between places where it should be going. Where on this list is Uganda, Zimbabwe, or South Africa? How about Barbados, Trinidad, or Jamaica? The pan-African and West Indian trajectories, which became so critical to the success of *Black Orpheus* in the Anglophone world, are conspicuously absent. Global distribution, then, may make more of an impact when it remains abstracted, maybe even fictional. Instead of being circumscribed by definite locations, the effect of a global magazine culture can be generated by their absence, by the possibility that a little magazine printed in Nigeria could end up making its way to Sri Lanka or São Paulo.⁴⁶

Although the distribution list was dropped, *Black Orpheus* developed other formal strategies for signifying its affiliation with a more expansive literary and critical scene, including the insertion of a book review section that was in place for the entire run. In the beginning, Beier did a majority of the reviewing himself, often under the nom de plume Sangodare Akanji, but with every issue, new names popped up, many of them of African writers and intellectuals on their way to becoming part of an organic intelligentsia. It would seem logical, of course, to have book reviews in a literary magazine, but in this case, the situation is not so clear-cut. Since so many African novels were being exported and published abroad, the book review was often put there in place of the book itself. The review, for that reason, was not so much concerned with consumption as it was with the less lucrative pursuit of local critical evaluation. This displaced critical practice, one that involved the recognition of books written by African writers and published in England, was part of a symbolic strategy for national and regional reclamation. Africa may have been “losing” so many of its writers to foreign publishers, but magazines like *Black Orpheus* were helping to reappropriate, maybe even repatriate, them, making these same books share review space with locally produced plays, poetry, and anthol-

ogies, many of them printed by Mbari Publications (thirty of them, mostly poetry, between 1961 and '65), a publishing house run by Beier for the sole purpose of bringing writers such as Okigbo, Soyinka, Okara, and J. P. Clark to an African audience.

In addition to the “foreign” books by African writers, it was just as common in *Black Orpheus* to find reviews of the latest Anglophone little magazines coming out of the West Indies, South Asia, and around Africa. In this case, the affiliation was motivated less by a symbolic reappropriation of African writers than by the desire for solidarity. There is often a paternalistic tone in these reviews, one meant as much to encourage other ventures, some of them already in print for ten years, as to recognize *Black Orpheus*'s triumphs. Something else is going on as well. The review of other magazines was a way of establishing a shared postcolonial print culture, one in which the connections between regional literatures only reaffirmed their indigenous, local affiliations. When assessing the importance of *Bim* and *Okyeame*, one reviewer in *Black Orpheus* put it this way: “The function of periodicals in nurturing the new literatures in Africa and the Caribbean cannot be overstated. They represent necessary documentary proof of fashion and growth. Their function is not so much to preserve as to link. Often they stand at the very beginning of the development of local literature, setting up standards and providing a literary market for buyer and seller—the indigenous reading public and the artist.”⁴⁷ There is an awareness here in this synopsis that different media can perform different functions in the literary field. In this case, the reviewer contrasts the archival function of the anthology with the serial ephemerality of the little magazine; the relatively rapid production time of the magazine gives it a spontaneity that other print media lack. The monthly or bimonthly turnover of literary production, sometimes at the expense of quantity over quality, has a way of encouraging “links,” as this reviewer put it, between Africa and the Caribbean because it involves a mode of literary production in the present, one that is becoming possible because little magazines are creating the conditions for an international literary standard. Literature produced in Africa and the Caribbean, then, will not only be judged according to a national or regional literary marketplace or tradition. Rather,

little postcolonial magazines

it will have to stand up in quality against what is coming out in other post-colonial countries with which it shares a common literary-historical trajectory.

Reviews were one place for this international critical standard to be applied, but it was even more forcefully introduced within the longer essays that began to appear under a separate heading in issue 9 (June 1961). “Criticism” is one of the more complicated generic categories in *Black Orpheus*.⁴⁸ Before it began appearing, there were scholarly journals devoted to traditional, and especially oral, African literature, but there was no available critical tradition in Nigeria for modern Anglophone literature.⁴⁹ But the wider availability of a more substantial body of fiction and poetry in five years (engendered largely by *Black Orpheus*) made it necessary to establish criteria on which it could be evaluated and judged both as African literature and as world literature. A majority of the critical essays that appeared in *Black Orpheus* are devoted to Francophone writers and texts, but they are interwoven with more general surveys of African literature, traditional visual art and poetry (Yoruba, Hausa, and Igbo), and the self-consciously modern Anglophone arrivals (Achebe, Clark, Soyinka, D. O. Fagunwa).⁵⁰

This separate category for “criticism” reflects a concrete change in the African literary field, one that involved critics from African countries worried about a European takeover and the imposition of foreign standards. The question of who speaks for African writers was hotly debated in the following decades, in newspapers, academic journals, and big magazines alike, but what interests me here is the role that a little magazine like *Black Orpheus* played in the process. It had European and African critics writing side by side about everything from West Indian novels to Haitian poetry to South African short stories. There was no clearly defined critical practice in place or ready-made concepts to draw from, and though Western comparisons were there to be found, some critics chose to emphasize regional contexts instead.

Elsewhere, in England, Germany, and France, where African works were being published, the question of critical standards was especially vexed. Some African writers wanted to be judged as equals with their

Western counterparts; others argued for their cultural, historical, and linguistic singularity. One article about Soyinka's trip to a drama conference in Edinburgh captures the complexity of the situation. "He was insistent," the Scottish actress Una MacClean explains, "that drama from Africa deserved to be judged by universal standards of criticism and that the enduring value of any African drama must depend upon the adequacy of its representation of universal human experiences."⁵¹ For Soyinka and so many others, there was always the danger of being exoticized and treated as something marginal to Europe's history and literary tradition. "Universal standards," then, was his way of emphasizing the links that existed between them, a subtle reminder to his foreign audience of a shared history that went well beyond the borders of a single country or continent.⁵² The critics writing in *Black Orpheus* realized that the field of English literature was opening up to accommodate new human experiences from the former British colonies, and it was an association that would take some getting used to. But leafing through the pages of this little magazine, you discover that criticism was less about anchoring African literature in a European past and tradition than about imagining what such an affiliation might look like in a literary-historical future that included both.

IV

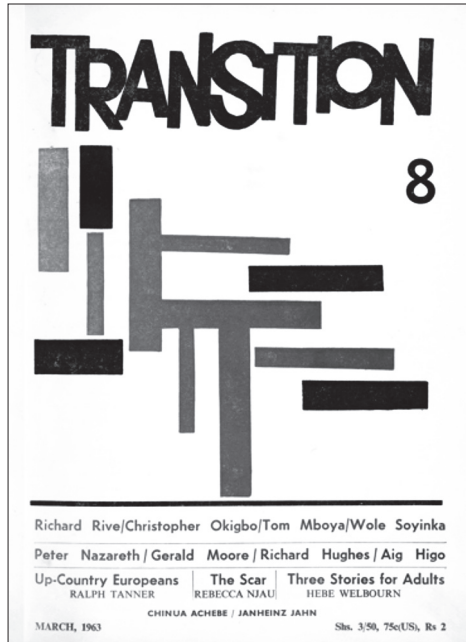
Black Orpheus certainly earned its reputation as "the doyen of African literary magazines." But even Beier recognized that his magazine had lived long enough to experience middle age. Worried that *Black Orpheus* was losing its edge and with a civil war in Nigeria on the horizon, Beier retired from his post in 1968. During an interview that same year, he explained that *Black Orpheus* was a propaganda magazine meant to fill a need in what had been a barren literary field. In a decade, the Anglophone literary scene had changed significantly both within Africa and around the world. It was time, he thought, to encourage the local production of low-cost poetry magazines or, if possible, to reinvent his own magazine by changing the title simply to *Orpheus*.⁵³ That would be one way to distance the magazine from its original associations with an ideological program first established

little postcolonial magazines

by *Présence africaine* and, in doing so, reach out to an even wider audience, one in which Francophone African writers could be published alongside their English-speaking counterparts.⁵⁴ After Beier's departure, Abiola Irele and J. P. Clark took over the editorship, keeping the original title and bringing out issues sporadically until 1976. The black internationalism that was so carefully orchestrated by Beier and his team of editors gave way to a more parochial focus on Nigeria and Ghana, which was compounded by the collapse of a distribution structure that made *Black Orpheus* available only to readers in Lagos.⁵⁵

All was not lost, however. On the other side of Africa, in Kampala, Uganda, *Transition* was in full swing and had been for four years, and under the editorship of Rajat Neogy, it continued laying the foundations for a network of little magazines that would connect Africa with readers, writers, and critics around the world. "Both authors and editors, as well as the reader," Neogy wrote in one editorial, "must feel gratified when, to cite one example, a Nigerian writer in the United States has an article published in a magazine in Uganda which is replied to and discussed by correspondents in London, Nairobi, Kampala, Ibadan, Cape Town, and Edinburgh."⁵⁶ In the magazine's seven-year run (1961–1968) of its first phase with Neogy at the helm, *Transition* became a truly international little magazine, with a print run that eventually exceeded twelve thousand (figure 5.3).⁵⁷ Considering that East African literature at the time was lagging far behind Nigeria, that there was very little institutional funding to support it, and that a majority of the audience was hard-pressed for cash, the circulation of *Transition*, which equaled the *Dial* in its heyday, was no small achievement. When *Transition* received ecstatic praise from the *New York Times*, the *Observer* (London), the *Oslo Dagbladet*, the *Globe and Mail* (Toronto), and *Die Zeit* (Hamburg) for achieving such success on a "shoestring budget," Paul Theroux was quick to remind everyone that "in a country like Uganda where 90% of the population is barefoot, even shoestrings are hard to come by."⁵⁸

Black Orpheus paved the way for another little magazine in Africa by providing a crew of writers and readers trained in its pages and a design



5.3 Cover of *Transition* 8 (March 1963).

for what the medium might look like. But *Transition* was very much a creation of its own, more avant-garde than its predecessor and prepared to rouse, shock, provoke, and alienate whenever possible.⁵⁹ It immediately distinguished itself from other publications by claiming, in its inaugural issue, “to provide an intelligent and creative backdrop to the East African scene, to give perspective and dimension to affairs that a weekly or daily press would either sensationalise or ignore.”⁶⁰ Topics were not introduced in one issue and then forgotten; they were meant to develop organically over time, and the editor, for that reason, functioned much like an “obstetrician” (Neogy’s phrase).⁶¹ After Obiajunwa Wali’s “The Dead-end of African Literature?” appeared (*Transition* 10), in which he argued that African writers should reject the foreign languages imposed on them by colonialism and write in their native tongues, letters poured in for two

little postcolonial magazines

years. As a courtesy, space was always made for the debate to unfold, and it was assumed that readers would be able to keep track of its attenuated twists and turns along the way.

Transition also found a way to make the reality of a global readership more tangible by introducing a “Letters to the Editor” section, one of the formal features that *Black Orpheus* lacked. The letters included in this section ran the gamut from appreciation and bewilderment to disdain and outrage. It was the space in the magazine that allowed readers to communicate not just with the authors of the articles and the editor but with one another. Each letter was preceded by a title and concluded with a name and address where the writer could be contacted directly. As polite as Neogy was with his correspondents (even going so far as to correct silently their grammatical and spelling mistakes when necessary), he was not afraid to pit them against one another or turn their discomfort to the magazine’s advantage. Such was the case after Paul Theroux’s fierce indictment of the white expatriate community in East Africa, which was published with the sardonic title “Tarzan Is an Expatriate” (*Transition* 32). Letters of complaint arrived for over a year, and Neogy decided to republish them together with the original article and offer it as a gift to new subscribers.

Though letters to magazines are often treated as a curiosity, one of the guilty pleasures readers can indulge in before getting to the real content, this was not true of *Transition*. These letters were critical to the goals of the magazine because they allowed for the kind of open, sustained dialogue that could not have happened anywhere else. Positioned in the opening pages, they acted as an entryway into the discussion and helped to establish continuity from one issue to another. In the first few issues, “Letters” took up a page or two and often included statements of appreciation from countries far and wide. Later on, as the magazine gathered momentum, it was just as common for the letters to run a full four or five pages, some of them long enough to function as stand-alone essays or editorials. Abiola Irele believes that the conversational aspect gave *Transition* its force and “helped reduce African problems to some kind of unified intellectual order.”⁶² The lead articles in each issue were not treated as

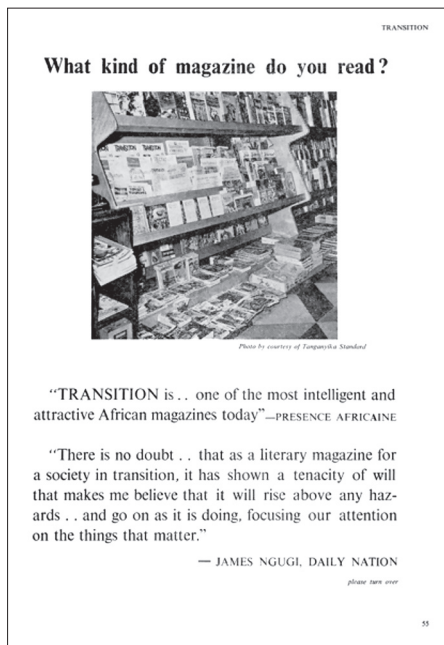
the final word; they were printed in order to be “analysed, commented upon, queried—turned inside out, as it were—and sometimes more closely scrutinized” in the letters that followed in subsequent issues, sometimes with half a dozen arguments alive at once.⁶³ Neogy was very tactical about the kinds of letters he would print, but in his capacity as editor, he actively engineered a space where ideas could be debated; and he did it in such a way that the barriers between professional critics and average readers were lowered. Everyone was free to have an opinion, but only if he or she was ready for debate. In a lengthy editorial on the subject, Neogy put it this way: “Unless writers and readers sense this atmosphere of ‘aggressive non-prejudice’ they will not be tempted to be provocative or even just plain naughty, and the kind of humour that accompanies such exaggerations of sensibilities will be markedly missing. More important, what might creep into the magazine’s columns is a tone of genteelness, sinister and syrupy, where everyone is quietly patting everyone else on the back.”⁶⁴

By making “Letters” such a prominent formal feature of *Transition*, Neogy created an expansive community of readers who could engage in a conversation about current literary and cultural events without any significant time lag. Time was indeed passing between issues, usually two or three months, but the back-and-forth helped make what was being published more urgent. *Transition*, then, functioned as a cultural medium in a very literal way, bringing Uganda, East Africa, and the rest of Africa to a wider audience, making domestic issues involving African literature and politics a topic for discussion and demonstrating, finally, that the little magazine can cater to local and global readerships all at once without ever losing sight of its particular time and place. Is it a surprise, then, to find that in the mass of letters from poets, politicians, academics, and students, one arrived from Lionel Trilling in 1965 telling Neogy, “No magazine I can remember reading—except maybe the *Dial* of my youth—has ever told me so much about matters I did not know about.”⁶⁵ As Trilling himself noticed, *Transition* and the *Dial* did have a lot in common. Though produced under radically different conditions, they created a space where modern literature could happen. The medium harnessed critical and cultural energies

little postcolonial magazines

and delivered the message to a public that might otherwise miss out on “matters” worth knowing.

The globality of *Transition* was managed in other ways as well. Evidence of its international circulation was scattered throughout the pages, from the different prices on the cover to the advertisements for oil, steel, and foreign car manufacturers to the addresses of the correspondents. One subscription flier that popped up frequently in *Transition* contained an image of an unidentified bookstand with magazines arranged neatly on the shelves (figure 5.4). Because of the angle from which the photograph was taken, only one title can be identified with any certainty. Copies of *Transition* are tucked away on a back shelf, in the middle of the rack, and seem larger than the others. And that, of course, is the point. This little magazine stands out in a sea of print, and the simple question at the top, if answered correctly, is there to remind readers they can do the same: “What



5.4 “What kind of magazine do you read?,” *Transition*.

kind of magazine do you read?" What's so striking about this image is its generic, placeless quality. This black-and-white bookstand could be anywhere in the world, and that, I think, is why this particular image can do what no distribution list ever could to advertise *Transition's* globality, by asking readers to consider where they are in the world by what they're reading.

In the end, all of these paratextual details suggested one thing: mobility. The world was moving through these pages, and the magazine was moving through the world. *Transition* did not exist in an autonomous literary or cultural sphere free from mass consumption, capital, and geopolitical intrigue. It was itself an object of global production and consumption—an example of a postcolonial culture trying to establish itself within a much larger world system during the Cold War. The title of Neogy's magazine couldn't have been better chosen. It gestures backward toward Eugene Jolas's *transition*, one of the most successful little magazines published in France in the 1920s and '30s, while at the same time acknowledging the difference, which is immediately discernible in the capital *T*.⁶⁶ *Transition* was a magazine meant to register the shocks that were being felt across Africa at a decisive moment in its history: superpowers battling, empires collapsing, nations rising, traditions dying, cultures being born. Unlike *Black Orpheus*, it engaged head-on with the social and political issues of the day (love, violence, war, democracy, socialism, drugs, racism) and was unafraid to challenge hypocrisy in all of its forms, especially when it was being advertised as independence or freedom. It was politics that put an end to Neogy's editorship. His status as the disinterested editor was severely shaken when, as I mentioned earlier, it was discovered that *Transition* had been receiving financial support from the Congress for Cultural Freedom (from issue 5 onward).⁶⁷ But a second, more fatal, blow came when Milton Obote's government arrested Neogy for sedition under an Emergency Powers Act.⁶⁸ One article by Abu Mayanja in *Transition* 32 (April 1968) and a letter to the editor by Steve Lino in *Transition* 34, both of them critical of Obote's proposals for a Ugandan constitution, were cited as evidence of the magazine's anti-Ugandan stance, and they were both used to justify Neogy's arrest. After an inconclusive

little postcolonial magazines

trial in which he was acquitted and then rearrested, Neogy spent four months in solitary confinement before being abruptly released.⁶⁹ *Transition* was revived two and a half years later in Accra, Ghana, one of the few democratic governments in Africa at the time, where the magazine could be published with relative freedom. Its first editorial replied to the events that had transpired back in Uganda and argued that the arrest of Neogy and the closing of its offices was a sign that “a magazine such as *Transition* has obviously no useful function in that society.”⁷⁰ *Transition* was not alone. Most little magazines have had to deal with the politics of print in some form or another. The *Little Review* had its censors just as *Transition* had its political tyrants.

The general lesson, though, has more to do with the form of the magazine. *Transition*, as I discussed earlier, prided itself on a democratic mode of communication that encouraged dialogue between everyone involved. This particular form was necessary because there was no other medium in existence that could generate a global readership of this sort at the time. And it was this opening up of Africa to the world that gave the magazine its force, making it a forum for intense political and literary discussion as well as a target for political leaders within Africa who were afraid of opposition. *Transition* might not have been welcome any longer in Obote’s Uganda, but as Neogy explained in an open letter to readers, it didn’t matter: “*Transition*’s home is also all Africa. And it was at home in the world outside.”⁷¹

That’s one way to look at things. It turns out, though, that *Transition* really wasn’t at home in “all Africa,” at least when considering that fact that it was unable to get back to Uganda after Neogy’s imprisonment. This raises a question about what it means for any magazine, African, West Indian, or otherwise, to be at home in the world. If nothing more, the examples I’ve discussed here and throughout this book return again and again to the same conclusion: the world is not always home for the little magazine, and that’s especially true if it is meant “to offer honesty,” as Neogy once put it, “when everybody wants slogans.”⁷² At least, it is not a home that you can count on being there, which is another way of saying it’s not a home at all but a refuge, a temporary place for the little magazine

to spend what there is of an always limited life span. In Europe, the Fascists and Nazis were very often to blame (as I discussed in chapters 3 and 4); in England and America, the censors and printers had a hand in it (as discussed in chapter 2); and in Africa, there were dictators like Obote taking over decolonized nations. And maybe that's why *Transition*, like its predecessor *transition*, still managed to have such an impact: it was there temporarily to record this radical, though evanescent, change in time, one whose effects continued to reverberate long after copies stopped hitting the shelves.

V

The little magazine, as I've been arguing throughout this chapter, is part of a much longer literary history, and its arrival in the West Indies and Africa reveals that changing the address can change the function. And if the inequities of print capitalism with its "large publishing ventures" were responsible for the production of so many little magazines in the West, colonialism, which was followed by decolonization efforts worldwide, did something similar to modern Anglophone literature shortly thereafter. But the argument that the little magazine successfully crossed this great divide separating European high modernism from a soon-to-be-decolonized "postcolonial" literature should not lead us into an all too easy conflation between the two. To do so, we risk erasing their specificity by effectively anchoring one to the other (first the magazine made modernism in the West, then it made modern literature in the colonies/postcolonies, etc.). This sequencing presumes an inheritance, affiliation, and influence that does not always play out as we might expect. With the exception of the *Beacon*, West Indian and African little magazines began appearing after European high modernism is supposed to have ended, but they were reacting to new historical, social, and political situations that would have been incredibly foreign to the modernist magazine editors, writers, and readers who preceded them.

I mentioned before that the practice of publishing like a modernist was one way for Anglophone writers and critics to begin building an alternative

little postcolonial magazines

tradition (in the West Indies especially), but it turned out to be more complicated than any of them could have anticipated. The more that West Indian and West and East African literature matured in little magazines, the less this earlier modernist moment mattered as a source of legitimation, and as both examples demonstrated, the little magazine was not simply getting recycled but was getting appropriated to present other non-Western literatures that were building on foreign and indigenous traditions alike. Indeed, *Transition* may have reminded Lionel Trilling of the *Dial* in its early days, but even he knew that there was a difference between the two; and this difference was not just about what was getting published between the covers. What Trilling sees in 1965 is a little magazine from Uganda arriving in New York long after the *Dial* stopped ticking, and it was capable of doing what no *Dial* ever could, that is, bring Africa and the West together and, in doing so, make the little magazine less the provenance of modernism's European legacy and more a promise that a modern Anglophone future was, in fact, still evolving.

To continue thinking through this relationship between modernism, postcolonialism, and the magazine, I want to focus on a single example: Christopher Okigbo's "Limits" as it first appeared in two installments in *Transition* (July and October 1962), before getting reprinted as a single poem in a volume brought out in Nigeria by Mbari Publications (1964).⁷³ The linguistic and formal difficulty of Okigbo's poetry has made him both the target of detractors denigrating his deliberate obscurantism, which they identify with an inherited Eurocentrism, and the mantel for supporters celebrating his skillful fusion of Western modernist and indigenous Nigerian/Igbo literary traditions.⁷⁴ More recently, Jahan Ramazani has argued that both positions, in fact, are not irreconcilable. A poet like Okigbo, raised in the context of this colonial hybridity, can be both, a modernist and a postcolonial writer, who uses this inherited Western tradition with its complicated poetic forms as a "tool for liberation." "To insist in the name of anti-Eurocentrism," he explains, "that Euromodernism be seen as an imperial antagonist is to condescend to imaginative writers, who have wielded modernism in cultural decolonization."⁷⁵

Before looking at “Limits” as an expression of this specifically modernist form of “cultural decolonization,” a few more details regarding its publication history need to be established. Though Okigbo had already published a handful of poems in *Black Orpheus*, “Limits” was the first to appear in *Transition* and was followed up by “Silences: Lament of the Silent Sisters” (1963), “Distances” (1964), and “Lament of the Drums” (1965). All of Okigbo’s poetry in these magazines is distinguished by the disjointed typographical arrangements on the page, with lines broken up, sometimes creating jarring visual configurations (including pictograms) with entire stanzas and words offset from the middle of the page. The printers for both magazines catered to this desire for experimental layouts, leaving big margins and blank space so that the individual lines and words could breathe. “Limits,” however, is unique in Okigbo’s catalogue because of the way in which it was published. Instead of getting brought out in a single issue, it was divided into two parts, “Limits I–IV: Siren Limits” (composed in 1961) and “Limits V–X: Fragments out of the Deluge” (composed in 1961–1962), each one taking up two full pages (though the second installment includes two rows for each section instead of one). It’s unclear, finally, why this decision to divide was made (and by whom) since “Distances” and “Silences,” which came afterward, were both printed as single installments of four pages, the first ones devoted almost entirely to the title, epigraph, and a brief note of explanation. Whatever the case may be, it turned out that by staggering the publication between July and October 1962, the appearance of the second installment of “Limits” ended up coinciding with the decolonization of Uganda, thereby becoming, quite literally, a poem that straddled both political situations.

This convergence might be nothing more than a beautiful coincidence, but it can still productively frame the way we read “Limits” in *Transition* during what turned out to be a momentous transition in Uganda’s history. “Limits,” after all, is a poem that confronts the very question of Western inheritance in Africa’s colonial past (and postcolonial future), and it also stages that confrontation on the page by using the fragmented layouts and interrupted serial installments to dramatic effect. Let me begin, though,

with the epigraphs, both of them set in italics (only one in quotation marks), placed in parentheses below the title at the top of the page, and left unattributed, waiting there for readers familiar with the modernist poetic tradition to begin decoding. The first is taken from Ezra Pound's *Cantos* ("*& the mortar is not yet dry*") and the second from T. S. Eliot's *The Waste Land* ("*These fragments I have shored against my ruins . . .*").⁷⁶ Next to Joyce's *Ulysses*, these are two of modernism's most canonical texts, and though Okigbo famously denied the influence of Eliot and Pound on a number of occasions (preferring instead Mallarmé, Debussy, Ravel, Malcolm Cowley, and Tagore), he is uncharacteristically explicit here.

The excerpt taken from Pound's "Canto VIII" involves Sigismundo Malatesta, fifteenth-century Lord of Rimini, who is passing along a message to his *maestro di pentore*, telling him that the walls of the chapel cannot be painted "as the mortar is not yet dry." In a canto preoccupied with the way that patrons and artists can work together to revive a culture, this line conveys the idea that the moment for such a symbiosis has not arrived. When the mortar is dry, in other words, then the chapel will be painted, and the artist will become an integral part of the culture as it is evolving. The line from Eliot, which appears in the fifth and final stanza of *The Waste Land*, works differently. In this instance, the voice is reflecting on some kind of poetic production that has already happened, and it is, as Michael Levenson has persuasively argued, the moment when the "fragments of consciousness" become "a consciousness of fragmentation," which is there to recommend not unity but transcendence to a higher point of view.⁷⁷ By this point in *The Waste Land*, the fragments have been "shored up" all right, but they are still left incomplete; and knowing that is infinitely better than being duped into believing that something eternal or total has been produced.

Instead of keeping the epigraph from "Canto VIII" at the top of the page, Okigbo incorporates it several times into the third section of "Limits," always in italics and always positioned between paragraphs so that it is both in the poem and still strangely set apart. In an appreciation of Okigbo, Beier has argued that his use of a "ready-made" language, influenced by Eliot and Gerard Manley Hopkins, was one of the ways that he could

paradoxically “burst out of the limitations set by the adopted language.”⁷⁸ And, indeed, that is what’s happening here in a quite literal way. This “ready-made” epigraph, however, is not just being adopted; it is being stolen (as Eliot would say of all “good poets”), lifted right out of Pound’s poem and made to appear within the context of another sequence of fragments.⁷⁹ I want to draw your attention to the fact that Okigbo has also made a subtle modification to the original line, preferring the conjunction “&” over the preposition, or adverb, “as.” “&,” which could signal some kind of causal or temporal connection, instead creates a moment of disruption, one made even more powerful by the fact that the word itself appears in the form of an ampersand:

BANKS of reed
Mountains of broken bottles.

*& the mortar is not yet dry . . .*⁸⁰

Silent the footfall
Soft as cat’s paw,
Sandalled in velvet,
in fur
So we must go,
Wearing evemist against the shoulders,
Trailing sun’s dust saw dust of combat,
With brand burning out at hand-end.

& the mortar is not yet dry . . .

Then we must sing
Tongue-tied without name or audience,
Making harmony among the branches.

In a sequence of jagged line formations, the images and alliterative sounds accumulate one at a time only to pave the way for an action that gets deferred into the future (“so we must go,” “then we must sing”). “& the mortar is not yet dry,” followed as it is by an open ellipsis, never quite fits in. Sure, it’s

little postcolonial magazines

there on the page, but instead of getting integrated into the main stanzas of the poem, it remains stuck in between, persistent in its refusal to disappear.

Indeed, this is not simply a moment when we have one poet alluding to another. By keeping the italics, Okigbo reminds the reader that this line first appeared as an epigraph, but it refuses any assimilation either in the lines of the paragraphs or, as could have happened, through the loss of italics. It's almost as if the epigraph has taken on a life of its own, inserting itself forcefully onto the second page (where there is no epigraph), with the ampersand, separated by blank space above and below, trying to hold them together. Strangely enough, however, these paragraphs resist the connection, and the line itself sticks around like a dog yapping at the heels of a stranger, getting more frantic as this section continues, doubling up in the end, moving over to the left, until the main body of the poem steals the ampersand, removing the italics along the way, before bringing it all to a close:

& the mortar is not yet dry
& the mortar is not yet dry . . .

& the dream wakes
 & the voice fades
In the damp half light,
 Like a shadow,
Not leaving a mark.⁸¹

And for what remains of "Limits," that is the case: this line disappears in the final sections, "not leaving a mark."

When Eliot's line appears as the epigraph for the second installment of the poem, the effect is quite different. There is no repetition at all. But the appearance of six sections in double columns has a way of making the entire form of this section of "Limits" resemble a heap of "fragments," and it becomes, in its own way, the very thing the epigraph names. This particular affiliation, which connects the two poems, can also work in reverse so that "Limits" reflects backward on what Eliot has written, though in

this context, the fragments are those coming from the collapse of a foreign empire as it was felt far away from London's bridges. Throughout "Limits," Okigbo is careful to establish that his cultural tradition, though partly influenced by a foreign British invader, is also closer to other ancient religions, literatures, and civilizations in Africa and the Far East, so that allusions to Gilgamesh (the character of Enki), *The Golden Bough* (the Scottish phrase *malisons, malisons, mair than ten*), and Babylonian mythology (Irkalla, the land of the Dead) get incorporated into his poem without seeming like the dissociated parts of a failed collage. It is in the penultimate section, in fact, that the poem takes a turn, bringing a few of these allusions together to describe the arrival of an unnamed foreign force:

AND TO US they came—
 (*Malisons, malisons, mair than ten*)
 And climbed the bombax
 & killed the Sunbird.
 And they scanned the forest of oilbean,
 its approach,
 Surveyed its high branches . . .

 And they entered into the forest,
 And they passed through the forest,
 of oilbean,
 And found them the twin-gods of the forest:

 The grove was damp with airs, with airs,
 the leaves,
 And morndew beckoned, beckoned afar,
 from the oilbean trees,
 From the branches of the gods of IRKALLA.

This colonial allegory may seem generic, but it could apply only to one region. The Sunbird, bombax, and oilbean are all indigenous to West Africa, and when the invader comes, they are bought, sold, maimed, and killed so that not even the gods are safe. "*Malisons, malisons, mair than ten*" is the

only foreign phrase to appear here, and it is taken from Sir James Frazer's *Golden Bough* when he describes the practice of wren killing in modern Europe that has lasted since ancient times and is connected, he suspects, with a long-forgotten pagan ritual.⁸² For ancients and moderns alike, killing the wren, deliberately or not, was considered bad luck, and this is one of the reasons why, Frazer explains, Scottish schoolboys still sing, "*Malisons, malisons, mair than ten, / That harry the Ladye of Heaven's hen.*"⁸³

Frazer's *Golden Bough* was one of the first sources that Eliot acknowledged openly in his footnotes to *The Waste Land*, and Okigbo certainly got more out of it than information about "vegetation ceremonies." In this case, he used Frazer's anthropological insights about the origins of pagan rituals to identify a much longer history of European brutality that has moved on in the modern day from wrens to human beings. And the fact that this line appears where it does in "Limits," that is, immediately after "they came," is ironic indeed, since it is a song sung by Scottish schoolboys but made to resonate in West Africa. But even here, of course, the words sound out of place, and they would have been indecipherable to so many of Okigbo's English-speaking readers. So what's he doing?

I pointed out earlier that the epigraph from *The Waste Land* does not circulate in the poem. However, this moment of incorporating words from a foreign language, which only happens in this instance, recalls the closing lines of *The Waste Land*, where this epigraph is taken from, and it appears in the middle of a pile of allusions in Italian, Spanish, Greek, and Sanskrit. Some critics have argued that the mixing of so many different traditions and languages reflects a moment of imperial hubris, as if all of the cultures of the world could, like Britain's colonies, be brought together under the shadow of one enormous flag. Others have argued to the contrary that the fragmentation itself reveals a deep-seated ambivalence about the British Empire's ability to contain and/or incorporate so many disparate cultures and traditions. Both sides of this argument, I think, are convincing, but in the context of Okigbo's "Limits," there is only one way to spin it. The Empire, by spreading out around the globe and opening itself up to the contamination of so many foreign cultures, has infected (cursed) itself, and it is a historical process that cannot be reversed. They came,

bringing their language with them, and in the process provided the conditions through which a British literature could be adapted. That, in the end, is the curse identified here: an African experience that gets mediated through imported forms left over by the Empire and transformed into something that neither Pound nor Eliot, writing as they were in 1922, could have ever imagined.

What makes all of this so compelling, though, is the fact the Okigbo wasn't just blatantly stealing from Eliot and Pound when he framed his poem for *Transition*: he was also publishing like them. Indeed, *The Cantos* and *The Waste Land* may have become monuments of high-modernist Anglo-European culture, but they were first printed in little magazines ("Canto VIII" in the *Criterion* in 1923, *The Waste Land* in the *Dial* and the *Criterion* in 1922), and their reappearance as one-line fragments so prominently displayed at the beginning of "Limits" (even if left unidentified) signals as much an identification as it does a resizing. Eliot's *fragments* and Pound's *mortar* get recycled as Okigbo's epigraphs, and if there is, as Ramazani contends, a poetic practice of "cultural decolonization" by way of techniques like bricolage, polyphony, and allusion, it is prominently on display here through the materiality of the publication itself, which stages, quite prominently, the performance of all three.⁸⁴

In "Limits," Okigbo puts himself in good company, but while it may be tempting to see him standing on the shoulders of giants, just take a look at the layout of the page: these giants, if we want to call them that, are on his shoulders, their words a gateway into his world. And is it really a surprise to discover that when preparing to reprint this poem in a collection of his works (one that he unfortunately did not live long enough to see in 1971), Okigbo removed the epigraphs altogether as if recognizing in hindsight that there were different versions for different media at different moments in his own career as a poet in Nigeria? It is hard to say with any certainty why he arrived at this decision, but I like to think it had something to do with the fact that this serial version was a performance above all, an attempt to let his readers know that all great poets have to start somewhere, even in little magazines, but that they are in no way obligated to keep an exact record of it later.

little postcolonial magazines

In the years immediately before and after World War II, modernism ended up having a material legacy as much as it did a linguistic, formal, thematic, and stylistic one. And this was as true for those African and West Indian novelists who kicked open the doors of the metropolitan publishing houses as it was for the poets and short story writers for whom so many of them were closed. For Okigbo, in particular, the little magazine was a lifeline that made communication with a small international audience possible, and as the publication of a poem like “Limits” demonstrates, the history of this medium was actively getting rewritten in the second half of the twentieth century to accommodate these emerging postcolonial literatures, which, by now, have their entrenched canons and narratives of development.⁸⁵

The challenge of thinking through this transnational history and geography of modernist and postcolonial magazines remains and will continue to require finding more ways to address their intersections, tensions, and differences without relying only on a colonizer/colonized paradigm that casts them as antagonists or tries to render them entirely incompatible. As I hope to have demonstrated in this chapter, the situation was significantly more complex, and by examining the materiality of some representative West Indian and African magazines, I have argued that they were locked in a productive struggle that did not end up with any clear victor. Going ahead, it would be worthwhile to continue reading modernism against this postcolonial print culture and in doing so come up with ways to think not just about where it was but where it led. The full benefit of a media-based approach has the potential of revealing more forcefully that literary history doesn't just emerge from nowhere: it happens somewhere on the page, and media like magazines are sites where we get to observe movement across different periods, however arbitrary, and geographies, however vast. It's only by taking this long and wide view that the unwritten history of the medium will, in fact, come to include a much bigger pile of modernist *and* postcolonial little magazines, dead, maybe, but forgotten, definitely not.

little wireless magazines

Wireless, meaningless, save that we know
that another man in a far away land
stands by the side of a gibbering spark,
punching his message into the dark.

Into the dark of a Summer's night,
and around the world and into the light
of our brilliant Winter day
speeds the vibrant, quivering ray.

And, caught in the web of sky flung wires,
sinks to earth, chatters, expires;
But before it dies, skillful hands of man
have torn from its soul a Marconigram.

▸ K. G. Martin, "Wireless," 1904

I

F. T. MARINETTI DESPISED the book.¹ Sure, he was a publisher himself, an upstart who founded Edizioni Futuriste di 'Poesia' in 1910, but this didn't keep him from lashing out against the datedness of a print medium that stubbornly stuck around even after the arrival of the wireless telegraph, radio broadcasting, and the telephone.² In 1916, he was already predicting

that cinema would end up “killing the book” once and for all, and by 1933, when the radio had become a popular mass medium, he was still hurling insults, calling the book “heavy, strangled, suffocating, fossilized, and stodgy.”³ By 1941, nothing had changed. “We are in the twentieth century,” a frustrated Marinetti was still raging, “era of the motor that runs at 700 km/h, the electric train at 160, of radio, of automatic weapons. How is it possible that the book is in practically the same condition as when it was first created?”⁴

Good question. The technology of the book, in spite of its stodginess, has outlived him, and reanimated by wireless networks and the portability of digital devices, it doesn't show signs of dying out anytime soon. That said, Marinetti's dire predictions throughout the first half of the twentieth century were tied to a much bigger problem for avant-garde movements: how can you be modern and still rely on an outmoded print medium like the book for the distribution of your texts? Typographical experiments and the destruction of syntax were one way to liberate the page; but the words (when they were not being read out loud onstage or later into a microphone) were still *on the page*, and more often than not, that page was part of a bound volume, one with a cover and all of the other bibliographical accoutrements in between. As experimental as the Italian Futurists may have been with materials, formatting, and even size and shape, they never escaped from the tyranny of a design that was as old as the codex.

That's only part of the story: as much as Marinetti wanted to kill the book once and for all, he only halfheartedly took a jab at the *rivista*, the other print medium he accused of being “always pedantic” (*sempre pedantica*), a term in his lexicon that was synonymous with “academic” or *passatista*. In order to survive, Futurism, and every other avant-garde movement with global ambitions thereafter, needed the *rivista*. It was the only way to consolidate a program, distribute ideas quickly, and amass a readership spread out over thousands of miles in multiple directions.

The *rivista* made Futurism possible: and we've known that for a long time.⁵ But if we are at all interested in trying to explain why this statement might be true, then we need to ask a slightly different question. *Why were*

there so many of them? Why wasn't a single little magazine or even a dozen of them strategically placed in influential metropolitan centers ever enough to spread the word?⁶ I realize that with the Italian Futurist, Dada, and Surrealist movements, there was a lot of infighting that led to splinter groups eager to defect. It is also true that there are numerous cases in which the crossing of different avant-garde strains created strange hybrids like *Zenit* in Zagreb (later Belgrade), *Mavo* in Tokyo, *75HP* in Bucharest, and *Klaxon* in São Paulo. But even if we consider the fact that these non-European magazines were an inevitable by-product of a Western-based international avant-garde print network, how do we account for the fact that in three decades the Futurists alone produced more than 100 titles *within Italy* and Dada managed to generate somewhere around 175 in more than a dozen countries in less than eight years?

This is not the kind of question that can be answered by compiling another list of titles or even by tracking down, whenever possible, empirical data that will let us map out distribution routes. Rather, a different approach is needed, one that considers the production of avant-garde magazines alongside the arrival of other communications technologies emerging at the same time. Wireless telegraphy was one of them. In its most basic terms, wireless was a mode of communication built around the transmission and reception of electromagnetic waves. Telegraphic messages had been circulating back and forth across the Atlantic Ocean by way of underwater cables since 1858, but Guglielmo Marconi's great discovery of the wireless in 1895 involved, among other things, joining a Morse Code machine to a spark gap transmitter that could break electrical signals into short and long as they traveled at the speed of light: these signals were subsequently converted by a trained operator on the other end into a string of letters, words, and abbreviated phrases corresponding with a code that could be read.⁷ By 1901, the first transatlantic wireless transmission was dispatched from Cornwall to Newfoundland (three thousand miles), and it was followed up in 1915 by the first transatlantic wireless voice transmission.

"In the tangled web of media ecology," Katherine Hayles has observed, "change anywhere in the system stimulates change everywhere in the

system.”⁸ The little magazine was no exception. So if we want to understand how this change in a larger “media ecology” helped shape Futurism as a movement, then we need to see the little magazine in relation to the arrival of wireless telegraphy, especially when considering how agonizingly slow, unreliable, and maybe a little premodern it would have seemed at a time when messages could be transmitted from a single location, travel invisibly through electromagnetic waves, and get picked up almost instantaneously by a receiver hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miles away. Marinetti first paid homage to his compatriot Marconi by adapting the Italian phrase *telegrafia senza fili* (telegraphy without wires) for his essay-manifesto *L’immaginazione senza fili* (Imagination without wires), one of his earliest and most influential statements on Futurist poetry.⁹ “Imagination without wires” was Marinetti’s way of describing a new form of poetic communication that could thrive in an age of x-rays, automobiles, and wireless. By abolishing syntax, removing punctuation, omitting adverbs and adjectives, and embracing nouns and the infinitive, the poet could liberate words from the straitjacket of a grammatical structure and a linguistic system that limits the speed by which messages could be sent and received.

In 1913, when *L’immaginazione senza fili* was published in the Florentine-based *Lacerba*, Marinetti was still using the word *wireless* more as an analogy to describe a “telegraphic style” through which the Futurist poet could communicate with his audience. “He [the Futurist poet] will thus convey life’s analogical bedrock, telegraphically,” Marinetti explained, “that is, with the same economic rapidity that the telegraph imposes on reporters and war correspondents in their summary reports.”¹⁰ Making poetry more like the wireless, however, was not simply about the economy of language and syntax. The poem itself, which was communicated on paper, depended on the visual production of onomatopoeic “sounds” that could convey a multisensory experience to the reader: words were seen, but through the use of experimental page layouts and typefaces, they could also be heard, smelled, and touched.

Between 1910 and 1940, wireless communication went through a number of different stages.¹¹ At first, it was known primarily as a writing tech-

nology: electromagnetic waves were sent and received by Morse Code machines, with operators to translate the sequences of short and long signals. By the early 1920s, telegraphy was still widely used, but wireless telephony had been adapted to transmit sound through vacuum tubes. By 1930, radio stations existed in cities around the globe, making transcontinental programming possible. Critics interested in the Futurists' technological imagination have tended to focus on the impact of wireless on their experiments with poetry, the visual arts, theater, and photography, but along the way, they've ignored just how this invention challenged the Futurists to invent new strategies for *print communication*.¹²

As interested as Marinetti and his collaborators may have been in the effects of the wireless telegraph on words, syntax, bodily sensation, and the experience of time and space, their consolidation as a movement depended on something even more ambitious: the creation of a wireless magazine network that could transmit Futurist ideas rapidly across Italy.¹³ Nowadays, the term *wireless magazine* could be used to describe the digital magazines we access through mobile reading devices.¹⁴ But going back one hundred years, it identifies a Futurist technology that was evolving in response to a nonprint medium. The little magazine, of course, was still made of paper; it traveled by post, bookstore (bookstall), and pass-along readerships; and it required turning the page by hand. What made the magazine particularly modern for Futurism was the way it could be adapted as a communications technology. And here is the double bind: the Futurists were always looking ahead for the next innovation, but they were constrained, as often happens, by the practical limits in the present. In this case, the magazine and the wireless were separate technologies, neither of them ready to unite so that print could be transformed into electromagnetic waves or pixels on a screen. And yet none of it would ever be possible if there wasn't someone willing (and able) to fantasize about the possibility that such an invention could ever see the light of day.

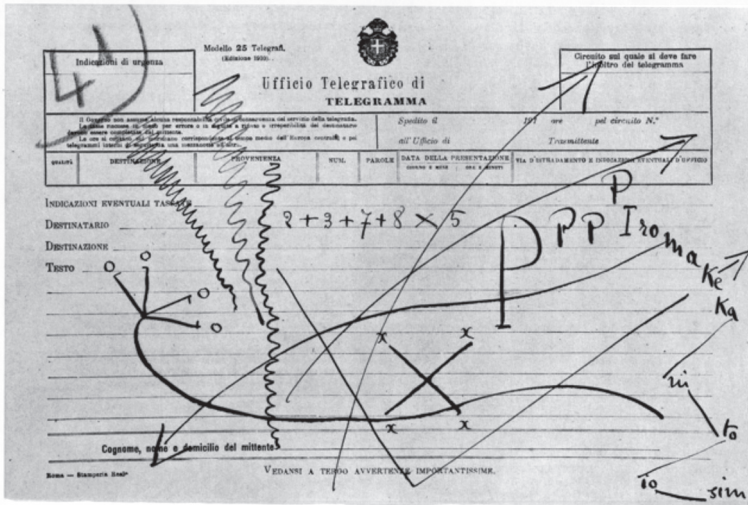
Marshall McLuhan and Friedrich Kittler have observed that the arrival of new media technologies doesn't automatically lead to the obsolescence of the older ones they often surpass in speed and efficiency. No matter how revolutionary they might seem, these new media technologies are often

little wireless magazines

structured around the older media out of which they emerge: no typewriting without handwriting, no film without photography, and no radio broadcasting without wireless telegraphy. When it comes to the little magazine and the wireless telegraph, a process of “remediation” is very much on display as well, but there’s a marked difference. Instead of having the newer technology (wireless) appropriate the older one (print), the reverse happens: the older medium adapts to the advances offered by the newer one.¹⁵ In this instance, I’m talking specifically about the impact of wireless on the formation of a print communications network across Italy. Generally speaking, there are three different expressions of this impact, all of them overlapping: writing telegraphically, distributing telegraphically, and broadcasting wirelessly. In the first instance, wireless is associated with the act of writing in the telegraphic style. In the second, it is another way to think about a point-to-point model for sending and receiving messages. In the third, broadcasting becomes a unidirectional way to send messages to multiple sources from a single destination.

In Futurism’s early years (1910–1914), things start off slowly, and there is more of an interest in writing telegraphically than there is in distributing telegraphically. Marinetti’s “Lettre d’une jolie femme à un monsieur passéiste” (1914), for instance, documents an imagined wireless exchange between a beautiful young woman and an older man. The oversized address *Chèr* (with the pun on the English word *chair* at the bottom) frames the message, and the mathematical symbols contained therein are interspersed with requests for money, jewelry, and shoes (figure 6.1). This letter captures how the arrangement of a discreet rendezvous might sound when communicated through a third party at the telegraph office: tomorrow, my house, I’m serious, three Futurist kisses. But it is also the printed representation of this mysterious wireless process. Messages are getting typed out by a telegraph operator, Futurist poetry’s midwife, and they arrive seconds later at another destination without ever leaving any material trace of the journey in between: no postage stamp, no wrinkles on the envelope, no postmark, no lipstick or perfume, only the message, which arrived first as a sequence of electromagnetic signals before getting converted into words.

little wireless magazines

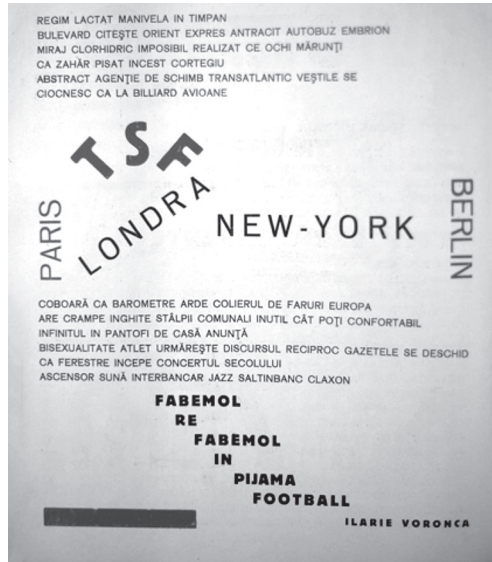


6.2 F. T. Marinetti, “Telegramma 41” (1914–1915). Private collection.

but instead it opens up a host of possibilities about where the sender actually is: here, there, everywhere, nowhere?

As the Futurists were quick to realize, wireless could be adapted for the print experience, and the Dadaists who followed their lead capitalized on its power as a writing technology.¹⁷ This identification of the wireless transmission with a writing system was crucial because it helps to explain just how avant-garde little magazines could be modern in a way that the book, which was made up of a single dispatch before being published, could not. Dada did not move beyond the written word, and it certainly wasn't ready (or able) to do away with the printing press: it moved beyond the traditional methods through which words could travel, get transcribed, reproduced, and finally, read.

As part of this process, the page was the place to experiment with the wireless transmission. The Futurists, of course, may have been quick to play around with styles of wireless writing, but as Dada spread between 1918 and 1926, it became a familiar feature in its magazines as well. In some cases, “TSF” (*telegrafia senza fili*) appeared on the page to designate the



6.3 “TSE,” 75HP (November 1924), 3.

illusion of instantaneous communication; in others, it was part of an elaborate representation of the wireless process (figure 6.3). It could be argued that these various examples document the failure of the magazine to do what wireless does. The “TSE,” one might say, is on the page precisely because the magazine was unable to move without wires. And yet the frequent presence of wireless symbols, conventions, and devices in the magazine is also a sign that the two did, in fact, share something in common after all: communication.

Though slower than wireless, the magazine was a delivery system for information with the capacity to send and receive on a serial basis (weekly, fortnightly, monthly, or bimonthly). In addition, it was the one print medium capable of establishing extensive links between places and people, and it did so in a way that no book, manifesto, or newspaper could.¹⁸ Last but not least, the magazine let individuals take complete control over the production and consumption process, and that was because it was not made for a commercial marketplace and there was no need to make it available to

anyone outside the coterie readership. As remarkable as wireless was at the time, then, it did have limits. Though certainly accessible as a service to a wider public, wireless technology was still under governmental control, and because messages were transmitted from official wireless stations, communication between individuals was always mediated by the operator responsible for tapping the message on one end or typing/writing it onto a telegram at the other. The little magazine was a place in which private correspondence was possible, giving Dada groups the freedom to print whatever they wanted and, just as important, to make their material available to readers without worrying about anyone peeking over their shoulder.

For Ljubomir Micić, “radiotelegraphy” was at the very core of this wireless print experience, and from the moment he launched *Zenit* in Zagreb (1921), it was a consistent preoccupation of his.¹⁹ “Zenitist art,” he explained in the founding manifesto, “must be a radiogram,” a term that gets used in his editorials, poems, and articles as shorthand for modern communication. Micić was so intent on mobilizing wireless for his plan to “Balkanize Europe” that he claimed, no doubt to Marinetti’s horror, Nikolai Tesla (not Marconi) as its inventor.²⁰ But instead of trying to take over the airwaves, Micić used the magazine: it was the medium that allowed him to assemble avant-garde signals from around the world, mixing designs and ideas from Expressionism, Futurism, Constructivism, and Dadaism into a “Barbarogenius” concoction he called “Zenitism.”

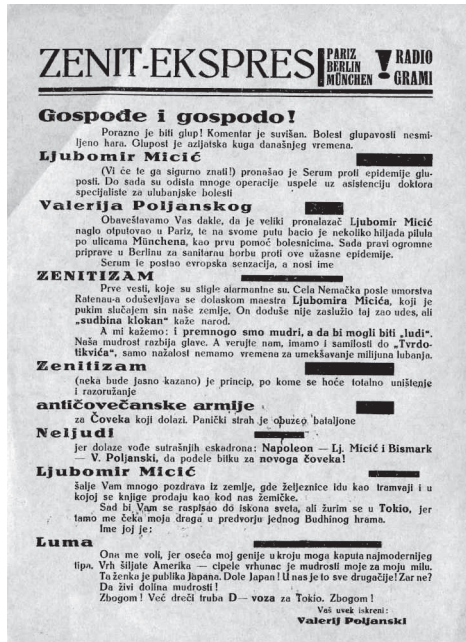
Zenit played up its status as the Yugoslav outsider in an international avant-garde scene.²¹ In practical terms, this meant that Micić could pick and choose whatever he wanted from each group: Futurist rhetoric, Constructivist design, and Dada typography. The Zenitist movement existed primarily in the pages of a magazine published in Yugoslavia, and it was, as Darko Šimičić points out, “the only form of communication with the international art world.”²² For that reason, *Zenit* was made to function primarily as a receiver, the one catching signals from abroad. But in five years, it also tuned in to every major avant-garde movement, publishing works in the original languages and inviting “foreign” artists/writers to edit and design issues.

When Micič declared that Zenitist art must be a “radiogram,” he was thinking about the materiality of the wireless transmission, modern art and writing as an expression of this speed and connectedness. His “Shimmy at the Latin Quarter Graveyard,” for instance, is an attempt to capture the wireless process in words, a “radio-film in 17 acts” that unfolds on the page without any moving pictures or sound:

A field near St. Petersburg. Tatlin’s monument reaches up to cloud-bergs. On its top is a Radio Center + 400m. Devouring a deluge of impulses from Asia Europe the Balkans America China and Japan. A sharp-electricity conductor sports the head of an eternally vital bourgeois. Network: MOSCOW-Petersburg-Tokyo-Peking-Bombay-Constantinople-Alexandria-Belgrade-Zagreb-Milan-Prague-Warsaw-Riga-Berlin-New York-PARIS. Orient airplanes ready to rush all the continents of the Globe. Radio stations controlled by Zenitists.²³

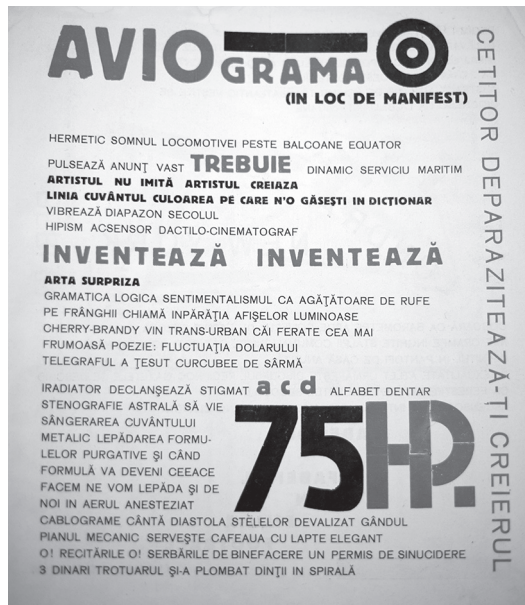
Organized in two columns and positioned halfway through the March 1922 issue of *Zenit*, this “Zenitist radio-film” describes the wireless system in the telegraphic style. The radio tower at the top of Vladimir Tatlin’s monument—which was designed but never built—receives “impulses” from avant-garde artists and writers around the globe, including Karel Teige, Ilya Ehrenburg, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Raoul Hausmann, and Ivan Goll. St. Petersburg is part of a network that includes sixteen other cities, all of them connected by hyphens, which, on the page, resemble Morse Code dashes. Because these dispatches are lined up, it is tempting to think that they are arriving in sequence. They are not: each one is arriving at Tatlin’s monument from a different source at the same time.

The Zenitist Branko Ve Poljanski, Micič’s brother, took the idea of writing wirelessly one step further by designing a Zenitist radiogram that adapted conventions from the standard telegraph form. *Zenit-Ekspres* includes the title and logo at the heading, complete with an exclamation point to add urgency, followed below by a collection of dispatches reporting his brother’s activities in Munich-Paris-Berlin (figure 6.4). No one would confuse this radiogram with the real thing, but what’s so compelling here is



6.4 Zenit-Ekspres: Paris, Berlin, München (1922).

the way that different writing and wireless technologies have been combined: the letter (which contains the formal address and salutations), the circular (which would announce an upcoming event), the telegram (written in the telegraphic style), and the news bulletin (extra! extra!). Marinetti might have co-opted the actual forms and the abbreviated style for his earlier *parole in libertà*, but Poljanski has managed to do something different; he's produced a wireless fake by adapting print styles, techniques, and conventions that would have been appearing in avant-garde magazines like *Zenit*. If the contents of this radiogram read like a letter (with an address and salutation), the black bars on the right and the enlarged headlines on the left are there to interrupt each paragraph, making it impossible for readers to feel as if a document of this sort could ever have arrived by post.



6.5 “Aviograma,” *75HP* (November 1924), 2.

The single issue of *75HP* is another striking example. It was conceived as an extended wireless transmission in print. Published in Bucharest in October 1924, the entire issue borrowed the design, initials, and layout of the wireless telegram to advertise “pictopoezie,” a form of picture poetry invented by Victor Brauner and Ilarie Voronca. *75HP* is, as the title suggests, built for speed, and its asymmetrical design in red, black, and yellow typeface, often separating blocks of print with headlines in bold, makes it seem as if the pages themselves are moving (figure 6.5). Instead of Brauner and Voronca launching their movement with a manifesto, they put together an “Aviogram” in bold red letters, complete with a series of telegraphic phrases.²⁴ One in particular—“the telegraph has woven wire rainbows”—captures the spirit in which the others are written: they are condensed poetic statements, a series of transmissions that would be more at home in the pages of the magazine than at the telegraph office.²⁵

little wireless magazines

This is one of the key points to emphasize when discussing the technologies of the magazine and wireless together. Far from becoming obsolete, the magazine was getting reconceived as a modern technology precisely because it could do what no wireless actually could. By using wireless operators, individual messages could be sent and received, but where, in the end, was the work of art? For these Dada and neo-Dada groups, it was the materiality of the transmission that mattered precisely because it generated new ways of thinking about the printed word within the medium of the magazine. *75HP*'s wireless performance in print raises some questions about the possibilities and limits of wireless technologies for avant-garde movements in the first half of the 1920s. By 1924, radio broadcasting was taking off; but there was still no robust infrastructure to support it internationally, and broadcast access was difficult to obtain, especially for artists disconnected from the relevant commercial or political channels. The print appropriation of wireless—both in the distribution discussed earlier and in the adaptation of wireless print conventions—represents a compromise of sorts, one that reaffirmed the fact that *wireless print distribution* remained the most viable option for experimental writers and artists. Thus, by relying largely on the magazine for communication, the Dadaists and other affiliated avant-garde groups were not just being practical. They were adapting the medium—both on its own terms and as part of a network—precisely because it could function as an effective modern communications technology and site for artistic experimentation in a way that no telegraph or radio ever could.

II

An avant-garde village was never going to be built through the occasional production of a wireless poem. Rather, it would involve rethinking how to be wireless with the magazines themselves. In what follows, I focus specifically on the wireless tactics the Italian Futurists experimented with to develop modes for distribution that would allow them to draw more members into their network at a higher velocity. Simply putting ideas into print was never going to be enough: messages had to be fast and go far, and

what Marinetti said about the Futurists in Paris applied to everyone involved: they had to become “large radio transmitters” (*grands émetteurs de radios*) if the movement was ever going to move.²⁶ The poet as transmitter: that, in effect, was Marinetti’s goal. In reality, these “large radio transmitters” were not wireless at all since they relied on magazines to communicate with one another. But even here, you get the point: the transmission of the printed word was being reconceptualized to accommodate the arrival of a more efficient, and indeed more modern, technology. Before the Futurists had any stable infrastructure in place, they distributed their messages and manifestos largely through newspapers, and the response was, as we know, an unequivocal success. And when it came to the international circulation of the movement, they relied heavily on international avant-garde magazines as well, many of them eager to capitalize on the prestige conferred by the association. The Futurist magazines *within Italy*, however, worked differently. Some of them established connections with sympathetic avant-gardes elsewhere; but the main focus of their distribution was domestic, and it was concerned principally with maximizing the number of supporters across Italy. “Universo cartaceo,” or “Paper Universe,” is the phrase Claudia Salaris uses to describe the end result.²⁷ But I want to emphasize above all that it was always rotating around an Italian sun, and there was never any question that Futurism, no matter how worldly, was dependent, finally, on the loyalty, support, and interest of groups and individuals within the country where it first started.

Futurist magazines worked through a tactic of saturation: the more titles in circulation, the better the chances the movement could consolidate (more about this point later). Writing to Lev Trotsky in 1922 about Marinetti’s incredible skill as a cultural propagandist, Antonio Gramsci didn’t see it this way. In fact, he was more convinced that a magazine like *Lacerba* in 1913, with its print run of three thousand (Marinetti claimed eighteen thousand), was the high-water mark for the movement, and he looked at the proliferation of Futurist magazines in the years after World War I only as a sign of certain disintegration: “The Futurist group of Marinetti doesn’t exist anymore. The old *rivista* of Marinetti, *Poesia*, is now run by a certain Mario Dessi, a man without the minimum organizational or

little wireless magazines

intellectual capacity. In the south, especially in Sicily, they publish many Futurist magazines, for which Marinetti writes articles: but these magazines are published by students that confuse Futurism with an ignorance of Italian grammar.”²⁸ For Gramsci, newspapers, manifestos, and magazines had the power to unify political and artistic movements alike, but they needed to be carefully monitored if they were ever going to collectivize readers in a way that would lead not just to the destruction necessary for revolution but also the creative rebuilding that follows. “The editorial line,” he writes elsewhere in an essay on the subject of print media, “should be highly organized so as to make an intellectually homogeneous product, while respecting the necessary variety of styles and literary personalities.”²⁹ It was this monitoring, he goes on, that made the entire prospect of a “unitary cultural organism” possible, so that Marinetti, by letting the magazine get away from him, was, in Gramsci’s assessment at least, losing control of the movement.³⁰

What Gramsci saw as a sign of Futurism’s collapse was, in reality, its saving grace. The Futurist movement may have been fragmenting in the early 1920s, with some of its most loyal supporters from the teens defecting because of Marinetti’s turn away from political life (a situation made worse, no doubt, by Marinetti’s much reduced finances), that is true, but its continued survival for two more decades was made possible by the ongoing production of its magazines, even those created by the students in Sicily who continued to confuse Futurist writing with “an ignorance of Italian grammar.”³¹ This change was set in motion a decade earlier when Marinetti first closed down the wildly successful pre-Futurist *Poesia* (1905–1909), which I discussed in chapter 3. Instead of shutting down *Poesia*, Marinetti could have completed the Futurist takeover when he first printed the foundational manifesto of his new movement in its pages; but he did not.³²

This decision to abandon *Poesia* was more than a symbolic break with Marinetti’s high-profile Symbolist past. It was tied up with a “totally different” approach, as Marinetti later called it, another tactic for communication that would rely on the magazine but require different strategies for its mobilization.³³ Instead of making a single magazine work like a mag-

net to attract an international group of writers to Italy, he began to think about the expansion of an entire movement from Italy. *Poesia*, of course, attracted some of the most celebrated poets of the day, and its distribution list, as indicated on the back cover, was extensive. But in spite of its success, *Poesia* was a magazine for poets, many of them from a particular school; it was not a movement. Futurism had a different objective from the very beginning: it would not be limited to a single genre or medium, and it would adapt modern technologies in order to maximize artistic production and reception. Communication, of course, was paramount to the success or failure of the entire venture. Futurists learned to work with new media so that transmission could be sped up and the aesthetic effects fully realized. By closing down *Poesia*, Futurism, then, was rejecting an older production/distribution model, thereby opening itself up to other possibilities for making the movement cohere.

Here is how it worked: instead of Marinetti taking on the role as primary editor, as he had done with *Poesia*, he regularly teamed up with collaborators (as with *Lacerba*, *Dinamo*, *Stile futurista*) or assumed a role from behind the scenes (as with *L'Italia futurista*, *Roma futurista*, *Noi*, *Dinamo futurista*, *Futurismo/Sant'Elia/Artecrazia*).³⁴ These varied editorial roles gave him the freedom (and the time) to be in several places at once, thereby increasing the number of magazines in circulation between Bari and Milan, Naples and Trieste. Futurist magazines did pop up in countries outside of Italy but only rarely, and the ones that did establish an affiliation with the movement were never successful in enlisting Marinetti as a foreign editor.³⁵

Many magazines instead of one: it was a simple solution. The Futurist movement was, among other things, a print network connecting urban centers with regional satellite groups and lone sympathizers that could plug in from wherever they happened to be. Though the newspaper may have allowed for the international circulation of manifestos, the magazines published within Italy functioned more like a collection of transmitters capable of generating chatter on a weekly, fortnightly, monthly, or bimonthly basis, delivering messages about local and international Futurist events and publications, and reaffirming the protocol for communication within

little wireless magazines

the movement.³⁶ Impermanence was built into the entire experience: though magazines would arrive serially, they were meant for short-term consumption. For that reason, the reproducibility of the magazine over time—including the large number of single issues—was an integral part of a communication process that emphasized the “live” nature of the conversation above all else, one that was responding to the cultural and political conditions on the ground in real time.

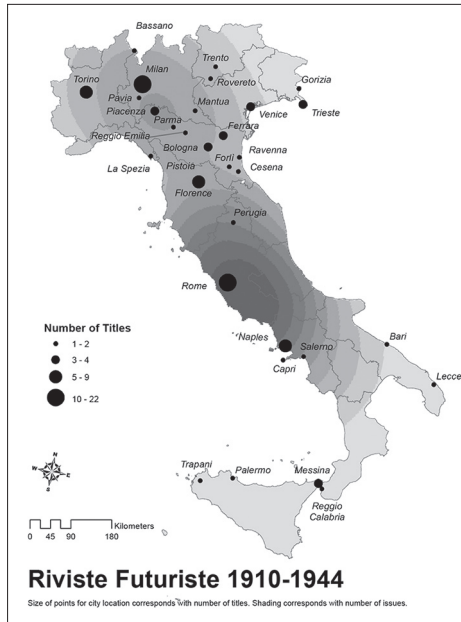
Within Italy, the magazine was critical to the centralization of Futurism. For three decades and in more than thirty cities and towns, different magazines popped up every year across Italy—new titles coming in, older ones disappearing—but there was never any question about where the movement was based. And this is where the influence of the wireless comes in. These magazines were not isolated across Italy at any point: they were connected to one another, working together to produce a *movement without wires*. In fact, while these magazines were sites for interaction and exchange, the primary medium for organizing activities, events, and ideas, they were also the material expression of an abstract social relationship that unified members across time and space. Being a Futurist, then, was an activity intimately bound up with the production and consumption of its magazines. The little magazine was born into a wireless world, caught in one of those “epochal transitions” (Raymond Williams) in which the residual cultural element is being replaced by an emergent one with “new meanings and values, new practices, new relationships.”³⁷ A new communications technology (first wireless telegraphy, then radio broadcasting) was emerging, but the older one (print in the magazine) was still firmly in place. The magazine itself was not going wireless at this historical moment, but it could be modified (or modernized) to accommodate radically new ways of thinking about communication and the possibilities and limits of connectivity. In the end, the wireless magazine was the product of this compromise between two competing communications technologies, neither of them capable of fully supplanting the other.

What took shape in Italy between 1910 and 1944 was a *wireless model for magazine distribution* that included thirty-two cities and towns (figure 6.6).³⁸ Like the wireless telegraph, the magazine was subtended by a material in-

frastructure. In this case, the printers functioned like trained operators tapping the Morse Code keys; the magazines were the telegrams; the post office, newsstands, and bookstores were the wireless/telegraph offices where messages could be sent and received (for people without subscriptions). The Futurists were not just making more magazines than any other single literary or artistic movement in history; they were changing just how a medium like the magazine could be used to construct a national communications network. In the first decade (1910–1920), when Futurism began to insert itself aggressively into Italian cultural life, magazine production fell into two main categories: the titles created by regional satellite groups, many of them single issues, and the “official” magazines set up by Marinetti and his allies in Milan. Together they formed the nucleus of the movement, the “official” magazines establishing protocol by issuing directives, outlining the artistic and/or political program, and providing a model for magazine production, the satellites opening up lines of communication in places outside the northern, mostly urban orbit (Naples, Ragusa, Messina, Calabria, etc.).

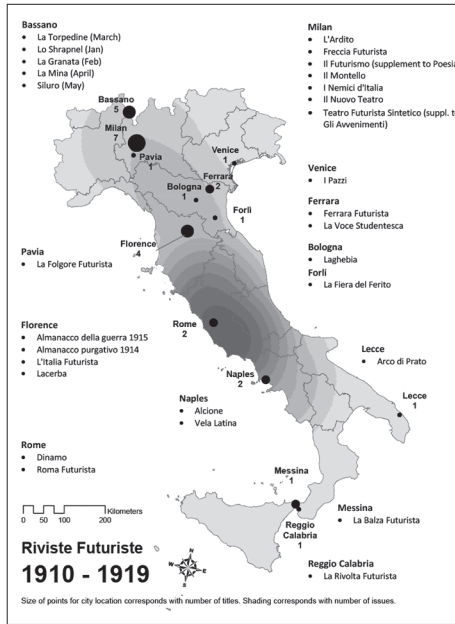
If you break the information down by year and duration, in fact, you get an even clearer picture of what was involved in this process in the beginning (figure 6.7). *Lacerba* (1913–1915), *L'Italia futurista* (1916–1918), *Roma futurista* (1918–1920), and *Dinamo* (1919), though different in their focus on Futurist art and politics, provided the secure foundation on which the other magazines could be built. In this first decade, there was Marinetti's break with *Lacerba*, which led to the creation of the highly nationalistic, prowar *L'Italia futurista*, followed by the politically oriented *Roma futurista*, and, finally, culminating in one devoted exclusively to visual art and literature, *Dinamo*.³⁹

On average, five magazines were “live” in any given year, and though Marinetti could not possibly have assumed editorial control over each one, he actively monitored the style and content of the message and helped with the distribution whenever possible.⁴⁰ Between 1910 and 1919, twenty-nine magazines were printed (some as supplements), leaving us to account for the seventy or so that followed in the 1920s and '30s. What we see in the beginning is a relatively conservative model for organizing



6.6 Riviste Futuriste, 1910–1944.

the movement. Marinetti and his allies created an official hub in Milan (with him working mostly behind the scenes with other editors), and the others popped up to provide an outlet for their ideas and/or a material expression of their support.⁴¹ But in looking at this information of Futurist magazine production over a map of Italy, something else emerges: Milan may have functioned as an official hub for the movement, producing more titles than anywhere else, but Rome was equally if not more important. Only two titles appeared here (compared with the seven of Milan), but, if you include only those issues of *L'ardito* printed in 1919 when Marinetti and Carli were still involved with the *L'ardito* movement, they produced more issues during that period than anywhere else (eighty-seven total). In this way, the movement itself becomes more than the man, and Futurism's importance in Italian cultural life gets reaffirmed by degrees of cultural production in the capital.



6.7 Riviste Futuriste, 1910–1919.

Before examining just how and why this model changed in the decades that followed, it's worth thinking through this association between movement and medium as well. What, after all, is a movement? Marinetti first used the term *movimento* when announcing the birth of Futurism in the founding manifesto, and it seems logical enough that any avant-garde group would try to imagine itself occupying as much international or domestic space as possible in order to create the illusion that it's everywhere. A static Futurism, in other words, does not a movement make, and without a medium like the magazine, this kinetic effect would not have been possible to generate. Looking at it, as I just did, in relation to the number of titles “live” in any given year, we also discover that looks can be deceiving. Futurism was never everywhere, not even close: it had a handful of locations, some of them more active than others, and with the exception of Rome, Milan, and Naples (home to *Vela latina*),

little wireless magazines

there was never any reason to assume they would continue to generate more titles.

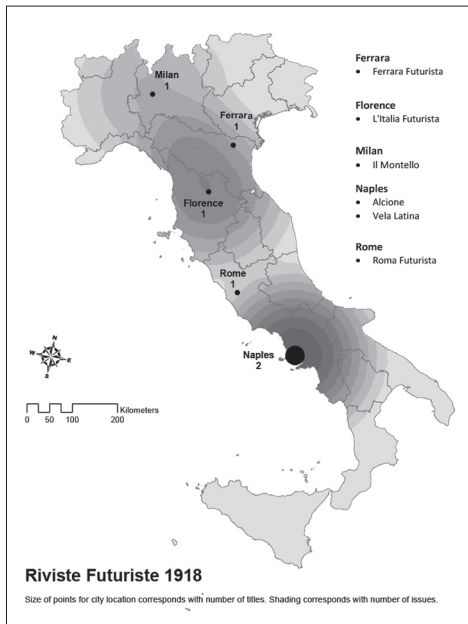
Mapping out some of this information lets us see the Italian Futurist movement less as a stable entity and more as a living organism that actually changed shape over time with the constant rising and falling of magazine titles and the urban and regional relationships that were formed month by month, year by year, and decade by decade across Italy. Indeed, we may already know that print was the primary vehicle for Futurist communication, but to understand how the magazine, in particular, functioned, it's useful to map out, whenever possible, some of these relationships, trace the time frames, identify moments of overlap, and figure out the extent to which magazines were syncing up and dropping out. Take the following three examples, one per decade:

1918 (until May 1920): *Roma futurista*, a weekly, is founded to fashion Futurism as a political party. During that same year, magazines also appear in Naples, Ferrara, Milan, and Florence (figure 6.8).

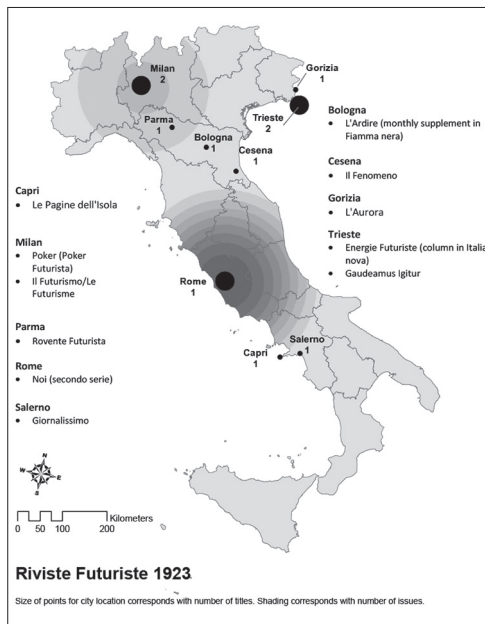
1923 (until November 11, 1926): *Il futurismo / Le futurisme*, an irregular monthly, comes out of Milan (with two issues printed in Rome). Magazines also appear in Bologna, Gorizia, Trieste, Cesena, Capri, Parma, and Salerno (figure 6.9).

1932 (until November 26, 1933): *Futurismo*, a fortnightly and then a weekly and then a fortnightly again, gets published in Rome as a newly established flagship. Magazines also come out in Milan, Bari, Rovereto, Piacenza, and Turin (figure 6.10).

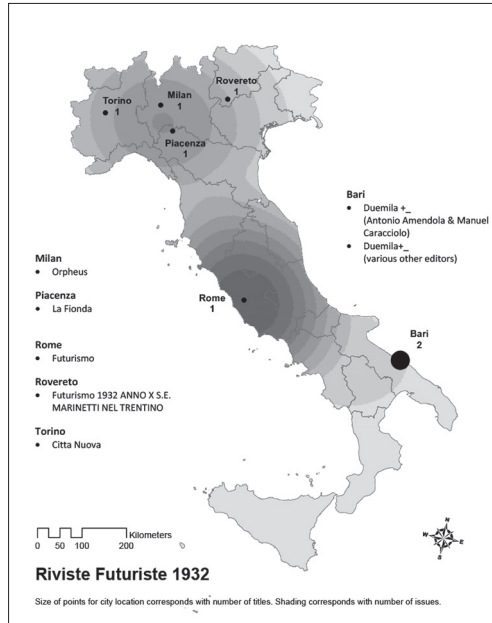
When seen from these different angles, the architecture of the Futurist magazine network begins to emerge more clearly: an official magazine gets planted in a major metropolitan city such as Milan or Rome with five or six satellite stations planted somewhere else in Italy. These “nonofficial” magazines cater to a particular town, city, or region for a short period of time, while the official ones are there to generate directives and offer support. The eponymously titled *Il futurismo / Le futurisme*, for instance, was first created “as a continuation of the manifestos published as leaflets by



6.8 Riviste Futuriste, 1918.



6.9 Riviste Futuriste, 1923.



6.10 Riviste Futuriste, 1932.

the Direzione del Movimento Futurista,” and the editors even decided to keep “the same layout and typeface” so that members would make the connection.⁴² And Mina Somenzi’s *Futurismo* was created primarily to “link” the headquarters in Rome with the provinces, catering to a wide range of interests, including theater, radio, cinema, fashion, architecture, commercial art, and cooking.⁴³ Such an eclectic range of topics in the pages of a single magazine was there to demonstrate that Futurism could be found everywhere in everyday life, making it the ideal aesthetic expression of a Fascist culture and politics.

With each passing year, the locations of Futurist satellite groups would frequently change, but there was always a center around which they could collect (and connect if desired). And if the ambitions of the movement were international, they were expressed through a system of carefully managed national linkages that allowed members in different cities, regions, and

towns to transmit and receive information. A whole range of promotional activities and media were mobilized for this purpose, but the magazine was different. Seriality made it renewable (new); the cheap production made it portable (could travel from place to place); packaging in bulk made it postable (discounted mailing for subscribers). In addition, the magazine was the one medium that would allow readers to see for themselves how members near and far could be together as producers (not just consumers) of Futurism, inhabiting the same national space. Anthologies, of course, could be useful for this particular end as well, but they had too much in common with books; and as much as they provided occasional moments of consolidation, they were, finally, unable to keep up the pace over time.

The 1920s presents a special case: the number of magazines produced during this period increases significantly (forty-six total), but there is no stable sequence of “official” magazines in place (figure 6.11). The Italian-French *Il futurismo* / *Le futurisme* lasts longer than any of them, but in four years, only fourteen issues were produced, making it more of an occasional print outlet than a central station.⁴⁴ Marinetti, of course, continued to publish articles, letters, and editorials in many of them, but he was not principally involved with their production. As pointed out earlier, Gramsci interpreted this widespread diffusion as the surest sign of Futurism’s decline, but when you consider the overall number against the previous decade, almost half of it interrupted by the war, something else gets revealed: a movement picking up momentum, resulting in the formation of a communications system that is beginning to run on its own. Since I began this chapter by divulging the number of Futurist magazines, this should come as no surprise. The number of these titles had to jump up sometime if we ever wanted to explain how the number could exceed one hundred.

Well, no, they did not. The Futurist movement, I’ve been arguing so far, was a living organism that took shape gradually over time, so that something like an increase or decrease in the number of magazine titles per year or decade has the potential to tell us something valuable about how the movement was evolving. In this instance, what we observe is a new configuration of the *movement*. What we have, in effect, is a Futurism out of control. Titles get produced all over Italy, but they are in no way bound by



6.11 Riviste Futuriste, 1920–1929.

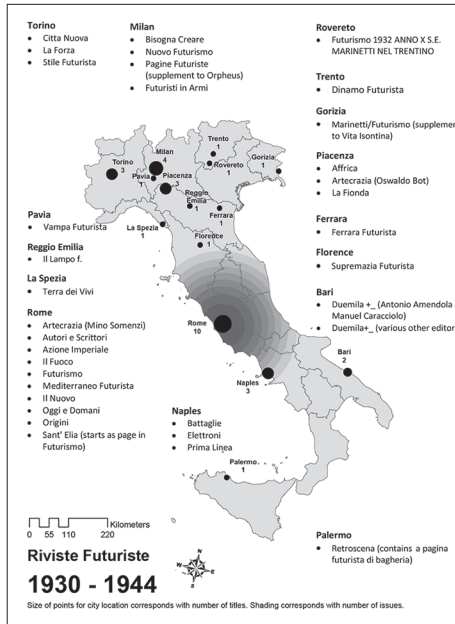
the directives of a main station. And this is quite different from what was happening in the teens, when Marinetti was actively pulling strings from behind the scenes. A turn toward theater (and a revival of the *serate futuriste*), the relocation to Rome in 1922 to follow Mussolini's Partito Nazionale Fascista, a busy international schedule filled with conferences, exhibits, talks, travel (western Europe, Latin America, Egypt, Morocco, Spain, and Portugal), and a renewed interest in the books printed by his Edizioni Futuriste di 'Poesia' (fourteen between 1920 and 1930) are some of the circumstances that help explain Marinetti's distraction. But whatever the reason(s), the truth is that Futurist magazines were more or less running on their own, coming out as much from the student groups and provincial branches of the movement as from enterprising members eager to print something on their own.

So what, then, does this jump in magazine production have to do with the wireless? In basic terms, the magazine was a technology through which individuals and groups could send and receive messages. Marinetti had moved away from a unidirectional broadcast model like *Poesia*, preferring instead to allow for more unregulated proliferation, but in doing so, he avoided using a model that would be heavily dependent on distribution for its effects, letting production itself become a method for generating chatter, on the one hand, and for allowing the participation of a wide range of individuals and groups sympathetic with the Futurist cause, on the other. In many ways, it is the *Futurist as producer* plan, one in which the act of working within the medium itself was already part of the message. In the 1920s, more magazines mean more coverage, and what Marinetti sanctions here is the practice of establishing as many transmitters as possible. In the absence of more intense regulation from headquarters, the movement gets defined by a new strategy for communication, one in which the possibility for two-way transmissions does not depend on Rome or Milan for the mediation. Marinetti's *laissez-faire* approach during the 1920s has been interpreted as a letting go, and that, I think, is largely true. But it was done, in part, because he was both inspiring new recruits, *i giovani*, and looking to embed Futurism more deeply into a modern Italian culture that was continuing to take shape alongside the increased popularity of Mussolini's Fascist Party. It should be noted as well that during this particular decade, cultural production through the press was still not as tightly controlled as it was in the mid-1930s, when the Ministry of Popular Culture began to monitor all of the media within Italy more closely.

In 1925, the editors of the Trieste-based Futurist magazine 25 put it this way: "Each new creator is a new bridge leading the way through the infinite possibilities of our time. Whoever creates defines a movement. Movement=Experience."⁴⁵ Bringing out a magazine in Milan a year later, the Milanese Futurist Group decided that the antenna was the most appropriate analogy for describing this process, using it as their title and including a note on the masthead explaining, "*L'antenna* picks up and transmits the brainwaves of all ultradynamic creators. A power plant—located next to

our station—burns all the stick-in-the-mud pumpkin heads.”⁴⁶ As part of the gimmick, they even included a *radio-diffusione estera* section in the first issue with simulated broadcasts from New York (Rosamond Botsford), Holland (Theo van Doesburg), Belgium (Georges Linze, editor of *Lanthologie*), and Romania (Mihail Ernest Cosma, editor of *Integral*), and it was followed by a section for *circuiti radio-elettrici* and *radionotizie*, including details about Futurist events. What’s so striking about these efforts in the 1920s is the recognition that Futurism was still behind the times. Creation in print was certainly helping to define the movement, but a magazine like *L'antenna* was one example of how it was still unable to move beyond print into something like a real radio transmission where the news could be heard and not seen. Marinetti, as I explain shortly, eventually got his chance to stand at the microphone; but in the 1920s, this is never a viable option, and there is a sense in which the magazine itself becomes a necessary substitute, biding time until other technological possibilities open up.

In the 1930s, and largely in an effort to prepare Futurism for a Fascist future while simultaneously staving off detractors eager to frame Futurism as a factory for the production of degenerate art, Marinetti reasserts control. Interestingly, though, he refuses to take on the role as primary editor for any magazine, preferring instead to remain in the foxhole, as Salaris puts it, staging attacks while his friends assume the editorial duties (figure 6.12).⁴⁷ This foxhole tactic may have allowed Marinetti to maximize his influence, but it was also a way to advertise the fact that Futurism had moved far beyond the man and was part of a generational shift that was very much in progress for the masses. *Oggi e domani* (1930–1932), *Dinamo futurista* (1933), *Futurismo* (1932–1933) / *Sant’Elia* (1933–1934) / *Artecrazia* (first a supplement in *Futurismo* and then brought out irregularly on its own between 1934 and 1939), *Stile futurista* (1934–1935), and *Mediterraneo futurista* (1938–1943) were the “official” hubs, all of them set up to regulate the Futurist message and, in doing so, to continue selling the idea that this movement was the most legitimate expression of modern art and life within an Italian cultural landscape that was becoming increasingly repressive. During this decade, thirty-four magazines popped up across Italy, but if you take a closer look, you realize in fact that



6.12 Riviste Futuriste, 1930–1944.

the number was actually much smaller: seven titles were “official,” two of them were designed as propaganda for the war in Ethiopia (*Africa* and *Azione imperiale*), and four of them belonged to Futurist splinter groups (*Battaglie*, *Prima linea*, *Nuovo futurismo*, and *Supremazia futurista*), leaving seventeen or so to account for, ten of them single issues.

In the 1930s, the Futurist movement embedded itself even more aggressively in an increasingly hypernationalized Italian culture. Indeed, international engagement was still a goal, but the movement was intent on proving its worth at home to the Fascist regime. Part of the response involved coordinating print channels so that the movement could ensure that the message was not getting lost in transmission. The early 1930s was also a period in which Futurist experiments with radio began to take off, and there is a recognition that print, vis-à-vis *riviste*, could be organized to simulate a radio broadcast. I mentioned earlier that the closing down of

little wireless magazines

Poesia in 1909 represented a decisive break with a broadcast model that was necessary at first for the foundation of the movement, and it led to the point-to-point distribution resembling wireless transmissions. When it returns as a distribution model in the 1930s, however, there is a difference. The concept of broadcasting belongs to the medium of radio, and print itself adapts once again, first to maintain the relevance of the medium and then to justify the relevance of the movement when access to the radio, and other mass media, was extremely limited.⁴⁸ “Radio,” Bertolt Brecht may have been complaining at the same time, “is one sided when it should be two,” but for Marinetti, that turned out to be a benefit.⁴⁹

Futurists were captivated by radio. In addition to producing radio comedies, they wrote manifestos on the subject; conducted live broadcasts (in ten-minute segments); painted and photographed antennas, receivers, amplifiers, coils, and other radio equipment; and designed sound experiments, many of them left unperformed.⁵⁰ The radio, they came to believe, had the power to inspire an art that would be “totally and completely futurist” (*totalmente e nettamente futurista*). Some Futurist experiments with this “radiarte,” as they called it, were more successful than others, but in every case, they were part of an ongoing engagement with this new medium and an intense fascination with its power to reach people across vast distances.

The Futurist turn toward radio was officially announced in the publication of Marinetti and Pino Masnata’s *La radia: Manifesto futurista*, which appeared in the *Gazzetta del popolo* (September 22, 1933) and was republished a week later in *Futurismo* under the title *Manifesto della radio*. *La radia* was as much a document reflecting on radio’s early years as it was a rallying cry for its mobilization as *the* Futurist technology. By using *radia* instead of *radio*, Marinetti and Masnata emphasized its place as a legitimate medium in the history of art, one that belonged alongside *scultura*, *pittura*, *architettura*, and *poesia*. Already by the 1930s, they were bored stiff by the way that broadcasting companies used the radio as a garbage bin for other content. News was delivered on the air, old plays were performed, and stories were read out loud from within the space of a closed studio. The radio, in other words, was made to seem as if it had nothing of its own

to contribute. If it was ever going to become fully modern, then medium-specific works of art had to be made, and “radiofonia,” Marinetti and Masnata observed in their manifesto, “was destined to increase a hundredfold the creative genius of the Italian race, abolishing the ancient torturous nostalgia for distance and imposing everywhere *parole in libertà* as its logical and natural form of expression.”⁵¹

In 1913, Marinetti already had some idea that wireless would shrink the globe, but he could never have foreseen just how drastic the effect would be. With the arrival of radio broadcasting, it was possible for an individual to be in Rome while listening to a live concert in Seville, and “this phenomenon,” as Masnata explains in an unpublished essay on the subject, “of feeling, of being, in two places so far away from each other at the same time, could never have been dreamed before the invention of radio.”⁵² For some of Marinetti’s more innovative experiments, he planned to capitalize on this abolition of distance and the simultaneity in time. His unperformed “Dramma di distanze” (Drama of distances), for instance, sketches out a seventy-seven-second radio broadcast that begins with sounds of a military march in Rome before moving on to tango in Santos, religious music in Tokyo, rustic dance in Varese, a boxing match in New York City, street music in Milan, and a Neapolitan love song played at the Copa Cabana hotel in Rio de Janeiro. It’s unclear exactly how Marinetti wanted this “drama” staged: it could have been a series of prerecorded sound clips strung together one after the other, but considering Marinetti’s intense passion for live performance, it’s more likely that he was imagining something like a global simulcast with several stations in different places synced together.⁵³

Sound experiments were one way to realize this dream of a “radiarte,” but there was more to it. If you wanted to sound like a Futurist on the radio, then you also had to speak like one. For that, Marinetti already had his solution: *parole in libertà*. It was an older invention, of course, and for two decades, Futurist poets adapted it for poems that would get printed on paper. But printed poems, even with their typographical innovations and onomatopoeic images, had a way of slowing down the transmission since readers would never be able to process the information all at once.

little wireless magazines

With radio, words could travel farther and faster and be heard by listeners almost as quickly as they left the poet's mouth. For Marinetti, it was only appropriate that this "fast freeword style" (*veloce stile parolibero*) be used in Mussolini's Italy, a country, he boasted, "that at 700 kilometers per hour has the record for pure speed" (*che detiene a 700 km. all'ora il record della velocità pura*).

Parole in libertà and radio: it was an ideal match, another instance when medium and style could fuse together perfectly.⁵⁴ Radio could reinvigorate the worn-out word by freeing it from the visual realm altogether, emphasizing sound above all and becoming, through the transmission, another mode of artistic expression bound up with static, interference, silence, and background noise. And in Marinetti's mind, *parole in libertà* was not for poets only: it had the potential to become the preferred style for anyone standing at the microphone. The "radiasta" might never see his audience, but he could speak to it directly, avoiding many of the rhetorical traps reserved for other forms of written and spoken communication. With the allotted ten-minute segments, time was not to be wasted, and this "veloce stile parolibero" would accelerate the delivery of the message, allowing for that magical synthesis between speaker and listener who would not need to waste words when communicating.

But whatever dreams the Futurists may have had for radio broadcasting, it was the stringent governmental regulations in Mussolini's Italy that eventually kept them from staging any full-scale coup of the airwaves. Günter Berghaus has documented Marinetti's antagonistic relationship with Ente Italiano per le Audizioni Radiophoniche (EIAR) throughout the 1930s.⁵⁵ The Fascist government monitored Marinetti's activities closely the entire time, and members of the station were infuriated by his refusal to submit finished scripts beforehand or refrain from improvisation during the broadcasts. After Alessandro Pavolini took over as minister of popular culture in 1939, things became even more difficult, and Marinetti was constantly vying to keep his slot open even when he was repeatedly informed that his broadcasts were alienating a mass audience that didn't care any longer for Futurist art. There were other restrictions as well, which, as Margaret Fisher explains, had more to do with the limits of the

medium than Mussolini: “There were no opportunities to hold the kind of event in which the Futurists excelled—a full theatrical soiree (*serata*). Broadcast slots for talks on the arts were ten minutes at most, individual pieces of music often shorter than five minutes. Projecting a Futurist voice or style through radio’s bustling sound factory was difficult at best.”⁵⁶ A complete list of Futurist radio broadcasts has yet to be compiled, but Fisher has documented Marinetti’s own ten-minute broadcasts throughout the 1930s, which were organized under the rubric “World Futurism” (*Futurismo mondiale*). With an average of about ten broadcasts a year between 1932 and 1943, and factoring in the occasional radio drama of Marinetti and Masnata and the radiophonic lyrics of Fortunato Depero, it would be misleading indeed to confuse the rise of a Fascist-regulated *Radio Italia* with the failed dreams of Marinetti’s *Radia futurista*.

It goes without saying that the Futurists had better luck with their magazines during this decade. More than thirty titles appeared between 1930 and 1940, as I mentioned, with an official magazine based in Rome every year to lend support. And many of the Futurist magazines needed it since the movement was getting more forcefully reimaged as the literary-artistic branch of the Fascist Party. With a few exceptions, the rogue student magazines of the 1920s were a thing of the past, and as the movement continued to fall in step, there was less room within Italy for the kind of spontaneity of that earlier moment. Seen from another angle, the number of Futurist magazines printed in the 1930s is deceptive. Instead of representing a proliferation of individualized point-to-point messages for each city, town, and region, as it once did, these magazines were set up as relay stations, with the official titles functioning like transmitters distributing a unified message without worrying, or even waiting, for a reply.

In an interesting twist, then, the Futurist magazine network of the 1930s assumed the one-way distribution model identified with the radio broadcast. If the wireless technology once promised a more democratic mode of communication, it ended up all too quickly under government control that could easily limit access and diffusion. And there’s a valuable lesson here in the history of the little magazine: Marinetti may have wanted to centralize Futurism, but it could only be done through the DIY freedom

little wireless magazines

enabled by this medium. That, in effect, is one of the ways that wireless telegraphy continued to assert its influence. Long after ceasing to exist as the most modern communications technology, it continued to represent one more possibility in a wireless age, one that involved print but not wires.

McLuhan was convinced that wireless telegraphy would put an end to typographic man. Why, after all, would anyone want to print words when they could be transmitted invisibly through sound? And yet the various configurations of the Futurist movement demonstrate that the situation was much more complicated when these two technologies first collided. At the beginning of the twentieth century, Futurists saw the magazine as a place where the wireless could thrive. Instead of disappearing, print was being reimagined on the page and in relation to a network that could exist without ever being seen. Throughout the 1920s and '30s, avant-gardists far and wide tried to imagine a completely wireless world. Karel Teige, the editor of *ReD* (Prague), predicted the arrival of a portable TSF station (which we now call the cellular phone); Marinetti fantasized about wireless men and women who could communicate their emotions through radio waves; and Velimir Khlebnikov, who worked as a night watchman for the Russian Telegraph Agency, saw a day when radio waves could be projected onto “the dark pages of enormous books, higher than houses, that stand in the center of each town, turning their own pages.”⁵⁷

In these futuristic fantasies, wireless can do many things, but it does not announce the end of print. Writing a few decades later, that's exactly what happened when the book historian Lucien Febvre tried to peer into a wireless future. For him, it was entirely possible that the day would come when “ideas could get transmitted without passing through the medium of print,” ushering in a postprint generation in which all the codex-inspired technologies would go the way of the dinosaur.⁵⁸ With so many digital devices available today, it's safe to say that the age of the wireless magazine has arrived, but in continuing to think about this dynamic relationship between print and nonprint media, we can learn a lot from the Futurists. They understood, above all, that the arrival of wireless didn't mean that the magazine had to die or print had to disappear. Quite the opposite, in fact, was true. Wireless reinvigorated the way print could be imagined on



the page, and it shaped how the technology of the magazine could be mobilized to unite (and, at times, disperse) individuals scattered across countries and continents. In the process, wireless modernized the avant-garde magazine by fundamentally changing how artists and writers could even begin to imagine the possibilities of global communication. And that, of course, was at a time in the history of media when plugging into the network could still be done without using any plugs at all.



afterword

little digittle magazine

One of the distinguished marks of the “little magazine” is that it should not only be little, but short-lived.

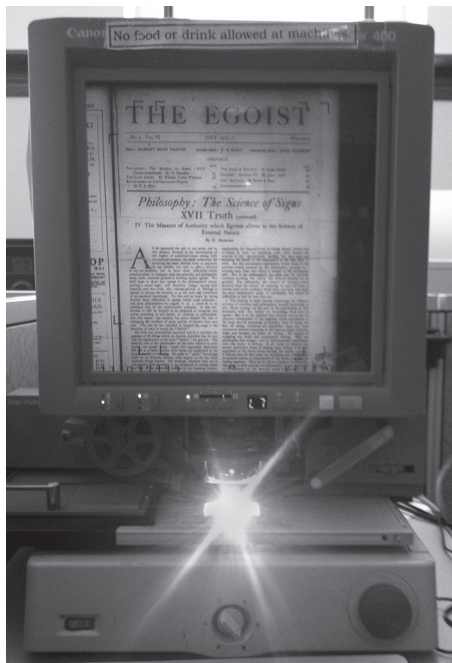
▸ T. S. Eliot to Karl Shapiro, 1950

I

LITTLE AND SHORT-LIVED: these are the qualities that have defined the little magazine, even for T. S. Eliot, the author of the above epigraph, who had actually spent the greater part of two decades editing one.¹ It was not uncommon, in fact, for writers, editors, and artists who had lived through the Golden Age to treat little magazines like old friends whose “deaths” were enough to occasion moving obituaries with reflections on their personalities, experiences, achievements, and failures.² But even if the pages of so many little magazines were, like the leaves in Homer’s *Iliad*, symbolic of different lives, the truth is that the medium itself endured. In the second half of the twentieth century, it not only invigorated so many different literary and critical cultures around the globe (some of which I’ve discussed in previous chapters) but also came to influence the rise of theory and criticism journals in the humanities, art, and architecture and the wild proliferation of underground music, poetry, and comix zines.³ The little magazine was and remains equally at home in these different

worlds and can cater as much to specialized academic audiences as it can to the DIY underdogs.

Remediation is another way that the old little magazines have endured. The process began in the 1950s with libraries tearing off the covers and ripping out the bindings in order to make microfilm reels, all in the name of preservation, storage, and accessibility (figure A.1).⁴ This was followed by the Kraus reprints in the 1960s, providing black-and-white copies in bound volumes that distorted the scale and made it impossible to gauge the size and color of the originals.⁵ Anastatic copies soon followed in the 1970s and after, and they were printed by enterprising publishers in Europe, who were looking to capture the intricacy of every physical detail down to the look and feel of the paper stock.⁶ These different reproductions and reprintings have certainly served a purpose over the decades, but



A.1 The *Egoist* on microfilm. Photograph by Eric Bulson.

all of them have their limits: microfilmed copies require bulky machines, which are increasingly ending up on the scrap heap, to get read, Kraus reprints are out of print and in libraries, and anastatic copies, when they can be found at all, are expensive.

We've entered a radically new stage in the little magazine's reanimation process, one that has been made possible by the widespread digitization of defunct titles and ambitious archival initiatives that will change how we understand not only what the little magazine was and where it went in the past but also what it will continue to become in the future as these archives expand and connect.⁷ Digital reproduction is the life-giving elixir for little magazines that promises preservation and accessibility for a new generation of reader-scholar-users, who will be able to engage with this medium in ways that would have been unthinkable only a decade ago. The digittle magazines it has brought to life are pixels and not print and stored on databases and not bookshelves. Because they are scanned images and do not move physically through space, digittle magazines can actually be present in hundreds of thousands of locations all at once, accessed from anywhere by anyone, and redistributed electronically without the worry of getting lost, waterlogged, or burned in transit. What this does is provide an opportunity for endless recirculation, unconstrained by physical borders, economic barriers, currency exchanges, and, at least for now, censors, customs officials, and commercial conglomerates, especially for those magazines not protected by copyright. The digittle magazine is, in other words, what the microfilm, the Kraus reprints, and anastatic copies could never be: an infinitely renewable resource at home anywhere at anytime.⁸

I could not have written this book without having access to so many different digittle magazines, and while working with them over the years, I've had to reflect on the possibilities and limits, reminding myself in every case that they are almost the same as the originals but not quite. Like everyone else working with digitized materials, I've been forced to acknowledge that remediation can change the message. With these digitized magazines and archives, it can be tempting to confuse what was the worldwide network with what is the worldwide web, losing sight along the way that

convenience and global connectivity can be deceiving, especially if we're interested in recuperating some of the ways the worldwide network did not work. The snapshots I've provided of various configurations reveal that the shape of the network itself changed at different times and in different places because the conditions surrounding the production and reception of literature were never stable. There were always circumstances that could determine when a little magazine's life began or ended, what it looked like, where it went, and who read it. When you remember an irritated Thayer in Vienna lamenting the delay of his *Dials*, Loeb in Rome the temporary disappearance of his *Brooms*, Ferrieri in Milan the thinness of his *Convegno*, or Neogy in Kampala the closing down of his *Transition*, it is impossible to ignore the fact that friction, resistance, and delay were just as important to littleness as ephemerality was. The experience of getting copies and full runs nowadays for these and so many other titles is hassle-free and instantaneous and has the effect of taking them out of time: another day, another download is the name of the game.

The decentralization of the Internet, which encourages this illusion of placelessness, would certainly seem like an ideal environment for these re-mediated little magazines, part of the recipe for ensuring their longevity, but that's only if it facilitates the kinds of comparisons that emphasize the way they once functioned as a world form. *Form*, as I've been using it, describes the structure of the medium and the nature of the materiality, and it is something that can be concrete and abstract, a category that opens up the magazine to different modes of social, political, historical, economic, and cultural analysis. Focusing on how these formal changes, and in some cases compromises, are associated with the circumstances of two world wars, the disconnectivity of communication, the immobility in transportation, the adaptation within and across different media, the repression of governments, the pressure of empire, decolonization and exile, and Cold War geopolitics was a way to *place* them in history. They are all part of a much larger narrative about the globalization of modernism and its preferred medium across the twentieth century, one that has the power to foreground what made each little magazine distinct, a product of situations and forces that resist more generalized characterizations.

The legacy of the little magazine may certainly be alive, but it could not possibly achieve what it once did. And the reasons are many. Among them is the basic fact that printing a magazine to find an audience of the fit and few is increasingly rare, an activity that has been supplanted by blogs, websites, online publishing, and social media. And while it is certainly true that there are still “magascenes,” as McLuhan once called them, in countries around the globe, the editors, readers, and contributors aren’t guided by the idea that this medium is the only possible option available for literary or critical communication.⁹ There’s the added fact that the commercial book business, which the little magazine so productively rebelled against, is not as formidable a foe as it once was, and that is because there are more publishers out there than before and self-publishing books is always an option. If there is another James Joyce or Marianne Moore to be found or an avant-garde movement to get made, chances are it’s not going to happen because of an obscure magazine with a circulation of less than a thousand. And let’s, for argument’s sake, say it did: the number of writers who would launch their careers in some little magazine or other would never reach the 80 percent that Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich first calculated back in 1945.¹⁰

And then, of course, there’s the Internet. By connecting the world, the Internet effectively put an end to the need for a medium that always worked against the threat of placelessness, using globalization as an opportunity to affirm “I/we am/are here.” “Which magazine do you read?” was the question Neogy posed in that advertisement for *Transition*, but in doing so, he was really asking his readers to consider where they were reading, knowing full well that this was an effective way to reaffirm the question about “reach,” which the editors of *Blok* once tried to answer in 1925 with their hand-drawn map of the world. Of course, readers in Kampala might have even recognized that bookshelf in the image accompanying the question, but for those who did not, it was a sign of where this magazine came from at a particular time and a particular place. As generic as this bookshelf might look, it has an address: it is not everywhere the same, in large part, because of what it carries.

Consider, by way of another example, the *Little Magazine (TLM)*, a web-based little magazine in Delhi, which the editors identify with the legacy

of the print-based medium that once thrived, in their version of the story, “in the United States, the United Kingdom, and India.” “The magazine,” they explain on their website, “was conceived as a dialogue—a platform which would carry important work in the world languages along with the best of contemporary writing in the South Asian languages. It is not India-specific and addresses a community which is more easily defined in terms of mindspace rather than in purely geographical terms.” The editorial aims outlined here, of course, are not new. Little magazines have always thrived on the idea that there was a community of like-minded individuals, who existed beyond geographical boundaries even if they would never communicate with one another directly. What’s different in this case is the way in which mindspace gets generated through webspace so that *TLM* can be produced by web developers in one location but made accessible everywhere. That, in effect, is one of the reasons *TLM* is definitely not a little magazine: there may be a web address (www.littlemag.com), but there’s no address, not the kind that would indicate what it is, where it goes, and who reads it. An example such as this one is a powerful reminder of what made the little magazine unique: not a limited life span but the life lived in between at a particular moment in time. And consider once again that snapshot of the world printed on the cover of *Blok*. The blank space of Africa was there at the center, and it was, as was probably to be expected in 1925, the place where *Blok* could not reach. That’s not true for the form, and three decades later, the appearance of *Black Orpheus* and *Transition*, as I’ve discussed already, significantly changed how we understand the history and geography of the medium itself.

In closing, I want to focus on two images of Marinetti, a figure who understood, perhaps better than anyone else, how littleness and ephemerality could be mobilized in different ways over a long period of time. The first is a photograph taken in the early 1930s showing him seated at a desk littered with Futurist magazines and staring intently at the camera (figure A.2). Prominently displayed among the pile are copies of *Futurismo*, which appeared between 1932 and 1933, with an issue of Prampolini’s *Noi* from the mid-1920s propped up on his left. The message here is hard to miss: Marinetti is clearly presenting himself as the



A.2 Portrait of F. T. Marinetti with copies of *Futurismo* and *Noi*, c. 1934. Marinetti Correspondence and Papers. Courtesy of Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Copyright © Artists Rights Society.

Futurist conductor keeping tabs on what’s going on in the “paper universe” he helped to create. Equally important, however, is the anachronism subtly concealed here by the presence of *Noi*, a magazine that was restarted in 1923 after the Fascists came to power in order to advertise its suitability as the state art. In this image, Marinetti may be surveying current Futurist activity but also drawing a connection with the origins of Fascism and the revised program of Futurism so that it seems less like an easily outmoded movement than a dynamic one capable of maintaining its relevance for the future.

A similar message can be found in Mario Menin’s painting of an animated Marinetti shouting in 1941, his arm raised in the air as the crowd around him yells, pushes, kicks, and punches (figure A.3). Behind him stands a line of *camicie nere*, one of them kicking a man to the ground, while

the others wave Fascist flags. Amid all the chaos at the bottom of the canvas is a single issue of *Poesia*, the magazine that published the first Futurist manifesto in Italy in 1910. As with *Noi* in the previous photograph, *Poesia* is an anachronistic detail there to signal Futurism's longevity, a reminder that the movement has been a part of Italian cultural life for decades. What's different here is the emphasis on Futurism's Fascist makeover in the 1920s, a process that involved an ongoing struggle to continue making the movement relevant to an increasingly repressive and intolerant political regime. Menin's painting affirms that the Futurists may have been fighting before the Fascists arrived, but they were eventually part of the same cause. And it all began with a magazine that had to be left behind so a distinctly modern Italian art and culture could emerge.

These snapshots are not just about Marinetti or Futurism. They record the experience of the little magazine out in the world, moving through it but also aging, sometimes finding a way to survive for another issue or year but also knowing when the time's up. Looking at them from a distance and with so many full runs now preserved in pixelated amber, it can be all too easy to lose our sense of scale and, in doing so, forget that the age of the little magazine might be over but our capacity to recuperate its complex global geographies, energies, habits, hierarchies, and networks has just begun. The increased searchability of digitized little magazine collections will be one way for us to continue reading in the future, and it has the power to change how we understand what happened in and between thousands of magazine titles, some of them still waiting to get rescued from oblivion. No matter what happens, we can't forget that what made the little magazine unique was the way it functioned as a lifeline when life was short, a conduit for cultural and literary transmission when the power lines were unreliable or not even up, and a channel for communication when it was impossible to know who, if anyone, was on the other end, wherever that might be. What we can't forget is the fact that the little magazine never belonged to a single individual, movement, nation, culture, or history, and that, more than anything else, is why it remains a world form even if the world it once belonged to is gone.



A.3 Mario Menin, *Marinetti with Crowd Fighting*, photograph of painting, ca. 1941. Courtesy of Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University. Copyright © Artists Rights Society.

notes

introduction

- 1 And it makes you wonder why no one has yet written anything extensive on the subject of modernism *and the book business*. This is strange, considering how wide open the terrain is for an investigation not just of the printers and compositors but also of the book dealers, agents, binders, and paper distributors.
- 2 Charles Allen, "The Advance Guard," *Sewanee Review* 2 (1943): 425–29.
- 3 Ian Morris and Joanne Diaz, preface to *The Little Magazine in Contemporary America*, ed. Ian Morris and Joanne Diaz (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015), x.
- 4 This should not come as much of a surprise. Even Frederick John Hoffman, Charles Albert Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich divided their little magazines (and "fellow travelers") into different categories that included *Poetry* and *Others* in one chapter and the *Little Review* in another, before branching off into the "Tendenz' Magazine," "Modern Poetry and the Little Magazine," "Political Directions in the Literature of the Thirties," "Variations on the Psychoanalytic Theme," and "The Critical and Eclectic Little Magazine." Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946). This desire to organize the little magazine around different titles and tendencies, in fact, was not new. It was very common to provide some kind of editorial explaining how they were aligning or deviating from what else was out there. In *Secession*, for instance, Gorham Munson, the editor, came up with three different strains of "literary reviews in America" (the *Little Review*, *Broom*, and the *New Republic*), all of them deficient in their own way. "Secession," he explains, "aims to be neither a personal nor an anthological magazine, but to be a group organ." Munson, "Interstice Between Scylla and Charybdis," *Secession*, no. 2 (July 1922): 32.
- 5 Here I am adapting a methodological formulation suggested by Fredric Jameson in his controversial essay "Third-World Literature in the Era of

Multinational Capitalism”: “the kind of comparative work demanded by this concept of third-world literature involves comparison, not of the individual texts, which are formally and culturally very different from each other, but of the concrete situations from which such texts spring and to which they constitute distinct responses.” Jameson, *Social Text* 15 (1986): 86n5.

- 6 Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2010), 1.
- 7 Ezra Pound, “Small Magazines,” *English Journal* 19, no. 9 (1930): 689–704. In a letter to Pound dated April 28, 1930, they explained, “*The English Journal* is the professional magazine for the teachers of English in the United States. It is important not only that they know past literatures and that they know something about the technique of teaching, which is the main business of the magazine, but also that they be in touch with the temper of the present.” Box 15, folder 687, YCAL MSS 43, Ezra Pound Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.
- 8 Both of them, in fact, issued programmatic statements on the subject. See T. S. Eliot, “The Idea of a Literary Review,” *Criterion* 4 (1926): 1–6; Antonio Gramsci, “Types of Periodicals,” in *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916–1935*, ed. David Forgacs (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 384–90.
- 9 In thinking about the question of scale, I am indebted to Nirvana Tanoukhi’s “The Scale of World Literature,” *New Literary History* 39, no. 3 (2008): 599–617.
- 10 Even David Damrosch, when presenting his own provocative argument for world literature, concludes with a disavowal of its general application. “I have given you *my world literature*,” he writes in the final chapter, “or at least a cross-section of it, while recognizing that the world now presents us with material so varied as to call into question any logic of representation, any single framework that everyone should adopt and in which these particular works would all have a central role.” Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003), 281 (emphasis added).
- 11 See Laura Doyle and Laura Winkiel, eds., *Geomodernisms: Race, Modernism, Modernity* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005); Andreas Huyssen, “Geographies of Modernism in a Globalizing World,” *New German Critique* 100 (2007): 189–207; Susan Stanford Friedman, “Musing Modernist Studies,” *Modernism/Modernity* 17, no. 3 (2010): 471–99.
- 12 But I can go into the reasons here: Not only is the kind of universality Pound is talking about based on Western ideas about literary value, but even more problematic would be the idea of what counts as literature in the first place. In addition, there is the added problem of a modernity that is separate and unequal and tied to a wide range of political realities, including the long history of colonialism and decolonization.
- 13 For James Wald, periodicity and the postal system go hand in hand: “Periodicity evolved in tandem with the rhythms and reach of the incipient postal

- services on which the inflow of information and distribution of publications depended.” Wald, “Periodicals and Periodicity,” in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (London: Blackwell, 2007), 423.
- 14 Even though members of the *Respublica literarum* used journals to circulate ideas, they were often frustrated by the slowness with which issues came out, using letters in between to communicate about the latest news. Though the letter was the dominant medium up until the end of the seventeenth century, the journal eventually did win out, in large part because it could keep a large number of readers up-to-date about the publication of books in “other cities.” Anne Goldgar, *Impolite Learning: Conduct and Community in the Republic of Letters, 1680–1750* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1995), 65.
 - 15 About the importance of letters, Anthony Grafton, using a series of organic mixed metaphors, has this to say: “They constituted the fragile but vital canals that connected and animated intellectual commerce in the far flung parts of the republic. The strands of long-term correspondence formed a capillary system along which information could travel from papal Rome to Calvinist strongholds in the north, and vice-versa—so long as both had inhabitants, as they did, who wished to communicate. It is above all in the thousands of surviving letters—letters that combined the official and professional with the personal in a way that in the pre-modern world seemed entirely natural—that the outlines, highways and capitals of the Republic can be glimpsed most vividly.” Grafton, “A Sketch Map of a Lost Continent: The Republic of Letters,” *Republics of Letters: A Journal for the Study of Knowledge, Politics, and the Arts* 1, no. 1 (2009): 26–27.
 - 16 By 1790, there were 3,494 journals in Germany alone. See Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, 424.
 - 17 Ezra Pound to Harriet Monroe, 7 November 1913, in *The Letters of Ezra Pound, 1907–41*, ed. D. D. Paige (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1950), 25. In a letter Pound wrote to Joyce on May 8, 1920 regarding his move from the *Little Review* to the *Dial*, he wrote, “It won’t be as much fun as the LR.; but it can afford more lire per page & pays in American. For which sordid reasons; and because the Mercure de France is really too gaga to be left the sole arbiter of weldlitteratur!!!” In Ezra Pound and James Joyce, *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound and James Joyce, with Pound’s Critical Essays and Articles about Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read (New York: New Directions, 1970), 164.
 - 18 See Stefan Hoesel-Uhlig, “Changing Fields: The Directions of Goethe’s Weltliteratur,” in *Debating World Literature*, ed. Christopher Prendergast (New York: Verso, 2004), 37.
 - 19 Individual articles, of course, would circulate in translation, but it would be impossible to find, say, an English translation of *Der Sturm* or an Italian translation of *Others*.

- 20 When I was first beginning to think seriously about this project many years ago, I remember one critic at a conference who derided the whole idea of expanding the framework to include countries outside the Western orbit as if, like Dante's Odysseus, we would be moving beyond the limits of the known, or even knowable, world into the vortex of our own folly. "Little magazines in Micronesia," he scoffed. Yeah, and why not? Had the little magazine ever made it to Micronesia, then it would be perfectly legitimate to try and understand what, if anything, it had in common with modernisms elsewhere and, in the process, to explain just how it even ended up on an island so far out in the Pacific.
- 21 It is also necessary to mention that my focus is largely on *literary* communication, even though I also draw on examples from avant-garde movements in the first half of the century that anticipated the rise of artists' magazines in the 1960s, '70s, and '80s. For a brilliant overview on the subject of conceptual artists' magazines in North America, see Gwen Allen, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011). Inspired by Hoffman, Ulrich, and Allen's *Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography* (1946) and Steven Clay and Rodney Phillips's *A Secret Location on the Lower East Side: Adventures in Writing, 1960–1980* (New York: New York Public Library / Granary Books, 1998); Allen also compiled a comprehensive index of titles from around the world.
- 22 Damrosch, *What Is World Literature?*; Franco Moretti, *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (New York: Verso, 2007); Moretti, "Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review* (January–February 2000): 54–68; Moretti, "More Conjectures on World Literature," *New Left Review* (March–April 2003): 73–81; Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004); Gayatri Spivak, "The Stakes of a World Literature," in *An Aesthetic Education in the Era of Globalization* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2012); Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2013). A more comprehensive sampling of the many sides to this argument can be found in Prendergast, *Debating World Literature*; and Theo d' Haen, César Domínguez, and Mads Rosendahl Thomsen, eds., *World Literature: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
- 23 Fredric Jameson, "Interpretation and the World System," paper presented at "The Way We Read Now: Symptomatic Reading and Its Aftermath" conference held at Columbia University, May 1–2, 2008.
- 24 Though the "circulation approach" is quite common in the world literature debates, I am responding here specifically to Susan Stanford Friedman, who describes it as a reading practice for "world modernism" that will involve "connection, linkage, networks, conjuncture, translation, transculturation." Indeed, her diagnosis is sound, but again it fails to account for the centrality of media in this process and the effects of materiality on the way these linkages

- do and do not happen within networks that don't work. Friedman, "World Modernisms, World Literature, and Comparativity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, ed. Mark Wollaeger and Matt Eatough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 511–16.
- 25 In using the term "friction," I am thinking of Anna L. Tsing's *Friction: An Ethnography of Global Connection* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2004).
 - 26 Raymond Williams, "When Was Modernism?," in *The Politics of Modernism: Against the New Conformists* (New York: Verso, 1989), 34.
 - 27 Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (New York: Penguin Books, 1934), 96. Crates of the September 1922 issue of *Broom* arrived waterlogged from Italy; 750 copies (of what was likely 3,000 total) were too badly damaged to sell.
 - 28 *International literatur* was another one published in Moscow between 1931 and 1945. By 1939, there were twenty-one German-language publications in the USSR.
 - 29 For a historical overview of exile from Weimar Germany, see Jean-Michel Palmier, *Weimar in Exile: The Anti-Fascist Emigration in Europe and America* (New York: Verso, 2006).
 - 30 Walter Benjamin to Gershom Scholem, 11 January 1940, in *The Correspondence of Walter Benjamin, 1910–1940*, ed. Gershom Scholem and Theodor W. Adorno, trans. Manfred R. Jacobson and Evelyn M. Jacobson (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 623.
 - 31 T. J. Demos, *The Exiles of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007), 42.
 - 32 In *Correspondence of Walter Benjamin*, 539; David Pike, *Lukács & Brecht* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 213. "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproducibility," which first appeared in an abbreviated French version in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* in 1936, was another piece to undergo this process of acceptance and rejection, presumably because it was too lengthy and another article had already appeared on the same topic.
 - 33 Walter Benjamin, *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael Jennings, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 2:339.
 - 34 Kris Manjappa, "From Imperial to International Horizons: A Hermeneutic Study of Bengali Modernism," *Modern Intellectual History* 8, no. 2 (2011): 327–59.
 - 35 It should be added, however, that in the introduction, Puchner begins using the word "form" before replacing it with "genre": "I argue that Marx had already invented a poetry of the future revolution, a form that would help revolutionary modernity to know itself, to arrive at itself, to make and to manifest itself, namely, the *Communist Manifesto*." Martin Puchner, *Poetry of the Revolution:*

- Marx, Manifestoes, and the Avant-Garde* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 1.
- 36 Notable exceptions would be George Bornstein, borrowing from Jerome McGann, on “bibliographic codes” in *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 7; and Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker on the concept of “periodical codes” in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 1, *Britain and Ireland, 1880–1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5–9.
- 37 Johanna Drucker, *The Visible Word: Experimental Typography and Modern Art, 1909–1923* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 60; Allen, *Artists’ Magazines*, 8.
- 38 I also have in mind here Roger Chartier’s use of the phrase “material forms” to describe a mode of critical analysis that unites the text and its discursive function with the object in which it originally appears. Chartier, “Representations of the Written Word,” in *Forms and Meanings: Texts, Performances, and Audiences from Codex to Computer* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), 6–24.
- 39 Matthew Kirschenbaum, *Mechanisms: New Media and the Forensic Imagination* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2012); N. Katherine Hayles, *Writing Machines* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002).
- 40 Claudia Salaris, *Marinetti editore* (Rome: Il Mulino, 1990), 265.
- 41 Already by 1708, Gisbert Cuper, a Classicist, was calling this new century “the century of Journals.” And it wasn’t long afterward that the editors of one journal, *Journal littéraire*, were calling it “the most advantageous thing talented men have ever invented for the Republic of Letters.” See Goldgar, *Impolite Learning*, 58.
- 42 For a recent discussion on the politics of literary form, see Caroline Levine’s *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015).
- 43 Edward Bishop, “Re-covering Modernism—Form and Function in the Little Magazines,” in *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace*, ed. Ian Willison, Warwick Gould, and Warren Chernaik (New York: St. Martin’s, 1996), 287–319.
- 44 Jason Harding argues that Eliot’s early selection (up until 1925) was compromised by his obligation to Lady Rothermere, the patron. See Harding, *The Criterion: Cultural Politics and Periodical Networks in Inter-war Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 14.
- 45 Rajat Neogy, “Do Magazines Culture?” *Transition* 24 (1966): 32.
- 46 Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999); Philip Gaskell, *A New Introduction to Bibliography* (Oxford, U.K.: Clarendon, 1972).

- 47 Bolter and Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media*.
- 48 Andreas Huyssen, *Miniature Metropolis: Literature in an Age of Photography and Film* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015), 11.
- 49 Friedrich A. Kittler, *Literature, Media, Information Systems* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 29.
- 50 Though the twentieth century saw the arrival of music zines and artists' magazines with flexidisc pages and comix magazines that fold out into game boards.
- 51 I arrived at this number by counting the Futurist magazines published within Italy between 1910 and 1944, though I'm certain that I'm missing some of the ones produced by regional Futurist groups and student organizations. If I included the magazines that published Futurist writers and texts but did not associate themselves exclusively with the movement, then the final number would be significantly higher. I have also excluded from my final tally the Futurist magazines published outside Italy. Claudia Salaris's *Riviste futuriste: Collezione Echaurren Salaris* (Rome: Gli Ori, 2012) has been an invaluable resource for this process. I have compared her list against the titles included in Giovanni Lista's *Futurisme: Manifestes, documents, proclamations* (Lausanne: L'Age d'Homme, 1973). Lista identifies only sixty-seven Futurist titles but factors in a number of hybrid magazines outside Italy (and often western Europe) and references a handful of non-Italian Futurist magazines, adding erroneously that "les revues officiellement futuristes de par le monde furent nombreuses" (20). I'm taking this estimate of Dada magazines from the "Repertorio delle riviste" compiled by Arturo Schwarz in his *Almanacco Dada: Antologia letteraria-artistica* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1976). A more recent bibliography puts the number at ninety-one but without including dozens of titles from eastern and central Europe. See "Periodicals Associated with Dada," in *Exquisite Dada: A Comprehensive Bibliography*, vol. 10 of *Crisis in the Arts: A History of Dada*, ed. Stephen Foster (New York: G. K. Hall, 2005), 5–11. In the introduction to the catalogue compiled for a massive collection of Dada and Surrealist magazines in 1978, David Sylvester writes, "But the dominant vehicle—dominant perhaps through being of its essence a vehicle simultaneously of individual and of collective utterance—was the magazine." See Sylvester, introduction to *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, by Dawn Ades (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 1.
- 52 Matthew Witkovsky, "Pen Pals," in *The Dada Seminars*, ed. Leah Dickerman and Matthew S. Witkovsky (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2005), 270.
- 53 Raymond Williams, *Keywords: Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). There is no entry for "Keyword."
- 54 Theodor Adorno, *Notes to Literature*, trans. Shierry Weber Nicholsen, 2 vols. (1974; repr., New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 2:26.

- 55 Ibid.
- 56 On this topic, see Pelle Snickars, "Against Search," in *A Companion to New Media Dynamics*, ed. John Hartley, Jean Burgess, and Axel Bruns (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), 261–73; Lev Manovich, "Against Search," Software Studies Initiative, July 21, 2011, <http://lab.softwarestudies.com/2011/07/against-search.html>.
- 57 Apter, *Against World Literature*, 176.

1. little magazine, worldwide network

- 1 *Oxford English Dictionary*, "Network," accessed May 5, 2016, <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/126342?rskey=2QcA86&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid>. The earliest known reference to *network* in the English language (spelled *networke*) can be found in the Tyndale Bible of 1530 and was eventually identified with rivers and canals (1839), railways (1869), electrical cables (1883), and wireless broadcasting (1914).
- 2 Julien Schuh, "Les revues littéraires et artistiques (1870–1940) perspectives méthodologiques et apports critiques," <http://prelia.hypotheses.org/94>. Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of the Little Magazines, 196X-197X* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011), 42.
- 3 Faith Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde: Reading "Rhythm," 1910–1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 170 (emphasis mine); Aránzazu Ascunce Arenas, *Barcelona and Madrid: Social Networks of the Avant-Garde* (Lewisburg, Penn.: Bucknell University Press, 2012), xxv; Eurie Dahn, "Cane in the Magazines: Race, Form, and Global Periodical Networks," *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 3, no. 2 (November 2012): 121; Celia Aijmer Rydsjö and AnnKatrin Jonsson, "'Published by Us, Written by Us, Read by Us': Little Magazine Networks," *Global Review* 1, no. 1 (2013): 39–65. Discussions of the network, of course, abound in other fields (economics, art history, sociology, urban planning, and media studies) and include influential works by Manuel Castells, Antonio Negri, Geert Lovink, Craig Saper, Lane Relyea, Jack Burnham, Lawrence Alloway, and Saskia Sassen.
- 4 The "Mapping the Republic of Letters" project at Stanford University has yielded some fascinating results about the distribution of Enlightenment ideas in and between England and the Continent through the exchange of letters. See <http://republicofletters.stanford.edu/index.html>.
- 5 Richard So and Hoyt Long, "Network Analysis and the Sociology of Modernism," *boundary 2* 40, no. 2 (2013): 145–82.
- 6 Ibid., 162.

1. little magazine, worldwide network

- 7 I'm building here on Bruno Latour's idea that the entire concept of the network has been reinvigorated by the material infrastructure necessary for its digital capabilities: "if we accept talking about a network revolution, it is because the coincidence between the conceptual notion of network (action is radically re-distributed) and the rematerialization allowed by digital technologies." Latour, "Networks, Societies, Spheres: Reflections of an Actor-Network Theorist," *International Journal of Communication* 5 (2011): 802.
- 8 Originally published as Henryk Berlewi, "Miedzynarodowa wystawa w Dusseldorfie," *Nasz kurier* (August 2, 1922), translated by Wanda Kemp-Welch and reprinted in *Between Worlds: A Sourcebook of Central European Avant-Gardes, 1910–1930*, ed. Timothy Benson and Éva Forgács (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002), 397–99.
- 9 "Although the notion of 'network' belongs more to the early twenty-first century than to the era of the classical avant-garde, it was not a completely alien idea to the avant-garde." Hubert van den Berg, "The Early Twentieth Century Avant-Garde and the Nordic Countries: An Introduction *tour d'horizon*," in *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries, 1900–1925*, ed. Hubert van den Berg (New York: Rodopi, 2013), 33.
- 10 Latour, "Networks, Societies, Spheres," 802.
- 11 Kafka to Milena Jesenská, March 1922, in *Letters to Milena*, ed. Willi Hans, trans. Tania Stern and James Stern (New York: Schocken Books, 1953), 229.
- 12 Friedrich A. Kittler, *Gramophone, Film, Typewriter*, trans. Geoffrey Winthrop-Young and Michael Wutz (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1999).
- 13 Latour, "Networks, Societies, Spheres," 799.
- 14 Arenas, *Barcelona and Madrid*, 26.
- 15 And a page in *L'esprit nouveau* reveals, in fact, that a copy of issue 1 of *Mavo* actually did land on Le Corbusier's desk, and he even put a reproduction of it in his magazine's "Documents curieux" section, complete with a caption identifying *Mavo* with the European avant-garde: "Deux revues japonaises qui s'occupent des arts avancés européens." See "Les Documents Curieux," *L'esprit nouveau* 28 (1925): 2369.
- 16 Susan Stanford Friedman, "World Modernisms, World Literature, and Comparativity," in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, ed. Mark Wollaeger with Matt Eatough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 515.
- 17 Pascale Casanova, *World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004), 338.
- 18 Laurent Jeanpierre argues that the little magazine, because of its simultaneous local, nation, and transnational configurations, further complicated by exile, emigration, and diaspora, makes the sociological analysis of a nation-based literary field à la Bourdieu particularly problematic. See Jeanpierre, "Re-vues modernistes et champs littéraires: Problèmes de frontières," in *Re-vues*

1. little magazine, worldwide network

- modernistes anglo-américaines: Lieux d'échanges, lieux d'exil*, ed. Benoît Tadié (Paris: Ent'revues, 2006), 157–76.
- 19 For a fascinating account of the way tariff and copyright shaped transatlantic modernism, see Robert Spoo, *Without Copyrights: Piracy, Publishing, and the Public Domain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
 - 20 *Bungei jidai* was the magazine of the New Sensationalist School (1924–1930), often identified with a distinctly Japanese form of modernism.
 - 21 Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 2003), 3–25.
 - 22 Alexander R. Galloway, *Protocol: How Control Exists after Decentralization* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006), 11. Gwen Allen recognizes a similar pattern with the global network of artists' magazines that emerged in the second half of the twentieth century: "Artists' magazines demonstrate that artistic did not proceed in a linear manner from center (New York) to periphery, spreading around the globe in a single homogeneous movement, but emerged unevenly and unexpectedly in different places and times, opening onto surprising constellations of artistic influences that go against the grain of teleological history and challenge the dominant logic of globalization." Allen, *Artists' Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011), 205.
 - 23 Alexander Galloway and Eugene Thacker, *The Exploit: A Theory of Networks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), 29.
 - 24 Galloway, *Protocol*, 30.
 - 25 See William Owen, *Modern Magazine Design* (Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown, 1992), 22.
 - 26 Takahashi Shinkichi, *Takahashi Shinkichi zenshū*, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Seido sha, 1982), 181, quoted in Hosea Hirata, *The Poetry and Poetics of Nishiwaki Junzaburō: Modernism in Translation* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 135.
 - 27 Hannah Higgins, *The Grid Book* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2009).
 - 28 Rosalind Krauss, "Grids," *October* 9 (Summer 1979): 50–64.
 - 29 Richard Hollis argues that 1923 was the year when the influence of *De Stijl* was being felt most poignantly by the Bauhaus movement, noting that the poster for its exhibition that same year contained the "geometric lettering" of Van Doesburg with a prospectus that "follows Mondrian's grid of black lines." Hollis, *Graphic Design: A Concise History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 69.
 - 30 Experiments with Mail Art in the second half of the century represent another stage in the development of the avant-garde print network. See Geza Perneckz, *Assembling Magazines* (Budapest: Arnyekkotok, 2007); Craig Saper, *Networked Art* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2001); Chuck Welch, *Eternal Network: A Mail Art Anthology* (Calgary, Alberta: University of Calgary Press, 1994).

- 31 For an overview of Japanese print and book history, see Peter Kornicki, *The Book in Japan: A Cultural History from the Beginnings to the Nineteenth Century* (London: Brill, 1998).
- 32 “By the 1920s, improved printing technology made mass-produced cheap books and magazines possible for even the lower classes.” Andrew Kamei-Dyche, “The History of Books and Print Culture in Japan: The State of the Discipline,” *Book History* 14 (2011): 277. See also Toshiharu Omuka, “Futurism in Japan, 1910–1920,” in *International Futurism in Arts and Literature*, ed. Günter Berghaus (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2000), 244–70.
- 33 James Morita, “Garakuta Bunko,” *Monumenta nipponica* 24, no. 3 (1969): 220.
- 34 See William Tyler, ed., *Modanizumu: Modernist Fiction from Japan, 1913–1938* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2008); Hirata, *Poetry and Poetics of Nishiwaki Junzaburō*; Donald Keene, “Modernism and Foreign Influences,” in *Dawn to the West* (New York: Holt, 1993), 629–719.
- 35 For a broad overview of the avant-garde in Japan, see Vera Linhartova, “Manifestes et reflexions 1910–1941,” and Tsuruoka Yoshihsa, “Au coeur de l’avant-garde littéraire: La poésie entre 1910 et 1939,” both in *Japon des avant-gardes, 1910–1970* (Paris: Éditions du Centre Pompidou, 1986).
- 36 Funahashi Seiichi, “Diving,” *Kōdō* (October 1934), trans. William Tyler, in *Modanizumu*, 511.
- 37 Suzuki Sadami, “Nihon no ‘bungaku’ gainen,” 242–43, quoted in Seiji M. Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 11.
- 38 Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 441–505.
- 39 Quoted in Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 449.
- 40 News about Italian Futurism had been arriving in Japan from 1909, when a translation of the first manifesto was published in *Subaru*. See Omuka, “Futurism in Japan,” 244–70. Keene argues that this postwar flood of avant-garde examples “precipitated a flood of bewildering and often incomprehensible poetry” (*Dawn to the West*, 630). Also see Gregory Kasza, *The State and Mass Media in Japan, 1918–1945* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988).
- 41 There was no physical destruction in Japan during the war, but it did experience a postwar economic depression.
- 42 Lippit, *Topographies of Japanese Modernism*, 23.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 22.
- 44 Akita Ujaku: “I believe that the expressionist style, which had emerged in Europe following the Great War, was accepted by the literary and dramatic circles of Japan following the earthquake because of certain social similarities in that Japanese capitalism, in the face of crisis, had turned violent” (quoted in *ibid.*, 238n79).
- 45 “Postwar Europe, skeptical and bewildered, is cultivating a shrieking, bellowing language; one must keep up with everything. Words like ‘attraction’ and

1. little magazine, worldwide network

'trick' are becoming catchwords of the time. The appearance of the book is characterized by: 1) fragmented type panel 2) photomontage and typomontage." El Lissitzky, "Our Book," in *Looking Closer 3: Classic Writings on Graphic Design*, ed. Michael Bierut, Jessica Helfand, Steven Heller, William Drenttel, and Rick Poynor (New York: Allworth, 1999), 329. Owen focuses more on mechanization and less on technique: "The modern magazine grew directly out of the invention of photographic reproduction and the automation of printing. The new technologies were assimilated through experiment in original forms of typography and spatial composition, and so contemporary magazine design evolved largely according to the new aesthetic developed in Germany, Russia, and the Netherlands immediately after the First World War" (*Modern Magazine Design*, 13).

- 46 Quoted in Hirata, *Poetry and Poetics of Nishiwaki Junzaburō*, 136.
- 47 "By the 1920s, improved printing technology made mass-produced cheap books and magazines possible for even the lower classes" (Kamei-Dyche, "History of Books and Print Culture in Japan," 277). See also Omuka, "Futurism in Japan."
- 48 More specifically, he received copies of *Merz* no. 8/9 from Lissitzky and *De Stijl* no. 2 from Theo van Doesburg. See Gennifer Weisenfeld, *Mavo: Japanese Artists and the Avant-Garde, 1905–1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 307n69. Surrealism didn't arrive in Japan until 1925, when translations of Louis Aragon, Paul Éluard, and André Breton began appearing in magazines like *Shi to shiron*. See *Japon des avant-gardes 1910–1970*, 157. In *Dada au Japon*, Marc Dachy points out that Murayama's knowledge of Constructivism came primarily from *Ma*, *Broom*, *Merz*, and *De Stijl*. Dachy, *Dada au Japon* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2002), 106. For a discussion of the Constructivist influence on *Mavo*, see Gennifer Weisenfeld, "Mavo's Conscious Constructivism: Art, Individualism, and Daily Life in Interwar Japan," *Art Journal* 55, no. 3 (1996): 64–73.
- 49 Weisenfeld, *Mavo*, 88.
- 50 On the cover of issue 3 were tags, human hair, product labels, and a firecracker, the latter removed by censors. This incident led to the withdrawal of *Mavo*'s sponsors, putting the movement into dismal financial straits and significantly shortening the life of the magazine.
- 51 Dachy, *Dada au Japon*, 65, 105.
- 52 Ezra Pound, "Tagore's Poems," *Poetry* 1 (December 1912): 92–94. For an account of the relationship between the two, see Harold M. Hurwitz, "Ezra Pound and Rabindranath Tagore," *American Literature* 36, no. 1 (1964): 53–63.
- 53 Pound, Rev. of "'Certain Noble Plays of Japan,' and 'Noh' or 'Accomplishment,'" *Little Review* 4, no. 4 (August 1917): 8.
- 54 About the arrival of a Western modernism in India, especially in regard to T. S. Eliot's impact on Hindi poetry, Harish Trivedi writes, "Indeed, there is strong historical evidence to support the view that in Hindi, the Western Modernism

of the 1910s and the 1920s, and the Western Progressivism of the 1930s, both arrived more or less together and had a simultaneous and initially even coextensive impact on poets beginning to write in the late 1930s or the early 1940s.” Trivedi, *Colonial Transactions* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 73. About the impact of this arrival on the standards of literary criticism in India left over from the previous century, Sisir Kumar Das writes, “The imitations of British modernists had one salutary effect: the new poetry that was born with Eliot and his contemporaries came as a challenge to the ideals considered by the English educated Indians—those ideals were also derived from the English poetic tradition—as the pinnacle of poetic achievement. It was a borrowed experience, nonetheless it gave a courage for experimentations. . . . The various movement from the mid-twenties till the Independence of the country created an urge for the new: it was partly imposed from outside, but it also came from within.” Sisir Kumar Das, *A History of Indian Literature, 1911–1956* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1995), 229.

- 55 See Tapobrata Ghosh, “Literature and Literary Life in Calcutta,” in *Calcutta: The Living City*, 2 vols., ed. Sukanta Chaudhuri (Calcutta: Oxford University Press India, 1990), 2:230.
- 56 “Though Western stimuli are important in each phase, even more important is the fact that the writers negotiate with *foreign* influences on their own terms and for their own purposes. . . . And new technology is as important as new ideas are, the printing-press generating the culture of magazines and printed polemics.” Ketaki Kushari Dyson, “India,” in *Encyclopedia of Literary Modernism*, ed. Paul Poplawski (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 2003), 197.
- 57 The first printing press in India, which was stolen from the French, arrived in 1761, and the first newspaper appeared in Calcutta in 1780. David Finkelstein, “The Globalization of the Book, 1800–1970,” in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Hoboken, N.J.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 329–40. See Vinay Dharwadker, “Print Culture and Literary Markets in Colonial India,” in *Language Machines: Technologies of Literacy and Cultural Production*, ed. Jeffrey Masten, Peter Stallybrass, and Nancy J. Vickers (New York: Psychology Press, 1997), 108–33.
- 58 The Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was the most ambitious, requiring that proofs had to be submitted for approval before publication. Within a few years, it was repealed, but the effects on the desire for an independent press were long lasting.
- 59 Tapti Roy, “Disciplining the Printed Text: Colonial and Nationalist Surveillance of Bengali Literature,” in *Texts of Power: Emerging Disciplines in Colonial Bengal*, ed. Partha Chatterjee (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 30.
- 60 Neogy, 32.
- 61 Sri Aurobindo’s *Aryā* (1914–1921) and Pramatha Chaudhuri’s *Sabujpatra* (1914–1927) are precursors.

1. little magazine, worldwide network

- 62 Trivedi, *Colonial Transactions*, 53.
- 63 G. S. Ghurye, "Cities of India," *Sociological Bulletin* 2 (1953): 305.
- 64 Quoted in Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), 157.
- 65 Pramatha Chaudhuri, "Kathā-Sāhitye Rabindranāth," *Kallol* (1926): 293, quoted in Kris Manjapra, "From Imperial to International Horizons: A Hermeneutic Study of Bengali Modernism," *Modern Intellectual History* 8, no. 2 (2011): 327–59.
- 66 Manjapra, "From Imperial to International Horizons," 345.
- 67 George Brecht to George Maciunas, letter [early 1963], Maciunas's personal microfilm no. 1/109, Collection Archiv Sohm, Staatsgalerie, Stuttgart, Germany. Quoted in Owen F. Smith, "Fluxus Praxis: An Exploration of Connections, Creativity, and Community," in *At a Distance: Precursors to Art and Activism on the Internet*, ed. Annmarie Chandler and Norie Neumark (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006), 132.
- 68 Ulises Mejias, "Tyranny of Nodes: Towards a Critique of Social Network Theories," Ulises Mejias's blog, October 9, 2006, <http://blog.ulisesmejias.com/2006/10/09/the-tyranny-of-nodes-towards-a-critique-of-social-network-theories/>.

2. transatlantic immobility

- 1 Ezra Pound to Harriet Monroe, 7 November 1912, in *The Letters of Ezra Pound, 1907–41*, ed. D. D. Paige (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1950), 24.
- 2 See Hugh Witemeyer, "Modernism and the Transatlantic Connection," in *A Companion to Twentieth Century Poetry*, ed. Neil Roberts (New York: Blackwell, 2003), 8.
- 3 This particular articulation is taken from Alan Golding, "The Dial, The Little Review, and the Dialogics of Modernism," in *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches*, ed. Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible (Burlington, Vt.: Ashgate, 2007), 77.
- 4 Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson, London, March 29, 1917, in *Pound/The Little Review: The Letters of Ezra Pound to Margaret Anderson*, ed. Thomas Scott and Melvin Friedman (New York: New Directions, 1988), 21–22.
- 5 A letter from the chief postal censor dated October 30, 1918 reveals that Pound was "granted permission to dispatch by post copies of *The Little Review* to all foreign countries." YCAL MSS 43, Ezra Pound Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. (hereafter cited as Beinecke).
- 6 A letter from Samuel Craig to Scofield Thayer on December 22, 1921 reveals that domestic mail wasn't much better: "I do not know how postal conditions are in Europe, but in this country they seem to be in the worst condition they have

- been in for years. The *Dial* has recently had an unreasonable number of complaints from subscribers regarding non-receipt of copies. . . . I find that other publishers are having the same trouble with the post office and that literally hundreds of copies are being lost through carelessness in transit.” Box 30, folder 777, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke.
- 7 Thayer to Seldes, Vienna, 20 May 1922, Box 40, folder 1144, *ibid*.
 - 8 Seldes to Thayer, 7 November 1922, Box 41, folder 1156, *ibid*.
 - 9 In the end, Thayer didn’t care what the reasons were: “I can imagine no excuse short of death upon the part of the whole of the New York Staff which could at all make pardonable the shortage of November *Dials*.” Thayer to Samuel Craig, 4 January 1923, Box 30, folder 779, *ibid*. It turns out that T. S. Eliot was behind it all. On November 27, 1922, he informed Thayer that friends of his “who order *The Dial* regularly from a London bookseller were unable to get a November number, and were actually informed by the bookseller that ‘The Dial’ had collapsed and ceased publication.” Less than a month later (December 18), he added, “I have not myself received a copy of the December number which I imagine appears on the 25th of November.” In *Letters of T. S. Eliot, 1898–1922*, vol. 1, ed. Valerie Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1988): 602, 614.
 - 10 Thayer to Samuel Craig, 25 June 1923, Box 30, folder 780, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke. “My own experience and the experience of other Americans now living in Central Europe makes it absolutely certain that the fact I have my *Dials* sent by way of London could never cause them to take more time than *Dials* sent directly to Central Europe. Indeed I have my mail come by London since it has been proved in this way I receive it more quickly. The mail which is addressed to Germany and Austria goes by slow ships. Mail which goes by London goes on the Mauretania and Aquitania.”
 - 11 Craig to Thayer, 1 March 1923, Box 30, folder 779, *ibid*.
 - 12 Scofield Thayer to James Sibley Watson on February 8, 1923: “P.S. Would you be so good as to have Craig write me the facts in regard to our English circulation, i.e. the number of English subscribers, number of copies sent for bookstall sale to England, and to whom sent.” Box 44, folder 1262, *ibid*.
 - 13 It does appear, though, that after finding out about these British accounts, Thayer was at least open to the idea: “Thank you for your letter in regard to the English sales.” On March 19, 1923, he wrote Craig, “I do hope you can collect those bills owing us. I do approve of having there some office for two or three magazines together provided you can interest the proper magazines.” Box 30, folder 779, *ibid*.
 - 14 In *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1999), Lawrence Rainey claims that the total circulation was 9,500 for 1922 (98), but a yearly report from Craig written in February 1923, which adds a subscription gain of 1,066 since the beginning of

2. transatlantic immobility

January 1923, indicates that it was closer to 12,000: "At the end of December, The *Dial's* net paid circulation was 6,374. Since the first of the year we have gained 1,066, which gives us today a net paid mail circulation of 7,440. In addition to our mail circulation, we now have a newsstand sale that is varying between four and five thousand copies per month. Our total net paid circulation then, is about 11,940." Box 30, folder 779, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke.

- 15 National distribution, it turns out, was already difficult enough. In Craig's yearly circulation report for 1921, he informed Thayer that the major U.S. cities were getting copies but not the smaller ones: "Our distribution for February calls for 2500 copies to New York City stands. Similarly, we are concentrating copies in Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Washington, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, and cutting in cities like Buffalo, Detroit, Cleveland, etc., where we have not yet any promotion work. As we build up a concentrated sale in the cities employing promotions men, we will try and branch out and include more and more cities until we have a real national distribution." Craig to Thayer, 27 January 1922, Box 30, folder 778, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke.
- 16 Jahan Ramazani, *A Transnational Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 85.
- 17 Pound also toyed with a few other options, including "The Male Review" (too misogynistic), "The Vortex" (too close to a Vorticism already on the wane), "The Hammer" (too revolutionary), "The Alliance" (too boring), "The Four Cities Review" (would require finding another city), and "The Three Nations Monthly Review" (the one he liked second best). Pound to Quinn, in *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn, 1915-1924*, ed. Timothy Materer (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1991), 40, 71.
- 18 On September 7, 1915, Pound wrote to Quinn with the "formula" for a self-supporting magazine: "It is a sort of formula here that the first 1,000 subscribers pay for the printer's bill the second 1000 pays for the contents (at minimum rates). Anything over that goes to increase of rates of payment and general enrichment of the paper." Box 33, folder 2, MssCol2513, New York Public Library (hereafter NYPL). Two years later, when acting as foreign correspondent for the *Little Review*, he wrote, "At any rate if people want a good thing, an American 'Mercure de France,' or 'English Review' as it originally was, I think they are going to have a chance to get it. I think the promised increase to 48 pages, then the proposed increase to 64 are the first steps. Then should come 16 more pages for chronicles or 'rubrics,' the part corresponding to the back part of the 'Mercure,' brief reports of books published everywhere. Each country with its own section, some appearing monthly some every two, three or four months. . . . I believe I can get better staff than the 'Mercure' has at present, or has had (with the exception of De Gourmont) for some time. Unless everyone is killed off."

- Pound to Quinn, 18 June 1917, in *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn*, 122–123. *ibid.*
- 19 Pound to Quinn, 8 September 1916, 44–52. *ibid.*
- 20 Pound to Quinn, 10 October 1918, Box 34, folder 2, MssCol 2513, NYPL. In that same letter, he also suspects that it will help him after the war when he moves to Paris: “L.R. will have been useful IF I ever get to France. NOT practical cash use, but will make my relations perhaps pleasanter with a decade of french writers (who are, I am afraid, about played out).”
- 21 This “Study” was based on his original essays on many of the same poets for A. R. Orage’s *New Age*.
- 22 Ezra Pound, “A Study of French Modern Poets,” *The Little Review* 4, no. 10 (Feb. 1918): 10, 20, 38.
- 23 Pound to Anderson, 13 September 1917, in *Pound/The Little Review*, 122. See John G. Nichols, “Ezra Pound’s Poetic Anthologies and the Architecture of Reading,” *PMLA* 121, no. 1 (2006): 170–85.
- 24 Pound to Anderson, October 9, 10, 11, 1917, in *Pound/The Little Review*, 134.
- 25 In *Without Copyrights*, Robert Spoo argues that Pound was also using American magazine publication to “hold down” copyrights for foreign authors. Spoo, *Without Copyrights: Piracy, Publishing, and the Public Domain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 93–94, 97–103.
- 26 Ezra Pound, “Tariff and Copyright,” *Little Review* (November 1918), 21. A few years earlier, in a letter to Theodore Roosevelt, he put it another way: “What I want to know is HOW THE HELL you expect or expected a bunch of hoosiers to know that you are and were right about the war etc. etc. etc. WHEN neither you nor any of the agricultural heads of the republic have ever done one stroke towards getting the tariff off BOOKS?!!!! . . . How the hell you expect the damn country to get educated when you carefully keep it from learning what the world thinks, and shelter it from everything save carefully peptomized flattery (foreign criticism watered down to Arnold Bennet’ [sic] slither.)!!!!” Pound to Theodore Roosevelt, c/o John Quinn, 5 October 1916, Box 33, folder 2, MssCol 2513, NYPL.
- 27 Robert Spoo, “The Law,” in *Ezra Pound in Context*, ed. Ira Nadel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 128. For a more extended discussion of this issue, see Spoo, *Without Copyrights*, 65–115.
- 28 “Unlike previous law,” Spoo contends, “the 1909 act allowed foreign works in foreign languages to gain copyright protection without being manufactured in America. Because foreign-language books would have only a limited readership in the United States, it was reasoned, book artisans would suffer no appreciable loss” (*Without Copyrights*, 68).
- 29 In a letter Pound wrote to Quinn dated August 26, 1915, when discussing his idea to print a little magazine in England, he writes, “I dont [sic] know the exact state of American tariff or copyright,” adding, “It might be cheaper to print

2. transatlantic immobility

in New York and import copies for England (as there is no import tax on this end). Tho [*sic*] this would cause some delay. stuff would be 2 or 3 weeks old in London & no newer in n.y. but there are other considerations." In *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn*, 40–41.

- 30 Pound even entertained the idea that Knopf could take the "standing type" from the *Little Review* to use in the production of a "booklet." This might also save the *Little Review* some money in the process. Pound to Quinn, 4 October 1917, Box 33, folder 6, MssCol 2513, NYPL. A week later, he began to doubt his suggestion: "I was probably wrong in suggesting that Knopf should take on stereotypes [*sic*] of it in anticipation for larger vol. of French studies. [*handwritten*: "still that's for him to consider"] Flint's French number in Harold Monro's magazine a few years ago was a good seller, and kept up the value of the bound vol. I have written fully to Miss A. saying price of number should be 25. cents, and rise to 50. and probably 75. [*handwritten*: "It certainly has more in it than Lowell at 448 pages around \$2.50"]. I have already sold a few back numbers at 1/6 and 2/ shillings." Pound to Quinn, 12 October 1917, *ibid*.
- 31 Pound to Quinn, 8 November 1920, in *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn*, 202–3.
- 32 Quoted in B. L. Reid, *The Man from New York: John Quinn and His Friends* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1969), 443.
- 33 When *Ulysses* was eventually printed in 1922, Sylvia Beach wrote to Quinn asking for advice about bringing copies into the United States following the prosecution of the *Little Review*. "If this was an ordinary commercial book," Quinn replied on March 27, 1922, "I would not bother to make these suggestions. But the prosecution of the *Little Review* has been so widely advertised and there has been so much talk in the papers lately about 'Ulysses' that it is almost certain that Sumner will try to prevent its importation. Then too, the size and format of the book makes it a noticeable thing in the mails and the customs and increases the chance of its being seized pursuant to orders." Box 24, folder 3, MssCol 2513, NYPL.
- 34 Pound, outlining his plan to Quinn, explained, "Also, if there is any further prohibition re/sending periodicals across the atlantic, some of the stuff can appear in both papers simultaneously for the duration of the war at least. So long as the authors are paid something for the copy in the first place, the rest is a mere matter of expediency." Pound to Quinn, 26 March 1917, Box 33, folder 3, *ibid*.
- 35 Pound to Quinn, 15 May 1917, in *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn*, 112.
- 36 Joyce to Pound on 9 April 1917: "As regards excerpts from *Ulysses*, the only thing I could send would be the Hamlet chapter or part of it—which however would suffer by excision." In Ezra Pound and James Joyce, *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound and James Joyce, with Pound's Critical Essays and Articles about Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read (New York: New Directions, 1970), 105.

- 37 Only “Nestor,” “Hades,” “Proteus” (with deletions), and first third of “Wandering Rocks” appeared in the *Egoist*.
- 38 I discuss the impact of serialization on the length of *Ulysses* more extensively in “*Ulysses* by Numbers,” *Representations* 127, no. 1 (2014): 1–32.
- 39 Pound to Joyce, 22 November 1918, in *Pound/Joyce*, 146.
- 40 “Nausikaa” is actually set between 8 and 9 P.M., and the day ends with “Penelope,” not “Circe.”
- 41 Pound to Joyce, 17 and 19 January 1914, in *Pound/Joyce*, 24.
- 42 The typescript for the episodes printed in the *Little Review* have not survived (with the exception of “Oxen of the Sun” beginning at page 10). My suspicion that Pound was in charge of the interrupting (and not Anderson, heap, or the printer) is based on the editorial role that he played throughout the entire serialization process when he received the typescript from Joyce directly. In the first exchange with Joyce regarding the typescript for “Telemachus,” which I discuss in the pages that follow, he thought Joyce had sent the first three installments and therefore recommended places where it could be divided accordingly. In an unpublished letter not long after “Telemachus” was published, he informs Anderson, “Another chunk of Joyce has come so you can print all the lot I have sent in one no.” Pound to Anderson, 1 January 1918, Box 3, folder 2, *Little Review* Records, 1914–64, University of Wisconsin–Milwaukee). For a handful of other episodes, we know that he left notes for Anderson about passages and phrases that should be excised, and I suspect that among them would have been places to break up individual episodes into multiple installments. The absence of material evidence makes this conjectural, but, as I explain in this chapter, I think that the places in which these episodes were divided would only have been possible from someone who knew the book intimately. In *The Little Review “Ulysses”* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2015), Mark Gaipa, Sean Latham, and Robert Scholes have argued, to the contrary, that Anderson and heap are behind it all, including the “parodic interpolations” of “Cyclops,” but they have not offered any evidence to support this claim (413).
- 43 *Pound/Joyce: The Letters of Ezra Pound to James Joyce*, ed. Forrest Read, 19 December 1917 (New York: New Directions, 1967), 129.
- 44 Gaipa, Latham, and Scholes suggest that the length, fifteen hundred words above the average, could have been the reason for this division. “The Magazine Context for *The Little Review “Ulysses,”* in *Little Review “Ulysses,”* 402.
- 45 Pound to Joyce, 2 June 1920, *Pound/Joyce*, 173.
- 46 Pound to Quinn, 31 October 1920, in *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn*, 198.
- 47 In *Letters of T. S. Eliot*, 1:643.
- 48 Eliot to Quinn, 21 September 1922, Box 11, folder 2, MssCol 2513, NYPL.
- 49 Robert, Spoo, personal correspondence, 1 July 2014.

2. transatlantic immobility

- 50 Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism*, 104–6.
- 51 Ibid., 91. In a letter to Quinn a month before *The Waste Land* appeared, Eliot described his reservations about the *Little Review*: “I think that the trouble with the ‘Little Review’ at its best was that its second rate stuff was so appallingly bad; and my theory is that the best of the most advanced writing of our time (which of course means a very small number of writers) will really appear to better advantage among the really respectable and serious writers of the older type than among their own third rate and vulgar imitators.” Eliot to Quinn, 21 September 1922, Box 11, folder 2, MssCol 2513, NYPL.
- 52 Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism*, 91.
- 53 This agreement on simultaneous publication was reached some time around mid-August 1922. Watson to Thayer on August 19, 1922: “Got a letter from Eliot regretting his haste in thinking we were trying to rob him, and offering us the right of publishing his poem simultaneously with its pub. in the *Criterion*.” Box 44, folder 1260, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke.
- 54 I’m adapting a statement made by Michael Levenson, who reads Eliot’s *Criterion* as a seminal moment in the history of modernism, even more so than the publication of *The Waste Land* and *Ulysses*, because it gave Eliot the space, financial stability, and pedigree to institutionalize a movement once known for its experimentalism and irreverence. See Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine, 1908–1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 213.
- 55 The feeling was mutual. The *Criterion*, in Thayer’s estimation, was a “cowed-looking journal.” Unlike Eliot, he does not elaborate further or offer any advice for improvement. 27 May 1923, Box 44, folder 1261, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke. I suspect that Thayer is commenting on an appearance that was, as Eliot explained in a letter to T. Sturge Moore, “simple and severe” and without illustrations. 3 April 1922, in *The Letters of T. S. Eliot*, vol. 1: 1898–1922, ed. Valerie Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), 518.
- 56 T. S. Eliot to John Quinn, 26 March 1920, *ibid.*, 377. This is how Harold Child saw it in a review of the first issue printed in the *Times Literary Supplement*: “What literary school, then, does this new quarterly represent? It is a school that includes Saintsbury, Sturge Moore, and T. S. Eliot. There is no such school, obviously. It becomes apparent that the only school represented is the school of those who are genuinely interested in good literature.” Child, “Periodicals,” *Times Literary Supplement* (October 26, 1922): 690.
- 57 In an earlier letter to Quinn, he singles out the *London Mercury*, a magazine he still finds “despicable,” as a positive example of solid “appearance” and “arrangement.” 26 March 1920, in *Letters of T. S. Eliot*, 378.
- 58 Eliot to Quinn, 21 September 1922, *ibid.*, 573.
- 59 This number, considering the limited print runs of between six hundred and eight hundred, would be small indeed.

- 60 Eliot to Quinn, 9 May 1921, in *Letters of T. S. Eliot*, 452.
- 61 Thayer to Watson, James Sibley Watson/The Dial Papers, Berg Collection of American and English Literature, NYPL. In the *Dial's* New York office, it also kept on file "General Instructions for Editorial Department" explaining how the "Format" of the magazine was made to follow the "prescribed custom" and could not be changed without the "O.K." of the editor. James Sibley/The Dial Papers, "Series VII, Papers Related to James Sibley Watson," b. 28.
- 62 See Anne-Rachel Hermetet, "*The Criterion* et les littératures européennes 1922–1925," in *Revue modernistes anglo-américaines: Lieux d'échanges, lieux d'exil*, ed. Benoît Tadié (Paris: Ent'revues, 2006), 189–200.
- 63 T. S. Eliot, "The Idea of a Literary Review," *New Criterion* 4 (1926): 3.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 2.
- 65 Eliot to Thayer, 27 November 1922, in *Letters of T. S. Eliot*, 602.
- 66 In the Thayer Papers at the Beinecke, there is a "Plan for Cooperative Organization of Magazines" intended for up to ten magazines based in New York City. It outlines the benefits of this co-op, including the increase of advertising revenue, the reduction of selling costs by cutting down on the staff of individual magazines, the procurement of more experienced representatives, the reduction of bad accounts (paying particular attention to credits), and the ability to analyze group circulation in order to locate the weak points. Box 30, folder 779, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke.
- 67 In order to distribute content and help secure U.S. copyright for non-U.S. authors, Pound urged Eliot to consider a transatlantic cooperative between the *Criterion* and Samuel Roth's less high-minded *Two Worlds Monthly*, which ended up pirating *Ulysses*. See Spoo, *Without Copyrights*, 175–76.
- 68 Thayer to Watson, 31 March 1923, Box 44, folder 1261, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke.
- 69 Watson to Thayer, 10 May 1923, *ibid.*
- 70 Thayer to Eliot, 25 May 1923, Box 31, folder 811, *ibid.* To Watson, he reported, "I trust I have done rightly in writing Eliot today that we both agree and regret that our financial obligations don't allow us to undertake further branching outs except in such cases as may recommend themselves to our pocketbook." 27 May 1923, Box 44, folder 1261, *ibid.*
- 71 In a letter to Eliot on September 7, 1922, Quinn uses "serialization" to describe the arrangement: "You will notice that by paragraph II of the supplemental contract Liveright agrees that any payment by *The Dial* for serial publication shall be made to you and the publisher waives any interest or claim therein." Box 11, folder 3, MssCol 2513, NYPL. When first approaching Thayer with *The Waste Land*, Eliot recommended that "it could easily divide to go into 4 issues." 20 January 1922, in *Letters of T. S. Eliot*, 502.
- 72 Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism*, 78.
- 73 Levenson, *Genealogy of Modernism*, 213.

2. transatlantic immobility

- 74 William Carlos Williams complained that *The Waste Land* “wiped out our world as if an atom bomb had been dropped on it.” Williams, *The Autobiography of William Carlos Williams* (New York: New Directions, 1964), 174.
- 75 In fact, as a courtesy to Boni and Liveright and the *Dial*, Eliot planned to stall the distribution of sample copies to American bookstores and agencies. Eliot to Quinn, 21 September 1922, in *Letters of T. S. Eliot*, vol. 1, 572.
- 76 Lawrence Rainey, *The Annotated Waste Land with Eliot’s Contemporary Prose* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 47.
- 77 Quoted in Bernard Poli, *Ford Madox Ford and the “Transatlantic Review”* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1967), 37.
- 78 T. S. Eliot, *transatlantic review* 1, no. 1 (January 1924), 95.
- 79 Ford, in Paris, explained to his daughter Katherine, in London, on 29 January 1924: “I am sending you another copy of No. 1 as well as No. ii. I expect when you tried to get it at D’uths [Duckworth’s] No. 1 was not yet published in England. No. ii won’t be out until 7th February though it’s out here already: but I have to publish earlier here on account of copyright troubles in the U.S.A.” Quoted in Poli, *Ford Madox Ford and the “Transatlantic Review,”* 63n34. Ford is confused here about how U.S. copyright works. The chances of securing copyright in the United States would be jeopardized by prior publication in Europe. He seems not to have learned any lessons from *Ulysses*, a book that famously lost U.S. copyright by not following the ad interim and manufacturing provisions after getting printed in France first. Thanks to Robert Spoo for clarification on this matter.
- 80 Poli, *Ford Madox Ford and the “Transatlantic Review,”* 93.
- 81 See Andrzej Gasiorek, “The Exiles: *the transatlantic review* (1924) and *The Exile* (1927–28),” in Andrew Thacker and Peter Brooker, eds., *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 2, *North America, 1894–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 697–717. See also Stephen Roger, “*The transatlantic review* 1924,” and Andrzej Gasoriek, “Editing the *transatlantic review*: Literary Magazines and the Public Sphere,” in *Ford Madox Ford, Modernist Magazines, and Editing*, ed. Jason Harding (New York: Rodopi, 2010).
- 82 “Alas the *transatlantic review*,” wrote to Douglas Goldring, “will be the old *English Review* all over again.” Quoted in Max Saunders, *Ford Madox Ford: A Dual Life*, vol. 2, *The After-War World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 141.
- 83 “The *Mercure de France* resonated with Ford’s ‘myth of the whole’ about French culture and served as a model for his literary aspirations in the *English Review*. However, the *Mercure* could not be directly transplanted to English soil.” Mark Morrison, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 39.
- 84 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 85 Over the years, Pound came up with two different explanations for the *transatlantic review*’s demise: failure of bookstores in America to pay up (“it was re-

- ported in Paris that the *transatlantic* ceased because the payment never came for copies 'sold' in America") and the absence of good writing ("Fordie started 'transatlantic review' at a time when there wasn't the stuff to fill it"). See Ezra Pound, "Small Magazines," *English Journal* 19, no. 9 (1930): 699; Pound to Margaret Anderson, 15 July 1953, in *Pound/Little Review*, 308.
- 86 Poli, *Ford Madox Ford and the "Transatlantic Review,"* 94.
- 87 *Ibid.*, 48.
- 88 *Ibid.*, 163.
- 89 In "Small Magazines," Pound was the first to claim that *transition* picked up where the *transatlantic review* left off (699). The circulation number is provided by Dougald McMillan, *transition: The History of a Literary Era, 1927–38* (London: Calder and Boyers, 1975), 23.
- 90 "To span the Atlantic with a two-way flow of ideas" was his goal. See Jolas, "Preface," in *Transition Workshop*, ed. Eugene Jolas (New York: Vanguard, 1949), 13–14.
- 91 Eugene Jolas, *Man from Babel* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1998), 88.
- 92 Celine Mansanti, "De *The Criterion* à *transition*: L'évolution des revues littéraires et la désintégration de l'esprit d'avant-garde," in *Revue modernistes anglo-américaines: Lieux d'échanges, lieux d'exil*, Benoît Tadié, ed. (Paris: Ent'revues, 2006), 64.
- 93 *Ibid.*, 152.
- 94 Dougald McMillan makes passing reference to this number in his book on *transition*: "Over one thousand of them subscribed in hopes that at least some of these developments from Paris could get by the rigid customs" (*transition*, 1).
- 95 Issues 24–26 were an exception; they were edited in New York City between 1936 and 1937. Jolas, *Man from Babel*, xvi.
- 96 Pound to Quinn, 11 August 1915, in *Selected Letters of Ezra Pound to John Quinn*, 33.

3. in italia, all'estero

- 1 Vincenzo Carderelli, *La ronda* (April 1919): 6. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own. I thank Edvige Giunta for her generous assistance preparing the final versions.
- 2 For a brief overview, see Elisabetta Mondello, "Il secolo delle riviste," in *Letteratura italiana del novecento: Bilancio di un secolo*, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 2000), 163–79; and Luisa Mangoni, "Le riviste del novecento," in *Letteratura italiana*, vol. 1, ed. Alberto Asor Rosa (Turin: Einaudi, 1982). For the more extensive histories, see Augusto Hermet, *La ventura delle riviste, 1904–1940* (Florence: Vallecchi, 1941); and Giuseppe Langella, *Il secolo delle riviste:*

3. in italia, all'estero

Lo statuto letterario dal "Baretti" a "Primato" (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1982). A comprehensive description of the most influential titles can be found in *La cultura italiana del '900 attraverso le riviste*, 6 vols., ed. Angelo Romano (Turin: Einaudi, 1960).

- 3 Enzo Ferrieri, "Introduzione all'antologia del *Convegno*," 50. The unpublished original is housed in the Fondo Manoscritti at the University of Pavia.
- 4 Ibid.
- 5 These phrases are taken from Hermet, *La ventura delle riviste*; and Langella, *Il secolo delle riviste*.
- 6 For a discussion of the Fascist takeover of the press in the 1920s, see Nicola Tranfaglia, Paolo Murialdi, and Massimo Legnani, *La stampa italiana nell'età fascista* (Bari: Laterza, 1980).
- 7 See Luisa Mangoni, *L'interventismo della cultura: Intelletuali e riviste del fascismo* (Turin: Arago, 2002).
- 8 See Claudio Matteini, *Ordini alla stampa* (Rome: Editrice Polilibraria Italiana, 1945).
- 9 He even devoted a manifesto to the subject in 1931 that was titled "Contro l'esterofilia: Manifesto futurista alle signore e agli intelletuali" and was published in Turin's *Gazetta del popolo* (September 24, 1931), which was, not coincidentally, where Gramsci and Gobetti once were based.
- 10 Holding them all together, he explained, was "una sua propria forma di moralità," so that whatever the ideological and regional differences, they all talked about the "restauro di valori, di tradizione classica ed europea, di imperativi morali e civili, in realtà, tranne il *Baretti*, si può dire che la vocazione più diffusa delle riviste italiane qualificate era ancora puramente letteraria, in senso spesso formalmente stilistico, per non dire calligrafico." Ferrieri, "Introduzione," 51.
- 11 "Bisogna quindi riconoscere apertamente che le riviste di per sé sono sterili, se non diventano la forza motrice e formatrice di istituzioni culturali a tipo associativo di massa, cioè non a quadri chiusi." Antonio Gramsci, *Quaderni del carcere*, vol. 6 (Turin: Einaudi, 1975), 790.
- 12 I discuss the recent opening of Ferrieri's archive at the Fondazione Arnoldo and Alberto Mondadori in "Black Lacunae: Dial M for Milan or Modernism or Marinetti or Mussolini or Mondadori," *Times Literary Supplement* (January 28, 2011).
- 13 Ferrieri, "Introduzione," 54.
- 14 Reprinted in Mario Fubini's preface to *Il Baretti*, anastatic reprint (Turin: La Bottega d'Erasmus, 1977).
- 15 Ferrieri, "Introduzione," 2.
- 16 See Langella, *Il secolo delle riviste*, 93–95.
- 17 See Enzo Siciliano, ed., *Antologia di "Solaria"* (Milan: Lerici, 1958).
- 18 Langella, *Il secolo delle riviste*, 83.

- 19 F. T. Marinetti, *La grande Milano tradizionale e futurista: Una sensibilità italiana nata in Egitto* (Milan: Mondadori, 1969), 75.
- 20 Claudia Salaris, *Marinetti editore* (Rome: Il Mulino, 1990), 24.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 22 Carlo Linati, *Sulle orme di Renzo* (Rome: Quaderni della Voce, 1919), 29–30.
- 23 The full run of *Poesia* can be accessed through the Catalogo informatico riviste culturali europee (CIRCE).
- 24 Linati, *Sulle orme di Renzo*, 29–30.
- 25 Paolo Buzzi, *I tempi di "Poesia"* (1928), in *Futurismo: Scritti, carteggi, testimonianze*, 7 vols., eds. Mario Morini and Giampaolo Pignatari (Milan: I Quaderni di Palazzo Sormani, Ripartazione Cultura e Spettacolo, Biblioteca Comunale, 1982–1983), 1:9.
- 26 *Ibid.*
- 27 Salaris, *Marinetti editore*, 36.
- 28 Claudia Salaris and Lawrence Rainey, "Marketing Modernism: Marinetti as Publisher," trans. Lawrence Rainey, *Modernism/Modernity* 1, no. 3 (1994): 109–27.
- 29 He wrote these words to Giovanni Pascoli in 1907. See "Carteggio inedito Pascoli-Marinetti," ed. Claudia Salaris, *Alfabeta* 6, no. 71 (1985).
- 30 See Salaris, *Marinetti editore*, 281–88.
- 31 See Giuseppe Prezzolini, *La coltura italiana* (Florence: La Voce, 1923).
- 32 "Continua a fare la tua Rivista coi migliori nomi italiani e stranieri, che così va benissimo e il pubblico non desidera di meglio" (September 20, 1920), quoted in Angelo Stella, *"Il Convegno" di Enzo Ferrieri e la cultura europea dal 1920 al 1940: Manoscritti, immagini, documenti* (Pavia: Fondo Manoscritti, 1991), 18.
- 33 "Raccogliere testimonianze poetiche, scoprire autori, che portavano un contributo alla ricostruzione di una nuova cultura europea e di un nuovo linguaggio." Ferrieri, "Introduzione," 52.
- 34 See Giansiro Ferrata, *Presentazioni e sentimenti critici (1942–1965)* (Cremona: G. Mangiarotti, 1966), 180–81.
- 35 See Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 87.
- 36 An early and important highlight in 1921 involved the guest appearance of Albert Thibaudet, the celebrated literary critic from the NRF. He contributed a comprehensive overview on contemporary French literature, followed up six years later by his equally impressive essay on Jacques Rivière, which was published in *Il convegno* and the NRF simultaneously.
- 37 See Cristina Bevilacqua, "Giochi di luce a 'Convegno': Il teatro e i modelli stranieri," in *Le letterature straniere nell'Italia dell'entre-deux guerres*, ed. Edoardo Esposito (Lecce: Pensa, 2004), 347.
- 38 Quoted in Stella, *"Il Convegno" di Enzo Ferrieri*, 3.

3. in italia, all'estero

- 39 In the Fondo Ferrieri, which is housed at the Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milan, for instance, I was unable to find any detailed distribution list.
- 40 The breakdown was as follows: for 1933, there were four issues (1–2, 3–5, 6–7, 8–12); for 1934, there were three issues (1–3, 4–7, 8–12); for 1935, there were four issues (1–3, 4–6, 7–9, 10–12).
- 41 Throughout the 1920s, *Il convegno* averaged between 600 and 800 pages a year. By 1932, the number dipped below 600, reaching its lowest point in 1934 with 214 pages, never getting far above 400 pages in the remaining years.
- 42 Ferrieri confirmed that the design was motivated by Borgese's anti-Fascism: "He designed the new cover, all white, without the fascist year and only with the year of the review." (Disegnò [Borgese] la nuova copertina, tutta Bianca, senza l'anno fascista e solo con l'anno della rivista). Ferrieri, "Introduzione," 45.
- 43 "Il Convegno non segue alcuna moda, a volontà di capire, di suscitare interesse a problemi morali, letterari, artistici, e diffonderne la conoscenza fra un pubblico relativamente largo. Questa è la ragione che fa del Convegno, dopo diciassette anni di vita, senza contraddizioni, una delle più giovani riviste italiane." Quoted in Stella, "*Il Convegno*" di Enzo Ferrieri, 1.
- 44 After *Il convegno* closed down, Ferrieri published a "comprehensive index" (indice sistematico) of the articles, theatrical performances, art exhibitions, movies, radio programs, and conferences.
- 45 Ferrieri, "Introduzione," 79.
- 46 For a discussion of Fascism's relationship with mass culture, see David Forgacs and Stephen Gundle, *Mass Culture and Italian Society from Fascism to the Cold War* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007).
- 47 For a useful overview of Ojetti as editor, see Valeria Minervini, "Le riviste di Ojetti," in Esposito, *Le letterature straniere nell'Italia dell'entre-deux guerres*, 383–403.
- 48 A complete run of *Pan* can be accessed digitally through Periodici Italiani Digitalizzati (<http://periodici.librari.beniculturali.it/>).
- 49 "Questa rivista sarà dunque una rivista d'umanità e di cultura. . . . Questo consenso intendiamo ottenerlo continuando qui con dignità gli studii più usati, di storia, d'arte, di critica, di vario pensiero, e cercando di portare chiarezza, ordine e schiettezza italiana in ogni campo dell'intelligenza originale." Ugo Ojetti, "Al lettore," *Pan* 1, no. 1 (1933): 3–4.
- 50 *Pan* 3, no. 10 (1935): 276.
- 51 *Corrente di vita giovanile* (December 15, 1939): 1.
- 52 Langella, *Il secolo delle riviste*, 83.
- 53 *Antologia della rivista "Corrente,"* ed. Giovannella Desideri (Naples: Guida, 1979). A summary of the articles and a full index of contributors and contents can be found in *Corrente di vita giovanile*, ed. Alfredo Luzi (Rome: Edizione dell'Ateneo, 1975).

- 54 “Noi riteniamo col nostro giornale,” Treccani wrote in the first number, “di poter offrire ai giovani un campo per vagliare le proprie forze, una pedana da cui essi possano meglio spiccare un salto verso precise realtà, e non nel vuoto delle illusioni.” *Corrente di vita giovanile* (January 1, 1938): 1.
- 55 See “Il movimento milanese di ‘*Corrente di Vita Giovanile*’ e l’ermetismo,” *L’approdo letterario* 14, no. 43 (1968): 79–100, available at http://circe.lett.unitn.it/le_riviste/riviste/bibliografia_spe/biblio/Corrente_Approdo.pdf.
- 56 For a synopsis, see Desideri, introduction to *Antologia della riviste “Corrente”*; and Anna Vaglio, “Lo spazio della poesia: *Corrente di vita giovanile*,” in Esposito, *Le letterature straniere nell’Italia dell’entre-deux guerres*, 469–82.
- 57 Vaglio, “Lo spazio della poesia,” 477.
- 58 *Ibid.*, 473.
- 59 Desideri, introduction to *Antologia della rivista “Corrente,”* 8.
- 60 For a debate about the legacy of *Corrente* by many of its contributors in 1968, see “Il movimento milanese.”
- 61 This is how Raffele De Grada described it while he was waiting at the typographers for the next issue of *Corrente*. See “Il movimento milanese,” 2.
- 62 For an extensive history of *Primato*, see Vito Zagarrío, *Primato: Arte, cultura, cinema del fascismo attraverso una rivista esemplare* (Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2007). See also Luisa Mangoni, *Primato, 1940–1943* (Bari: De Donato, 1977).
- 63 Bottai to Linati, 17 January 1940, emphasis added. 1.3, folder 52, Fondo Ferrieri, Fondazione Arnoldo e Alberto Mondadori, Milan.
- 64 Mangoni, “Le riviste del novecento,” 971.
- 65 Ferrieri, “Introduzione,” 52.

4. little exiled magazines

- 1 Tim Epkenhans, *Die Iranische Modern im Exil: Bibliographie der Zeitschrift Kāve* (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2000).
- 2 The Hungarian activists who then broke away from Kassák and *Ma* started *Egység* (Vienna, 1922; Berlin, 1923–1924; Vienna, 1924) and *Akaszott ember* (Vienna, 1922–1923). See Oliver A. I. Botar, “From the Avant-Garde to ‘Proletarian Art’: The Emigré Hungarian Journals *Egyser* and *Akaszott Ember*, 1922–23,” *Art Journal* 52, no. 1 (1993): 34–45.
- 3 For a useful overview of these titles, see the essays collected in Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, eds., *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Little Magazines*, vol. 2, *North America, 1894–1960* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 629–718.
- 4 Editorial, *Double Dealer* (1922).
- 5 “Foreign Periodicals,” *Criterion* 4, no. 2 (1926).

4. little exiled magazines

- 6 Malcolm Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (New York: Penguin Books, 1934).
- 7 William Troy, "Story of the Little Magazines," *Bookman* 70, no. 5 (1930): 661.
- 8 Pound, "Small Magazines," 702.
- 9 The Jack Rose was a popular cocktail in 1920s Paris made from a combination of applejack, grenadine, and lemon or lime juice. It's Jake Barnes's preference in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*.
- 10 In this regard, a letter between the recently exiled Erich Auerbach (in Istanbul) and his old friend (in Paris) is revealing: "How are you? I recently saw your name and the names of some other friends in a journal that is much read here." The name that Auerbach recognizes in the *Zeitschrift für Sozialforschung* only reaffirms their joint absence from a "home," as he wrote in another letter, "that vanished so long ago." Erich Auerbach, Martin Elsky, Martn Vialon, and Robert Stein, "Scholarship in Times of Extremes: The Letters of Erich Auerbach (1933–46)," *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 122, no. 3 (2007): 749, 747.
- 11 "Exile, whether actual or merely spiritual, was a gesture of protest against the automatic censorship which American morality exercised over minds which wished to be free." Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, *Little Magazine*, 77. Eric Bentley, noticing this bias, wrote, "Mr. Hoffman seemed to have done nearly all his reading in English, to be badly informed about Europe, and to lack something more important than information—the *feel* of a society, a period, a milieu." Bentley, "Editors in Person: Little Magazines," *Kenyon Review* 9, no. 2 (1947): 280.
- 12 *VVV* and *Dyn* are among the entries.
- 13 Paul Bixler, "The Little Magazine, What Now?," *Antioch Review* 8, no. 1 (1948): 63.
- 14 Bentley, "Little Magazines," 283.
- 15 "Faut-il se représenter un champ littéraire exilé ou diasporique suffisamment vaste pour être structuré comme un champ littéraire national?" See Laurent Jeanpierre, "Revue modernistes et champs littéraires: Problèmes de frontières," in *Revue modernistes anglo-américaines: Lieux d'échanges, lieux d'exil*, ed. Benoît Tadié (Paris: Ent'revues, 2006), 169.
- 16 A more recent treatment of *VVV* as part of an American magazine tradition can be found in Cary Nelson, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Modern and Contemporary of American Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- 17 Roman Jakobson, *Language and Literature* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990), 35.
- 18 Information contained in a letter from Price to Pound on 15 April 1927, Box 42, folder 1789, YCAL MSS 43, Ezra Pound Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn. (hereafter cited as Beinecke). Two hundred copies were also distributed through bookstores in

- England and Paris. See Andrzej Gasiorek, "The Exiles: *the transatlantic review* (1924) and *The Exile* (1927–28), in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 1, *Britain and Ireland, 1880–1955*, ed. Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker (Oxford University Press, 2009), 712.
- 19 See Spoo, 73–75, 106–7.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 107.
- 21 Arjun Appadurai, *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1996), 35–40.
- 22 See Harold Loeb, *The Way It Was* (Vancouver: Criterion Books, 1959); Matthew Josephson, *Life among the Surrealists* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1962); Cowley, *Exile's Return*. See also Michael North's "Transatlantic Transfer: Little Magazines and Euro-American Modernism," unpublished paper available at http://modmags.dmu.ac.uk/file/north_transatlantic_transfer.pdf.
- 23 Harold Loeb, "Foreign Exchange," *Broom* 2, no. 2 (May 1922): 176.
- 24 Harold Loeb, "Comment: Broom 1921–23," *Broom* 5, no. 1 (August 1923): 55.
- 25 In 1921, the U.S. dollar was equal to 23.3 Italian lire. In 1922, it went down to 21 lire. In 1922, the U.S. dollar was equal to 430 deutschemarks, but by 1923, it jumped to 50,000. Historical currency conversions made using <http://www.measureworth.com>.
- 26 Cowley, *Exile's Return*, 82.
- 27 Gorham Munson, "How to Run a Little Magazine," *Saturday Review of Literature* 15, no. 22 (March 27, 1937): 14.
- 28 Gorham Munson, *Secession* 5 (July 1923): 30.
- 29 Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).
- 30 The exception, of course, would be the limited deluxe editions reserved for the most important donors or contributors. An entire history remains to be written of the deluxe edition little magazine.
- 31 Munson, "How to Run a Little Magazine," 4.
- 32 See Lyman Horace Weeks, *A History of Paper Manufacturing in the United States, 1690–1916* (New York: Lockwood Trade Journal, 1916), 319.
- 33 See David C. Smith, *History of Papermaking in the United States, 1691–1969* (New York: Lockwood, 1970), 344.
- 34 Loeb also hired a German-speaking assistant in Berlin to negotiate the "cost of printing, paper, and reproductions." See Loeb, *Way It Was*, 128.
- 35 In 1921, the U.S. dollar was the equivalent of 21 lire.
- 36 Box 9, folders 328, 329, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke. The breakdown for the *Dial* is included in a summary of cash payments for 1921 (Cash Payments Year 1921) and 1922 (Cash Payments Year 1922). Paper for 1921: \$7,344.65. Paper for 1922: \$9,646.57. To get that number, I averaged the two years and divided by twelve issues.
- 37 Loeb, *Way It Was*, 75.

4. little exiled magazines

- 38 Nat Shaw to Harold Loeb, 28 January 1922, Box 1, folder 6, Broom Correspondence of Harold Loeb, Manuscripts Division, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, Princeton University Library, Princeton, N.J. (hereafter cited as Princeton).
- 39 Pierre Loving, "Towards Walt Whitman," *Double Dealer* 4, no. 21 (1922): 141.
- 40 Loeb, *Way It Was*, 76.
- 41 Most of the expense reports from this period in Rome are in "Broom Manuscript Lists and Newspaper Clippings," Box 2, folder 11, Broom Correspondence of Harold Loeb, and Box 1, folder 6, Broom "Rome," Princeton. For a point of comparison, the printing costs for the *Dial* in 1921 and 1922 were \$17,994.86 and \$17,706.10 respectively. See Box 9, folder 329, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke.
- 42 For the first issue, this didn't prove to be much of a problem, only a misplaced linecut on page 21 (noticed by Nat Shaw in a letter of October 5, 1921). Wole Soyinka describes a similar situation with *Transition's* non-English-speaking printer, an Italian refugee from Zaire: "But he, patient Signor Pessina, set every letter of the early *Transitions* by hand, purely at sight from the typed copy, without understanding a single word, and errors occurred wildly." Quoted in Peter Benson, "*Black Orpheus*," "*Transition*," and *Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 106. Margaret Anderson and Ezra Pound blamed the typos in the *Little Review* on a temperamental Serbian printer known only as Mr. Popovitch. See Anderson, *My Thirty Years' War: The Autobiography, Beginnings, and Battles to 1930* (New York: Covici, Friede Publishers, 1930), 162.
- 43 Loeb, *Way It Was*, 138–39. Describing this experience to Loeb in a letter dated October 20, 1922, Ridge wrote: "Much of the September issue—which only arrived at 4 p.m. (over a month late!!) water soaked. Inspector called. I shall have to separate magazines left into three parts. . . . Under the circumstances—dealers and subscribers writing—some of them insulting letters—inquiries, to which we have had to send over one hundred written replies, there was nothing to do but correct them by hand. By working all day Sunday and sitting up till three o'clock Monday morning, we got out all subscribers, dealers, and publicity—six cases—by noon Monday." Box 2, folder 1, Broom Correspondence of Harold Loeb, Princeton.
- 44 As indicated in the expense reports.
- 45 Theodor Adorno, *Notes to Literature*, trans. Shierry Weber Nicholzen, 2 vols. (1974; repr., New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), 2:24, 29.
- 46 See Walter Benjamin, "Graphology Old and New," in *The Work of Art in the Age of Its Technological Reproducibility and Other Writings*, ed. Michael Jennings, Brigid Doherty, and Thomas Levin (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2008), 192–94.

- 47 Some time in mid-October 1921 (and in regards to the first issue), Shaw informed Loeb: "I have cabled to find out about the BROOM, why it doesn't come. It floors me to find out that it wasn't shipped on the 15th of September or if it was shipped from Rome on the 15th of September, it left Naples by S. S. *Palermo* on the 14th of October. Jezes Christ." He followed up on October 31, with news that "the shipment of brooms arrived in port Saturday, October 29" but he was temporarily delayed in collecting them because he didn't have the proper bill of landing or consular invoice. Box 1, folder 6, Broom Correspondence of Harold Loeb, Princeton.
- 48 Shaw to Loeb, 28 January 1922, *ibid.*
- 49 Loeb to American Express, *ibid.*
- 50 Bernard Poli notes that because of these shipping delays, the *transatlantic review* regularly came out a month later in the United States. With the arrival of issue 6, Thomas Seltzer decided that they would be stamped for the following month: a June number in Europe, then, was a July number in the United States. Poli, *Ford Madox Ford and the "Transatlantic Review"* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1967), 93.
- 51 And delivery time wasn't much better in parts of Europe. On a letter dated November 14, 1921, Alfred Kreyemborg sent Scofield Thayer two copies of *Broom*, adding, "Mails so atrocious these days. Our second copertino was to present a new design, but the design was held up 22 days in transit, via Prague." Box 34, folder 935, YCAL MSS 34, Dial/Scofield Thayer Papers, Beinecke.
- 52 The printer, L'Universelle in Rome, would take care of the subscriptions within Italy and, I suspect, the rest of Europe, since there was often a printer's charge for "mail-shipping" separate from "paper freight" costs. One undated document in the Broom Correspondence of Harold Loeb lists the "Most Favourable Booksellers, With Addresses" in England, noting that eight out of the nine sell only "one copy" per month and return the rest. Another document shows that they had better luck with Shakespeare & Co. in Paris, which averaged fifteen copies per month. Box 2, folder 11, "Manuscript Lists and Newspaper Clippings, 1921-23," Broom Correspondence of Harold Loeb, Princeton.
- 53 The Italian envelopes were Shaw's idea. In November 1921, he wrote to Loeb, "Of course I can by [*sic*] envelopes here which have a distinctive touch, but the most commonplace envelope which you buy there who far excel my most troublesome and ambitious attempt. If you agree to this send me 5,000." Box 1, folder 6, Broom Correspondence of Harold Loeb, Princeton.
- 54 Loeb, *Way It Was*, 136.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 150-51. The contract with Labisch was finalized on August 22, 1922. The cost for the paper (22½ cm × 31½ cm), cover paper, blocks, and printing came to 196,000 deutschmarks. The currency exchange rate for July 1922 was 492

4. little exiled magazines

- deutschmarks to the U.S. dollar, which would bring the total cost to roughly US\$398. Loeb calculates in his October expense report that the “Broom cover & paper Aug. 26” was the equivalent of US\$100 and the printing US\$150, leaving the rest for the blocks and printing. Paper costs for September 8 were 85,000 deutschmarks. Since the devaluation of the deutschmark was happening so quickly, it’s difficult to pinpoint what the value in U.S. dollars would be on that day, especially when you factor in that by January 1923, one U.S. dollar was the equivalent of 17,972 deutschmarks. See Brian Trumbore, “The German Currency Crisis of 1922–24,” BUYandHOLD, accessed May 6, 2016. https://www.buyandhold.com/bh/en/education/history/2000/german_currency.html.
- 56 Matthew Josephson, the associate editor, ended up taking a job as a data analyst on Wall Street. Loeb became a government administrator. See North, “Transatlantic Transfer,” 20–21.
- 57 Poli suspects that this disconnect had something to do with the demise of the *transatlantic review*: it was “too expensive and not interesting enough for French readers and was too foreign to compete favorably with locally published periodicals in England and in the United States” (*Ford Madox Ford and the “Transatlantic Review,”* 48).
- 58 In *La revue transition (1927–38): Le modernisme historique en devenir* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2009), 95, Celine Mansanti calls it “the last big little magazine-in-exile . . . to emerge in the wake of high modernism.” See also Celine Mansanti, “Between Modernisms: *transition (1927–38),*” in Brooker and Thacker, *Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, vol. 2, 718–736.
- 59 “Stalin only needs to clear his throat and they throw Kafka and Van Gogh on the rubbish-heap.” Theodor Adorno, *Minima Moralia: Reflections on a Damaged Life*, trans. E. F. N. Jephcott (1945; repr., New York: Verso, 2010), 207.
- 60 VVV 2–3 (1943): 45.
- 61 Emily Hage, “The Magazine as Strategy: Tristan Tzara’s *Dada* and the Seminal Role of *Dada Art Journals* in the *Dada Movement*,” *Journal of Modern Periodical Studies* 2, no. 1 (2011): 33–53. See also Howardena Pindell, “Alternative Space: Artists’ Periodicals,” *Print Collector’s Newsletter* 8, no. 4 (1977): 96–121; and Gwen Allen, *Artists’ Magazines: An Alternative Space for Art* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2011). Allen has pointed out that later uses of the magazine as an exhibition space included *Aspen* 5–6 (1967), edited and designed by Brian O’Doherty, who, influenced by the *Boîte-en-valise* of Marcel Duchamp, later recalled that “with conceptual art, you needed a magazine more than a gallery” since it could function as a “miniature museum” (49–50).
- 62 Rosalind Krauss, *The Originality of the Avant-Garde and Other Modernist Myths* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1986), 101. Krauss came to this conclusion after visiting the 1978 exhibition *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*. The exhibition catalogue provides extensive details about each publication. More recently, Ades

- delivered a lecture on the relationship between the exiled Surrealists and Aimé Césaire, titled “Transnational Surrealism: *Tropiques* and the Role of the Little Magazine.” It can be found at <http://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/slade-lectures-7-transnational-surrealism-tropiques-and-role-little-magazine-audio>.
- 63 The term *alternative space* was first used by Howardena Pindell in “Alternative Space: Artists’ Periodicals,” which included an incredibly useful chronology of examples from 1900 up until 1976. See *Print Collectors Newsletter* 4 (September–October 1977): 96–121.
 - 64 Walter Benjamin, “Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproducibility,” in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings*, ed. Howard Eiland and Michael Jennings, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 2:57.
 - 65 T. J. Demos associates the placelessness enabled by technologies of reproduction with the experience of exile. “Reproductions,” he writes, “became homeless representations: free-floating, they existed in no secure location, geographical or temporal.” Demos, *The Exiles of Marcel Duchamp* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2007), 42.
 - 66 Jackson Pollock, for one, had a full run of *Dyn* on his shelves.
 - 67 No. 1 was published in June 1942, nos. 2–3 in March 1943, no. 4 in February 1944.
 - 68 Roberto Matta, one of the first exiles to reach New York, had the idea to start a review based on *Minotaure* and the *London Bulletin*. A notice appeared, but nothing ever came of it. See Dawn Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed* (London: Arts Council of Great Britain, 1978), 375.
 - 69 Quoted in Monica Sawin, *Surrealism in Exile and the Beginning of the New York School* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995), 219.
 - 70 *Ibid.*, 219–20. Ades has a slightly different emphasis: “The variety both in the type and manner of presenting the illustrations, the different kinds of paper used in the review (possibly of course determined by what was available, though the practical problems of producing a review in America were nowhere near as acute as they were in Europe), the care in the setting, and the choice of type, make VVV one of the most striking Surrealist magazines” (*Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, 376).
 - 71 For an account of the 1938 *Exposition internationale du surréalisme*, see Demos, *Exiles of Marcel Duchamp*, 128–88.
 - 72 Demos argues instead that there is an antinationalist subtext in this image, one that demonstrates how “the desire for collective unity is fulfilled at the bloody cost of fragmentation.” *Ibid.*, 66.
 - 73 Quoted in Lowert Stokes Sims and Wifredo Lam, *Wifredo Lam and the International Avant-Garde, 1923–1982* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002), 86.
 - 74 Tristan Tzara, *Le surréalisme et l’après-guerre* (Paris: Nagel, 1947), quoted in Helena Lewis, *Dada Turns Red: The Politics of Surrealism* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1990), 164.

4. little exiled magazines

- 75 Aimé Césaire, “Conquete de l’aube,” *VVV* 1 (June 1942): 39–41; Césaire, “Poèmes,” *VVV* 2–3 (March 1943): 132; Césaire, “Batouque,” *VVV* 4 (February 1944): 22–26.
- 76 For a useful discussion of Césaire’s relationship with Surrealism and his relationship with *Tropiques*, see Jean-Claude Michel, *Les écrivains noirs et le surréalisme* (Sherbrooke, Quebec: Éditions Naaman, 1982).
- 77 André Breton, “Un grande poète noir,” *Tropiques* 11 (May 1944): 120. The use of “lumière” here alludes to the final line of Césaire’s opening editorial for *Tropiques* 1 (April 1941): 6: “Les hommes de bonne volonté feront au monde un nouvelle lumière.” When thinking about the significance of *voix* as a keyword, it should also be noted that Breton worked as a French radio announcer for “La voix de l’Amérique en guerre” while living in New York City. Still back in occupied Paris, André Thirion recalls hearing these broadcasts: “In spirit of the atmospherics, the voice of André Breton, so recognisable in the broadcasts from America, resounded as a summons and an encouragement.” Quoted in Ades, *Dada and Surrealism Reviewed*, 410.
- 78 Suzanne Césaire, “1943: Le surréalisme et nous,” *Tropiques* 8–9 (October 1943): 14.
- 79 Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, *Little Magazine*, 79.
- 80 Celia Aijmer Rydsjö and AnnKatrin Jonsson brought some other Anglo-American examples from the 1930s to my attention: *Échanges* (1929–1932), the *New Review* (1931–1932), *Booster* (1937–1939), *Epilogue* (1935–1937), and *Caravel* (1934–1936). See “Published by Us, Written by Us, Read by Us: Little Magazine Networks,” *Global Review* 1, no. 1 (2013): 39–65.
- 81 The Chicago-based *Arsenal* 3 (1976) reprinted the “Manifesto of the Arab Surrealist Movement.”

5. little postcolonial magazines

- 1 Pound, “Small Magazines,” 702.
- 2 See Lewis Nkosi, “On *Okyeame*,” *Transition* 12, no. 1 (1964): 28. Bernth Lindfors, repeating Nkosi, later put it this way: “When comprehensive histories of modern African literature come to be written, some attention will have to be given to ephemeral printed media that provided aspiring authors with opportunities to express themselves.” Lindfors, *Loaded Vehicles: Studies in African Literary Media* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World, 1996), 43.
- 3 “Onitsha authors were influenced by Indian popular pamphlets which were in turn based on Victorian popular magazine fiction introduced into India by colonising troops and traders. India pamphlets were brought back by African soldiers returning from Burma and the Far East campaigns after the Second World

- War and inspired the Onitsha Market pamphlet.” Emmanuel Obiechina, *An African Popular Literature: A Study of Onitsha Market Pamphlets* (New York: Africana, 1971), 95.
- 4 For a broad overview on the subject of little magazines and Africa, see Milton Krieger, “The Formative Journals and Institutions,” in *The Cambridge History of African and Caribbean Literature*, ed. Abiola Irele and Simon Gikandi (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 398–407.
 - 5 Simon Gikandi identifies modernism as a site of “Eurocentric danger,” which is one of the reasons postcolonial critics have treated it with suspicion. Gikandi, “Modernism in the World,” *Modernism/Modernity* 13, no. 3 (2006): 421.
 - 6 Neil Lazarus, *The Postcolonial Unconscious* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Jahan Ramazani, *A Transnational Poetics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009); Peter Kalliney, “Modernism, African Literature, and the Cold War,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 76, no. 3 (September 2015): 333–68; Simon Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo: Modernism and Caribbean Literature* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1992).
 - 7 Gikandi, “Modernism in the World,” 421.
 - 8 Malcolm Bradbury and James McFarlane, *Modernism: A Guide to European Literature, 1890–1930* (London and New York: Penguin, 1978), 203.
 - 9 A. J. Seymour, “Little Reviews,” *Kyk-over-al* 2, no. 10 (April 1950): 204. The terms *little review* and *little magazine* get applied to West Indian and African in an uncritical manner again and again in the following decades. Here are a few representative examples: “*Bim* and *Kyk-over-al* are more in the nature of the little reviews.” J. A. Ramsaran, *Black Orpheus* 4 (October 1958): 58. “Little Magazines have played a big role in the development of anglophone African writing.” Lindfors, “African Little Magazines,” in *Mapping Intersections: African Literature and Africa’s Development*, ed. Anne V. Adams and Janis A. Mayes (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World, 1998), 87–94. “What has been called the explosion of creative writing which took place in the late forties and early fifties owes an important debt to a little magazine in Barbados, one of the smallest of the islands.” John Wickham, introduction to *Bim: The Literary Magazine of Barbados, 1942–1973*, vol. 1 (Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus Reprint, 1977), iii.
 - 10 I am modifying a formulation made by Neil Lazarus regarding the globality of anticolonial nationalism: “In its appearance in works of literature, anticolonial nationalism is seldom narrow, sectarian, or chauvinistic; it seeks instead to open the community up to the globe. The fostering of nationalism is also the fostering of internationalism and transcultural solidaristic affiliation.” Lazarus, *Postcolonial Unconscious*, 65.
 - 11 O. R. Dathorne, *Black Orpheus* 15 (1964): 60.
 - 12 A. J. Seymour, “Literature in the Making—the Contribution of *Kyk-over-al*,” *Kyk-over-al* 33–34 (April 1986): 3–12.

5. little postcolonial magazines

- 13 Emilio Rodriguez, "An Overview of Caribbean Literary Magazine: Its Liberating Function," *Bim* 17, 66–67 (1983): 126; Lindfors, "African Little Magazines"; Mervyn Morris, "Little Magazines in the Caribbean," *Bim* 68 (1984): 3–9.
- 14 Albert Gomes, "West Indian Magazines," *Beacon* 3, no. 4 (November 1933): 74–75.
- 15 Albert Gomes, "West Indian Literature," *Beacon* 12, no. 12 (June 1933): 4.
- 16 For a sampling of the most significant literary and political contributions, see Reinhard Sander, ed., *From Trinidad: An Anthology of Early West Indian Writing* (New York: Africana, 1978).
- 17 Jahan Ramazani, *The Hybrid Muse: Postcolonial Poetry in English* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001).
- 18 Robie Macauley, "The 'Little Magazines,'" *Transition*, no. 9 (1963): 24.
- 19 "The most important—and the most enduring—of the little literary magazines that arose in this period was *Kyk-over-al*, in Guyana, edited by the poet A. J. Seymour from 1945 to 1961 and then revived in the 1980s by Seymour and Ian McDonald, and *Bim* in Barbados, edited by Frank Collymore (and later John Wickham) from the 1940s through to the 1990s." Stewart Brown and Mark McWatt, introduction to *The Oxford Book of Caribbean Verse*, ed. Stewart Brown and Mark McWatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), xxviii.
- 20 Sander, *From Trinidad*, 9. He's playing off a statement made by A. J. Seymour in an editorial for *Kyk-over-al*: "It is difficult to over-estimate the importance of the *Little Reviews* appearing in the West Indies because they have been and still are the nursery of literature." Seymour, "The Little Review," *Kyk-over-al* 2, no. 10 (April 1950): 204.
- 21 In an early editorial, in fact, an anonymous writer for the *Beacon* points out that the number of literary clubs in Barbados is limited (the Barbados Literary Society and Forum Club), both of them run by individuals who "take an exceptionally keen interest in the historic background of the Negro." "Barbados Notes," *Beacon* 3, no. 4 (November 1933): 90.
- 22 Erika J. Waters, "Music of Language: An Interview with George Lamming," *The Caribbean Writer* 13 (1999): 193.
- 23 Simon Gikandi, *Writing in Limbo: Modernism and Caribbean Literature* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 33–34.
- 24 See Peter Kalliney, "Metropolitan Modernism and Its West Indian Interlocutors: 1950s London and the Emergence of Postcolonial Literature," *Publication of the Modern Language Association* 122, no. 1 (2007): 89–104.
- 25 George Lamming, "The Caribbean Artist in Society," *Caribbean Writer* 13 (1999): 190–200.
- 26 Gail Low, *Publishing the Postcolonial: Anglophone West African and Caribbean Writing in the UK, 1948–1968* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 100.
- 27 In a review that appeared in *Black Orpheus*, *Bim* gets singled out: "*Bim* takes the palm for literary eminence since in its pages have appeared over a number of

5. little postcolonial magazines

- years poems, short stories, and essays by such well known West Indian writers as Edgar Mittelholzer, Samuel Selvon, George Lamming, Roger Mais, and John Hearne." J. A. Ramsaran, "Caribbean Little Reviews," *Black Orpheus* 4 (1958): 58.
- 28 See Bernth Lindfors, "A Decade of *Black Orpheus*," *World Literature Today* 42, no. 4 (1968): 509–16.
- 29 Christopher Okigbo, interview by Dennis Duerden, August 1963, London, Transcription Service, Sc-Audio C-3 (side 1, no. 1), tape cassette, Moving Image and Recorded Sound Division, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, N.Y. See also Peter Benson, "*Black Orpheus*," "*Transition*," and *Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 298. Okigbo's primary role as West African editor involved finding material to publish. An announcement for the West African edition did appear in an early issue, stating that it would be printed in Ibadan as a quarterly and edited by Okigbo. Though the literary content was going to be the same, the political and nonliterary material would be different. In a 1963 interview, Okigbo claimed that there were two hundred subscribers for *Transition* in West Africa, but the "sell or return" policy of bookstores raised the overall cost, further limiting its potential to travel. Okigbo interview, Sc-Audio C-3 (side 1, no. 1).
- 30 *Transition* 18 (1965): 16–17; *Black Orpheus* 17 (1965): 13–17.
- 31 For a valuable overview of the global book business, see Andre Schriffin, *The Business of Books: How International Conglomerates Took Over the Book Business and Changed the Way We Read* (New York: Verso, 2001).
- 32 See Low, *Publishing the Postcolonial*, 15–33.
- 33 Bernth Lindfors, "Amos Tutuola's Search for a Publisher," in *Toward Defining the African Aesthetic*, ed. Lemuel A. Johnson et al., (Washington, D.C.: Three Continents Press, 1982) 100–101.
- 34 See Eileen Julien, "The Extroverted African Novel," in *The Novel: History, Geography, and Culture*, ed. Franco Moretti, 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2006), 1:685.
- 35 Oxford University Press, Heinemann, and Longman ended up producing cheap paperback books, mostly as a special series, and they were intended to reach audiences across Africa, many of them with substantial discounts, ready for use as textbooks in schools and universities. But this process did not kick in until the mid-1960s. See Low, *Publishing the Postcolonial*, 43–47, 66–73.
- 36 British publishers catering to universities and schools had more success because their books were getting adapted for syllabi. Robert Fraser points out that during this process of the "internationalisation of African Literature" in the 1960s, 80 percent of Heinemann's sales from its African Writers Series (begun in 1962) went to Africa and 10 percent to Britain and the United States. From the mid-1980s, however, and largely as a result of the rise of black studies programs in the United States, that number changed dramatically, with 50 percent getting absorbed by a "diasporic constituency" and 20 percent arriving in

5. little postcolonial magazines

Africa. Fraser, *Book History through Postcolonial Eyes: Rewriting the Script* (New York: Routledge, 2008), 182. The Heinemann series, as James Currey contends, provided “good serious reading at accessible prices for the rapidly emerging professional classes as the countries became independent,” helping to do in Africa what the Penguin paperback did in the United Kingdom. Currey, “Africa Writes Back: Heinemann African Writers Series—A Publisher’s Memoir,” in *Books without Borders*, ed. Robert Fraser and Mary Hammond, 2 vols. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 1:159. The market in Africa was “primarily educational rather than general” (Low, *Publishing the Postcolonial*, 67). The reason for this, Low explains, “was that the Anglophone book trade in Africa was at this juncture left more or less to lie in the consumption of textbooks, despite the presence of popular local publishing such as the Onitsha market or pamphlet literature” (ibid.).

- 37 Kalliney, “Modernism, African Literature, and the Cold War,” 339.
- 38 Ibid., 340.
- 39 The *Daily Times* had a readership of around 100,000 and the weekly *Sunday Times* around 127,000, both of them exceeding the average circulation for a West African newspaper by five times. See Committee on Inter-African Relations, *Report on the Press in West Africa* (Ibadan, Nigeria: Department of Extramural Studies, University College, 1960). There was a wide range of student-union magazines, campus newspapers, literary leaflets, departmental periodicals, scholarly journals, and church bulletins. See Bernth Lindfors, “Popular Literature for an African Elite,” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 12, no. 3 (1974): 471–86.
- 40 Ibid., 473.
- 41 Brent Edwards, *The Practice of Diaspora: Literature, Translation, and the Rise of Black Internationalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2003), 9.
- 42 Janheinz Jahn resigned as coeditor after issue 6, and the role was taken over by Ezekiel Mphahlele (until issue 17) and Wole Soyinka (until issue 14).
- 43 Beier, “Editorial,” *Black Orpheus* 1 (1957).
- 44 In an essay devoted almost entirely to Aimé Césaire, Janheinz Jahn took some time to explain the origins of the title: “In 1948, Senghor was able to combine sixteen black authors in an anthology to which no less a writer than Jean-Paul Sartre produced the preface. In this preface ‘Orphée Noir’ we find the enthusiastic sentence: ‘The black poetry in the French language, is in our days, the only great revolutionary poetry.’” Jahn, “Aimé Césaire,” *Black Orpheus* 2 (1958): 35.
- 45 Critics who have tracked the development of *Black Orpheus* (twenty-two issues in ten years, collecting 224 writers from twenty-six African nations) notice the marked shift in content over the years: there are, at first, frequent translations of Francophone poets such as Léopold Senghor, Aimé Césaire, and Leon Damas

that later open up to West Indian and African American writers before arriving at a more consistent run of Anglophone contributions from all over the continent.

- 46 Even without the official distribution list informing readers where *Black Orpheus* could be found, it was still making its way around the world. Andrew Salkey, for one, claimed that he came across individual copies in the United States, Jamaica, England, France, and Germany. And when meeting a reader from South Africa, Beier inquired how much *Black Orpheus* was selling for on the newsstands. "I don't know," the man replied. "I usually buy a stolen copy." See Ulli Beier, "Black Orpheus" (discussion of the aims of the magazine), a conversation with Andrew Salkey and Gerald Moore, 1966, London Transcription Service, Sc-Audio C-27 (side 2, no. 2), Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, New York, N.Y.
- 47 *Black Orpheus* 14 (1964): 60. This review is unsigned, but Peter Benson suspects that it is Gerald Moore ("*Black Orpheus*," "*Transition*," and *Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa*, 19).
- 48 "While all this new literary activity was going on, the critics were silent. Only three critical articles appeared, one on Langston Hughes, the other two introducing Flavien Ranaivo and Tchicaya U Tam'si. The West Indians and franco-phone Africans who had attracted a great deal of attention in the first numbers of *Black Orpheus* were no longer mentioned; the new writers springing up in every issue were perhaps too new and too little published to be intelligently discussed. For the critics it was a time of watching and waiting, a time for writing book reviews rather than lengthy articles." Lindfors, *Loaded Vehicles*, 28.
- 49 For an informative account regarding Nigerian magazines published before *Black Orpheus*, see Lindfors, "Popular Literature for an African Elite."
- 50 In *Black Orpheus* 19, a sample of each of them can be found: Ulli Beier, "Naive Nigerian Painting," *Black Orpheus* 19 (March 1966): 31–32; Marin Esslin, "Two African Playwrights" [Soyinka and J. P. Clark], *Black Orpheus* 19 (March 1966): 33–39; Janheinz Jahn, "Senghor without a Propeller," *Black Orpheus* 19 (March 1966): 40–47; and Lewis Nkosi, "South African Fiction," *Black Orpheus* 19 (March 1966): 48–54.
- 51 Una MacClean, "Soyinka's International Drama," *Black Orpheus* 15 (1964): 46.
- 52 Neil Lazarus points out that Chinua Achebe would put a different spin on the term *universal*, seeing it instead as a code word for Western, modern, European. See Lazarus, "Modernism and African Literature," in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms*, ed. Mark Wollaeger with Matt Eatough (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 229.
- 53 Beier, "Black Orpheus," Sc-Audio C-27 (side 2, no. 2).
- 54 Beier, "Editorial," 1 (1957).
- 55 For a discussion of this *volte face* (and a valuable overview of the first ten years), see Bernth Lindfors, "Black Orpheus," in *European-Language Writing*

5. little postcolonial magazines

- in *Sub-Saharan Africa*, ed. Albert S. Gérard, 2 vols. (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1986), 2:668–79.
- 56 Rajat Neogy, “Editorial Note,” *Transition* 12 (January–February 1964): 3.
- 57 Twelve hundred copies of issue 1 were printed; eight hundred copies of issue 2 followed. An advertisement in issue 33 (October–November 1967) boasted a readership of thirty-six thousand. I’ve been unable to confirm whether this is true.
- 58 Paul Theroux, “Slickest, Sprightliest, Sexiest,” *Transition* 37 (1968): 41.
- 59 For Okigbo, the difference between the two magazines was clear. *Black Orpheus* will publish “anybody who is black,” while *Transition* was put in place “to establish the criteria for judging good African literature.” Christopher Okigbo interviewed by Lewis Nkosi, Dennis Duerden, and Robert Serumaga, *African Writers Talking: A Collection of Radio Interviews*, ed. Cosmo Pieterse and Dennis Duerden (New York: Africana, 1972), 142.
- 60 Neogy, “An Introductory Offer,” *Transition* 1 (November 1961).
- 61 Neogy, “Do Magazines Culture?,” 32.
- 62 Abiola Irele, “Review of *Transition* (Issues 1–32),” *Journal of Modern African Studies* 5, no. 3 (1967): 444.
- 63 Ibid.
- 64 Neogy, “Do Magazines Culture?,” 31.
- 65 Lionel Trilling, “Letter to the Editor,” *Transition* 18 (1965): 6.
- 66 For a discussion of the similarities and differences between the two *t/Transitions*, see Dayo Olopade, “The Meaning of Modernism in Two Transitions,” *Transition* 106 (2011): 45–61.
- 67 For a full discussion of these events, see Benson, “*Black Orpheus*,” “*Transition*,” and *Modern Cultural Awakening in Africa*, 160–89.
- 68 Ali Mazrui’s controversial piece “Nkrumah: The Leninist Czar” convinced some people that the magazine was publishing propaganda for the U.S. government. *Transition* 26 (1966): 9–17.
- 69 Barbara Lapcek-Neogy, “A Matter of Transition,” *Transition* 75–76 (1997): 244–48.
- 70 Editorial, *Transition* 38 (1971): 5.
- 71 Rajat Neogy, “Letter to the Editor,” *Transition* 38 (June–July 1971): 6.
- 72 Neogy, “Do Magazines Culture?,” 31.
- 73 Michael J. C. Echeruo, ed., *A Concordance to the Poems of Christopher Okigbo (With the Complete Text of the Poems, 1957–67)* (Lewiston, N.Y.: Edwin Mellen, 2008), 550.
- 74 Chinweizu, Onwuchekwa Jemie, and Ihechukwu Madubuike, after making a series of fierce indictments against Okigbo’s difficulty, argue that “Limits” and “Heavensgate” have occasional flashes of power, but the lack of a coherent plot and well-formed thoughts makes them “rather sorry imitations of Okigbo’s anglo-modernist masters.” Chinweizu, Jemie, and Madubuike, *Toward the*

5. little postcolonial magazines

- Decolonization of African Literature* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1983), 276.
- 75 Ramazani, *Transnational Poetics*, 99.
- 76 See Romanus N. Egudu, "Ezra Pound in African Poetry: Christopher Okigbo," *Comparative Literature Studies* 8, no. 2 (1971): 143–54; and M. J. C. Echeruo, "Traditional and Borrowed Elements in Nigerian Poetry," *Nigeria Magazine* 87 (1966): 142–55.
- 77 Michael Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism: A Study of English Literary Doctrine, 1908–1922* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 194.
- 78 Ulli Beier, "Three Mbari Poets," *Black Orpheus* 12 (1963): 47.
- 79 It turns out that Eliot's *Waste Land* played a role in this as well. In early 1922, while Pound was writing "Canto VIII," he was also reading Eliot's poem in manuscript form, and both of them benefited enormously from the interaction, Pound finding a new direction for his *Cantos* (including using blocks of quoted text), Eliot discovering a new structure for *The Waste Land*. "Canto VIII" opens, in fact, with an allusion to Eliot as the editor: "*These fragments you have shelved (shored)*," drawing attention in this particular adaptation to the shelving, not the shoring, of poetic fragments. And there's something else here that might help us understand Okigbo's choice of this particular line for his epigraph. "Canto VIII," which became the first in a sequence of what became the "Malatesta Cantos," marked a turning point in the composition of the *Cantos* as a whole. Up until that point, Pound had imagined that they would be strung together by a single sensibility, but here he realized that the juxtaposition of historical figures, events, and voices could create the kind of polyphonic depth he was looking for to guide his epic pursuits. Pound, "Canto VIII," in *The Cantos of Ezra Pound* (New York: New Directions, 1970), 28 (lines 30, 28).
- 80 The typo for "mortar" is in the original and has been kept here.
- 81 In the authorized final version, the ampersand in these final lines is replaced by "and," and the final line is detached from the others.
- 82 Sir James George Frazer, *The Golden Bough: Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* (New York: Macmillan, 1914), 310–35.
- 83 Ibid. Frazer has butchered the line here, which should read, "Malisons, malisons, mair than ten / That harrie the nest o' the heavenly hen." See William Cadenhead, "The Laverock's Song," in *Flights of Fancy, and Las of Bon-accord* (Aberdeen, U.K.: A. Brown, 1853), 115.
- 84 Donatus Nwoga has singled out sections X and XI "as a description of the colonial and missionary exploitation of Africa and the demise of Africa gods and values," noting that other critics before him have seen "Limits" as an allegory for Nigerian independence and the Congo crisis of 1960. See Nwoga, "Okigbo's *Limits*: An Approach to Meaning," in *Critical Essays on Christopher Okigbo*, ed. Uzoma Esonwanne (New York: G. K. Hall, 2000), 143.

5. little postcolonial magazines

- 85 Still, it's interesting to know that even back then, a poet like Okigbo, though publishing like the modernists, still didn't feel as if he fit in entirely. In 1963, two years after "Limits" appeared, he approached the editor of *Poetry* magazine, the same one used by Eliot and Pound almost half a century earlier (as advertised in the inside cover), about bringing out "Lament of the Silent Sisters" so that he could "have an audience in America." Nothing came of the request, but it makes you wonder if Okigbo somehow hadn't realized that he had already found readers in Europe, England, and America, though it was through a magazine based in East Africa—and, what's more, he managed to insert himself in Pound's and Eliot's company without ever having to appear directly in the pages of an American one. See Michael Echeruo, "Christopher Okigbo, *Poetry Magazine*, and the 'Lament of the Silent Sisters,'" *Research in African Literatures* 35, no. 3 (2004): 10.

6. little wireless magazines

- 1 He wasn't alone. "Anche tu sei archistuvo e nauseato delle forme bestiali dei libri comuni," Corrado Govoni wrote to Marinetti in 1914, going on to describe his own dreams of publishing his poems as an "organetto" so he could avoid using "la forma odiosa e odiata del libro." See "Una lettera inedita di Corrado Govoni a F. T. Marinetti sul libro Futurista," in *Bibliografia del futurismo, 1909–1944*, ed. Claudia Salaris (Rome: Biblioteca del Vascello, 1988).
- 2 He didn't always feel this way. In 1913, he was still more open to the idea that the book could still function as the site for Futurist experiments with typography: "The book must be the Futurist expression of our Futurist thought. And this is not all. My revolution is directed against the so-called typographical harmony of the page, which contradicts the ebb and flow, the leaps and bounds of style that surge over the page. We shall therefore use *three or four different colors of ink* on a single page, and should we think it necessary, as many as twenty different typographical characters. For example, italics for a series of like or swift sensations, *bold Roman characters* for violent onomatopoeias, and so on. With this typographical revolution and this multicolored variety of characters, my purpose is to double the expressive power of words." F. T. Marinetti, "Destruction of Syntax—Untrammelled Imagination—Words in Freedom," in *F. T. Marinetti: Critical Writings*, ed. Günter Berghaus, trans. Doug Thompson (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2006), 128.
- 3 F. T. Marinetti, "The Futurist Cinema," "The Radio," in *Critical Writings*, 260, 412.
- 4 F. T. Marinetti, "L'eccellenza Marinetti parla a Graphicus della rivoluzione tipografica futurista," *Graphicus: Rivista mensile di tecnica ed estetica grafica* 2 (February 19, 1941). A translation can be found in Claudia Salaris, *Riviste futuriste*, 347.

- 5 Stephen Bury describes the avant-garde magazine as follows: “What characterized European avant-garde magazines was their status as a preferred forum for avant-garde debate, their number (however short-lived) and their internationalism in terms of interchange of texts, translated (or not), approved by their authors (or not), and their promotion of ‘like-minded’ magazines.” Bury, *Breaking the Rules: The Printed Face of the European Avant-Garde, 1900–1937* (London: British Library, 2007), 38.
- 6 Regarding the large number of Futurist magazines, Stephen Heller has this to say: “Sometimes it seems as though there were as many different periodicals as there were leaders of the Futurist movement. While retaining loyalty to the overall movement, different members affiliated with different periodicals and many of these reviews were tabloid or broadsheet newspapers that bore the Futurist name-plate and served as both record and demonstration of Futurist exuberance.” Heller, *Merz to Émigré and Beyond: Avant-Garde Magazine of the Twentieth Century* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 39.
- 7 See Gleason Leonard Archer, *History of Radio to 1926* (New York: American Historical Society, 1938).
- 8 Katherine Hayles, “Print Is Flat, Code Is Deep: The Importance of Media-Specific Analysis,” *Poetics Today* 25, no. 1 (2004): 87.
- 9 *L’immaginazione senza fili* builds on the *Manifesto tecnico della letteratura futurista* (1912), and it appeared originally in *Lacerba* under the titles *L’immaginazione senza fili e le parole in libertà* (June 15, 1913) and *Dopo il verso libero le parole in libertà* (November 15, 1913).
- 10 Marinetti, “Destruction of Syntax,” 123.
- 11 For an excellent account of the relationship between wireless, radio, and modernist aesthetics, see Timothy Campbell, *Wireless Writing in the Age of Marconi* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006). Equally important for understanding the impact of wireless on literature is Mark Goble, *Beautiful Circuits: Modernism and the Mediated Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); and Richard Menke, *Telegraphic Realism: Victorian Fiction and Other Information Systems* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2007).
- 12 Later, in 1936, Augusto Calabi argued that the printing press would remain but would have to modernize by reorganizing and teaming up with radio: “Discutono anche gli editori di giornali stampati, per vedere di arginare la concorrenza sempre più temibile che viene loro fatta dalle stazioni emittenti della società di radiodiffusione, ma molto probabilmente non resterà loro altra possibilità oltre quella di trasformare le loro organizzazioni, portandole in parte al servizio del nuovo strumento di comunicazione, rendendole in parte insostituibili.” Calabi, “La radio e la stampa,” *Graphicus* (September 1936): 14.
- 13 In *Letters from the Avant-Garde: Modern Graphic Design* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1996), Elaine Lustig Cohen and Ellen Lupton argue that print was the preferred medium of the avant-garde because it was easily

6. little wireless magazines

accessible and based on already established technologies. In developing this point, they look at the letterheads of avant-garde movements, focusing on their experiments with graphic design.

- 14 It turns out that the term itself was already used by one ecstatic reader in 1914 when complimenting the editors of *Wireless Age*, a magazine made exclusively for the wireless amateur: “The Wireless Age is the only real wireless magazine worth reading, among a number of so-called wireless magazines.” Letter to the editor, *Wireless Age* (May 1914): 658.
- 15 For an excellent collection of articles on the subject, see Jay David Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation: Understanding New Media* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).
- 16 Carlo Carrà’s “1914–15,” which appeared in *La balza futurista* (April 27, 1915), documents the wireless transmission of a ship at sea. Moving from the top of the page to the bottom—north to south—the reader sees the enlarged letters “TSF” (*telegrafia senza fili*) arranged vertically on the lower left-hand side below “stazione,” indicating either the destination of the electromagnetic signal as it travels or its source.
- 17 “The word ‘wireless’ still used in Britain, manifests the negative ‘horseless carriage’ attitude toward a new form. Early wireless was regarded as a form of telegraph, and was not seen even in relation to the telephone.” Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994), 304.
- 18 Books were costly, took long to produce, and were expensive to transport internationally; the manifesto could move quickly, but its potential as a medium was extremely limited; newspapers were reproducible on a daily basis, but they were regularly under the control of a company and/or government.
- 19 Scans of *Zenit* can be found at <http://web.archive.org/web/20111224173241/http://scc.digital.nb.rs/collection/zenit>.
- 20 Ljubomir Micić, “O elektrogeniju Nikoli Tesli,” *Zenit* 15 (June 1922): 37–38.
- 21 See Darko Šimičić, “From *Zenit* to *Mental Space*: Avant-garde, Neo-avant-garde, and Post-avant-garde Magazines and Books in Yugoslavia, 1921–1987,” in *Impossible Histories: Historical Avant-gardes, Neo-avant-gardes, and Post-avant-gardes in Yugoslavia, 1918–1991*, ed. Dubravka Djurić and Miško Šuvaković (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003), 294–331.
- 22 *Ibid.*, 298.
- 23 *Zenit* 2, no. 12 (1922).
- 24 *Aviogram* could be translated literally as “air mail,” which did not exist at the time when the magazine was made. It is being used here as another term for wireless, which by this time was breaking off into telegraphy and radio. I suspect that Brauner and Voronca used the “Avio” variation because it played off the *speed* theme being used to organize the contents of the entire issue. Though planes were indeed fast, wireless was still faster.

- 25 In 1928, Brauner was associated with *Unu*, another Bucharest-based magazine. In the first few lines of the opening manifesto, the memory of *75HP* remains: “airplane wireless telegraphy radio television 76 HP Marinetti.” See Benson, and Éva Forgács, eds., *Between Worlds: A Sourcebook of Central European Avant-Gardes, 1910–1930* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2002), 535–36.
- 26 F. T. Marinetti, “Futurisme mondial: Manifeste à Paris,” *Le futurisme* 9 (January 11, 1924): 1–3, reprinted in *Noi*, 2nd ser., 1, nos. 6–9 (1924): 1–2.
- 27 Salaris, *Riviste Futuriste*, 17.
- 28 “Il gruppo futurista di Marinetti non esiste piú. La vecchia rivista di Marinetti *Poesia* è ora diretta da un certo Mario Dessí, un uomo senza la minima capacità intellettuale e organizzativa. Nel Sud, specie in Sicilia, compaiono molti fogli futuristi, in cui Marinetti scrive degli articoli: ma questi foglietti vengono pubblicati da studenti che scambiano per futurismo l’ignoranza della grammatica italiana.” Antonio Gramsci, “Una lettera a Trotskij sul futurism,” in *Scritti politici*, ed. Paolo Spriano, 4 vols. (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1967), 2:530.
- 29 Antonio Gramsci, “Types of Periodicals,” in *An Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916–1935*, ed. David Forgacs (New York: Schocken Books, 1988), 385.
- 30 *Ibid.* Indeed, the Futurist movement was breaking up into factions, but Marinetti was still intent on championing his own orthodox program. Instead of fighting to eliminate these other Futurisms, he encouraged them, believing that they could only bring attention to his own message. On this topic, see Günter Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics: Between Anarchist Rebellion and Fascist Reaction, 1909–1944* (Providence: Berghahn Books, 1996).
- 31 Among them were Mario Carli, Settimelli, Mario Dessy, Daquanno, Corra, and Giuseppe Bottai. See Claudia Salaris, *Marinetti arte e vita futurista* (Rome: Editori Riuniti, 1997), 234–35.
- 32 To make up for the absence of a live periodical, Marinetti brought out three four-page supplements to *Poesia*, titled *Il futurismo*, and used them to cover Futurist soirées. See Salaris, *Riviste futuriste*, 301.
- 33 F. T. Marinetti, “Futurism’s First Battles,” in *Critical Writings*, 151.
- 34 The letters between Mario Carli and Marinetti reveal just how extensive these directions could be. See Mario Carli and F. T. Marinetti, *Lettere futuriste tra arte e politica*, ed. Claudia Salaris (Rome: Officina Edizioni, 1989).
- 35 Among them are *Der Futurismus* in Berlin, *Le futurisme* in Paris and Rome, *Le fiamme d’Italia* in Montreal, *Futurist Aristocracy* in New York City (in English), and *Portugal futurista*. When N. L. Castelli returned to Bologna, he brought out an Italian version of *Futurist Aristocracy* that was, Claudia Salaris notes, “more provincial in tone when compared with the New York edition” (*Riviste futuriste*, 329).
- 36 During a visit to London in 1914, Marinetti boasted to Mario Carli on July 20, “Tutti i maggiori giornali londinesi, d’altronde, furono e continuarono ad

6. little wireless magazines

- essere pieni di Futurismo” (in Carli and Marinetti, *Lettere futuriste tra arte e politica*, 42).
- 37 Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 123.
- 38 Bari, Bassano, Bologna, Capri, Cesena, Ferrara, Florence, Forli, Gorizia, La Spezia, Lecce, Mantua, Messina, Milan, Naples, Palermo, Parma, Pavia, Perugia, Piacenza, Ravenna, Reggio Calabria, Reggio Emilia, Rome, Rovereto, Salerno, Torino, Trapani, Trento, Trieste, Venice.
- 39 Salaris, *Marinetti editore* (Rome: Il Mulino, 1990), 213–25.
- 40 One of the outliers would be the eleven magazines published in 1915, though it should be added that five of them were published as single issues by Oswald Bot in Bassano.
- 41 For this reason, Salaris calls Marinetti “l’ispiratore” (inspirer), the one who enlisted supporters to edit, and often fund, magazines while he handed them out (*Marinetti editore*, 222–23). Marinetti’s letters to Mario Carli, editor of *Roma futurista*, are evidence of his power to exert editorial pressure from afar by recommending topics and titles, giving advice on pagination and layout, and providing constant reminders to check newsstands and bookstores for distribution numbers (see Carli and Marinetti, *Lettere futuriste tra arte e politica*).
- 42 Salaris, *Riviste futuriste*, 308.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 287.
- 44 The fourteen issues, several of them misnumbered, came out as follows: *Il futurismo* 1 (January 11, 1922); *Le futurisme* 2 (January 11, 1922); *Il futurismo* 2 (1922) [*sic*]; *Le futurisme* 4 (October 1, 1922); *Il futurismo* 5 (March 1, 1923); *Il futurismo* 6 (May 1, 1923); *Le futurisme* 7 (July 1, 1923); *Il futurismo* 8 (October 1, 1923); *Le futurisme* 9 (January 11, 1924); *Il futurismo* 10 (December 11, 1924); *Il futurismo* 11 (February 11, 1925); *Il futurismo* 11 (January 11, 1926) [*sic*]; *Le futurisme* 12 (November 11, 1926); *Il futurismo* 22 (January 11, 1931). See Salaris, *Riviste futuriste*, 307.
- 45 Quoted in Salaris, *Riviste futuriste*, 718.
- 46 “L’Antenna riceve e trasmette le onde di tutti i cervelli creatori ultradinamici. Una centrale elettrica—posta a fianco della nostra stazione—carbonizza tutte le zucche-barbe passatiste.” Quoted in *ibid.*, 50.
- 47 “The Thirties saw a proliferation of nationally distributed magazines” (*ibid.*, 284).
- 48 Douglas Kahn argues that in general early twentieth-century responses to radio were mostly rhetorical because the access to technology was limited. See Kahn, “Radio Space,” in *Radio Rethink*, ed. Dan Lander and Daina Augitis (Banff, Alberta: Banff Centre of the Arts, 1994).
- 49 Bertolt Brecht, “Radio as an Apparatus of Communication,” in *Brecht on Theater: The Development of an Aesthetic*, ed. and trans. John Willett (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), 52.

- 50 For a detailed examination on the subject, see Margaret Fisher, “Futurism and Radio,” in *Futurism and the Technological Imagination*, ed. Günter Berghaus (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2009), 229–62. For a more general history of radio in Italy, see Franco Monteleone, *La storia della radio e della televisione in Italia* (Venice: Marsilio, 1992).
- 51 F. T. Marinetti and Pino Masnata, *La radia: Manifesto futurista*, in *Critical Writings*, 411. The original Italian reads, “destinata a centuplicare il genio creatore della razza italiana abolire l’antico strazio nostalgico delle lontananze e imporre dovunque le parole in libertà come suo logico e naturale modo di esprimersi.” See “La radia,” in *F. T. Marinetti: Teoria e invenzione futurista*, ed. Luciano De Maria (Milan: Mondadori, 1968), 207.
- 52 “Questo fenomeno di sentire, di essere in due località così lontane nello stesso istante, non poteva prima dell’invenzione della radio neanche essere sognato.” Pino Masnata, “Il nome radia,” Box 34, folder 1561, Gen MSS 130, F. T. Marinetti Papers, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University Library, New Haven, Conn.
- 53 In a section titled “Lotta di rumori e di lontananze diverse,” for instance, Marinetti and Masnata write, “Alla radio può facilmente accadere di udire una predica in una chiesa cattolica di Firenze, una predica su Maria, e contemporaneamente udire la musica di un Jazz di un grande albergo di Londra. . . . Ma la lotta veramente nuova è quella geografica: il fatto di udire contemporaneamente Firenze, proprio Firenze, e non una presunta Firenze, e Londra, proprio Londra e non una presunta Londra.” (Ibid., 34).
- 54 In 1924, Marinetti recited “Il bombardamento di Adrianopoli” over the radio while planes were whizzing by overhead.
- 55 Berghaus, *Futurism and Politics*, 287. In 1933, Mino Somenzi published an article in *Futurismo* criticizing the EIAR’s marginalization of Futurists from the airwaves. Somenzi, “Futuristizziamo la radiofonia,” *Futurismo* (January 8, 1933): 18.
- 56 Fisher, “Futurism and the Radio,” 242.
- 57 Velimir Khlebnikov, “The Radio of the Future,” in *The King of Time: Selected Writings of the Russian Futurian*, ed. Charlotte Douglas, trans. Paul Schmidt (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1985), 155.
- 58 Lucien Febvre, *The Coming of the Book: The Impact of Printing* (New York: Verso, 1997), 23.

afterword: little digittle magazine

- 1 T. S. Eliot to Karl Shapiro, London, 6 March 1950, quoted in *Dear Editor: A History of “Poetry” in Letters: The First Fifty Years, 1912–1962*, eds. Joseph Parisi and Stephen Young (New York: Norton, 2002), 383. In 1929, Morton Zabel made

a similar statement about the coming and going of the *Dial*, the *Little Review*, *Broom*, *Others*, the *Egoist*, *Wheels*, *S4N*, *Secession*, *This Quarter*, and *transition*: “The way of periodicals is strange. By them we trace the ebb and flow of ideas and literary manners. Unless they represent definite official interests or happen to be established on massive foundations, they are short-lived. For every long-established scientific organ or *Edinburgh Review*, we have scores of brief ephemeral publications, never destined to outlive the small circle or hasty decade which fostered them. Yet, it is usually in these impermanent organs that the vital literary productions of any century find refuge.” Zabel, “The Way of Periodicals,” *Poetry* 34, no. 6 (1929): 331. When putting together a history of avant-garde magazine design, Steven Heller was under the impression that Frank Luther Mott’s estimate that one million magazines and newspapers had been published in the United States and Europe was inflated until he discovered that it included “countless short-lived magazines” (independent, alternative, and avant-garde), which subsequently forced him to think the number was too low. Heller, *Merz to Émigré and Beyond: Avant-Garde Magazine Design of the Twentieth Century* (London: Phaidon, 2003), 240.

- 2 Among them is Ezra Pound’s “The ‘Criterion’ Passes,” *British Union Quarterly* 3, no. 2 (April–June 1939): 60–72; and Gorham Munson’s “Post-Mortem (on *Secession*),” which he sent to the press and subscribers after the final issue appeared (April 1924) and had reprinted in *Modern S4N Review* (1926): 25. On the subject of little magazine’s dying, see Mary Whitely, “Shall We Let It Die?,” *Saturday Review of Literature* 9, no. 2 (July 30, 1932): 7–10; and Zabel, “Way of Periodicals,” 330–34. In a review of Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich’s *Little Magazine*, Paul Bixler refers to the bibliography at the back as “life histories (or obituaries).” Bixler, “The Little Magazine, What Now?,” *Antioch Review* 8, no. 1 (1948): 64.
- 3 See Denise Scott Brown, “Little Magazines in Architecture and Urbanism,” *Journal of American Institute of Planners* 34, no. 4 (1968): 223–33; Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley, eds., *Clip, Stamp, Fold: The Radical Architecture of Little Magazines, 196X to 197X* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 2011); Evan Kindley, “Big Criticism,” *Critical Inquiry* 38 (Autumn 2011): 71–95; Stephen Duncombe, *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* (Bloomington, Ind.: Microcosm, 2014); Ian Morris and Joan Diaz, eds., *The Little Magazine in Contemporary America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015).
- 4 For a complete catalogue of microfilmed magazines, see *Little Magazines on Microfiche* (Washington, D.C.: Brookhaven, 1977). The page shown in figure A.1 is from a copy of the *Egoist* that first arrived in the periodicals room at Columbia University in 1917 and remained somewhere on the shelves before getting shipped off again in 1964 to the Photoduplication Services at the Library of Congress, where it was transformed, along with the entire five-year run, into four reels of thirty-five-millimeter film.

- 5 For a complete list of the titles, see Kraus Reprint, *The Little Magazines: Announcing the Reprinting of 104 Avant-Garde Magazines, Including 37 New Listings* (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1967).
- 6 In the 1970s, the Milan-based publisher Gabriele Mazzotta achieved remarkable results with this method, printing small runs of magazines (usually in the hundreds) to the exact specifications of the originals. Another, less expensive option was created by Jean-Michel Place, who had worked as an editor for Kraus in the 1970s before starting his own house. To this day, his publishing house continues to sell affordable reprints of Surrealist, Dadaist, and other avant-garde magazines, paying particular attention to details like color and cover.
- 7 *Digital, digitization, digittle*: there's a necessary distinction to make here. *Digitization* is the process by which a printed document gets transformed into an image file through the use of photographic technologies like scanners and cameras. The term *digital*, on the other hand, which tends to get paired with *preservation*, describes the process by which this digitized material is made accessible to users. *Digittle*, as I'm using it, incorporates both valences. It is the transformation process and the infrastructure put in place to preserve and make it accessible.
- 8 When Hoffmann, Allen, and Ulrich compiled the first comprehensive history and bibliography on the subject of American little magazines in the 1940s (*Little Magazine*), they had to track down full runs housed at the Library of Congress, Yale University, the University of Chicago, the University of Buffalo, Brown University, Columbia University, the University of Connecticut, the University of California, the St. Louis Public Library, the American Antiquarian Society Library, the Ohio State Library, the Princeton Library, the Free Public Library of Philadelphia, the University of Oregon, and the New York Public Library—fifteen libraries in all, and that was just to consult copies and runs mostly produced within a single nation between 1910 and 1945.
- 9 Marshall McLuhan, "Understanding Magascenes," *Print* 24 (July/August 1970), 20–21.
- 10 Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, *Little Magazine*, 1.

Index

Page numbers in italics refer to figures.

- academic periodical: *Corrente* as, 145;
Pan resembling, 140–41
- Adorno, Theodor, and “lexical logic,”
30
- African magazines. *See* postcolonial
magazines
- African publishing, and textbooks,
309n35, 309–10n36
- Aka to kuro*, 62
- Alexandria, Egypt, Marinetti and,
122–24
- anastatic copies, 265–66, 321n6
- Anderson, Margaret, 82, 85–86
- Anglophone literature, 25–26, 219–20;
African, 200–10; reviewed in *Black
Orpheus*, 209; West Indian, 196,
198–200
- anthology: *Little Review* disguised as,
84–85; *Poesia* as, 129; *riviste* in form
of, 119–21
- anticolonialism: *Beacon* as device of,
196–97; ignoring, 191; little magazine
as tool of, 26; and publishing in
India, 68–71; in *VVV*, 159, 182–87
- anticolonial nationalism, 67, 307n10
- Apter, Emily, 14
- archives, delinked and nationalized, 31
- art, exhibited in *VVV*, 171–73, 175–82,
184–85
- artists’ magazines, global spread of,
282n22
- avant-garde, dependence on little
magazines, 1
- avant-garde magazines, defined, 315n5
- avant-garde movements. *See*
Constructivism; Dadaism;
Futurism; modernism; Surrealism
- aviogram, 316n24
- “Banque obscurantiste ‘pour
l’étranger,’” 173–74, 174
- Beacon*, 195–96
- Beier, Ulli, 206, 211–12
- Bengali literature, 67–71
- Benjamin, Walter, 17–18, 172
- Berlewi, Henryk, 37
- Bim*, 198–200, 209, 308n19
- Black Orpheus*, 200–12, 207; book
reviews in, 208–9; distribution,
207–8, 311n46; shift in content,
310–11n45; vs. *Transition*, 312n59
- Blok*, 37–40, 39, 42–44, 46, 268–69

Index

- Boni and Liveright, printing of *The Waste Land*, 101
- books: and development of African magazines, 201–2; *Exile's* designation, 156; as global business, 195; vs. little magazines, 2–3, 14, 27, 48, 75, 236; vs. technology, 229–30; *Ulysses* as, 88–89, 92
- Borgese, Leonardo, 138
- Bottai, Giuseppe, 148–49
- Bradbury, Malcolm, 194
- Brecht, Bertolt, 18
- Breton, André, 18, 182–85, 187–88
- Breton, Jacqueline Lamba, 176–78, 177
- Broom*, 109, 159–71; expense report, 170; location of production, 155; and paper quality, 163–65; shipping problems, 168–70, 303n47; typos in, 165–68, 167
- Caballero, Ernesto Giménez, 44–46
- Calcutta literature, modern, 67–71
- “Canto VIII” (Pound): as epigraph for “Limits,” 222–24, 227; and *The Waste Land*, 313n79
- Cardarelli, Vincenzo, 115
- Caribbean Voices*, 199–200
- Carocci, Alberto, 119–20
- Casanova, Pascale: concept of world literature, 13–14; and sociological model, 47–48
- copyright: delaying little magazine's arrival in Japan, 59–60; Fascist, 138–39, 148; as impediments to global mobility, 16; and *Ulysses*, 86–92. *See also* laws affecting distribution; Neogy, Rajat: arrest for sedition
- Central America, and little magazines' limited appeal in, 11–12
- Césaire, Aimé, 182–87
- “Chinese Written Character as a Medium for Poetry, The” (Fenollosa), 66
- Cine-convegno*, 137–38
- “Circolo del Convegno,” 119, 132, 135
- circulation: Futurist magazines, 243–44; and global modernism, 47; *Transition*, 212. *See also* distribution
- circulation approach, 276–77n24
- colonialism. *See* anticolonialism; postcolonial magazines
- colonized countries, and *Transition*, 25
- communism, magazines in response to, 111–12
- comparative approach, 5; circulation as key, 47; geography and timeline expansion, 193; to global network, 71–72; limited by language and interest, 11–12; world form and, 20
- Congress for Cultural Freedom (CCF), 202–3
- constructivism, 37–38. *See also* *Blok*; grid
- copyright law: French, 83, 85; U.S., 84–85, 156–57, 294n79
- Corrente di vita giovanile*, 144–48; complicated literary politics of, 145–46, 148; interdisciplinary material in, 144–45
- covers: back, of *Merz*, 54; backdated, 105; *Black Orpheus*, 205; *Corrente di vita giovanile*, 147; *Il convegno's* anti-Fascist, 138–39, 298n42; *Le papyrus*, 123, 125; *Mavo*, 63, 284n50; *Pan*, 141; *Poesia*, 128; *transatlantic review*, 104; *Transition*, 213
- Cowley, Malcolm, 111
- Craig, Samuel, 77–78
- Criterion*, 25–26; compared to *Dial*, 98–100; Eliot's vision of, 96–98; as seminal moment in modernism, 292n54; transatlantic ambitions, 81; *The Waste Land* in, 93–95, 100–101
- criticism. *See* reviews

- customs: and exile magazine, 156–57; as impediments to global mobility, 16
- Dadaism, 29; and decentralization, 203–4; grid, 51–59; magazines as art exhibits, 171, 178; and “TSF,” 236–37; and typographical experimentation, 50–51; and wireless technology, 236, 242
- Damrosch, David, 13
- Das, Dineshranjan, 70
- Das Wort*, 17–18
- data, about little magazine networks, 35
- Davray, Henry, 83
- de Robertis, Giuseppe, 142
- De Stijl*: grid, 52, 53; influence on Bauhaus movement, 282n29
- decentralization, 14, 49–50, 203–4
- design: grid, 51–59, 53, 54, 56, 59; Japanese avant-garde, 64–65; *Mavo*, 19; minimalist, 133–34; *VVV*, 175–76. *See also* typographical experimentation
- Dessy, Mario, 131
- Dial*, 4, 25; Eliot’s views, 16, 25, 93–97, 98–99; problems with distribution, 287n9, 287n10, 288n15; transatlantic ambitions of, 81; and transatlantic immobility, 76–79, 99–100
- digittle magazines, 29–31, 266–67; digitization and digital, distinctions between, 321n7; effects of remediation, 266
- disconnection, world of little magazines characterized by, 15, 18–19, 50
- distribution: *Black Orpheus*, 311n46; and Caballero’s theorem, 44; *Dial*, 287n9, 287n10, 288n15; Futurists’ experimentation with technology, 242–63; vs. location of production, 154–55; maps, 39, 40, 39–46; problematic arrangements, 77–78; tracing, 37. *See also* circulation; shipping
- distribution sites: disappearing, 207–8; as promotion, 129–30
- dōjinshi*, 60–65
- domestic literature: balancing with foreign, 136; *Pan’s* focus on, 142–43. *See also* internationalism; transnationalism
- Donati, Enrico, 180–81
- Duchamp, Marcel, 18, 178–81
- East Africa, little magazine in, 212–19
- economic factors: cost of paper, 165, 303n55; and exile magazines, 162–63; shipping, 169; and transatlantic immobility, 108
- Egoist*, 265: on microfilm, 265; *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* serialized in, 89; and transatlantic immobility, 75–76, 79, 81; *Ulysses* serialized in, 87, 92
- Egyptian poetry, 122–24
- Eliot, T. S., 25–26, 92–102; anger over changes to *The Waste Land*, 100; contribution to *transatlantic review*, 103; opinions on *Dial*, 16, 25, 93–97, 98–99; *The Waste Land* as epigraph, 224–27
- émigrés, involvement of, 16
- English Review*, 106–7
- Ernst, Max, 176–77
- Eurocentrism, 136; modernism identified with, 191; in Okigbo’s poetry, 220; and Pound, 11; repression in *Blok*, 40
- exchange rate, and exile magazines, 160–61
- exhibition space, magazines as, 171–73, 175–82, 184–85, 304n61
- Exile*, locations of production, 156–57

Index

- exile magazines: *Das Wort*, 17–18;
overview, 151–59; typos in, 165–68,
302n42, 302n43. See also *Broom*; *VVV*
- exiles and expats, 182–87; involvement
of, 16; Surrealists, 178. See also Beier,
Ulli; Breton, André; Césaire, Aimé;
Duchamp, Marcel; Ernst, Max;
Loeb, Harold; Marinetti, F. T.
- Fascism: and anti-Fascist *riviste*, 117–20;
complicated cultural politics, and
Corrente di vita giovanile, 145–48;
flourishing culture before, 116; and
Futurist magazines, 260–61; giving
rise to exile magazines, 153; *Il*
convegno, 134, 138–39, 298n42; laws
against publications, 139, 143; laws
regulating broadcasts, 260–61;
magazines in response to, 111–12; *Pan*
as Fascist cultural renewal, 140, 142;
Primato's desire to unite under, 148–49
- Fenollosa, Ernest, 66
- Ferrieri, Enzo, 23, 116, 118–20, 132–40
- Ford, Ford Madox, 102–10; attempt of to
bridge Paris, New York, and London,
102–3, 105, 107, 109–10; lateness of
transatlantic review, 105–6
- form: *Black Orpheus's*, 206–7; *Criterion's*,
97; defined, 21, 22; determining shape
of poem, 101–2; *Dial's* characteristics,
95–97, 99; and Internet, 267–69
- forma antologica*, 119
- Francophone literature, 205–6
- Frazer, Sir James, 226
- free copies, as promotion, 126, 130
- French *revues*, influence on *Le papyrus*,
122–25
- Friedman, Susan Stanford, 47
- funding: for *Black Orpheus*, 204; CCF,
202–3; for digital archives, 31
- Futurism, 28–29; depicted in photo of
Marinetti, 269–71, 272; encouraging
new areas, 317n30; experimenting
with wireless tactics, 242–63; made
possible by *riviste*, 230–31; manifesto
published in *Poesia*, 130–31; Milan
and, 121–22; and technology, 231–36;
and typographical experimentation,
50–51
- Futurist magazines: circulation,
243–44; mapped timelines, 248, 249,
251, 252, 254, 257; as movement,
247–50, 252–54; number of,
245–46, 315n6, 279n51. See also
Poesia; *riviste*
- Galloway, Alexander, 50
- Garakuta bunko*, 60
- geography: adjusting narrative about
little magazines, 193; diverse, 3;
maps of distribution, 39–46
- Ghana, moving *Transition* to, 218
- Gikandi, Simon, 191–92
- globalism. See internationalism;
transnationalism
- “Global Literary Networks,” 35
- global modernisms: circulation and, 47;
trying to imagine, 8
- global publishing, and African
magazines, 201–2
- Gobetti, Piero, 116–19
- Goethe, Johann Wolfgang, and
weltliteratur, 8–10, 14–15
- Golden Bough, The* (Frazer), 226
- Gramsci, Antonio, 243–44
- grid, 51–59, 53, 54, 56, 59; *De Stijl*, 52–53;
Merz, 52–54; myriad shapes, 57
- Heinemann African Writers Series,
309–10n36
- Hogarth Press, printing of *The Waste*
Land, 101
- homelessness, and exile magazine, 154,
158

- “Idea of a Literary Review, The” (Eliot), 97–98
- Il Baretto*, 117–19
- Il convegno*, 23–25, 23, 24, 118–21, 132–39; compared to *Pan*, 142; as cultural center, 132; end of, 138; identification with *NRF*, 134; James Joyce in, 137; number of pages per year, 298n41
- “In Italia, all’estero,” editors’ use of phrase, 114–15
- India: effect of colonialism, 9; little magazine in, 67–71, 268–69; Western modernism’s arrival, 284–85n54
- interdisciplinary material, and *Corrente di vita giovanile*, 144–45
- internationalism: and contributors to *Il convegno*, 133; vs. homelessness, 158; *Kallol*’s, 70–72; modernist writers vs. magazines, 79; of *Poesia*, 127–29; striking balance between foreign and domestic literature, 136; *transatlantic review* vs. *transitions*, 110–12; *Transition*, 212, 216–17. *See also* transnationalism
- Internet, changes brought by, 267–69
- Isolato*es, 200
- Italian Futurists. *See* Futurism
- Italy: flourishing culture before Mussolini, 116; modernity suspended by World War II, 115. *See also* Fascism; Milan
- Italy, little magazines in. *See Corrente di vita giovanile*; *Il convegno*; *Pan*; *Poesia*; *riviste*
- Japanese magazines, 19; avant-garde graphic design, 64; background to modernism, 59–62; *Mavo*, 59, 62–64; and typographical experimentation, 51
- Jolas, Eugene, 110, 112
- journals, and letters, 275
- Joyce, James, 111; in *Il convegno*, 137; serialized works in little magazines, 85–93. *See also Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, A*; *Ulysses*
- “Kablepoema za okean” (Semenko), 55, 56
- Kafka, Franz, and alienation of postal service, 41–42
- Kalliney, Peter, 202–3
- Kallol*, 19, 59, 69–71
- Kantō Earthquake, impact on Japanese culture, 61–62
- keywords, 29–30
- Kirschenbaum, Matthew, 21
- Kraus reprints, 265–66
- Kyk-over-al*, 194, 197, 198–200, 308n19
- La gaceta literaria*: and literary network theorem, 44–45; visualizations in, 37
- La jungle*, 184–85
- “L’allégorie de genre” (Duchamps), 178–80, 179
- Lam, Wifredo, 184–85, 185
- “Lament of the Silent Sisters” (Okigbo), 314n85
- languages, too many, 11
- L’antenna*, 255–56
- La ronda*, 115
- “La rose d’oiseaux” (Duchamps), 180–81, 181
- Latour, Bruno, 43
- laws affecting distribution: broadcast, 260–61; French copyright, 83–84; import regulations, 75–76; U.S. copyright, 84–85, 294n79; U.S. shipping, 77
- laws affecting publication: Fascist, 139, 143; Indian publishing regulations, 68–69; Vernacular Press Act of 1878, 285n58

Index

- layout. *See* design
- Lazarus, Neil, 191
- Le desir libertaire*, 187–88
- Le papyrus*, 123–26, 123, 125
- “Le reglement des comptes,” 173–74, 174
- L'esprit nouveau*: maps, 40–41, 41; visualizations in, 37
- “Lestrygonians” (Joyce), 90
- letters: value in communication vs. periodical, 9–10, 275n14; importance in conveying information, 275n15
- “Letters to the Editor,” in *Transition*, 214–15
- “Lettre d’une jolie femme à un monsieur passéiste” (Marinetti), 234, 235
- “Limits” (Okigbo), 220–28
- Linati, Carlo, 115, 126, 132–33, 135–37
- literary analysis, global approach to, 8
- literary clubs, in Barbados, 308n21
- literary exchange, politics of, 136–37
- literary field, decolonialized, decapitalized, and decentered, 14
- literary magazines. *See* little magazines
- literary network. *See* network
- literary politics: anticolonialism in *Kallol*, 69–71; and *Corrente di vita viovavile*, 145–46, 148; and *Il Baretto*, 118
- little magazine(s): categorized, 273n4; defined, 2–4; ephemeral nature of, 264, 319–20n1; homelessness, 154; Indian, 67–71; and “little review,” terms applied to West Indian and African magazines, 307n9; as material object, 21; as medium, 27–32; and national rootedness, 106–8; numbers and diversity of, 2; overview, 1–8; role in world literature, 8–20; transatlantic ambitions of, 80–81; as world form, 20–26. *See also* digittle magazines; *dōjinshi*; Futurist magazines; exile magazines; periodicals; postcolonial magazines; *riviste*; individual titles
- Little Magazine, The (TLM)*, 268–69
- Little Review*: Eliot’s reservations about, 292n51; Pound as foreign correspondent to, 82–85; shipping overseas, 76; transatlantic ambitions of, 81; *Ulysses* serialized in, 85–92
- Loeb, Harold, 159–70
- London and Ford’s attempt to link with New York and Paris, 102–3, 105, 107, 109–10
- Long, Hoyt, 35
- Lukács, György, and power struggle with Bertolt Brecht, 18
- magazines. *See* academic periodical; artists’ magazines; digittle magazines; *dōjinshi*; exile magazines; Futurist magazines; little magazines; periodicals; *riviste*; and individual titles
- manifesto: comparative analysis, 20; Futurists’, 243–45, 249–50, 258–59; as genre, 20; published in *Poesia*, 130–31; and wireless magazines, 243–45
- “Manifesto of Race,” 134, 146
- maps: and awareness of limitations in circulation, 43; distribution, 39–46, 39, 41; time and place of *Riviste Futuriste*, 248, 249, 251, 252, 254, 257
- Marinetti, F. T., 121–33, 269–72, 270, 272; as collaborative editor, 245, 247–49; and Futurists’ opening up to technology, 242–45; as leader of Futurism, 131; and *Le papyrus*, 123–26; monitored by Fascists, 260–61; and *Poesia*, 126–31; “Telegramma” poems, 235–36; and

- typographical experimentation, 314n2; and wireless technology, 229–33
- marketing strategies, of *Poesia*, 129–30
- “Market Report,” in *Secession*, 161–62, 162
- Martini, Alberto, 129
- material forms, defined, 278n38
- materiality, little magazine as, 21–22
- Matta, Roberto, 178, 180
- Mavo*, 19, 59, 62–64; combining Dada, Bauhaus, and Japanese literary culture, 62–63; controversial cover, 284n50
- McFarlane, James, 194
- mediators, literary, 135–36
- medium, 27–32
- Menin, Mario, 271–72
- Merz*, and grid, 52–53, 54
- Micić, Ljubomir, 238–40
- microfilm, 265–66
- Milan: cultural activities during
Fascism, 144; focus on, 121–22; and politics of literary exchange, 136–37; *rivista*’s windows into intellectual life in, 149–50
- modernism: arrival in India, 284–85n54; in Bengali literature, 70; connected to homelessness, 158; dependence on little magazines, 1; immobility as barrier, 79; Milan and, 121–22; and postcolonialism, 26, 190–94, 219–28; promoted in *Solaria*, 120–21; “transatlantic axis for,” 75. *See also* global modernisms
- Modernism: A Guide to European Literature, 1890–1930* (Bradbury and McFarlane), 194
- Moretti, Franco, 13
- movement, Futurist magazines as, 247–50, 252–54
- Munson, Gorham, 161
- Mussolini, Benito, *Il convegno* as opposition to, 23–24
- Nag, Gokulchandra, 70
- national specificity, and transnational translatability, 12–13
- “Nausikaa” (Joyce), 91
- Nazism: giving rise to exile magazines, 153; magazines in response to, 111–12
- Neogy, Rajat, 25–26, 201, 212–18; arrest for sedition, 217–18; publishing letters to the editor, 214–15
- networks: and burden of connectivity, 34; Caballero’s theorem, 44–45; defined, 33, 38; effects of digitization on, 266–67; literary field as, 36; and new communications technologies, 33–34; overview, 32–58; positive and negative spaces, 43; sociological model of circulation, 47–48
- newspaper format, 145
- New York, and Ford’s attempt to link with Paris and London, 102–3, 105, 107, 109–10
- Nigeria, 204. *See also* West Africa
- Noi*, 269–71
- “Notizie,” in *Pan*, 142–43
- Nouvelle revue française (NRF)*, 49, 97, 134
- Ojetti, Ugo, 140–44
- Okigbo, Christopher, 192, 201; desire to appear in *Poetry*, 314n85; as modernist and postcolonialist, 220–28
- Onitsha pamphlets, 306–7n3
- Palm-Wine Drinkard* (Tutuola), 202
- Pan*, 140–44
- paper: costs, 165, 303n55; quality, 163–64; restrictions, impact on *Pan*, 143

Index

- Paris, and Ford's attempt to link with New York and London, 102–3, 105, 107, 109–10
- periodicals: public and collective nature of, 9–10; worldwide network, 37–38. *See also* academic periodical
- photographic reproductions, in *VVV*, 171–73
- “Plan for Cooperative Organization of Magazines,” 293n66
- Poesia*, 121–22, 126–31; abandoning, 244–45; beauty of, 129; free copies as promotion, 126, 130; internationalism of, 127–29; marketing strategies, 129–30; under Mario Dessy, 131
- poetry: Aimé Césaire's, 182–87; Egyptian, 122–24; French, 83–84; Futurist, 232–38; with grid, 55–56; Japanese, 61–62; “Limits,” 220–28; modern and relevant, 126; picture, 241; “A Study of French Modern Poets,” 82–83; “Telegramma 41” and “Telegramma 69,” 235–36; *The Waste Land*, 92–102; “Wireless,” 229
- Poetry of the Revolution* (Puchner), manifesto, 20
- Poli, Bernard, 107–8
- political agenda: and exile magazines, 181–82; *Il Baretti*, 118; little magazine as response to upheaval, 5, 111–12. *See also* anticolonialism; Fascism; Nazism; postcolonial magazines; propaganda, *riviste* as tool
- Poljanski, Branko Ve, 239–40
- Ponti, Giò, 133
- Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, *A* (Joyce), serialized, 89
- postal system: and *Broom*, 163, 168–70; and exile magazines, 155–58; import regulations, 75–76; international postage, 16; interruptions, 88–92, 291n42; potential alienation of, 41–42
- postcolonial magazines: *Bim* and *Kyk-over-al*, 198–200; modernism and postcolonial literature, 26, 219–28; overview, 189–94
- Pound, Ezra: “Canto VIII,” 222–24, 227, 313n79; centrality in little magazine scene, 5–6; dummy magazine, 7; Euro/Anglo-centric vision, 11; and Far East connection, 66–67; as foreign correspondent for *Little Review*, 82–85; formula for self-supporting magazine, 288–89n18; on “fugitive publications, 152–53; letter to Theodore Roosevelt, 289n26; and limits of international communication, 113; move from *Little Review* to *Dial*, 275n17; production location for *Exile*, 156–57; and Rabindranath Tagore, 67; transatlantic ambition of, 74–75; *Transatlantic Vortex Monthly*, 81–82; and *Ulysses*, 85–92; and *weltliteratur*, 9
- PRELIA, 34
- Présence africaine*, 205–6
- Prezzolini, Giuseppe, 164
- Primato*, 148–49
- “Prince of Blood” (Matta), 178, 180
- print protocol, 50–51
- print, quality of, 165–68
- print technologies: effect on literary production, 11; separate from formal institutions, 22; and wireless technology, interrelated, 232–42
- production, location of, 154–57
- propaganda, *riviste* as tool, 117
- publishing: African textbooks, 309n35, 309–10n36; global, and development

- of African magazines, 201–2; Milan as center of, 121; regulations in India, 68–69
- Puchner, Martin, 20
- Quinn, John, 81–82
- radio broadcasts: *Caribbean Voices*, 199–200; Marinetti's, 261
- radiotelegraphy, 238–41
- Rainey, Lawrence, 93–94
- Ramazani, Jahan, 79–80
- remediation, and remediation in reverse, 27–28
- reproductions and reprintings, 265–66
- République mondiale des lettres* (Casanova), 47–48
- reviews: in *Black Orpheus*, 208–10; on *Caribbean Voices*, 199; like-minded, as alliances, 130; little, 197; publishing, 130
- rivista-antologia*, 119
- riviste*: and battle over Italian culture, 122; defined, 116; effect of Fascism on development, 117; overview, 114–22; resembling academic periodical, 140–41. See also *Il Baretto*; *Il convegno*
- Rizzoli, 140–41, 43
- Rodriguez, Emilio, 195
- Rome, *Broom* published in, 159–60
- “Scylla and Charybdis” (Joyce), 90–91
- search function, 29–30
- Secession*, 161–62
- Seiichi, Funahashi, 60–61
- Seldes, Gilbert, 76
- Semenko, Mykhail, 55–56
- serialization: “Limits,” staggered publication, 220–28; simultaneous, 87; *Ulysses*, 85–92; *The Waste Land*, 100
- 75HP*, 241–42, 241
- Seymour, A. J., 194, 195
- Shaw, Nat, 164
- “Shimmy at the Latin Quarter Graveyard” (Micič), 239
- Shin bungaku kenkyū*, reproduction from *Ulysses*, 65, 66
- shipping: complications, 166, 168–70, 302n43, 303n47, 303n50; delays, 105. See also circulation; distribution; transatlantic immobility
- Shirakaba*, 61–62
- simultaneous publication: “Lament of the Drums,” 201; *Ulysses*, 87; *The Waste Land*, 92–102
- So, Richard, 35
- sociological model of literary network, 47–48
- Solaria*, 120–21
- South America, and little magazines' limited appeal, 11–12
- Spivak, Gayatri, 13
- “Study of French Modern Poets, The” (Pound), 82–84
- Surrealism: in exile, 178; at start of World War II, 18; and VVV, 171–76, 181–83, 305n70
- Svevo, Italo, 136
- Swanzy, Henry, 199–200
- Tagore, Rabindranath, 19, 67–70
- tariffs, 76; on *Exile*, 156–57; transatlantic, 84
- “Tarzan Is an Expatriate” (Theroux), 214
- technology: vs. book, 229–30; competing against print, 27; new forms of communication, 33–34, 137–38; reconceptualizing written word to accommodate, 242–43,

Index

- technology: vs. book (*continued*)
261–62; teaming radio and
printing press, 315n12. *See also*
digittle magazines; print
technology; radiotelegraphy;
wireless communication
- “Telegramma 41” and “Telegramma
69” (Marinetti), 235, 236
- “Telemachus” (Joyce), 291n42
- “tendency,” as cultural connectedness
within magazine, 97–98
- Thayer, Scofield, 76–77, 96, 99–100
- Theroux, Paul, 214
- Thibaudet, Albert, 297n36
- third-world literature, comparative
work, 273–74n5
- timeline, adjusting narrative about
little magazines, 193
- transatlantic immobility, 16;
commonality of, 81; cost as factor,
108; and *Criterion*, 93–102; and *Dial*,
76–79, 93–102; import regulations,
75–76; overview, 74–81; Pound’s
ambitions, 81–85; shipping delays,
105; tariffs, 84; and *transatlantic
review*, 102–12; and *Ulysses*, 85–93,
290n33; and *The Waste Land*, 92–95,
99–102
- transatlantic review*, 102–12;
compared to *transition*, 110–12;
cover, 104, 105; dating to
compensate for shipping, 303n50;
end of, 109, 294–95n85; lateness,
105–6, 110; transatlantic
ambitions, 81
- transatlantic simulcast: reasons for,
93–94; *Ulysses*, 87; *The Waste Land*,
92–102, 292n53
- Transatlantic Vortex Monthly*, 6–7
- transition* (Jolas), 110–12; as forerunner
to *Transition*, 217; as last exile
magazine, 171
- Transition* (Neogy), 25–26, 201–3, 212–19,
213, 216; vs. *Black Orpheus*, 312n59;
“Letters to the Editor,” 214–15
- transnationalism: little magazine
ambitions, 80; and national
specificity, 12–13; and simultaneous
printings, 87, 92–102
- Treccani, Ernesto, 144–45
- Trilling, Lionel, 214, 220
- Troy, William, on exile magazines,
152–53
- TSF (telegrafia senza fili)*, 236–37
- Tutola, Amos, 202
- typographical experimentation, 28,
314n2; European, 50–51; Japanese,
62; *Il convegno*’s industrial, 133–34
- typos, 165–68, 302n42, 302n43
- Tzara, Tristan, 181–82
- Uganda, 217–18. *See also* East Africa,
little magazine in
- Ulysses* (Joyce), 80; “Lestrygonians,”
90; “Nausikaa,” 91; “Order and
Myth,” 98; plans to bring to United
States, 290n33; reproduced passage
in *Shin bungaku kenkyū*, 65, 66;
“Scylla and Charybdis,” 90–91;
serialized, 85–92
- Vallette, Alfred, 83
- Valuta*, 160–61
- VVV, 4, 171–87, 175; Aimé Césaire’s
poetry in, 182–87, 184; location of
production, 155–56
- Waste Land, The* (Eliot), 80, 92–102; as
epigraph for “Limits,” 224–26;
influence on “Canto VIII,” 313n79;
shape determined by magazine’s
form, 101–2; variations in printings,
100–2
- Watson, James Sibley, 99–100



- West Africa: *Black Orpheus* in, 200–12;
little magazine development,
194–200. *See also* postcolonial
magazines
- wireless communication, 1910–1940:
overview, 232–42; in Italy, 246–62
- Work in Progress* (Joyce), 111
- world form: identifying multiplicity of,
13; overview, 20–26
- world literature, 8–20; difficulty
in defining, 274; and Goethe,
8–10
- World War I: as impediment to Italy's
modernity, 115; and transatlantic
immobility, 75–76
- worldliness, 3
- Zenit*, 238–40, 240