

Modernism and the Periodical Scene in 1915 and Today

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Keywords

Pessoa, Modernism, Magazines, *Orpheu*, Periodization.

Abstract

This article considers the Portuguese magazine *Orpheu* (1915) within the wider context of periodicals within modernism, drawing upon work carried out by the Modernist Magazines Project. It does this by considering such crucial features of the modernist magazine as its chronology and its geographical reach, and also points to new methods of analysing the materiality of magazines. By understanding the broader milieu of the modernist magazine we gain a clearer sense of how *Orpheu* can begin to be placed within the cultural field of the modernism.

Palavras-chave

Pessoa, Modernismo, Revistas, *Orpheu*, Periodização.

Resumo

Este artigo considera a revista portuguesa *Orpheu* (1915) no contexto mais alargado dos periódicos no âmbito do modernismo, baseando-se em trabalho desenvolvido ao abrigo do projeto de investigação Modernist Magazines Project. Fá-lo, considerando aspetos cruciais da revista modernista tais como a sua cronologia e a sua abrangência geográfica, propondo além disso novos métodos de análise da materialidade da revista. Ao compreendermos o meio mais alargado da revista modernista, ganhamos uma visão mais clara do posicionamento de *Orpheu* no campo cultural do modernismo.

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Orpheu is a significant example of the modernist “little magazine,” a phenomenon with a complex history and multiple iterations across the world. The Modernist Magazines Project that I have been co-directing since 2006 has aimed to trace the contribution that the little magazine, in all of its variants, has made to the construction of modernism, a project that has so far produced three volumes of essays on the modernist magazine in Britain and Ireland, North America, and in Europe, and which plans another series of volumes exploring the modernist magazine in the rest of the world.¹ In the third volume of the first series Clara Rocha’s essay on “Modernist Magazines in Portugal” has the subtitle “*Orpheu* and its Legacy”, indicating the significance of the appearance of this magazine 100 years ago for the “first modernism” in Portugal (ROCHA, 2013). As other contributors to this special issue analyze *Orpheu* in detail, instead this article sketches the broader global context of modernism and magazines in 1915, “the year of *Orpheu*,” as a way to locate both the individual significance of *Orpheu* within Portugal and Portuguese modernism, and to attempt a preliminary understanding of its position within this wider history of the “little magazine.” It also indicates some of the ways in which current research upon magazine culture has required new methods for the literary analysis of a textual object, the magazine, which differs greatly from poems, novels, or plays. This article thus sketches two key features of the approach of the Modernist Magazines Project, then discusses two new methods for the study of magazines, before finally considering how *Orpheu* can be understood in relation to some of the other key magazines in 1915.

One of the most well-known facts known about Fernando Pessoa, the key figure behind Portuguese “first modernism” and a key contributor and editor of *Orpheu* is, of course, his use of “fictitious authors”: although he created 136, as Jerónimo Pizarro and Patricio Ferrari explain, there are only three full-fledged heteronyms, namely Alberto Caeiro, Ricardo Reis, and Álvaro de Campos (see PESSOA, 2013). Pessoa’s use of multiple identities might be taken as a metaphor for the modernist little magazine itself, which seems to multiply further the more one considers it. The first study of the “little magazine” in English, Frederick Hoffman’s *The Little Magazine* (HOFFMAN, 1946) lists some 500 magazines in English in its bibliography (although it omits many others from the 1880s and 90s, let alone those that appeared after 1946); the three volumes so far of the Modernist Magazines Project has chapters on 500 magazines, many of which are not to be found in Hoffman’s study. This is particularly true of the third volume of the Modernist Magazines Project upon Europe, where the vast majority of the magazines discussed were ignored in Hoffmann’s study, and in many later

¹ The first series consisted of *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*: vol. I, *Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (2009); vol. II, *North America, 1894-1960* (2012); and vol. III, *Europe 1880-1940* (2013).

Anglophone publications. This has meant that a broader transnational picture of the phenomenon of the modernist little magazine between and across Britain, North America, and Europe has, until recently, been sadly lacking. The many networks and connections between Anglophone and non-Anglophone magazines have also been relatively ignored: tracing the links between, for example, Ford Madox Ford's *The English Review* and the *Mercure de France* or T. S. Eliot's *The Criterion* and *La Nouvelle Revue française*, thus reveals a magazine culture which sought to foster closer international alliances across the frontiers of national modernisms.² Or, to refer to an example from Hispanic studies, Gayle Rogers in *Modernism and the New Spain* has explored how the project for a shared circulation scheme between T. S. Eliot's *The Criterion* in Britain and Jose Ortega y Gasset's *Revista de Occidente* in Spain aimed to develop a European cosmopolitanism (ROGERS, 2012: 29-64).

What seems like an ever-expanding field of the modernist magazine has become more visible since the start of the Modernist Magazines Project in 2006. Modernist studies itself has also expanded with new work on transnationalism and globalization, as demonstrated in work by Jessica Berman, Susan Stanford Friedman, and in the essays contained in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms* (BERMAN, 2011; FRIEDMAN, 2015; WOLLAEGER and EATOUGH, 2012). Such innovations have made more visible the fact that the continents of South America, Africa, and Asia all have publications we can understand as modernist little magazines, and analyzing these in more detail should form the basis of much work in the future. As Eric Bulson argues, the little magazine was something like a "world form" that was crucial in transporting modernism as a movement around the world (BULSON, 2012: 272). Plurality and heterogeneity, therefore, are central features of the interaction between periodical culture and modernism, features that were also fundamental to Pessoa's life and works.

Periodization

The burgeoning field of periodical culture uncovered so far has significantly revised both the literary history and the geographical understanding of modernism. This work has shown that the periodization of modernism and its magazines needs to be greatly expanded beyond that of traditional accounts that suggest that modernism (in the Anglophone world at least) starts in the 1910s and conclude in the late 1930s. All three volumes of the first series of Modernist Magazines pushed the starting point back into the 1880s, in order to trace a fuller genealogy of the "little magazine". In Britain the most often cited precursor "little magazine" of modernism was that of *The Yellow Book* (1894-1897), but our research

² For a discussion of *The English Review* and the *Mercure* see Mark MORRISSON (2001: 17-53). *The Criterion* and the *NRF* are discussed below.

indicated the importance of other magazines such as the “Arts and Crafts” periodical, *The Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1884-1894), the English symbolist publication, *The Dial* (1889-1897), or the magazine of the Pre-Raphaelite movement, *The Germ* (1850). Such magazines pioneered the independent ethos and anti-commercial qualities that form the core of definitions of the modernist “little magazine”.³ In North America the 1890s saw the flourishing of large numbers of “ephemeral bibelots”, as F. W. Faxon labelled them in a bibliography of some 200 such publications in 1903 (FAXON, 1903). Short-lived magazines with bizarre names (*The Freak*, *The Lark*, *The Fly Leaf*, *The Ghorki*) and low circulations constitute what Kirsten MacLeod has described as a “fin-de-siècle modernism” and “contribute significantly to our understanding of the transatlantic nature of modernist literary exchange” (MACLEOD, 2008: 184). Turning to Europe again we find the 1880s as the point of origin for the ideas and attitudes of the modernist magazine shown in France with the appearance of symbolist magazines such as *La Plume* (1889-1905), *La Revue Blanche* (1889-1903), as well as other “petites revues” such as *Le Scapin* (1885-6), *La Pleiade* (1886-90), and *Le Chat Noir* (1881-95). The first critical book on the idea of the “little magazine” also appeared in France, with Remy de Gourmont’s *Les Petites Revues* (1900). Operating with an earlier genealogy for modernist magazines in Spain brings into view the Catalan magazines of “modernisme” and “noucentrisme”, as well as the influence of Nicaraguan poet Ruben Dario’s “modernismo”, and the work of the Generation of “98” (see COLE, 2013; WEST, 2013).

Extending the genealogy of the modernist magazine back into the late 19th century in this way enabled us to understand the emergence of the “petites revues” formula as a response to changes in mainstream publishing, the development of new (and cheaper) forms of print technology, and the emergence of an aesthetic ideology of cultural production which emphasized formal experimentation: all features that were crucial to the explosion of the little magazine in the twentieth century.⁴

Equally important was the extension of the chronology of modernism in magazines beyond the 1930s, particularly for British and American magazines.⁵ This enabled us to explore, for example, in a magazine such as *The Kenyon Review* (1939-1970) the emergence of New Criticism as it codified a certain version of “high

³ Hoffman et al, for example, define it as follows: “A little magazine is a magazine designed to print artistic work which for reasons of commercial expediency is not acceptable to the money-minded periodicals or presses [...] Such periodicals are, therefore, non-commercial by intent” (HOFFMAN, 1946: 2).

⁴ See discussion of these features see the “General Introduction” to both BROOKER and THACKER (2009) and (2012).

⁵ For Europe the complications attendant upon the effect of World War Two, such as the redrawing of national borders, meant that we decided to stop at 1940.

modernism” associated with Ezra Pound and T. S. Eliot. We could also explore how formations such as the Beats, the New York Poets, and the Black Mountain group attempted to revive the revolutionary spirit of early 20th century modernist experimentation in a different place and time.⁶

Geographies of Modernism

Paralleling the expanded chronology of the modernist magazine our project developed a closer focus upon the geographical co-ordinates of periodical publication. The transnational dimension of the modernist magazine, for instance, began to emerge very strongly, with stories of networks of international contributors as well as the peregrinations of particular magazines across continents, such as the American magazine *Broom* (1921-1924) in Rome, Berlin, and New York (in which the editors utilised the strength of the dollar in post- World War One Europe by moving the magazine to places where publication costs were cheaper). The avant-garde’s complex interactions between and across continents can also be traced, for example, in the history of Dada as it zig-zagged between Zurich, New York, Paris, and Berlin in magazines such as *Cabaret Voltaire* (Zurich, 1916), *The Blind Man* (New York, 1917), *Dada* (Paris, 1920-1), *Der Dada* (Berlin, 1919-1920), and back to *New York Dada* (New York, 1921). The affiliations between 291 (1915-1916) magazine, begun in New York by Alfred Stieglitz, and Francis Picabia’s 391 (1917), with three issues published in New York, followed by four issues in Barcelona, and a final issue published in Zurich in 1919, demonstrate the complex transnational geography of the avant-garde at this point: Tristan Tzara tellingly described 391 as the “revue en voyage”.⁷

Magazines, along with art exhibitions, were fundamental mechanisms for the diffusion of avant-garde movements and isms across Europe. Surrealism is one example, but perhaps the most striking is that of Futurism: from its origins in Italy with F. T. Marinetti it spread to form Futurist offshoots and magazines in Russia, Poland, and Portugal, with the publication of *Portugal Futurista* (1917) (Fig. 1).

Portugal Futurista was typical of many of the pan-European Futurist magazines in offering translated passages from the Italian Futurist leaders such as Marinetti and Boccioni and in adopting the confrontational rhetoric of Marinetti’s manifestoes. But it also demonstrated how the term “Futurism” was almost a synonym for any form of European avant-garde practice, shown in the publication in the magazine of poems by the non-Futurists Guillaume Apollinaire and Blaise Cendrars and, although Almada Negreiros and Santa-Rita Pintor did describe themselves as Futurists, other contributors such as Pessoa and Mário de Sá-Carneiro did not. Its avant-garde credentials – Futurist or otherwise – were, in a

⁶ See discussion of these magazines see chapters 40-44 of BROOKER and THACKER (2012).

⁷ Tzara in *Dada* 4-5, quoted in Debbie LEWER (2013: 1047).

sense, only heightened when its sole issue was charged with obscenity and seized by police.



Fig. 1. *Portugal Futurista* (1917)



Fig. 2. Cover of *Orpheu* 1 (1915)

Magazines thus contributed significantly to the spread of modernist ideas across Europe and beyond, demonstrating how modernist ideas travelled around the globe, interacting with national cultural traditions to produce new forms of modernist expression. *Orpheu* (Fig. 2) itself demonstrates something of this wider geography of modernism. Around 1914, Pessoa and Sá-Carneiro had planned a magazine with the expansive title *Europa: Revista Órgão do Interseccionismo*, but these ideas only came to fruition when they came into contact with Luis de Montalvor, a Portuguese poet newly returned from Brazil, and the Brazilian modernist poet, Ronald de Carvalho. Hence, *Orpheu* proudly proclaimed its transnational location to be “Portugal-Brazil” at the beginning.

In exploring the transnational travels of modernist little magazines like the Luso-Brazilian *Orpheu* around the world we are thus studying what Andreas Huyssens describes as “modernisms at large”, that is, “the cross-national cultural forms that emerge from the negotiation of the modern with the indigenous, the colonial and the postcolonial in the ‘non-Western’ world” (HUYSENS, 2005: 9).

A key part of Huyssens’ notion of “modernisms at large”, translated into the field of magazine publication, would thus analyse the interactions between the form of the Western modernist little magazine and pre-existing types of periodical publication. One approach to this issue would be follow the work of Franco Moretti’s upon the novel. Moretti has been tracing the development of the modern

novel as “world literature”, investigating how the modern novel as a literary form in French or English was translated around the globe, from c.1750 onwards, by what he terms a “wave of diffusion” (MORETTI, 2013: 50).⁸ In Moretti’s view when the novel emerges in locations outside of Europe it does so as a “compromise” between the original styling of the novel and the native cultural traditions that take up the form and adapt it: as Moretti puts it, there is a “compromise” between “foreign form, local material – and local form” (MORETTI, 2013: 57). Can Moretti’s method be transposed to a different textual object, the “little magazine”?

To do so would be to ask if a symbolist “petit revue” in France in the 1890s, such as *La Revue Blanche* (1890-1903) can be said to share something significant with Margaret Anderson’s *The Little Review* (1914-1929) in the US, *Sur* (1931-1992) in Buenos Aires (Fig. 3), or *Revista de Antropofagia* (1928-1929) in São Paulo (Fig. 4); and do the two little magazines entitled *Klaxon*, one from Ireland (1923) and one from Brazil (1922-1923), sound alike? (Figs. 5 & 6)

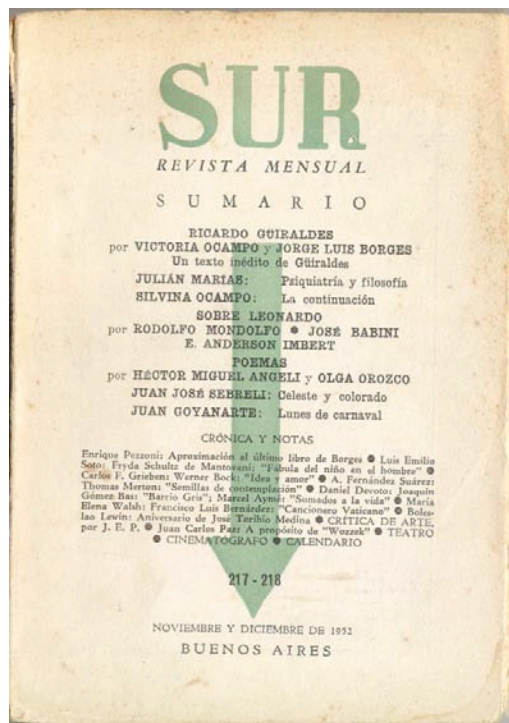
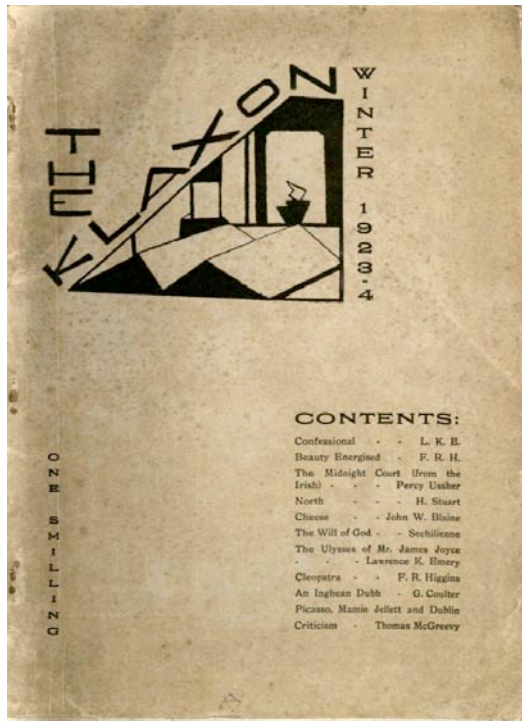
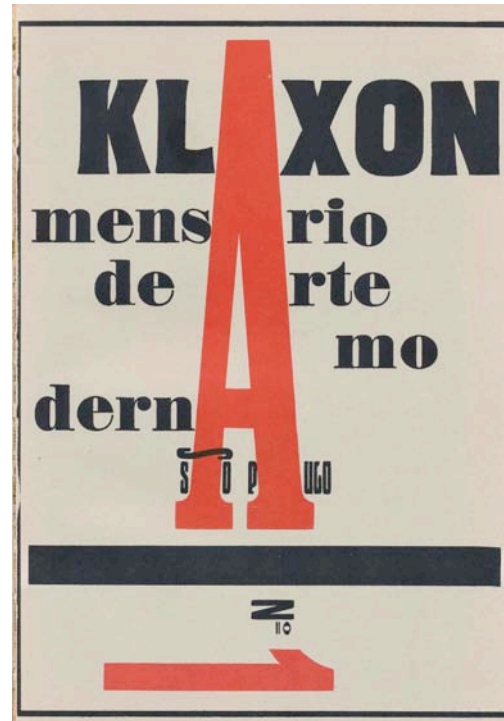


Fig. 3. *Sur* (1952)



Fig. 4. *Revista de Antropofagia* (1928)

⁸ This work has developed from his earlier notion of “world texts” in *Modern Epic: the World System from Goethe to García Márquez* (London: Verso, 1996). Books such as *Ulysses* or *Faust*, are defined as “world texts, whose geographical frame of reference is no longer the nation-state, but a broader entity – a continent, or the world-system as a whole” (p. 50). See also Moretti’s two large edited volumes, *The Novel*, vol. I, *History, Geography, and Culture*; vol. II, *Forms and Themes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

Fig. 5. *Klaxon* (1923)Fig. 6. *Klaxon* (1922)

Or, in this cross-cultural encounter, is the textual object of the “little magazine” transformed by local materials and local forms to become unrecognisable from its European origins? Is there thus a “world genre” of the little magazine, or merely national variations on an initial type pioneered in Europe and America?⁹ Moretti’s argument would tend towards the latter, and is thus open to the charge of perpetuating a centre/periphery model of cultural imperialism, whereby the “West” is seen to take the form of the novel or the little magazine around the globe to locations lacking experimental aesthetic traditions.

This question becomes crucial when we explore in detail the materiality of the modernist magazine in environments beyond the “West”. Exploring Africa, for example, we can locate forms of modernist little magazine that flourish way beyond 1945, such as Nigeria’s *Black Orpheus*, published in Lagos between 1957-1967, or Uganda’s *Transition* (1961-1968) (Fig. 7).

⁹ In Moretti’s terms the distinction is between a wave of diffusion, or an evolutionary tree: the tree moves from unity to diversity; the wave observes “uniformity engulfing an initial diversity” (Moretti, 2013: 60).

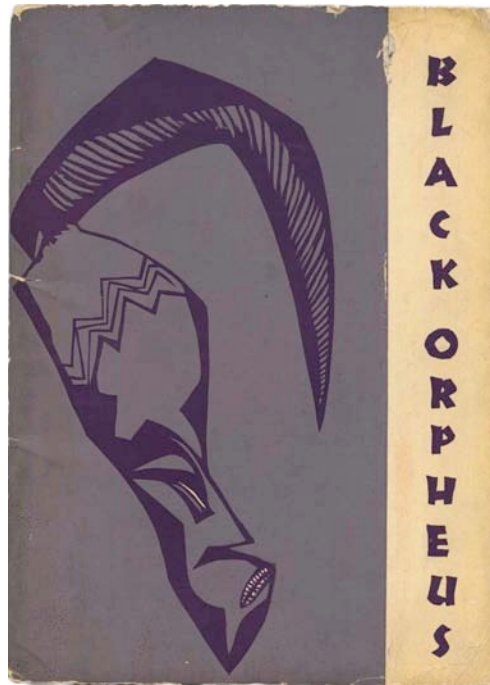


Fig. 7. *Black Orpheus* (Lagos, Nigeria, 1957)

One key issue to consider is the impact of colonialism and post-colonial national liberation struggles on these magazines: it would be far too easy to view them as simply “belated” versions of Anglo-European modernism, rather than magazines that blend together indigenous cultural practices with imported notions of what a modernist little magazine might be. Bulson thus sees the “little magazine” as something like a “world form”, and refuses to chronologically prioritise Western European periodicals:

The form of the little magazine, which we identify with the birth of modernism, was already in place in non-Western countries around the globe, including Japan and Argentina. It does not only belong to the West, even if it was the vehicle that carried so many modernist texts in and between England, the United States, and Europe. When the little magazine comes to Africa in the 1950s, it owes as much to the legacy of Anglo-American and European avant-garde magazines as it does to the pamphlet culture of India and an expansive network of Lusophone and Francophone newspapers and periodicals that ballooned in the 1940s. The African little magazine, then, is a strange amalgam of print media, something that could emerge only under postwar conditions when independent nations were being borne out of the wreckage of collapsed empires and modernist magazine culture that was already a thing of the past.

(BULSON, 2012: 268)

This is a powerful statement of the need to consider more carefully the material print culture of specific nations when tracing the diffusion of the modernist magazine across the globe, and suggests that both an expanded chronology and an enlarged geography are crucial features for future work in this field.

In addition to these wider methodological categories the work of the Modernist Magazines Project has also developed new ideas about the “close reading” of periodicals and their contents. If we consider magazines as the place where modernism appeared, as Bob Scholes and Cliff Wulfman have argued (SCHOLES and WULFMAN, 2010), then one important implication is that we must start to analyse magazines as the primary texts of modernism, rather than just viewing them as textual objects to be quarried in search of key figures, since this already prejudges that these are the key figures and ignores the stories of how they endured and others did not. Why, for example, do we not remember a poem with the title, “Waste Land”, composed by Maidson Cawein, and published in the magazine *Poetry*, a few years before the more famous poem of the same name by T. S. Eliot?

If we consider such magazines as some of the primary texts of modernism we also have to consider new methods for studying them, as analyzing a magazine is clearly unlike analyzing a novel, a poem, or a play. This article thus turns to consider two such methods: *periodical codes*; and the idea of the *periodical field*.

Periodical Codes

The concept of periodical codes derives from the division proposed by Jerome McGann between the linguistic codes (the semiotics and semantics of the actual words) and the bibliographic codes of a text (such matters as “typefaces, bindings, book prices, page format”) (MCGANN, 1991: 13). Developing McGann’s idea, George Bornstein argues that an alteration in “the bibliographic and contextual codes changes the meaning of the poem, even though the words remain the same” (BORNSTEIN, 2001: 99). This emphasizes McGann’s argument that in any text “Meaning is transmitted through bibliographical as well as linguistic codes” and that these two signifying systems work together to generate the overall meaning of a text (MCGANN, 1991: 57, 67). The material format of a magazine itself is, therefore, a crucial signifying factor in understanding the texts and images found within its pages.

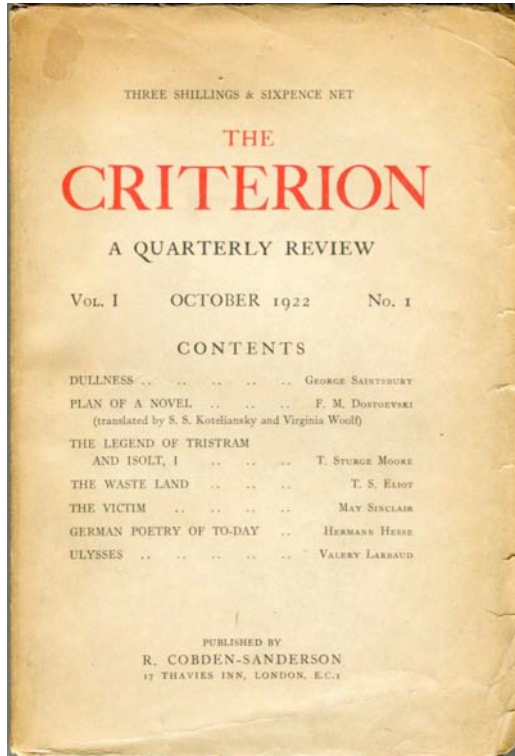
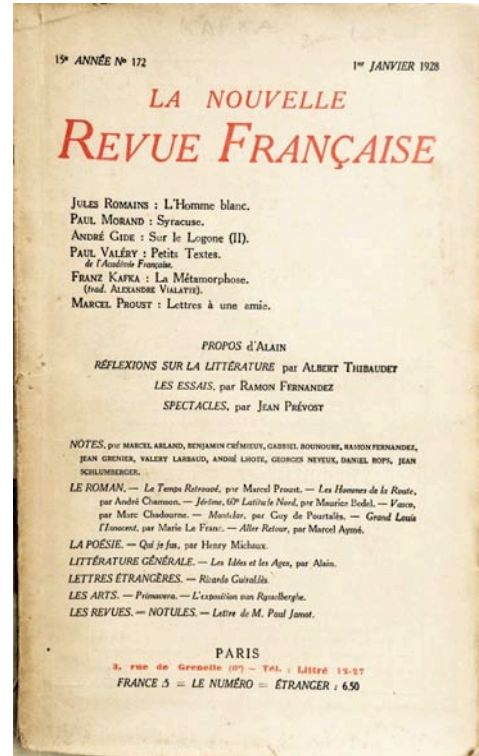
The *periodical codes* that are at play in any magazine include such features as: page layout (e.g. the amount of white space, number of columns); typefaces; price; physical dimensions of the volume; periodicity of publication (weekly, monthly, quarterly, irregular); use of illustrations (colour or monochrome, the forms of reproductive technology employed); use and placement of advertisements; quality of paper and binding; networks of distribution and sales; modes of financial support; payment practices towards contributors; editorial arrangements; or the type of material published (poetry, reviews, manifestoes, editorials, illustrations, social and political comment etc). We can also distinguish between periodical codes that are *internal* to the design of a magazine (e.g. paper, typeface, layout) and

those that constitute its *external relations* (distribution in a bookshop, support from patrons). However, it is often the *relationship* between internal and external periodical codes that is most significant. Advertisements, for example, constitute both internal and external codes, indicating, on the one hand, an external relationship to an imagined readership and a relationship to the world of commerce and commodities, while operating, on the other hand, in their placement in the page or position in the magazine as a whole, and as part of the magazine's internal code.

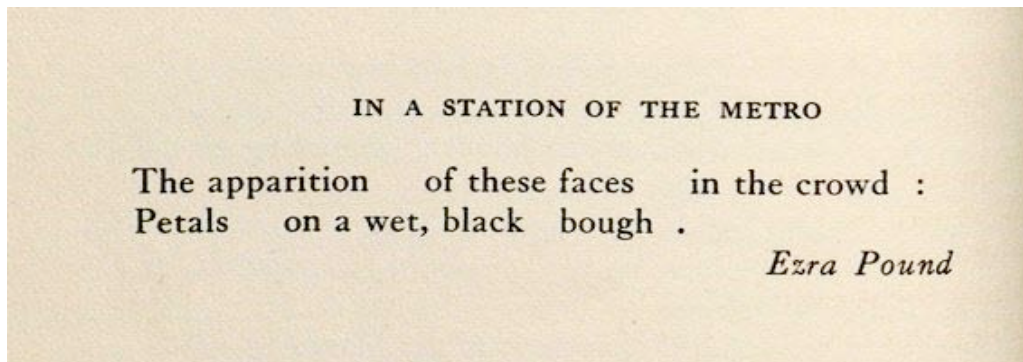
I want to discuss two examples to illustrate the idea of periodical codes. The first is T. S. Eliot's magazine, *The Criterion*, in which *The Waste Land* was first published, in its inaugural issue of 1922. As Jason Harding suggests, Eliot "modelled his literary review on the French monthly review *Nouvelle Revue française* (NRF), to which he was then London correspondent" (HARDING, 2009: 349). Eliot had first read the NRF while living in Paris as a student between 1910-1911. Prior to publishing the first issue of *The Criterion* Eliot tried to recruit contributors from across Europe, contacting authors including Hermann Hesse, André Gide (the editor of the NRF), Paul Valéry, and Marcel Proust, all contributors to the NRF (HARDING, 2009: 349). Thus the first issue of *The Criterion* carried a translation of Valéry Larbaud's famous lecture on Joyce's *Ulysses*, an article first published in *La Nouvelle Revue française*. In addition it contained Hesse on modern German poetry, and a translation from Fyodor Dostoevsky.

More striking than the overlapping contents, however, is the similarity of their covers: a simple comparison of the two covers indicates how the internal periodical codes of the two magazines are strikingly similar (Fig. 8).

In terms of typeface, layout, and perhaps most importantly use of colour, we are looking here at a very literal translation of one textual object into another. There are only a few differences, such as the use of italics in the French title, and a slight difference in how author and title are presented. The coding in both magazines signifies the high intellectual seriousness of the periodical, which reinforces the employment of the term "review" (revue) in both magazines. Eliot indicated that the magazine should have no illustrations or adverts and "be simple and severe in appearance [...] I wish to make it primarily a critical review" (cited in HARDING, 2009: 348). Indeed *The Waste Land* is one of the relatively few pieces of creative work in the magazine. In so doing, Eliot not only aligned *The Criterion* with the classical severity of the French review, he also distanced his periodical from other contemporary British magazines of modernism that employed illustrative covers or advertising material such as *Art and Letters*, or *The Adelphi* – although in some respects they are somewhat similar in appearance in terms of size and typography. It also helped Eliot distinguish his magazine from contemporary avant-garde periodicals containing more creative work, such as *The Little Review*, *Coterie*, or *The Tyro*.

Fig. 8. *The Criterion* (1922)Fig. 9. *La Nouvelle Revue Française* (1928)

My second example is Ezra Pound's famous Imagist poem, "In a Station of the Metro" (Fig. 10).¹⁰ Most readers of this poem know it in the following form, widely anthologised: "The apparition of these faces in the crowd; | Petals on a wet, black bough" (POUND, 1984: 109). When first published in Harriet Monroe's significant American little magazine, *Poetry*, the poem appeared rather differently (Pound, 1913: 12):

Fig. 10. Pound, "In a Station of the Metro", *Poetry* (1913)

¹⁰ Pound's haiku-like poem testifies to his engagement with that Japanese form, which also captured Pessoa's interest, as shown by the body of haikus in English and Portuguese extant in his archive (Cf. Ferrari & Pittella-Leite, Spring 2016: 189 & ff.).

Pound was most insistent that the printers observe the spacing here, a fact that has sadly been somewhat ignored in later editions of the poem, especially those that appear regularly in front of our students. What we get here is an example of how the periodical codes of these magazines – the material features of the textual appearance of the poem – create a different poem, with different meanings. Or, as Peter McDonald has argued, the poem should be read in terms of the “frames created by the periodical context itself” (MCDONALD, 2003: 234)

In the case of the “Metro” we thus have a fascinating range of periodical contexts or codes in which to locate the poem, since before Pound’s poem finally appeared in book form in November 1915 (in his *Catholic Anthology*), the poem had appeared in no less than four different magazines, and with slight textual variants: *Poetry*, *The New Freewoman*, but also *T.P.’s Weekly* (June 6th 1913) in the article, “How I Began”; and in the *Fortnightly Review* for September 1914, in the essay, “Vorticism.”¹¹

Now whereas the first two periodicals can easily be described as modernist, *T. P.’s Weekly* (Fig. 11) sits more uneasily within that designation.

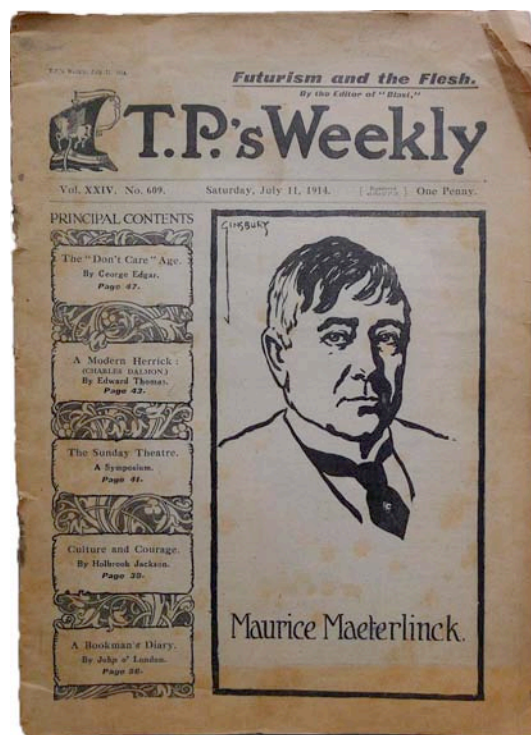


Fig. 11, *T.P.’s Weekly* (1914)

From its first publication in 1902 *T.P.’s Weekly* was designed as a literary paper for the expanding working-class and lower middle-classes living in the new suburbs. It was edited by the Irish Nationalist T. P. O’Connor and reached a circulation of around 250,000. Guided by O’Connor’s claim that “We have entered

¹¹ For a discussion of the poem’s variants see Chilton and Gibertson (1990).

upon the period of Democracy in Literature" (cited in WALLER, 2006: 88) it aimed to bring informed knowledge of all literary topics to this new mass audience. Although we might expect it to be populated with the work of those authors later dismissed by Virginia Woolf as "Edwardian" (Wells and Bennett were indeed published in it), *T.P.'s Weekly* also serialised Conrad's *Nostramo* in 1904 and under its editor Wilfred Whitten the magazine became an interesting attempt to shape the reading habits of this newly sector of the Edwardian public. *T.P.'s Weekly* also reached an international audience, including Pessoa, who, as Patricia Silva shows, kept abreast of developments in English poetry by reading the magazine (SILVA [MCNEILL], 2014). The Fabian Holbrook Jackson, who had edited the important modernist magazine, *The New Age*, with A. R. Orage from 1907, became editor of *T.P.'s Weekly* in 1911 and eventually re-launched the magazine as *To-day* in 1916. In this period, then, the division between minority modernist publications and more mass market magazines is less clear cut than critics have previously thought: the cultural field of periodical publishing was, in many ways, a very fluid and diverse one. Reading Pound's "Metro" poem in the context of a critical explication of a modernist text in a periodical aimed at a newly democratised mass public thus presents a quite different text from the elliptical high-modernist classic that it appears when published in a specialist poetry magazine or between the covers of a collected poems, or even in the pages of *The New Freewoman*, a magazine of a circulation of some 300 with an avowedly feminist agenda (RABATÉ, 2009). The periodical codes of these respective magazines, therefore, shape what the poem meant to a reader in 1913.

Periodical Field

Analysing the differing periodical codes employed by magazines such as *Poetry* and *T. P.'s Weekly* also prompts us to consider how such magazines can be positioned within the wider cultural field of modernist publishing. This can be done by locating the magazines within what we can call, adapting from Pierre Bourdieu, the periodical field.¹² If we look at some of the magazines considered in the North American volume of the Modernist Magazines Project we can outline a periodical field containing the following (not exclusive) categories: pulps, slicks, highbrow, quality, avant-garde, little, mass, radical, bibelot, and middlebrow. We could structure this field in terms of magazine content, distinguishing between, for instance, *Poetry*, *The Dial*, and *The Little Review* in terms of how much avant-garde or experimental material they published. The periodical field might also be

¹² Bourdieu writes that a "field is a separate social universe having its own laws of functioning independent of those of politics and the economy....it is a veritable social universe where, in accordance with its particular laws, there accumulates a particular form of capital and where relations of force of a particular type are exerted" (BOURDIEU, 1993: 162, 164).

structured in terms of the intended readership, distinguishing the “clever” reader of *The Smart Set* from the politicised reader of *The Masses*, for example, or by reference to the periodical codes employed on the cover of a magazine to indicate to a reader what kind of magazine they are buying: a large size “quality” magazine with a colourful cover (*Esquire*), or a serious review, with little colour and no illustrations, devoted to poetry (*Poetry*). Magazines could also be positioned within a field based on sales or circulation figures and, drawing upon Bourdieu once again (BOURDIEU, 1993: 75), we might distinguish between high sales and low symbolic capital (those selling a million or more such as *Collier's*, *Saturday Evening Post*, or *Ladies Home Journal*), and those with low sales and high symbolic capital (around 4000 for *Broom*).¹³

Such an exercise would indeed be useful and revealing but perhaps ultimately raise more questions than it answers: how do we judge content as “avant-garde” or outdated? What percentage of its pages must an individual magazine contain in order to count as avant-garde? What happens to the placement of a magazine in the periodical field when it changes direction over the course of time due to a change in editor or owner – can the synchronic model of the field deal with the diachronic changes that often reshape a periodical? What about magazines whose periodical codes contain an ambiguous message about its contents, such as *The Smart Set*, as we have seen, or *The Masses*, which certain critics compare in appearance to *Vanity Fair* or *Ladies Home Journal*? (see MORRISSON, 2001: 175; ZURIER, 1988). And what about the appearance of writers of high symbolic capital in magazines with large sales (Virginia Woolf in *Good Housekeeping*; Theodor Drieser in *Munsey's*; Willa Cather in *McClure's*) or medium sales (Pound, Joyce, and Ford in *The Smart Set*; Eliot in *Vanity Fair* or *Vogue*)¹⁴ – does this boost the symbolic capital of the magazine or somehow lower that of the authors?

These are important questions to pursue in the future, but the idea of a periodical field does at least offer a way to consider magazines within the wider networks that constitute modernism. The concept also allows us greater nuance to the national history of magazine publication, showing what formats were available to a new magazine in a given place, at a given time, and how certain magazines innovated by creating new positions on the periodical field (e.g. the blend of the European avant-garde and the serious artistic review pioneered by *The Dial*). The construction of a national periodical field would also be a starting point for a transnational periodical field, analyzing the way for instance that a magazine might be located within a different position when considered alongside similar publications in other countries: does, for example, *The Criterion* appear less

¹³ In December, 1913 *The Saturday Evening Post* printed on its cover that its circulation had reached 2m a week, a figure that continued into the 1920s.

¹⁴ Eliot discussed the philosopher F. H. Bradley in *Vanity Fair* in 1923, a piece which was reprinted in *Vogue* in 1924 (ELIOT, 2009: 496).

“modernist” when placed alongside the *NRF* within a French periodical field replete with multiple magazines committed to avant-garde experimentation? Or, how radical do the small number of British surrealist magazines – *The London Bulletin*, *Arson*, and *Contemporary Poetry and Prose* – look when located within the periodical field of continental Europe replete with multifarious forms of surrealist publication?

Orpheu in the Periodical Field

When *Orpheu* appeared in 1915, then, what did the transnational periodical field look like? What possible networks existed between it and the magazines of 1915, considered in terms of personal links and connections, but also in terms of shared contributors, or the use of similar periodical codes?

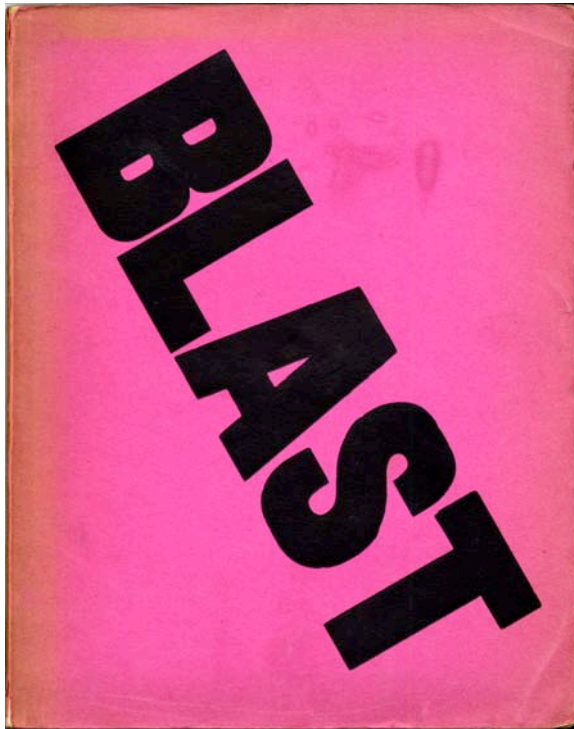


Fig. 12. *Blast* 1 (London, 1914)

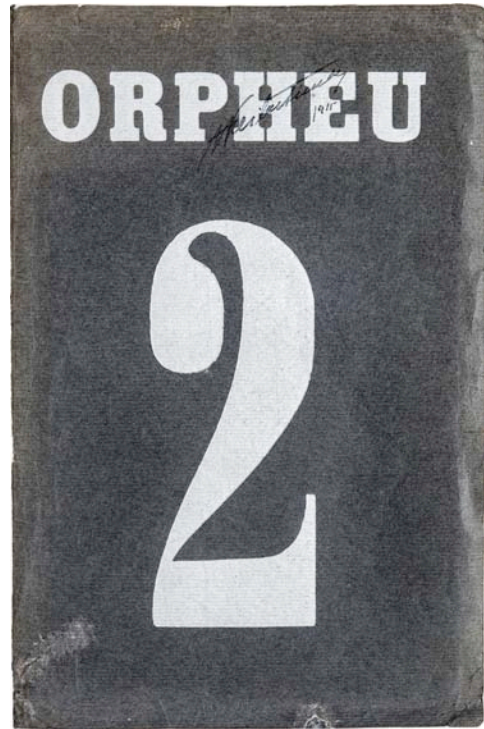


Fig. 13. *Orpheu* 2 (Lisbon, 1915)

If we look at Britain and Ireland we see that 1915 was something of a quiet period for modernist magazines. The impact of world war drastically curtailed magazine production: journals such as John Middleton Murry’s *Rhythm* and its successor, *The Blue Review*, Harold Monro’s *Poetry Review* and *Poetry and Drama* all closed down by 1914.¹⁵ One of the most significant British magazines at this time was Wyndham Lewis’s *Blast* (Fig. 12), mouthpiece of the Vorticist movement, and

¹⁵ Following the war there was an efflorescence of magazines, such as the *London Mercury*, *Coterie*, *The Owl*, and *The Monthly Chapbook*, which all appeared in 1919.

which published its first issue in 1914, and then a second, and final, issue in 1915. Pessoa possessed copies of *Blast* and the influence of the British magazine upon the attitude and contents of *Orpheu* (Fig. 13) has been noted by Patricia Silva (SILVA [MCNEILL], 2015). In particular we might note the similarities in the periodical codes employed in the second issue of *Orpheu* (June 1915) and the first issue of *Blast*: both eschew any decorative features and instead employ a minimal, yet striking, typography to proclaim the title of the magazine and, in the case, of *Orpheu* the issue number.

If we turn to continental Europe in 1915 we can detect the first stirrings of the various avant-garde factions that were to dominate European little magazines for the next decade. We are still pre-Dada and surrealism, movements that were to result in multiple magazines in the 1920s. However, the avant-garde protagonists of *Orpheu* were almost certainly aware of some of the magazines linked to Cubism, Expressionism, and Futurism. Mário de Sá-Carneiro, who had lived in Paris since 1912, would have been a particularly important conduit for conveying information on Cubism and other avant-garde formations. One key magazine in this content would have been Guillaume Apollinaire's *Les Soirées De Paris* which, between 1912-1914, contained reproductions of work by almost all the major avant-garde artists of the period, including Georges Braque, Francis Picabia, and Picasso, with a special emphasis upon Cubism (Fig. 14)

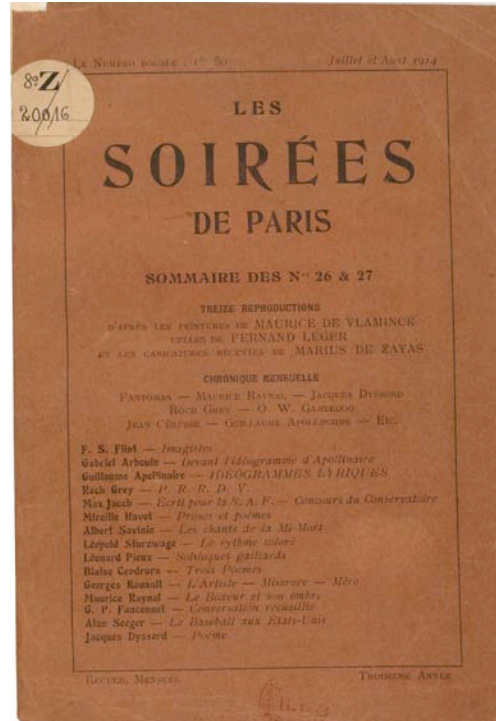


Fig. 14. *Les Soirées de Paris* (1914)

The “Monthly Chronicle” series discussed avant-garde activity outside of Paris, reporting on Futurism in Italy and Expressionism in Berlin, and the

magazine also featured a number of Apollinaire's innovative visual poems or calligrammes. Ricardo Vasconcelos has traced the impact of the Parisian avant-garde as experienced by Sá-Carneiro, including his reading of *Les Soirées* and awareness of Cubism painting, demonstrating how, particularly in his correspondence with Pessoa, *Orpheu* can be located within the same area of the transnational periodical field as *Les Soirées* or its successor magazine, *L'Elan* (1915-1916) (see VASCONCELOS, 2015).

Both *Blast* and *Les Soirées* contained many references to Futurism, the acme of the modernist movement in this period, and the ism whose influence can be detected throughout *Orpheu*. Futurism, with its celebration of urban modernity and the advances of technology, was clearly the inspiration for Pessoa's first poem under the heteronym Álvaro de Campos, "Ode Triumphal", which appeared in the initial issue of *Orpheu*:

Horas europeias, produtoras, entaladas
 Entre maquinismos e afazêres úteis!
 Grandes cidades paradas nos cafés,
 Nos cafés – oásis de inutilidades ruídosas
 Onde se cristalisam e se precipitam
 Os rumores e os gestos do Útil
 E as rodas, e as rodas-dentadas e as chumaceiras do Progressivo!
 Nova Minerva sem-alma dos cais e das gares!
 Novos entusiasmos de estatura do Momento!

[Productive European hours, wedged
 Between machines and practical matters!
 Big cities pausing for a moment in cafes,
 In cafes, those oases of useless chatter
 Where the sounds and gestures of the Useful
 Crytallise and precipitate,
 And with them the wheels, cogwheels and ball bearings of Progress!
 New soulless Minerva of wharfs and train stations!
 New enthusiasms commensurate with the Moment!]

(PESSOA 2014: 49; PESSOA 2006: 154)

Rocha accurately describes this as "the great Futurist poem of twentieth-century Portuguese literature" (ROCHA 2013: 418), and the declamatory tone shown by the repeated exclamation marks, as well as the connection with modern "new enthusiasms" such as the sights and sounds of urban modernity (cafes, train stations, ball-bearings), clearly echoes Italian Futurism.¹⁶ However, Rocha is careful to indicate how Pessoa's poem also builds upon Futurism in espousing elements of one of his own isms, Sensationism, as shown in the final line of the poem, "Ah if

¹⁶ Although Campos himself suggested that the poem was only "inspired" by Futurism, rather than an example of it; see SILVA [MCNEILL] (2014: 101).

only I could be all people and all places!”, a declaration which points the way to the pluralized identities that preoccupied Pessoa throughout his career. As Rocha argues, Pessoa “never declared himself a Symbolist, Cubist, or Futurist, but he was all of these things” (ROCHA 2013: 419).

We can extend this point further by suggesting that *Orpheu* itself shows the impact of the multiple isms encountered in the avant-garde periodical field of 1915. In a way *Orpheu* drew upon the “new enthusiasms” of Symbolism, Cubism, and Futurism found in French magazines, the Vorticism of *Blast*, and information about innovations such as the Imagist poets, whom Pessoa had read about in *T.P.’s Weekly*.¹⁷ However, rather than try to adopt any one of these isms, or even try to distil them into a single indigenous Portuguese ism (as, arguably, *Portugal Futurista* was to try to do in 1917), *Orpheu* produced a magazine that sought to amalgamate a plurality of modernisms. This plurality is demonstrated in Pessoa’s notion of Sensationism, perhaps the dominant ism in *Orpheu*, and which represented something like a synthesis of avant-garde styles, both Portuguese (Paulismo, Intersectionism) and foreign (Vorticism, Futurism, Cubism). Rather than heteronyms, therefore, perhaps what we find in *Orpheu* is a magazine of heteroisms, or, as Álvaro de Campos described it: “the sum and synthesis of all modern literary movements.”¹⁸ Recognising this feature might be the place to start when tracing further the connections between *Orpheu* and the many other modernist magazines in the transnational periodical field.

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¹⁷ Silva argues that one of Pessoa’s chief sources of information about British poetry in the 1910s came from his reading of *T.P.’s Weekly*; see SILVA [MCNEILL] (2014: 83-85).

¹⁸ Fernando Pessoa, *Páginas Íntimas e de Auto-Interpretação* (1966), cited in ROCHA (2013: 413).

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