

## “Published by Us, Written by Us, Read by Us”: Little Magazine Networks

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During the interwar years a number of expatriate Anglo-American little magazines were published in European cities, particularly in Paris. These publications include *Secession* (1922–24);<sup>1</sup> *Transition* (1927–38);<sup>2</sup> *Broom* (1921–24);<sup>3</sup> *Exile* (1927–28); *Gargoyle* (1921–22); *Transatlantic Review* (1924); *This Quarter* (1925–32); and *Tambour* (1929–30). Less well known are *Echanges* (1929–32); the *New Review* (1931–32); *Booster*, later *Delta* (1937–39); *Epilogue* (1935–37); and *Caravel* (1934–36).<sup>4</sup> As evidenced in numerous memoirs of the pe-

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<sup>1</sup> *Secession's* final issue (no 7) was published in New York. There is also a number 8, but this was printed before number 7 (Munson 174).

<sup>2</sup> There were three so called American numbers of *Transition*, nos 24, 25, 26, published in 1936 and 1937 (with the associate editor James Johnson Sweeney), while Jolas worked with the French News Service Havas, New York. The final issue, no 27, was edited and printed in Paris.

<sup>3</sup> The five final issues of *Broom* were published in New York, Aug. 1923 (vol 5, no 1) to Jan. 1924 (vol 6, no 1).

<sup>4</sup> The *Little Review* can also be included although it most likely never was an exile publication, apart from its final issue. According to Hoffman, Ulrich and Allen, as well as numerous followers, it was printed in Paris between 1922 and 1929, and its last issue was also edited there. However, consulted originals of nos 2, 3 and 4, vol IX (Winter 1922, Spring 1923, Autumn-Winter 1923-1924) state that they were printed by the Elsinger Press, New York. The original of no 1, vol XII (Spring 1926) states that it was printed by Carey Craft Press, New York & Phila (64). Consulted originals of nos 1, 2, vol X (Spring 1924, Autumn-Winter 1924-1925), and 1, 2, vol XI (Spring 1925, and Winter 1926) bear no printer's imprint. The final issue states "Printed in France Imprimerie Darantiere Dijon" (May 1929). After having consulted Margaret Anderson's *My Thirty Years War: An Autobiography* and the letters between Jane Heap and Florence Reynolds in *Dear Tiny Heart*, it appears that the magazine was edited by Jane Heap in New York throughout the 20s, although she spent much time in France during this period. These findings are also in line with facts posted on the webpage, "Little Magazines and Modernism: A Select Bibliography,"

riod,<sup>5</sup> they were part of a dynamic public culture and had considerable influence. For example, in *Back to Montparnasse* (1931) the British journalist and writer Sisley Huddleston gives a personal account of his life on the left bank of the Seine, in which he notes the importance of the local little magazine publications. Reminiscing over the pleasure of receiving a new issue of *This Quarter*, Huddleston observes how it “means supremely much to feel, when one is resident abroad, that there is a magazine which is at once local and universal” (99). The passage continues:

*This Quarter* is ours, we almost persuade ourselves that it is published by us as well as written by us and read by us. We know most of its contributors; we are among the contributors; we see those contributors sitting on café terraces and we swap ideas with them. It is our parish magazine.... This is what our colony can do; and it is not to be despised. Many of the names on the cover are now celebrated, but before they were celebrated they appeared on the cover of our local magazines. Indeed we sometimes think that our local magazines made them celebrated. (99–100)

The literary celebrities referred to in this passage include now iconic writers such as Ernest Hemingway, Gertrude Stein and James Joyce, and Huddleston’s comment on the role of little magazines, publishing celebrated modernist writers before they were established, is in line with the scholarly assessment of their significance. According to the pioneering study of little magazines by Hoffman, Ulrich and Allen, the relevance of these small-scale publications springs from the courage of their editors in defying the commercial interests of larger presses: “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” (2). Little magazines “are willing to lose money, to court ridicule, to ignore public taste, willing to do almost anything—steal, beg, or undress in public—rather than sacrifice their right to print good

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maintained by Suzanne Churchill. Other expatriate publications during the 20s and 30s include *Story*, the *Trilingual Morada*, *Manikin*, *Close-Up*, and *Verve*, but these are not included in the discussion here.

<sup>5</sup> Well-known examples include Malcolm Cowley’s *Exile’s Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920’s*, Ernest Hemingway’s *A Moveable Feast*, Harold Loeb’s *The Way it Was*, and Matthew Josephson’s *Life among the Surrealists*.

material” (2). Described as avant-garde and elitist, the little magazines are seen as products of the idealism of their idiosyncratic editors. Taken as a whole, however, Huddleston’s portrayal is on quite a different note, stressing a collective process and the pride of the local community that the magazines were felt to be “published,” “written,” and read by “us.”

Picking up on some of the features in Huddleston’s description of the Anglo-American expatriate little magazines, this article argues the importance of the local and international networks that underlay their production and distribution. What is notable when studying the magazines is the blend of writers and artists that goes into each issue, a mixture that gives the impression of effort and international networking rather than individual work at the very frontline of the Arts. In particular, we address the “swapping of ideas” on a local and international level, the reliance on money and a market, the importance of writing as a profession, and the relevance of group identity. By revealing the practical webs of interaction that are part of the creative process, the little magazines point to how modernist ideas about art, literature, and language, often analysed within a theoretical or aesthetic framework, can be seen as intentional action and lived experience—*praxis*. Our focus is thus not on individual contributions and editorials in the magazines, but on the practical work and material circumstances that made these publications possible. Little magazines developed extensive networks consisting of editor(s), contributors, translators, distributors, readers, rival little magazines and sponsors. Although each little magazine was limited in its scope and distribution, seen as a collective the little magazine networks form an exciting cultural map of modernism, spreading out across European borders and overseas. Our argument is thus in line with recent criticism on little magazines, which stresses the “collective effort involved in the production, organization, and dissemination of little magazines, as well as the social, political, and economic influences that shaped those collective efforts” (Churchill & McKible 14). However, our ambition is rather to expand the meaning of “collective effort” beyond certain cliques or between a few editors, as recent studies of little magazines remain focused on particular publications, the exchanges of ideas between a few little magazines, or the relationship between small-scale non-commercial publications and a larger, abstract pub-

lic sphere.<sup>6</sup> The collective effort of each little magazine form part of an extensive and sprawling network, involving many types of interdependencies on different levels, such as the exchange of values, visions, ideas, financial circumstances, friendships, kinship, and sexual relationships. These interdependencies and exchanges, in turn, are dependent on meeting and exchange points. From this perspective, it is important to consider the European setting, not least as the condition of voluntary exile provides a background to exploring national and international themes, language experiments, translations, and debates on tourism and democracy. The transatlantic little magazines are particularly interesting from this point of view, as they reflect a time in which thoughts about the local and global were renegotiated.<sup>7</sup> By examining the concrete social spaces in which the little magazines were produced, it is thus possible to learn more about the mechanisms of modernist networking and its effects, and in extension about modernism *per se*.

In what follows we show the need to recognize the making of little magazines as an expansive social practice, inspired by the attractions of the European continent and exciting personal interchanges. The expatriate little magazines point to an essential part of modernism, one that indicates how international interconnectivity becomes *praxis*, as ideas, work and practices literally cross and question borders. We will see how the expatriate little magazines dealt with fraught issues such as the relationships between internationalism and nationalism, convention and aspiration to modernist newness, finances and non-commercialism, work and art, tourism and exile.

## Local Networks

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<sup>6</sup> The quotation is taken from the introduction to *Little Magazines & Modernism: New Approaches* (2007). See also, for example, Suzanne Churchill, *The Little Magazine Others and the Renovation of American Poetry* (2006), and Mark Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception 1905-1920* (2000).

<sup>7</sup> As Melba Cuddy-Keane points out, the end of the nineteenth and beginning of twentieth century is often regarded as a starting point for the modern globalization process. She refers to phenomena such as the increase in global communications, the entry of non-European societies into "international" society, the diffusion and implementation of ideas at the international level (the ecumenical movement, the Olympics, the Nobel Prizes, the Gregorian calendar, and the League of Nations) (539-540).

The story is familiar—during the 1920s and 30s Paris became the gathering place for artists, writers and intellectuals, offering an attractive setting for social exchange between creative individuals with diverging national backgrounds.<sup>8</sup> Even if editors, writers, and artists chose a different location for their editorial office or residence—Vienna, Berlin, Rome, Monte-Carlo, Milano, Deja, Alicante, Rapallo—Paris remained the natural meeting and exchange point.

The city of light and culture stood as a model of modernity and a beacon of economic hope in the aftermath of the First World War, but the city was also a haven of free thought for those forced into exile or for artists who wished to break with tradition. In the context of expatriate little magazines, it is particularly noteworthy how these publications could use the international setting to bestow avant-garde credibility on their publications, while they were simultaneously dependent on local American networks. Indeed, the majority of contributors to the expatriate little magazines were American and a conspicuous number of editorials and articles deal with America and the American, including culture, democracy and the modern city. *Broom*, subtitled “An International Magazine of The Arts Published by Americans in Italy,” exemplifies this tension between the local and the international particularly well, as it discussed America and the American most eagerly of all the expatriate little magazines. Another example is *Transition*. The editors of this little magazine, Jolas and Paul, indicate a similar split already in their first editorial, in which they express how the appeal of art and literature with a national “coloring and texture” is becoming “distinctly international” (“Introduction” 136–138).

So why was Paris a location in which national and international interests came to the forefront, inspiring the little magazine editors to partake in the “invention” of modernism? The fact that the French capital was regarded as a particularly stimulating milieu

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<sup>8</sup> Concerning the influx of Americans to Paris, see for example Hugh Ford, *Published in Paris: American and British Writers, Printers, and Publishers in Paris, 1920-1939*, and Noel Riley Fitch, *Sylvia Beach and the Lost Generation: A History of Literary Paris in the Twenties and Thirties*. Ronald Weber, in *News of Paris: American Journalists in the City of Light Between the Wars*, writes that the permanent colony of Americans in Paris in the early 20s numbered 6000, and that by the mid-20s the figure was “30,000 and rising.” At this time, there were 60,000 Americans in France (5).

should be attributed to its reputation as a gathering place for creative individuals, actively unsettling tradition and historical meaning. As Noel Riley Fitch points out, “the literary community was in Paris” (163), including publishers, little reviews, the bookshop and library Shakespeare and Company, and literary salons. For the avant-garde writer, this meant being close to potential readers. In the first number of the *Transatlantic Review*, the editor Ford Madox Ford speaks of Paris as “the hub of a great wheel of communications” (“Chroniques I” 78). A more mystical vision of the inclusiveness of Paris life is offered by Henry Miller, co-editor (with Alfred Perlès and Lawrence Durrell) of *Booster/Delta*. He describes the French capital as “one big globule swimming in the blood of the great animal called MAN.... The globule will stretch and expand, permit the utmost freedom of movement, the most fantastic movements, *but it will not break*. The globule is always stronger than a man’s back, stronger than the man himself, stronger than ten million men all pushing at once and in the same spot” (71). This image of Paris as a human, womb-like enclosure catches the unification of individual freedom and communal inclusion that seems to have provided such a creative environment. The combination of perceived individual freedom and community also seems to have inspired the little magazines, which were uniquely fertilized by their geographical location. Most of the contributors and editors had rich opportunities to meet in person, and knew each other well. Many names appear and reappear as contributors in the magazines, as well as on the mastheads of the magazines. One is Ezra Pound’s, whose connections with little magazines in Europe and the United States indicate the importance that modernists themselves ascribed to these magazines, as he took care to be part of the networks surrounding the little magazines, as co-editor, contributor, promoter, reviewer, or rival editor. His numerous contributions to little magazines show to what extent he followed the development among them.<sup>9</sup>

Unsurprisingly, Huddleston in the quotation above mentions Parisian café terraces as the meeting-place *par excellence* for the little magazine circles. Depictions of writers in café settings abound, and

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<sup>9</sup> Numerous little magazines include contributions by Ezra Pound, or have his name on the masthead. Other than as contributor, Pound appeared on the masthead of or was involved with magazines such as the *Little Review*, *Poetry*, the *Dial*, the *New Freewoman*, the *Egoist*, *Blast*, the *Transatlantic Review*, *Pogany*, the *New Review*, and of course his own *Exile*.

the image of an intellectual by a table in one of the famous Parisian cafés is a tired cliché. In fact, the expatriate/tourist café-goers were frequently satirized and criticized even in the press of the day, two well-known examples being Hemingway's "American Bohemians in Paris," in the *Toronto Star Weekly* in March 1922 (23-25), and Sinclair Lewis's "Self-Conscious America," in the October 1925 number of the *American Mercury* (112-140). Lewis had already in September 1921 shared his opinion of the American intellectual in Paris in two drawings, "Observation," reproduced in *Gargoyle* with the text "An American realist studying la vie intellectuelle dans Paris." The drawings depict a man in bed snoring heavily and a man at a café with an enormous wine glass in front of him (20).

Nevertheless, the café scene still bore weight as an international meeting point for struggling artists and bohemian characters.<sup>10</sup> For example, Florence Gilliam, the theatre critic who founded *Gargoyle* with her husband Arthur Moss, later claimed that this publication was a natural outgrowth of their "immersion in this multinational exchange of ideas and tastes" that the couple had experienced in the cafés (32). Indeed, the editorial of *Gargoyle's* opening number (1921),<sup>11</sup> takes up the significance of the Latin Quarter cafés in the formation of the artist:

Potential artists are born in all countries, in all ranks of society, they arrive at adolescence with a hundred different prejudices, which they must shred before the spirit is free to receive direct impressions of life. The Paris café is a melting-pot where these prejudices can be discarded; where provincial creeds and financial achievements must be set against universal standards, and where bearings can be taken before

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<sup>10</sup> There are several links between the modernist/avant-garde 1920s and Bohemian Paris, and one of them is undoubtedly the cafés and cabarets, which became places for escape, meetings, and forming of artistic and literary relationships, at least since the eighteen-forties and fifties—the era of Murger's bohemian. The Café Comus was the popular haunt for the Bohemian circle of Murger and his friends in the 1840s, among them Baudelaire (Seigel 38). The impressionists' meetings at Café Guerbois or Nouvelle Athènes are a good example of a "substitute society." Here they were able to reassure themselves of the quality of their work at a time when the public's reaction to their painting was still hostile (Seigel 296-97).

<sup>11</sup> The editor was Arthur H. Moss and co-editors were Florence Gilliam, Allan Ross McDougall, Wynn Holcomb, Lawrence Vail, Harrison Dowd, and Arthur C. Wyman.

relatively safe waters are left and the ocean journey begun. It is also, incidentally, a place where food, drink, light, and warmth cost little, and where the artist's eye can be trained to see plastic and pictorial possibilities in everyday things. ("Editorial" 4-5)<sup>12</sup>

The cafés provided the expatriate artist coming to Paris with a natural place for initiating and maintaining relationships with other writers and artists. Matthew Josephson, associate editor of *Broom* and co-editor of *Secession* (and later contributing editor of *Transition*), portrays the café as "the home away from home," and "the open forum where one encountered fellow beings without formality, or prior letter or telephone call, upon a neutral terrain" (Foreword xxii). Similarly, in the autobiography of Eugene Jolas, journalist and editor of *Transition*, we find numerous examples of meetings with members of Parisian literary circles who would come to contribute to the magazine (such as Philippe Soupault, Hans Arp and Ernest Hemingway) in cafés, restaurants and bars.<sup>13</sup>

The cafés could also be a scene for spectacle surrounding little magazine publication. For example, the controversy and debate following upon the publication of the "Proclamation of the Revolution of the Word" in *Transition* 16/17, 1929, also resulted in a public protest against its content and implications. The revolution manifesto campaigned for aesthetic autonomy and linguistic and formal experiment. Provocative in its tone, announcing that "THE PLAIN READER BE DAMNED," the *Transition* manifesto triggered the creation of "Direction." This was a counter-manifesto,

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<sup>12</sup> This editorial quoted from an article by "R.W.H." in the London *Nation*, July 4 1921.

<sup>13</sup> Another well-known meeting point for American and English writers and artists in Paris during the 20s and 30s was Sylvia Beach's bookshop and lending library, Shakespeare and Company at 12 Rue de l'Odéon. This was also the place where the little magazines could be found on the sales rack, as Beach's bookshop was the major distributor for several little magazines, American, English and expatriate. Among the expatriate magazines Shakespeare and Company carried were *Booster/Delta*, *Broom*, *Gargoyle*, the *Transatlantic Review*, *Transition*, *Exile*, the *Little Review*, the *New Review*, and *This Quarter* (Fitch 145, 185, 252, 313, 382). The bookshop was also an agent for aspiring writers as they could leave work to Beach, which she then would circulate among the editors of little magazines and publishers of little presses (Fitch 61). In several ways Sylvia Beach was the guide for the little known writer into literary and artistic Paris.

written in a café and distributed in cafés frequented by the Left Bank literati (Putnam 227). The signers were Samuel Putnam, Harold J. Salemsen, and Richard Thoma, who would later publish the *New Review*. The “Direction” manifesto wanted a truce and a break in manifestos. In the words of Huddleston, “It was a manifesto to end manifestos” (116). The stated purpose was to allow time for reflection over the future of (American) literature. Discontent with the formalist direction that they felt Jolas was advancing for literature, Putnam, Salemsen and Thoma desired a return to content and literary attention to present times: “The past decade has been one of pretenders, corpse-raisers, and cheap miracle men... We demand contemporaneity, not an antiquated modernity” (qtd. in Huddleston 116). What is peculiar, however, is that Salemsen had actually signed “The Revolution of the Word” in June 1929 and, according to Jolas, he also joined the group consisting of Jolas, Sage, and Gilbert that defended “linguistic reformation” in a debate published by the *Modern Quarterly*, an American review edited by V. F. Calverton (Jolas, *Babel* 110). Moreover, Thoma contributed to *Transition* no. 19/20 in 1930, after the signing of “Direction.”<sup>14</sup> As we see, alliances of the time were intermingled and confused, even anxious.<sup>15</sup>

### Valuta

Pragmatic pecuniary matters were also part of the allure of Paris and continental Europe after World War I. The influx of foreigners on European ground, especially Americans, to a great extent depended on cheaper transportation, notably the “Tourist Third” on the steamship lines that first appeared in 1924, and the advantageous exchange rate (Fitch 163). The beneficial economic circumstances, together with the fact that WWI had already brought many Americans to Europe, made a voyage to Europe conceivable for many U.S. citizens. While post-war Europe was a difficult and

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<sup>14</sup> The contribution is the short story “Death Control,” in which a poet visits a doctor who is prepared to let him die temporarily using a “mechanism which held a formidable array of dials, knobs, volt recorders and magnetic needles” (333). The purpose of the experiment is to see whether death will make the eyes less indifferent to life. It is doubtful whether the story lives up to the realist aspiration of the “Direction” manifesto.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of the “Manifesto Wars,” including “Direction” and the “Revolution of the Word,” see Mark Morrisson and Jack Selzer’s introductory chapter to the facsimile edition of *Tambour* (27-44).

costly time for most Europeans, the Americans could live cheaply in Europe for extended periods of time.<sup>16</sup> References to economic matters repeatedly appear in the little magazines, as in Malcolm Cowley's poem "Valuta," first published in *Broom*:

Following the dollar O following the dollar I have learned  
three fashions of eating with the knife and ordered beer in  
four languages from a Hungarian waiter while following the  
dollar around the 48th degree of north latitude where it buys  
most there is the Fatherland (250)

The poem was written after Cowley's trip around Europe in 1922 and published in November, of that same year. Cowley returns to the significance of money in *Exile's Return*: "The exiles of 1921 came to Europe seeking one thing and found another. They came to recover the good life and the traditions of art, to free themselves from organized stupidity, to win their deserved place in the hierarchy of the intellect. Having come in search of values, they found valuta" (81). Whatever the expatriates wanted to escape or wished to find, they encountered a post-war Europe in financial chaos. For the American expatriate with a few dollars on his pocket, however, this economic disorder was easily turned to advantage; Europe became a wide-stretched land of possibilities, albeit with a bitter side-taste to its sweetness. As Harold Loeb, the editor of *Broom*, testifies on his way to set up an editorial office in Berlin, the possibilities offered by the chaotic post-war situation in Europe caused dual feelings: "The mark had just taken another tumble, and the dinner

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<sup>16</sup> "The dollar, either Canadian or American, is the key to Paris.... a very effective key," Hemingway wrote in the *Toronto Star* dispatch of February 1922 ("Living on \$1,000 a Year in Paris" 88). See also Kenneth L. Roberts, *Europe's Morning After*, where Roberts states that an American can live "most comfortably on \$1,000 a year" (293). However, the *New York Times* article from January 3, 1920, "French Poor Feel Pinch of New Taxes" points out that the cost of living in France had risen 250 to 300 per cent since 1914, with the biggest increase in prices the last year. The exchange rate of the dollar to the French franc would continue to rise during the 20s, although in a very volatile manner. In 1924 it fluctuated between 18.16 and 26,9 (Blancheton 10), and July 21, 1926 it reached a transient high of 49 francs before it was stabilized at around 26 francs to a dollar (Eichengreen 183). The so-called Poincaré franc remained at this rate until 1934 when it stood at 15, 2 franc after the devaluation of the dollar. Between 1934 and 1938, the franc was sliding again; in December 1937 a dollar bought 29 franc and in 1939 as much as 40 franc (Johnston ix). The pre-war exchange rate had been 5 franc to the dollar (Eichengreen 183).

[for seven] cost \$1.32. I felt guilty as well as encouraged” (*Way* 128).

While American and British modernists certainly had artistic or cosmopolitan aspirations, it is important to bear in mind that economic conditions played a crucial role in the pull towards continental Europe. Low printing costs attracted those with literary ambitions or ambitions to start a magazine, and the exchange rate made it possible for foreigners to set up small presses and become printers or publishers themselves.<sup>17</sup> Thus, when looking into the practical endeavours of the little magazines, the economic situation of post-war Europe must be taken into account. In fact, many modernist little magazines were made possible by the advantageous exchange rate of the dollar to the franc, the lire, the mark, the kronen, and other currencies. Printing costs were low in France: Ford Madox Ford called them “ludicrously small,” as a copy cost between two and three cents to produce and could be sold to the public for fifty (*Nightingale* 297–98). Italy, Germany and Austria offered even lower prices, allowing the frugal publisher the opportunity to stay active for a longer time, as the monetary value had dropped even lower in these countries.<sup>18</sup> The first editors of *Broom*, Harold Loeb, also the financier of the magazine, and Arthur Kreymborg, set up an editing office in Rome, Italy. The rent for the premises was 400 lire (around \$16) a month (*Way* 68). *Secession*’s editor Gorham B. Munson chose to publish in Vienna. Here, the printing cost was even lower: “the printing of a 24-page magazine with cover would cost 140,000 kronen or only 20 dollars!” (Munson 163).<sup>19</sup> At a later stage the printing of *Broom* and *Secession* moved to Berlin as the costs could be lowered even further in the

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<sup>17</sup> In *Published in Paris*, Hugh Ford mentions twelve small presses run by Englishmen and Americans in France between the wars. Some of these were: Three Mountains Press, Contact Editions, Shakespeare & Company, Black Sun Press, Black Manikin Press, Obelisk Press (404–15).

<sup>18</sup> “The Austrian crown and the French franc were equal before the war, their value in American money being 20 cents. Five Austrian crowns were equivalent to an American dollar in 1914. In February, 1920, as this is written, one American dollar is equivalent to 300 Austrian crowns. The crown is worth one third of a cent. In other words, the crown is worth one sixtieth of what it used to be worth, and an Austrian income that used to be worth \$5,000 a year is now worth \$83” (Roberts 71).

<sup>19</sup> According to Malcolm Cowley 500 copies could be printed for \$25 in Vienna in 1922 (*Exile*’s 132).

German capital.<sup>20</sup> It was Matthew Josephson who urged Loeb to relocate to Germany, arguing that Berlin would be the centre of a rebirth of art and literature and that they would have access to exciting new material from Soviet Russia and Czechoslovakia. According to Loeb, however, the weightiest argument Josephson presented was financial:

The mark was sliding: a suit of clothes ordered for the equivalent of thirty dollars might cost two by the time it was delivered. If we could obtain a similar benefit for *Broom*, Jacobsen's eighteen hundred dollars might last quite a while [Loeb's brother-in-law's repayment of a loan]. And we could live for next to nothing and drink Rhine wine besides. (*Way* 119)

In general, when reading about the little magazines it is noteworthy how rarely the financial underpinnings of the magazines are considered. While little magazines like *Secession* and *Gargoyle* had to rely on the limited funds and incomes of its editors and sponsors,<sup>21</sup> many relied on capital from other sources, either to initiate publication or to finance the whole project. For example, Maria Jolas's inheritance made the publication of her husband's *Transition* possible. Strangely, neither Eugene Jolas, in his memoirs *Man from Babel*, nor Douglas McMillan, in his study of the magazine, *Transition, 1927-38: The History of Literary Era* disclose or touch upon the financial background of *Transition*. Maria Jolas herself only reveals her contribution to the little magazine in passing in the 'Dateline' of her autobiography: "1924 Visiting in Louisville, where my father died of a stroke in June; left me financially independent (later made *transition*, then my school possible)" (2).<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> No 4 of *Secession* was printed in Berlin. Nos 5, 6 and 8 were printed in Florence under the direction of John Brooks Wheelwright. The no 8 issue was a misprint, and should rightly have been no 7 (Munson 171, 177).

<sup>21</sup> In his memoirs, *The Awakening Twenties*, Gorham Munson describes how he sailed for Europe with his wife in the spring of 1921, planning to live for a year there on "savings from a year of school teaching and profiting by the advantageous exchange-rates for the dollar" (159). *Gargoyle* had a short life due to a lack of funds. The magazine was published between July 1921 and December 1922, but it never made any money and its editors supported themselves as freelance writers (Monk 60).

<sup>22</sup> This was not Maria Jolas's only contribution to the magazine, however: she was office manager, translator, and one time contributor, and, as McMillan

Allanah Harper, editor of *Echanges*, received financial support for the publication costs from wealthy friends and acquaintances, the Aga Khan, Pauline Duleep Singh Torry, and Princesse Edmond de Polignac (Harper 311); Harold Loeb had his own capital as well as Guggenheim relatives to finance *Broom*;<sup>23</sup> Ford Madox Ford could start the *Transatlantic Review* because the New York-lawyer and art collector John Quinn finally agreed to contribute to the publication of the review, provided Ford contributed the same amount himself (Poli 21-23);<sup>24</sup> Ethel Moorhead's legacy after her friend and suffragette companion, Frances Mary Parker, made *This Quarter* possible (Moorhead, "And So On" 270). After the death of her co-editor Ernest Walsh, Moorhead handed the magazine over to collector and bookshop keeper Edward Titus, husband of the immensely rich cosmetic industrialist Helena Rubinstein (Ford, *Published* 117); Harold J. Salemsen's *Tambour* was financed through the legacy left to him by his father (Salemsen).

The financial situation of the *Booster* diverged from that of the other little magazines, as it relied on the American Golf and Country Club's goodwill and the editors' offering of space for country-club news in each issue ("American Country Club News" 30).<sup>25</sup> The *Booster* also included advertisements for food, billiard balls, teas, refrigerators, beer and other diverse items.<sup>26</sup>

Some of the editors made their magazines into collector's items

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points out, although not appearing on its masthead, she was an "ever-present consulting editor" (13).

<sup>23</sup> Loeb had bought a share in the bookshop The Sunwise Turn and once he left it used his share of \$9,000 to start *Broom* (Way 7). Moreover, he could count on some support from his family: his father, a stockbroker and his mother, daughter of Meyer Guggenheim. As the funds of *Broom* ran low in the beginning of 1923, Loeb had hopes of receiving funding from his Guggenheim uncles, but these hopes were shattered as the uncles felt that *Broom* was "essentially a magazine for a rich man with a hobby" (Way 155).

<sup>24</sup> The beginnings of *Transatlantic Review* were uncertain. The initial backers set too strict rules for Ford to concur with; one of them being that James Joyce would not be published in the review. Whether this was the main reason why the backers pulled out is uncertain. However, John Quinn stepped in as sponsor. The amount that Quinn contributed is also uncertain, between \$1,350 and \$2,000. Ford put in the same amount with the financial help of his partner Stella Bowen (Poli 20-22; Mizener 328).

<sup>25</sup> The goodwill did not extend beyond the first four issues however, and after that *Booster* had to change name to *Delta*. *Delta* carried on for three more issues.

<sup>26</sup> The examples of advertisements are taken from vol 2, no 7, Sept. 1937.

by choice from the very start as whole or part of the editions were numbered (for example *Echanges*, *Tambour*, *This Quarter*), sometimes containing artwork (for example *Gargoyle*) and printed on fine paper (for example *Gargoyle*, *Echanges*, *Broom*, *This Quarter*). After World War I, not only modern art was bought by collectors and art dealers as part of a lucrative business, but also books and other publications. In the words of the writer Jules Bertaut, in his Parisian memories from 1935, “[t]he Edition de luxe lent itself to shrewd dealers just as the canvases did.... Sometimes prices rose to a fabulous level and collectors and speculators bought editions on vellum, rice paper, rag paper, numbered and signed by the author, and what not, just as they bought porcelain, pictures, and furniture” (282). It is remarkable to what extent the editors and buyers of the little magazines were conscious of the worth of these publications as collector’s items. Huddleston, for example, recounts securing the premier number of the *Exile*, with its eye-catching red cover, in his locked bookcase (107). And in *This Quarter* no 4, Ethel Moorhead markets signed back numbers of the magazine: “BACK NUMBERS ARE OF INCREASING VALUE.... THERE ARE STILL AVAILABLE... A DE LUXE COPY OF NUMBER ONE.... In perfect condition, signed at 100 Dol” (“This Quarter” n.pag.). Appraising the years editing *Broom* in Europe on its move to New York, Loeb writes that in order to attract readers, the magazine had to invent other methods, since “it lacked the means to attempt the usual publicity.... Owing to *valuta*, it was possible to provide an exotic luxury in make-up,” thus attracting “readers who otherwise would have failed to single it out from the scores of literary periodicals” (“Broom: 1921-1923” 55).

Of course the period between the wars saw changing costs of living and exchange rates; the monetary values in most European countries were extremely volatile and the purchasing power of a dollar varied accordingly. The Wall Street crash in 1929 changed the prospects for Americans living in Europe considerably, however, and many returned home. But several stayed on, returned or came for the first time, as can be seen in the publications of little magazines that actually appeared after 1929.

### Writing as a Practice

To place the little magazine editors among the cultural avant-garde is to overlook the fact that these publications were also journalistic products. One reason why this important aspect has been relatively

neglected may be that some publications wished to distance themselves from journalistic practices. For example, Ernest Walsh writes in the first number of *This Quarter* that the magazine existed “primarily to publish the artist’s work while it is still fresh. Without wishing to compete with certain literary magazines that have an almost journalistic zeal for the last word...” (259).<sup>27</sup> Others, however, saw potential in journalism. For example, the “Editorial Statement” of the *New Review* (edited by Samuel Putnam, with associate editors Ezra Pound, Maxwell Bodenheim, and Richard Thoma) boldly states that the “purpose” of the magazine “is an international *reportage* for the arts, the higher journalism of ideas” (n. pag., *emph. in orig.*). Similarly, the *Transition* editor Eugene Jolas never polarized his passion for multilingual art and experiment with his own journalistic practice; the roles of the poet, the editor and the journalist are allowed to co-exist. Dedicated to language experiment in *Transition*, Jolas still acknowledges that it was newspaper work that raised his consciousness of the “malady of language” and encouraged him to find ways in which to facilitate the journalist’s task by giving him the possibility of “using a more precise, richer and more fluid speech” (*Babel* 108-109). The editor’s admiration of the literary avant-garde is not distanced from issues concerning the expression of mundane events communicated in daily papers.

Jolas was not the only journalist in little magazine circles. In fact, a large number of contributors were newspapermen and women, or later became journalists,<sup>28</sup> a circumstance which strengthens the validity of examining the magazines as a cross-breed between journalism and the arts. As only a privileged few could make a living out of creative writing or editing, many aspiring writers found their income through work at one of the English language newspapers in Paris: the *Continental Daily Mail*, an offspring of the London *Daily Mail*; the afternoon paper *Paris Times*; the *Paris Herald*, the European edition of the *New York Herald*; and

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<sup>27</sup> One of the implicit targets of this editorial is most likely the *Little Review*, which to a great extent reflected Margaret Anderson’s personal enthusiasm for movements such as feminism, anarchism, dadaism, and surrealism.

<sup>28</sup> Ford’s *Transatlantic Review* is a case in point. Apart from its most famous newspaperman and writer, Ernest Hemingway, some of the journalist names that appear are: Jeanne Foster, Ring Lardner, Guy Hickock, Elisabeth Eyre de Lanux, Kate Buss, Evan Shipman, Sisley Huddleston, and William Bird.

the Paris *Tribune*, the European edition of the *Chicago Tribune*.<sup>29</sup> The latter was the publication most dedicated to the artistic life of the Left Bank (Weber 75-76).<sup>30</sup>

Hugh Ford suggests that practically all of the *Tribune* staffers, whether regular or occasional contributors, were aspiring writers: they “intended to write something, some day” (Introduction 5). *Gargoyle* editor Florence Gilliam covered Parisian theatre in the *Tribune Sunday Magazine* (May 4-25, 1924).<sup>31</sup> Henry Miller, later editor of *Booster/Delta*, worked as a proofreader for the *Tribune* while writing *Tropic of Cancer*. Kay Boyle, involved with *This Quarter* and *Transition*, was an occasional contributor to the *Tribune*, and Samuel Putnam, editor of the *New Review*, contributed intermittently (Ford, “Who’s Who” 317-320). Ford Madox Ford wrote a column called “Literary Causeries,” in the first numbers of the *Tribune’s* Sunday magazine,<sup>32</sup> February 17 to May 11, 1924, after which Eugene Jolas took over.<sup>33</sup>

At the Paris *Tribune* Jolas met Elliot Paul, his assistant editor during *Transition’s* first year, Robert Sage, who eventually became editorial assistant, Virgil Geddes, Bravig Imbs, Emily Holmes

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<sup>29</sup> Whether it was possible to live on the salary paid by the newspapers is another question. The wages at the *Chicago Tribune* were especially scanty compared with that of other newspapers, about \$15 a week in francs, for ordinary news staff and not much more for higher ranks (Frantz 309). The work at the *Tribune* thus paid just enough to live frugally in Paris. The poor pay meant that few stayed for long, but apparently there was never a problem to fill an empty space (Weber 96).

<sup>30</sup> In Ronald Weber’s words, “If the *Herald* was the hometown paper of the established Right Bank American Colony, the *Tribune* filled the same role for the shifting Left bank expatriates” (76).

<sup>31</sup> At one time, Gilliam is said to have been writing for all three American newspapers in Paris (Benstock, 382). She was also a theater critic for Erskine Gwynne’s *The Boulevardier*, a Parisian take-off of the *New Yorker* edited by Arthur Moss, 1927-1932, and Paris correspondent for the New York publications the *Theatre Magazine* and *Theatre Arts* (Fitch 81).

<sup>32</sup> In the words of the *Tribune* editor Roscoe Ashwort, the Sunday magazine was supposed to be “a combination . . . of an American-style Sunday supplement and English weekly review” dealing with “literary and artistic matters” (Weber 94).

<sup>33</sup> The contributors to Ford’s *Transatlantic Review* were not primarily *Tribune* staffers, although remarkably many were or became newspapermen and women. In *The Left Bank Revisited*, Hugh Ford claims that the *Transatlantic Review* published work by Tribuners (Introduction 5), but if so they were not part of the more well-known or frequent staffers. Two familiar names that appear, however, are George Antheil and Harold Stearns.

Coleman, Waverley Root, and several others who were to contribute to Jolas's little magazine (Weber 76-77; H. Ford, *Published* 314; H. Ford, Introduction 5). In the "Recollections" of his time at the Paris *Tribune*, Ralph Jules Frantz goes as far as to claim that *Transition* "was conceived and born in the offices of *Chicatrib*" (309).<sup>34</sup>

The column that Jolas took over from Ford was initially titled "Through Paris Bookland," but this was soon changed to "Rambles through Literary Paris." According to Jolas, it "achieved a certain vogue," thereby opening doors to literary circles in the city (*Babel* 75). It was through his journalistic work that Jolas met and interviewed writers and artists that later would become contributors to *Transition*: Philippe Soupault, Léon-Paul Fargue, Tristan Tzara, Hans Arp, Sophie Taeuber-Arp, André Breton, Paul Eluard, Robert Desnos, Michel Leiris and many more.

Jolas's column dealt with many topics that would later appear in the magazine. For example, Jolas writes about the relation between France and America: "What does modern France think of American letters?" (June 22, 1924); "It is strange what a romantic lure the immensity of America has for the Continental mind" (September 7, 1924); is America's youth "worshipping false gods, as far as French literature is concerned?" (August 10, 1924). Here he started exploring the standing of America, its culture and language, which, as mentioned above, appears repeatedly in *Transition*, for example in Jolas's belief that "the immigrant development of the new America" held the possibilities for a fundamental revolution of the word ("King's English" 146). There was also a 280-page "America" number (no 14, fall 1928). Among many interesting contributions, this number included a survey: "Why do Americans Live in Europe?", answered by Gertrude Stein, Robert McAlmon, Kay Boyle, Harold J. Salemsen, and many others. Thus, in and through his work at the *Tribune*, Jolas not only started building the modernist network that would be an advantage to him as editor of the magazine *Transition*, but he also began exploring the issues that he later expounded in the magazine.

*Transition* also appeared several times in the pages of the *Tribune*, including two reviews of its first number. It was commended in one review by Robert Sage—"the advent of *Transition* in Paris is of exceptional interest both to writers and to readers, for the program

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<sup>34</sup> Frantz had a career at the *Tribune* as rewriteman, copy editor, news editor, and managing editor, 1925-1934 (Ford, *Who's Who* 318).

of this new literary magazine is joyfully devoid of gags and shackles”—and criticized and belittled in another by Alex Small, entitled “A Transitional Phenomenon”—“Here is the most ambitious effort of the young, and, in the usual sense, most unsuccessful writers of the exiles” (Sage 245; Small 245). As the magazine ceased publication for two years in 1930, B. J. Kospoth wrote an article in the *Tribune* lamenting its passing, and once again stressing its connection with the newspaper: “As Jolas himself is fond of remembering, there is no little truth in the statement that *Transition* was in many respects ‘an offshoot of *The Tribune*’” (Kospoth 254).

### International Exchanges

When examining the expatriate little magazines, modernism’s very real and practical concerns regarding internationalism emerge. The international aspirations are visible in a variety of ways, ranging from the inherent internationalism in a title such as the *Exile*, to the *Transatlantic Review*’s offer to prospective tourists: “the TRANSATLANTIC STAFF will give advice as to all kinds of shopping to intending visitors to Paris on receipt of a stamped and addressed envelope” (“Transatlantic Review: Paris Advertisements” i-ii). While most of the little magazines were in English, publications such as *Echanges* and *Tambour* were bilingual, publishing texts in English as well as French. The exotic had a particular allure. The first number of *Broom* contained an “interpretation” of an Otter-tail Indian chant by Lew Sarret (76-79), the September 1922 number contained reproductions of Chinese, South Indian and Javanese sculpture, and the January 1923 number featured an article on Maya art (Sacken 86-88). However, while the interest in international themes was occasionally global, it was mainly the contemporary relation between Europe and America that was in focus.

Although most contributors were American, the international setting in Paris proved an asset when it came to assembling material for a little magazine, as Florence Gilliam points out (32). Even if *Gargoyle* cannot boast of being the most international of the little magazines, the number of contributions from artists of nationalities other than American or British increased as the magazine continued and developed, and thus progressively lost part of its Greenwich Village stamp. *Gargoyle* could no longer be described as just “Greenwich Village in Montparnasse” (Cowley, *Exile’s* 275). Many of the international artists contributing their writing or artwork to *Gargoyle* were living in Paris at the time, and its editors seemed es-

pecially attracted by the large group of Russian artists that came together in Paris in the 20s after the 1917 revolution,<sup>35</sup> as illustrated by the following extract from Arthur Moss's regular piece "Entr'acte":

At the corner of Boulevard Montparnasse and rue Campagne-Première is a picturesque little café wherein groups of artists and writers gather nightly to discuss l'art et la vie. Beside the French groups there is an association of Russians called Palata Poetoff. In its ranks are many distinguished exponents of the Seven Arts including the poets Marc-Ludovic Taloff, Valentin Parnak whose portrait by Soudeikine appears in this issue, Georges Evanguouloff, Serge Charchoun, and A. Guinguer; the critics Snosko-Borovsky, André Levinson, and Jean Chuzeville; and the painters Goudiachivili, and Serge Soudeikini. The walls of the café are always covered with the art of the various national groups. One realizes here, that geography and politics mean nothing in the world of art. (19)

*Gargoyle* provides ample evidence of how the editors' networks expanded from the Greenwich Village circle. Apart from the large group of Russian exiles, the artists and writers reproduced or published in *Gargoyle* vol. 1, nos. 1-6, and vol. 2, nos. 1-4, included Spanish, Georgian, Swedish, British, Hungarian, Polish, Lithuanian, Japanese, and French contributors.

The little magazines were more or less successful in their endeavours to create an international or even transnational publication. Just as *Gargoyle* set out to liberate Art from the restrictions of geography, Ford Madox Ford's dream was a literary review that would promote Literature with a capital L: "no English, no French—for the matter of that, no Russian, Italian, Asiatic or Teutonic—Literatures: there will be only Literature" (qtd. in Poli 37).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Russian artists had always enjoyed and taken part of the artistic life of Paris, for example through the World Exhibitions in the nineteenth century and Serge Diaghilev's *Saison Russes* in Paris in 1907. (In the 20s Russian artists would contribute to Diaghilev's famous *Ballet Russes*.) However, after 1917 there was a much larger influx of Russians to European cities like Paris, Berlin, and Prague, and Paris, again, was the first choice. Hemingway noted this in an article for the *Toronto Daily Star*, February 25, 1922 in an article titled "Influx of Russians to All Parts of Paris" (98).

<sup>36</sup> From the prospectus of the *Transatlantic Review*.

As it turned out, however, even if Ford had wished to divide the space of the review “into equal portions devoted to French, English and American writing,” the review became more of an American organ, as “the preponderating share of its pages went to the Middle West” (*Nightingale* 315).

When considering the international aspect of the little magazines, the efforts of the editors of *Transition* are especially noteworthy. Contributions to this little magazine came from large parts of Europe, including exponents for the movements of expressionism (Doeblin, Benn, Grozs, Kafka, Edschmid, Stramm, Lasker-Schüler, Trakl, Schickele, Sternheim), dadaism (Ball, Huelsenbeck, Arp, Schwitters) and surrealism (Bréton, Aragon, Soupault, Desnos, Eluard, Gracq). *Transition* prided itself in presenting foreign artists and writers “in translation to the English-speaking world for the first time” (“Transition,” Advertisement, n.pag.). Even in the first issue one third of the contributions were translations, and over the years the contributors were, for example, French, Russian, German, Dutch, Bulgarian, Romanian, Czech, Hungarian, Italian, Polish, Spanish, Swedish, and Peruvian. Several of the translations were made by the editors themselves, Eugene Jolas and Elliot Paul, or by the unofficial editor, Maria Jolas.<sup>37</sup>

Each issue of *Transition* can be seen as an example of the international modernist/avant-garde network that Eugene Jolas was creating and maintaining. This networking was never merely a matter of aesthetics, but was always wedded to the editor’s social and international/transnational concerns. Thus, during the first years of *Transition*, Jolas met with his expressionist German friends Carl Einstein and Hans Arp to discuss ways in which to combat the rise of German nationalism with what they call “a new expressionist ethos” (McMillan 53). The same belief informs the very last issue of *Transition*, no. 28. In this issue, Jolas collected “such intellectual and artistic forces of Europe and America as were not already enslaved by the shallow realism that had been introduced by the totalitarians” (E. Jolas, *Babel* 152).

The numerous translations only constitute one example of the very practical work involved in making *Transition* a successful promoter of the international avant-garde. Distribution of the publication, especially in the United States, was a special concern, and it is apparent that the promotion of the little magazines relied on the

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<sup>37</sup> See for example the *Transition* bibliography appended to no 22, February 1933.

efforts of a wide range of people. The promotion abroad was undertaken by bookshops (for example Frances Steloff's Gotham Book Mart), associate editors abroad (Lola Ridge, American editor for *Broom*), and publishers (Thomas Seltzer for the *Transatlantic Review*). Steloff provided much practical aid in the U.S. distribution of *Transition*,<sup>38</sup> and the correspondence between the bookstore owner and Maria Jolas reveals their concerns regarding the U.S. customs' confiscations of *Transition* and the need for new shipments and reprints.<sup>39</sup> From the outset, *Transition* had a difficult time making it through the U.S. customs or postal authorities, as U.S. officials often deemed the contents of the little magazine obscene or in violation of the obscenity provisions of the U.S. Postal Code. The publication of James Joyce's "Work in Progress" (that later became *Finnegans Wake*) was a problem as *Ulysses* had been banned in the U.S. since 1918. Presumably the presence of Joyce in the list of contents was enough to have U.S. officials scrutinize *Transition*.

Censorship was not the only distribution problem. Although printing costs in Europe were low, distribution of the publication was costly both in terms of effort and money. The Atlantic crossing was expensive for all the expatriate little magazines, but particularly for the magazines that had set up editorial office outside of Paris, like *Broom* and *Secession*. The first number of *Broom* was inexplicably held up in Naples and had to be delivered in person by *Broom's* American representative Nathanael Shaw in Harold Loeb's mother's Pierce Arrow, with chauffeur and all (Loeb, *Way* 87). The September 1922 number was not only fraught with comical typographical errors, it also arrived in New York one month late and water-soaked; according to Loeb, "*Broom* never quite recovered from this disaster" (*Way* 139).

The *Transatlantic Review* also had distribution problems. Ford Madox Ford's intention when launching the little magazine was that it should appear simultaneously in Paris, London, and New York. As it turned out, however, the New York numbers came

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<sup>38</sup> An ardent advocator of freedom of speech for writers, Steloff was among the first to recognize and promote authors such as James Joyce, Gertrude Stein, Henry Miller, Kay Boyle and Andre Gide. By advertising and selling avant-garde novels, poetry, and literary reviews, Gotham Book Mart attracted the attention of censors on several occasions, and on one such occasion, in 1928, the police confiscated more than 80 titles in the store (Gertzman 113).

<sup>39</sup> See Frances Steloff's correspondence with Maria Jolas. *Gotham Book Mart Records, 1928-1948*, Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

out one month late due to shipping delays and rebinding of the copies.<sup>40</sup> Ford even went as far as to question the honesty of the New York publisher, as the *Transatlantic Review* was faced with heavy debt charges when it ended its publication after only twelve issues (*Nightingale* 337).

### Concluding Remarks

By describing modernist international networking, including the role of money, contacts and meeting places involved in the production of expatriate little magazines, we have aimed to contribute to a critical shift in modernist studies from a focus on individual writers and works to an analysis of the roles of people, the social spaces they inhabit, the networks that they create and the ideas they exchange. The sharing of texts across national borders should properly be seen as one key to the wide influence of the modernist movement, and it is important to recognize that the elevation of internationalism characteristic of the period was not merely an abstraction. The expatriate little magazines played a significant role in promoting new literature, international awareness and resistance to mass market publication, and this achievement required real effort, money, contacts and meeting places. The little magazines became centres for literary and artistic network; they gave new meaning to literature and artworks by providing a particular publishing format, by juxtaposing them in new contexts and placing them in dialogue with each other, as well as with ideas expressed in editorials and articles on social and political issues. Modernist masterpieces may be the products of individual genius, but they gain fuller meaning when the practical and collective process of their publication history is taken into account.

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<sup>40</sup> The copies shipped to the U.S. were, according to Poli, rebound and from the May number (no 5) on they were marked with the date of the following month on the cover (93), which is why a December 1924 number in Paris is a January 1925 number in New York.

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