

# Introduction

*Man's Magazine* is a typical example of the mid-century men's adventure magazine, a genre known for sensational color covers that usually featured men or scantily clad women being attacked by baboons, Nazis, or more scantily clad women. The December 1961 issue is no exception (see Figure I.1). A portrait painting of Field Marshall Kesselring, "The Nazi Butcher of Rome," glares from its cover, complete with warts and beads of sweat. In the background shirtless male prisoners are being gunned down by Nazi guards. The headline reads "10 Italians Must Die For Every German." The rest of the magazine substantiates the cover's sensationalism. Besides the usual ads for stag films, correspondence schools, and hair tonics, there are stories on jungle survival, Brigitte Bardot, ways to improve one's sex life, and hidden among these is James Joyce's short story "Two Gallants," replete with suggestive illustration and the tagline: "She made love willingly, but he – and his pal – wanted more."

The sensational connotations of this version of "Two Gallants" might surprise those familiar with the canonized reading of the story as being more about economics and Dublin homo-social behavior rather than risqué sexuality. Considering Joyce's reputation as the flagship of modernism, it is surprising that he is appearing in such a venue at all. In actuality, Joyce's appearance here was really not so strange for he made numerous appearances in similar magazines throughout the 1950s. The first issue of *Nugget* magazine (Dec. 1955) republished "The Boarding House." There were articles about him in magazines such as *Debonair* (Feb. 1961), or about *Ulysses* such as *Modern Man's* "Classic Battle over a Sex Classic" (March 1957). The example of "Two Gallants" is a bit more extreme since *Man's Magazine* is lower on the cultural scale from such pseudo-literary *Playboy* knockoffs, but Joyce wasn't the only "highbrow" author to appear in these magazines; they were liberally peppered with stories by modernists: *Gent Magazine* featured Faulkner, John O'Hara, Huysman, and even Jean Paul Sartre; *Escapade* featured S.J. Perelman, William Soroyan, Somerset Maugham, and Jack Kerouac; *The Dude* featured D.H. Lawrence, Farrell, Faulkner, Budd Schulberg, and Robert Lowry; *High* featured Farrell and Pierre Louys; the list goes on. Other authors that appeared regularly were Nelson Algren, Norman Mailer, Erskine Caldwell, Ben Hecht, and Paul Bowles. Many magazines also featured articles *about* famous literary figures: not only Joyce, but Faulkner, Henry Miller, DeMaupassant, Lawrence, and Oscar Wilde as well.

These stories and articles are interspersed with pictorial features that tie into the innate risqué nature of modernist art, such as the premiere issue of *Nugget's* articles "The Eternal Idol," about famous erotic sculptures like Rodin's "The Kiss," and "Modern Art for the Modern Man," which counterpoints nude pinups with paintings by Renoir and Modigliani. These articles rely upon, or at least belie, a certain fascination with the dynamics of modernism. This use of highbrow art and

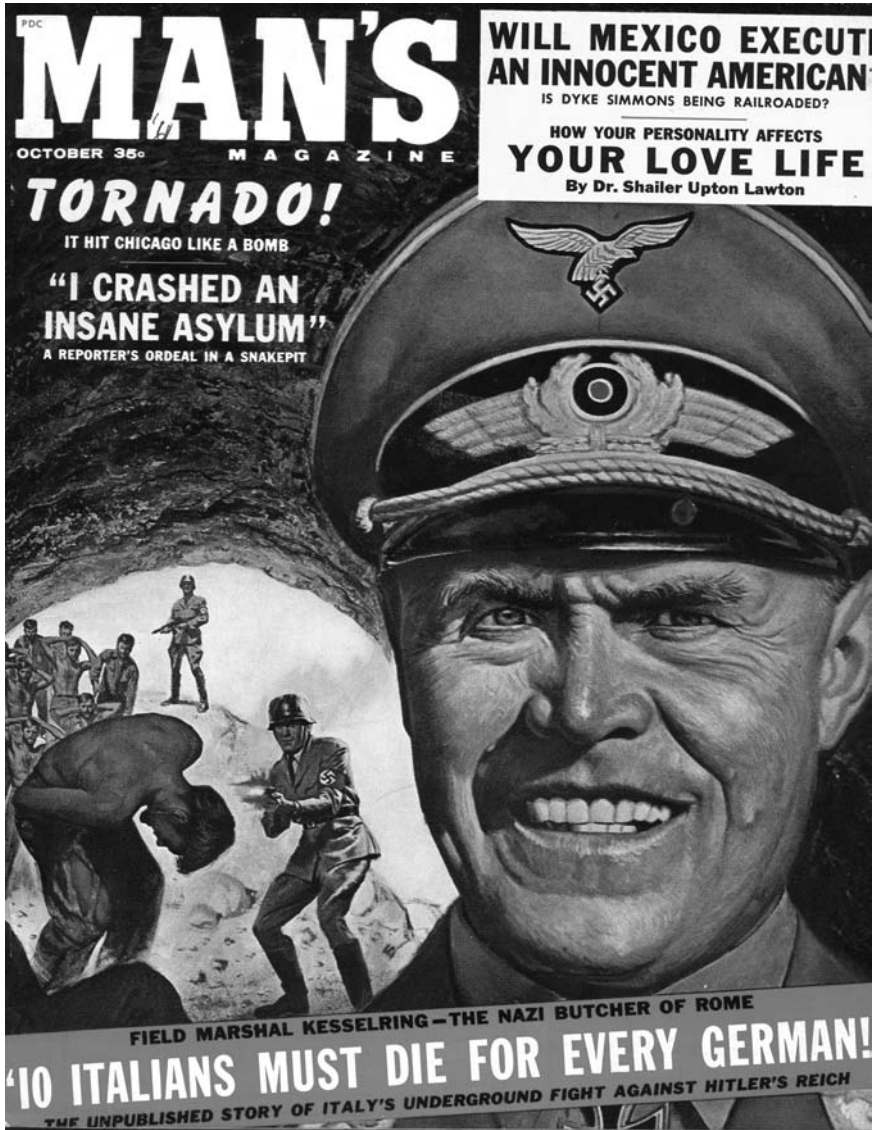


Fig. I.1 *Man's Magazine*, Oct. 1961 © 1961 Almat Publishing Corporation

authors was pragmatic, giving such magazines cultural capital to fight censorship, but it also parallels how modernist works often relied and profited by notoriety and sensationalism—the popularity and canonization of *Ulysses* and *Lady Chatterly's Lover* are the obvious examples. Furthermore, modernist pieces in this context, like “Two Gallants” and “The Boarding House,” recapture the innate risqué nature they held at their original publication, lost in their usual sanctioned surroundings of

academic anthologies or editions—indeed, *Man's Magazine's* marketing (taglines and illustrations) of “Two Gallants” relies upon the same ambiguity that Joyce uses to make the story's climax so effective.

These men's magazines of the 1950s and 1960s are the final apotheosis, the death throes of the Pulp Magazine, and apparitions of modernism under these hyper-masculine connotations can even be seen as the culmination of Pound and company's reaction to a popular literature that they defined as too effeminate. Such instances of “Pulp Modernism” don't mark colonization of the movement by the sensational mass market, but actually divulge an alternate populist history of modernism that can be traced back to its very beginnings, one that has been studiously ignored. This book is an overview of that history of popular modernism.

I chose to begin with Joyce in the 1950s not only because he is the arch-modernist, but because his largely overlooked *popular* publishing career spans, encapsulates, and bookends populist modernism. This is especially true in America where he started his publishing career more than 40 years earlier in the middlebrow *Smart Set*, which published “Eveline” and “A Little Cloud” in 1915 alongside authors such as Achmed Abdullah, the author of the pulpish *Buccaneer in Spats* and *The Thief of Baghdad*. Joyce also appeared throughout the 1920s and 1930s in mass reprint magazines such as *Golden Book*, *Two Worlds*, and *Fiction Parade*, and in the 1940s and 1950s in popular men's magazines and paperback editions and anthologies. Poetry of his from *Chamber Music* even appeared in *American Girl* (May 1933), the magazine for the Girl Scouts of America.

These overlooked, popular manifestations of modernism involve a series of submerged tensions and dichotomies that are emblematic—and problematic—to a reified idea of modernism as a canonized, defined movement. The idea of a popular, alternate, or shadow history of modernism singular with its inception and rise (but not canonization) troubles the idea of the continuous absorption of the avant-garde into mass-culture; rather, it forwards the idea of a popular avant-garde. That Joyce appeared alongside established pulp authors in *The Smart Set*, or that the magazine's editors, H.L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, were also publishers of the lowbrow pulps *Parisienne*, *Saucy Stories*, and *Black Mask* is enough to warrant critical attention. The overlooked *Smart Set*—just one of the many ignored outlets for modernism considered in this study—illuminates how slanted our history of the movement is in regard to the *forms* of modernism; our increasingly sophisticated understanding of modernism is still reductively based upon the material forms that those early literary historians thought worthy of archiving: the little magazine, manuscripts, and first editions, rather than reprint magazines and literary digests, reprint and circulating library hardback editions, pulp magazines, and paperbacks—all forms that evince a modernist (yet unsanctioned, ignored) heritage. *Re-Covering Modernism*, an exploration and illumination of modernism's popular genealogy, establishes a relationship far from antagonistic between modernism and the most popular and ephemeral literary forms of the time; it does so by focusing on the forms of popular literary

production in the twentieth century: early fiction and reprint magazines, interwar pulp magazines, and popular paperbacks.

This portrait of modernism is admittedly controversial, though less so than it would have been thirty years ago when the concept of modernism was still built upon exclusion and elitism, constructed as a singular coterie avant-garde movement based on stylistic experimentation and difficulty, and defined by its “great divide” from popular culture. Artists and critics have been attempting to define modernism as a cohesive movement since its inception; indeed, the date of its inception has been a point of contention, whether Woolf’s 1910 or the “men of 1914” of Eliot and Pound. Such an attempt for concrete dates and, more importantly, definition is obviously counterintuitive to the multivalence of modernism. Certain books, like Michael Levenson’s *A Genealogy of Modernism* (1984), attempt to sidestep problematic definitions by seeing the term “modernism” as a necessary evil: as Levin puts it, “Vague terms still signify,” and “As a rough way of locating our attention, ‘modernism’ will do.”<sup>1</sup> Yet such flippant motioning to perhaps the most problematic labeling in English studies history is indicative of the deeper reductivism in both Levenson’s book and pre-revisionary modernist studies. Though a sophisticated study of the criticism of Arnold, Eliot, Pound, and Hulme, Levenson’s book just propagates the Monolithic and Elite definitions of modernism: Monolithic because he does not take into consideration the rich histories of women, homosexuals, and minorities working within (and against) the movement; Elite because he never takes into account how modernism was working within the marketplace or even that there were popular forms and aspects of the movement. This latter is more forgivable than the former, for the feminist revision of the modernist canon was well under way when Levenson was writing in the mid-1980s; the attention paid to women writers in his book is confined to three passing references to Woolf—a gross injustice even by 1984 standards. But the latter—the debunking of modernism’s elite coterie—has only now come into full revisionist momentum.

But this still leaves the problem of definition. Invariably, the more attempts there are, the more modernism becomes difficult to pin down. The problem or “paradox” (as Robert Scholes has labeled it) of modernism’s resistance to categorization and reduction is in actuality the problem of the academy, of the codifying mindset.<sup>2</sup> At its very heart, modernism defies borders, it is anomalous, anti-structural. The shortcomings innate in applying such a necessarily reductive codifying ethos to a multivariate, multivalent, and ultimately noncohesive movement become evident in those many contrasting dates that critics and artists have assigned to the beginning and end of modernism, and more so in the revisionists’ charges of reductivism aimed at the idea that modernism was solely the realm of white males.<sup>3</sup> The worrying of the term and definition of modernism has been one

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<sup>1</sup> Michael Levenson, *A Genealogy of Modernism* (NY: Cambridge U P, 1984), vii.

<sup>2</sup> See Scholes, *Paradoxy of Modernism* (New Haven: Yale U P, 2006).

<sup>3</sup> See Bonnie Kime Scott, *Refiguring Modernism: The Women of 1928* (Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1995), 80–83.

with the expansion (or explosion) of the traditional modernist canon through the recovery of lost authors, forgotten texts, overlooked little magazines, and media such as film, jazz, and radio. Feminist, postcolonial, and African-Americanist critics have justly revealed the omissions of the predominately white, male model of the artistic avant-garde forwarded by largely male and new critical literary historians. Feminist critics were the pioneers of this and continue to be so, ranging from such innovative works as Bonnie Kime Scott's *Refiguring Modernism* (1996) and Shari Benstock's *Women of the Left Bank* (1987) that forwarded the female role in the modernist agenda, to the rediscovery of female authors such as Mary Butts, to the recent and promising studies of print and periodical culture, such as Francesca Sawaya's *Modern Women, Modern Work*, Jean Lutes's *Front Page Girls: Women Journalists in American Culture and Fiction* (2006), and Sharon Harris and Ellen Gruber Garvey's *Blue Pencils and Hidden Hands* (2004). Riding this wave of expansion, academic societies and journals, such as the Modernist Studies Association, *Modernism/Modernity*, and *Cultures of Modernism*, have taken to using "Modernisms" as indicator of the movement(s)'s plurality.<sup>4</sup>

This revisionist momentum has brought modernist studies to a moment of both crisis and fertility: as Jennifer Wicke pointed out at the initial meeting of the Modernist Studies Association and in an ensuing article for *Modernism/Modernity*, the multitude of modernisms and modernist re-envisioning threaten to undermine our own critical project.<sup>5</sup> For Wicke, our reinvention of modernism into "new modernisms" involves a "purifying" agenda without acknowledgment of our own implication with Modernism's "brand name" or market dynamic. This, and the ensuing debates about what *is* (or should be) modernism only encapsulates or highlights the pluralist agenda of modernism that was simplified by the monolithic definition of the movement constructed in the mid-century by new critical canonization and by critics such as Malcolm Cowley. It is this plurality that Wicke appreciates in her suggestion to see ourselves—the critics and historians of modernism—in terms of colportage, displaying a simultaneity of plurality, a richness of product not so much without value judgment but heavily invested with a plurality of values. In this sense, *Re-Covering Modernism*, organized around fiction and reprint magazines of the teens and 1920s, interwar pulp magazines, and '40s and '50s paperbacks, is critical colportage on a massive scale concerned with forms of publishing that consisted of dozens of genres, hundreds of subgenres, thousands of titles, and millions of readers, all seen in relation to, implicated within the traditions of modernism. And like colporteur in its true sense—a traveling hawker of books and newspapers—this study is innately about and organized around the material product, modernism in the marketplace, as found on the newsstand, in the drugstore, over the counter.

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<sup>4</sup> See also Richard Shepherd's "The Problematics of European Modernism," in Giles' *Theorizing Modernism* (NY: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>5</sup> Jennifer Wicke, "Appreciation, Depreciation: Modernism's Speculative Bubble," *Modernism / Modernity*, Vol. 8, No. 3, 389–403.

Likewise, it might be useful to define the age of modernism materially—like the Iron Age or Bronze Age—as the Paper Age, as a way to broaden the definition of the movement, or at least to spark thinking about it in terms of material production. In the latter half of the nineteenth century, technology made possible affordable paper, printing, graphic reproduction, and large-scale means of distribution. The birth of national magazines and newspapers, modern advertising and circulation, mass publications, mass entertainment created the first media-influenced mass culture, where an entire nation had simultaneous access to the same titles, authors, articles, news, and opinions. As Mathew Schneirov points out, “Popular magazines, forerunners of modern mass communications, were central in the development of the new social order of corporate capitalism.”<sup>6</sup> These things—mass culture, popular magazines, advertising, corporate capitalism—are exactly what modernism is traditionally said to be a reaction against, to be separated from by a “great divide.” Hence it is the little magazines, (small, privately produced, noncommercial avant-garde periodicals) that are seen as the forms and propagators of the movement. But if, as divulged by popular material manifestations of modernism, this great divide is illusory, more of a posture for self-marketing, then modernism is just another aspect of this age of production, of the paper age. In Andreas Huyssen’s influential but hotly contested study of the Great Divide, mass culture has always been the hidden counterpoint of modernism.<sup>7</sup> In *Re-Covering Modernism* though, modernism has always been an available aspect of mass culture.

My title, *Re-Covering Modernism*, not only plays off of my focus on the visual material aspects of marketing modernism (covers, dustwrappers, the physical properties of book production), but also my return and rediscovery of aspects of modernism that have been overlooked exactly due to their very mass appeal, marketability, and sensationalism. If we consider the outward aspects of a text, such as cover, font, price paid, and venue as integral to a book’s overall “aura,” then the marketing of a book is an important text in its own right, necessary to study. The construction of elite modernism would have it that literature is above monetary concerns, and the corresponding forms that have been archived by the academy have been collected as rare products of the pure production of art. The forms of the all-fiction wood-pulp magazines and the mass paperback examined here are oppositional to this idea. They epitomize literary ephemera in the mass marketplace: the pulps, for example, were seen as disposable literature produced cheaply on disposable (almost instantly disintegrating) paper. Likewise, modernist reprints in popular digests and magazines, cheap circulating library editions and paperbacks are uncollected and unexamined despite the fact that they had circulations in the tens or even hundreds of thousands. There has been no academic capturing in amber of what has always been considered and remains the literary trash of the early twentieth century. Instead, pulp magazines and paperbacks have

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<sup>6</sup> Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America 1893–1914* (NY: Columbia U P), 1994.

<sup>7</sup> Huyssen, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Bloomington: Indiana U P, 1986).

existed solely in the hands of collectors and in an (ironically, given the popular nature of the pulps) increasingly rarified and subculture marketplace. Literary reprint magazines are even less scrutinized, uncollected since the literature therein is usually available in more desirable, earlier editions.

This trashy and ephemeral aura helps explain the long-standing academic ignorance of these forms, for academia, especially as concerning literature and the avant-garde, establishes its reputation in opposition to material, economic, or physical dynamics. Yet there is another element of irony in the long purportedly antagonistic relationship between the pulp forms and modernism, for modernism has always been fascinated with, even reliant upon, capturing and translating the ephemeral and common, which, in literary terms, is embodied in the pulp form. We can easily find traces of this modernist agenda as early as 1863, when Baudelaire stated that “Modernity is the transitory, the ephemeral, the contingent, one half of art, the other half being the eternal and immutable” and follow it through, at least, to *Finnegans Wake*’s nexus of contemporary allusions.

*Re-Covering Modernism* takes as its point of impetus the symbolic reliance upon such popular paper ephemera by modernists such as Joyce, Flaubert, Woolf, and Faulkner in whose fiction flies the paper debris of twentieth-century culture: Joyce’s use of pamphlets, throwaways, advertising, and popular novels in *Ulysses*; Flaubert’s use of romance novels in *Madame Bovary*; Woolf’s use of the newspaper in *Between the Acts*; Faulkner’s use of the popular magazine in *Light in August*, *Pylon*, and *Wild Palms*. These authors used paper ephemera, often imbued with cultural and symbolic resonance, as a means to flesh out their realistic world portrait. Only recently have the critics of modernism started to examine advertising, newspapers, and popular periodicals within the work of modernists, either as overt allusions or subtle influences. Brandy Kershner, for example, has examined such diverse Joycean allusions as the pamphlets of physical culturist Eugene Sandow as a means to look at Bloom’s masculinity, and Victorian funeral and spirit photography to look at the unseen presence of Bloom’s dead son Rudy.<sup>8</sup> Jennifer Wicke has likewise looked to popular magazines and advertising in relation to both Bloom and Gerty.<sup>9</sup> More recently, Patrick Collier has examined the relationship between newspaper journalism as an outlet for modernism, as well as its role within modernist fiction.<sup>10</sup> Such materialist criticism is revisionist, nontraditional since it embeds modernism in the marketplace; it sees modernist literature as involved with and influenced by material production. This is at odds with the construction of modernism as being above the dynamics of consumerism, despite the fact that this is itself a topic, often paradoxically treated, within modernist fiction.

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<sup>8</sup> Kershner, “The Strongest Man in the World: Joyce or Sandow?” *James Joyce Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (Summer/Fall 1993), 667–694; “Framing Rudy and Photography,” *Journal of Modern Literature*, Vol. 22, No. 2 (Winter 1998/99), 265–292.

<sup>9</sup> Wicke, *Advertising Fictions* (NY: Columbia U P, 1988).

<sup>10</sup> Patrick Collier, *Modernism on Fleet Street* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2006).

Seeing modernism in the marketplace or, in Wicke's case, as a brand name, is a fertile trend for critics: books such as Cherniak, Gould, and Warwick's *Modernist Writers and the Marketplace*; Dettmar and Watt's *Marketing Modernisms*; Lawrence Rainey's *Institutions of Modernism*, Katherine Turner's *Marketing Modernism Between the Two World Wars*, and Loren Glass's *Authors Inc.* all come to mind as notable explorations of the business side of modernism. In *Modernism and the Culture of Market Society*, John Xiros Cooper goes even further by contending that the coterie aspects of modernism paved the way for modern corporate society. There are also numerous single-author studies that examine closely the economics of writing and publishing, such as Schwartz's *Creating Faulkner's Reputation*, Garry Leonard's *Advertizing and Commodity Culture in Joyce*, and Robert Trogdon's *The Lousy Racket: Hemingway, Scribners and the Business of Literature*. Such explorations fly in the face of the construction on the part of both modernist entrepreneurs, like Pound and Eliot, and the subsequent academics of the avant-garde being unconcerned with economics and salability, a stance that certainly evokes a certain cultural capital that translated into the marketplace: the *Little Review's* masthead of "Making No Compromise with Public Taste" is an obvious example.

Similarly, *Re-Covering Modernism* sees commercialism as an aspect of modernism, and modernism itself, especially pulp modernism, as a result of hyper-production in the age of capitalism. Wicke's analogy of Modernism as brand name is helpful in illustrating the self-marketing aspects of the movement: its elitism, newness, and innate cultural betterment—ideas integral to this book's agenda. Yet this study is certainly—exuberantly so—guilty of Wicke's warnings about "devaluing" the brand, not of "purging" or "purifying" modernism but of sullying it, pulling it down from a cultural height and putting it in the hands of immigrants and the working class. To a certain extent, this book's agenda is playing devil's advocate in regard to modernism by comparing it to an extremity of production, a sensational form, as means to both "burst modernism's speculative bubble" and to make obvious the elephant in the parlor which is early-twentieth-century mass publishing. I am not trying so much to raise pulp fiction to canonical heights as much as to broaden our scope of study, or, more exact, to show the limitations innate to our historical scope of study; as Michael Coyle points out in his rejoinder to Wicke, the issue "is less about canon-busting than it is about changing the criteria of canon formation," in this case, to step outside of canonicity and examine its dynamics for innate prejudice.<sup>11</sup> In other words, whereas *Re-Covering Modernism* stands upon the shoulders of recent works that have resubmerged modernism into the marketplace, it contends that there is still further to go in seeing modernism as a product in the *popular* marketplace. The trail for this has been paved by recent works that have expanded the study of modernist periodicals, broadening the old portrait of the movement beyond those sanctioned and archived forms of the little magazines: small coterie magazines produced by and for the artistic

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<sup>11</sup> See Coyle, "With a Plural Vengeance: Modernism as (Flaming) Brand," *Modernist Cultures*, Vol. 1, No. 1., 16.

elite. Mark Morrison's *The Public Face of Modernism* and Lawrence Rainey's *Institutions of Modernism*, two of the more influential examinations, work to expose modernism's involvement in the marketplace, such as the influence of mass periodicals on the *Masses'* marketing techniques, Pound and Eliot's pandering to *Vanity Fair* as an outlet for *The Wasteland*, and Joyce's involvement with the rare book trade as a form of patronage. These studies have been influential through their consideration of modernism's "market dynamics." *Re-Covering Modernism* looks beyond modernism's traditional, elite, and restrictive forms by considering a truly popular modernism. When considering the overall scene of publishing, which I do at the end of Chapter 1, such venues as the *Masses* and *Vanity Fair* are such a slight market percentage as to be inconsistent with the overall influence and spread of modernism, especially as our concept of modernism deconstructs into a myriad of modernisms. Modernism therefore must have been available through other formats such as *The Golden Book*, just one popular reprint magazine, which flourished throughout the 1920s, and which had a monthly distribution in 1925 of 175,000 copies (i.e., a circulation of over half a million).<sup>12</sup>

The interwar wood pulp magazine was another such venue but one that, in its extremity of production, reflected all aspects of culture: critical, formulaic, prejudiced, modernist alike. The pulps lasted for decades, with hundreds of titles and millions of readers; they were the meat and potatoes of the American reading public and rode the wave of globalization to Europe and as far as Australia. Yet the pulp form is missing from any focused study of modernism and most academic studies of twentieth-century American publishing, despite the fact that they made up a huge percentage of the American public's reading material—one contemporary study averaged the pulp audience as upward of 3,000,000 readers in the early 1930s. The pulps are the glaring omission in the history of American readership. This is all the more surprising because the pulp magazine as a symbol or allusion appears within many important modernist works from Joyce to Faulkner, and many modernists, such as Djuna Barnes and Bob Brown, got their start in the pulp magazines.

Yet the pulp magazines are scarcely mentioned in modernist criticism: among the rare exceptions are an essay on the subject by Joseph Blotner in Abadie and Fowlers' *Faulkner and Popular Culture*, it is a subcurrent in Greg Foster's *Murdering Masculinities*, and in a few scattered footnotes from general works regarding Hammett or Chandler—all of which concern themselves with the dynamics of hard-boiled fiction. This, in general, parallels the overall neglect of the pulp magazines in magazine and publishing histories, though this seems to be changing as the sensational covers for pulps move into the realm of popular kitsch. Modernist literary studies comes closest to acknowledging the pulps in works that examine hard-boiled fiction, which, due to its cynicism, proletariat heroes, and urban setting, offers an excellent albeit obvious parallel to modernism. There are a handful of such books of literary criticism on pulps, the most important of which are Sean McCann's *Gumshoe America*, Erin Smith's *Hardboiled: Working Class Readers and Pulp Magazines* (influenced by Michael Denning's important

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<sup>12</sup> Obviously, the newspaper was another outlet for modernism. See Collier, cited above.

book about Dime Novels and the nineteenth-century working class, *Mechanical Accents*), Christopher Breu's *Hard-Boiled Masculinities*, and Woody Haut's books about 1950s noir paperbacks. Because all of these studies concern themselves solely with hard-boiled fiction, however, their portrait is narrow and slanted. Smith's book in particular falls short in its construction of the pulp audience in that there were a myriad of other genres and pulp audiences: Romance Pulp, Spicy Pulp, True Confession Pulp, Science Fiction, etc. And almost without exception, the romance pulps outsold any other genre (see circulation information in Chapter 2 [p. 78–9]) Breu's book, a study of iconographic pulp masculinity, continues this trend. With the exception of hard-boiled, pulps have been uniformly written off by literary historians and cultural critics alike even though pulp titles existed by the hundreds at newsstands during the heyday of modernism, and despite the fact that by their very mass they emitted a gravitational pull, economic and stylistic, on the publishing world. Though narrow in scope, the above mentioned works prove the expanding field of pulp study, but an exploration of the relationship between modernism and the large body of popular literature—either in comparative or adversarial terms—is sorely needed.

The need for such a study of 20th century popular periodicals is all the more necessary given the growing popularity of periodical studies in the critical canon—already a well-established trend in Victorian Studies, yet a relatively recent one in modernist studies. This lag is due, I believe, to the prejudice against popular material forms innate to the canonization of modernism and missing from Victorian Studies; the dynamics of elitism innate to, say, the publishing history of Joyce are missing from the publishing history of Dickens. The publishing history of Joyce though was not entirely coterie or elite, as I have already pointed out, but the idea that it was has been handed down to us and militantly protected: consider the legal battle against Samuel Roth for pirating *Ulysses* in the innately popular *Two Worlds* magazine. Such a popular version of *Ulysses* undermined the book's marketing strategy as a rare commodity, as an investment worthy of smuggling out of Paris. Hence the portrait of Victorian literary production is much healthier, much more fleshed out than that of Modernism.<sup>13</sup>

As Laurel Brake points out in “On Print Culture: The State We’re In,” the robust health of periodical studies is due to the rise of technology that expands the manner and site of archival study; rare and ephemeral periodicals are available to more readers in much more reader-friendly ways.<sup>14</sup> Modernist studies is also benefitting from this moment, as illustrated by Robert Scholes and Sean Latham's Modernist Journals Project (MJP), a digital archive of important pre-1922 modernist periodicals. This infinitely promising project makes such rare little magazines as Lewis's *Blast* available for the student, critic, and common reader alike. The need

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<sup>13</sup> See Latham and Scholes, “The Rise of Periodical Studies,” *PMLA* (Vol. 121, No. 2), March 2006, 517–531.

<sup>14</sup> “On Print Culture: The State We’re In,” *Journal of Victorian Culture* (Spring 2001, Vol. 6, Issue 1), as well as her *Print in Transition, 1850–1910* (NY: Palgrave, 2001) and *Encounters in the Victorian Press* (NY: Palgrave, 2005) edited with Julie Codell.

for expanding our idea of the archive has quickly become obvious just since the MJP's inception. Whereas it was initially concerned only with little magazines, it has quickly expanded its scope to popular magazines as well, illustrated by their current aim to digitalize *Scribner's Magazine*. There is still much farther to go before the idea is accepted that modernism was available through mass-distributed reprint magazines, news magazines, or popular fiction magazines.

Recent books such as Ann Ardis's *Modernism and Cultural Conflict* (2002), Adam McKible's *The Space and Place of Modernism: The Russian Revolution, Little Magazines, and New York* (2002), Suzanne Churchill's *The Little Magazine Others and the Renovation of American Poetry* (2006), Dean Irvine's *Editing Modernism: Women and Little Magazine Cultures in Canada* (2007), and McKible and Churchill's *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches* (2008) are all important and groundbreaking in their pushing the boundaries of the scene and production of modernism. I offer a broader view of the larger scene of magazine publishing and the availability of modernism via popular periodicals—two aspects integral to *Re-Covering Modernism*.

Luckily, the popular sphere of the pulp and genre fiction fan have kept the pulps alive in republications, fanzines, conventions, and histories.<sup>15</sup> The amount and quality of ground-level research on pulp publishers, authors, and illustrators is worthy of notice and respect from academic critics; whereas it is rare for a modernist critic to hunt out the surviving publishers, compatriots, and participants in the original scene of modernism, pulp collectors have amassed a daunting archive of original sources though these are mostly regulated to hard-to-find pulp fanzines that are not collected in academic archives (and generally hard to find). The true history of pulp production (publishing records, author bios, and the pulps themselves) are in danger of slipping into oblivion—though that is where they've always resided for academic study.

As the subtitle of this book points out, the prejudice in academia is one against form, namely the popular forms of modernism that have been ignored for two broad reasons: 1) they were forms of mass publishing with all their unavoidable commercial trappings, forms produced cheaply for quick consumption and disposal;

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<sup>15</sup> John Gunnison's Adventure House is an excellent example of the type of publishing house that keeps the pulps alive. Over the last few years, Gunnison has published overviews, often with lovingly reproduced illustrations, of different genres of pulps or illustrators, such as Doug Ellis's *Uncovered: The Hidden Art of the Girlie Pulps* (Silver Spring, MD: Adventure House, 2003); *Pulp Fictioneers: Adventures in the Storytelling Business* (Silver Spring, MD: Adventure House, 2004); and *Belarski, Pulp Art Masters* (Silver Spring, MD: 2003). Gunnison also publishes individual pulp magazine reprints and *High Adventure*, a pulp fanzine. Off Trail Publications, whose Pulpwood Days series is an excellent insider view of the pulps. Volume 1, *Editors You Want To Know* (Castroville, CA: Off-Trail Publications, 2007), for example, uses long-out-of-print articles from hard-to-find trade journals such as *The Author and Journalist* and *Writer's Digest*, both of which are primary sources for info on the pulp industry. Girasol Collectables is also worth mention for their wonderfully faithful reproduction of hard-to-find (and usually extremely expensive) pulps.

2) because they were irrevocably linked to the mass public and working class in the intellectual's mind, as blatantly illustrated by the eugenic anti-pulp and anti-paperback diatribes of critics such as H.W. Van Loon and Malcolm Cowley, which I discuss in the second and third chapters. There are a few other critical works that forward a working-class modernism: most comprehensive is Jonathan Rose's *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Class*, which convincingly builds the case of a formidable intellectual avant-garde active in the lower classes of British society, familiar and versed in modernism. Other works, such as Patrick Collier's *Modernism on Fleet Street* demonstrate that modernists relied upon and were available in mass-circulated newspapers. *Re-Covering Modernism* is similar to both of these studies in that it proposes both a working-class modernism and canonical figures of modernism available to the working class, but initially uses the United States as its location.

Collier's study is exceptional in that it looks beyond little magazines for a venue of modernism, important because (as I've already mentioned) the forms of popular modernism have been eclipsed by forms such as the little magazine and small press publications, which were much more obviously artistic and conducive to the manner of elite marketing pioneered by high modernism. This has been substantiated in the reciprocal relationship between the academy and the literary archives, that is, what is archived is that which is worth studying and what academia deems worth studying is that which is in the archives. Little magazines are the perfect example of this. Along these same lines, written forms of popular modernism have been ignored by academia in lieu of other media; critics are willing to examine modernism as manifest in popular films, for example, but not in books or magazines. Paula Rabinowitz's *Black and White and Noir: America's Pulp Modernism* (2002), for example, looks to film noir and populist documentary photography rather than the actual pulp magazines, which she only mentions a few times in passing, despite her subtitle. Again, the studied neglect of the popular literary form/venue is glaring. We can expand this to visual studies in general, which usually opt to look at other media than the book, which was innately visual especially when considering dust-wrappers and newsstands. Seemingly, in literary criticism, it is safer to examine nonprinted forms rather than popular, obviously economically driven literary forms. Likewise, Smith's, McCann's, and Rabinowitz's books, all of which deal (at least nominally) with the pulps, are confined by their focus only on hard-boiled or noir. This, in and of itself, illustrates the academic prejudice of form since it is hard-boiled, with its patois and urban cynicism, that most obviously approaches the dynamics of modernism. We would benefit from looking beyond this (often masculine-driven genre) to less obvious pulp forms such as the romance and science fiction.

On a pragmatic level, the "exclusion" of the popular pulp form is symptomatic of the problem that pulp magazines just do not exist in the libraries and archives. Hopefully, this project shall in some way illustrate the need to preserve this important yet quickly disintegrating historical and literary form. No Benjaminian reconstruction of the twentieth century could ever be complete without the *detritus* of pulp magazines.

Throughout the book, I follow such critics as Chris Baldick, Terry Eagleton, Astrudar Eysteinnsson, Leonard Diepeveen, and John Guillory in seeing the relationship between modernist authors and the nascent industry of academic English studies as self-propagating and mutually beneficial, which together form an institution akin to Michel Foucault's power structure. Innate in this model is the idea that the pulp form is a type of subjugated knowledge, disregarded, excluded not only from the canon but from the institutional archives and academic accounts of twentieth-century literary history.<sup>16</sup> "Pulp modernism," a seeming oxymoron, obviously conflicts with many of the traditional definitions of modernism—modernism's inscrutability, stylistic experimentation, resistance to or disavowal of the marketplace—and purposefully so, for where and when modernism and popular literature do overlap, it illustrates the shortcomings of the traditional definition of modernism. If, as Foucault believes, it is at the extremities of society (i.e., prison or madhouse) that the machinations of the power mechanism are most readily apparent, then the pulp phenomenon (by both its very vastness and the vast body of critical derision aimed at it by critics and intellectuals) is an excellent place to look for institutionally sanctified subjugation.

Furthermore, my focus on book history likewise hopes to bridge the gap that has existed at least since the 1970s rise of poststructuralism between criticism and scholarship (i.e., bibliographic or textual studies), what Wim Van Mierlo sees as a generationally based resistance to theory by traditional archivists and a resistance to scholarship that is "endemic to the profession as a whole. Archival studies are rarely thought of as an end in itself."<sup>17</sup> What is needed to bridge the gap between a traditional textual scholarship, which is increasingly seen as archaic, and modern criticism is the simultaneous expansion in scope of both in regards to the material form—an extension of genetic criticism to the reception of a work beyond initial publication, and a return to the physicality of the book through the removing of the shellac of literary elitism that is an echo of new criticism.

My approach therefore is revisionist, pluralist, and materialist. Since revisionist, it will be necessary to refer to the different aspects of the historical construction of modernism. Throughout this study, then, I'll use three different modifiers in order to side-step the reductivism innate in that history: by "Monolithic" modernism, I mean the traditional idea that modernism was produced by and for a single coterie that consisted mostly of male authors and publishers, in other words, the "usual suspects" of Eliot, Joyce, Pound, Lewis, Hemingway, exclusionary of other genders and races; by "Elite" modernism I refer to the idea that modernism was seen as an avant-garde movement unconcerned with material, economic, or mundane matters; finally, I will use "traditional modernism" and/or "the traditional definition of modernism" to refer to the general reductive idea of modernism, of which these two

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<sup>16</sup> There are individual exceptions, such as Dashiell Hammett who has been included into the canon—included exactly because of his modernist attributes. I am writing of the pulp genre as a large and relatively cohesive (yet kaleidoscopic) form.

<sup>17</sup> "Reading Joyce In and Out of the Archive," *Joyce Studies Annual* (2002).

former concepts are a part, that was largely constructed—or at least propagated—roughly from the 1930s to the 1970s (but with earlier and later manifestation) at the hands of the ensuing academic canonization of the movement.

The trajectory of this book is historical, material, and moves from concrete to increasingly abstract: the first chapter initially follows a more traditional model of periodical study by considering a single magazine, *The Smart Set*, as a neglected venue for modernism. Edited by H.L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan from the mid-teens to the early 1920s, *The Smart Set* is an odd conglomeration of modernists, little magazine-like attitudes, middle-brow and pulpish authors. And whereas the neglected history of the magazine and Mencken's waning reputation in literary studies points to the stress placed upon the rise of the expatriate school of Pound and Hemingway, it also offers an entry into popular magazine publishing for Mencken and Nathan edited a series of pulp magazines, often trading authors between them and *The Smart Set*. I see *The Smart Set* as the launching point (literally) for numerous such all-fiction magazines: early pulps that existed as venues of modernism before (or contemporary to) any schism or self-construction of elitism. Examples of populist modernism to be found in these magazines are the milieu of Left Bank Paris and the popularity of the Flapper as challenging restrictive American morals. With the history of such mass-circulation magazine in mind, I consider the overall scene of magazine publishing to put into perspective the disproportionate attention paid to little magazine as the only venue for modernism. Finally, I look to popular reprint magazines as an example of the "fallacy of first appearance," that is, that we need to look beyond the initial publication of modernist works and at subsequent publications, which invariably reached tens or even hundreds of thousands more readers than the initial often-restricted appearances.

Whereas the first chapter looks at actual appearances of canonical modernists in popular venues, the second chapter examines ways in which the dynamics and tensions that fascinated, were propounded, or were navigated by modernists appeared in similar ways in the interwar pulp magazines. In the chapter's first part, I outline pulp production, the breadth of the pulp audience and the form's cultural status, including the role of women both as readers and producers of pulp magazines, the pulp's relation to race, and the antagonistic relationship between the pulps and modernists or cultural critics—that is, the ways in which the pulps seemed diametrically opposed to modernism. I establish this antagonist relationship so that in the chapter's latter half I can deconstruct it by making obvious a pulp/modernist nexus: the existence of a pulp working-class modernism that ranged from cultural criticism to stylistic experimentation. If the first chapter moves down the cultural scale by showing modernist authors' shadow careers in pulp magazines, this chapter attempts the opposite by illuminating dynamics of modernism within a disregarded popular form. For example, I look to the science fiction form (on both sides of the great divide) to show how a traditional pulp form lent itself to experimentation and astute cultural commentary; I examine Robert Coates' Dadaist *Eater of Darkness* in relation to pulp author Stanley Weinbaum and

Harlem author George Schuyler. On a more abstract level, I look at the dual pulp/modernist fascination with technology, speed, and the masculine body. Finally, I look at how pulp hyper-production lent itself to Joycean-like avant-garde stylistics in the fiction of Harry Stephen Keeler.

In the third chapter, I examine the innate sensationalism of high-modernism as an entry point for a popular audience. To do this, I look at the ways in which modernist authors were presented/marked during the paperback phenomenon of the late-1940s and 1950s. By doing so, I retroactively return to the earlier scene of modernism and the ways in which modernist literature relied upon elements of sensationalism in the marketplace. There was in fact a history of authors such as Lawrence and Joyce appearing in paperbacks even in the late 1920s. The gap between the sensational paperback covers of modernist works and the works' reputations as staid highbrow literature is the illusory divide between the academic and common reader or between canonized and genre literature (encapsulated by the gap in style of Conrad's *Lord Jim*) constructed by ensuing criticism in order to reorient reception away from sensational (and erotic) elements innate to modernism. Some of this elite construction was actually done at the hands of the authors themselves as an attempt to control the reception of this work: D.H. Lawrence's limited edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is the obvious example, as is Joyce's *Ulysses*, but in both cases the instabilities of the text and of reception won out: Lawrence published a popular edition to counteract the numerous pirated editions, and Joyce's work was bought and persecuted, smuggled and read as erotic literature. This of course bothered Lawrence, with his somewhat tortured class issues, much more than Joyce who reveled in textual instability. But what this points out is the innate and important materiality of text, how reception is controlled (often unsuccessfully) by publishing aspects. Again, I argue in this chapter for the need to resist the fallacy of first appearance and extend genetic, bibliographic criticism to a book's afterlife of reprints and popular reception.

At the end of the third chapter I forward this idea by offering "case studies" of Faulkner and Hemingway in order to examine elements of violent and sexual sensationalism, economic patronage, commercial pandering, and intrinsic visuality. Whereas throughout the book I look to non-canonical authors and the popular and pulpish aspects of established modernist figures, this section's concentration upon the usual suspects of male-oriented, monolithic modernism stresses how the same dynamics of androcentric canonization undergirded both the academy and the paperback revolution of the 1940s; therefore a portrait of paperback modernism, like the portrait of 1950s men's magazines that started this introduction, illustrates again that popular culmination of popular dynamics not resisted but initiated by figures of high-modernism, a culmination that wouldn't have been made possible without the aid of the patriarchal cultural designators of critics and academia. Ironically, these are the same dynamics, which, in the process of institutionalization, wrote popular modernism out of history in lieu of a history based upon difficulty and rarified forms. This study recovers that lost history.