

University of Alberta

The Other Magazine Revolution: American Little Magazines and fin-de-siècle Print Culture, 1894-1904

by

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Library and Information Studies

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a cultural and material history of the little magazine phenomenon of the 1890s in America and is informed by a sociology of texts methodology. These little magazines, over 300 of which emerged between 1894 and 1904, represented a prolific and significant body of alternative print culture and are central to the literary and social history of this period. The thesis documents the social and cultural origins of the form and its producers; describes the material conditions of production, distribution, and reception governing their emergence; explores the literary and social networks of the people that produced them; and provides an overview of the main types of these magazines (“aesthetic,” “protest,” “humor and parody,” and “miscellaneous”) and their typical content. An updated bibliography of these magazines, which have not been fully documented since 1903, is included.

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INTRODUCTION

Research Topic and Problem: A Print Phenomenon Neglected

Ephemerals, bibelots, ephemeral bibelots, chap-books, decadents, dinkeys, pamphlets, leaflets, fin-de-siècle periodicals, greenery-yallery periodicals, periodical bantlings, freak journals, freak magazines, freakazines, fad magazines, fadazines, fadlets, magazettes, magazinelets, mushroom magazines, toy magazines, diminutive magazines, miniature magazines, brownie magazines, magazines of protest, and little magazines. These are just a few of a variety of terms that were used to characterize a print culture phenomenon that swept across America in the 1890s and early 1900s. These vivid descriptors touch on the key characteristics of these magazines. They were small. They were short-lived. They were faddish. They were prolific. They were precious. They were precocious. They were rebellious. They were radical. They were playful. They were youthful. They were artistic – associated particularly with Aestheticism, Decadence and other new movements in art and literature. Above all, as the abundance of terms ascribed to them indicates, they were new and unfamiliar.

Consider, for example, the characteristic response of Sewell Ford, reporting on these new magazines in the daily press. The article was titled “The Freak Magazine,” and was accompanied by the following sub-heads: “An Interesting Development of Up to Date Impressionism,” “Quaint Art, Queer Literature,” “Fantastic Productions in Odd Typography That Flout the

Conventionalities in Eccentric Verse and Whimsical Prose. From Beardsley to Bradley.”¹ It described the phenomenon in the following way:

The day of the freak magazines seems to have arrived. A perfect flood of publications, strange in form, weird as to illustration and quaint of type, is pouring out and almost engulfing the familiar and more sober monthly literature to which we have been accustomed. We can hardly afford to call it a flood either. That almost seems too dignified. An outbreak, an eruption, an epidemic would indicate it better.²

This flood, outbreak, eruption, epidemic, or whatever it was, manifested itself in the emergence of scores of periodicals of this type in a roughly ten-year period between 1894 and 1903. Conservative estimates number them at between two and three hundred, though one source has claimed there were over 1100 such magazines.³ Though a handful of such magazines existed before 1894, the boom

¹ Sewell Ford, “The Freak Magazine,” *Waterloo Daily Courier*, April 2, 1896, 4. The article was syndicated and was also printed in the *Alton Telegraph* (Alton, Illinois) on April 16th, and the *Salem Daily News* (Salem, Ohio) on April 10th. These sources were accessed through the paysite Newspaper Archive, <http://www.newspaperarchive.com>.

² Ford, “The Freak Magazine,” 4.

³ In 1897, Frederick W. Faxon published the first of a series of bibliographies of what he called “Ephemeral Bibelots” (“A Bibliography of Ephemeral Bibelots,” *Bulletin of Bibliography and Magazine Notes* 1 (1897): 21-3. He would publish two more in 1903, with additions and deletions from the earlier list. The two 1903 bibliographies, one issued in the *Bulletin of Bibliography* and one issued as a pamphlet differ only slightly (“Ephemeral Bibelots,” *Bulletin of Bibliography and Magazine Notes* 3 [1903-4], 72-4, 92, 106-7, 124-26; *Ephemeral Bibelots* [Boston: Boston Book Co., [1903]]. Together, Faxon’s lists identify a total of 262 such magazines. Elbert Hubbard claimed the higher figure, and this only for the dates 1895-96 in “Joseph Addison,” *Little Journeys to the Homes of English Authors* (*Little Journeys* 8.3 [Sept. 1900]: 78.

began in earnest in 1895, following on the heels of the success of the *Chap-Book*. Launched in 1894 by two Harvard undergraduates, this aesthetic little magazine, subtitled “a miscellany and review of belles-lettres,” was indebted to the recently established notorious London Decadent periodical, the *Yellow Book*. It brought fin-de-siècle British and French artistic and literary trends to the attention of Americans and supported aspiring American writers and artists. The following year, Elbert Hubbard would establish a little magazine of a different, though equally influential, kind. While exhibiting the same interest in odd formats, quaint type, and queer literature that characterized the aesthetic revolt of the *Chap-Book* and its ilk, the *Philistine*, subtitled “a periodical of protest,” brought social and political protest to the agenda of the little magazine.

Together, these magazines would inspire a host of imitators across the country – from major centres such as Chicago, New York, Boston, and Philadelphia to smaller locales including Wausau, Wisconsin; Muskegon, Michigan; Boone, Iowa; and Manlius, New York. With titles such as the *Fad*, the *Enfant Terrible*, the *Bohemian*, the *Whim*, the *Freak*, and the *Occasional One*, their founders marked their difference from the mainstream. While some were more radical than others and, indeed, many were hardly radical at all, these magazines represented an important intervention in print culture that corresponded with the rise of the mass-market magazine and mass culture.

What they shared in common was a status as an alternative venue for professional writers and artists and also for a large body of “amateurs,” many of them, as I shall demonstrate, from America’s professional middle class. Virtually

all those who created little magazines saw their publications as an important alternative to mainstream publications in some way and as a means of intervening in social, cultural, and artistic debates. They may have sought actively to resist the mainstream or they may have regarded their publications not so much in oppositional terms, but as a parallel print venue that offered a new audience or new form for their ideas. These magazines are the precursors to the little magazines of the Modernist era and to other forms of alternative print of the twentieth and twenty-first century – namely, zines and blogs. Just as private individuals today have exploited mass technologies in an age of globalization for means of self-expression through blogs, vlogs, and forms of social networking, so turn-of-the-twentieth-century Americans used existing and emerging media and distribution technologies to similar effect in the creation of little magazines.

Despite their important legacy, the little magazines of this period have been largely forgotten, particularly in scholarship on little magazines and in the history of American magazines of this period. In Modernist studies, for example, it is the little magazines of the 1910s and 1920s that are regarded as the defining moment for the emergence of this genre. The absence of fin-de-siècle little magazines in this scholarship is largely attributable, I would argue, to their omission from Frederick Hoffmann, Charles Allen, and Carolyn Ulrich's important 1946 publication, *The Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography*.⁴ This work represented the first substantial scholarly effort to define the genre of the little magazine and it included a bibliography of over six hundred titles. And

⁴ Frederick Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and Bibliography* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946).

yet, only four titles of American little magazines prior to 1905 are listed. Of these, three are from Faxon's lists.⁵

In order to understand precisely why so few fin-de-siècle little magazines appear in Hoffmann, Allen, and Ulrich's study,⁶ it is necessary to consider the authors' criteria for inclusion. The authors first cite objective criteria, indicating that little magazines must be experimental, non-commercial, anti-mainstream, and supportive of the work of unknown writers and new artistic movements.⁷ Certainly, by these criteria, many, many more fin-de-siècle little magazines would qualify for inclusion in their list. It is, rather, their subjective criteria that ultimately serve to delimit their list. A little magazine, by their definition, ought to "in the authors' estimation, have had some importance in the history of modern literature or have published some work of merit."⁸ By their account, the magazines they include have published "80% of our most important post-1912

⁵ Ibid., 235-37. The four titles are the *Mirror*, a St. Louis weekly, edited from 1893 by William Marion Reedy, who did much, in his journal to promote the literary avant-garde right through to his death in 1920; the *Chap-Book*, one of the more popular and well-known of little magazines and the model for others of its type; *M'lle New York*, another important magazine for introducing the work of fin-de-siècle avant-garde European writers; and the *Papyrus*, a magazines that combined the literary interests of the aesthetic little magazines with the social commentary of the protest magazines. All of these but Reedy are listed in Faxon.

⁶ An earlier 1932 bibliography of the little magazine by bookseller David Moss, included 41 fin-de-siècle titles, 21 of which were from Faxon in a list that totaled 376 titles ("A Bibliography of the Little Magazine Published in America Since 1900," *Contact* 1-3 [1932]: 91-109, 134-39, 111-24).

⁷ Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, *Little Magazine*, 2-6. More recent scholarship on the little magazine has qualified these stringent criteria. Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible, for example, acknowledge that some little magazines represented quite traditional literary tastes (Introduction, *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches* [Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007], 3).

⁸ Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, *Little Magazine*, vii.

critics, novelists, poets and storytellers.”⁹ Beyond the three fin-de-siècle little magazines they consider worthy of “significant recognition,” they adjudge the rest as “not very inspiring.”¹⁰

Ultimately, then, these fin-de-siècle magazines are “not very inspiring” for Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich because they do not accord with the triumphalist narrative of the Modernist avant-garde’s “battle for a mature literature”¹¹ that was emerging in this period and that they were helping to perpetuate. Their history and bibliography was created at an important moment in the institutionalization of Modernism when scholars, critics, and writers were trying to establish cultural legitimacy for the movement.¹² The fin-de-siècle little magazines could not figure in this history because they published few writers who would go on to achieve canonical status. Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich’s study has had repercussions for our understanding of the history of little magazines. For one thing, it neglects a prolific earlier manifestation of a little magazine movement – the subject that concerns me in this thesis. At the same time, however, it undoubtedly also neglects a significant body of twentieth-century Modernist-era magazines that fail to meet the authors’ subjective criteria – a subject that is beyond the scope of this thesis to tackle. Thus, while Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich’s history and bibliography represents an important account of little magazines, it is a highly

⁹ Ibid., 1.

¹⁰ Ibid., 7.

¹¹ Ibid., 1.

¹² This characterization of Modernism’s institutionalization and legitimization is central to what has been called the “New Modernist Studies,” which seeks to open up the field to material and subject matter that has been elided or ignored in traditional accounts. This trend has been central in the recuperation of the work of women writers, African American writers, and forms of popular modernism.

selective one, one that ignores a whole range of uses to which the little magazine, as a genre, was put.

At the same time, though three pages are devoted to the fin-de-siècle little magazine phenomenon in Frank Luther Mott's comprehensive *History of American Magazines: 1885-1905*, these magazines have not attracted attention in the recent upsurge of scholarly interest in American magazine culture of this period. Leading magazines scholars working in this period, including Richard Ohmann, David Reed, Ellen Gruber Garvey, Tom Pendergast, and Helen Damon-Moore have been interested, rather, in mass-market magazines, the rise of advertising, and the shaping of American middle-class consumer identities and culture.¹³ Just as the little magazines of the 1890s are difficult to incorporate into a history of the genre that privileges avant-gardism such as Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich's, they are also, for opposite reasons, seemingly unsuitable within the framework of studies of periodicals and the rise of consumerism. These magazines are not, after all, commercial entities, and have seemingly little, therefore, to say about the topics that have been of recent interest in magazine scholarship.

¹³ Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* (London: Verso, 1996); David Reed, *The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States 1880-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Ellen Gruber Garvey, *The Adman in the Parlour: Magazines and the Gendering of Consumer Culture, 1880s to 1910s* (New York: Oxford UP, 1996); Tom Pendergast, *Creating the Modern Man: American Magazines and Consumer Culture* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2000); Helen Damon Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post, 1880-1920* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994).

Rationale and Aims: Recuperating the fin-de-siècle Little Magazines

Fin-de-siècle little magazines, thus, fall through the gaps between scholarship on elite coterie publications and middle-class oriented mass-market publications. To be sure, these magazines were probably, for the most part, read by a small percentage of Americans. Many of them were associated with literary coteries or, as Nancy Glazener argues, with the “culture of the universities” and, in the period from 1870 to 1900, only between one and four percent of young men (and presumably less women) were enrolled in higher education.¹⁴ In this sense, fin-de-siècle little magazines might be said to be akin to their Modernist successors – directed at an intellectual elite. And yet, in their range of subjects, styles, and contributors, the little magazines of this era were broader in scope and appeal than Modernist ones and higher circulation figures bear this out. Thus, though most of them were directed at and read by a small class fraction of emerging professional and intellectual elites, they are certainly, as I shall argue, an important part of the broader context of an American middle class avidly aspiring to display and to acquire cultural capital, a subject of interest to scholars of the mass-market magazines. At the same time, the little magazines are indicative of how members of this class negotiated between a consumer identity that it felt somewhat ambivalent about and a high cultural identity that it idealized.

In this sense, the little magazines of the 1890s represent an important intersection between the domains of high and popular culture and between the

¹⁴ Nancy Glazener, *Reading for Realism: The History of a US Literary Institution, 1850-1910* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997), 237; Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976), 35.

professional literary field and middle-class culture. While a few studies of individual little magazines of this period exist, the magazines chosen tend to be exceptional ones, such as the *Chap-Book* and the *Philistine*. At the same time, the focus of these studies tends to be on the magazines themselves and their immediate context rather than on the broader movement. There has yet to be a study that considers the movement in ways that take in the scope and variety of these periodicals and their broader cultural purview. This thesis aims to fill in these gaps in the scholarship by mapping out a cultural and material history of the genre, paying attention not only to the intellectual content of these magazines but stressing also the importance of material form, format, and modes of production, distribution, and reception as signifiers of meaning. As I shall argue, these fin-de-siècle little magazines, a prolific and significant body of alternative print culture, are central, in a number of ways, to the literary and cultural history of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America.

First, situated as they are between the realm of magazines and books, they represent an important part of the development of print culture in this period: they were a part of and a reaction against the magazine revolution that gave rise to the cheap, mass-market magazine in this era; they were linked to the development of the revolution in fine printing that transformed book production in this period; and they influenced twentieth-century developments in magazine and book production and advertising.

Second, in the immediate years after the passing of the International Copyright Act, an act that created unprecedented opportunities for those aspiring

to be professional writers and illustrators, the little magazines served as a venue for this development and as significant vehicle for debate about the development of American literary and artistic culture.

Finally, the fin-de-siècle little magazines are relevant in broader historical terms as part of the history of America's middle class, especially its rising professional middle class. These magazines reflected the shifting cultural values and interests of the middle class, as "genteel" ideals were abandoned and/or transformed in the last part of the nineteenth century. The members of this class were not simply passively receptive to cultural training as imparted by a literary and artistic elite in the pages of these magazines. They exploited the little magazine as a medium of independent expression and thought. It was a venue not only for literary and artistic coteries, but also for members of the emerging professional middle class more broadly. Doctors, lawyers, architects, engineers, teachers, and even children and young adults of middle-class and professional middle-class families engaged as amateurs in the realm of print culture through the vehicle of the little magazine.

Defining the Little Magazine of the 1890s: Methodological Challenges

The absence of nearly all of the little magazines of the 1890s from Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich's history suggests the necessity of defining a revised set of criteria. Indeed, such re-evaluations of what constitutes a little magazine have been underway in current scholarship on Modernist periodicals. As the editors of a recent volume of scholarly essays on little magazines attest, little magazines are

notoriously difficult to define.¹⁵ Though traditionally characterized as short-lived, small circulation, financially precarious, aesthetically and/or politically radical publications, little magazines often defy such categorizations. Churchill and McKible, for example, cite examples of little magazines that have had large circulations, sizable funding, considerable longevity, and traditional literary tastes. In their own rather open-ended definition, they have tried to account for the range of types, concluding ultimately that “whatever the format, scope, or preferred topics of conversation, little magazines *tend* to share two features: a vexed relationship to the larger, mainstream public and an equally vexed relationship to money” (emphasis added).¹⁶

In my own thinking about how to approach the problem of definition I, too, have opted for an open-ended approach. Wanting to avoid bringing a pre-conceived definition to my examination of fin-de-siècle American magazines, I have aimed for a historically-contextualized understanding of this genre. To a large extent, this approach was dictated by my main sources of information about these periodicals – Faxon’s bibliographies of 1897 and 1903. Before elaborating my own understanding of what constitutes a little magazine in the fin-de-siècle context, therefore, it is worth discussing these sources and definitions and the methodological challenges they raise. Faxon’s bibliographies are the main source of titles of fin-de-siècle American little magazines. His first, of 1897, includes 98

¹⁵ Churchill and McKible, introduction to *Little Magazines and Modernism*, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

titles of “ephemeral bibelots,” 96 of which are North American and two British.¹⁷ By 1903, his list is substantially larger. The version published in the *Bulletin of Bibliography* includes a total of 246 titles, 237 of which are North American and nine British.¹⁸ The version published as a pamphlet contains 238 titles, 229 of which are North American.¹⁹ In the three bibliographies combined, Faxon identifies a total of 270 North American little magazines issued between 1891 and 1903.²⁰ All of these are English-language publications, though some include translations of literature in other languages and a very few include foreign-language content, usually French.

As the major source of titles of fin-de-siècle American little magazines, Faxon’s bibliographies are not without their methodological problems, as he himself admits. First, Faxon’s bibliographies include titles that seem to go beyond the purview of his definition. As defined by Faxon, “ephemeral bibelots” are “small, artistically printed magazines,” usually short-lived, that are motivated by a desire on the part of their founders to reach a public “which could not be reached

¹⁷ One of the 96 North American titles is a Canadian publication, *Bill Poster*, out of Toronto. Another of these titles, *Quartier Latin*, though compiled in Paris and printed in London, is an American publication. The two British titles are the *Yellow Book* and the *Savoy*.

¹⁸ 228 of these titles appear in the main bibliographic entries, 13 as addenda, and 5 are mentioned in the introduction as heard of but not seen. Of the North American titles, one was published in Britain but contained mostly American contributors (*Anti-Philistine*) and two were Canadian-based (the *Kit-Bag*, of Fredericton, New Brunswick and the *Scroll*, of Montreal).

¹⁹ The pamphlet includes one additional title in the main bibliographical list for *Autocrat*, a Chicago magazine. The pamphlet lacks the addenda that appear in the *Bulletin of Bibliography* version, but contains four additional titles in the introductory notes for magazines that Faxon says were announced but probably never issued (6).

²⁰ 248 in the main bibliography, 13 as addenda, plus 9 in the introductory notes.

through the established magazines, either because the author could not get his manuscript accepted, or because the readers were not among the subscribers of the older monthlies and periodicals.”²¹ And yet, his list includes a number of story magazines, publications that, he acknowledges, are unlike the artistically-produced chap-book class in almost all ways except their strange titles.²² They appear in his list because of their “ephemeral” status: they are a “true part,” he says of the ‘ephemerals’ of the period.²³ Second, while allowing for the inclusion of short-story magazines, he excludes most of the college and school periodicals that take the chap-book form.²⁴ Third, he admits to difficulty in determining the difference between “regular periodicals” and the “fads,” that imitated or parodied them. As such, he says, “several have been included which should not have found a place.”²⁵

Fourth, and more problematic, are the unacknowledged inconsistencies among Faxon’s bibliographies. Not all of the titles in Faxon’s 1897 bibliography appear in his 1903 bibliography, for example, and he gives no explanation for his omissions. Did he decide, in retrospect, that certain titles were unqualified? Why, then, does he not address this in his comments? Finally, there is the matter of comprehensiveness. If Faxon included titles that have questionable status as “ephemeral bibelots,” does he not, too, miss others that ought to have made his list? Are there some categories that he has excluded? Suffragette-type periodicals

²¹ Faxon, *Ephemeral Bibelots*, 3, 5.

²² *Ibid.*, 4.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

represent one possibility, for example. Were there not some suffragette periodicals of this period, which, like some of the Socialist ones, bore a relationship to the little magazine movement? Also, were there not more examples of fringe religious or spiritual periodicals that might be included? How, in the end, do we reconcile Faxon's list of about three hundred titles with Elbert Hubbard's claim that there were over 1100? Faxon, himself, acknowledged the difficulty of achieving comprehensiveness: "Owing to the purely ephemeral nature of these periodicals, and the fact that many never are circulated beyond the immediate vicinity of their birth, there must be several which have never come to the compiler's attention."²⁶

At the outset of my research, I was troubled by these methodological inconsistencies. As I sought out the periodicals included in Faxon's bibliographies in various research libraries, I found myself trying to separate out those titles that did not seem to accord with the defining characteristics of the little magazine genre. I soon realized, however, that my perceptions were those of hindsight. They were guided by my understanding of the little magazine as defined by Modernist scholarship and not how this particular genre was conceptualized at the moment of its emergence in the 1890s. Our current understandings of little magazines have been largely shaped by the parameters of the Modernist publications that emerged in the 1910s and 1920s. If earlier magazines are included under this rubric, it is, again, through hindsight, because they are seen as precursors to the later magazines. Almost none of the magazines on Faxon's list,

²⁶ Ibid., 6.

as I have said, find their way into bibliographies of little magazines created in the Modernist era and after. As a consequence, Modernist scholarship on little magazines neglects this body of publications almost entirely.²⁷ And yet, clearly, the efflorescence of these small magazines of the 1890s is part of the history of the genre.

Indeed, Modernist scholars acknowledge that little magazines were the product, as Modernism was more broadly, of the antagonism between mass culture and avant-garde or elite culture that emerged so powerfully in the 1890s. Robert Scholes, for example, argues that these two forces produced both the mass-market magazine and the little magazine.²⁸ And yet, strangely, these scholars acknowledge few magazines that pre-date the 1910s. Mark Morrisson, for example, in discussing the origins of the Modernist little magazine, argues that it “had a few nineteenth century precursors (the Pre-Raphaelite magazine the *Germ*, for instance, or the Symbolist magazines of the 1880s and 1890s in France)

²⁷ Robert Scholes’ Modernist Journals Project (MJP), a project that aims, among other things, to establish a list of all magazines of literary and artistic importance between 1890 and 1922, has, it must be said, included all the Faxon titles (<http://dl.lib.brown.edu:8081/exist/mjp/maglistviewer.xq>.)

²⁸ Robert Scholes, “Small Magazines, Large Ones, and Those In-Between,” in *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches*. Ed. Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007), 217. See also Mark S. Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception 1905-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), in which he argues that anxieties about the commercial press from the mid 1890s to the 1920s shaped the cultural work of magazines and advertising, producing not only twentieth-century consumer culture but also its opposite, in the form of little magazines (4-5). His study, however, as his title indicates, does not cover the first decade of this transformation.

but it came into its own in the early twentieth century.”²⁹ Given their acknowledgement that the conditions for the emergence of the little magazine originate in 1890s, it is strange that Modernist scholars have overlooked the large body of little magazines of this period. This neglect, I contend, is largely a consequence of defining the genre on the basis of Modernist instances and then looking back in history to identify ones that resemble these.

This thesis aims to characterize the little magazines of the 1890s, not on the basis of hindsight, but in their specific cultural context. How was this type of magazine understood, represented, and received in the 1890s at the moment when, as Robert Scholes and others have argued, the antagonistic forces that created Modernism emerged as a powerful force? Bearing in mind, then, the methodological problems inherent in a broad definition of the little magazine, as represented by Faxon, and the limitations of too narrow a one as represented in much Modernist scholarship, I prefer a more inclusive definition. If it was thought, in its historical moment, to be part of the little magazine phenomenon, then it is included. In fact, I allow more scope for expansion than Faxon. I am not particularly troubled, for example, by the presence of “fad” magazines or parodies in the list, as these are an important indicator of the reach and influence of the movement. At the same time, they are intimately connected to the genre and have little meaning outside this context. Also, though I have not made it a priority to expand the list, I am not averse to including periodicals that, if only for fairly

²⁹ Mark S. Morrisson, “Publishing,” in the *Companion to Modernist Literature*. Ed. David Bradshaw and Kevin J. H. Dettmar (Blackwell Publishing, 2005; Blackwell Reference Online). Churchill and McKible’s collection also significantly neglects this turn-of-the-century period.

superficial reasons -- aesthetic appearance, for example, or quirky titles -- demonstrate the influence of the little magazine on broader magazine culture. In this case, I am more open than Faxon to the inclusion of examples of college and school periodicals as well as the amateur magazines that were a significant phenomenon in this period. My reason here is the same as given for fad magazines, namely that such publications demonstrate the influence of the genre. Similarly, though in hindsight the story magazines that Faxon lists make more sense as part of a history of the magazines that would come to be called the “pulp” in the twentieth century, they were, in the 1890s, understood by some as part of the “freak” magazine boom.³⁰

Ultimately, the fin-de-siècle little magazines that Faxon documents embody a range of seemingly contradictory characteristics. In this respect, they are not all that unlike their Modernist counterparts that, as Churchill and McKible indicate, also include a range of seemingly contradictory characteristics. Thus, within the field of fin-de-siècle little magazines, some are short-lived and some are long-lived; some are of extremely small circulation, some have a large circulation; some are financially precarious, some are well-funded; some are aesthetically radical or innovative and some are traditional; some are socially progressive, and some are conservative. To some extent, they do share one of the particular tendencies that Churchill and McKible regard as characteristic of the Modernist little magazine – a vexed relationship to the larger, mainstream public. But, again, this is not always the case. So where does that leave us? Below, I list

³⁰ Ford’s 1896 article, for example, mentions some of the story magazines in his article, including the *Black Cat* and *Nickell Magazine* (“Freak Magazines,” 4).

those criteria that I take into consideration in identifying titles that are relevant to the fin-de-siècle little magazine movement.

1. **It looks like a little magazine. Yes, you can judge a book by its cover –**
i.e. a magazine by its appearance and, in the case of the little magazine, format is a central aspect of genre. As Faxon tells us, little magazines are “easily distinguishable by their appearance,”³¹ which included odd shapes and sizes, innovative fonts, and distinctive paper. At the same time, you can also judge a magazine by its title – titles that are suggestive of quirkiness or ephemerality. Most, though not necessarily all, the little magazines of this period are self-consciously aesthetic in appearance.
2. **It acts like a little magazine. It ain’t what you do, it’s the way that you do it.** Much of the little magazine content of this period may not seem as avant-garde as we have come to expect from such periodicals. In many respects, the “littleness” of these magazines in this period comes from its discursive practices -- the bravado, attitude, and self-representation of the magazine as framed by editors and contributors. Does it take a flippant approach to periodicity, readership, advertising, or other aspects that define mainstream magazines? What is the tone of the editorial voice? Does it represent itself as oppositional or controversial? Does it attack mainstream periodicals? Does it position itself within the larger little magazine movement, through references to or advertisements for other

³¹ Faxon, *Ephemeral Bibelots*, 3.

little magazines? Most little magazines have a characteristically bold self-representation.

3. **People think it is a little magazine.** How was the magazine received in its period? Was it considered part of the little magazine movement by other magazines – either mainstream magazines or other little magazines? Is it referenced or advertised in other little magazines? All the magazines included in this study were, in their day, regarded as part of this efflorescence of odd magazines.

4. **It has little magazine-like literary and/or artistic content.** I deliberately and perhaps controversially place this characteristic near the end of my list, though the order of this list is not meant to be hierarchical. Still, where one might think this criterion would be most important, it is merely one factor among others. The little magazines of this period, as I have said, included some fairly traditional content. At the same time, mainstream magazines of this period often included more attention to high and avant-garde culture than we might expect. Nevertheless, content is an indicator. There are certain trends and interests recognizable across the genre that become familiar as one examines this body of magazines.

5. **It is concerned with other interests associated with little magazines.**
Guilt by association. Does it focus on progressive causes, fringe movements, or esoteric interests? Free Thought, New Thought, Theosophy, astrology, Atheism, the Settlement Movement, anti-Mormonism, the single tax movement, land reform, anarchism, socialism,

etc.? This criterion in and of itself is likely not enough to establish a magazine as little. Usually, the magazine will meet some other criterion – for example, it may combine a social or political mission with a little magazine aesthetic; it may include literary or artistic content; it may style itself in its self-representation after the little magazine.

Further Methodological Challenges: Scope and Resources

Having established the methodology for defining my primary material, I turn now to the methodology of the thesis itself. How have I approached the task of dealing with these hundreds of publications in a systematic fashion? My study of these magazines is not based on a comprehensive examination of all of the hundreds of titles. I have seen enough examples, however, to feel confident that I have a good understanding of the genre and its scope. Over the course of the past six years I have looked at part or full runs of over half of the titles listed by Faxon as well as other titles not on his list at the New York Public Library, the Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center in Austin, UCLA Library, the Beinecke at Yale, the Alderman Library at University of Virginia, as well as those in my own possession. I have extensive files on these magazines that include photocopies of issues and runs as well as photographs. I have also been able to find out information about many of the titles I have not seen, through online and print sources. I have an ongoing list of contributors, which records the magazines they published in and any biographical information that I can gather about them.

In its treatment of the history of these little magazines, the thesis is informed by the methodologies of the sociology of texts and book history, as

theorized by Don MacKenzie, Jerome McGann, and Robert Darnton.³² Scholars employ a range of methodological approaches in this discipline. The underlying principle, however, is to move beyond content-based analysis of texts and to understand and account for the materiality of print materials as physical objects and to consider the culturally and historically specific processes that enabled them. As a body of texts that has been largely neglected in scholarship, the little magazines of the 1890s require significant contextualization, both in cultural and literary terms. At the same time, in order to represent an adequate history of the little magazine as genre, it is desirable to draw on as wide a range of the titles as possible. As a consequence, the thesis strives to balance a macro-history that situates the genre within the broader social and literary fields with a micro-history that focuses more particularly on the little magazines themselves and the principle figures associated with them.

In sketching out the broader contours of the history of these little magazines and their relationship to the late nineteenth-century cultural and literary fields, the thesis has relied on a variety of resources. Though many of these do not touch on little magazines, they are central in contextualizing their emergence. There are the general histories and cultural histories of the period (Edwards; Thomas J. Schlereth; Harris and Dawson; Trachtenberg; Levine); histories of the middle class and professional middle class in nineteenth and early

³² D. F. McKenzie, "The Book as An Expressive Form." 1981. *The Book History Reader*. Ed. David Finkelstein and Alistair McCleery (London: Routledge, 2002), 27-38; Robert Darnton, "What Is the History of Books?" 1982. *The Book History Reader*, 9-26; Jerome McGann, "The Socialization of Texts." 1991. *The Book History Reader*, 39-46.

twentieth century America (Bledstein); histories of specific cultural phenomena related to the rise of little magazines, such as the Arts and Crafts movement (Boris; Johnson; Lears; Kaplan; Clark); Aestheticism (Blanchard; Mendelssohn; Freedman); Bohemianism (Parry; Kotynek and Cohassey); Utopianism (Timothy Miller); amateur printing, the amateur press, the private press, and the broader aesthetic publishing milieu (Cave; Ransom; Blumenthal; Thompson; Kramer; Regnery; Spencer; Petrik; Donnelly); the poster movement (Margolin; Weisberg; Harris); the rise of literary studies in American universities (Graff); and modern intellectual history (May).

Moving into the more specific terrain of the literary and magazine milieu, general literary histories provide an important context for the intellectual milieu (Spiller; Ziff; Mott, *Golden Multitudes*; Hart; Berkovitch and Patell), as do more focused studies of the literary and cultural trends of the period from realism and amateur authorship to poetry, book collecting, and the short story (Glazener; Parrish; Zboray and Zboray; Shaddy; Rubin; Perkins; Fusco). Equally helpful are the numerous studies of the material conditions of literary and artistic production in this period (Gretton; Breitenbach; Harris; Cave; Blumenthal; Thompson; Lehmann-Haupt and Wroth; Zboray and Zboray; Sedgwick; Bogart; Thomson; Brodhead), including the invaluable recently issued 3rd and 4th volumes of *The History of the Book in the United States*, which cover the years from 1840-1940. Magazine history of this period, while not always touching on the little magazines, also nevertheless serves as a useful backdrop from which to consider the emergence and production of the little magazines (Reed; Mott, *History of*

American Magazines; Garvey; Ohmann; Damon-Moore; Peterson; Schneirov; Scanlon; Tassin; Waller-Zuckerman). Not to be overlooked are the superb primary sources that provide crucial information about the material conditions of literary production in this period, in particular the various trade journals that provide documentary information about magazines, printing, publishing, editing, and authorship in this period: *N. W. Ayer and Sons Newspaper Annual*, which provides basic information about, and sometimes circulation figures for, magazines and newspapers; and the various trade journals for publishers, printers, authors, and editors including the *Inland Printer*, *Printer's Ink*, the *Editor*, and the *Author*, and *Writer*.

As for resources that provide more specific coverage of the 1890s little magazine as a genre, these are relatively few in number. There are a handful of articles, memoirs, or short chapters on them (Knight; Fleming; Mott; Ziff; MacLeod, "Fine Art"; Bragdon) as well as some good accounts of little magazines related to specific movements: studies on bohemianism (Parry), Art Nouveau (Johnson), the poster movement (Margolin; Johnson; Finlay), and American book design (Thompson; Blumenthal). Some of the more well-known individual titles have attracted scholarly attention, namely *The Chap-Book* (Schlereth; Calkins; Goldstein; Gullans and Espy; MacLeod, "Art for America's Sake"); *The Philistine* (Bruce White); *M'lle New York* (MacLeod, "Art for America's Sake"; Knight); and *Modern Art* (Mancini).

At the same time, there are a variety of memoirs, biographies, autobiographies and articles on major, minor, and fringe figures within the

movement: Will Bradley, an editor, contributor, printer, and publisher of little magazines (Bradley, *Picture*; Bradley, *Will Bradley*; Hornung; Koch, *Will H. Bradley*); Elbert Hubbard, an American proponent of William Morris (Lane; Shay; Dirlam and Simmons; Balch; Champney; Hamilton; Via and Searle); Thomas Bird Mosher, editor of the longest running of the era's little magazines, the *Bibelot* (Matthews, Stevens and Rogers; Strouse; Vilain and Bishop); Carolyn Wells, one of the few women associated with the movement (Wells, "What A Lark"; Wells, *Rest of My Life*); James Huneker, an American exponent of Decadence (Huneker; Schwab); Gelett Burgess, a Californian exponent of the movement who parodied the genre (Burgess, *Bayside*; Dillon; Backus); Ralph Adams Cram, *Chapbook* contributor, American aesthete, and later architect (Cram; Muccigrosso; Shand-Tucci); Percival Pollard, a notable Chicago proponent of little magazines (Stenerson; Dunsmore; Kummer); Michael Monahan, a critic with a long-running little magazine (Le Gallienne; Monahan, *At the Sign*; Monahan, *Attic*; Monahan, *Nemesis*); Walter Blackburn Harte, a prolific little magazinist and spokesman for the movement (Doyle); Claude F. Bragdon, writer and graphic artist whose work appeared in many little magazines (Bragdon); George Gough Booth, publisher of the *Cranbrook Papers* (Pound); Thomas Wood Stevens of the Blue Sky Press and *Blue Sky* magazine (Melvin White); and Bliss Carman, prolific little magazine writer (Muriel Miller).

In addition to these traditional print sources, I have also been served invaluable for this project by internet resources. Indeed, this project would have been almost impossible to see through to the extent that I have without the

internet as a tool. The relative obscurity of many of these magazines and of their founders and contributors in literary and artistic terms, and the fact that many of them had careers outside these fields, pose a challenge to traditional methods of research. On the one hand, internet search engines, particularly google and google book searches, have pointed me to print sources that I never would have considered in looking for information about these figures. Take, for example, Sheridan Ford, a writer whose book was reviewed in the Morgantown, West Virginia periodical, the *Ghourki* and was published by a small press associated with the little magazine movement.³³ A google book search quickly reveals a most interesting connection – his embittered involvement with James McNeill Whistler over the publication of the artist's *Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, for which Ford did most of the research.³⁴ While this information does not account for Ford's involvement with the *Ghourki*, it is important for filling out an understanding of the participants, networks, and connections that were so central to this medium. This example is just one of many such that have helped me to understand the contexts and conditions of production of these magazines.

On the other hand, the internet has taken the place of what would have been prohibitively expensive archival research – namely attempting to garner information from local archives, libraries, and historical societies about the thousands of figures associated with little magazines in this era. The availability of online newspaper databases and the increasing presence online of historical

³³ The press was Croscup and Sterling, which issued Lee Fairchild's little magazine the *Thistle*.

³⁴ Stanley Weintraub, *Whistler* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1974), 338-40.

societies, genealogical organizations, and local libraries, archives, and museums has been invaluable to my research on little magazines. In the six years I have been working on this project, the resources have increased considerably, including some availability of the little magazines themselves through the internet archive and google books.

My internet sources included google searches, google book searches, the internet archive, various website databases including OCLC Worldcat, the Gale 19th century newspaper database, and NewspaperArchive.org, a paysite that includes nineteenth and twentieth-century newspapers from all over America. A brief listing of a few of the resources I have been directed to in the course of these searches will, I think, suggest, how difficult this research would be without the internet: an article on Kansas City Music publishing from a journal called *American Music* that contains information about the little magazine the *Baton* and its editor; *Chicago Metalsmiths: An Illustrated History*, including reference to the Arts and Crafts little magazine, *Forms and Fantasies*; *Genealogical and Personal History of the Upper Monongahela Valley, West Virginia*, with information about *Ghourki* founder Harold Llewellyn Swisher; an issue of the *New York Folklore Quarterly* for 1957, containing reference to the *Goose-Quill*, a Chicago-based little magazine; an article on the University of Cincinnati website on Hermann Schneider, an account of the later career of a little magazinist; the Kansas State Historical Society website, containing a biography of J. F. Farrell, editor of the little magazine the *Kansas Knocker*; a book on Nebraska writers, including information on Harry G. Shedd, professor and editor of the *Kiote*, of Lincoln,

Nebraska; *American Jews: A Contemporary Biographical Record* (1947), for information on *Kit-Kats* editor, W. S. Levin; a communication studies course website from the University of Arkansas on Free Speech Philosophers including a page on Theodore Schroeder, the editor of the anti-Mormon little magazine, *Lucifer's Lantern*; a history of Wisconsin women called *Uncommon Lives of Common Women*, containing information about the innovative woman printer behind the *Philosopher* magazine and Philosopher Press; and, a book called the *Etiology of Cholera Infantum*, containing an advertisement for the author's little magazine dedicated to rational therapeutics, a *Stuffed Club for Everybody*.³⁵

³⁵ Peter A. Munstet, "Kansas City Music Publishing: The First Fifty Years," *American Music* 9.4 (Winter 1991), 353-83; Sharon S. Darling and Gail E. Farr, *Chicago Metalsmiths: An Illustrated History* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 1977); Bernard Lee Butcher, *Genealogical and Personal History of the Upper Monongahela Valley, West Virginia* (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1912); John T. Flanagan, "The Meine Library of Folklore and Humor," *New York Folklore Quarterly* 13 (1957): 114-126; Mary Reilly, "He Was Ever Co-Optimistic: Herman Schneider, Co-op's Founder" (2005), University of Cincinnati, <http://www.uc.edu/News/NR.aspx?ID=2957>; "J. F. Farrell, in William E. Connelley, *History of Kansas Newspapers* (Topeka: Kansas State Printing Plant, 1916), at Kansas State Historical Society website, <http://www.ksks.org/research/topics/kansasnewspapers/Jarrellbio.htm>; Alice G. Harvey, *Nebraska Writers* (Omaha: Citizen Print Co., 1964); *American Jews: Their Lives and Achievements; a Contemporary Biographical Record* (New York: Golden Book Foundation of America, 1947); Jeff Wheatley, "Free Speech Philosophers—Theodore Schroeder," Communication Studies Department, University of Arkansas, <http://www.uark.edu/depts/comminfo/freespeech/Schroeder.html>; Anne M. Butler and Ona Siporin, *Uncommon Lives of Common Women: Ordinary Lives of the West* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1996); John Tilden, *The Etiology of Cholera Infantum, Typhoid Fever and Appendicitis With the Hygienic and Dietetic Treatment* (Denver: Merchants Publishing Company, 1909).

Structure of the Thesis

In working with these sources to construct a cultural and material history of the little magazine, I aim, as I have indicated, to balance the larger social, cultural, literary, and magazine contexts – the macro-history -- with the more particular histories of the little magazines and their founders – the micro-histories. The thesis itself, as a whole, operates in this way, as do each of the chapters. In broad terms, the thesis is comprised of two sections – “Contexts” and “Contents.”

“Contexts” contains four chapters focusing on the social, cultural, literary, and artistic backgrounds and the material conditions of production that enabled the rise of the little magazine. The first chapter describes the cultural context out of which the little magazines emerged, noting particular influences and trends in American cultural life in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In particular, it relates the little magazines to the cultural interests of America’s middle classes and the rise of the professional middle class in the post Civil War era. In so doing it draws, on the one hand, on general and cultural histories of the period and, on the other, on the biographical information I have acquired on the publishers, editors, and contributors involved in the production of little magazines.

Moving from this broader cultural sphere to the more immediate literary and magazine context, Chapter 2 explores the conditions of literary and artistic production at the end of the nineteenth century. Again, the chapter begins with a general account, describing the literary and artistic fields as they relate to magazine production. Particular attention is given to the high and popular cultural influences on the little magazine, notably the fine press movement, the rise of the

mass-market magazine, and the poster movement. The chapter then goes on to consider, in more detail, the relationship of the little magazines to these developments in the broader magazine field.

Chapters 3 and 4 detail the material conditions of production of magazines. Chapter 3 outlines the major costs and revenues of magazine production, outlining first big magazine production and comparing this context with that of little magazines, providing some generalizations about production and distribution as well as a case study of the *Lark*, a magazine that apparently cost \$100 to produce. Determining that the *Lark* cannot be taken as a representative example of little magazine production, I go on, in Chapter 4, to discuss the variety of contexts and networks within which fin-de-siècle little magazines were produced in a series of case studies of different levels of production – from small- to large-scale.

Section two, “Contents,” consists of three chapters offering detailed examinations of the dominant themes and interests of the little magazines of this era. While it would be impossible to try to account for the content of the hundreds of little magazines in a comprehensive way, these chapters aim to provide a general overview, noting shared trends and interests among the little magazines of various types. I have felt it useful in this section to structure my discussion by dividing the little magazines into three categories. The two major categories I have devised are “aesthetic magazines” and “periodicals of protest.” Virtually all little magazines of this era fall into one or the other of these categories. I have chosen, however, to devote a third chapter in this section to two important

subgenres from within these categories that deserve separate consideration: humor/parody magazines and miscellaneous forms of the little magazine.

Situated under the rubric “aesthetic magazines” are those magazines whose primary concern is literary and artistic in some way in terms of topics covered and/or design. These include literary and artistic periodicals and bibliophilic and book collecting magazines. “Periodicals of protest,” meanwhile, reference those periodicals whose emphasis is less literary and artistic than it is social and political. This division makes some degree of sense. Some aesthetic periodicals, for example, upheld art-for-art’s sake principles and deplored the blending of art and politics. At the same time, however, others, following the more reformist aims of various branches of Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism, saw artistic and social revolt as inseparable. As such, some of these magazines have aspects of both types in them so that, in some ways, this division is arbitrary. In the main, however, it is a useful division as most magazines are predominantly of one type or the other and, where they are more hybrid in nature, I indicate so in my discussion. The third chapter in this considers some of the important major subgenres of the “aesthetic” and “protest” types that, because of their particularities and their less obvious relationship to the little magazine movement, deserve more attention.

A series of Appendices accompanies the thesis. Appendix A provides a set of illustrations to demonstrate the important visual context of this material. Appendix B is a bibliography of little magazines that amalgamates Faxon’s three bibliographies and adds additional titles. Sources for my additions to the list

(which are noted in the bibliography) include Moss's 1932 bibliography of little magazines, which contains some fin-de-siècle titles not listed in Faxon; titles derived from memoirs, biographies, and autobiographies of the figures in the movement; scholarly works, newspapers, magazines, advertisements and mentions in little magazines; and so on. As it stands now, the list has 327 titles. As I have said, I have not been systematic in my efforts to add to the list, since it has not been my priority to do so. Certainly, with a focus on so doing, I could expand the list, drawing on leads from the advertising in the periodicals themselves, for example. In addition, there are some areas where it may make sense to make a concerted effort to seek titles out – feminist or suffragette periodicals, for example, and possibly in the domain of religious or spiritual publications.

Though I have provided full references in my notes, I have provided a Bibliography of the thesis sources in Appendix C for the convenience of the reader. I have felt it useful also to create an anthology of little magazine content so that the reader may get a feel for the little magazines in a more concrete way.

CHAPTER 1

The Social and Cultural Formation of the Little Magazines and Little

Magazinists

*Anyone who can hold a pen, no matter how awkwardly he holds it, and who can pay a printer, or get credit from a printer, may say what he likes in print nowadays. "Print," therefore, has lost much of its dignity and power, for any youth just out of college, or any freshman just in college, may have his own organ.*¹

The little magazines were a product of broader cultural developments in late nineteenth-century America. As I have indicated in the introduction, little magazines, as defined in traditional Modernist scholarship, have been associated with avant-garde, anti-bourgeois, and radical aims, and understood as coterie publications directed at a very select audience. These characteristics, however, were not necessarily true of the American little magazines that emerged in the 1890s. These magazines, as Harry Levin contends, were effectively a middle-class phenomenon, the product of "self-educated intellectuals" engaging in a form of "aesthetic journalism" in order "to educate [rather] than to shock the middle-class reader."² Indeed, they were largely produced by and for members of the middle class, in particular, the professional, intellectual, and artistic fractions of this class who were responding to the changing landscape of American life in the latter part of the nineteenth century: increasing industrialization; the growth of manufacturing and commerce; urbanization; mechanization; an influx of

¹ "Fad Magazines," *Critic* 776 (Jan. 2, 1897): 12.

² Harry Levin, "The Discovery of Bohemia," in *Literary History of the United States*, 3rd ed. Ed. Robert E. Spiller et al. (London: Macmillan, 1963), 1067.

immigrants; a growing gap between rich and poor; and expansion to the West and South.

The middle class, as American historians have widely documented, grew significantly in size and power in this period. By 1890, it constituted about one third of the population.³ Indeed, this was the very moment at which the term “middle-class” emerged prominently in American cultural discourse as particular kinds of people began to coalesce as a recognized class.⁴ This class was composed of farmers, small businessmen, and entrepreneurs – the old middle class -- and an emerging new middle class of professionals, managers, and commercial workers, which quadrupled in size between 1870 and 1910.⁵ This was the age, as Susan Harris and Melanie Dawson argue, “of middle-class professionalization, which resulted in a self-conscious, progressive class . . . [composed of those with] with high material expectations and cultural aspirations who would be the leaders of the ‘Progressive Era’.”⁶ Professionals, in this context, included doctors, lawyers, teachers, medical men, engineers, architects, journalists, and an increasingly professionalized cadre in a number of literary and artistic domains.

It was primarily from the ranks of this professional class that the nation’s cultural leaders emerged. Even though, as T. J. Jackson Lears admits, these “custodians of culture spoke primarily to other educated Americans” and their

³ Burton J. Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 35.

⁴ Rebecca Edwards, *New Spirits: Americans in the Gilded Age, 1865-1905* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 72.

⁵ Thomas J. Schlereth, *Victorian America: Transformations in Everyday Life 1876-1915* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991), 29, 252; Bledstein 35-39.

⁶ Susan Harris and Melanie Dawson, introduction to *American 1890s: A Cultural Reader* (Durham, Duke University Press, 2000), 5.

ideas were often forcefully resisted by the populace, they nevertheless “exercised crucial cultural power.”⁷ Culture served as powerful capital in this period, regarded with more respect by many Americans than economic capital. It was for this reason that the values and culture of the middle classes exerted such influence both on those below and those above them in the social hierarchy.⁸ Through the latter part of the nineteenth century, this portion of America’s middle class sought, in various ways, to shape and transform American culture in the midst of the nation’s development as a commercial and industrial nation and as an increasingly influential world power. The little magazines of the 1890s, as I shall argue in this chapter, were related to this broader cultural project. At the same time, the “little magazinists,” as I will call them – i.e. those involved in the production of little magazines – including editors, publishers, printers, and contributors -- were born into or aspired to this class and were socially and culturally formed by its ideologies and values.

The Middle-Class Cultural Context

Historians have characterized the middle class of this period as one driven by a zeal for self-improvement.⁹ Spiritual and moral betterment through religion and the acquisition of culture were central in this quest. The period was notable for an increase in the number of church-going Americans and for the emergence and

⁷ T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981), xiv-xv.

⁸ Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 7; Schlereth, *Victorian America*, xiii.

⁹ See, for example, Smith and Dawson, introduction to *American 1890s*, 5-8; Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 243-70; Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 26-45, 104-120.

development of new forms of religious expression and belief.¹⁰ While Protestantism in its various forms still prevailed, the religious landscape was being transformed by an influx of immigrants with their own religions. It was, as Edwards contends, “an era of immense creativity in American spiritual life” and “faiths were . . . being molded and modernized in America.”¹¹ Theosophy, Christian Science, the New Thought, and other spiritual movements emerged as alternative forms of Christianity. At the same time, religion was increasingly informed by a reformist and social mission: for example, in the development of the Social Gospel movement. Religion served for Americans as an important means of coping with the stresses and conflicts of an increasingly commercial and industrialized society.

So, too, did culture, which, for middle-class Americans of this era, denoted “cultivation and refinement,” “aesthetic sensibility,” and “higher learning.”¹² This value was pervasive amongst America’s middle classes, from its upper echelons in the close-knit and culturally influential Boston Brahmin elite to the lower middle classes. Alan Trachtenberg argues that for America’s middle classes, who regarded with disgust the lavish and conspicuous consumption of the nation’s wealthy plutocrats and the squalor of the masses, culture represented a powerful antidote to both these threatening forces. “Culture,” he writes “offer[ed] a middle ground, and insofar as it was based on education, it offered a democratizing influence, accessible to all those willing to raise themselves to the

¹⁰ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 260; Edwards, *New Spirits*, 173.

¹¹ Edwards, *New Spirits*, 173.

¹² Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982), 9, 143.

status of American.”¹³ At the same time, it assuaged the middle class’s guilt about its own complicity in sustaining an exploitative economic system of industrial capitalism: “As culture came to seem the repository of elevating thoughts and cleansing emotions, it seemed all the more as if the rough world of masculine enterprise had called into being its redemptive opposite.”¹⁴ Culture represented solace from the marketplace and, by making it available, in a variety of ways, to anyone interested in acquiring it, the middle class played its role in bettering the nation through reformist and philanthropic activities.

This view of culture extended beyond America’s middle classes to inform those among the nation’s working classes who aspired to improve their social station in a democratic country. It also extended upwards to the nation’s plutocrats who, while exploiting their workers on the one hand, deployed their wealth in philanthropic enterprises on the other, founding a variety of cultural institutions, including schools, libraries, museums, and so on. Of course, culture in this sense was not without its insidious aspects. It served as a powerful agent of social control, through which the middle and philanthropic wealthy classes shored up their hegemonic power and ensured that their values were those that prevailed.¹⁵

¹³ Trachtenberg, *Incorporation of America*, 143.

¹⁴ Ibid., 145.

¹⁵ Ibid., 147; See also Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow, Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988) for a discussion of how many of the supposedly philanthropic cultural projects of the nineteenth century carefully controlled access to and defined the terms of engagement with culture in ways that were exclusionary (83-169).

The American zeal to acquire culture exhibited itself in a number of ways through the latter part of the nineteenth century, most notably through the phenomenal growth of educational and cultural institutions. In this period, high school education became a virtual prerequisite for entry into white-collar jobs.¹⁶ At the same time, while the number of Americans who attended schools of higher education was still relatively small in the latter part of the nineteenth century, it was on the rise.¹⁷ By 1870 America had more colleges, medical schools, and law schools than all of Europe.¹⁸ Americans also, however, sought to educate themselves in other ways, namely through self-education. One of the most significant vehicles of self-education in this period was the Chautauquan movement, which provided self-educational programs for hundreds of thousands of Americans through hometown study circles and summer camps.¹⁹ Its aim was “to promote habits of reading and study in nature, art, science, and in secular and sacred literature, in connection with the routine of daily life . . . so as to secure . . . a college student’s general outlook upon the world and life.”²⁰ Other means of self-education were provided by the numerous libraries, museums, and artistic, literary, and cultural societies and institutes that were founded in this period, organizations whose mandate was the diffusion of knowledge, taste, and refinement to the broad public. The Chautauquan schools and the rise of public institutions of culture are indicative of the democratic and reformist principles

¹⁶ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 248.

¹⁷ Ibid, 249; Edwards, *New Spirits*, 116.

¹⁸ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 249; Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 33.

¹⁹ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 254.

²⁰ John Vincent, *The Chautauqua Movement* (Boston: Chautauqua Press, 1886), 75, quoted in Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 253.

that underwrote the zeal for culture in this period. Another notable development in this respect was the growth of the Settlement House movement, cooperative movement, and other humanitarian, charitable, socialist, and utopian enterprises.

The double drive for both culture and reform that characterized the middle-class ethos of this era is perhaps nowhere better exhibited than in the widely popular Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic movements, which combined an aesthetic with a social mission.²¹ It is worth devoting some attention to Arts and Crafts and the related Aesthetic movement here as it was both a major aspect of American middle-class life in the latter part of the nineteenth century and a significant context for little magazine production and consumption. Though these movements originated in Britain through the ideas of John Ruskin, William Morris, Walter Pater and others, they had a profound influence in America, a nation that was still largely dominated, in cultural terms, by its former colonial master.²² The Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic movements represented a reaction against industrialization, the degradation of architecture, and mass-produced

²¹ There are numerous accounts of the Arts and Crafts movement in America. See, for example, Wendy Kaplan, ed., *"The Art that is Life": The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1982); Eileen Boris, *Art and Labour: Ruskin, Morris and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); Robert Judson Clark, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in America 1876-1916* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992); and Diane Chalmers Johnson, *American Art Nouveau* (New York: Abrams, 1979). On Aestheticism in the American context see Mary Warner Blanchard, *Oscar Wilde's America: Counterculture in the Gilded Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), Michele Mendelssohn, *Henry James, Oscar Wilde, and Aesthetic Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), and Jonathan Freedman, *Professions of Taste: Henry James, British Aestheticism and Commodity Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993).

²² Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow*, 144-45.

goods. Their proponents promoted the creation of beautiful objects for everyday use and extolled the craftsman and the dignity of labour.

This ideology was appealing to a nation characterized by a strong work ethic and founded on the notion of democracy. Americans took to these cultural movements with great zeal, joining societies, reading Arts and Crafts oriented periodicals and books, attending exhibitions, taking courses, founding and joining Arts and Crafts communities, and going to the lectures of prominent figures associated with the movement such as Oscar Wilde, who toured America in 1882, and Walter Crane, who visited in 1891.²³ Americans were not simply consumers of Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism. They were also prodigious producers. The “Prairie School” architecture of Frank Lloyd Wright in this period, the decorative designs and products emerging from the Rookwood and Tiffany Studios, Elbert Hubbard’s Roycroft community, and the various Stickley furniture companies all attest to the nation’s ability to appropriate and adapt European trends. Wright and Stickley, for example, framed their ambitions in nationalist terms and sought to create an Arts and Crafts ideal that was suited to the conditions of American life. In some manifestations, Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism had a socialist as well as aesthetic intent, seeking to better the working conditions of labourers, the poor, and new immigrants. The Settlement House movement, for example, the roots of today’s profession of social work, took hold in cities across the country, notably at Jane Addams’s Hull House in Chicago.

²³ Wendy Kaplan, “Spreading the Crafts: The Role of the Schools,” in *“The Art that is Life”: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1982), 298.

Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism were, thus, suited to the cultural and reformist aspirations of America's middle class. Indeed, Eileen Boris has gone so far as to suggest that the history of Arts and Crafts in America is part of the history of its middle class. It "encapsulat[es]," she writes,

its fear and hatred of class conflict, its own loss and redefinition of autonomy and independence, its creating of rebels within its own midst. The idealistic, optimistic spirit of the crafts movement reflects the class that turned to arts and crafts as a solution and escape from the industrial world it did so much to forge.²⁴

In America, she argues, the movement attracted a broad range of diverse figures -- encompassing traditionalists and primitivists who longed for a return to pre-industrial days; modernists, who sought to adapt craft ideals to a modern context; socialists, who promoted the craft ideal as a way to improve the lives of people and workers; and popularizers, who exploited the craft ideal for commercial ends.²⁵ This broad and unfocused diffusion of the aims and ideals of the movement has been critiqued by some historians. T. J. Jackson Lears suggests, for example, that the Arts and Crafts movement in America "was less a cohesive social phenomenon than a catchall polemical phrase."²⁶ Still, it was important both to American middle-class life in this period and, as we shall see, to the little magazines that served as a reflection of this class's life and interests.

²⁴ Eileen Boris, "'Dreams of Brotherhood and Beauty': The Social Ideas of the Arts and Crafts Movement," in *The Art That Is Life: The Arts and Crafts Movement in America, 1875-1920*, ed. Wendy Kaplan (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1982), 208.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 61.

Central to the expression of the aims, ideals, and aspirations of America's middle class in the latter part of the nineteenth century was the written word. It was during this period, Bledstein argues, that the written word became the favored medium of exchange in American life:²⁷ "Every serious activity found a literary expression, including a distinct vocabulary that sympathetic persons could share" – everything from cycling, gardening, physical health, mental hygiene, cooking, and fashion to spiritualism, art, unions, professions, etc."²⁸ Literacy rates were on the rise in this period – illiteracy fell from 20% to 6% between 1870 and 1920²⁹ -- and Americans increasingly expressed themselves and bettered themselves through reading and writing. The circulation of newspapers increased sevenfold between 1870 and 1900 and the number of books published tripled. Practical books, including etiquette books, "house pattern books" with plans and designs for houses, and how-to accounting books, were popular forms of reading matter for the aspiring middle class.³⁰ In addition, scrapbooking, a form of making one's own book from the mass of ephemeral print culture, was a popular middle-class pastime in this period, linked frequently to the interest in self-culture and self-expression. E. W. Gurley, for example, writing in the 1880s, promoted

²⁷ Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 65.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Schlereth, *Victorian America*, 253.

³⁰ Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt and Lawrence C. Wroth and Rollo G. Silver. *The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States*, 2nd ed (New York: Bowker, 1951), 197-98.

scrapbooking as a means of “promoting family harmony and solving the problems of both idleness and unfocused reading.”³¹

Magazines and Middle-Class Culture

It was magazines, however, that represented the most important form of print for the shaping of middle-class life in this period. Over 11,000 periodicals were published between 1885 and 1905, 7500 of them new publications and, in the 1890s, access to magazines was greatly enhanced through cheaper pricing and better distribution systems.³² As Smith and Dawson argue, magazines were central to a middle class seeking “guidance in articulating material, artistic, and intellectual markers of status.”³³ Others have gone further, insisting on the importance of magazines as a forum for both “literary amateurs and professionals to contribute to the public discourse.”³⁴ Magazines catered to a wide variety of interests and niches. “Every interest,” writes magazine historian Frank Luther Mott, “had its own journal or journals – all the ideologies and movements, all the arts, all the schools of philosophy and education, all the sciences, all the trades and industries, all the professions and callings, all organizations of importance, all hobbies and recreations.”³⁵ The vast array of magazines available in this period, including professional and trade publications, hobby magazines, and general

³¹ Susan Tucker, Katherine Ott, and Patricia P. Buckler. “An Introduction to the History of Scrapbooks.” *The Scrapbook in American Life* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2006), 9.

³² Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, vol. 4 (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1957), 12, 11.

³³ Smith and Dawson, introduction to *American 1890s*, 7.

³⁴ Eric Lupfer, “The Business of American Magazines,” in *A History of the Book in America: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*, ed. Scott E. Caspar et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 249.

³⁵ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 10.

monthlies played a role in how people understood themselves and their relationship to others in a series of imagined communities.³⁶

Both in the range of interests they addressed and as a genre of their own, the little magazines were part of the broader magazine culture that guided and shaped middle-class identity in the period. Within the relatively small sphere of the little magazine, one finds the full range of interests identified by Mott as part of the phenomenal increase in magazines in this period. It is worth enumerating several of them here as well as their place of publication, insofar as they provide an important indication of how the middle-class zeal for culture is embodied in these magazines and how nationally widespread this interest was. Beyond the better-known literary and artistic periodicals and protest periodicals of this period, there were little magazines in the 1890s devoted to

- music, theatre, and the opera: *the Baton* (1895-1897), Kansas City, Missouri; *Footlights*, Philadelphia (1896); and *the Opera Glass* (1894-1897), Boston
- Arts and Crafts: *Country Time and Tide* (1902-1909), Montague, Massachusetts; *Handicraft* (1902-1912), Boston; *House Beautiful* (1896-), Chicago; *Forms and Fantasies* (1898-1899), Chicago
- domestic culture: *What to Eat* (1896-1908), Minneapolis, Minnesota
- book collecting and bibliophilia: *Literary Review* (1897-1900); *Literary Review and Bookplate Collector* (1902); *Literary Collector* (1900-1905); *Book Lover* (1899-1904); *Book Culture* (1899); *Ex Libris* (1896-1897)

³⁶ Lupfer, “Business of American Magazines,” 249.

- the cooperative and Settlement House movements: *American Cooperative News* (1896-1899) and *Cambridge Magazine* (1896), Cambridge, Massachusetts; *Lincoln House Review* (1895-1897), Boston
- progressivism and advanced ideals: *Rebel* (1900-1901), Lincoln, Nebraska; *New Occasions* (1893-1897), Chicago; *Humanity* (1896-1897), Kansas City, Missouri; *Current Thought* (1897-?), New York City
- oratory and oral expression: *Expression* (1895-1897?), Boston
- society gossip: the *Fad* (1896-1897), San Antonio Texas
- spiritual interests: *Uriel* (1895), Boston; the *Essene* (1902-?), Denver
- cycling: the *Woman Cyclist* (1896), Chicago
- American history and patriotism: *Gems of American Patriotism* (1898), Washington, D. C.; *Our Country* (1895-1897), New York; *North Carolina Booklet* (1901-1926), Raleigh, North Carolina; *Quivera Legends* (1898-1900), Roca, Nebraska
- anti-Mormonism: *Lucifer's Lantern* (1898-1901), Salt Lake City, Utah
- astrology: the *Occasional One* (1901-1903), Dunkirk, N. Y.
- the single-tax movement: *Why?* (1898-1903), Cedar Rapids, Iowa
- rational therapeutics: *A Stuffed Club for Everybody* (1901-1915), Denver, Colorado
- smoking: the *Little Smoker* (1896), Chicago
- the pastime of magazine clipping: the *Clipping Collector* (1896), New York

These magazines, then, like many others of the period, represented a variety of interests that directed themselves at niche readerships within a broader largely middle-class audience. And, like these counterparts, they helped their readers define themselves as part of communities of like-minded readers with shared social, cultural, religious, political, national, or regional interests. Though subject matter and interests may have distinguished these magazines and their readers from one another, the magazines, taken together as genre, constituted and shaped another more unified identity that defined them and their readers as outside of the mainstream – whether as part of a high cultural realm or as part of a counter-cultural movement. Thus, while little magazines related to health interests might be grouped within a broader category of magazines on this subject, there were also particular features that marked them out as distinct from this generic group.

Little magazines signaled a particular identity and difference from “regular” periodicals in various ways. Titles, subtitles, mottos, and manifestos, for example, constructed an identity both for the magazine and its readers. Terms such as “artistic,” “belles-lettres,” “appreciation,” and “literary” were used to appeal both to a literary and intellectual elite and to those among the middle class with high cultural aspirations. At the same time, by the 1890s, resistance to older, genteel forms of cultural aspiration began to emerge with a new generation of young middle-class professionals and intellectuals. The dominant elitist values of the “genteel tradition” were challenged by the new values of an emerging cultural elite who used a different discourse. Thus, some little magazines were described

as organs of “independent thought,” individual opinion” of the “New,” the “Modern,” the “Young,” as “periodicals of protest” or “periodicals of knock” for those “who have minds of their own.”

These markers of the cultural location of the little magazines were reinforced often by their aesthetic appearance, which I shall discuss in more detail later. Here, in particular, they marked their difference from mainstream periodicals. They were smaller, thinner, odd or distinctive in appearance, consciously designed in aesthetic opposition to the bulky mainstream magazines. They were made as much to be looked at as to be read. The little magazines, thus, created a different context for the reader than ordinary magazines and offered an alternative form of cultural identity. They offered their readers a culture that was a notch above that offered to the middle class at large in the pages of more popular genteel magazines such as *Harper's* and the *Century*, the staples of American family parlors though much of the nineteenth century. At the same time, they offered culture with an edge – youthful, aggressive, and rebellious, rather than staid and genteel. The producers of these magazines created a community within their pages of cultural sophisticates, those in the know – the “illuminate,” as one of the more prominent aesthetic little magazines called them.³⁷ In a like manner, periodicals of protest also set their readers apart as radicals, progressives, and independent thinkers.

³⁷ “Notes,” *Chap-Book* 2.9 (March 15, 1895): 383.

Little Magaziners and the Middle-Class Cultural Context

Who were the men and women who created and contributed to these magazines that spoke to the many cultural and fringe interests of America's rising professional middle class? Many of them were born into culturally aspiring middle-class and professional, sometimes even wealthy, families. Some were immigrants, but usually from the first wave of Northern European skilled-labour backgrounds rather than the newer wave of Eastern European peoples who were demonized in late nineteenth century American culture. Many lived in homes where literature, music, and the arts were cultivated, where "culture," in Trachtenberg's sense, was avidly sought out.

Some had fathers who worked in the periodical, publishing, or printing industry. Herbert Stone (1871-1915), for example, a founder of one of the more successful little magazines, the *Chap-Book* (1894-1898), was the son of a newspaper owner; George Gough Booth (1864-1949), editor of the hand-printed, hand-illuminated *Cranbrook Papers* (1900-1901) and a newspaperman in his own right, was the son of a man who made numerous attempts to found newspapers; Claude F. Bragdon (1866-1946), a major contributor to little magazines both as artist and writer, was the son of a newspaper editor, as was Bruce Porter (1865-1953), co-founder of the *Lark* with Gelett Burgess.³⁸

³⁸ Biographical detail on Herbert Stone can be found in Sidney Kramer, *The History of Stone and Kimball and Herbert S. Stone and Co. With a Bibliography of Their Publications, 1893-1905* (Chicago: Norman Forgue, 1940); Wendy Schlereth, *The Chap-Book: A Journal of American Intellectual Life in the 1890s* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982); Henry Regnery, *Creative Chicago: From the Chap-Book to the University* (Evanston: Chicago Historical Bookworks, 1993). For information about Booth see Arthur Pound, *The Only*

Others, including Horace Traubel (1858-1919), editor of the *Conservator* (1890-1919) and friend of Walt Whitman, and Will Bradley (1868-1962), publisher, printer and editor of *Bradley, His Book* (1896-1897), emerged from similar, though less well-off contexts.³⁹ Traubel was the son of a printer who inherited his father's trade, working as a printer's devil, then lithographer, then journalist, before becoming a freelance writer. Bradley, too, was the son of a printer. Though printing was a wage-earning trade rather than a middle-class profession, printers were usually highly literate and skilled workers and have been considered the "intellectuals of the working class" or "labour aristocrats."⁴⁰ By all accounts, Bradley grew up in a home characterized by strong cultural interests and aspirations. Bradley himself remembered his father (who died when he was ten) as an artist and cartoonist who hoped that his son would become an artist.

Little magazinists also came from other types of professional, intellectual, and middle-class backgrounds. Percival Pollard (1869-1911), born in England,

Thing Worth Finding: The Life and Legacies of George Gough Booth (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1964) and for Bragdon see Karen Taylor, 'Claude Bragdon' (senior thesis), University of Rochester, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=3514>; Karen Taylor, "Bragdon Family Papers - Claude Bragdon Architectural Drawings," University of Rochester, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/index.cfm?PAGE=802>.

³⁹ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 67. Robert Koch, *Will H. Bradley: American Artist in Print. A Collector's Guide* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2002), 15. Other works on Bradley include Anthony Bambace, *Will H. Bradley: His Work. A Bibliographical Guide* (New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1995); Clarence Hornung, ed. *Will Bradley: His Graphic Art* (New York: Dover Books, 1974); Martin S. Lindsay, *WillBradley.com*, <http://www.willbradley.com/index.htm>; Will Bradley, *Will Bradley, His Chap Book* (New York: The Typophiles, 1955).

⁴⁰ Bruce Laurie, "Labor and Labor Organization," in *A History of the Book in America, Volume 3: The Industrial Book 1840-1880*, eds. Scott E. Caspar et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 77.

was the son of grain merchant turned real estate agent;⁴¹ Michael Monahan (1865-1933), Irish-born, son of a teacher of classics;⁴² Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942) and Vance Thompson (1863-1925), sons of a clergyman;⁴³ Elbert Hubbard (1856-1915), son of a doctor;⁴⁴ Gelett Burgess (1866-1951), son of a well-to-do painting contractor;⁴⁵ and James Huneker (1857-1921), son of a prosperous house painter

⁴¹ Biographical information about Pollard can be found in Douglas C. Stenerson, introduction, in *Their Day in Court*, by Percival Pollard (New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1969) and Cora T. Dunsmore, "Percival Pollard: The Iowa Connection," *Books at Iowa* 23 (1975), University of Iowa Special Collections, <http://www.lib.uiowa.edu/spec-coll/Bai/dunsmore.htm>.

⁴² "Michael Monahan, Scholar, Dies at 68," *New York Times*, Nov. 23, 1933: 21, in Historical New York Times Newspapers (database).

⁴³ In addition to Cram's own autobiography, *My Life in Architecture* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1936), Douglass Shand-Tucci has provided a thorough account of Cram's life and work in a two-volume study: *Boston Bohemia, 1881-1900: Ralph Adams Cram: Life and Architecture* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995) and *Ralph Adams Cram: An Architect's Four Quests—Medieval, Modernist, American, Ecumenical* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005); "Vance Thompson," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vance_Thompson.

⁴⁴ There are numerous studies of Hubbard, including Bruce A. White, *Elbert Hubbard's The Philistine, a Periodical of Protest (1895-1915): A Major American "Little Magazine"* (Lanham, MD: UP of America, 1989); Freeman Champney, *Art and Glory: The Story of Elbert Hubbard* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1968); H. Kenneth Dirlam and Ernest Simmons, *Sinners, this Is East Aurora: The Story of Elbert Hubbard and the Roycrofters* (New York: Vantage, 1964); Charles Franklin Hamilton, *As Bees in Honey Drown: Elbert Hubbard and the Roycrofters* (South Brunswick, NJ: Barnes, 1973); Felix Shay, *Elbert Hubbard of East Aurora* (New York: W. H. Wise, 1926); Albert Lane, *Elbert Hubbard and His Work* (Worcester, MA: Blanchard Press, 1901); David Arnold Balch, *Elbert Hubbard: Genius of Roycroft* (New York: Frederick Stokes Company 1940).

⁴⁵ Robert Gale, "Gelett Burgess," *American National Biography Online*. Other information on Burgess can be found in Gelett Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia: Fin de siècle San Francisco and Its Little Magazines* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1954) and Richard Hugh Dillon, *Gelett Burgess and His Lark* (Balboa Island, CA: Paisano Press, 1960).

who numbered among his friends actors, musicians, and writers, including Edgar Allan Poe and Edwin Booth.⁴⁶

While the popular nineteenth-century pastime of scrapbooking may have served some future little magazinists as an editorial training ground for creating magazines, many, it seems, took an interest in printing and publishing activities as a childhood hobby or, in the cases of those with less prosperous backgrounds, as a job. Printing emerged as a popular hobby with the emergence, in the 1860s, of a cheap novelty press. Widely advertised in juvenile magazines, the novelty press was the prized acquisition of many a young middle-class child of this era. Will Bradley saved money that he earned as a delivery boy to purchase one and there was an amateur press in the household of the young Thomas Wood Stevens (1880-1942), founder of *Blue Sky* magazine (1898-1902).⁴⁷ Bruce Rogers, who would go on to become one of the best known typographers of the twentieth century, lamented the fact that, as a boy, he had not had one.⁴⁸ An ingenious thirteen year-old Rogers, however, made do, designing a hand-lettered edition of a poem by the popular poet William Cullens Bryant that included imitation etchings

⁴⁶ In addition to Huneker's own autobiography, *Steeplejack*. 2 vols (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920), Arnold T. Schwab has written on Huneker's life in *James Gibbons Huneker: Critic of the Seven Arts* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1963).

⁴⁷ Bradley, *Bradley, His Chap Book*, 92; Melvin White, "Thomas Wood Stevens: Creative Pioneer," *Educational Theatre Journal* 3.4 (1951): 280. This special issue of the *Educational Theatre Journal* contains the most comprehensive information about Stevens.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Susan Otis Thompson, *American Book Design and William Morris* (London: British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 1996), 55.

and plate marks created by a kitchen iron.⁴⁹ The fad evidently continued through into the 1890s as some of the magazines documented by Faxon in his early bibliographies are the products of children and young adults, notably the *Freak* (1902-?) of Sharon, Massachusetts, which touted itself as a magazine with the “youngest editor in America,”⁵⁰ and *Hoppergrass* (1899-1905), of Ashland and Richmond, Virginia, written and published by the children of a medical doctor named Bryce who were aged thirteen, eleven, ten, and seven, when the publication began.⁵¹

Opportunities for juvenile publication also existed in high schools that benefitted from the advent of cheap presses and became outlets for student newspapers and magazines. These newspapers and magazines were distributed, as Rebecca Edwards notes, to other schools, creating “lively networks of gossip and debate.”⁵² When the little magazine form emerged in the 1890s, it exerted an influence on this type of student publication, such that high school students published their own examples of the genre – *Little Chap* (1896), later *Chapters* (1896-1897), published by the students at St. John’s School in Manlius, New York; the first three volumes of the *Hatchet* (1896-1897) of Leavenworth, Kansas; and *Ye Manual* (1902-1903?), published by the Camera Club at the Manual Training High School in Providence, Rhode Island.

⁴⁹ Charles Zarobila, “Bruce Rogers,” in *American National Biography Online* (database).

⁵⁰ Faxon, ““Ephemeral Bibelots,”” *Bulletin of Bibliography* 3 (1903-4): 92.

⁵¹ The Virginia Historical Society (<http://www.vahistorical.org>) holds the papers of the Bryce family as well as a run of the magazine.

⁵² Edwards, *New Spirits*, 116.

For those young boys who were from less prosperous backgrounds, printing might also be a job. Print shops of the period hired young boys as printer's devils, some of whom were attracted by the romance of the print shop and the fact that it brought them closer to the world of print and words that they loved. A California printer named Charles Murdock, for example, sometime printer of the *Lark*, noted in his memoirs that, as a young boy, he looked upon printing "as the first rung on the ladder of journalism."⁵³ Both Bradley, of *Bradley, His Book*, and Tim Thrift (1883-?), editor of the *Lucky Dog* (1900-1910), began working in print shops as young boys.⁵⁴ As a young adult, Thomas Wood Stevens, forced by the death of his parent to abandon his course of engineering study at the Armour Institute in Chicago, worked for the Santa Fe railway company in the advertising department where he handled printing and engraving.⁵⁵

Linked to this interest on the part of America's youth in the craft of printing was the rise of the amateur press. While amateur printing and publishing existed through the nineteenth century in America, it became a large-scale movement with the founding, in 1876, of the National Amateur Press Association.

⁵³ Charles Murdock, *A Backward Glance at Eighty* (1921), 78, at the Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org/stream/abackwardglancea12911gut/12911.txt>

⁵⁴ Koch, *Will H. Bradley*, 15; Marjorie Wilson, "The Man Who Went Back to Boyhood Dreams," 1920. Reprinted from the *Sunday News-Leader Magazine*, September 12, 1920. This pamphlet was inserted inside a copy of the New Year's special limited edition issue (223 copies) of *Lucky Dog* for 1904 in the possession of the Sterling Library at Yale University. Other sources of information about Thrift include the *Fossil*, the official publication on the Fossils, an association of historians of amateur journalism and Thrift's own book *The Lucky Dog Printer, Tim Thrift* (Shippenville, PA: River Hill Press, 1959).

⁵⁵ Melvin White, "Thomas Wood Stevens," 281.

Though not exclusively a movement of youth, it is often characterized as such and, in the nineteenth century, was mostly taken up by young boys and girls. As described by a historian of the field, amateur journalism is “a means of mutual intellectual culture” and “a miniature world of letters” engaged in by “youth who edit, publish, print, or contribute to, miniature journals as a means of self-improvement, as a pleasing pastime, and for the advancement of their own peculiar institutions.”⁵⁶ Certainly, not all of the many thousands of amateur journals created in this period can be considered little magazines. Amateur journals are, more often than not, concerned with content rather than appearance and, through most of the nineteenth century, they were crudely produced. Yet, as with the school paper, the emergence of the little magazine also influenced this pre-existing magazine genre. Sean Donnelly, for example, notes a greater emphasis on aesthetic appearance and on literary and artistic content in some of the amateur periodicals of the 1890s.⁵⁷ Such magazines include the *Clique* (1896), whose contributors consisted of many members of the National Amateur Press Association; the *Lucky Dog* (1900-1910), edited by Tim Thrift, a lifelong amateur pressman, who was president of the National Amateur Press Association in the early 1900s;⁵⁸ and the *Thomas Cat* (1902-?).

⁵⁶ Truman Spencer, *The History of Amateur Journalism* (1940), quoted in Martin Horvat, “What Is Amateur Journalism,” *The Fossils*, <http://www.thefossils.org/horvat/aj/whatis.htm>.

⁵⁷ Sean Donnelly, “An Ajay Time Capsule,” *Fossil* 101.4 (July 2005): 8-9.

⁵⁸ Spencer, “A History of the National Amateur Press Association,” from his book, *The History of Amateur Journalism* (1940), *The Fossils*, <http://www.thefossils.org/horvat/aj/napahistory.htm>.

The intellectual and cultural pursuits of the little magazinists were further fostered into adulthood by the nation's growing higher education system. Many were from the privileged few who attended college or university -- about 1% in 1870, 4% by 1900.⁵⁹ Indeed, contemporary commentators noted this connection. The literary magazine, the *Critic*, for example, complained in 1897 -- "any youth just out of college, or any freshman just in college" could have his own magazine if he had enough money.⁶⁰ Though the formal study of English Literature in American universities was only just being established in the latter part of the nineteenth century, literary culture was a strong presence in campus life through the nineteenth and into the twentieth century when, as Gerald Graff notes, it would ultimately be superseded by fraternity, sorority, and athletic culture.⁶¹ Campuses had literary societies, debating clubs, literary magazines, and there were many opportunities to attend readings and lectures.⁶² Some campuses were the sites of production for little magazines, as in the case of the early issues of the *Lotus* (1895-1897), which began as an undergraduate literary magazine in Kansas City, Missouri. Others served as a breeding ground for producers of and contributors to little magazines. The *Kiote* (1898-1902) of Lincoln, Nebraska, for example, described as "a fad or freak magazine . . . dedicated to the prairie yelper," was edited and published by students and faculty at the University of

⁵⁹ Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 278.

⁶⁰ "Fad Magazines," 12.

⁶¹ Gerald Graff, *Professing Literature: An Institutional History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 44.

⁶² Ibid.

Nebraska.⁶³ Meanwhile, the *Leaven* (1900-1901) of Northfield, Massachusetts, the “practical peoples’ pungent periodical protest,” was edited by G. A. Southworth, a schoolteacher and writer of grammar books.⁶⁴

The most significant educational establishment to serve as a breeding ground for little magazines and magazinists, however, was undoubtedly Harvard. It is no coincidence that this ferment occurred at Harvard where its President, Charles Eliot Norton, radically secularized and modernized the curriculum, establishing what we would now understand as a liberal arts program.⁶⁵ Cambridge, Massachusetts and Boston were home to a strong bibliophilic network and there were numerous literary and artistic societies, including the Pewter Mug Associates, the Visionists, and the Procrastinatorium. The area also had its representative fine books publisher in Copeland and Day, founded by Harvard graduates of the 1880s.⁶⁶ Copeland and Day was also notably the American issuer of key British Aesthetic and Decadent works, including the *Yellow Book* and other titles issued by the notorious publishing house, the Bodley Head in London.

⁶³ *Publisher’s Weekly*, March 18, 1899, 518; “Additional Locals,” *Lincoln Evening News* October 5, 1898, [page number on scan unclear], at Newspaper Archive, <http://www.newspaperarchive.com>.

⁶⁴ *MULS, A Union List of Serials*. MINITEX, 1980, p 4532, at Google Books, <http://books.google.com>. Information on G. A. Southworth gathered from Google Book search and OCLC Worldcat search.

⁶⁵ Edwards, *New Spirits*, 120.

⁶⁶ More information about the literary scene in and around Harvard in this period is found in Douglass Shand-Tucci, *The Crimson Letter: Harvard, Homosexuality and the Shaping of American Culture* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2004); Stephen Maxfield Parrish, *Currents of the Nineties in Boston: Fred Holland Day, Louise Imogen Guiney, and Their Circle* (New York: Garland, 1987); and Schlereth, *Chap-Book*.

Harvard also had a number of influential professors on its staff. Norton, for example, professor of fine arts at Harvard and follower of John Ruskin, was “the chief precursor of Arts and Crafts ideology”⁶⁷ in America. Similarly, George Santayana, professor of philosophy, revolted against American puritanism to espouse an Epicurean ethos. These professors, who both conceived of themselves as alienated from mainstream American culture in some way,⁶⁸ helped to shape the intellectual, aesthetic, and spiritual ideals of their undergraduates, who themselves would go on to play a formative role in the professional and cultural development of the nation. At the same time, these undergraduates were being drawn to new, more hedonistic manifestations of the aesthetic and philosophical doctrines of their professors – in particular, Decadence and Symbolism.

The atmosphere in and around Harvard under these conditions was one extremely accommodating to the aesthetic interests of many of the young men who came together as a result of their literary, artistic, and bibliophilic interests. Ralph Adams Cram, for example, a future architect and writer who would be affiliated with a number of the more significant little magazines, noted: “there was the underlying conviction that it was a great world – that romance and poetry and beauty were coming back to a drab century, and that in some way I was to find my place amongst the bearers of glad tidings. The time-honoured organ of such an evangel always has been, I suppose always will be, some sort of

⁶⁷ Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 66.

⁶⁸ Graff, *Professing Literature*, 83-4; Robert E. Spiller et al., *Literary History of the United States*, 3rd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1963), 1273-4.

magazine.”⁶⁹ Though Cram’s family was not wealthy enough to send him to college, he came into the orbit of a literary and intellectual circle that produced a number of early little magazines, including the *Mahogany Tree* (1892), the *Knight Errant* (1892), and, most notably, *the Chap-Book* (1894-1898), founded by Stone and Kimball while they were still undergraduates. The atmosphere in and around Harvard at this time was also likely responsible for other little magazines issued by its alumni, including the *Higher Law* (1899-1902), the *Kiote* (1898-1901), the *Magpie* (1896), *Pickwick* (1898), the *Red Letter* (1896-1897), and *Book Culture* (1899).

Other educational institutions that fostered little magazinists included MIT, where Gelett Burgess (1866-1951), founder of the San Francisco-based *Lark*, did an engineering degree;⁷⁰ and the Art Institute of Chicago, which had its own publication, *Brush and Pencil* and was the source of many of the contributors to the Chicago-based publications *Four O’Clock*, *Blue Sky*, and the *Rubric*.⁷¹ Sometimes teachers and university professors issued or contributed to little magazines. Clinton Scollard (1860-1932), for example, the leading magazine poet of the age, who contributed to both mainstream and little magazines, was an English professor at Hamilton College.⁷²

If they were not college or university educated, little magazinists were often products of the great zeal for self-culture that characterized the century.

⁶⁹ Cram, *My Life in Architecture*, 54.

⁷⁰ Gale, “Gelett Burgess.”

⁷¹ Herbert E. Fleming, “The Literary Interests of Chicago: Aesthetic Periodicals of the World’s

Fair City 1890-1900,” *American Journal of Sociology* 11 (1906): 805, 806.

⁷² Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 120.

Originating with the Unitarian moral and social ideals of William Ellery Channing in the 1830s, ideas of self-culture became more secularized as the century progressed. Intellectual and aesthetic ideals came to have value as many Americans turned to art and culture for the consolations they had hitherto sought in religion.⁷³ A good example of this form of self-education characterizes the intellectual and cultural development of little magazinists Thomas Bird Mosher (1852-1923) and Elbert Hubbard (1856-1915). Mosher, founder of the long-lived *Bibelot* (1895-1915), finished his formal schooling at age twelve.⁷⁴ Thereafter his education was confined to reading all he could get his hands on in his seafaring voyages with his skipper father. His love of books brought him into the world of bookselling, and eventually he became a printer and publisher at the age of thirty-nine. Like Mosher, Elbert Hubbard was self-educated. His magazine, the *Philistine* (1895-1915), was so titled in defiance of the elite literary culture that shut him out. At nineteen he took up a job with a soap company and soon became a successful businessman. Throughout this career, however, he longed for the literary life and, at the age of thirty-eight, he sold his interest in the soap company to go to Harvard. Hubbard was soon disillusioned with academic life and its frigid intellectualism and dropped out, preferring to interpret Wordsworth, Coleridge,

⁷³ Barbara Sicherman, "Ideologies and Practices of Reading," *A History of the Book in America, Volume 3: The Industrial Book 1840-1880*, ed. Scott E. Caspar et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 287.

⁷⁴ For biographical information on Mosher, see Annie Harmon Matthews, Edward F. Stevenson, and Bruce Rogers. *Thomas Bird Mosher of Portland, Maine* (Portland, ME: Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1941); Philip Bishop, *Thomas Bird Mosher: Pirate Prince of Publishers* (New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Books, 1998); and Jean-François Vilain and Philip Bishop, *Thomas Bird Mosher and the Art of the Book* (Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1992). Bishop also has a good website on Mosher at <http://marauder.millersville.edu/~mosher/index1.html>.

Scott, Ruskin, Turner, Gladstone, Carlyle, Eliot, and Dickens through his own cultural framework.

Another means of cultural enrichment that characterized the formation of many a little magazinist was travel. Travel to Europe became cheaper and faster at the end of the nineteenth century and the trip abroad or some schooling abroad became an important moment in the life of the young middle-class or wealthy person.⁷⁵ For example, Herbert Stone, one of the founders of the *Chap-Book*, received schooling in Geneva before attending Harvard; James Huneker, one of the editors of *M'lle New York*, studied music in Europe; after abandoning his Harvard education, Elbert Hubbard embarked on a pilgrimage to England where he apparently met William Morris, an experience that shape his own efforts to become America's answer to the prominent British Arts and Crafts figure; and Ralph Adams Cram funded a European tour through prizes won in architectural drawing contests. For those who could not afford to travel, the cultures of the world at large came to America in a series of fairs and exhibitions in the late nineteenth century, notably the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition in 1893. Indeed, the Chicago Exposition marked an important moment in the city's emergence as a cultural centre, which included a thriving publishing and little magazine industry.

Yet another important feature that characterized the cultural formation of the little magazinist was a connection with the literary, artistic, and bibliophilic societies and salons in cities and towns that grew up across the country in this

⁷⁵ Edwards, *New Spirits*, 52.

period. In Chicago, for example, there were numerous such organizations. Stone and Kimball, for example, after moving their headquarters from Cambridge to Chicago, organized “chap-book” teas for artists and writers to come together.⁷⁶ There was also the “Little Room,” a salon in the studio of artist Ralph Clarkson in Chicago’s Fine Arts Building where Thomas Wood Stevens met artists, writers, and musicians;⁷⁷ and the “Saints and Sinners” bibliophilic group that met in the Rare Book Room (known as the Amen corner) of McClurg’s bookstore in Chicago where Will Bradley met publishers, journalists, writers, and artists including Nixon Waterman, Irving Way, and Herbert Stone.⁷⁸

Other such organizations included the Pleiades Club (founded in 1894) of New York which promoted the appreciation of the allied arts; the Boston Arts and Crafts Society (founded by Charles Eliot Norton in 1897); the Chicago Arts and Crafts Society (founded in 1897); the Industrial Art League (Chicago, founded in 1899); the Grolier Club (New York, founded 1884), an organization for bibliophiles and lovers of the graphic arts; the Club of Odd Volumes (Boston, founded 1888); the Portfolio Club of Indianapolis (founded 1890); the Bohemian Club (San Francisco, founded 1872) and the more informal and frolicsome Camp Ha Ha founded by the major contributors of the *Lark* (San Francisco, founded in the 1890s).⁷⁹ Such organizations were by no means confined to larger cities. In Wausau, Wisconsin, for example, Helen and Philip Van Vechten and William

⁷⁶ Fleming, “Literary Interests,” 800.

⁷⁷ Melvin White, “Thomas Wood Stevens,” 281.

⁷⁸ Koch, *Will H. Bradley*,” 34; Thompson, *American Book Design*, 96.

⁷⁹ James D. Hart, introduction to *Bayside Bohemia* (San Francisco: Book Club of San Francisco, 1954), vi.

Ellis organized a group of local intellectuals known as “the Philosophers” and founded the Philosopher Press, a print shop and publishing house that issued, among other things, a little magazine called the *Philosopher* (1897-1906).⁸⁰ These formal and informal organizations, then, existed across the country in both major and minor centres.

Little magazinists established and/or joined these cliques of would-be writers, artists, publishers, printers, and typographers. These were the networks out of which many magazines and other forms of literary and artistic productions would emerge. Not content merely to join small clubs and societies, some ambitious and idealistic souls founded entire artistic colonies.⁸¹ Horace Traubel, admirer of Ruskin and Walt Whitman, founded a Quaker community in Pennsylvania called Rose Valley with the help of Will Price and Hawley McClanahan. Their publication, the *Artsman* (1903-1906), promoted their Arts and Crafts ideology of subsistence production and cottage industry. In a similar project, Unitarian minister Edward Pearson Pressey established New Clairvaux in Montague, Massachusetts, from where he published *Country Time and Tide* (1902-1909). Most famously, and on a much larger scale than Rose Valley or New Clairvaux, Elbert Hubbard established the Roycroft community in East

⁸⁰ “Van Vechten, Helen Gilbert,” *Marathon County Historical Society: Online Research*, <http://www.marathoncountyhistory.com/ResearchLibrary/peoplelist.asp>. More information on the Philosopher Press and its founders can be found through the Marathon County Historical Society website, <http://www.marathoncountyhistory.com/>.

⁸¹ For more information about such colonies see Timothy Miller, *The Quest for Utopia in Twentieth-Century America. Vol. 1. 1900-1960* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1998); Eileen Boris, *Art and Labour: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986); and Lears, *No Place of Grace*.

Aurora, New York. Here he published a number of little magazines -- the *Philistine* (1895-1915), the *Fra* (1908-1917), and *Little Journeys* (1894-1911), as well as Kelmscott-style books and household furniture and goods for commercial sale.

Despite the disdain of many aspiring litterateurs and competing little magazine editors and writers for Hubbard's commercialization of the Arts and Crafts movement, a number of them joined Hubbard for varying lengths of time in his community, among them Walter Blackburn Harte (1867-1899), editor of the *Fly Leaf* and the *Lotus*; Michael Monahan (1865-1933), editor of the *Papyrus*; Bliss Carman (1861-1929), poet and short-lived editor of the *Chap-Book*; Richard Hovey (1864-1900), poet and contributor to the *Chap-Book*; Tudor Jenks (1857-1922), lawyer and prominent writer of books for children and general readers who contributed to numerous little magazines, including *Bradley*, *His Book*, *Chips*, and the *New Bohemian*; and Frank B. Rae, a private pressman who was associated with the *Blue Sky* and the *Bachelor Book*.⁸²

Communities of like-minded souls were also established virtually – through the realm of the little magazine itself. Thus, one did not have to reside in East Aurora to be a part of Hubbard's network. For ten dollars, Hubbard offered a lifetime membership in what he called the "American Academy of Immortals." Membership included a ninety-nine year subscription to the *Philistine* plus any back issues that were available; a subscription to *Little Journeys*; other select Roycroft publications; attendance at the annual dinner; and, most important of all,

⁸² Champney, *Art and Glory*, 67.

“Success, Health and Love Vibrations sent daily by the Pastor or Ali Baba.”⁸³

Though clearly tongue-in-cheek to a large extent, such societies appealed to many Americans of this era. Hubbard’s formula was imitated by one-time Roycrofters, Michael Monahan, editor of *Papyrus* (1903-1912), who established the Society of Papyrites along similar lines.⁸⁴ Monahan reported on the progress of the society in his magazine and printed letters from its members, many of them prominent men, including politicians, wealthy magnates, and literary men. Another little magazinist, Harold Llewellyn Swisher (1870-?), editor of the *Ghourki* (1901-1909) of Morgantown, West Virginia, labeled himself Chief and dubbed his subscribers members of the Ghourki Tribe.⁸⁵ Membership to the tribe was a mere twenty-five cents a year, the subscription price of his magazine.

It would probably be safe to say that no one, in this period, made a paying career simply as a little magazinist. So how, then, did little magazine work figure into the overall careers and lives of those who participated in their production? There is no simple answer to this question. The little magazine might be part of a broader-based program of cultural and material production, as it was in the case of the artistic colonies that produced such magazines. Certainly, little magazines were one among many of the goods associated with the Arts and Crafts movement as it manifested itself in America in this period and a number of little magazinists exploited this connection. Hubbard, for example, was a highly successful

⁸³ This offer appears in inside back cover of the February 1902 issue of the *Philistine* in my possession.

⁸⁴ Monahan’s ads for the Society of Papyrites begin in the 1905 issues of his magazine.

⁸⁵ Based on issues of the *Ghourki* from 1902.

popularizer of Arts and Crafts and his little magazines were part of a much broader range of products including books, furnishings, and household goods.

Sometimes, however, the little magazine marked the entry point into a publishing or fine press printing career or was part of a broader compass of engagement with the literary, journalistic, or commercial marketplace. Such was the case for Stone and Kimball, Thomas Mosher, and Paul Elder (1872-1948) who, in addition to their magazines, also published fine books. Will Bradley, publisher of *Bradley, His Book* also established a short-lived commercial and artistic print shop through which he produced posters and advertising for many companies as well as books and pamphlets for literary publishers such as R. H. Russell of New York and John Lane of London. Other significant presses that brought together an interest in Arts and Crafts aesthetics and little magazine production included the Blue Sky Press of Chicago, a private press founded by Thomas Wood Stevens (1880-1942), Alden Charles Noble (1880-?), and Alfred G. Langworthy (1869-1956) that published the *Blue Sky* (1899-1902) as well as handmade, limited editions of poetry and belles-lettres; the Philosopher Press of Wausau, Wisconsin, run by William Ellis and Helen Bruneau Van Vechten, a newspaper and jobbing press as well as private press for literary works and the little magazine, the *Philosopher* (1897-1906?); the Cranbrook Press, a private press situated in the attic of the Detroit *Evening News* offices run by newspaper magnate George G. Booth (1864-1949) that issued private press books and the beautifully hand-illuminated little magazine the *Cranbrook Papers* (1900-1901); and the Jenson Press of Philadelphia, a jobbing press specializing in fine printing

ephemera (broadsides, posters, and bookplates) that issued a little magazine called *Moods* (1894-1895), as well as limited editions of literary titles.⁸⁶

Little magazines were also an important venue for those seeking to influence and shape the literary field of their day, notably aspiring editors and literary critics as well as journalists who had literary aspirations or were seeking an alternative venue for their ideas, much like blogging journalists of today. This was, after all, a period in which the number of editors tripled over the course of thirty years,⁸⁷ and the little magazines played a role in the growing importance of this position. Also, the 1890s marked the emergence, Mott argues, of a new profession – the magazinist: a writer who devoted most of their time to magazine work for one or more magazines.⁸⁸ The little magazine was often an entryway into the field of magazine work for unknown editors and would-be critics, but also served as a way for known literary figures to bolster their reputation through affiliations with avant-garde publications. An example of one who used the little magazine to enhance his literary prestige was Bliss Carman, a Canadian poet who left Canada because of the lack of opportunities there for the professional writer. Carman had a minor celebrity as a poet in America in this period and wrote for both mainstream and little magazines. Carman, however, turned down a stable and lucrative position on the staff of the popular mass-market magazine,

⁸⁶ More about these firms and their publications can be found in Thompson, *American Book Design*.

⁸⁷ Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 39.

⁸⁸ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 37.

Cosmopolitan, to become the editor of the new and experimental *Chap-Book*.⁸⁹

He recognized in this avant-garde venue an opportunity to promote his interests and those of his literary and artistic circle.

Others who used the little magazine to establish a similar kind of cultural prestige in careers that often involved work in the commercial press too, included literary and/or cultural critics such as Percival Pollard, James Huneker, Michael Monahan, and Walter Blackburn Harte. Though these men are largely forgotten today in critical scholarship, they were important precursors to Modernist cultural critics such as H. L. Mencken and Burton Rascoe. These men fashioned themselves in a cosmopolitan bohemian mold. Their ideas of the role of the critic derived from Matthew Arnold, Walter Pater, and Oscar Wilde and were adapted for the American journalistic context. They endorsed a criticism characterized by an iconoclastic, defiant, and personal style. Literary criticism in this period was still very much the province of journalists and magazine writers. The study of English as an academic subject in American universities was only just emerging. The little magazines, as Nancy Glazener argues, along with universities, were “part of an emerging structure of literary authority,” that was challenging the traditional loci of this authority – genteel magazines such as the *Atlantic Monthly*.⁹⁰ The reputations that these men built up as editors of and contributors to little magazines gave them more freedom, within the commercial realm, to express themselves in as free a manner as they did in more avant-garde venues.

⁸⁹ Muriel Miller, *Bliss Carman: Quest and Revolt* (St. John's, NL: Jespersen Press, 1985), 119, 121.

⁹⁰ Glazener, *Reading for Realism*, 8, 148.

Little magazines also provided an additional print medium for newspaper columnists to develop a broader audience. Whereas a column in a newspaper was part of an extremely ephemeral and miscellaneous organized print medium, the little magazine offered an artistic and focused venue in which to place one's ideas. A number of the nation's popular newspaper columnists issued a little magazine. Bert Leston Taylor (1866-1921), who had a popular column in the Chicago Tribune called "A Line O' Type or Two," extracted from and expanded some of these columns in two one-off little magazines. Both were parodies. The *Bilioustine: A Periodical of Knock* (1901) was a parody of Hubbard's *Philistine* and the *Book Booster: A Periodical of Puff* (1901) was a burlesque on the *Bookman*, a literary critical periodical. The little magazine format completed the parody in a way that the newspaper column could not, mocking the aesthetic as well as the content of such publications.

Other newspapermen who published little magazines included Douglas Malloch (1877-1938), Louis N. Megargee (1855-1905), and Erasmus Wilson (1842-1922). Malloch, who worked for the *Muskegon Daily Chronicle*, published *In Many Keys* (1900-1902), "a little magazine made up entirely of the writings of Douglas Mallock [sic]."⁹¹ Megargee, a popular newspaperman and writer, edited and published *Seen and Heard* (aka *Seen and Heard by Megargee*), "a miniature magazine," from 1901 to 1905 and which continued after his death until 1908.⁹² Wilson, Pittsburgh's most popular columnist, brought his "Quiet Observer"

⁹¹ "Douglas Malloch, Author" (obituary), *New York Times* July 3, 1938, 13, at Historical New York Times (database); Faxon, "Ephemeral Bibleots" (1903-1904), 92.

⁹² Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 390.

column from the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* to the pages of a little magazine of the same name (1900-1901).⁹³

Of course, little magazines were also obviously an important venue for writers and artists, especially those who were aspiring or unknown. Little magazines featured unknowns, partly because their publishers could not afford better, but also partly because of the interest in seeking out experimental material or subject matter not suitable for commercial publications. In this latter respect, the little magazines of the 1890s anticipated the aims of their successors in the Modernist era. Unlike these later little magazines which, as little magazine historians Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich claim, published “80% of our most important post-1912 critics, novelists, poets and storytellers,”⁹⁴ the little magazines of the 1890s were not as notable for their prescience in publishing future greats of the literary and art worlds. Though magazines such as the *Chap-Book* and the *Bibelot* published a variety of figures that were well-known or would become canonical, including Henry James, Anatole France, Max Beerbohm, Paul Verlaine, and Aubrey Beardsley, these magazines were an exception. So, indeed, were these writers – who were mainly European or living in Europe.

In terms of native talent, and in addition to some of the above-mentioned writers and critics such as Bliss Carman, James Huneker, and H. L. Mencken, later canonical or well-known figures who published early work in little

⁹³ Leland Dewitt Baldwin, *Pittsburgh, the Story of a City* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1937), 351.

⁹⁴ Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, *Little Magazine*, 1.

magazines included Jack London (1876-1916), Booth Tarkington (1869-1946), Stephen Crane (1871-1900), Harriet Monroe (1860-1936), and Carl Sandburg (1878-1967). Contributing or featured illustrators who were or would become important included Maxfield Parrish (1870-1966), a prominent magazine illustrator in the 1910s and 1920s; J. C. Leyendecker (1874-1951), commercial illustrator, most famous for his creation of the iconic “Arrow Collar Man” for Arrow shirts and collars; Arthur Wesley Dow (1857-1922), an influential artist and arts educator, teacher of Georgia O’Keeffe (1887-1986); Edward Penfield (1866-1925), famous American poster artist and magazine illustrator; and John Sloan (1871-1951), a major figure of the Ashcan school of realist artists of the early twentieth century. The little magazines were also a training ground for those who would transform book, magazine, advertising, and typographic design in the twentieth century, notably Bruce Rogers (1870-1957), considered the first professional book designer, who would design over 400 books; William Addison Dwiggins (1880-1956), who revolutionized book design in the 1920s and 1930s and who coined the term “graphic designer” in 1922 to refer to the myriad activities involved in the kinds of work he did.⁹⁵

In general, however, these more well-known figures were only peripherally involved with the little magazines of the period. Most of the more prominent little magazinists of the period are unknown today. For Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, as I have stated in the introduction, this significant lack of

⁹⁵ David Consuegra, *American Type Design and Designers* (New York: Allworth Press, 2004), 1930.

known talent renders the little magazines of the 1890s uninteresting. This exclusion has repercussions for the history of little magazines in a number of ways. In terms of our understanding of the overall careers of little magazinists and the role of little magazines in this broader context, it is particularly misleading. It presumes, on the one hand, that posterity is the only worthy mark of success in a writing or artistic career and, on the other, that the sole function of a little magazine is literary and artistic and the aim of contributors is to establish themselves as professionals in these realms. These are the underlying principles of traditional literary and art scholarship, which focus on canonical artists and their small coteries. While the influence of feminism, cultural studies, and other recent scholarly methodologies has brought attention to many hitherto neglected figures, there is a notable absence of scholarship on the “amateur.” And yet, as Richard and Mary Zboray astutely note of the literary context, such a focus “distorts the overall picture of literary production for print.”⁹⁶ Such an approach, argue the Zborays in their study of antebellum amateur authorship, leaves “little room . . . for more motivationally nuanced and temporary authorial engagements with the market, or for virtual collaborators who, by hatching ideas, offering encouragement, or disseminating writings fostered authors’ literary development.”⁹⁷

The Zborays’ more inclusive understanding of authorial engagement helps us to better understand the situation of a great number of little magazinists of the

⁹⁶ Ronald J. Zboray and Mary Saracino Zboray, *Literary Dollars and Social Sense: A People’s History of the Mass Market Book* (New York: Routledge, 2005), xv.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

1890s and the role of this magazine work in their overall career trajectories. By far the majority of contributors were not so-called “artists,” insofar as they would go on to achieve posterity but were, rather, literary *workers*. They were part of the masses of unknowns who fed the nation’s insatiable daily appetite for print and image – whether that was in the realm of the mass-market commercial press or in the smaller realm of the private press. These workers included not only the proverbial hacks desperately trying to make a living by their writing or art, but other kinds of writers and artists, in particular two categories: first, those who did earn a good living, even if their names were not and/or are not household names, those Mott calls “magazinists”; and, second, deliberate amateurs whose literary or artistic pursuits were a pastime.

In broadening the parameters by which we understand authorship and illustration, a rich picture of the relationship of little magazine work to the larger cultural context emerges. With their access to education and culture, their possession of inborn gifts and talents, and their positions within well-connected networks of friends and acquaintances, little magazinists were often renaissance types, professional polymaths who had a number of careers. These included related careers in media, but also other kinds of professional, intellectual and artistic work. Extensive OCLC, internet, and google book searches on hundreds of writers, artists, and editors of a broad range of the little magazines of this period, for example, indicate that little magazine work was often part of much broader involvement with the world of print culture and also of related media, including film and theatre. In addition to their little magazine work, little magazinists were,

or would become, publishers and editors of, or writers and artists for mainstream magazines, pulps, trade and specialty publications; book publishers; printers; typographers; newspaper columnists, journalists and reporters; writers of occasional prose and verse volumes; book and magazine illustrators, artists and art directors for book and magazine publishers; children's writers; platform lecturers; advertising writers and artists; film directors, publicists, and scriptwriters; playwrights and theatre producers; and radio broadcasters.

At the same time, my research on little magazinists indicates that these magazines represented an important intervention in cultural life by professional middle-class people. As such, we find numerous other non-literary professionals represented as editors of and/or contributors to the little magazines of the 1890s, including businessmen, lawyers, architects, schoolteachers, doctors, university professors, politicians, inventors, clergymen, etc. In many respects, then, the unorthodox little magazines served as a breeding ground for those who would go on to develop America's rich cultural life, not only in literary terms, but in many other ways -- in journalism, architecture, education, advertising, publishing, film and radio, politics, social activism, education, and so on.

Will Bradley's (1868-1962) little magazine work, for example, represented a small fraction of a broad and varied career, mostly in the mainstream media. He also designed typefaces and typographical layouts; designed and printed books; worked in advertising; created designs for Royal Doulton; did a series of interior, furniture, and house designs for *Ladies' Home Journal*; served as art editor of *Colliers*, *Century*, *Good Housekeeping*,

Metropolitan, *National Weekly*, *Pearson's* and *Success*; became art director for Hearst publications and Motion Pictures; wrote and directed films.

Sometimes the cultural reach of little magazinists was even broader. Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942), for example, who would become a noted American architect of churches and university campus buildings all over America, wrote and did art work for the little magazines in the 1890s when he was just beginning his career. He would continue to publish throughout his life and was an important public figure whose views on religion and politics were reported in the press. Indeed, he made the cover of *Time* magazine in 1926 and was described by Franklin D. Roosevelt as a “towering figure” in America’s cultural life.⁹⁸ Tudor Jenks, too, wavered between a writing career and a law career, finally settling on law, but never giving up his writing. He was a prolific magazine contributor and well-known writer of juvenile fiction.⁹⁹ Herman Schneider (1872-1939), who was involved with the Boston little magazine, *Time and the Hour* (1896-1900), had an equally rich and varied involvement with American cultural life. He was an architect, a bridge builder, an award-winning storywriter, an essayist, an educator, a researcher, a labor mediator, a wartime administrator, art collector, a university president, and is widely regarded as the founder of the cooperative education movement.¹⁰⁰

Others that participated in the little magazine movement in the 1890s and early 1900s who would go on to contribute to America’s cultural life in

⁹⁸ Shand-Tucci, *Ralph Adams Cram*, 310-311.

⁹⁹ “Tudor Jenks,” *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tudor_Jenks.

¹⁰⁰ Mary Reilly, “He Was Ever Co-Optimistic.”

significant ways included Irving Morrow (1884-1952),¹⁰¹ one of the architects of the Golden Gate Bridge who chose its controversial colour – a burnt red-orange; William Dallam Armes (1860-1918), English professor at Berkeley and one of the founding members of the Sierra Club;¹⁰² Thomas Wood Stevens (1880-1942), the founder of the first degree-granting theatre program in the United States;¹⁰³ Charles Howard Shinn (1852-1924), a leading California environmentalist and first superintendent of Yosemite Park;¹⁰⁴ Ora Eddleman (1880-1968), the first Native American radio talk show host;¹⁰⁵ Sydney Prentice (1873-1943), an internationally renowned scientific illustrator, especially in paleontology;¹⁰⁶ promoters of alternative social and spiritual communities, including Edward Pearson Pressey (1869-1934), Horace Traubel (1858-1919) and others; lawyers, judges, and politicians, including Ernest Crosby (1856-1907), who served as Judge in the International Court in Alexandria, Egypt and was a friend and colleague of Theodore Roosevelt's before turning against imperialism; Theodore Schroeder (1864-1953), a free speech advocate who founded the Free Speech

¹⁰¹ "Golden Gate Bridge," *American Experience* (PBS, April 16, 2004), http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/goldengate/peopleevents/p_morrow.html.

¹⁰² "William Dallam Armes," in "Gay Bears: The Hidden History of the Berkeley Campus," UC Berkeley, <http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/gaybears/ames/>.

¹⁰³ Melvin White, "Thomas Wood Stevens."

¹⁰⁴ Jill M. Singleton, "Shinn Family Contributions to the Community," Museum of Local History (Fremont, California), <http://www.museumoflocalhistory.org/pages/shinn.htm>

¹⁰⁵ Mark M. Trahant, *Pictures of Our Nobler Selves: A History of Native American Contributions to the News Media* (Nashville, TN: Freedom Forum First Amendment Center, 1995), 18-20.

¹⁰⁶ Information about Prentice at NMNH Paleobiology: Historical Art, Smithsonian National Museum of Natural History, <http://paleobiology.si.edu/paleoArt/Historical/Highlights/whale.html>

League, precursor to the American Civil Liberties Union;¹⁰⁷ and so on. Thus, though the Zborays contend that the postbellum mass-market oriented publishing industry virtually put an end to amateur authorship,¹⁰⁸ clearly, as an analysis of the little magazinists shows, it experienced a resurgence with the rise of the little magazine.

This outline of the context in which little magazinists emerged has been intended to demonstrate the importance of the little magazine beyond the narrow realm of its role in literary history. It has been my aim to argue that the importance of these magazines lies in their status as a vehicle not only for professional writers and book and magazine illustrators but also more broadly for the professional middle class and its interests – literary, artistic, as well as other social and cultural ones. The little magazines of the 1890s, if they were not a herald of the most important writers and artists of their generation, were, by contrast, a central mode of expression for those at the turn of the century who would go on to shape American cultural life in less visible, though equally important ways in the new century. In the next two chapters, I discuss the conditions in the literary and magazine fields that made it possible for the little magazinists to express themselves in print.

¹⁰⁷ Wheatley, “Free Speech Philosophers.”

¹⁰⁸ Zboray and Zboray, *Literary Dollars*, xiv.

CHAPTER 2

From the Yellow Press to the *Yellow Book*:

Revolutions in Mass-Market and High Print Culture and the Emergence of Little Magazines

The little magazinists came of age in an era that witnessed an explosion of print. Notably, this print explosion, driven by new technologies, occurred in the realm of cheap, mass-market newspapers, magazines, and books. This matter included the so-called yellow press sensationalist newspapers of Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst and their equivalents in the realm of magazines and books: the new ten-cent magazines of the 1890s such as *Munsey's*, *McClure's*, *Ladies' Home Journal*, and *Cosmopolitan* and the enduring dime novels. Part of and in reaction against this explosion occurred a counter-movement in the high cultural realm. In this realm, print was not a commodity but rather a collectible, a beautiful print object, the appearance of which accorded with the highbrow and progressive cultural ideas and values expressed within. This was the realm of the *Yellow Book*, a London-based 1890s little magazine strongly associated in this period, both in Britain and America, with avant-garde and high cultural literature, art, and material production.

Bibliophilic culture represented another manifestation of the reaction against the rise of mass print culture. The 1890s marked the origins of what Robert Alan Shaddy has described as the “Golden Age” of book collecting.¹ As with many cultural pursuits in America, book collecting was a democratized

¹ Robert Alan Shaddy, *Books and Book Collecting in America, 1890-1930* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2000).

pastime, extending down from the wealthiest of robber barons such as Henry Huntington to the more modest middle classes who valorized the printed word and for whom the ownership of beautiful books was an important aspect of demonstrating cultivation and gentility. A crop of emerging American printers and publishers would meet this middle-class desire for the beautiful book, issuing modern books or reprints of classics that emulated the features of the expensive and rare books being sought out by wealthy collectors. Elbert Hubbard (1856-1915) and Thomas Mosher (1852-1923), both of whom also published little magazines, were masters at this game, offering collectible books at a range of price points – from deluxe editions and limited editions to more affordable but still well-designed “‘artistic’ books for the common man.”²

Spurred on by a zeal for cultural reform, inspired by emerging British and continental European art movements, and eager to establish a significant American literary and artistic culture, the little magazinists drew from all facets of this breadth of print culture, making their own contributions to this explosion of print. This chapter examines the expansion of the realm of print media in the 1890s, in particular, the “revolutions” in high and popular print culture that were related to the rise of little magazines: the magazine revolution, the poster revolution, and the revolution in fine printing. These revolutions, in conjunction with other transformations to the literary and magazine marketplace, created unprecedented opportunities in printing, publishing, writing, and illustration. At the same time, these revolutions, as I explain, aggravated the growing divide that

² Thompson, *American Book Design*, 171. For her discussion of Hubbard, see 168-189; for Mosher see 190-97.

was emerging between high and popular culture in ways that challenged notions of authorial and artistic identity. The little magazines, which were linked both to developments in popular print culture and high culture, were thus complexly situated within this literary and artistic context, registering the tensions in debates about America's cultural development.

The Rise of the Ten-cent Magazine: The Magazine Revolution Context

A significant element in the explosion of print at the end of the nineteenth century was what periodical historians have referred to as the "magazine revolution."³ The little magazines were part of this broader revolution that was brought about by a number of factors: developments in printing technology, such as the introduction of the rotary press, the linotype machine, and the halftone photoengraving process; advances in distribution, including the growth of national railway lines, cheaper postal rates, and the spread of newsstands; the lowering of magazine prices enabled by the development of national advertising; and increased literacy rates.

These factors contributed to a significant increase in the number of magazines issued. In 1885, there were only about 3300 periodicals in publication in the United States, but between that year and 1890, 1000 new ones emerged. In the twenty-year period between 1885 and 1905, 11,000 periodicals were issued.

³ See, for example, Frank Luther Mott, "The Magazine Revolution and Popular Ideas in the Nineties," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 64 (1945): 195-214. Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets and Class at the Turn of the Century* (New York: Verso, 1996); and Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994). Unless otherwise indicated the information in this and the following paragraph come from the first chapter of Mott, *History of American Magazines* (volume 4).

Of these, 7500 were newly created and about half of these folded within the corresponding time period. During the 1890s, there were anywhere between 4400 and 5500 periodicals available at any given time. The magazine-purchasing public also increased by tenfold between 1890 and 1895 from 200,000 to 2 million, while at the same time overall periodical circulation rose from 18 million in 1890 to 64 million by 1905.⁴ These were readers hungry for print, whether they were members of a middle class “eager for entertainment and culture as well as material comfort and status,”⁵ or part of a growing immigrant population eager to develop its literacy.

Central to this growth in magazine production and consumption was the emergence of the ten-cent magazine in 1893 (see figure 1.1). Though cheap three-cent, five-cent, and ten-cent magazines, namely “story papers,” had existed prior to this date, these tended to be entirely fiction-focused and were generally of poor quality, unsuccessful, or supported largely by mail-order advertising. Most major middle-class oriented general literary magazines prior to 1893 cost twenty-five or thirty-five cents (see figure 1.2). Such magazines contained a variety of content – something for everyone in the family – short stories, serials, essays, travel pieces, reviews, history, and poetry. Though 1893 was a year in which there was a notable economic slump, the cheaper costs of printing and publishing encouraged entrepreneurial magazine publishers to cut the price of magazines. S. S. McClure

⁴ Algernon Tassin, *The Magazine in America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1916), 340; Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 29.

⁵ Ellery Sedgwick, “Magazines and the Profession of Authorship in the United States, 1840-1900,” *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 94 (2000): 417.

was the first to do so when he issued *McClure's*, a general literary monthly magazine priced at only fifteen cents. His bold move transformed the industry. New and existing magazines soon began to compete, a pricing war ensued, and by 1895 there were a number of notable ten-cent magazines, including *Munsey's*, *Peterson's*, *Godey's*, and *Cosmopolitan*. These magazines were characterized by their copious and well-printed illustrations, a sharp, lively and fresh tone, a variety of subject matter including topical events and issues, and an abundance of advertising that was now superseding subscription as the major form of revenue for magazines. Soon, ten-cent magazines accounted for 85% of all magazine sales.⁶

The phenomenal rise of magazines in this period transformed the literary marketplace significantly for writers and for illustrators.⁷ While many writers and illustrators may have viewed the book as a more “artistic” vehicle for expression, magazine work earned them significantly more money. Magazines were, after all, throughout the nineteenth century, the main source of people’s literary reading.⁸ Furthermore, as magazine publishers soon discovered, it was pictures that sold magazines.⁹ For authors and illustrators seeking to earn a living through their craft, magazine work was essential. As late as 1893, American novelist William

⁶ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 6.

⁷ Sedgwick provides the best account of magazines and authorship in this period. The similar position of illustrators is examined by Michele H. Bogart in *Artists, Advertising and the Borders of Art* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995) and by Ellen Mazur Thomson in *The Origins of Graphic Design in America 1870-1920* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1997).

⁸ Sedgwick, “Magazines,” 412; Richard Brodhead, “Literature and Culture,” *Columbia Literary History of the United States* (New York: Columbia UP, 1988), 471.

⁹ Bogart, *Artists*, 22.

Dean Howells maintained that it was almost impossible to make a living from writing on the basis of books alone.¹⁰ The growth of the industry in the 1890s, therefore, marked a significant moment in the professionalization of these fields – enabling more people to earn a living as writers, editors, and illustrators.¹¹

On a per-month basis, existing magazines provided a total of hundreds of thousands of pages of content, millions in the course of a year -- a veritable “boom for aspiring writers,”¹² and, by extension, for illustrators. American authors and illustrators were also given a significant advantage with the passing of the International Copyright Act in 1891. The ability of American publishers before 1891 to freely use the works of British writers and illustrators had long hindered the development of these professions in America. Publishers were less likely to take a chance on unknown Americans given the large pool of freely available and often better-known British talent. The passing of the Act, however, created a more level playing field and, in conjunction with the growth of magazines, resulted in a steep increase in the number of people taking up authorship and illustration as a profession.

In the field of authorship, for example, Julian Hawthorne speculated in 1888 that there were 5,000 people (excluding journalists) who earned a living by their pen.¹³ By 1900, it was estimated that this number had grown to 20,000,

¹⁰ William Dean Howells, “The Man of Letters as a Man of Business,” *Scribners’ Monthly* 14 (Oct. 1893).

¹¹ Sedgwick, “Magazines,” 417; Bogart, *Artists*, 20.

¹² Sedgwick, “Magazines,” 416.

¹³ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 38.

though not all of these were thought to be earning a living wage in this way.¹⁴ Meanwhile, the number of editors of magazines tripled between 1870 and 1900.¹⁵ These developments had transformed the notion of authorship in substantial ways. For one thing, it brought about a new category of writer – the magazinist -- a writer who writes first and foremost, and possibly only, for magazine publication and who may earn a good living without ever really achieving literary fame.¹⁶ Howells described the emergence of this new breed of writer in his 1893 article, “The Man of Letters as a Man of Business”: “the prosperity of the magazines has given a whole class existence which, as a class, was wholly unknown among us before the [Civil] war. It is not only the famous or fully recognized authors who live in this way, but the much larger number of clever people. . . . who may never make themselves a public but who do well a kind of acceptable work.”¹⁷

A similar scenario existed for illustrators. Earlier in the nineteenth century, as little magazinist Will Bradley suggested, aspiring painters may have “drifted into” magazine and book illustration, but by the end of the nineteenth century, the process was reversed.¹⁸ Attracted by the pecuniary advantages of such work, Bradley argued, men and women began as illustrators, turning to painting only when they could afford it.¹⁹ As with authorship, there could be a fairly fluid relationship between commercial and fine art. Just as Henry James navigated between commercial magazine and high art book publication, so artists like the

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 39.

¹⁶ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 37.

¹⁷ qtd in Sedgwick, “Magazines,” 420-21.

¹⁸ Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design*, 69.

¹⁹ Ibid.

Leyendecker brothers did book and magazine illustration, advertising, and painting.²⁰ Similarly, as with authorship, below the few “stars” at the tip of the iceberg existed a large proportion of workaday illustrators – the equivalent of Mott’s magazinists -- who played a major role in filling the hundreds of thousands of magazine pages every month.

There was mixed reaction to the rise of the magazine in this period. Many, in both America and Britain thought highly of the American magazine and the quality of its illustration, going so far as to accord it the status of “a school of literature.”²¹ Others, however, were troubled by the commodification of literature and art that mass-market magazines brought about. Earnest literary types such as Francis Browne, editor of the *Dial* magazine, a highbrow literary magazine, thought that the mass-market magazines made content mediocre because they were forced to be conservative.²² Meanwhile, the traditional general monthlies – *Harper’s*, *Century*, *Atlantic Monthly*, and *Scribner’s*, which continued to sell for twenty-five to thirty-five cents, rankled at the competition. They took the cultural high ground in emphasizing pure literary standards and a superior cultivated audience. As Matthew Schneirov notes, the editors of these magazines saw themselves as “steward[s] or custodian[s] of a revered cultural heritage.”²³ Nevertheless, these “genteel” magazines, as Schneirov calls them, ended up adjusting their content to compete with the new mass-market upstarts, including more journalistic content and short fiction pieces in their pages.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 12.

²² Ibid.

²³ Schneirov, *Dream*, 46.

Writers and artists responded to the transformation of the magazine marketplace in different ways. In the late nineteenth century, those writers and artists who successfully adapted their works to the tastes of the expanded magazine readership fared very well indeed.²⁴ Some, however, were not adaptable. Henry James, for example, earned far less than many of his now lesser-known contemporaries. His serials were not popular and he rankled at having to adapt his style for magazine readers. The growth of commercial publishing helped precipitate what Andreas Huyssen has identified as the discourse of the “great divide” that insisted on the categorical distinction between high art and mass culture.²⁵ This elitist discourse created divisions in the literary and art worlds, distinguishing so-called artists -- those who claimed to pursue a purist artistic ideal -- from popular writers, who catered to the debased tastes of a mass reading public.

Certainly, such distinctions had existed before but they had not been as pronounced. As Nigel Cross argues of the literary context, distinctions between the popular and the profound had not been as marked earlier in the century where writers such as George Eliot, Alfred Tennyson, and Charles Dickens enjoyed popular success and a high critical reputation.²⁶ A similar tension began to develop in the art world at around the same time. As Ellen Mazur Thomson explains, “late nineteenth century illustrators considered themselves to be part of

²⁴ See Sedgwick, “Magazines,” for examples of author earnings in this period and Bogart, *Artists*, for salaries of the era’s major illustrators.

²⁵ Andreas Huyssen. *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), viii.

²⁶ Nigel Cross, *The Common Writer: Life in Nineteenth-Century Grub Street* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 216.

the respected fine arts community,” but with the advent of “commercial publishing and advertising . . . the relationship between illustrators and artists changed.”²⁷ As with authors, some illustrators were quite content with and profited by the system, while others felt their work was degraded by the taint of commercialization.

Art and Advertisement: The Poster Revolution

Closely allied with the magazine revolution was the poster revolution of the same period, also spurred on by advances in composition and printing technologies. By the mid 1890s, lithography was increasingly done on zinc or aluminum plates, which was easier than using stone, and improved printing technology allowed for the use of more colours.²⁸ Like Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism, the art poster movement originated in Europe where there had been a concerted effort to improve commercial design and pictorial advertising.²⁹ In America, however, well into the 1880s, posters were regarded merely as an advertising tool.³⁰ Most American lithographers were anonymous craftsmen, who strove for “photographic fidelity” rather than artistry in their work.³¹ Eventually, however, Americans, who were highly attuned to literary and artistic developments in Europe in this period, were made aware of the popularity of the artistic poster overseas as exemplified in the work of Eugene Grasset, Aubrey Beardsley,

²⁷ Thomson, “Origins of Graphic Design,” 70-71.

²⁸ Victor Margolin, *American Poster Renaissance* (New York: Castle Books, 1975), 21.

²⁹ Diane Chalmers Johnson, *American Art Nouveau* (New York: Abrams, 1979), 168.

³⁰ Margolin, *American Poster*, 9.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 23.

Théophile Alexandre Steinlen, Jules Chéret, Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, Alphonse Mucha, and others (see figures 2.1-2.6). These artists drew on various influences in their work -- French rococo, Celtic Medieval art, Byzantine art, the Arts and Crafts movement, the Pre-Raphaelites, and Japanese decorative art.³² At the same time, the cross-fertilization of these influences evolved into Art Nouveau.

The developments in graphic arts in the latter part of the nineteenth century were central to an American magazine industry that relied heavily on the appeal of its illustrative matter.³³ Indeed, for some, it was illustration that represented the greatness of the American magazine.³⁴ At the same time, with the rise of national advertising in this period, the poster emerged as a potential medium for that industry. The poster would become a particularly appealing advertising vehicle for American publishers who, aware of their audience's cultural tastes and aspirations, "promoted posters as a new art, as collectibles, and as a means to beautify cities."³⁵ The process began in 1889 when the Harper publishing firm commissioned Grasset to produce a cover and a poster for a holiday issue of their magazine. Over the next few years, Grasset and Louis Rhead, an Englishman who was now residing in America, produced special

³² Ibid., 15; Johnson, *American Art Nouveau*, 168.

³³ Gabriel P. Weisberg. "Graphic Art in America: The Artistic and Civic Poster in the United States Reconsidered." *Journal of Decorative and Propaganda Arts* 16 (1990): 105.

³⁴ British writer, Walter Besant, for example, attributed the success of American magazines to their illustrations (Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 12).

³⁵ Bogart, *Artists*, 82.

posters for holiday numbers of the more popular magazines.³⁶ Meanwhile, the Grolier Club in New York sponsored a poster exhibition in 1890 and, in 1892, Brander Matthews wrote an article on posters for *Century* magazine.

Encouraged by the increased attention granted to posters and by their success in stimulating sales of their magazine, Harper began, in 1893, to commission posters on a monthly basis from their house illustrator and art director, Edward Penfield (1866-1925). Penfield's posters were extremely popular, so much so, that often more posters were printed than copies of the magazine itself.³⁷ Soon America was developing its own school of poster artists, including Will Bradley, Will Carqueville, and Ethel Reed, and these artists began to receive attention in Europe (see figures 3.1-3.3, 4.1-4.3). Coinciding with the rise of an American school of poster artists was a collecting frenzy that rivaled the medium's popularity in Europe.³⁸ According to one source, there were over 7,000 North American collectors in the mid 1890s.³⁹ Poster exhibitions were held across the country, some attracting as many as 2,000 visitors a day; magazines devoted to posters and poster collecting emerged; poster design contests were sponsored by magazines and organizations; poster parties with people dressed as their favorite poster personality were a popular fad; the bold colors used in this

³⁶ Ibid., 172.

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Neil Harris, "American Poster Collecting: A Fitful History," *American Art* 12.1 (1990): 13.

³⁹ Ibid., 16.

medium influenced women's fashion; and poems, songs, stories, and plays on poster themes abounded.⁴⁰

In their marriage of art and commerce, posters were understandably popular in a nation characterized, on the one hand, by a materialistic and commercial spirit and, on the other, by a considerable drive to acquire culture and cultural capital. The poster was viewed by many as an important step in the democratization of art, much as the chromolithograph had been regarded earlier in the century.⁴¹ J. M. Bowles, for example, an Indianapolis editor, printer, and gallery owner who edited *Modern Art* (1893-1897), a publication linked to the little magazine movement through its interests in the aesthetics and design of print culture, described posters as “daily art for the people,” a medium that “bridged” the “separation between art and commerce.”⁴² At the same time, just as American Arts and Crafts proponents such as Hubbard and Stickney mediated between high art ideals and a commercial spirit, the nation's poster movement achieved similar aims in the realm of advertising in ways that were seen as successful and characteristic of the nation. Claude F. Bragdon (1866-1946), for example, an

⁴⁰ Ibid., 16, 17. Margolin, *American Poster*, 21;

⁴¹ On this aspect of chromolithography see Peter C. Marzio, *The Democratic Art: Pictures for a Nineteenth-Century America. Chromolithography 1840-1900* (London: Scolar Press, 1980).

⁴² J. M. Bowles, “Echoes,” *Modern Art* 3.1 (1894): n. p. Though technically *Modern Art* emerged before the little magazine boom, Faxon identifies it as such in his bibliographies. In her recent examination of this periodical Joanne Marie Mancini also makes claims for its status as a little magazine on the basis of its vanguardism and its aesthetic – i.e. an artistic typeface, wide margins, and its deckle edge handmade paper, all of which distinguished it substantially from other art periodicals of the day (*Pre-Modernism: Art-World Change and American Culture from the Civil War to the Armory Show* [Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005], 21).

architect who contributed to little magazines as an illustrator and writer, said of posters:

The people who still scoff at posters and poster collecting . . . should bear in mind . . . that the great periods of art were those in which it allied itself most intimately with the daily life of the people, and that in this craze for posters, ‘the poor man’s picture art gallery’ as they are called, is seen almost the first sign of a renaissance in which the spirit of the century, which is so largely a commercial one, will find an utterance in beauty instead of ugliness.⁴³

Ironically, the success of the art poster led to its demise. The poster’s success in achieving the high art status that publishers claimed for it, weakened its effectiveness as an advertising tool for magazines and books.⁴⁴ Posters stole the thunder of the products they advertised by becoming collectibles and commodities in and of themselves. As one contemporary commentator noted, many people “did not think of buying the magazine advertised; they only wanted the poster.”⁴⁵ Posters sold posters, not magazines. Magazine and book publishers, however, learned much from the experience. Increasingly, as Nancy Finlay demonstrates, magazine and book publishers sought to exploit poster effects in their own

⁴³ “On Posters,” *Poster Lore* 1.1 (Jan. 15, 1896): 24.

⁴⁴ Bogart, *Artists*, 88.

⁴⁵ Quoted in Nancy Finlay, “American Posters and Publishing in the 1890s,” in *American Art Posters of the 1890s* (New York: Abrams, 1987), 51.

publications, hiring illustrators to create poster-like covers and designs, enhancing the aesthetics of the publications themselves.⁴⁶

The Art of the Book: The Revolution in Fine Printing

The advances in printing technology that gave rise to the magazine and poster revolutions also effected a counter-revolution in the realm of book production. While the magazine and poster revolutions were part of the emergence of mass-market print culture, this revolution, what Susan Otis Thompson has called the “revolution in fine printing,”⁴⁷ occurred on a somewhat smaller scale. Its effect on overall book production into the twentieth century, however, was significant.⁴⁸ The revolution in fine printing was an American corollary to the revival of fine printing in Britain led by William Morris and was directly linked to the burgeoning interest and industry in Arts and Crafts and Aestheticism in America in this period as discussed in Chapter 1. In addition to Aestheticism and Arts and Crafts, it looked to the Art Nouveau style and its manifestations in the concurrent poster art movement (see figures 6.1-6.8). In America, it was a “revolution” rather than a “revival” because, as Thompson explains, in a nation where printing had been largely driven by utilitarian aims, there was no tradition to revive (see figures 7.1-7.10).⁴⁹ Though America had taken a strong interest in the Aesthetic movement since Oscar Wilde’s visit to America in 1883, the revolution in fine

⁴⁶ Finlay, “American Posters,” 50-53.

⁴⁷ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 1. Thompson is the primary source for information on this movement.

⁴⁸ The twentieth-century legacy of this movement is examined, for example, in Megan Benton, *Beauty and the Book: Fine Editions and Cultural Distinction in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000).

⁴⁹ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 1.

printing seems to have been galvanized by the confluence of interests in Aestheticism, Art Nouveau, and Arts and Crafts in the first half of the 1890s.⁵⁰ 1891 was a decisive year. In this year, America was introduced to the fine bookmaking of William Morris when Roberts Brothers published the *Glittering Plain*. In this same year, Walter Crane, a figurehead in the British Arts and Crafts movement, visited America. At the same time, Americans would begin to take an interest in Art Nouveau as disseminated in the publications of John Lane and Elkin Mathews of the Bodley Head, in the artwork of Aubrey Beardsley and French poster artists such as Toulouse-Lautrec, and in their own emerging school of poster artists (see figures 3.1-3.3, 4.1-4.3, 5.1-5.6).

Drawing on the aesthetic influences of Arts and Crafts, Aestheticism, and Art Nouveau, a number of young entrepreneurs, including some little magazinists, attempted to transform the hitherto ugly commercial book into a thing of beauty. These influences were soon felt at all levels of the book and printing trade. Small publishing firms were established through the 1890s that were committed to the production of fine books of high literary quality. These firms included Copeland and Day, Stone and Kimball, Small, Maynard and Co., Way and Williams, Lamson, Wolfe, and Co., R. H. Russell, and Thomas Mosher. Though these publishing houses produced commercial machine-made books for a fairly large audience and were, effectively, trade publishers rather than private presses, book historians have used other terms to characterize the artistic nature of their

⁵⁰ Ibid., 14-15, 215-222.

endeavours. Thompson, for example, calls them “literary publishers,” while Joan Shelley Rubin uses the term “arts and crafts houses.”⁵¹

The influence of Arts and Crafts, Art Nouveau, and Aestheticism also resulted in the significant rise of private, jobbing, and amateur presses that contributed greatly to the production and dissemination of books of a high aesthetic and literary quality. Private presses in this period were marked by a commitment to craftsmanship and to the production of fine books, handset and printed on handmade paper on a hand press.⁵² While jobbing presses are generally those that do strictly commercial work, in this period a host of jobbing presses grew up that balanced commercial work with private pursuits in fine printing.⁵³ Many of these sprang up in conjunction with little magazines.⁵⁴ In addition to their own magazine or book publications, these types of presses produced for-hire autobiographical material, memoirs, family history, and genealogies; work for universities, libraries, churches, and businesses; and other types of print material including posters, broadsides, bookplates, and sometimes vanity publications.⁵⁵ Finally, the amateur press also saw a considerable rise in this period, thanks to the availability of small, inexpensive printing presses. As discussed in chapter 1, in this form of largely private printing, works are produced purely for personal

⁵¹ Thompson, *American Book Design*; Joan Shelley Rubin, *Songs of Ourselves: The Uses of Poetry in America* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2007), 43.

⁵² Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt, Lawrence C. Wroth and Rollo G. Silver. *The Book in America: A History of the Making and Selling of Books in the United States*. 2nd ed. (New York: Bowker, 1951), 267.

⁵³ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 205.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Lehmann-Haupt, *Book in America*, 267; Thompson, *American Book Design*, 205.

pleasure or for sharing amongst a group, as in the productions of members of the National Amateur Press Association.⁵⁶

The revolution in fine printing established an aesthetic for book production that had a pervasive influence, even to the level of the commercial book trade. The influences of Aestheticism, Arts and Crafts, and Art Nouveau figured in different ways in book design. As described by Thompson, for example, the design of trade books also began to reflect the influence of Aestheticism and its Japanese and French influences. Increasingly, many American trade books from the 1890s on had a simple and restrained appearance that emphasized smallness, slimness, simplicity of line, asymmetrical composition, and two-dimensionality.⁵⁷ Arts and Crafts influenced designs were more ornamented than Aesthetic books, with more attention to innovative typography, decorative lettering, and chiaroscuro effects that contrasted dark, heavy ink with the whiteness of the paper.⁵⁸ Both Aestheticist and Arts and Crafts ideals in book design favoured the ample use of white space, the unfinished look of the deckled edge, and handmade paper. Finally, Art Nouveau manifested itself in ornamental ways on books of the period – in the curving, sinuous lines, floral and leafy designs, and interest in the female form characteristic of continental Art Nouveau and the British geometrical and rectilinear style.⁵⁹ All these styles,

⁵⁶ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 5.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 11-13.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 23-6.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

however, Thompson notes, “flow into each other, intermingle, [yet] still remain at least partially distinguishable” in books of the period.⁶⁰

While many of the printing and publishing establishments that this revolution engendered were short-lived, the movement itself had a profound effect on book production into the twentieth century. This was because it fostered the careers of many of those who would go on to become prominent in twentieth-century book-making and typography – men such as Bruce Rogers (1870-1957), Daniel Berkeley Updike (1860-1941), Frederic Goudy (1865-1947), Will Bradley (1868-1962), Thomas Cleland (1880-1964), W. A. Dwiggins (1880-1956), Will Ransom (1878-1955), John Henry Nash (1871-1947), and Carl Purington Rollins (1880-1960).⁶¹ The movement helped to bring about specialization in the printing industry, the separation of “designing” from “making” that, as Thomson argues in her study of the development of America graphic design in this period, marks the emergence of a new profession.⁶² The printers, type designers, and type engravers who began their careers in the 1890s entered the profession in a very different way from their predecessors. For them, apprenticeship was not a necessary prerequisite to taking up their careers. Instead, they might have had an art education or have been self-taught. Bruce Rogers, for example, who became one of the most important book designers of the twentieth century, never worked in a

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., xiii.

⁶² Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design*, 11.

print shop. Similarly, Frederic Goudy, a preeminent type designer, never worked in a foundry.⁶³

As in the literary and artistic spheres where distinctions were emerging between artists and hacks, the distinction between design and manual work in the various aspects of print production established a divide in the field. The emerging professional “graphic designers,” for example, challenged the authority once held by the compositor in the print shop such that, by the early twentieth century, a print shop handbook advised that “nothing . . . be left to the discretion of the compositor.”⁶⁴ Similarly, Goudy insisted on his status as an artist rather than mere mechanic: “I am the first (in this country at least) to attempt to draw letters for types as things artistic as well as useful, rather than to construct them as a mechanic might, without regard for any esthetic considerations.”⁶⁵

The Little Magazines and the Three Print Revolutions

*The craze for ‘fad magazines,’ (‘fadazines,’ we called them) was at its high noon. It was in that miraculous year of our Lord, 1896, and whoever could get possession of a printing press in the United States was helping to burden the news-stands with monthly rubbish, filled with cheap satire and sententious pretension. Art was running amuck through Posterdom, Literature was staggering blindfold, in a drunken spree, and every dog was having his day in journalism (Gelett Burgess).*⁶⁶

The success of the Chap-Book incited a little riot of Decadence and there was a craze for odd sizes and shapes, freak illustrations, wide margins, uncut pages, Jenson types, scurrilous abuse and petty jealousies, impossible prose and doggerel rhyme. The movement asserted itself as a revolt against the commonplace; it aimed to overthrow the staid respectability of the larger

⁶³ Ibid., 63-7.

⁶⁴ Dorr Kimball, *Composing Room Management* (1918), quoted in Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design*, 64.

⁶⁵ Quoted in Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design*, 66.

⁶⁶ Gelett Burgess, *Bayside: Bohemia: Fin de siècle San Francisco and Its Little Magazines* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1954), 25.

magazines and to open to younger writers opportunities to be heard before they had obtained recognition from the autocratic editors (Gelett Burgess).⁶⁷

As Burgess's rather irreverent comments make clear, the little magazines of this period were connected to these three print revolutions. They were part of the magazine explosion that was contributing to the glutting of the newsstands; they exploited the fad for posters; and, aesthetically, they were indebted not only to poster art but also developments in the fine press movement. In these contexts, the little magazines were complexly situated between high and low culture. On the one hand, they were aligned with the ephemeral medium of the magazine and commercial print culture, part of the "monthly rubbish," as Burgess called it, that began to pollute the newsstands in the 1890s. On the other hand, they were high art, representing an important revolt, as Burgess also noted, against the "staid respectability of the larger magazines," combining the avant-garde aesthetic of the modern poster movement with the high art design elements of the fine press movement. At the same time, the editors also claimed for their publications the literary status accorded to books. They were, therefore, like the posters they deployed for advertising purposes, both ephemeral and collectible, at once popular and high art, a contradiction that no doubt prompted Burgess's inconsistent assessments of their value – both as "rubbish" and as aesthetic and artistic "revolt."

"Monthly Rubbish"?: The Little Magazines as Popular Print

The little magazines had a number of links to popular print culture of the 1890s. Like mass-market magazines, the little magazines were cheap – usually five or ten

⁶⁷ Gelett Burgess, *Epi-Lark* (May 1897): n. p.

cents, a cost well below the twenty-five to thirty-five cent genteel magazines. Some were faddish, exploiting and embracing modern trends. There were, for example, little magazines devoted to cycling (*Woman Cyclist*), to smoking (the *Little Smoker*), to Rudyard Kipling, who enjoyed an enormous success in America (the *Kipling Notebook*), and, unsurprisingly, to the fad for poster art (the *Poster* and *Poster Lore*). Their faddishness was also expressed in quirky titles -- Gelett Burgess's the *Lark*, for example, so-called because it was embarked on as a lark. Similar motivations prompted titles such as the *Whim*, *Whims*, *Fad*, and the *Freak*.

The little magazine itself became something of a fad, inspiring parody and mockery. The *Chop-Book*, for example, parodied the *Chap-Book*, while the *Bilioustine* was a parody of Elbert Hubbard's *Philistine*, and *A Little Spasm* mocked Hubbard's *Little Journeys* series. In addition, there were more generalized parodies of the genre -- the *Book Booster*, the *Bauble*, and the *Clack Book*, which began as a parody but soon developed into a more serious-minded little magazine. At the same time, early all-fiction magazines such as the *Black Cat*, the *White Rabbit*, and the *Gray Goose* — precursors to twentieth-century pulp magazines — also sometimes adopted features of the little magazine format. Finally, the little magazines created fads. As Percival Pollard noted of the *Chap-Book*, for example:

The watchword of the *Chap-Book* was: Fads! If there was no fad in existence it created one. It made a fad of artistic posters; it created Mr. Will H. Bradley into a cult. True, both of these subjects of

appreciation had long before been recognized by the discerning few. But the pigmy from Harvard “pushed” its fads at the top of its voice; now it is the shouting man who wins.⁶⁸

Some little magazinists exploited the faddish appeal of the genre, working hard to expand readership. For example, they advertised in their pages for local agents, exchanged advertising space and promotional “puffs” with other little magazines, reported with pride their increasing sales figures, and embraced the modern magazine sales medium of the newsstand. Newsstands underwent massive growth in the 1890s,⁶⁹ and little magazinists recognized the importance of aesthetic appearance in this non-subscription-based distribution system. Before the 1890s, when most magazines reached readers through the mail, changing covers had been unnecessary. With the rise of the newsstand, however, magazines now had to compete for the attentions of the casual passerby.

Little magazines were among the first to feature new covers with each issue (see figures 8.1-8.16).⁷⁰ This practice was initiated by little magazinist Will Bradley in a series of covers for the influential printing trade journal *Inland Printer* and the idea was soon taken up by little magazine publishers.⁷¹ Bradley himself would go on to design covers for a number of little magazines (see figures 8.3, 8.4, 8.8). He also designed posters for such magazines (see figures 4.1-4.3), which, like their mainstream counterparts, used this medium as a promotional and advertising tool. The little magazines, however, took the craze to a new level.

⁶⁸ Pollard, “In Eighteen Ninety-Five,” *Echo* 1.8 (Aug. 1895): 172.

⁶⁹ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 19.

⁷⁰ Finlay, “American Posters,” 48.

⁷¹ Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design*, 42.

They provided significant opportunities for aspiring artists and the poster soon became strongly linked in the public mind with little magazines. For little magazines, with their high art aesthetic and their low price, posters were an important revenue generator. Little magazine publishers soon offered posters in exchange for subscriptions and also sold them separately. Whereas the magazines themselves cost only five or ten cents, their posters might sell for between twenty-five cents and a dollar.

In terms of editorial stance and tone, little magazines also drew on aspects of their mass-market counterparts. Capitalizing on notions of faddishness and ephemerality they employed buzzwords and slang in their titles, subtitles, and mottoes. The terms “new,” “modern,” and “young,” for example recur frequently. “Knock,” meaning “to disparage” or “find fault with” (*Oxford English Dictionary*), was a popular slang term new to this period that was employed in the little magazines; hence titles such as the *Knocker*, the *Kansas Knocker*, and subtitles such as “a periodical of knock,” used to describe the *Bilioustine*, a parody of Elbert Hubbard’s *Philistine*.⁷² This faddish and informal discourse linked little magazines not only with the commercial mass-market magazines but also with the emerging “Yellow journalism,” a bold and aggressive style pioneered by W. T. Stead in Britain and Joseph Pulitzer and William Randolph Hearst in America. Both the yellow journalists and little magazine editors relied heavily on the notion of the “personal style” that, as Victor Margolin insists,

⁷² Faxon, “Ephemeral Bibelots” (1903-1904): 73.

became the “hallmark of magazine journalism” in the 1890s.⁷³ The antithesis of the dry and scholarly style found in the genteel magazines, this style was characterized by sensationalism, controversy, and outspokenness. The little magazine version of this “personal style” manifested itself in a somewhat different way than the sensationalism of the yellow press, however. Its shock effects were based on a playful and irreverent tone, an attitude that ultimately sought to distinguish the little magazines from their mass-market and genteel counterparts. Many little magazinists, for example, flouted the conventions, regulations, and expectations governing magazine publication. These expectations were shaped socially but also legislatively, as in the 1878 postal legislation that mandated what could be carried in the mails at second-class rates. For its purposes, a publication eligible for these rates must meet the following criteria: those issued at regular, stated intervals; those sent from a known office of publication; those made of printed paper without substantial binding as with books; those published with the intention of disseminating information for a legitimate list of subscribers.⁷⁴

While little magazinists usually kept within the realm of the law in order to ensure the distribution of their magazine, they expressed resistance to these expectations and conventions in various ways. They were casual, for example, about their publication schedules and proudly so. The *Ghourki*, for example, its editor claimed, was “published from time to time,” the *Hatchet* “at odd spells,”

⁷³ Margolin, *American Poster*, 36.

⁷⁴ Scott E. Casper, “The Census, the Post Office, and Governmental Publishing,” in *History of the Book in America: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880*, ed. Scott E. Casper et al. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 186.

Home Craft “every new moon or thereabouts,” and *Lucifer’s Lantern*, “whenever the spirit moves.”⁷⁵ Many other examples of this casualness towards periodicity might be given. In some respects, this defiance was partly the pose of the little magazinists’ rebellion against the mainstream. Little magazinists, however, often did have difficulty keeping up a regular schedule and some fell behind, a happening remarked upon humorously in the front matter for the magazine *John-a-Dreams*:

The subscription price of this magazine is One Dollar, which entitles the subscriber to twelve numbers. Just when these numbers will be published is hard to definitely foretell, but since I have called the attention of Mr. Dreams to the statement of Assistant Postmaster-General Ker, that ‘when a publication changes its periodicity, it loses its continuity,’ he sees with me, the importance of making it as nearly a monthly as possible.⁷⁶

Little magazines were also somewhat irreverent about the nature of the informational content of their magazines, another aspect of magazines that the postal regulation of 1878 referenced. Titles such as the *Whim*, *Whims*, the *Fad*, the *Lark*, and the *Freak* fly in the face of the postal legislation’s implication that periodical publications have some use value. So, too, do the subtitles of some of these publications: The *Philosopher*, for example, touted itself as “thoughtful but not too thoughtful;” *Powder Magazine* offered “a little off the top for those who

⁷⁵ [Front matter], *Ghourki* 1.1 (July? 1900), n.p.; Faxon, “Ephemeral Bibelots” (1903-1904): 92, 106.

⁷⁶ “John-a-Dreams, His Ad,” *John-a-Dreams* 1.1 (July 1896), n.p.

are up to snuff;” the *Wet Dog* declared itself “a paper for those with money to burn;” and *Pot-Pourri* represented itself as “an illustrated vagary of paper and ink conducted by a freak.”⁷⁷

In a number of cases, it was appearance and attitude more than actual content that distinguished the little magazines from their mainstream counterparts. Often, there was actually an overlap in content between little magazines and mainstream magazines, a topic I will go into further in Chapter 5. Both mass-market and little magazines, after all, catered to the middle-class preoccupation with self-cultivation. Thus, it is not unusual to find in the pages of more mainstream magazines coverage of many of the same European artists and writers or of the alternative artistic and social cultures promoted in little magazines. What distinguished the little magazines from their mass-market counterparts was the way in which this material was contextualized. Thus, although “popular magazines retained the genteel focus on ‘high culture’ through prominent articles on American and European artists, . . . poets and novelists,” this matter was placed alongside more vulgar sensational human interest stories, gossip, contests, timely journalistic material, and features on celebrities and personalities.⁷⁸

Because the cultural elite “associat[ed] timeliness and journalism with a decline in standards,” it “deplored [this] trend . . . toward up-to-the-minute news and entertainment.”⁷⁹ The editors of the *Chap-Book*, for example, complained of magazines such as *Cosmopolitan*, *Munsey’s*, and *McClure’s* that “sacrifice[d]

⁷⁷ Faxon, “Ephemeral Bibelots” (1903-1904): 107, 125, 126.

⁷⁸ Schneirov, *Dream*, 95.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 56; Ohmann, *Selling Culture*, 234.

literature to pictures” and featured celebrities, gossip, and interviews over true culture.⁸⁰ In the view of little magazinists, mainstream magazines promoted materialism and vulgarized culture by blurring the boundaries between the “high” and the “popular” in this way. Little magazines marketed their product in a very different way. Certainly in the literary and artistic little magazines, the world outside of these spheres, the social and political arena, for example, were avoided as subject matter. Artists and writers did not receive the celebrity treatment they did in the mainstream magazines but were generally accorded a more serious critical treatment.⁸¹

The relationship of little magazines to popular culture was, however, more complicated than the claims of their editors sometimes suggest. Just as the new mass-market magazines exploited highbrow genteel culture in order to appeal to a middle class driven by a zeal for the acquisition of culture, little magazines, as I have indicated, were often based on, exploited, or participated in the creation of popular fads. The *Chap-Book*, for example, was accused by Pollard of creating fads and certainly the magazine was inconsistent in its treatment of popular culture. For example, in an 1895 issue the writer of the “Notes” section complained about mainstream American magazines and their treatment of trivial culture – especially the craze for *Trilby* (a popular novel about the bohemian life

⁸⁰ “Notes,” *Chap-Book* 5.1 (May 15, 1896), 48.

⁸¹ Glazener, *Reading for Realism*, 236.

of artists in Paris by George du Maurier) and bicycling, perhaps forgetting that, in the previous year, the magazine had published a poem and article on *Trilby*.⁸²

Little magazines were not all, then, above catering to the bourgeois sensibilities that they otherwise disparaged. And indeed, some little magazines were very bourgeois indeed, playing it safe in their celebration of the artistic and bohemian lifestyles that were popularized by novels such as *Trilby* and events such as Oscar Wilde's visit to America. In his history of American bohemianism, for example, Albert Parry describes a number of magazines that were linked to the little magazine movement and sought to cash in on the fad for bohemianism.⁸³ Like du Maurier's *Trilby*, these magazines offered a diluted version of Bohemianism. They underplayed its darker and more unconventional aspects and offered a domesticated, rusticated, and Americanized version of the phenomenon.

A publication called the *New Bohemian* (1895-1896), for example, founded in the wake of the Wilde trial, which cast a negative light on the kinds of bohemianism associated with Decadence, sought to redefine the term: "As the chief characteristic of the Old Bohemia was indirection, so is 'Purpose,' the watchword of the New Bohemia. In action our Bohemian finds his greatest

⁸² "Thanksgiving Notes," *Chap-Book* 4.1 (Nov. 15, 1895): 33. Alice Brown, "Trilby," *Chap-Book* 1.4 (July 1, 1894): 91; Louise Imogen Guiney, "Trilby," *Chap-Book* 1.7 (Aug. 15, 1894): 157-60.

⁸³ Albert Parry, *Garretts and Pretenders: A History of Bohemianism in America* (1933. New York: Cosimo Books, 2005). Parry discusses a number of magazines called the *Bohemian* or *New Bohemian* that were issued in Philadelphia, Boston, Buffalo, Fort Worth, New York, Richmond, and Cincinnati (94-97, 146-47, 171-73, 184-86, 261-65). Faxon lists the *New Bohemian* in his 1897 bibliography and the *Bohemians* of Boston and Philadelphia are in his 1903 bibliographies.

pleasure. To strive, to achieve, to uplift is his constant thought.”⁸⁴ In other words, this was a Bohemia very solidly identified with the aims and ideals of America’s middle classes. One reader, for example, even wrote that the *New Bohemian* was “not unpleasant even to the philistines” and another recommended it to the manufacturers of Cincinnati.⁸⁵

Such magazines enabled the middle classes to feel part of a high culture avant-garde, one that validated their own cultural interests. In these magazines, the mass-market and genteel were combined – in format they often resembled these magazines more than they did their more aesthetic little magazine counterparts. Like mass-markets, they included more timely material, but they took the high cultural ground of genteel magazines such as *Harper’s*. They were, however, little magazines insofar as they were received as part of this efflorescence of aesthetic periodicals. “Pretenders,” in Parry’s terms, they may have been. Nevertheless, their existence attests to the broad deployment of ideas associated with high, avant-garde, and aesthetic culture in American middle-class life.

Literary, Artistic, and Aesthetic Revolt: The Little Magazines as High Art

If little magazines bore something in common with mass-market periodicals, they were also linked to other mainstream periodicals – genteel magazines such as *Harper’s*, *Century*, *Scribner’s*, and the *Atlantic Monthly* that were given pride of place in many a middle-class parlour. Though little magazinists claimed, as Burgess said, to be revolting against the “staid respectability” of the genteel

⁸⁴ Quoted in Parry, *Garretts and Pretenders*, 185.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

magazines, they were really continuing and modernizing the cultural mandate of these magazines. The editors of the genteel magazines, as Schneirov documents, had regarded themselves as “cultural custodians” who believed “that the appreciation of good art would serve to improve middle-class tastes and help . . . readers to transcend the mundane world of commerce and consumption.”⁸⁶ But the rise of the mass-market magazine, as I have indicated earlier in this chapter, cut into their market and forced the genteels to engage more with the commercial marketplace and to lighten their content somewhat.

A number of little magazinists thus stepped in to take over the role of “cultural custodian,” though perhaps it might be better to speak of them as transformers rather than as custodians of culture. For, while the little magazinists and the older generation of genteel editors shared a view that good art represented a panacea to the world of commerce and consumption, they often differed in their understanding of what constituted good art. The little magazinists sought at once to reinterpret the high cultural tradition – for example, by valorizing a writer such as Edgar Allan Poe, who was largely neglected in the genteel tradition – and by defining and creating the high culture of the turn of the century. These were custodians of a high culture not so much staid and genteel, as of the old guard, but one modern and young, that of the new guard. While little magazinists, thus, shared commonalities with mainstream magazines – of both the mass-market and genteel varieties, they made concerted efforts to distinguish themselves from such publications and to assert their high cultural authority in a variety of ways.

⁸⁶ Schneirov, *Dream*, 46, 39.

Through their aesthetic preciousness, stated -- though admittedly not always followed -- resistance to commercial and mainstream culture, and promotion of iconoclastic, radical, and avant-garde literary, artistic, and social ideals, they were aligned with high and alternative culture.

Much of the high cultural capital that the little magazines derived resulted from their form and aesthetic appearance. Indeed, the aesthetic of the little magazine was often the main signifier of its high cultural status. Whereas mainstream magazines were bulky and large, featuring densely packed pages, standard typography, half-tone photo-engravings, and a hundred or more pages of advertising (see figure 9.1), little magazines emulated the current trends driving the revolution in fine printing in the realm of book production. Some were even produced by the presses and publishers involved in this movement. Little magazines were small and slim, with little advertising, and were often attractively designed and/or illustrated. If mainstream magazines were clearly identifiable as a commercial product, little magazines were collectible. Many were works of art in themselves and were meant to appeal to bibliophiles. As such, little magazines shared many features of books produced under the influence of the revolution in fine printing as described by Thompson in her account of the movement:⁸⁷ small formats; wide margins; plentiful white space; fleurons and other decorative ornaments, sparingly used; decorated initial letters; rubrication and shoulder notes; old style and experimental typefaces, especially Caslon, Jenson, and gothic and also newly designed typefaces based on older styles; handmade laid paper or

⁸⁷ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 10-27.

imitation handmade paper with deckle edges; floral motif decorations; woodcut illustrations and poster-style art; and decorative features demonstrating the influence of Japonisme, Aestheticism, and Art Nouveau (see figures 8.1-8.16 and 10.1-10.12).

At the same time, there was much experimentation with typography, layout, and design as well as a concerted effort to relate type and illustration to content. Sometimes experimentation went to extremes. Gelett Burgess's one-off publication *Le Petit Journal des Refusées*, for example, was trapezoidal in shape and printed on wallpaper (see figure 10.10). Some magazines experimented with different papers, including bamboo paper (figure 10.11) and butcher's paper (see figure 17.3), and with different colors of ink (see figures 10.6, 10.8). In general, then, the aesthetic quality of the little magazines was striking. As individual issues, the magazines resembled chapbooks and pamphlets that were then much sought after by collectors. When bound as volumes, a service offered by many of the little magazines, they resembled the attractive books issuing from the small presses of the period (see figures 11.1-11.8). This practice was not unique to little magazines. The American middle- and upper-classes of this period were accustomed to having their collections of magazines bound in volumes and mainstream magazines provided this service also. The bulky appearance of a bound volume of *Harper's* would look significantly different than a bound volume of the *Chap-Book* or the *Lark*. Little magazines were prized by collectors and bibliophiles alike. Many people were willing to pay many times the cover

price to secure copies of missed issues. Early out-of-print numbers of the *Chap-Book*, for example, sold for twenty to fifty times the original price of five cents.⁸⁸

Another way in which little magazines were distanced from their mainstream counterparts and aligned with books was through titles, subtitles, and mottoes that belied their status as magazines and linked them to old technologies of print and to book and manuscript culture. The publications were often not referred to as magazines at all, but rather as books, booklets, or little books. There were publications, for example, called *Bradley, His Book*, the *Bachelor Book*, the *Black Book*, and the *Cornhill Booklet*. Others referred to book design features – the *Fly Leaf*, the *Rubric, Red Letter*. Some sought to align themselves with pre-industrial forms or tools of print culture – the *Scroll, Papyrus*, and the *Lotus*, for example.

The terms chap-book and pamphlet were also frequently used, part of an effort to align the little magazines with historically popular and populist forms of print culture. Hence, there was the *Chap-Book*; the *Kit Bag*, subtitled “a chap-book;” the *Optimist* (Orlean, NY), the motto of which characterized it as a pamphlet; the *Fly Leaf*, subtitled variously “A pamphlet periodical of the new” and “A pamphlet of the Century-end.” Little magazinists, thus, often eschewed popularity in a mass-market sense, while embracing pre-industrial popular culture – a culture they associated with populist resistance and revolt. Walter Blackburn Harte, a little magazinist and major spokesperson for the genre, for example, declared that the pamphlet was a “form that has served the purposes of genius and

⁸⁸ Johnson, *American Art Nouveau*, 176.

freedom of thought and belief, when every door of court and church and school was barred with bars of gold and power to all non-conformists.”⁸⁹ Harte regarded the little magazines of the 1890s as inheritors of this role.

Form and function, then, went hand in hand in the little magazine. By aligning their publications with chap-books, pamphlets, and the fine book, little magazinists emphasized their radical, rebellious, avant-garde, and high cultural aims. Harte described little magazines as “an intellectual revolt against the tyrannical, intolerant Smugocracy in letters.” Their aim was to “create a more catholic taste in letters in America,” and to bring about a “modern era in English letters.”⁹⁰ In this project, the magazines were engaged, to varying degrees, in the promotion of elite, alternative, and/or avant-garde literary and artistic movements; the construction of alternative literary and artistic canons; and the publication of the many eager young and emerging writers brought about in the wake of the 1891 Copyright Act.

Beyond these more specific literary and artistic aims, the little magazines also functioned more generally as a cultural medium “for the advocacy of ideas and ideals ignored and smothered in conventional publications.”⁹¹ Or, as William McIntosh, co-founder with Elbert Hubbard of the *Philistine* (1895-1915), declared: “the bibelot is born of the surfeit of the big newspaper. Readers seek it out—stawed with too much for their money. And it is a hopeful sign for

⁸⁹ Quoted in James Doyle, *The Fin de Siècle Spirit: Walter Blackburn Harte and the American/Canadian Literary Milieu of the 1890s* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1995), 89.

⁹⁰ Walter Blackburn Harte, “Bubble and Squeak,” *Lotus* (Feb. 1897), 60.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

individuality in literature that a clean cut idea is valued over time more than the quantity of words on paper Tonnage has had its day in the literature of America.”⁹² Quality was revered above quantity – choice selection vs. glut – and originality and individuality were preferred to mass-market and mainstream.

The ideas and ideals of little magazinists included non-conformist, atheistic, socialist, progressive, and alternative cultural, social, and spiritual values, many of them fringe elements of American middle-class and professional middle-class cultural interests as outlined in Chapter 1: everything from socialism, tax reform, the co-op movement, the pure food movement, and the New Thought and Christian Science to Atheism, Theosophy, astrology, bookplate collecting, clipping collecting, and photography. In propounding their values, the little magazinists’ attitude to the American public was somewhat mixed – part populist and democratic, part elitist and aristocratic. Thus, the optimism of Harte and others about the revolutionary potential of the little magazine was countered by a disdain for the middle-class public. While little magazinists believed in art’s transcendent powers, many had little faith in the abilities of most Americans to appreciate good art and often openly disdained bourgeois middle-class culture. Little magazine editor Vance Thompson (1863-1925) of the radical and witty *M’lle New York* (1895-1896, 1898-1899), for example, referred to the American reading public as a “grotesque aggregation of foolish individuals,” while his associate editor, James Huneker (1857-1921), described America as “barbarous [and] vulgar, . . . conceited and insular, parochial and provincial,” a “land of

⁹² William McIntosh, “The Literary Sweat Shop,” *Philistine* 5.3 (Oct. 1896): 132.

humbug and debased dollars.”⁹³ The editors of the *Chap-Book*, for their part, frequently disparaged the philistinism of American middle-class readers, and insisted that their readership was composed of the “few,” the “illuminate”⁹⁴ -- those cultivated few capable of appreciating fine art.

This tension between democratic and elitist and popular and high art principles of the little magazines was, of course, reflective of the broader conflict between commerce and culture in American middle-class life of this period. This class was directly implicated in the commercialization and industrialization of American life, while at the same time it reacted against and sought refuge from it in culture. This tension also underwrote, as Eileen Boris suggests, the middle-class interest in Arts and Crafts.⁹⁵ In addition, however, the disparagement of the little magazinists for the middle class was also part of an increasingly familiar trope in European Aesthetic and Decadent literary and artistic culture -- the rallying cry derived from French Decadents to “*épater le bourgeois*.” Though designed to repel the middle class, increasingly art and literature with such an intention was becoming appealing to this audience, particularly in Britain and America. It was part of the sell. As Jonathan Freedman has compellingly argued about fin-de-siècle artistic culture in Britain and America, the “‘alienated artist’ could (and did) achieve a considerable degree of financial success and social status in the very world whose utilitarian and moralistic ethos those writers and

⁹³ [Vance Thompson], Foreword, *M’lle New York* 1.1 (Aug. 1895): n. p.; James Gibbons Huneker, “The Raconteur,” *Musical Courier* 34 (March 24, 1897): 21.

⁹⁴ “Notes,” *Chap-Book* 2.9 (March 15, 1895): 383.

⁹⁵ Boris, “‘Dreams’,” 209.

artists claimed to rebel against.”⁹⁶ Young artists and writers of the fin-de-siècle well understood the “ability of an advanced consumer society to transform criticisms of that society into objects of consumption”⁹⁷ – and they profited from it. If it was typically middle-class to appreciate culture that strove to be anti-middle class, it was also middle-class to produce such literature and art. As Arthur Symons, himself a British producer of Decadent literature, noted of the class origins of this artistic movement, “the desire to ‘bewilder the middle classes’ is itself middle class.”⁹⁸ In America, like in Britain, most of those involved in the production of the seemingly anti-middle-class little magazines were, as I have outlined in Chapter 1, themselves middle-class.

This relationship between commerce and culture, high and low art forms, though not absent in European manifestations of the form, was more noticeable in America.⁹⁹ Overall, Americans seem to have been better able to smooth over the seemingly contradictory aims of art and commerce. Aestheticism in America, for example, as Michèle Mendelssohn has demonstrated, “had a much wider appeal [than in Britain] and was proposed in a more popular, smilingly consumerist

⁹⁶ Freedman, *Professions of Taste*, 54.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

⁹⁸ Arthur Symons, *The Symbolist Movement in Literature*. 1899 (New York: Dutton, 1958), 4.

⁹⁹ Many critics have examined the ways in which British Aestheticism and Decadence were far more implicated in the commercial marketplace than their proponents claimed. In addition to Freedman, see for example, Regenia Gagnier, *Idylls of the Marketplace: Oscar Wilde and the Victorian Public* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1986); Kirsten MacLeod, *Fictions of British Decadence: High Art, Popular Writing, and the fin de siècle* (Houndmills, UK: Palgrave, (2006); Laurel Brake, ‘Endgames: The Politics of the *Yellow Book* or, Decadence, Gender, and the New Journalism’, *Essays and Studies* 48 (1995): 38–64; Margaret Diane Stetz, ‘Sex, Lies, and Printed Cloth: Bookselling at the Bodley Head in the Eighteen Nineties’, *Victorian Studies* 35.1 (1991): 71–86.

form.”¹⁰⁰ Decadence too, as David Weir has argued, was far more implicated with popular culture in America than in Europe as a consequence of the nation’s “capitalist, commercial context.”¹⁰¹ This extended beyond the literary and artistic realm to the realm of material production too. American Arts and Crafts proponents, Wendy Kaplan observes, “saw no contradiction between championing both the handcrafted and the improvement of the mass-produced.”¹⁰²

Because of this more welcoming attitude to the new technologies of mass culture, American Arts and Crafts producers were more successful than William Morris at bringing beautifully designed goods to a larger public. Certainly, this aim underwrote many of the fine press establishments and the related little magazines that emerged in the fin de siècle. While some of these presses sought to appeal to an elite realm of collectors, many sought to create beautiful books that fell within an affordable range for the emerging middle-class bibliophile. Thomas Mosher, for example, put “beautiful” publications of “literary distinction . . . within reach of those who appreciate beauty but cannot possess it at exorbitant prices.”¹⁰³ These included his books and his little magazine, the *Bibelot*. Similarly, Hubbard made Craftsman-style products available to Americans of more modest means and cultivated among them a love of fine books.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁰ Michèle Mendelssohn, *Henry James, Oscar Wilde, and Aesthetic Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 13.

¹⁰¹ David Weir, *Decadent Culture in the United States: Art and Literature Against the American Grain 1890-1926* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2007), xvi.

¹⁰² Wendy Kaplan, “Spreading the Crafts,” 306.

¹⁰³ Joseph Blumenthal, *The Printed Book in America* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1977), 42.

¹⁰⁴ Boris, “‘Dreams’,” 216; Kaplan, “Spreading the Craft,” 319.

American little magazinists were, thus, skilled at bringing together popular and high culture. Certainly their stated preference for a small audience of like-minded souls must be regarded with some skepticism given their exploitation of popular media, technologies, and promotional techniques and their knowledge of the “popularity” of particular forms of high culture in middle-class American life. These magazines were produced by and for a middle-class readership, a self-consciously progressive class with a strong investment in the acquisition of culture and cultural capital. The little magazines, Glazener notes, represented “an alternative kind of cultural capital”¹⁰⁵ that gave both their producers and their readers a sense of rising above the crass and vulgar commercialism of late nineteenth-century American life.

In this respect, these magazines served much the same function as the Arts and Crafts movement of which some of them were a part. This movement, argues Eileen Boris, functioned as a panacea for industrialization, enabling its proponents to step outside the corporate order and find “autonomy within a renewed secular community.”¹⁰⁶ The little magazines offered a similar appeal – both aesthetically and psychologically. Like the finely crafted Arts and Crafts object, these daintily-produced magazines differed significantly from their mass-produced counterparts. At the same time, they offered their readers a sense of community – of being part of an exclusive and sophisticated group – instead of as part of a mass. The little magazines addressed their readers as those in the know, those with a privileged perspective on culture and the arts unavailable in the mass-market periodicals or

¹⁰⁵ Glazener, *Reading for Realism*, 237.

¹⁰⁶ Boris, “‘Dreams’,” 209.

the too genteel family-house magazines. And yet, they were certainly part of a broader middle-class culture. As this chapter has sought to demonstrate, there was a fine line, in these magazines, between the *Yellow Book* and the yellow press – i.e the avant-garde aesthetic of the little magazine and the popular aesthetic of mass-market culture.

CHAPTER 3

Making Magazines:

The Material Conditions of Production and Distribution

[During the] Chapbook Renaissance of Eighteen Hundred Ninety-five and Eighteen Hundred Ninety-six . . . [e]very man with two or three ideas and ten dollars' capital started a magazine. (Elbert Hubbard)¹

Having outlined the cultural origins of the little magazines and relevant trends in magazine and book publishing industries, I turn now to a more detailed examination of the conditions governing the production and distribution of magazines, especially economic factors. I begin by establishing the larger context of “big” magazine production and distribution: what were the major costs and how were these met? I then go on to compare this form of production with that of the little magazines. I end the chapter with a discussion of the account of one little magazine’s production – the *Lark* – considering to what extent this might be taken as a representative scenario.

Magazine Production in the 1890s: The “Big” Magazines

When the little magazines came onto the scene in the mid 1890s, the magazine marketplace was, as I have described, in the midst of a transformation sparked by advances in printing technologies, enhanced distribution systems, and the growth of national advertising. The magazine revolution brought about a huge increase in the circulation of magazines. Between 1885 and 1895, the number of magazines with circulations of over 100,000 increased by over 300%, from twenty-one to

¹ Hubbard, “Joseph Addison,” 78.

sixty-eight.² These big sellers included new mass-market magazines and older popular genteel magazines such as *Harper's* and *Century*. Circulations of roughly half a million were being achieved by some of the ten-cent mass-market upstarts, but sales of over a million would not occur until just after the turn of the century.³ Lured by the promise of big financial rewards, many players entered the field, investing in magazines. While there was much to be gained financially in magazines, they required an investment of time to make them successful. At least half, in this period, were not. Between 1885 and 1905, about one in every two magazines issued was discontinued or merged.⁴

Moreover, though the advent of national advertising represented unprecedented opportunities for profit, successful magazines were costly to produce. One journalist of the period estimated that an issue of a popular monthly mainstream magazine cost \$10,000 for contributors and illustrations, even before printing and distribution costs.⁵ Editors of the major magazines commanded between \$100 and \$200 per week or between \$5000 and \$10,000 a year.⁶ “Star” authors could make a significant amount of money for magazine work in this period – over \$10,000 for a serial in some cases.⁷ For the majority of writers, however, such work was far less remunerative. Quality magazines paid up to \$10 a page or $\frac{3}{4}$ of a cent per word, while the new popular mass-markets paid half as

² Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 17.

³ *Ibid.*, 16.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 15.

⁶ Sedgwick, “Magazines,” 414.

⁷ In the 1890s, popular British writers such as Rudyard Kipling, George du Maurier and Mrs. Humphrey Ward were offered between \$12,000 and \$20,000 in serial rights by American magazines (Sedgwick, “Magazines,” 419).

much.⁸ Some magazines paid as low as ¼ of a cent per word.⁹ Unknown writers could expect to make ½ cent to a cent a word in this period.¹⁰ Poetry garnered a somewhat better pay rate – 25 cents a line might be expected.¹¹

In terms of total income, capable hard-working writers might expect to earn between \$750 and \$1000 a year if they were willing to publish in newspapers also.¹² This income, higher than the national average of this period of \$483, was on a par with that of a clerical worker or federal employee.¹³ Authorship may have been emerging as a profession, but the pay, for most writers, did not amount to a professional salary. To make a living in magazines solely through poetry was nigh on impossible. In 1890, Edward Bok estimated that the best poet could expect only to make \$306 per year.¹⁴ Most magazinists probably earned closer to a working-class than a professional wage. The situation was better for illustrators who were paid twice as much as writers.¹⁵ Illustration, after all, as I have said in the previous chapter, drove magazine sales and the average active illustrator in this period could expect to make \$4000 a year.¹⁶ Some, such as Frederic Remington and Charles Dana Gibson earned far more.¹⁷

Printing and distribution were further costs of production. Improvements in technology, notably the development of the rotary press, stereotype engraving,

⁸ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 39.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid., 40.

¹² Sedgwick, "Magazines," 422.

¹³ Ibid., 424, 422.

¹⁴ Ibid., 422.

¹⁵ Ibid., 408.

¹⁶ Bogart, *Artists*, 26.

¹⁷ Ibid.

and photoengraving, brought costs down and made more possible. Rotary presses, employed by many of the mass-circulation periodicals, resulted in production time ten times faster than flatbed presses. Major newspapers and magazines often ran their own printing plants, updated with the latest technologies. Such a plant would have numerous presses and binding and cutting machines. Curtis, for example, the publisher of *Ladies Home Journal* and *Saturday Evening Post* had two printing plants, one of which had 49 presses and 21 binding and cutting machines. Large print shops such as these used mass-production techniques -- assembly lines, conveyer systems, and timed production scheduling -- producing as many as 25,000 copies per day.¹⁸ Harper's is another notable example of a large publishing firm that had its own elaborate printing establishment (see figure 12.1).¹⁹

While major publishing firms managed their own printing establishments, distribution was largely monopolized by the American News Company (ANC) and its thousands of agencies across the country.²⁰ The ANC provided an important service for magazines but took a large chunk out of the potential revenue for magazines. One of the reasons cheap magazines were so slow to emerge was because of the ANC's refusal to distribute these magazines that, at such a low price, afforded them very little profit. Cheap magazine publisher Frank

¹⁸ Mary Ellen Waller-Zuckerman, "'Old Homes in a City of Perpetual Change': Women's Magazines, 1890-1916," *Business History Review* 63 (1989): 724.

¹⁹ A highly detailed illustrated account of the Harper printing establishment is given in Jacob Abbott's *The Harper Establishment: Or, How the Story Books Are Made* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1855), on the Internet Archive, <http://www.archive.org/details/harperestablishm00abbo>.

²⁰ On the American News Company see, Waller-Zuckerman, "Old Homes," 745-6; Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 18.

Munsey defied the ANC, establishing his own distribution company, leading the ANC eventually to handle the ten-cent magazines. But the company still took a significant cut. On the price of a ten-cent magazine, magazine publishers only earned five cents from a sale, the other five shared between the distributing agent and the newsdealer.²¹

Manifestly, then, the sale price of the magazine itself was not sufficient to earn a substantial profit. In most cases, it was not even enough to pay for the costs of producing the magazine. Magazines generated income for these costs, including the phenomenal rates paid to “star” contributors, largely through advertising revenue. Beginning in this period, advertising far surpassed subscription as a revenue generator for magazines. Major magazines charged between \$150 and \$250 per page for advertising and these magazines might have well over one hundred pages of ads.²² There were advantages to being in the trade, however. Often magazines exchanged advertising space with each other.²³ Subscriptions retained importance, however, if only for justifying the costs charged to advertisers. Magazines in this period, therefore, developed a number of strategies for building circulation. They exchanged or offered free subscriptions to other magazine and newspaper editors in the hopes of receiving coverage in other publications, and they offered incentives to readers for drumming up subscriptions, virtually turning readers into local subscription agents.²⁴

²¹ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 19.

²² *Ibid.*, 21.

²³ *Ibid.*, 22.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 17-18.

Magazine Production in the 1890s: The Little Magazines

The circulation of little magazines was a fraction of that of the bestselling periodicals – though within the genre itself there was a wide range.²⁵ At the low end were periodicals that circulated from a few to a few hundred periodicals. In rare cases, at the high end, little magazines might achieve sales of over one hundred thousand, as was the case with Elbert Hubbard's *Philistine* and a Chicago-based story magazine called *Four O'Clock*. In general, however, the majority of little magazines seem to have circulated, according to the claims of their publishers and editors, in the 3,000 to 10,000 range. The little magazines, then, were a small part of the overall magazine market, yet they were still subject to the changing conditions of production and distribution that affected mainstream magazines. How did little magazinists make a go of publishing what they claimed were non-commercial publications in an increasingly commercial marketplace? What were the factors affecting the economics of little magazine production, especially in comparison with their mainstream counterparts?

As with mainstream magazines, contributors were a central consideration in the production of the magazine. In comparison with mainstream magazines, the rates offered to authors and illustrators were on the low side. A number of the little magazines were coterie publications, with editors soliciting contributions from their circle of acquaintances and friends. Some little magazines offered no

²⁵ Unfortunately, figures and statistics are not as available for little magazines as they are for other types of magazines. Archival records for most of the magazines are non-existent, only sometimes do the magazines themselves contain information regarding circulation (and these figures may not be entirely reliable), and circulations for the little magazines are mostly not listed (even if the magazines themselves are) in the Ayer newspaper directories for the relevant years.

payment at all, just the glory of appearing in their pages. The editor of *John-a-Dreams* explained that “the labor and expense necessary to . . . give a hearing to worthy work” made it impossible to offer payment for accepted manuscripts for at least a few years.²⁶ Of course, this made it difficult to get worthy work. When Walter Blackburn Harte established his own little magazine, the *Fly Leaf*, in 1895, he attempted to solicit contributions from his notable literary friends but admitted, “I shall probably have to do a great deal of the writing myself, as I cannot afford to pay for contributions.”²⁷ Indeed, the first issue was written almost entirely by him.

Occasionally, little magazines ran contests, offering money for the best literary or artistic submission received. The *Lotus*, for example, when it first began and was an intercollegiate literary magazine, offered a prize of \$25 for the best piece of short fiction appearing in the first four issues (maximum 2500 words).²⁸ Similarly, the *Raven*, an Oakland-based little magazine, offered prizes of \$20, \$10, \$5, and \$3.50 for the four best short stories submitted over a six-month period. The catch? The *Raven* indicated that participants must take a six-month subscription to the magazine for 50 cents.²⁹ Contests such as these were a clever ploy – creating an incentive for submission and enhancing the subscriber base.

²⁶ This information was reported in “The American Fraternity of Writers” column in the *Editor* for March 1897 (87), a useful magazine for aspiring writers that provided practical information about the business of writing.

²⁷ Doyle, *Fin-de-siècle Spirit*, 93.

²⁸ [Back matter], *Lotus* 1.1 (Nov. 1895): n. p.

²⁹ “Prizes for Stories,” *Oakland Tribune* (November 17, 1899): 4.

When authors were paid, they were paid very modestly – probably at the low end of the range – $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ a cent per word. For example, solicitations for contributions from little magazines that appeared in the *Editor: A Journal of Information for Literary Workers* were apologetic about low rates. Harte was eventually able to offer some remuneration to contributors based on advertising revenue when he edited the *Fly Leaf* and later when he became editor of the *Lotus*.³⁰ This magazine had an explanatory statement that undoubtedly applied to many other little magazines as well: “while our checks will not always be large, we will always have a complete understanding with the contributors before using their work.”³¹ Similarly, the editor of the *Red Letter* commented, “rates of payment . . . are not high as yet and they depend entirely upon merit, not length. . . Editorial management is frank and reliable.”³²

These editors’ comments concerning editorial reliability point to the problems authors often had in securing payment. Many of these magazines were fly-by-night operations or on the verge of financial crisis. Even the *Chap-Book*, one of the more successful little magazines, had complaints made against it regarding terms and payment from a number of authors.³³ If some magazines offered no money or were remiss in their payments, others demanded payment from the author for publication, an unscrupulous practice of magazines of all kinds noted frequently in the pages of the *Editor*. This practice accounts for

³⁰ Doyle, *Fin-de-siècle Spirit*, 93-4.

³¹ As reported in “Notes of Periodicals,” *Editor* (July 1896): 18.

³² F. H. R. Poole, “Boston Notes,” *Editor* (Dec. 1896): 245.

³³ Wendy Schlereth, *Chap-Book*, 11-12.

Swisher's quip in the front matter of the *Ghourki*: "We pay for no contributions and charge nothing for printing those we accept."³⁴

Editors of little magazines hardly fared better than authors. For many, the magazine was a labor of love. More successful little magazines, such as the *Chap-Book*, may have offered a reasonable sum. Stone and Kimball were, after all, able to secure the popular poet Bliss Carman (1861-1929) as editor. Walter Blackburn Harte (1867-1899), however, apparently made only \$8 a week as editor of the *Lotus*. Gelett Burgess, editor of the *Lark*, made somewhat more -- \$75 per month by the second year of the magazine's publication.³⁵ These salaries stand in sharp contrast with the \$100 to \$200 per week paid to editors of major magazines.

Harte's yearly editorial salary, on these terms, was less than that of a manufacturing labourer.³⁶ Meanwhile, the *Ghourki* was undoubtedly wholly a labour of love for its editor, Howard Llewellyn Swisher (1870-?), who worked full time running a print shop. He called it a "recreation," a diversion," and cited his full time labour as the reason for the irregular frequency of the publication.³⁷

The printing of little magazines occurred in a far different context than that of the big magazines and newspapers that had their own printing plants. The large-scale printing plant was only one aspect of a multifaceted trade that, from the 1840s on, became structured around distinct kinds of jobs. Large newspapers and magazines represented one kind of printing, books another. Both these types

³⁴ *Ghourki* 1.1 (July? 1901): n. p.

³⁵ Gelett Burgess to Miss Keene, 23 July 1928, cited in Robert D. Harlan, *At the Sign of the Lark* (Book Club of California, 1983), 28.

³⁶ Doyle, *Fin-de-Siècle Spirit*, 107; Sedgwick, "Magazines," 415.

³⁷ "Harangues to the Ghourki by the Chief of the Tribe," *Ghourki* 1.5 (Dec. 1901): 162.

of printing operations tended to be based in large cities and employed hundreds of workers. Jobbing printers, located in cities and towns all over America, did all other kinds of print work, possibly even local book and magazine work, and employed a dozen or so workers. In addition, there were general printers, mostly in larger cities, that did a bit of everything. There were also, of course, printing establishments that specialized in art and illustration -- Louis Prang of Boston, for example, the premier producer of chromolithographs in the nineteenth century.³⁸ In the 1890s, when the poster revolution was in full swing, there were twenty poster firms in the country dealing only in posters and representing investments of three million dollars.³⁹

There were a large variety of presses available for all the different kinds of printing work, ranging in cost from a few hundred dollars to tens of thousands of dollars. Obviously the large and expensive rotary presses capable of producing on a mass scale would have no place in a small printing establishments. Similarly, books, which were also produced on a smaller scale than newspapers and where a higher quality of print was desired, required particular kinds of presses. All print shops, at whatever level, usually required a variety of presses to suit the different kinds of jobs they did. While jobbing presses were small-scale in comparison with the massive operations of large book, newspaper, and magazine printing shops,

³⁸ For a description of Prang's elaborate "printory," as he called it, see Marzio, *Democratic Art*, 159-61.

³⁹ Margolin, *American Poster*, 21.

they often had a number of different machines because they were called upon to do a greater variety of jobs than book and newspaper printers.⁴⁰

The technological advances in this period attract a lot of scholarly attention as a transformative force in print culture. It is important to remember, however, that the new rarely supplants the old with any great immediacy and that the new is not always better than the old. As Michael Winship notes, often the new printing presses, because more specialized, were actually less versatile than older presses.⁴¹ Thus, even print shops with the most up-to-date equipment might use older equipment if, for example, quality rather than quantity was preferred. In a typical jobbing shop of the period, one might thus find a range of old hand presses, flat-bed presses, and mechanical cylinder presses. Older presses continued to be used in print shops well into the twentieth century.⁴² In the 1870s, for example, a large New York general printing establishment, Thomas Hart and Co., had twelve cylinder presses (used for book and magazine work), two Gordon platen jobbers, two smaller “card” platen jobbers, and two hand presses.⁴³ By comparison, a smaller jobbing establishment, at about the same period, had two Adams presses (for book work), two jobbing presses, and one hand press.⁴⁴

Little magazines were produced in a variety of printing contexts, from large print shops through to private presses and amateur home setups. It is

⁴⁰ Winship, “Manufacturing and Book Production,” in *A History of the Book in America, Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 42.

⁴¹ Ibid., 57.

⁴² Ibid., 42.

⁴³ Ibid., 58.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 42.

impossible, therefore, to assess how much of the cost of the magazine lay in its production. Little magazines were created using old technologies, new technologies, or combinations of the two. While some producers of little magazines valorized the hand press, others were not averse to using machine-powered presses to achieve old-style effects. In many cases, older machines produced the higher aesthetic quality many little magazines were seeking. And sometimes speed interfered with quality. In explaining why they were changing from a weekly to a monthly magazine, the editors of *Chips*, for example, said of their printing process:

To obtain the best results in printing, CHIPS must be printed on flat bed presses run at a low speed, and in order to print copies necessary for our large and increasing circulation, we find it impossible to perform the labor within the week. Having in view the production of the best in typography and art, it is found necessary, therefore, to issue CHIPS monthly instead of weekly.⁴⁵

Though some little magazines may have issued from their own publishers' print shops, these shops would not have been on the scale of those of Harper's or Curtis. Elbert Hubbard is an example here, probably of the largest printing establishment for little magazine production. Primarily, however, little magazines were small-scale productions and their publishers looked to appropriate printers for such work. Some, those based in larger cities, may have used local book printers, such as the publishers of the *Chap-Book* who used the Lakeside Press,

⁴⁵ "Chips for 1896," *Chips* 2.17 (Dec. 28, 1895): n. p.

the city's largest book printing firm.⁴⁶ More, however, would have turned to general presses that did a variety of types of printing. Other types of printers involved in the production of little magazines included state printers, yearbook and schoolbook printers, and university presses.⁴⁷ Some little magazine publishers may have separated the composition work from the printing, using a designer for the layout and having the mechanical work done at a commercial jobbing press. This separation of design from production work was a result of the influence of the fine press movement and of the larger forces of professionalization affecting the trade that led to the birth of graphic design in America in this period.⁴⁸

In many cases, as I have already indicated, however, little magazines were part of an emerging private press trend in printing. The term private press, as Roderick Cave notes, is notoriously difficult to define and must really be adapted to particular historical contexts. Technically, a private press refers to a non-commercial establishment run by a private individual, but this definition is exceedingly narrow, excluding figures such as William Morris, who are strongly associated with this tradition.⁴⁹ Cave endorses John Carter's definition of the private press principle as one most applicable to the late nineteenth and twentieth century context: "the principle that, whether or not the press has to pay its way,

⁴⁶ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 102.

⁴⁷ C. P. Byrd, state printer for Georgia, for example, was one of the printers of the *Alkahest* (*Alkahest*, April 1898).

⁴⁸ See Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design*, 60-68.

⁴⁹ Roderick Cave, *The Private Press* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), 16.

the printer is more interested in making a good book than a fat profit. He prints what he likes, how he likes.”⁵⁰

This principle certainly applies to a good number of the printer/publishers of little magazines, those, for example, who operated jobbing presses and did commercial work, but whose little magazines were a labour of love. The Philosopher Press in Wausau, Wisconsin, for example, did newspaper and commercial work, while also doing private press work on the side, including a little magazine, the *Philosopher*, as well as some fine press books.⁵¹ In Morgantown, West Virginia, where the *Ghourki* was published, Harold Llewellyn Swisher ran a fairly large print shop employing from 25 to 50 people.⁵² Finally, as I have already discussed, little magazines were also produced in an amateur context, by individuals using cheap printing presses sold for home use. These presses produced quite good quality, guaranteeing professional results, though obviously at a much slower speed.⁵³

Distribution methods and costs for little magazines were less variable than the printing processes. Like their mass-market counterparts, little magazines were subject to the same conditions as big magazines if they wanted their product distributed by the ANC. Since the cost of little magazines was also, in most cases, low, distribution represented a considerable expense, particularly for publications

⁵⁰ Ibid., 17.

⁵¹ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 199.

⁵² Ad for The Chief's Print Shop [Acme Publishing Co.], *Ghourki* 3.2-3 (Sept.-Oct. 1903): n. p. In the June 1903 issue of the *Ghourki*, Swisher claimed it the printing plant and bindery cost him \$50,000 (“Harangues to the Ghourki,” 2).

⁵³ Paula Petrik, “Juvenile Publishing,” in *Encyclopedia of Children and Childhood in History and Society*, at <http://www.faqs.org/childhood/In-Ke/Juvenile-Publishing.html>.

that relied very little on advertising. Short of relying solely on subscription revenue, which surprisingly few little magazines did, there was almost no way of avoiding this cost except, as Mott notes, if one worked with some of the independent dealers and wholesalers that operated in the 1890s.⁵⁴ Some little magazines may have engaged in this practice. W. E. Price, editor of the *Book-Lover*, sought to eliminate the middleman by selling direct to subscribers and to retailers. He aimed to maintain a delicate balance between ensuring enough revenue from direct subscribers and supporting the newsdealers and booksellers whose displays provided important publicity for his magazine.⁵⁵ Most little magazines, however, as evidenced by the acknowledgements on their inside cover and title pages, went through the traditional channel of the ANC and its agents throughout the country.

How, then, did little magazines meet the costs of production and distribution? Little magazine publishers generally could not expect much revenue from advertising. Little magazinists, as I have suggested, distinguished their publications from mass-market periodicals as non-commercial products and wanted the freedom to publish when and what they wished. Also, the small format and style of paper used were not conducive to advertising. At the same time, the relatively small subscription base of most little magazines did not make them a particularly attractive vehicle for advertisers. Little magazines, therefore, unlike their mainstream counterparts, generally had little to no advertising. Quite a few

⁵⁴ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 19.

⁵⁵ "Ego Notes," *Book-Lover* 1.3 (Winter 1900): n.p.; "Ego Notes," *Book-Lover* 1.4 (Spring 1900): n.p. Price provides substantial commentary on the vagaries of magazine publishing in the pages of the *Book-Lover*.

little magazines carried none at all, while others limited advertising to the alternative publishing field -- small literary publishing firms, small printing firms, booksellers, and other little magazines. This space might well have been offered for free or on an exchange-for-services or payment-in-kind basis. Evidence of this practice, for example, appears in the pages of Swisher's *Ghourki* in which he prints a letter from "Tucheta" ("Bright Bird,"), whose real name was Ora V. Eddleman. Eddleman, editor of a magazine called *Twin Territories*, complimented Swisher on his magazine and offering him a subscription and advertising space exchange.⁵⁶ Sometimes advertising for local firms was included and, less often, some national advertising appeared in the pages of little magazines. Often, little magazine publishers stipulated that they would only include advertising that was in keeping with the character of the magazine. *Chips*, for example, declared in its first issue, "[t]wo pages only of each issue are devoted to advertising of the better class. The publishers reserve the right to reject advertisements not meeting with their approval."⁵⁷ Sometimes they insisted on designing the ads themselves, as in the case of *Bradley, His Book*.⁵⁸

For the most part, little magazines did not list their advertising rates, offering to provide them only on request. Available figures, however, indicate that little magazines charged rates well below those of mass-market magazines. The *Thistle*, a modest little magazine, one that probably had a circulation of a few thousand, charged \$18 a page for advertising, while *Chips*, which claimed a

⁵⁶ *Ghourki* 2.1 (Aug. 1902): 368.

⁵⁷ *Chips* 1.1 (March 1895): n.p. [inside cover].

⁵⁸ "At the End of the Book: The Character of Some Future Numbers Together with Notes of General Interest," *Bradley, His Book* 1.1 [May 1896]: n.p.).

circulation of 10,000, charged \$30 a page, and *Alkahest*, which claimed a circulation of 50,000 charged \$20 a page.⁵⁹ Even Will Bradley, whose magazine *Bradley, His Book*, featured beautifully designed poster-quality ads by Bradley himself (see figures 16.3 and 16.4), only charged \$50 a page in comparison with the rates of \$100 and up of major mass-market magazines.⁶⁰ After the success of ‘A Message to Garcia,’ Hubbard’s advertising rate for the *Philistine* was quite high at \$100 a page, with Hubbard claiming a circulation of 110,000.⁶¹

Without advertising as a major revenue generator, little magazine publishers relied on subscription and newsstand sales. In addition, however, little magazine publishers were sometimes able to derive a sufficient amount of additional income through the sales of posters and back issues of their magazines. Numerous magazine publishers, as I have indicated in Chapter 2, exploited the poster craze of the period and had a number of specially designed posters that they sold for anywhere from twenty-five cents to a dollar, a price substantially more than the cost of the magazine itself. At the same time, sometimes little magazines achieved a greater success than their editors anticipated. If, after a couple of issues, their magazine began to gain a following, they were able to

⁵⁹ “The Thistle Advertiser,” *Thistle* 1.1 (March 1902): iv; [Back matter], *Chips* 2.13 (23 Nov. 1895): n.p. *Alkahest*’s claim of a circulation of 50,000 appears in the September 1896 issue ([front matter]), which indicates that so many copies will be printed of the October number to “be distributed in all parts of the civilized world (n.p.). In November 1897, however, they are claiming only 5,000 subscribers and are aiming for 10,000 (Advertisement for the *Alkahest*, *Alkahest* 3.3 [Nov. 1897]: n. p.). These figures may suggest an overinflated circulation claim, though not necessarily. Subscribers, after all, represent only a percentage (often a very small one) of overall sales.

⁶⁰ *Bradley, His Book* 1.3 (1896): n. p. [inside back cover]; Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 21.

⁶¹ *Philistine* 14.5 (April 1902): n. p. [front advertising pages].

charge as much as fifty cents for scarce earlier issues.⁶² Generating revenue in this way, however, was not all that efficient. The poster fad was, after all, temporary and, even then, selling posters is not the same as selling magazines. As little magazine publishers soon came to learn, many of those who sought out their posters “did not think of buying the magazine advertised; they only wanted the poster.”⁶³ As for back issues, there were only so many copies in existence. Some magazines attempted to buy issues back in order to provide full sets for subscribers. Very occasionally, a magazine would put out a second edition of an issue.

Given these various factors of production, what was the cost of producing a little magazine and how much profit could be made from it? Because of the variability of the contexts in which they were printed, it is difficult to arrive at an average figure. Also, there is a significant lack of data concerning the economics of little magazines. Certainly, the cost was nowhere near the \$10,000 (before printing) claimed for popular magazines, though it was probably usually more than the \$10 claimed by Hubbard in the quotation that begins this chapter.⁶⁴ One little magazinist, Gelett Burgess, claimed that it cost \$100 to put together the first number of the *Lark*, which sold 3000 copies.⁶⁵ At five cents per issue, this

⁶² An advertisement for back issues in *Chips* 2.9 (Nov. 1895): n. p. [back matter] offers the first number at 50 cents, numbers 2-4 at 35 cents, numbers 5 and 6 at 25 cents, number 7 at 15 cents, and number 8 at 10 cents.

⁶³ “A Fad that Has Passed Away,” *NY Tribune* 18 Aug. 1901, quoted in Finlay, “American Posters,” 51.

⁶⁴ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 15.

⁶⁵ Carolyn Wells, “What a Lark,” *Colophon*, Part 8 (1931): 11. Other little magazinists who divulged cost related information include W. E. Price, of the *Book-Lover*, and Willard Holcomb, Will A. Page and Harry Chipman Bursley,

represented a profit of \$50, \$600 for a year if the magazine was sustained at the same cost and rate. Actually, however, the *Lark* eventually achieved sales of 5000 copies,⁶⁶ and increased its price to ten cents an issue, thereby potentially netting a significantly larger profit, ten times as much, if the costs remained the same. The success of the *Lark* probably came as a surprise to its founders Burgess and Bruce Porter who had, as Burgess said, embarked on the project merely for fun. They were not interested in having subscribers because they wanted to be free to quit when they chose.⁶⁷ Perhaps this is why, in the first two numbers, they advertised a subscription rate of one dollar a year, which was more than the newsstand cost of the magazine. By Burgess's account, the *Lark* was successful, and was a profit-making venture when he brought it to an end after two years to seek work out East.

Precisely what did \$100 produce in the context of a little magazine? The *Lark* was a sixteen-page octavo funded and published by William Doxey,⁶⁸ a prominent local bookseller and publisher. It was a reaction against the earnestness and "sophistication," as Burgess said, of the *Chap Book*: "Bruce and I, we said, why not make an *original* contribution, not dependent on others' work, no satire, no parody, no criticism – no local color, no timeliness – just an expression of the

editors of the *Bauble*. Price claimed that the increase in the price of paper by three cents in between 1899 and 1900 had increased the cost of production of his 13,000 copies by \$390 – though he does not say what the total cost is ("Ego Notes," Summer 1900: B). Meanwhile, the much smaller-scale, amateur-produced *Bauble* advertised in October 1896 that a second edition of 500 copies of any of its issues could be produced at a cost of \$30 prepaid ([front matter], n. p.).

⁶⁶ Wells, "What a Lark," 11.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Whitman Bennett, *A Practical Guide to American Book Collecting, 1663-1940* (Bennett Book Studios: New York, 1941), 176.

joy of life – just for a lark.”⁶⁹ Whether the hundred-dollar cost factored in any payment for himself or Porter – the only contributors to the first number -- is unknown. What or whether later contributors were paid is also unknown. The contributor list, in any case, was small, drawing at first only from Burgess and Porter’s immediate circle of friends who were known as “les jeunes.” This group included the artist Ernest Peixotto, architect Willis Polk, and writer Yone Noguchi. Though Burgess initially mandated against women contributors, California artist Florence Lundborg and writer Carolyn Wells, from the East, eventually joined the ranks of *Lark* contributors. Usually there were only a few contributions – literary and artistic -- per issue, often mainly Burgess himself under a variety of pseudonyms. The magazine was elaborately illustrated and decorated, however, with woodblock and woodcut illustrations, decorated letters and printer’s devices, cartoons by Burgess, and some tipped-in photo plates (see figures 10.11, 13.1-13.2). All in all, given the limited number of contributors and the limited amount of content, payments for authors and artists would not have been too expensive. The magazine, however, contained no advertising (and, therefore, provided no advertising revenue), apart from notices of Doxey’s bookshop and the books he published and an ad, in number five, for a furnishings and antiques store – one that Burgess was working for as a furniture designer.⁷⁰

⁶⁹ Carolyn Wells, “What a Lark,” 10.

⁷⁰ During the time Burgess was issuing the *Lark* he was also working “designing furniture and other articles of use and beauty” (David E. E. Sloane, “*The Lark*,” *American Humor Magazines and Comic Periodicals* [New York: Greenwood Press, 1987], 136). Burgess was undoubtedly working for the shop advertised as their address matches the one he gives as editor of the magazine.

The magazine was printed by C. A. Murdock, a prominent local printer. In number five, Murdock is acknowledged as a printer of good quality and fair price: “They are printers without a specialty; but regarding printing as an art, as well as a business, they are especially equipped for fine work. They recognize however, no essential connection between high art and high prices.”⁷¹ The printing costs were, thus, reasonable, and Burgess and Porter economized on production in other ways also. They may have been involved in the printing in some capacity as Burgess provides significant detail about the paper they chose to print on and the setting of the type.⁷² They chose not to justify the lines (see figure 13.1) – “too expensive,” Burgess claimed, but also because they thought it was “artistic and déagagé.”⁷³ They also used cheap but artistically interesting paper – bales of bamboo paper they purchased in Chinatown that caused problems with the printing (see figure 13.2). First, the paper was so thin, in some issues it is only printed on one side. Second, the grainy bits of bamboo led to smashed type on the page. This problem was ameliorated when they introduced electrotyping of the pages into the process.⁷⁴

The publishers and editors also probably saved money on distribution by using independent sellers rather than the ANC, which took half the profit from the newsstand sale price. As a bookseller, Doxey, the publisher of the *Lark*, would have had access to a variety of distribution networks. Certainly, the magazine seems to have been well distributed, garnering attention in newspapers and

⁷¹ “Avis au Lecteur,” *Lark* 1.5 (Sept. 1895), n. p.

⁷² Wells, “What a Lark,” 11-13.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 11.

magazines all over the country as one of the most famous of 1890s American little magazines.

To what extent, however, does the *Lark* stand as a representative example of the economics of little magazines? Can we say, based on this example, that, typically, a little magazine cost about \$100 to produce? Certainly, there were examples both far less and far more sophisticated than the *Lark*. The range of costs, therefore, must be quite broad, without, of course, approaching anywhere near the \$10,000-plus figure for large-scale mass-market publications claimed by a journalist of the period.⁷⁵ Probably, too, most were more expensive than the \$10 Hubbard claimed. Thus, while it is useful to indicate, in broad terms, the differences between mass-market and small-scale publications, there is too much variation among little magazines to let the *Lark* stand for the whole range of publications that fall under this rubric. As I have indicated already, little magazines often differed substantially in terms of circulation, rates for authors and artists, modes of printing and distribution, the kinds of networks in which they were produced, and in their relationship to the commercial sphere. All these aspects of production had an important relationship to the aesthetic appearance and cultural aims of the magazine in question. In order to give some indication of the variety of contexts in which these magazines were produced, I provide, in the next chapter, a series of case studies of little magazine production and distribution.

⁷⁵ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 15.

CHAPTER 4

Instances of fin-de-siècle Little Magazine Production and Distribution

This chapter documents a range of production contexts in which little magazines were created. The *Lark*, as I have argued in the previous chapter, cannot account for the variety of networks and modes of production involved in making little magazines. Little magazines, after all, included very little magazines with circulations of only a few hundred as well as substantially larger little magazines with circulations of 100,000 or more. Clearly, then, production contexts varied widely. In the chapter, I identify three categories of production: small-scale private and amateur press; small to mid-scale amateur publisher; and medium to large-scale production. In discussing these categories, I rely on case studies of particular magazines and little magazinists, drawing attention to the networks that created and sustained these publications and noting, in as much detail as possible, the specific material conditions of production governing these publications.

While the conditions governing the material production of little magazines differed, what is striking is the degree to which, at every level of production, the tension between the high and the popular is in evidence. Ideologically, as I have argued, fin-de-siècle little magazines were situated somewhere between the new mass-market magazines and the genteel magazines. Propelled by a democratic and reformist impulse on the one hand, and an elitist and aristocratic tendency on the other, the little magazines, as I have shown in Chapter 2, represented a striking blend of high and popular interests that were in keeping with other middle-class cultural trends in American life at this time. Aesthetically, too, the

little magazines mediated between the high and the popular, trying to transcend their lowly status as ephemeral and commercial magazines by replicating features of the fine press book of the period.

Unquestionably, little magazinists were sincere in their desire to present an alternative vision of literary, artistic, and cultural life. They at once sought to distance this cultural realm from the increasingly commercial and industrial bent of the nation and to exploit the resources these developments made available. In almost all cases, however, the little magazines produced in this period were inextricably linked to, implicated in, or supported and subsidized by a mass-market publishing industry and/or the broader commercial and professional spheres of American life. Sometimes, for example, their publishers, founders, and/or editors had jobs within the mainstream press or publishing industry, while sometimes they earned incomes in ways other than writing – as lawyers or doctors, for example. In one way or another, at some time or another, most little magazinists struggled with the contradictions of trying to maintain their publications as small-scale or non-commercial organs of “independent thought” in a highly commercialized cultural marketplace. The dialectic tension between the high and the popular is central, then, as it is to Modernism more broadly, to the little magazines of this period.¹ It informs not only their character and aesthetic appearance, but their specific production contexts and modes of production as well, the topic of this chapter.

¹ See, for example, Scholes, “Small Magazines,” for his articulation of this argument (217).

Small-Scale Little Magazine Production: Private Press and Amateur Printers

The notions of periodicity and ephemerality that characterize the magazine as a genre stand in direct opposition to the spirit that drives the private press in the strictest sense of the word as outlined by Cave, namely the proprietor's non-commercial interest in the production of choice print objects. Private press publications often feature elaborate typography, decoration, and illustration and fine paper and binding materials. Such publications require time and care in preparation – hence regular production can be difficult. Also, they are meant to be collected and to endure. Nevertheless, in the 1880s and 1890s some private presses took an interest in the publication of finely crafted and produced magazines. Understandably, given the conflicting demands of regular magazine publishing and the difficult, time-consuming, and costly nature of fine press work, the finer the magazines were, the less frequently they were issued and the more limited their editions. Most were issued in runs of 500 copies or less, sometimes as few as 200 or 300. Some were expensive quarterlies, while others were issued irregularly and sporadically. In Britain, there were numerous such magazines, notably, the *Elf* (1899-1900), the *Quest* (1894-1896), the *Dial* (1889-1897), the *Pageant* (1896-1897), and the *Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1884-1894).²

In America, magazine publication of this type – expensive, exquisite presswork and limited circulation -- were rarer than in Britain. One notable example, however, was George Gough Booth's *Cranbrook Papers* (1900-1901),

² For more on these British little magazines see Ian Fletcher, "Decadence and the Little Magazines," *Decadence and the 1890s*, ed. Ian Fletcher (London: Arnold, 1979), 173-202.

an elaborately decorated and designed literary periodical that circulated by subscription only with a run of 300 copies.³ Contributors, whose submissions were pseudonymous, were solicited from Booth's circle of friends. This publication is a fine example of the inextricable link between culture and commerce. Booth (1864-1949) was the manager of the *Detroit Evening News* and a major proponent of Arts and Crafts, familiar with the bookwork of William Morris and of William Morris's American disciple, Elbert Hubbard. Booth, however, had superfine aesthetic sensibilities and was opposed to Hubbard's employment of power printing. In establishing his own printing shop, therefore, Booth opted for hand press production. He even designed it in the style of a shop of the era of Gutenberg and Plantin – with arches, wooden beams, leaded window glass, and oak furniture (see figure 12.2). Ironically, his printing shop was situated in the attic of the *Detroit Evening News* building. Physically and economically, then, Booth's private press was supported by a mass-market enterprise.

Equipped with only a Franklin hand press, stocks of Jenson and Satanick type, ink, and handmade paper, and aided by a hand compositor, a part-time pressman, and a few women for hand illuminating the letters and decorations, he issued his limited-circulation magazine. The magazine featured no advertising, though it was part of a broader private press enterprise that included book printing as well. The aim of his press, as he said, was "the development of a high character of typographical art and the collection in this form of original literary work

³ Information on Booth's establishment has been taken from Thompson, *American Book Design*, 200-202; Cave, *Private Press*, 160-61; Pound, "Only Thing Worth Finding" and "Private Presses," *NY Times* July 4, 1903, Historical New York Times (database).

worthy of the best method of permanent preservation.”⁴ The magazine allowed him a venue for experimenting with a series of historical printing styles, each issue following the style of a particular person or period.⁵ The elaborate production values of this magazine meant that, unlike most other little magazines, which were priced at five or ten cents, the *Cranbrook Papers* was expensive. Its cost was, at first, fifty cents an issue or five dollars for a year’s subscription, and later, a dollar an issue, ten dollars a year’s subscription.⁶ This labor-intensive magazine was, therefore, quite an exception amongst little magazines, though an important instance of the kinds of production that might be involved in these publications.

Limited edition, finely crafted little magazines in America were also the product of relationships between publishers and printers who had shared interests in fine literature and fine printing. One such magazine was the *Knight Errant* (1892-1893), a quarterly limited to five hundred copies, which was inspired by the British Arts and Crafts publication *Century Guild Hobby Horse* (1884-1894).⁷ The *Knight Errant* was a precursor to the little magazines that emerged over the next few years -- the product of the rich pool of artistic, literary, and printing talent in and around Boston and Cambridge in the 1890s. Its contributors included

⁴ [George Gough Booth], announcement. This announcement was pasted in the back of the New York Public Library copy of the bound volume of Book 1 of the *Cranbrook Papers*, which contains the first five numbers of the publication.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The price change to a dollar a copy is announced in issue number four.

⁷ Information on the *Knight Errant* derived from Thompson, *American Book Design* 40-41; Ray Nash, *Printing as an Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955), 27-9; Joe Kraus, *Messrs. Copeland and Day* (Philadelphia: George S. MacManus Co, 1979), 3-4; Johnson, *American Art Nouveau*, 27-32.

many who would take part in the little magazine revolution that would emerge only a few years later, including Ralph Adams Cram (1863-1942), Bliss Carman (1861-1929), Walter Blackburn Harte (1867-1899), and Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue (1869-1924). As Cram, one of its founders, said of it, it was an attempt “to go . . . one better [than the English *Hobby Horse*]. It was to be not only an expression of the most advanced thought of the time . . . but as well, a model of perfect typography and the printer’s art.”⁸ The magazine was lushly produced – an example of the aesthetic ideals of Morris and his American followers. It was a 32-page, large, quarto-size volume on handmade paper with generous margins. Goodhue designed a new fount of type for the magazine as well as the cover, initial letters, and tailpieces. It was printed by Francis Watts Lee, a librarian, an amateur printer and photographer who named his press Elzevir Press after the prominent seventeenth century Dutch printing, publishing, and bookselling family.

The short-lived nature of both the *Cranbrook Papers* and the *Knight Errant* attests to the impossibility of sustaining a regularly issued and finely crafted print publication that would, at the very least, pay for itself. Both publications suffered difficulties in maintaining the regular publication schedule that was expected of -- indeed, mandated by postal legislation.⁹ Booth never even

⁸ Cram, *My Life in Architecture*, 54. Though no editors were listed on the magazine, Cram and Bliss Carman were identified as such in an announcement in the *Independent* (Doyle, *Fin-de-siècle Spirit*, 41).

⁹ As of 1878, in order to be eligible for second-class postal rates, periodicals were required to meet four criteria: they had to be issued at regular, stated intervals; they had to be sent from a known office of publication; they had to be made of printed paper without substantial binding as with books; they had to be published with the

pretended he might be able to, cavalierly declaring, in his announcement of his periodical, that it would “be issued monthly, or thereabouts.”¹⁰ The *Knight Errant*, meanwhile, apologized in its last number that it had taken two years for its subscribers to receive the four issues of what was meant to be a quarterly publication.¹¹ Its editors, too, were rather lighthearted in their view of regular publication, telling readers, “if you hold that a periodical should be issued periodically, marry, you are no true aesthetic editor, nor do you wot of the weird ways of elect authors, printers, and paper-makers.”¹²

Neither publication included advertising and both relied entirely on subscription revenue. Manifestly, the labour and materials involved in the production of the *Cranbrook Papers* was expensive. Booth charged fifty cents for his magazine but even this was not enough to support continued publication, forcing him to raise the price to a hefty one dollar an issue. Booth was able to carry on as long as he did because of his affluent material circumstances. Similarly, the *Knight Errant* was a costly publication to produce. Its publication, according to Cram, was enabled by the contributors and supporters that constituted a privileged Boston social set: “This venture was made possible by a group of guarantors, the list reading like a ‘blue book’ of the New England

intention of disseminating information for a legitimate list of subscribers (Casper, “The Census,” 186).

¹⁰ [Booth], announcement.

¹¹ “By Way of Epilogue,” *Knight Errant* (Jan. 1893): n.p.

¹² Ibid.

Intelligentsia.”¹³ This set included the independently wealthy Fred Holland Day and professional men such as Cram.

Another aspect of small-scale production was the little magazine produced at home on an amateur printing outfit. Such publications were often the product of children or teenagers and tended to be less dilettantish and more enterprising than publications such as the *Cranbrook Papers* and the *Knight Errant*. The enterprising nature of these publications is perhaps accounted for by the manner in which amateur presses were marketed to young people in this period, notably as a “delightful, money-making amusement.”¹⁴ Some of these publications had an impressive longevity. The *Hoppergrass* (1899-1905), for example, was written, illustrated, typeset, and printed as a monthly magazine by four brothers and sisters, the children of a Virginia doctor, who began this enterprise when they were thirteen, eleven, ten, and seven.¹⁵ Similarly, the *Freak* (1902?-1906?), a monthly out of Sharon, Massachusetts that laid claim to having the “youngest editor in America,” began as a type-written three-copy magazine before developing into a printed publication with a wider circulation.¹⁶

Young members of the various amateur press associations were also prodigious producers of small-scale publications, sometimes only for private circulation. Some of these reflect the influence of fine press printing and of other

¹³ Cram, *My Life in Architecture*, 88.

¹⁴ Cave, *Private Press*, 117.

¹⁵ The Virginia Historical Society holds the papers of this family, the Bryces, as well as issues of the magazine.

¹⁶ Faxon, “Ephemeral Bibelots” (1903): 92.

little magazines and are thus linked to the movement.¹⁷ Timothy Burr Thrift's *Lucky Dog* (1900-1910), for example, was highly indebted to Elbert Hubbard's *Philistine*. During its run, Thrift (1883-?) operated his magazine variously as a private subscription and broader subscription-based magazine.¹⁸ Its status was strongly linked to the conditions of Thrift's own life. Initially, as a teenager, he printed it up after hours in the shop of the commercial press he worked for. Later, he used his own printing press, purchased for \$25 dollars, or the presses of his friends in the amateur journalism community.¹⁹ For a short period of time, and working in conjunction with a friend who served as business manager of the magazine, Thrift issued the magazine as a bimonthly ten-center in a run of 5,000 copies. He even secured newsstand distribution for it.

Thrift's college studies soon interfered with what had, by his account, become a rather profitable business and he returned to circulating his publication privately. In this guise, like the work of Booth and the issuers of the *Knight Errant*, the magazine was, in Thrift's terms, "a labor of love . . . for private circulation only because the Creators are Lovers of the Beautiful and do not

¹⁷ Only some of these titles appear in Faxon. In the updated bibliography, I have added a number of other titles of amateur magazines. My inclusions are based on Sean Donnelly's identification of amateur journals reflecting the influence of the fine press movement. Their features include sewn bindings, printed color covers, tasteful decorations, a conservative use of color, and fleurons and other typographic ornaments like paragraph marks ("An Ajay Time Capsule," 9).

¹⁸ The following information about Thrift's publishing of the *Lucky Dog* is contained in Wilson, "Man Who Went Back," unless otherwise indicated.

¹⁹ Sheldon Wesson reports that Thrift got some of the money to buy his first printer by selling a precious collection of stamps (*The Lucky Dog Printer* [Sphippenville, PA: River Hill Press, 1959], 16).

prostitute their genius for the accumulation of lucre.”²⁰ As in the case of the *Cranbrook Papers* and the *Knight Errant*, this aesthetic idealism was enabled by an engagement with the marketplace. Thrift was now working for a commercial publisher. Later, he would go into advertising, a field that he lamented did not allow him to write “from his heart,” in the way he had done in the *Lucky Dog*.²¹

Neither did it give him much time for his amateur pursuits, which ceased in 1910, to be taken up again only many years later in 1940.²²

Small to Medium-Scale Little Magazine Production: Amateur Publishers

While many little magazinists were interested in developments in the fine press movement and modeled their publications accordingly, not all were involved in the printing aspects of production. Private press and amateur printers are of necessity both printers *and* publishers. In the context of the little magazines of the 1890s, however, it is necessary to develop a distinct concept of the private or amateur *publisher* to account for the many examples of the non-professional publisher (often a publisher/editor/writer), whose creation of the little magazine does not involve its printing. A recent definition describes an amateur publisher as “an organization whose primary purpose is other than publishing” and cites examples of art galleries and museums, schools and sporting clubs, genealogical and historical societies.²³ This definition certainly accounts for the contexts in which a few of the little magazines of the 1890s were produced: *The Limner*

²⁰ Tim Thrift, *Lucky Dog* 5.1 (June 1904), n. p.

²¹ Wilson, “Man Who Went Back,” 6.

²² Wesson, *Lucky Dog Printer*, 12-13.

²³ Janet Mackenzie, *The Editor's Companion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 21.

(1895), for example, was affiliated with the Art Students' League of New York;²⁴ *The Lincoln House Review* (1895-?) was issued by a settlement house in South Boston;²⁵ and *The North Carolina Booklet* (1901-1923) was a historical magazine issued by a patriotic organization called the Daughters of the American Revolution.

This definition, however, does not account for a large proportion of little magazine production in the 1890s. For these purposes, I would expand the definition of the amateur publisher in two ways. First, to include *individuals* whose primary purpose (or means of living) is other than publishing – i.e. the publishing enterprise is a hobby or amateur pursuit, possibly linked to one's professional life. This would account for a figure like John Tilden, a doctor and writer on medical subjects who published and edited a *Stuffed Club for Everybody* (1900-1915), a magazine that sought to popularize professional medical knowledge. It would also account for somebody such as William S. Lord, owner of a large dry goods store in Evanston, Illinois, who published *Noon* (1900-1902), a belletristic magazine after the manner of Thomas Mosher's *Bibelot* that included reprints of British poets as well as the work of some contemporary American authors. Lord also published two little magazine parodies – the *Book Booster* (1901) and the *Bilioustine* (1901). This category would also include professionals in related fields or aspiring literary figures who published their own magazines: for example, journalists such as Louis N. Megargee of *Seen and Heard* (1901-

²⁴ "The Limner," *Limner* 1.1 (Feb. 1895): 9.

²⁵ Robert Archey Woods and Albert Joseph Kennedy, *Handbook of Settlements: The Rise of Urban America* (Ayer Publishing, 1970), 117-18.

1908) and Douglas Malloch of *In Many Keys* (1900-1902), whose magazines might be regarded as the equivalent of journalists' blogs today.

Those little magazinists whose interests did not extend to the realm of printing had more time to devote to the content of their magazines and to establishing larger print runs and a broader circulation. Some of these magazines are more self-consciously "literary" and, at the same time, more commercial – more like "real" magazines than the amateur press publications. Sometimes, as I have said, amateur publishers may have viewed their publications as a step towards a professional life in letters or the arts. Such was possibly the case with the entrepreneurial young men of Oakland, California who, in their late teens and early twenties, published the *Muse* (1900-1902). Adam Hull Shirk (1881-1931), Irving F. Morrow (1884-1952), Mervyn J. Samuels (1883-1932), Colman Schwartz (dates unknown), and Pedro Lemos (1882-1954) were members of a club called the Lotos Club, possibly named in honor of the famous New York literary club.²⁶ The aim of its members was to "devot[e] themselves to the study of advanced literature and . . . striv[e] to cultivate a taste in reading for what is pure and good."²⁷ As an online search of the founders' names in the *Oakland Tribune* for this period indicate, these young editors were largely from the

²⁶ Info on Shirk derived from "A. H. Shirk, Film Publicity Man, Passes Away," *Los Angeles Times*, July 28, 1931; on Morrow from "Irving F. and Gertrude Comfort Morrow Collection, 1914-1958" (Berkeley University), <http://www.ed.berkeley.edu/cedarchives/profiles/morrow.htm>; on Pedro Lemos at http://printdealers.com/artist_template.cfm?id=1986. The *Oakland Tribune* was accessed from Newspaper Archive at <http://www.newspaperarchive.org>.

²⁷ "The Lotos Club," *Oakland Tribune*, May 26, 1900, 6.

thriving Jewish Oakland community and were involved in the city's artistic, literary, and cultural groups.²⁸

The *Muse* was conceptualized as a magazine “to foster a true appreciation of Art and Letters, and to bring together in a pleasing form, choice bits from both, for the delectation of its readers.”²⁹ At the same time, however, the ambitious editorial team (which included an editor, managing editor, two associate editors, and two art editors) were able to attract a larger amount of advertising than was usual for a little magazine – anywhere between eight and twelve pages of advertising for local businesses and other little magazines in a magazine that contained, on average, about thirty pages of literary and artistic content. The rates charged for advertising are not listed, but they were probably just enough to support the printing of this magazine. Contributors, after all, were encouraged to submit content “for the good of the cause.”³⁰ As a consequence, the content of the *Muse* was derived mostly, but not wholly, from within a local network of aspiring writers and artists. On average, there were close to twenty literary and artistic contributors per issue, including the editors. The magazine circulated nationally and was offered by subscription and available on newsstands across the country. Initially, the magazine was supplied the trade direct, but eventually it was distributed by one of the branches of the ANC.³¹

²⁸ Search conducted through Newspaper Archive, at <http://www.newspaperarchive.org>.

²⁹ The Editor, “Musings,” *Muse* 1.1 (Summer 1900): 27.

³⁰ [front matter], *Muse* 2.1 (Summer 1901): n. p.

³¹ The first number of the *Muse* indicates a direct supply to the trade. By volume 2, number 1, the San Francisco News Company is listed as distributor.

Oakland, San Francisco, and the Bay area hosted a vibrant literary community in this period that included Edwin Markham, Joaquin Miller, Jack London, Bret Harte, Yone Noguchi, Ambrose Bierce, and Ina Coolbrith. The editors clearly admired the work of these Western writers and even managed to secure a contribution from Jack London, who was just beginning to establish a reputation for his writing. Thus, while the magazine reflects, like so many little magazines, an interest in British Aestheticism and Decadence, it also has interests characteristic of the Western literary community – the socialist aesthetic of Markham, the ironic grotesquerie of Bierce, and the romanticization of nature and the Western landscape as engaged in by many of this set. Though printed by a local jobbing printer advertised in its own pages as doing “legal work,” “brief work,” “commercial work,” and “society printing,”³² the magazine is strongly characterized by the kind of bibliophilic interest in typography, design, illustration, and layout that marked so many little magazines of the period. It even included some tipped in, hand-coloured prints, which may have been printed elsewhere by the contributors themselves (see figures 14.1-14.3).

As with many of the little magazines conducted by young people, the *Muse* came to an end as the men who founded it either took new directions in the pursuit of literary and artistic fame or gave up such dreams to pursue other professions: Irving F. Morrow and Mervyn Samuels went to university at Berkeley after working on the *Muse*, and Pedro Lemos, who had been studying art

³² Advertisement for Baker Printing Co., *Muse* 1.1 (Summer 1900): n.p. [back pages].

at the Mark Hopkins Institute, left California to continue his studies in New York at the Art Students' League and Columbia University Teachers' College.

Another magazine that might be characterized as that of an amateur publisher was Michael Monahan's *Papyrus* (1903-1912). Through most of its run, this magazine was a self-published magazine that was printed by various local presses wherever Monahan happened to be living. Monahan himself, as a writer, was no amateur. He was, as his obituary in the *New York Times* describes him, "a profound scholar, an essayist, satirist, and critic of great skill."³³ He was the author of many books and of articles in numerous journals and newspapers.

And yet, to a large extent, he styled himself as an amateur in a particular sense that was popular in this period amongst members of the literary avant-garde who were trying to distinguish themselves from the emerging highly commercialized "professional" writer. As Ann Fabian argues, "some aspiring professional writers exploited vestiges of the eighteenth-century ideal of the gentleman writer, pretending to protect a pure (and amateur) literary tradition from the inroads of hacks who pandered to the market."³⁴ This studied form of amateurism or dilettantism was characteristic, for example, of writers such as Henry James and Robert Louis Stevenson. Current scholarship on these writers has identified this association with the amateur or dilettante as simply a mystified form of professionalism. Of Stevenson, for example, Stephen Arata says that "his hauteur regarding the reading public, as well as his commitment to the values of

³³ "Michael Monahan, Scholar," 21.

³⁴ Ann Fabian, "Amateur Authorship," in *A History of the Book in America, Volume 3: The Industrial Book, 1840-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 408.

craft, of style, of culture and taste” was really just “a way of asserting [his] own more authentic professionalism.”³⁵

Certainly such an attitude garnered one a great deal of respectability within the literary avant-garde. Both Stevenson and James were revered in this realm and many other writers adopted a dilettantish authorial identity in opposition to the commercial professional. Monahan was one such writer. Though not widely known by the general public, he was admired within the small but elite community within which he operated. British poet Richard Le Gallienne, for example, who lived in America for periods in the 1890s and early 1900s, described Monahan in the following terms:

In an age of would-be literary dandies and superior persons, one is fathomlessly grateful for his gift of writing like a real human being, for his homely preferences, for his touch of old-world scholarship, for his quoting Horace, for his occasional tavern or “coffeehouse” manner, his air of telling us everything, his Rabelaisian tang, his gossipy chuckle, his ready tear, his quips, his snatches of song—and, above all, for that gift which gathers up these and many other engaging characteristics, the gift of a natural style.³⁶

And, whereas writers such as James desired success yet despised the terms upon which they must achieve it, Monahan seems to have been content with his

³⁵ Stephen Arata, *Fictions of Loss in the Victorian fin de siècle* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 46.

³⁶ Richard Le Gallienne, *Michael Monahan: An Appreciation* (South Norwalk, CT: Phoenix Press, 1914), 5-6.

relatively unknown status outside a small circle. He was, quite simply, a true bohemian, happy to cater in his magazine to interests not addressed in the mainstream magazines. Though he began with a career in journalism and carried on to become the secretary to the mayor of Albany, he soon abandoned this more regular lifestyle, first to join Elbert Hubbard at the Roycroft community and, then, to embark upon an “independent literary career” as a freelancer and editor of the *Papyrus*.³⁷ It is possible that Monahan may have had some independent income, but certainly not enough to make him wealthy. He had twelve children and was, by his own account, frequently in debt.

The *Papyrus* was conducted between 1903 and 1912, with a few short hiatuses, from Monahan’s various homes in Mount Vernon, New York, and Somerville, Cranford, and East Orange, New Jersey. In form and style it represents a cross between literary little magazines such as the *Chap-Book* and the Hubbardesque journal of opinion. Though less artistic in appearance than little magazines of the *Chap-Book* type, it did sport a cover designed by a Will Bradley-trained artist called Fred Singleton.³⁸ Apart from the printing, it was entirely produced and distributed by Monahan who served, as he said, as editor, business manager, cashier, advertising solicitor, bookkeeper, private secretary, correspondence clerk, proofreader, copyholder, and factotum.³⁹ Monahan also provided much of the content, with occasional contributions from notable people

³⁷ “Michael Monahan, Scholar,” 21.

³⁸ Monahan acknowledges Singleton’s cover design in *Papyrus* 1.1 (July 1903): 40.

³⁹ Michael Monahan, *At the Sign of the Van: Being the Log of the Papyrus, with Other Escapades in Life and Letters* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914), 35.

among his network of literary acquaintances including William Marion Reedy, Percival Pollard, Bliss Carman, Richard Le Gallienne, and Edwin Markham.

The magazine contained about thirty-two pages of content with eight pages of advertising, almost all of them for literary publishers and other little magazines, including publications by Thomas Mosher, John Lane, William Marion Reedy. His crediting of an advertising agent in volume 1, number 6, indicates that he was making an effort to secure advertising as a means of sustaining the magazine. Soon after its launch, it was available only through subscription as Monahan discovered there was very little profit in dealing with the ANC.⁴⁰

The *Papyrus* was an amateur production in a number of senses. First, it was a genuine labour of love for Monahan, a dream realized and sustained through considerable hardship. This sense is expressed in Le Gallienne's account of Monahan's experience as a self-publisher. Monahan, he said, enjoyed

the romance of making a little magazine all by one's self, and all for one's self—and a few friends; a magazine for really 'gentle' readers, and one that really 'enjoys' its circulation. The fun of being one's own contributor, able to say what one pleases, because one is one's own editor, of being able to edit with the same freedom, because one is one's own publisher.⁴¹

Second, in its style and content it evokes the kind of old-school learned man-of-letters persona that characterized Monahan. It is a blend of literary criticism,

⁴⁰ Michael Monahan, "Announcement," *Papyrus* 2.2 (Feb. 1904): 10.

⁴¹ Le Gallienne, *Michael Monahan*, 15.

contemporary commentary, personal anecdote, meditations, and snippets of verse, what Le Gallienne called “a literary medley” or “gallimaufry.”⁴² In this respect, it is representative of a number of similar magazines of the period, including Elbert Hubbard’s *Philistine* and Tim Thrift’s *Lucky Dog*.

Monahan’s ability to sustain a self-published magazine for nine years is remarkable, and its numerous hiatuses are a testament to the vagaries of such a task. A near fatal illness suspended publication for two months in 1904-1905 and his move to New Jersey in 1906 resulted in another suspension.⁴³ The *Papyrus* was even resurrected under a newly appropriate title, the *Phoenix*, from 1914-1916. Though financially Monahan seems always to have existed on the edge of insolvency, he appears to have made enough to get by with a little magazine as the primary basis of his income. Circulation figures for the magazine are unavailable but something is known of his readership based on the comments, testimonials, and letters he printed in the magazine. Early in its run, Monahan claimed that most of his readers were women. This readership is probably in keeping with that of most little magazines of the period but is somewhat surprising given the often misogynistic quality of Monahan’s publication.

This quality appealed to Monahan’s male coterie. Le Gallienne, for example, credited Monahan for not “bend[ing] to the American woman.”⁴⁴

⁴² Ibid., 11.

⁴³ Monahan joked that volume 2, numbers 4 and 5 were the best issues he’d ever done. These numbers never existed. In volume 2, number 6 for June 1904, Monahan discusses his illness. Presumably he had to give numbers to these non-existent issues in order to meet with the postal legislation regulations for periodicals as second-class mail.

⁴⁴ Le Gallienne, *Michael Monahan*, 21.

Another of Monahan's patrons, Pirie MacDonald, a photographer who was famous for photographing only men, contributed picture inserts in the early issues of *Papyrus*, was similarly misogynistic. Explaining his reason for not photographing women, he said, "Men who make pictures of women make emasculated pictures of men."⁴⁵ Overall, Monahan seems to have desired the cultivation of a male readership. The letters and testimonials he printed suggest a largely professional male readership and one that extended beyond the United States into foreign countries as well. Monahan's network, therefore, reached beyond a coterie of literary men to include prominent judges, lawyers, politicians, and businessmen.

Medium to Large-Scale Little Magazine Production: Mediating Between the High and the Popular

Not all little magazinists thought, like Monahan, that culture and commerce were inherently irreconcilable, even while they, too, may have been critical of the increasingly consumer-oriented nature of American life. This was, after all, an age of muckraking, the exposure of societal, municipal, institutional, and corporate corruption and abuses of the nation's robber barons. These same robber barons, however, men such as John D. Rockefeller, Andrew Carnegie, and J. P. Morgan, were also millionaire philanthropists, whose charitable endeavours created and contributed to the many cultural institutions established in this period. Commerce, it seemed, could be used in the service of culture. Indeed, in a little magazine

⁴⁵ This quotation is from MacDonald's obituary in *Time*, 4 May 1942, <http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,777771,00.html?promoid=googlep>

context, Detroit newspaper magnate George Gough Booth, for example, was able to establish his *Cranbrook Papers* on this basis and, further, to engage in his own substantial philanthropic efforts. Booth was a major benefactor of the Detroit Institute of the Arts and he established the famed Cranbrook Academy of Art, still in existence today.⁴⁶ And just as commerce could be used in the service of culture, culture could be used to derive considerable profit, culture, as numerous thriving Arts and Crafts-oriented businesses proved. Moreover, the “commodification of the critique of commodification” that critic Jonathan Freedman regards as central to Anglo-American Aestheticism created a context in which the defiant and anti-bourgeois attitude of the little magazinists could indeed sell.

The little magazinists that most fully embraced these seemingly contradictory ideals produced magazines from within a more complex and commercial production and distribution system than we have seen so far. The little magazines produced in this context were publications that truly mediated between high and popular culture and between the old and the new. They exploited the rise of the poster; they used new technologies to replicate older styles of print culture; they embraced modern methods of reaching the reading public; and so on. This is the type of magazine the *Muse* might have become had its entrepreneurial founders carried on with their endeavour.

⁴⁶ Booth hired Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, one of the Boston-based little magazinists who founded the *Knight Errant*, to design a church at Cranbrook. Goodhue died before the project was realized, but his firm carried out the commission (Diana Balmori, “Cranbrook: The Invisible Landscape” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53.1 [1994]: 4).

Perhaps the best example of a publication that sought to popularize “high” culture, while exploiting a more commercial system of production is the *Chap-Book* (1894-1898), which is often characterized as the originator of the little magazine movement in America. Though such magazines had existed before, including the *Knight Errant*, the *Mahogany Tree*, and the *Courrier Innocent*, these were very small-scale, privately circulated or subscription-only magazines. The *Chap-Book* would be the publication that would popularize the format, creating a host of imitators in its wake. Interestingly, this magazine bears an important relationship to and, in many senses, derives directly from, the small-scale publication the *Knight Errant*, which was still being issued when the *Chap-Book* first emerged.

The *Chap-Book*’s founders, Hannibal Ingalls Kimball, Jr. (1874-1933) and Herbert S. Stone (1871-1915), were Harvard undergraduates when they began their publishing business and were part of the bibliophilic and Aesthetic groups active in Cambridge and Boston. Many of the contributors to the *Knight Errant* would also contribute to the *Chap-Book*. The *Chap-Book* editors proclaimed their admiration for the “decadent” but “delightful . . . opposition to commercialism” expressed in the earlier publication,⁴⁷ but their magazine was always intended to be a more commercial venture. Indeed, it was initially conceived, as Stone said, as “a semi-monthly advertisement and regular prospectus for Stone and Kimball,” the book-publishing enterprise that the two men had already established.⁴⁸ As Herbert Fleming notes, Stone and Kimball “needed a circular with which to

⁴⁷ Notes, *Chap-Book* 1.7 (Aug. 1894): 174.

⁴⁸ Quoted in Wendy Schlereth, *The Chap-Book*, 35.

advertise . . . their imprint, and economy was to be exercised in having it circulated as second-class mail matter.”⁴⁹ It was, therefore, initially subsidized by a broader publishing mandate, though, with its immediate success, it came to represent an important part of the business. Both Stone and Kimball were sons of powerful businessmen and were driven by a desire to establish a successful business, one, however, that was based on their love of literature and bibliophilic culture and that would have repercussions beyond the limited elite circles of Cambridge and its environs.

The title is indicative of the at once populist and elitist rationale that informed the publication and that would characterize the little magazine movement that the *Chap-Book* spawned. Chap-books were the cheaply made popular woodcut illustrated books of the seventeenth and eighteenth century that were, at the end of the nineteenth century, sought out by bibliophiles and collectors. Little magazinists romanticized the chap-book as a form of truly populist and radical literature in opposition to the commodified popularity of contemporary mass-market literature. The *Chap-Book*, as well as many of its imitators, was small in size -- 7 ½ x 4 ½ inches and comprised twenty-four pages. Soon it would expand to between 32 and 40 pages. Initially it sold for five cents, later for ten. Its heavy, cream-coloured uncut paper, old Caslon type,⁵⁰ use of

⁴⁹Fleming, “Literary Interests,” 797. Schlereth doubts the legitimacy of this claim, arguing that the *Chap-Book* was always intended to be a literary journal. Stone’s claim was made, she says, to assuage the anxieties of his father who had been reluctant to subsidize his son’s earlier plans to establish a magazine (35).

⁵⁰ This type had recently been brought into popularity in late 19th century design and printing circles when it was used for the first numbers of the new *Vogue* magazine (Lorraine Ferguson and Douglass Scott, “A Time Line of American

rubrication, and illustrations comprised of woodcuts and contemporary poster-style line art would also be imitated by many (see figures 15.1-15.2). The interest of Stone and Kimball in the aesthetics of the magazine was such that they employed two separate presses – one to do the typesetting and another to do the presswork.⁵¹ Frederick Goudy, who would go on to become one of the most prolific typeface designers of the twentieth-century, did the typesetting at his small print shop, the Camelot Press, which he had established with a printing outfit he had purchased from Will Bradley.⁵² This was a transformative moment for Goudy, who was just embarking on his career. The work for Stone and Kimball, he said, gave him a “new conception of art and literature [and of typography on] a higher plane than mere commercialism.”⁵³

Stone and Kimball’s artistic aspirations for the magazine were balanced, however, by the kind of pragmatism that characterized many in this period who exploited new technologies to valorize pre-industrial print culture. Thus, for example, they farmed out the printing work to a firm more capable of supplying them with the larger print runs necessary for their publication, and they used an imitation handmade paper with a Stone and Kimball watermark that had been specially designed. Thomas Mosher, a rival little magazine and fine press

Typography,” *Design Quarterly* 148 [1990]: 36). Still in existence today, *Vogue*, in the 1890s, was recognized as a sophisticated society and fashion weekly in revolt against genteel magazines. It published, for instance, Kate Chopin’s early feminist stories that were deemed too racy for other publications (Bonnie James Shaker, *Coloring Local: Racial Formation in Kate Chopin’s Youth’s Companion Stories* [Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2003], 10-11).

⁵¹ Blumenthal, *Printed Book in America*, 74.

⁵² Thompson, *American Book Design*, 127.

⁵³ Quoted in Thompson, *American Book Design*, 127.

publisher, was dismissive of both the presswork and paper of Stone and Kimball's productions in comparison with his, remarking to a friend:

I far prefer [my paper] to any machine made, wood-pulp imitation of a genuine deckle-edge hand made rag paper such as they use! Nor do I like their [sic] color of it, or the finish; and as to *their* presswork as compared with mine, why if they really *do* think theirs is the best, I'm sorry for such amazing lack of knowledge.⁵⁴

Stone and Kimball had a distinct advantage over many other little magazinists of this period. Stone's wealthy newspaper magnate father was not only helping finance the project but he also had significant connections in the literary world both in America and overseas. Thus, while the *Chap-Book* did much to help aspiring and emerging American artists and writers, it was also able to attract an impressive list of well-known figures including Henry James, Max Beerbohm, John Davidson, William Butler Yeats, Hamlin Garland, Israel Zangwill, Paul Verlaine, Anatole France, Thomas Hardy, Stéphane Mallarmé, Kenneth Grahame, and Bliss Carman, who served as the magazine's editor in its first few months.

The overnight success of the *Chap-Book* prompted Stone Kimball to withdraw from Harvard and remove the business to Chicago, which was experiencing a cultural renaissance in the wake of the World's Fair of 1893. The magazine grew in popularity, eventually achieving a circulation of 16,500 according to *Ayer's Newspaper Annual* for 1896. Stone and Kimball were now

⁵⁴ Ibid., 191.

using the Lakeside Press to print their magazine.⁵⁵ Unlike the printers who had issued their magazine in Cambridge, the Lakeside Press was a large commercial press, though it was the first choice of many literary publishers for fine bookwork.⁵⁶ Even with Stone and Kimball's apparently savvy attention to balancing the aesthetic and commercial aspects of the magazine, the *Chap-Book* was always in financial difficulty. The growth of the magazine created more difficulties rather than solving any and necessitated changes that presented challenges to the original aims and intentions of its founders. The magazine that had initially eschewed commercial advertising began to include more in its pages. Eventually, the pressure to advertise led to a change in format and paper. Chap-book size magazines were not suitable for advertising purposes and the paper did not lend well to the half-tone illustrations that the *Chap-Book*, resistant to before, now began to include.⁵⁷ In addition, though still primarily a purely literary and artistic journal, the magazine now included coverage of timely and contemporary events, another feature that the editors had initially resisted. By 1898, the *Chap-Book* looked much like a mass-market general monthly, though without the circulation figures of such a magazine (see figure 15.3). Stone and Kimball had overestimated the potential of newsstand sales and had, therefore, paid little attention to securing readers in the old-fashioned way – through subscription.⁵⁸

Another magazine that sought to establish a balance between art and commerce was Will Bradley's *Bradley, His Book*. This magazine apparently

⁵⁵ Blumenthal, *Printed Book in America*, 45.

⁵⁶ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 102.

⁵⁷ Schlereth, *Chap-Book*, 6; Henry Regnery, *Creative Chicago*, 28.

⁵⁸ Fleming, "Literary Interests," 803.

achieved sales of 25,000,⁵⁹ though it was much shorter lived. Bradley, who was a contributor to the *Chap-Book*, a designer of some of its advertising posters, and the subject of one of its articles, edited, printed, and published the magazine through his Wayside Press, a commercial print shop established for the purposes of producing his magazine and for advertising work. Bradley had already established a name for himself. He had numerous advertising, poster, and book design commissions and his work was reported on and reproduced in British, French and German periodicals. It took Bradley three months to plan his publication. At the time, his shop had only three presses, one Gally Universal and two Gordon jobbing presses and a small staff.⁶⁰

Bradley's aims for his magazine were ambitious. For ten cents an issue for a monthly magazine he proposed to create a new design and layout for each issue as well as an accompanying poster.⁶¹ The art in its pages would be book quality, its printing "pleasing" and employing at least two colors to a page (see figure 16.1-16.2), and its paper suited to the matter printed on it.⁶² Each issue would contain specially designed poster-style advertisements that had not yet appeared elsewhere (see figures 16.3-16.4).⁶³ He issued the first number in May 1896 from his small shop in an edition of 10,000 copies, which sold out before the day of publication and fetched ten times the cover price on the newsstands in New York

⁵⁹ Bradley makes claims for his high circulation, announcing a print run of 25,000 for the June 1896 number ("At the End of the Book," n.p.).

⁶⁰ Koch, *Will H. Bradley*, 64.

⁶¹ Bradley, *Will Bradley*, 62.

⁶² Prospectus for *Bradley, His Book* (April 1896), as quoted in Thompson, *American Book Design*, 118.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

City.⁶⁴ An extra fifty were produced on Japanese paper, signed by Bradley, and priced at \$20.⁶⁵

The costs of this kind of production were high, but Bradley charged a relatively high rate for advertising -- \$50 a page.⁶⁶ The cost for payment to contributors was probably inexpensive. Two of the contributors were friends of Bradley's from Chicago -- Harriet Monroe (1860-1936), who would go on to found the famous Modernist little magazine, *Poetry* (1912-ongoing), and Nixon Waterman (1859-1944), a writer and journalist. The other was the popular novelist Richard Harding Davis who Bradley admired greatly. Harding generously agreed to be paid whenever Bradley felt he could afford it.⁶⁷ Other literary content was by Bradley and there was artwork by artist Edward Penfield (accompanying an article on him), Claude Fayette Bragdon, and Bradley.

From a production point of view, *Bradley, His Book* is a fascinating example of the marriage between art and commerce that some little magazinists were trying to achieve. Ironically, though *Bradley, His Book* is one of the most artistically beautiful of the little magazines produced in this period, its first issue contained far more advertising than content. As one contemporary observer noted, however, Bradley's advertisements were art in themselves.⁶⁸ In the magazine, beautiful poster-style advertisements blended seamlessly with highly decorated literary and artistic pages and were an intrinsic part of the final product. Indeed, in

⁶⁴ Koch, *Will H. Bradley*, 74.

⁶⁵ Thompson, *American Book Design*, 118.

⁶⁶ *Bradley, His Book* 1.3 (July 1896): n. p. [inside back cover].

⁶⁷ Bradley, *Will Bradley*, 60.

⁶⁸ "End of the Book: Some Kindly Comments of the Press and Public," *Bradley, His Book* 1.3 (July 1896): 13.

many ways, his magazine was an ad for what it advertised. Bradley, for example, used the papers he advertised (see figure 16.3), indicating in the ads on which pages particular papers appeared. He also advertised the ink he used, the photo-engraving and electro-typing company involved in the magazine's production, the printing press the magazine was printed on, and even the electric motor that powered the press.

As would happen with the *Chap-Book*, success presented problems for the continuing production of Bradley's magazine. For the second issue, Bradley more than doubled the print run to 25,000 to try to meet the demand. This issue, too, sold out. By July, Bradley was forced to increase the price to twenty-five cents, probably because it became necessary to expand his print shop. By 1897 he had moved to a new location, added six presses, including the largest "Century" cylinder press being made by the Campbell Press Company, increased his staff to twenty-one employees, and was running the presses day and night.⁶⁹ As publisher, printer, and editor, Bradley was under great pressure and the magazine was in a precarious position. For the fourth number, Bradley had secured help in recruiting new literary talent, but was shocked to discover that his helper had written all the content himself under various pseudonyms.⁷⁰ Without enough time to solicit contributions, Bradley wrote the whole issue himself and, consequently, had to send it outside his shop for printing. The issue was late in appearing and Bradley did not like its appearance. Soon Bradley, like Stone and Kimball, was forced to acknowledge that the miniature magazine format was ill-suited to advertising,

⁶⁹ Bradley, *Will Bradley*, 52; Koch, *Will H. Bradley*, 109.

⁷⁰ Koch, *Will H. Bradley*, 78-80.

especially of the poster-style kind that Bradley did in his magazine. “The success of the magazine,” as he said “invited a larger and more ambitious format,” and he therefore increased the size of the publication to 8 x 11 inches.⁷¹ Bradley, however, was unable to sustain the pace of production of this more ambitious format: “my desires outran my strength and this was really the beginning of the end.”⁷² Bradley had a breakdown in February 1897 and was forced to cease production of the magazine.

Unlike Stone and Kimball and Bradley, Elbert Hubbard (1856-1915) was able to sustain the publication of his little magazine for a prolonged period and to adapt as it grew in popularity. The *Philistine* (1895-1915), like so many other little magazines, started off as a small-scale production. It was small in size, priced at ten cents, with thirty-two pages of content (about 4,000 words) and additional pages of advertising. At the height of its success there was an equal amount of advertising to content, much of it for Roycroft products. It was printed on rough handmade paper with deckle edges (see figures 17.1-17.3). Its characteristic cover, maintained unchanged through the long run of the magazine, was brown butcher paper, with black and red ink. The first number of June 1895 was printed in a run of 2500 copies. By the early 1900s, the magazine would achieve a circulation of over 100,000. It was one of only a handful of long-running little magazines, lasting until Hubbard’s death in 1915.

⁷¹ From a note written in Bradley’s personal copy of the Nov. 1896 issue of the magazine, as quoted in Koch, *Will H. Bradley*, 84; Koch, *Will H. Bradley*, 82.

⁷² From the above-cited note, quoted in Koch, *Will H. Bradley*, 83.

Though long associated solely with Elbert Hubbard, the magazine was originally co-founded by Hubbard and two newspapermen friends, Harry Taber and William McIntosh. It was begun, as Hubbard said, as a kind of joke and was meant as a one-off but, in order to circulate it through the mails at the second-class rate, it needed to be a periodical.⁷³ Like other little magazinists, Hubbard was motivated by an interest in revolting against the mainstream press. As Hubbard explained in the first issue, “It is because we cannot say what we would in the periodicals we have made this book.”⁷⁴ The title of the magazine was a slap in the face to the literary elite – the magazines and publishers that had rejected Hubbard’s work: “We called it the *Philistine* because we were going after the Chosen People in literature . . . The Smug and Snugly ensconced denizens of Union Square called me a Philistine, and I said, ‘Yes, I am one if a Philistine is something different from you.’”⁷⁵

The first numbers were printed by a small local printing shop, Pendennis Press. Hubbard, however, had an interest in printing. He had recently bought a handpress, type, and accessories and had set up a print shop in his barn, calling it the Roycroft Press after two seventeenth-century English bookbinders. His first publication on this press was an edition of the *Song of Songs*. When the Pendennis Press was going out of business a few months after Hubbard began issuing the *Philistine*, he purchased it for \$1,000 in order to expand his Roycroft Press and

⁷³ Champney, *Art and Glory*, 56.

⁷⁴ Quoted in Champney, *Art and Glory*, 55.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 56.

his publishing business.⁷⁶ At about this time, there were around ten people affiliated with the Roycroft community. Hubbard employed townspeople and local country lads but also advertised for people to come work at Roycroft. He paid them up to \$10 a week and provided room and board.⁷⁷ This was the context, then, in which the *Philistine* was first issued. Hubbard wrote most of the copy, though, through the years, like Monahan, he attracted some notable contributors. Presswork was done largely by untrained country lads.

Though Hubbard seemed well able to run the publication -- as well as many other enterprises -- on his own, he made various attempts over the years to bring on partners. Most of these potential partners were involved in their own efforts to establish little magazines. They included Michael Monahan (editor of *Papyrus*), Bliss Carman (editor of *Chap-Book*), and Walter Blackburn Harte (editor of *Fly Leaf* and *Lotus*).⁷⁸ None of the partnership efforts was successful due, in large part, to the egos and temperaments of Hubbard and those whom he chose. The publication, therefore, was fairly cheap to produce, particularly in comparison with Bradley's elaborate publication. And soon, it was a success. By 1896, Hubbard was issuing 10,000 copies a month and, by the next year, circulation was 20,000.⁷⁹ In 1900, it was at 52,000 before skyrocketing to over 100,000 after the phenomenal success of Hubbard's "Message to Garcia," a

⁷⁶ Champney, *Art and Glory*, 60.

⁷⁷ Dirlam and Simmons, *Sinners*, 218; Hubbard claimed to have been paying Taber \$4 a week plus room and board in 1895 (quoted in Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 645). Another Roycrofter, Harry Kemp, claimed he was paid \$3 a week to glue the backs of unbound books (Champney, *Art and Glory*, 65).

⁷⁸ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 645.

⁷⁹ Champney, *Art and Glory*, 58.

timely inspirational essay celebrating self-reliance and initiative on the part of the worker.⁸⁰ By this time, Hubbard had built a new and elaborate multiple-story print shop, with presses in the basement, composing and proofreading facilities on the ground floor, collating, folding, binding and mailing on the second floor, and a studio on the fourth floor.⁸¹ He employed 200 people in this print shop which, though located far from major publishing centres, was one of the most modern in the area.⁸²

Its growth, then, was steady, but slower than the skyrocketing of *Bradley, His Book*, with which Bradley was unable to cope. There were some mistakes made in the publication of the *Philistine*, however. The first, Taber's mistake apparently, was to send out issues to individual newsdealers across the country rather than using the ANC as a distributor. Though this form of distribution, as I have said, represented a significant cost, it ensured payment from the newsdealers. Taber reported that in the early days of the magazine he had been unable to collect payment from the newsdealers.⁸³ Another mistake, this time Hubbard's, was to contract out the advertising to a national representative. The advertising costs were much too low for what the magazine's eventual circulation

⁸⁰ Ibid. "A Message to Garcia" is credited with being one of the top-selling works of all time and continues to be a central part of motivational discourse in business and the military. For its influence in these spheres see, for example, Timothy L. Challans's *Awakening Warrior: Revolution in the Ethics of Warfare* (Albany: State University of New York, 2007), 160-61 and Andrew Razeghi, *Hope: How Triumphant Leaders Create the Future* (Jossey-Bass, 2006), 188-89.

⁸¹ "Roycroft Print Shop," at "Buffalo Architecture and History," <http://www.buffaloah.com/a/archsty/a-c/roy/print/index.html>

⁸² Robert Rust and Kitty Turgeon, *The Roycroft Campus* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 1999), 34.

⁸³ Bruce A. White, *Elbert Hubbard's The Philistine*, 32.

warranted and Hubbard spent much time and money on litigation to end his contract with the firm in order to regain control of his advertising.⁸⁴

Nevertheless, Hubbard was a much better businessman than Bradley or Stone and Kimball and was able to develop the *Philistine* and the Roycroft Press far more successfully than either of these other two publishers. By the early 1900s there were more than five hundred Roycrofters and Hubbard had expanded his production to include not only books and magazines, but furniture, tooled leather goods, pottery, hammered copper, rugs, baskets, etc. As the enterprise grew and demand increased, Hubbard began to rely on mechanical composition and automatic power presses, even as he issued products that had the appearance of hand-crafting. As Dard Hunter, a typographer and historian of papermaking noted somewhat facetiously, “Books in their window-cleaner [chamois] covers were turned out in mass production; the dozen or more Roycroft presses were kept humming night and day; hand-made paper was imported by the thousands of reams; red and black ink was purchased by the barrel, and every goat in the world was a potential limp binding.”⁸⁵

The Built-in Obsolescence of the Little Magazine

In the context of an industry in which, between 1885 and 1905, half of all the new magazines issued failed,⁸⁶ little magazines already faced poor odds of survival. Of the titles in the bibliography included in this thesis (see Appendix B), 50% per cent lasted a year or less; about 10% lasted between two and five years; and only

⁸⁴ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 647.

⁸⁵ Quoted in Blumenthal, *Printed Book in America*, 51.

⁸⁶ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 11.

about 5% made it beyond ten years. The odds of survival were made worse by the contexts in which these magazines were produced and the challenges their creators faced. These inexpensively priced artistic magazines were not economically viable in an advertising-based market. At five or ten cents and with minimal advertising, magazines that sold only 3,000-5,000 copies generated little revenue, even without the burden of paying contributors. And even those that sold more often struggled. Few of the little magazines of this period had the support of wealthy patrons, though some, as I have indicated, were subsidized by the mass-market and mainstream media in various ways.

As a hobby or recreation – the proverbial labour of love -- as little magazines were for some of their creators, such work was time-consuming and costly in the extreme. Their creators grew up, got jobs, got married, and had children. Few whose engagement with magazine work was at the amateur level sustained the project for long. The Bryce children, who maintained publication of *Hoppergrass* for over five years are a notable exception, as is John Tilden, who maintained the little magazine a *Stuffed Club for Everybody* -- an outspoken and anti-establishment journal promoting rational therapeutics -- for over fifteen years.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ Tilden's *Stuffed Club* was clearly inspired by Hubbard's *Philistine*, though its topics were confined primarily to medical issues. It was written in an accessible style, understandable to the layperson. His audience probably became more professional in nature after 1915, when Tilden adopted a more serious title for the magazine – the *Philosophy of Health* – and, later, in 1926 to *Health Review and Critique* (Frederic N. Gilbert, Preface, *Children, Their Health and Happiness*, by John Henry Tilden [Inc Ebrary, 1996], 7).

At the same time, for those who embarked on little magazine work with literary and/or journalistic ambitions, the little magazine, though ideal as a venue for the freedom of expression, was less ideal as a full-time career project. Michael Monahan succeeded in such a project with the *Papyrus*, a publication he sustained for almost nine years, but he was an exception rather than a rule. More characteristic was the little magazinist who used the little magazine as a stepping stone into the mainstream press or whose little magazine work was subsidized by more regular employment in regular journalism, as was the case with figures such as Bliss Carman, James Huneker and Vance Thompson.

In many respects, of course, a short life was a natural one for a little magazine and the medium's ephemerality was a given and, inevitably and ironically, it was this ephemerality that ensured their status as collector's items for the space of a few years. Titles such as the *Whim*, *Whims*, the *Fad*, the *Freak*, and the *Lark* draw attention to the transient nature of the little magazine of this period. At the same time, some little magazines were only meant to be one-offs – even Hubbard's *Philistine*, which ended up being one of the longest-lived little magazine, began in this spirit.⁸⁸ This ephemerality was often represented as a source of pride for little magazinists, foregrounding, as it did, the heroism of their undertaking. Take, for example, the case of the *Ishmaelite*, of Indianapolis, whose demise was announced to subscribers in a June 1899 pamphlet signed by "The Editor." It read:

⁸⁸ Champney, *Art and Glory*, 56.

This is to tell you that the May number of the *Ishmaelite* was the last. You will, no doubt, be surprised at this announcement, but you will think again and then you will be surprised that we were as long as we were. Isn't this about the course of your mental processes? We have no particular explanation to make.

Explanations are unsatisfactory, in that they so seldom explain. We arose up out of the desert three years ago come Christmas, not in answer to any anguished cry, not with any great fixed purpose, but because we wanted to. We asked for your moral and financial support – you gave both, for which we now thank you. Had there only been more of you, our little journey out of the desert, through the literary jungle to the Irish sea, at the bottom of which we now sleep, had been easier. And yet, having 'lived by the way,' we go to our long rest rejoicing in the consciousness that no trust company will sit on our remains for the benefit of the unfortunate creditor. Our only indebtedness is to you who have taken us, whether you read us or not; to you who have told the story of your wares in our advertising pages; and to you who have given unsparingly of your riches to make a feast for our table of contents. These debts we can never hope to repay. As we came up out of the desert, so do we go down into the sea – because we want to. A

sufficient, if a selfish reason. And so we cry hail and farewell! To live is sweet, to die is to become distinguished.⁸⁹

Adieus such as these were common in little magazines of this period, though as many disappeared without warning.

Not all little magazines had demises as heroic as the *Ishmaelite*. In many respects, a successful little magazine is an oxymoron, and many little magazines were the victims of their success. As Bradley's phenomenal rise indicates, increased sales necessitate changes in production, investment in more and better equipment or services, changes in format, and attention to securing advertising revenue to underwrite higher production and distribution costs. Small formats and handmade and imitation handmade paper were not practical for either large-scale production or for advertising purposes. Attempts to develop little magazines into a commercial product without sacrificing the original aesthetic, literary, and cultural ideals that had inspired them rarely met with success, as the *Chap-Book's* failed attempts to become, in the words of its editor, "dignified and important," suggest.⁹⁰ While the *Chap-Book* editors tried to frame their transformation as maturation, their fellow little magazinists decried them as sellouts.⁹¹ In abandoning the form and content that made it original, the *Chap-Book* lost its freshness. While it was a first-rate little magazine, it was a second-rate

⁸⁹ The editor of the *Ishmaelite* was Hewitt H. Howland (1863-1944), who would go on to become literary advisor to Bobbs-Merrill publishing company and later editor of *Century Magazine*.

⁹⁰ Herbert Stone, quoted in Schlereth, *Chap-Book*, 6.

⁹¹ See, for example, Walter Blackburn Harte's commentary on the changes in "Bubble and Squeak," *Lotus* 3.2 (Feb. 1897): 57-66.

mainstream literary magazine. Few little magazines managed the tricky balance of being both big and little at the same time save, perhaps, Elbert Hubbard's *Philistine*. One might question, however, whether it is quite right to describe Hubbard's magazine as a little magazine once its circulations reached over a hundred thousand.

The same might be said of other magazines, which emerged at the height of the little magazine fad and appropriated some of its aspects but were essentially niche-market magazines of a different type. Thus, for example, the story magazine the *Black Cat*, in the context of the 1890s, bears an important relationship to the little magazine movement. By the 1910s, however, when this magazine is still in existence, it is better understood in the context of the pulp magazines of this period rather than as a surviving fin-de-siècle little magazine.

A similar development applied to the magazine *What to Eat. What to Eat* was a domestic household magazine with features on food and health, but, in its early years, it included poster-style art as well as fiction and poetry (see figure 18.1). It gradually grew away from its little magazine context, however, to become a more mainstream domestic publication in form and content. By 1908 its name was changed to the *National Food Magazine*, a name that suggests a more serious mission.

Though little magazines emerged after 1903, a sense of a little magazine “phenomenon” or movement, I argue, had largely died out and was soon forgotten. By 1910, a year that marked the beginning of the next significant wave of little magazines, only a fraction of those that had emerged in the fin de siècle

were still in existence – only twenty-two (or 7%) of the updated bibliography that accompanies the thesis (see Appendix B): a *Stuffed Club for Everybody*, a magazine of rational therapeutics; *Photo Era* and *Camera Work*, photography magazines; the *Black Cat*, a story magazine; the Arts and Crafts periodicals *Handicraft* (which was suspended between 1904 and 1910), the organ for the Boston Arts and Crafts society, the *Craftsman*, and *House Beautiful* (still in existence today); *Poet Lore*, a literary magazine, still in existence today; *Little Journeys*, Hubbard’s monthly series of sketches of famous people; the Corsair, a chess periodical; *Wilshire’s* and *Ariel*, two Socialist magazines; the *Conservator*, Traubel’s organ for Whitmania and his idiosyncratic beliefs; the *North Carolina Booklet*, a historical journal, the organ for the Society of the Daughters of the Revolution; *Papyrus*, Michael Monahan’s one-man magazine on literary topics; the *Philistine*, a vehicle for the views of Elbert Hubbard; the *Bibelot*, Thomas Mosher’s literary reprint series of esoteric and neglected literature; *Reedy’s Mirror*, *Saxby’s Magazine*, and *Pearson’s*, general magazines sympathetic to the literary avant-garde and/or progressivism; and *Smart Set* and *Moods* (New York), literary journals.

Of these titles, only a few, namely *Poet Lore*, *Moods*, and the magazines of Hubbard, Monahan, Mosher, and Traubel can be said, by the 1910s, to continue to evoke the spirit of that resulted in their emergence. Some others, namely *Smart Set* and *Pearson’s*, developed in the opposite direction, emerging as more mainstream magazines but becoming more “little” in spirit in the Modernist era under new editorships. Still others, though initiated within the efflorescence of the

little magazine movement, would, by the 1910s, have lost that association, understood more properly as part of journals of a particular generic type -- as niche magazines proliferated in the twentieth century – rather than as little magazines. In the end, the little magazines of this period died young or matured and lost their original character. Only very rarely did they sustain their original flavour and intentions.

CHAPTER 5

Aesthetic Little Magazines:

The *Chap-Book* and Its Imitators

*[The Chap-Book] was like a saucy little torpedo boat and its projectiles were launched at everything and everybody in the literary swim.*¹

*[The Chap-Book] was a bright journal, and it spoke its own mind very freely It was impudent and it was so cocksure of its infallibility that it never seemed able to see anything good in anything else. It struck right and left, making enemies at every blow, but friends, never.*²

*[The Chap-Book's] original form was one that made its name more or less appropriate, and from the first it made a specialty of literary eccentricities. It gave space to young men and young women who wanted to experiment. It printed queer poems and queer pictures and queer prose, some of which can be fitly described only by the vernacular adjective "looney." It was not devoid of cleverness, but this was always a crack-brained cleverness and also a mimetic cleverness. Thus, its artists feebly copied Aubrey Beardsley; its poets feebly copied Stephen Crane; its prose writers feebly copied Richard le Gallienne and Oscar Wilde.*³

The combination of the high and popular, radical and mainstream that characterized the physical appearance and cultural agenda of the little magazines also extended to their content. On the one hand, fin-de-siècle little magazines, like their Modernist counterparts, were a venue for experimental literary and artistic work and a vehicle for various forms of social and cultural radicalism. On the other hand, however, they were also important stepping-stones for writers and artists into careers in the mainstream press and a medium for amateurs to express

¹ From the *Rochester Post Express*, July 23, 1898: page unknown. Viewed as clipping in the Francis Browne files, Midwest MS Browne (Box 7, folder 360), Newberry Library, Chicago.

² From the *Cincinnati Commercial Tribune*, July 13, 1898. Source same as above.

³ From the *New York Commerical Advertiser*, July 30, 1898. Source same as above.

themselves. Whereas Modernist little magazines are probably best characterized as a product of a small, intellectual largely urban-based elite, the fin-de-siècle little magazines were taken up by a broader, even if only marginally so, range of the cultural elite. Their contributors and founders included, not only writers, artists, and intellectuals, but also doctors, lawyers, journalists, architects, businessmen, and others from across the spectrum of professional middle-class life in different parts of the country. The contents of the little magazines of this era, therefore, provide a window into the concerns and interests – both in artistic and in broader cultural terms – of this emerging class at an important moment in the development of American middle-class cultural identity.

This is the first of three chapters that will provide an overview of the types and content of fin-de-siècle little magazines, focusing on the larger trends and characteristic interests of these publications. For ease of discussion, I have thought it best to devote separate chapters to the two main forms of little magazine: the aesthetic little magazine – those dealing entirely or almost wholly with literary and/or artistic content whose influence can be traced to the *Chap-Book*; and the periodical of protest – those magazines whose concerns are largely social and which are modeled largely after the *Philistine*. A third chapter treats other notable instances of the little magazine: humour and parody and the variety of miscellaneous uses to which the little magazine form was put.

Aesthetic Little Magazines: The Broader Magazine Context

Aesthetic little magazines, magazines with literary and/or artistic content, are by far the largest category. Within this field, I include magazines devoted to

literature and literary criticism, ranging from avant-garde periodicals such as *M'lle New York* to more mainstream fare such as the *New Bohemian*; fine printing and the graphic arts, ranging from magazines devoted to posters, such as *Poster Lore*, to Will Bradley's innovative *Bradley, His Book*, a literary, artistic, and technical journal of the decorative arts and advertising; and bibliophilic and book collecting interests, including the *Bibelot*, Thomas Mosher's magazine of esoteric literary reprints, and *Ex Libris*, devoted to bookplate collecting.

The dominance of the aesthetic magazine within the little magazine form attests at once to the interest in cultural development in American life and to the magazine as a major vehicle for this endeavor. American magazines in general in this period were highly regarded as a literary and artistic medium. Indeed, one journalist of the period regarded the growth of the magazine in the late nineteenth century as "a literary movement."⁴ At the same time, American magazines were renowned for their copious illustrations, which were often of a high quality. By the 1890s, however, the literary and artistic quality of magazines was being called into question by some, notably the editors of genteel and highbrow magazines.⁵ Cheap photographic reproduction processes and photographs were replacing engravings and the increasing reliance of magazines on advertising revenue was seen as detrimental to the quality of the content. The days of the long review article were on the wane, giving way to short, journalistic pieces, gossip, timely content, social and political commentary, abundant illustration, and short stories.

⁴ *Graphic* (Chicago) Feb. 6, 1892, 107, quoted in Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 12.

⁵ Unless otherwise noted, the remainder of this paragraph draws on Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 12-14.

At the same time, the learned and cultivated tone of the general monthly was being challenged by a more lively, journalistic style. Mass-market magazines and the “yellow journalism” of the newly emerging popular newspapers were held largely accountable for these changes.

Faced with this competition, many of the genteel magazines, whose editors regarded themselves as “cultural custodians,” caved to the pressure, shaping their content to suit changing demands. Critics of these transformations included author Julian Hawthorne, who lamented the dominance of illustration over literature and Francis F. Browne, editor of the literary periodical the *Dial*, who claimed that mass readerships led to mediocre and conservative content.⁶ Aesthetic little magazinists were generally on the side of Hawthorne and Browne in their views concerning the commodification and popularization of the magazine. In its “Notes” column for May 1896, for example, the *Chap-Book* decried the “decadence” of contemporary magazine culture:

the new [magazines] are not literary: they are merely picture books issued periodically. . . . A man buys three or four of them for what one literary paper costs, and gets half-tone portraits of actresses, celebrities and places; a few pages of gossip and personality; short, crisp interviews. As for the stories and verse, they are much the same in all the periodicals. . . . they sacrifice literature to pictures

⁶ Indeed, magazine editors were often more circumspect about what they published in their magazines than were book publishers. Through the 1890s, stories that were deemed too racy for serial publication were published as books even when, so often book and magazine publishers were one and the same (Spiller et al., *Literary History of the United States*, 953).

. . . and they base their whole scheme on the superficiality of our public.⁷

The general magazines of this period described by this writer represented a print hodge-podge. In the 1890s, a general monthly – both of the genteel and mass-market variety – might typically contain between one hundred and one hundred and fifty pages of the following type of content: one or two serials, a short story or two, some poetry, biographical, historical, travel features, essays on literature or the arts, and – especially in the mass-market magazines – celebrity gossip and features as well as topical political and social commentary and coverage. Lighter matter, including literary or art notes, an editor’s section, and comics appeared towards the back of the magazine and there were plentiful half-tone and photographic illustrations throughout. This content was sandwiched between substantial advertising sections at front and back that might total well over one hundred pages.⁸

Aesthetic little magazines, by contrast, had far fewer pages – as few as eight pages at the lower end, and usually no more than sixty-four at the higher end. In terms of their cultural focus, aesthetic little magazines also had a narrower focus than their mainstream counterparts. History, biography, and travel non-fiction pieces, so prominent in mainstream magazines, were rare. Fiction and poetry were predominant, while music, dramatic pieces, and art were also occasionally included. Non-fiction was generally geared towards literary and artistic criticism and commentary or reviews. A typical issue of an aesthetic little

⁷ “Notes,” *Chap-Book* 5.1 (May 15, 1896): 47-48.

⁸ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 20.

magazine might include a couple of short stories, a few poems, a literary essay or two, literary notes and reviews, and an editorial commentary section. Illustrations, if included, were often minimal, though important to the overall design and aesthetic of the magazine. Advertising usually occupied no more than a couple of pages.

In general, aesthetic little magazines took up the discarded mantle of many a genteel magazine and deliberately eschewed the social, political, and timely issues that would be taken on by their counterparts – the periodicals of protest.⁹ The *Chap-Book* editor, for example, insisted that political matters were irrelevant to a magazine concerned with culture.¹⁰ This view was prevalent, as most aesthetic little magazines avoided contemporary political and social commentary and critiqued the mainstream magazines that included such content. Much criticism, therefore, was directed at the *Chap-Book* when, in 1897, it abandoned its little magazine format and sought to establish itself as a “critical journal of the first rank.”¹¹ In addition to now including political commentary and discussions of current events, the new *Chap Book* did away with most of its most characteristic little magazine features. It increased its size to be more suitable for advertising, phased out its distinctive illustrations to make way for photographs and half-tones, and changed its paper from imitation hand-made to a paper better suited for modern illustration processes (see figure 15.3). Other little magazine editors

⁹ Some aesthetic little magazines, especially those whose editors and publishers idealized the values of Morris, combined aesthetic with social and political interests. These will be discussed in the next chapter as instances of hybrid magazines – part aesthetic magazines, part periodicals of protest.

¹⁰ “Notes,” *Chap-Book*, 4.9 (March 15, 1896): 445.

¹¹ “Announcements,” *Chap-Book* 6.4 (Jan. 1, 1897): 194.

noted, lamented, and critiqued the transformation of the *Chap-Book*. William Ellis, editor of the *Philosopher* of Wausau, Wisconsin, for example, said of the mainstreaming of the magazine: “Its snobbishness, which has always been a most amusing characteristic, will assume a seriousness of cast which will be insufferable, and that which was strikingly daring in a stripling, will be only commonplace.”¹² Elbert Hubbard, of the *Philistine*, was more cutting, saying, according to reports of the *Cleveland Plain Dealer*, that “the Chap-Book had ceased . . . to be a sprightly chipmunk magazine and had become a fat, lazy woodchuck.”¹³

While many aesthetic little magazines defined themselves in opposition to the commercialism of mass-market magazines and the conservatism of their genteel counterparts, they are not likely to strike a reader of today as particularly avant-garde in nature. It is for this reason, coupled with the obscurity, in canonical terms, of their contributors, that almost none of them appear in Hoffmann, Allen, and Ulrich’s history of little magazines. The difference between the little magazines of the fin de siècle and those of Modernist era can be accounted for on the basis of the cultural contexts that shaped them. Though primarily associated with emerging forms of Modernism that many of these magazines revered, these publications also harked back in their construction of elite high culture to

¹² W. H. Ellis, “In the Smoking Room,” *Philosopher* 1.1 (Jan. 1897): 27. Walter Blackburn Harte wrote a lengthy critique of the *Chap-Book*’s abandonment of its original aims (“Bubble and Squeak,” *Lotus* 3.2 [Feb. 1897]: 57-66).

¹³ 24 July 1898, page unknown. Viewed as clipping in the Francis Browne Papers, Midwest MS Browne (Box 7, Folder 360), Newberry Library, Chicago.

traditional cultural figures and movements in the Anglo-American and classical tradition.

Thus, while these little magazines were undoubtedly an important venue for experimentation by aspiring writers and artists, they were also a central medium for asserting cultural legitimacy and educating their readership. Many within the movement believed that America's cultural growth depended on a firm grounding in the high cultural tradition. Little magazinists, then, were guided by two principal aims – an interest in serving as a vehicle for new writers and a wish to develop their readers' cultural tastes through the inclusion of works by or about established literary figures of the present and past. As a consequence, these magazines featured a mixture of content: some that seems, from our perspective, prescient and progressive in relationship to the development of the Anglo-American literary canon, and some that may seem extremely traditional and/or conservative.

In their interest in shaping and representing modern literary culture, the aesthetic little magazines of this period included some established and emerging notable writers, many of whom would have an important influence on twentieth-century Modernism, including Henry James, Stéphane Mallarmé, Paul Verlaine, William Butler Yeats, Maurice Maeterlinck, Thomas Hardy, Knut Hamsun, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Emile Verhaeren, and Oscar Wilde. Some included early works by those who would go on to become notable twentieth-century figures including Jack London, Booth Tarkington, Harriet Monroe, Carl Sandburg, and H. L. Mencken. These little magazinists, like their successors, were also engaged

in recuperating forgotten figures and movements in an effort to shape an iconoclastic literary tradition. Their championing of writers such as Poe and Whitman, hitherto largely neglected figures, for example, was part of this remapping of a literary canon.

At the same time, however, aesthetic little magazines also often valorized the more traditional Anglo-American literary culture that represented the genteel culture that otherwise they revolted against. Some little magazinists, for example, revered the icons of genteel Brahmin culture – figures such as James Russell Lowell, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and John Greenleaf Whittier; some idealized Romanticism and American Transcendentalism; some evidenced a love for the classics alongside an interest in contemporary literary fads – the dialect story and the historical adventure novel, for example. In this respect, the fin-de-siècle little magazines sometimes promoted figures who would come to be derided by the subsequent generation of Modernists. Unlike their Modernist counterparts who, in looking back on their cultural antecedents, sought, in Ezra Pound's terms, to "make it new," fin-de-siècle little magazinists often endorsed content that, by Modernists standards, would be seen as derivative, imitating rather than refashioning a literary tradition.

Within the realm of aesthetic little magazines, then, we encounter a varied range of notions of high culture. Some appear more conservative and traditional, exhibiting a preference for genteel high culture and a suspicion of the newer literary and art forms that were making high cultural claims. Thomas Mosher's *Bibelot*, for example, a reprint magazine of choice poetry and prose from ancient

times to the present, was couched in highbrow terms, reflecting genteel cultural values in its self-representation as “an aid to self-culture in literature.”¹⁴ Some, such as *M’lle New York*, were vituperative about genteel culture, reserving their adulation for new movements and neglected or forgotten figures. Some magazines exhibited an interest in both the traditional and avant-garde. In the pages of the *Chap-Book*, for example, representatives of the genteel tradition including Thomas Bailey Aldrich, writer and one-time editor of the *Atlantic Monthly*, and E. C. Stedman, a leading poet, critic of the nineteenth century, appeared alongside Beardsley, Verlaine, and Mallarmé. Perhaps the most conventional content appeared in magazines that relied heavily on amateur contributors.

My inclusion of publications with decidedly non-avant-garde material within the category of little magazine challenges traditional understandings of the genre. Nevertheless, it is in keeping with recent efforts in Modernist studies to go beyond traditional understandings. My major, and perhaps most controversial contention, as I have suggested in the introduction, is that the material form and the discourse of self-representation are paramount in defining the little magazine of this period. The exclusive focus on literary and artistic culture that defined the aesthetic little magazine whether of a more avant-garde or popular mode, coupled with a diminutive size, dainty appearance, and a self-consciously anti-mainstream editorial voice have important effects. In these magazines, short fiction and poetry were foregrounded in a way unmatched in mainstream magazines, where this content might be overshadowed by popular serial fiction and longer non-fiction

¹⁴ Thomas Mosher, Foreword to the “General Index to the *Bibelot*, vols. 1-20” (1915): xi.

prose material, not to mention copious advertising. At the same time, the little magazine's form and self-representation has an important influence in shaping the reading experience and the conditions of reception. For example, in the case of publications such as the *Chap-Book* and the *Bibelot*, they guide the reader to understand the content as choice literature, carefully selected for a discriminating reader.

Fiction in the Aesthetic Little Magazines

Because the form of the little magazine foregrounded the short story in ways unparalleled in mainstream magazines, it was an ideal venue for experimentation in this genre. While notable short fiction existed earlier in the nineteenth century, especially in the works of Edgar Allan Poe, Herman Melville, and Nathaniel Hawthorne, the form gained in popularity from the 1880s on. The emergence of little magazines in Britain and America in this period played an important role in the development of the short story as art form, as did the concurrent rise of all-fiction story magazines, including those I am situating within the little magazine movement. The short story was a genre that allowed a lot of scope as Henry Mills Alden, editor of *Harper's*, noted. Among the variety of effects it might explore were "the character sketch . . . a single dramatic situation, a succession of humorous incidents . . . a quick comedy . . . an equally quick tragedy . . . a brief glimpse of special life . . . a spiritual revelation . . . a picturesque view of some old time."¹⁵ At the same time, it was appealing both to readers, who expressed a

¹⁵ Henry Mills Alden, "Editor's Study," *Harper's* 104 (1901): 170, quoted in Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 114.

preference for magazines with good material in this vein, and to aspiring and established writers to whom the form seemed an easy one.¹⁶

Aesthetic little magazines featured stories of all the types represented by *Alden* and there was certainly a resemblance and crossover of writers between little magazines and mainstream magazines. Nevertheless, trends particular to little magazines may be noted across the range of short fiction appearing in them. Thus, while sentimental love stories differing little in kind from those found in mainstream magazines may appear in little magazines, more typically love themes are characterized by cynicism, tragedy, and a degree of the risqué. The *Bachelor Book*, the *Lotus*, and *M'lle New York*, for example, often featured daring New Woman types, whose views of love were shocking and modern. "Local color" and dialect fiction and poetry, other popular mainstream modes, also appear in the pages of little magazines.

Some little magazine editors were clearly ambivalent about the local color and dialect literature. While recognizing its potential for contributing to the development of a distinctively American literature, they were ambivalent about the form's cultural authority. The *Chap-Book*, for example, mocked regional writers who professed that "to be indigenous is to be artistic,"¹⁷ and yet it published numerous instances of local color writing, including the work of Hamlin Garland and Alice Brown.¹⁸ In general, local color writing tended to be

¹⁶ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 113, 429.

¹⁷ "Notes" *Chap-Book* 3.10 (Oct. 1, 1895): 402

¹⁸ The *Chap-Book* included numerous contributions by Garland, including a serialization of his story "The Land of the Straddle-Bug," a story of homesteader life, from 1894-1895. In her study of the *Chap-Book*, Schlereth explains that

most favored in some of the regional aesthetic little magazines, which often sought to promote local writers. The *Philosopher* of Wasau, Wisconsin, for example, featured and reported regularly on Wisconsin writers and wrote glowingly about regional writers including Garland and Wisconsin author W. A. White. William Ellis, the magazine's editor, however, was careful to balance the regional with the national and international. In this way, he located the local within a broader, more cosmopolitan literary culture.

Historical romance was another influential literary genre both in mainstream magazines and in the aesthetic little magazines. The genre encompassed a broad range of periods, styles, and geographical locales and included James Barrie's and Ian McLaren's novels of rural Scottish life, novels about the French and American revolutions, Southern plantation stories, stories of early New England and New France, swashbuckling romances of the *Prisoner of Zenda* type set in imaginary kingdoms, and early Christian-era romances inspired by the success of *Quo Vadis*.¹⁹ While these types had some place in aesthetic little magazines, the type of historical romance most favored by the elitist little magazinists was the chivalric romance, a form strongly linked to the medievalist interests of the Pre-Raphaelites, William Morris, and the Aesthetes. *Blue Sky*, for

despite the seeming incompatibility of Garland's aesthetic with that of the *Chap-Book*, Garland's work exhibited a strong strain of romanticism that aligned him with the aesthetic ideals of Stone and Kimball (69-76). She also describes how Stone urged Garland to abandon his reformist zeal and to focus on art (71-2).

¹⁹ For more on popular literary culture see Alice Payne Hackett, *Eighty Years of Best Sellers 1895-1975* (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1977); Frank Luther Mott, *Golden Multitudes: The Story of Best Sellers in the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1947); James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

example, which was strongly indebted to the aesthetic of William Morris and his school, is particularly notable for tales of the courtly and chivalric. Tales of the ancient orient, too, are frequently found in the pages of these magazines, a theme linked to the Orientalist interests of the Aesthetic movement and to the vogue in this period for the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam*, a collection of poems attributed to a Persian polymath of the 11th and 12th century that were widely translated in this period.²⁰

Perhaps the most significant genre in the literary and artistic little magazines was the horror or supernatural tale, or tale of the weird and fantastic. Writers of these tales were influenced by earlier American exponents of the genre, notably Poe. There were important contemporary influences as well -- European masters including Guy de Maupassant, who had a profound effect on the development of the American short story in this period.²¹ Linked to this type of short story through an interest in death and sin are the allegorical tales, parables, *contes cruels*, and prose poems, or “symbolic phantasies,” as one reviewer of the magazine *Chips* called them (see Anthology 349, 352, 359).²² These short short stories of a few hundred words form a significant portion of the fictional content of little magazines. Here, the important influence is the French Symbolist movement, especially the short tales of Mallarmé, Wilde, Baudelaire, and others as well as the dramas of Maurice Maeterlinck, whose works were translated and

²⁰ Hart, *Popular Book*, 138-39.

²¹ See, for example, Richard Fusco’s full-length study of this phenomenon, *Maupassant and the American Short Story: The Influence of Form at the Turn of the Century* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1994).

²² Reviewer for the *Syracuse Herald*, quoted in *Chips* 3.1 (Jan. 1896): n.p. [front matter].

issued in America by Stone and Kimball, the publishers of the *Chap-Book*.

Further drawing from the Aesthetic, Decadent, and Symbolist interest in borrowing from the other arts, little magazinists contributed tales that they referred to as etchings, sketches, and pastels.

The prevalence of this type of literature in the little magazines, coupled with their aesthetic appearance earned them such nicknames as “decadents,” “greenery-yallery periodicals,” “fin-de-siècle periodicals,” and “freak magazines.” Certainly, as in the aesthetic appearance of the magazines, these fin-de-siècle movements had their influence on the content. Among the most “decadent” of these American little magazines was *M’lle New York*. *M’lle New York*, according to its editor, James Huneker, was a magazine that “feared neither God nor man nor the printer.”²³ The stories and sketches in *M’lle New York* touched on incest, prostitution, fetishes, bestiality, sexual obsession, adultery, and satanism – all with an irreverent sense of humour (see Anthology 378).

Thompson and Huneker explored the farther shores of literary and artistic decadence, disdaining the Anglophilia of their little magazine contemporaries and focusing their attention instead on France and other continental European countries – Spain, Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Poland, and Belgium. In this respect, they were unlike other little magazinists whose attention to continental European forms was largely dictated by whether, as Larzer Ziff notes, they had

²³ James Huneker, *Steeplejack*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1920), 2.189.

yet passed through the “intellectual customs house of Britain.”²⁴ So too, their coverage anticipated the interests of the subsequent generation of Modernists. As Huneker biographer Arnold T. Schwab notes, “[*M’lle New York*] printed far more works by modern French authors than any other American publication of its time and not until the period of Amy Lowell and the Imagists was this high point of American criticism of French Symbolism reached again.”²⁵ *M’lle New York*’s extremism, however, was criticized by even the most progressive of little magazinists. It “alienated,” as Walter Blackburn Harte argued, “the most enthusiastic upholders of freedom in letters in our English tongue, by imprisoning the imagination in the stews, and banishing the mind and spirit out of life in a poetic mist of purely sensual existence—the fierce and chaotic desires of the animal reduced to mania and subtly twisted into perversion by the gift of intellect.”²⁶

Many little magazinists took a similar view to Harte and sought to distance themselves from the seamier side of Decadence. Decadence, after all, was a hard sell after May of 1895 when Oscar Wilde was sent to jail for committing “acts of gross indecency.” The scandal created a link between Decadence and unconventional and, to many minds, immoral, lifestyles, especially homosexuality. The scandal resulted in a backlash against Decadence that explains the anxious discourse around this movement in the little magazines. On the one hand, many little magazinists thought the Decadent aesthetic represented

²⁴ Larzer Ziff, *The American 1890s: Life and Times of a Lost Generation* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1966), 143.

²⁵ Schwab, *James Gibbons Huneker*, 101.

²⁶ Walter Blackburn Harte, “Bubble and Squeak,” *Lotus* 2.7 (Nov. 1896): 256.

promise for the development of American high culture. One *Chap-Book* contributor, for example, declared Decadence to be “delightful in its opposition to commercialism,” while the magazine itself praised it as a “revolt against . . . the commonplace.”²⁷

After the Wilde trial, however, the *Chap-Book* attempted to distance itself from an association with the Decadence of Wilde, Beardsley, and Symons. In its editorial section, it characterized the work of these men as Decadence “in the unpleasant sense of the word” -- immoral, wicked, and indecent.²⁸ The implication here is that the *Chap-Book* represents Decadence in a “pleasant” sense, possibly referring to the positive qualities identified in other issues -- its spirit of anti-commercialism and revolt against the mainstream. A similar ambivalence was expressed in the pages of the *Lotus* in the fall of 1895. While it praised Decadence in its original French manifestation, it deplored the young new school’s “lack of form and absence of ideas.”²⁹ In the same issue, the editors pride themselves on being thought of as “free of decadency.”³⁰ Magazines such as the *Chap-Book*, the *Lotus*, and others generally sought to minimize their link with Decadence, turning to less controversial forms that embodied these values -- Arts and Crafts, Aestheticism, and Symbolism, for example.

An important manifestation of what might be termed Decadence in a “pleasant” sense that was widely exploited in fin-de-siècle America was

²⁷ “Notes,” *Chap-Book* 1.7 (Aug. 15, 1894): 174. Hamilton Wright Mabie, “One Word More,” *Chap-Book* 4.4 (Jan. 1, 1896): 184.

²⁸ “Notes,” *Chap-Book* 4.2 (Dec. 1, 1895): 98-99.

²⁹ “Comment,” *Lotus* 1.2 (Nov. 15, 1895): 57.

³⁰ “What Others Say of Us,” *Lotus* 1.2 (Nov. 15, 1895): 58.

bohemianism. The celebration of bohemianism represented a safer alternative in terms of celebrating the unconventional than did Decadence in the post 1895 moment. Certainly, bohemianism was one of the most prevalent themes of the prose and poetry in these magazines. Popularized by George du Maurier's best-selling novel, *Trilby*, the life of the artist had a broad appeal, both for audiences and for an emerging body of literary and artistic professionals. Indeed, the term bohemian was exploited for the titles of a number of magazines that sprung up at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century. Albert Parry's study of bohemianism in America, for example, identifies magazines called the *Bohemian* issuing from New York, Boston, Buffalo, and Fort Worth. There was the *New Bohemian* of Cincinnati and the *Amateur Bohemian* of Oakland, California. As Parry indicates, these magazines offered a watered down, genteel, and domesticated version of bohemianism.³¹

The *Bohemian* (Boston), for example, sought to enlarge the scope of the term beyond those "who love pleasure without regard to conventionalities" to include "all who appreciate good fellowship."³² The *New Bohemian* similarly offered a "wholesome, pure, and refined" magazine, one that was "ideal . . . for the home."³³ The story "A Night in Bohemia," from the first issue of the magazine, provides a flavor of the aims of the magazine in its representation of Bohemia. In it, the protagonist reflects on the bohemian gathering before him as he enjoys a party with an old man who is a writer, the old man's wife, an actress,

³¹ Albert Parry, *Garretts and Pretenders: A History of Bohemianism in America* (New York: Cosimo Classics, 2005), 98.

³² *Bohemian* 1.1 (Dec. 1900): n.p. [front matter].

³³ "Advertisements," *New Bohemian* 1.1 (Oct. 1895): iii.

an artist, and a journalist: “It was not the Bohemia of unshaven faces and frayed cuffs—although the personal appearances of Scoopum and the artist were frequently not up to the mark when they were in hard luck, which was sometimes and usually, respectively — nor of long hair and soiled finger-nails and vulgar grisettes, but a cozy home-like Bohemia, with the Little Woman to do propriety.”³⁴

Stories of artists’ lives were also a specialty in *Quartier Latin*, a magazine associated with the American Art Association in Paris that was compiled in Paris, printed in London, and distributed in Europe, America, and Canada. While these magazines specialized in bohemian themes, stories of writers and artists were also a prominent feature even when they were not an explicit focus of most of the literary and artistic periodicals. There were a number of reasons for this. On the one hand, the changing conditions of authorship and publishing in part prompted this self-reflexive genre of writing. On the other, however, the public was immensely interested the lives of artists and writers.

Poetry in the Aesthetic Little Magazines

Like fiction, poetry was also popular magazine and newspaper fodder in this period. If this period is notable, however, for the flowering of the short story as artistic genre, it is regarded, on the contrary, as a “twilight period” for American poetry.³⁵ David Perkins attributes the so-called poor quality of verse in this period to a number of causes. First, many American poets of this period, he argues, were

³⁴ [Uncredited]. “A Night in Bohemia,” *New Bohemian* 1.1 (Oct. 1895): 19.

³⁵ See, for example, Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 120-21; David Perkins, *A History of Modern Poetry: From the 1890s to the High Modernist Mode* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1976).

isolated and often self-taught and sought to emulate great poetry. They looked especially to the Romantics and the lyric poem. They sought to perfect their skill in fixed forms rather than to innovate new ones. Second, according to Perkins, “handyman” poets, “do-it-yourselfers,” amateurs, and poets by avocation abounded in this period, flooding newspapers and magazines with occasional verse. Third, American writers of this period were intimidated by the great poetic tradition of Britain. This intimidation resulted either in poor imitations or immature revolts against the tradition. Fourth, the genteel tradition, which privileged “elevating” poetry and the poetry of sentiment remained a dominant force. Finally, the poetry market catered primarily, Perkins says, to an unsophisticated audience, depriving talented poets of opportunities to publish.³⁶

These dominant characteristics of the poetic field, Perkins claims, were challenged only to a minor degree. Homespun, regional, and dialect verse, for example, represented a revolt against genteel poetry; poetry of social protest emerged, an extension of the reformist interests of this era’s middle class; free verse forms inspired by Symbolists in Europe and Whitman and Dickinson in America sought a new language for poetry -- one that was, on the one hand, divorced from the constraints of form and, on the other, sought to establish a distinctively American poetic idiom.

Perkins’s Modernist bias is all too clear in his account of poetry in this period. Certainly, however, though he puts a negative spin on the era’s poetic production, he correctly identifies its main features: the prevalence of the

³⁶ Perkins, *History of Modern Poetry*, 85-99.

amateur, the importance of the poetic tradition and established poetic forms, and the interest in poetry of social and moral uplift. In contrast with the Modernist emphasis on the intellectual and abstract, the cultural elite of the 1890s privileged the sentimental, spiritual, and the emotive power of poetry and the poet's social mission. These characteristics attest to the more public role poetry played in everyday life in the nineteenth century compared with the twentieth century. Whereas Modernism abstracted poetry and the poet from everyday life, reifying and intellectualizing the poem, nineteenth century poetry was grounded in, and a part of, everyday life for many Americans.³⁷ It was not, then, as Perkins' and Mott's accounts suggest, simply "filler," but addressed the important social and cultural interests of Americans who quoted newspaper and magazine poetry in letters, clipped and pasted it in scrapbooks and commonplace books, hung it on their walls, read it aloud in their homes, and memorized and recited it in school.³⁸

More importantly, however, Americans were significant consumers of such poetry, attending poetry readings and purchasing volumes of poetry in vast quantities. Sentimental poet James Whitcomb Riley, for example, was a hugely popular poet whose works sold over three million copies between 1893 and 1949, while Edwin Markham, a poet of social protest, earned \$250,000 over the course

³⁷ Recent scholarship has drawn attention to this aspect of the history of poetry in America. See, for example, Rubin, *Songs of Ourselves*; Paula Bennett, "Not Just Filler and Not Just Sentimental: Women's Poetry in Victorian Periodicals, 1860-1900," in *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*. Ed. Kenneth M. Price and Susan Belasco Smith (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995), 202-19; and Joanne Dobson, *Dickinson and the Strategies of Reticence: The Woman Writer in the Nineteenth Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

³⁸ Dobson, *Dickinson and the Strategies of Reticence*, 30.

of his lifetime for his poem “The Man With the Hoe,” a poem in praise of the worker based on Jean-Francois Millet’s painting of the same title.³⁹ At the same time, as Perkins indicates, Americans were prodigious producers of poetry. Magazines and newspapers were full of verse by would-be poets, amateurs, and those who practiced poetry as a vocation, some of whom gained significant local, national and international followings.

This context informed the poetry of the little magazines of this era. Thus, while there were certainly inklings of the Modernist poetics that would develop in the early twentieth century in these magazines, they were not as pervasive as we might expect. Certainly there were little magazines such as *M’lle New York*, which tended to the more avant-garde or, one might say, proto-Modernist in their selection of poetry, featuring the work of free-verse European Symbolists. Most aesthetic little magazines, however, reflected a combination of interests. The *Chap-Book*, as it had with fiction, placed the new and modern alongside the genteel and traditional.

The aesthetic little magazines were not, therefore, a major venue for poetic revolt in this period. The values of the genteel tradition continued to prevail, combining with the reformist interests of the emerging professional middle class of the Progressive era. The little magazine poetry reflects interests, then, in the sentimental, the romantic lyric mode, the nature poem, reform and social protest, the occasional poem, homespun verse, and traditional poetic forms (see Anthology 350-354; 356; 364; 366; 370-71; 375; 379-380; 381; 383; 385-86).

³⁹ Perkins, *History of Modern Poetry*, 117, 99.

Poetic contributors to the little magazines themselves were part of the broader context mapped out by Perkins. Indeed, it is perhaps a misrepresentation to speak of a “little magazine poet,” as little magazines were rarely the sole venue of publication for these poets. Poetry contributors to the little magazines included newspaper and magazine poets, popular poets of region or nation, amateurs and poets by avocation, those Perkins calls “handymen” and “do-it-yourselfers.”

Much as with the fiction, then, it was the form and aesthetic of the little magazine more than the content itself that provided a more elevated artistic context for the work. Embellished with elaborate decorative effects, illustration, and typography, and situated within the pages of a self-declared rebellious magazine, a poem that might otherwise be no different from one appearing in a newspaper or mainstream magazine took on new significance. The form of the little magazine allowed readers to create a different self-identity through their relationship to content.

A sense of the more traditional and popular aspects of little magazine poetry can be gauged from a brief overview of some of the more prolific contributors. Joaquin Miller (1841?-1913), for example, exploited the Romantic lyric mode, bringing to it a rugged American flavour (see Anthology 379). Miller, who was more famous in Europe than America, was known as the Byron of the Rockies, the Poet of the Sierras, and the Buffalo Bill of poesy and had a good following amongst the literary avant-garde and little magazinists, especially those

in California where Miller eventually settled.⁴⁰ Among the little magazines that contained his works were *Chips*, the *Philistine*, *Drift*, *Echo*, and the *Anti-Philistine*.

Less well known today, but more famous in the 1890s than Miller was Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1850-1919). Wilcox achieved notoriety and success with her 1883 volume, *Poems of Passion*, which, though initially rejected by one publisher as “obscene,” would go on to sell 60,000 copies.⁴¹ Like many poets of her day, however, Wilcox wrote in a variety of genres and combined the radical and innovative with the conservative and traditional (see Anthology 366). Thus, in addition to her scandalous sexual poems, she also wrote poems on social issues, such as her 1872 collection, *Drops of Water*, devoted to temperance interests; spiritual poems based on her interests in New Thought and Rosicrucianism; and sentimental poems of cheer and uplift, such as “Solitude,” her most famous poem, which contains the well-known lines, “Laugh and the world laughs with you; Weep and you weep alone.” Wilcox was widely published in newspapers and magazines and wrote over forty volumes of verse. Some in the little magazine community scorned her. Fellow Wisconsinian, Neal Brown, for example, contributor to the *Philosopher*, castigated her for her “egotism” in the inaugural

⁴⁰ Benjamin S Lawson, “Joaquin Miller (Cincinnatus Hiner),” in *Encyclopedia of American Poetry: The Nineteenth Century*. Ed. Eric L. Haralson and John Hollander, Literature Online (database); Richard H. Brodhead, “The American Literary Field: 1860-1890,” in *Cambridge History of American Literature: Prose Writing, 1860-1920*. Ed. Sacvan Berkovitch and Cyrus R. K. Patell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 42.

⁴¹ Shira Wolosky, “Poetry and Public Discourse,” in *Cambridge History of American Literature: Nineteenth Century Poetry, 1800-1910*. Ed. Sacvan Berkovitch and Cyrus R. K. Patell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 189.

issue of the magazine, warning the editor not to fall prey to this vice.⁴² Many others, however, admired her. She was published, for example, in *Noon*, *Papyrus*, the *Optimist*, the *Chap-Book*, and the *Criterion* and was friends with Elbert Hubbard of the *Philistine*.

Like Wilcox, Sam Walter Foss (1858-1911) is now largely forgotten though he, too, was widely popular in his day, writing a poem a day for newspapers.⁴³ A librarian by profession and poet by avocation, he achieved national recognition for his poem “The House By the Side of the Road,” which is considered among the top 100 most popular American poems. Foss represents the school of “homespun” poetry – poems directed to the average reader -- and he also wrote poems of the common man, some of which were socialistic in tendency, idealizing labor and the working man. Despite the fact that he wrote poems with a purpose, his verse occasionally appeared in aesthetic little magazines, including the *Fly Leaf* and *Good Cheer*, though they were more often found in the periodicals of protest that took on topical issues (see Anthology 380).

Douglas Malloch (1877-1938) was also a hugely popular poet, syndicated writer, humorist, and public lecturer. Malloch had his own little magazine, *In*

⁴² Neal Brown, “Advice to a Philosopher,” *Philosopher* 1.1 (Jan. 1897): 16. Brown does not actually name her, but cites the preface to her *Poems of Passion*.

⁴³ Foss has been neglected by academic scholarship. Information on him is available through the Seacoast New Hampshire website and through the Ethical Society of St. Louis site. See J. Dennis Robinson, “Sam Walter Foss Was NH Poet Laureate for the Common Man,” (2007), at http://www.seacoastnh.com/Famous_People/Link_Free_or_Die/Sam_Walter_Foss_was_NH_Poet_Laureate_for_the_Common_Man/; J. Dennis Robinson, “The House by the Side of the Road,” at http://www.seacoastnh.com/Arts/Poetry/The_House_by_the_Side_of_the_Road/; John Hoad, “Sam Walter Foss: Minor Poet with a Major Message,” at Ethical Society of St Louis, <http://www.ethicalstl.org/platforms/platform071199.php>.

Many Keys, a venue for his cheery homespun verse, tales, and philosophy.

Malloch is often characterized as the lumberman poet. Critics said of him: “He sings of the open, of hard work, of exposure, of rough living and rough loving. It is verse which belongs to the strong-armed school; a healthy antidote to the softening tendencies which creep in with an age that loves luxury too well.”

Malloch was commissioned to write the Michigan state song and, like Wilcox, his twentieth-century legacy resides in a number of famous quotations. Notably, Martin Luther King was an admirer of Malloch and quoted from his verse.⁴⁴

These poets and their interests are broadly representative of the contributors and content of aesthetic little magazines. Of course, many were not as prolific. While some, like Carman and Wilcox, earned a living through writing, more were, like Foss, pursuing writing as an avocation, rather than a profession. Unlike their Modernist counterparts, who sought to “make it new” and valorized “difficulty” and intellectualism, little magazine poets of the 1890s more often sought to “make it old” – i.e. to emulate the great poetry of the past – and to make it accessible and emotive. Poets such as Miller, Wilcox, Foss, Malloch and their like were the norm. Proto-Modernist American Decadent and Symbolist poets were few and far between, and of those, the most notable, such as Francis-Vielé Griffin and Stuart Merrill, resided in France. Similarly, free verse, so central to

⁴⁴ Despite his apparent popularity and his oft-cited poems on internet sites, information on Malloch is scarce. Some information can be found on the Masonic Poets Society website, <http://masonic-poets-society.com/Malloch.htm>. See also, Tom Carlson, “Douglas Malloch, Poet,” through the Muskegon Museum website, <http://www.muskegonmuseum.org>. For King’s use of Malloch, see Clayborne Carson et al, *Papers of Martin Luther King*, vol. 3 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 457.

the Modernist poetic, was not a major form in this period. Even while many little magazinists revered Walt Whitman, a major American innovator of the free verse form, they did not emulate him. His independent spirit was ultimately more influential in this period than his aesthetic. In contrast to Whitman, Emily Dickinson, another free verse innovator whose works were posthumously published in this period, was virtually ignored by little magazinists.⁴⁵

Some sense of the overall traditionalism of the little magazines is evidenced in their ambivalent reaction to Stephen Crane, a major poetic innovator of the period. Crane, who was influenced by his reading of Dickinson, published his collection of verse, *Black Riders and Other Lines*, in 1895.⁴⁶ The book was issued by Copeland and Day, a firm associated with the revolution in fine printing and the Boston avant-garde community that gave rise to the *Chap-Book*. The book was an exemplification of aesthetic publications -- modern in both style and appearance. It was adorned with a black orchid on the cover and back and was printed with careful attention to typography. The short poems were printed all in capital letters at the top of the page, leaving plentiful white space. The poems were gnomic verses or "lines," as Crane insisted on calling them.

Crane was appreciated in some little magazine quarters. The *Chap-Book* published his verse (see Anthology 353), as did the *Philistine*. Overall, however, the reaction to Crane was rather ambivalent. Many greeted his work with derision and mockery (see Anthology 381). Walter Blackburn Harte's friend, Jonathan

⁴⁵ The October 1895 issue of the *Chap-Book* contains a brief reference to her in the "Notes" section (446).

⁴⁶ On the publishing conditions of Crane's book, see Christopher Benfey, *The Double Life of Stephen Crane* (New York: Vintage, 1994), 124-29.

Penn, for example, wrote attacks on Crane for the *Fly Leaf* and for the *Lotus*, calling his poems “ludicrous” and “irrelevant.”⁴⁷ Penn’s stinging attack was characteristic of many responses to Crane’s poetry. Though Harte published both of Penn’s attacks, his own views were more ambivalent:

His mystic, weird lines outrage all the laws of prosody, and can only stand as the audacious flings of a fantastic and untrammelled imagination, that is impatient of form and loves the hot splash of thought. But it must not be rashly judged that any fool can do this sort of thing. It demands a feeling for words and an abundant, bubbling imagination. Still, the grave critics who have seriously accepted Mr. Crane’s little book of verses as poetry and literature of a high order appear in a rather ludicrous light.⁴⁸

The reaction of little magazinists to Crane’s poetry underscores the importance of traditional verse forms in this period, even among the so-called literary avant-garde. It attests, too, to the value placed on the social and redemptive functions of poetry in the nineteenth century, functions later repudiated by Modernist poets. Overall, little magazine poets expressed more interest in experimenting with already established fixed verse forms. As a result, much of the poetry in little magazines takes the form of rondeaus, triolets, sonnets, villanelles, and quatrains. *Blue Sky*, for example, featured a regular section called “In Formal Measure,” devoted to publishing fixed verse forms (see

⁴⁷ Jonathan Penn, “A Little Study of Stephen Crane,” *Lotus* 2.6 (Oct. 1896): 208. See also Jonathan Penn, “The New Mysticism,” *Fly Leaf* 1.1 (Dec. 1895): 5-10.

⁴⁸ Walter Blackburn Harte, “Bubble and Squeak,” *Fly Leaf* 1.1 (Dec. 1895): 28. James Doyle provides further examples of the reception of Crane in the little magazine community in *Fin-de-siècle Spirit*, 111-112.

Anthology 386). *John-a-Dreams* was also interested in traditional verse forms, seeking to innovate by means of layout and typography rather than in formal poetic terms (see figure 10.8). In one example of John Senior's regular column, "The Print Shop," for example, a triolet was printed in ten different typefaces, and readers were asked to weigh in on deciding which was most appropriate for the poem. In a subsequent issue, Senior commented on the responses, commending readers for preferring French Elzevir, a face light and delicate like the manner and matter of the poem.⁴⁹

At the same time, little magazine poetry also explored many of the same themes exploited in little magazine fiction: bohemianism, medievalism and the troubador tradition as popularized by the Arts and Crafts movement (see Anthology 371); dialect and local color verse; poetic imitations of and tributes to the *Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam* (see Anthology 385). This last fad was a particularly notable influence, popularizing the quatrain as well as the subject matter of wine, women, and song in exotic settings. There were numerous translations, imitations, parodies of, and commentary on this work published in this period, many of them by the same small presses that issued little magazines, including Elder and Shepard (publisher of *Impressions* and *Personal Impressions*), Thomas Mosher (publisher of the *Bibelot*), Doxey's (publisher of the *Lark*), Elbert Hubbard (publisher of the *Philistine*), the Philosopher Press (publisher of the *Philosopher*), the Blue Sky Press (publisher of *Blue Sky*), M. F. Mansfield (publisher of the *Kipling Notebook*), Will Bradley (publisher of

⁴⁹ Nicolas Senior, "In the Print Shop," *John-a-Dreams* 2.4 (April 1897): 179-83.

Bradley, His Book), the Nevernod Press (publisher of the *Optimist* [Boone, Iowa]), Gelett Burgess (editor of the *Lark*, *Phyllida*, the *Enfant Terrible*, and the *Petit Journal de Refusés*), etc.

The poet who best embodies the various influences on little magazine poetry and who represents a bridge between the traditional and popular, on the one hand, and the modern, on the other, is Bliss Carman, a Canadian expatriate writer and one-time editor of the *Chap-Book*. Carman was the quintessential little magazine poet, in terms of his own contributions, forms he worked with, and influence (see Anthology 379). Carman contributed to *Courrier Innocent*, the *Lotus*, *Modern Art*, the *Kit-Bag*, the *Fly Leaf*, the *Chap-Book*, the *Bibelot*, the *Philistine*, the *Criterion* and others. As was the case with most poetic contributors to little magazines, these magazines were by no means his only market. Carman was a poet of his time, publishing in a variety of venues and testing all aspects of the market. He published in newspapers, mainstream magazines, and little magazines and his poems covered a variety of types from the avant-garde to the popular.

Carman wrote poems with obscure Symbolist and mystical themes that linked him to Modernist Decadence and Symbolism. He also, however, wrote the kind of lyric nature poems and mystical works that linked him to writers such as Miller and Wilcox. At the same time, Carman successfully exploited the popular and high art interests in Bohemianism, Omar Khayyam, and the nature poem. In collaboration with Richard Hovey, Carman brought these themes together in a series of Vagabondia books (*Songs from Vagabondia* [1894], *More Songs from*

Vagabondia [1896], *Last Songs from Vagabondia* [1900]) a series of “tramp” or gypsy poems, with an emphasis on wine, women, song, and the freedom of the open road.

Like Crane, Carman was sometimes the subject of mockery and parody in little magazines. Overall, however, he was far more representative of the poetic trends in little magazines. As the most prolific and representative poet of the little magazine world, Carman’s varied output is a reflection of how, in the realm of poetry, these magazines generally steered a middle course between the avant-garde and the popular, the genteel and the new. As a market for poetry, they were less a reaction against, than an extension of, newspapers and magazines, as well as a publicity venue for poets who published volumes with some of the same small presses that published little magazines.

Art in the Aesthetic Little Magazines

In comparison with their mainstream counterparts, aesthetic little magazines featured a relative paucity of illustration to accompany text, likely due to the expense. Little magazinists, however, made a virtue of necessity, focusing on design features -- typography, layout, decorative borders, and head, tail, and sidepieces. At the same time, some aesthetic little magazines featured art on its own terms, independent of accompanying text. Much of this art reflected emerging Modernist trends in art. In terms of their design and promotion of Modern artistic trends, the little magazines were an important part of the broader movements in fine printing, advertising, and magazine illustration that would have a profound impact on graphic design in the twentieth century. Indeed, it may

well be argued that the aesthetic little magazines of this period are most distinctive and most radical as artistic artifacts rather than as literary magazines. Certainly, they have garnered more attention in the fields of art and design history than they have in Modernist literary studies.⁵⁰

The emergence of the little magazines coincided with the beginnings of the “golden age of illustration” and the “golden age of advertising.”⁵¹ As in the literary field, the aesthetic little magazines were a training ground for a number of artists who would go on to have careers in magazine illustration, advertising, and other fields of graphic art. Some of these artistic contributors were students or teachers at the many established and emerging art schools around the country, a few of which were beginning to train their students for careers in commercial art. Such schools included the Art Students League in New York, the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Drexel Institute in Philadelphia. The Art Students League and the Art Institute of Chicago even published their own little magazines. The Art Students League issued the *Limner*, featuring articles on art and illustrations by art school students from across the country, while the Art Institute published *Brush and Pencil*. Some magazines relied heavily on art school contributors, including the *Rubric*, an Arts and Crafts inspired literary and artistic magazine, and *Four O’ Clock*, a magazine with a fiction focus that featured innovative

⁵⁰ Clarence Hornung and Robert Koch have both devoted full-length studies of Will Bradley’s art and both his work and the little magazines of this period have been considered in larger studies of American Art Nouveau, the poster movement, and the revolution in fine printing. See, for example, Johnson, *American Art Nouveau*; Margolin, *American Poster Renaissance*; and Thompson, *American Book Design*.

⁵¹ Thomson, *Origins of Graphic Design*, 12; Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 20-22.

pasted-in illustrations, many of them produced by students at the Art institute of Chicago.⁵²

The little magazines featured early work of notable professional illustrators and artists, some already established, some just emerging. These included John Sloan, later known as major figure in the Ashcan School of realist artists; J. C. Leyendecker and Maxfield Parrish, famous artists and illustrators of the early twentieth century; and important American poster artists Louis Rhead and Ethel Reed. Also significant were the early appearances of important book designers and typographers, including W. A. Dwiggins, Bertram G. Goodhue, Frederic William Goudy, Thomas Maitland Cleland, and Ralph Fletcher Seymour. Most influential, however, within the period itself, was Will Bradley, who was a printer, graphic artist, book designer, and typographer. Bradley had his own magazine, *Bradley, His Book*, and contributed and designed posters for many others including the *Chap-Book* and *Echo*.

The main artistic and design influences, as I have indicated, were the Arts and Crafts movement, Art Nouveau, European poster art, Japonisme, and the works of British artists such as Aubrey Beardsley and Walter Crane. Little magazinists generally disparaged the use of photographs and cheap half-tone reproductions used in mainstream publications (see figure 9.1). They opted for more self-consciously artistic effects afforded by other processes – woodcut and wood engraving, and some of the new photomechanical process: the process-line block that Beardsley had put to such good advantage for his artistic style, and the

⁵² Fleming, “Literary Interests of Chicago,” 805.

new photomechanical lithography. For the most part, little magazine artists resisted realistic pictorial effects, self-consciously foregrounding the art status of their representations as drawings, sketches, or woodcuts (see Anthology 355; 363; 365; 372; 384). Few little magazines featured elaborate illustration work, beyond decorative covers.

Most, however, reflected at least some influence of the Arts and Crafts movement and the corresponding revolution in fine printing in America in ways I have discussed in chapter 2. Decorated initial letters, rubrication, decorative head and tailpieces, and eccentric types characterize numerous little magazines (see figures 10.1-10.12). Often, in keeping with their link to the revolution in fine printing and bibliophilic interests, little magazines offered reproductions of bookplates (see figure 14.3). Changing monthly poster-style covers were also a notable feature of many of the magazines (see figures 8.1-8.16). This practice was new, introduced by Will Bradley for the *Inland Printer*, a trade magazine, and it was soon copied by little magazines. Cynics claimed this was the main appeal of the little magazines and that “few purchasers of fad periodicals ever get beyond the cover.”⁵³

Often, too, these magazines supplied larger posters upon subscription or offered them separately for sale. Little magazinists encouraged amateurs and students by holding contests for the best poster or cover submission.⁵⁴ Two little

⁵³ “Fad Magazines,” 12.

⁵⁴ In July 1896, for example, Bradley announced his intentions to sponsor a series of competitions, not only for posters and magazine covers, but also for book covers, wall papers, head and tail pieces, embroidery designs, fretwork, printing and press work, etc (“Announcement,” *Bradley, His Book* 1.3 [July 1896]: n.p.).

magazines devoted entirely to posters emerged – *Poster* of New York and *Poster Lore* of Kansas City. These reprinted images of notable recent posters, featured articles on poster artists and poster collecting, and noted exhibitions or poster-related events and publications. Another magazine, *Echo*, out of Chicago and later New York, featured particularly beautiful poster covers, in color, and reported on and reprinted works from illustrated magazines in Europe and America.

The importance of posters as a strong selling feature for little magazines is evidenced in the considerable coverage they received in terms of content. Most literary and artistic little magazines contained articles on poster-related themes and this interest spilled over into the literary content also. There were poems and stories about posters, poster collectors, and poster girls (see figure 18.2). Also, of course, poster-style art was sometimes featured inside the magazines (see Anthology 372). For the most part, the little magazine poster girl as envisioned and created by American poster artists sat somewhere between Charles Dana Gibson’s idealized Gibson girl and the racier and more modern women of European poster artists such as Jules Cheret and Aubrey Beardsley (see figures 19.1-19.6). While little magazinists resisted the American mainstream, sometimes the European avant-garde was a bit too extreme to their view. Poster artist Louis Rhead, for example, referred to Cheret as “invariably commonplace and often lewd,” a sentiment shared by other commentators of the period.⁵⁵

Turning now to this artistic content within the magazines themselves, it is worth considering a few of the more notable publications in this respect and the

⁵⁵ Quoted in *Poster* 1.1 (Jan. 1896): n. p.

variety of ways in which they conceived of illustration and decoration and put it to use. One of the earliest of the little magazines, the *Chap-Book*, had the greatest influence on the illustrated aesthetic little magazines that were to follow. The *Chap-Book* offered a variety of types of art in its pages and could afford to include the work of notable European artists; for example, Felix Vallotton, noted Swiss painter and wood engraver, who offered a number of contributions to the magazine (see Anthology 365); Aubrey Beardsley, decadent artist and master of black and white; Max Beerbohm, who did a series of “chap-book caricatures” that featured as supplements printed with colored ink in 1896; and Toulouse-Lautrec, who designed a poster for the magazine.

The *Chap-Book* also supported emerging American poster artists and illustrators. Those who appeared multiple times in the magazine included Will Bradley, the most notable graphic artist in the little magazine movement; Claude Fayette Bragdon, with his wood-block inspired and mystical and exotic work (see Anthology 355); Frank Hazenplug, whose contributions demonstrate the influence of William Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement (see Anthology 359; 377); and Raymond M. Crosby, who provided sketches (see Anthology 384). Bradley, Bragdon, and Hazenplug, in particular, would go on to contribute to a number of other little magazines, their names becoming synonymous, in this community, with new tendencies in art.

As a self-styled literary magazine, the *Chap-Book* often featured portraits, sketches, and other artistic representations of writers. Like its British counterpart,

the *Yellow Book*, which insisted on the independence of art and letterpress,⁵⁶ the *Chap-Book* also separated the two. The insistence on this distinction was part of a modernist drive to allow art to be appreciated in its own right, not merely as an accompaniment to text as in popular illustrated magazines.⁵⁷ The *Chap-Book* avoided using illustration for narrative text except, in some cases, for poetry where the art was abstract decoration.

Other magazines, however, used design and illustration to created a marked contrast to the style of the *Chap-Book*. Will Bradley, for example, sought to create innovative relationships between text and illustration and between art and advertising in his magazine, *Bradley, His Book*. Bradley had ambitious artistic and design plans for his magazine. Whereas the *Chap-Book* offered a predictable package in terms of design and artistic content, *Bradley, His Book* was different every month. In his first issue, he announced that each issue would feature a different design – using different colors, papers, and types.⁵⁸ Design decisions were, in turn, influenced by the themes he developed for each month. So, for example, his July 1896 “woman’s issue” was printed “daintily” on enameled paper with illustrations “chosen with special reference to their pleasing women.”⁵⁹ He also planned a poster number that would illustrate stories and

⁵⁶ “Announcement” [advertising promotion for the *Yellow Book*] (London: Elkin Mathews and John Lane, 1894), n.p.

⁵⁷ Not all little magazinists shared this sentiment. The *Chap-Book* itself published an essay on the *Yellow Book* by Pierre La Rose in which he took exception to its interest in separating art from letterpress (“The *Yellow Book*,” *Chap-Book* 1.7 [Aug. 15, 1894]: 161-65).

⁵⁸ “At the End of the Book: The Character of Some Future Numbers Together With Notes of General Interest,” *Bradley, His Book* 1.1 (May 1896): n. p.

⁵⁹ “Features of July Number,” *Bradley, His Book* 1.2 (Jun 1896): n. p.

poems in poster-style and feature poster advertisements – with no type – presumably so as to appear as works of art.

Indeed, Bradley was a fierce proponent of advertisement as art and he sought to blur the boundaries between the two. He designed the ads in his magazine, referring to them as “illuminated advertisements.” In so doing, he linked the newly emerging medium of commercial advertising with the artisanal practices of the manuscript age. Recognizing both the need for “a liberal advertising patronage” for his magazine and the decorative possibilities of advertising, Bradley sought to make his ads “a feature of the book” (see figures 16.3-16.5).⁶⁰ Bradley was praised for his “revival of artistic printing and the development of decorative advertising” and his ads were declared “poems in themselves.” An example of Bradley’s blurring of art and advertisement and his playful attitude towards the comments of his admiring critics is represented in his ad for Ayer’s Vigour, a hair-loss treatment (see figures 16.4-16.5). The ad plays up the division between high art and the commercial by juxtaposing a beautifully designed ad with a deliberately bad poem. In the ad, which could easily be mistaken for the literary/artistic content of the magazine, a Pre-Raphaelite “stunner” frames a poem entitled “A Ballade of Baldness” with the punning refrain “when folly kills the follicles.”

While the *Chap-Book* and *Bradley, His Book* served as important influences on other aesthetic little magazines in terms of artistic content and design, *M’lle New York* is worth mentioning for its distinctiveness. While admired

⁶⁰ “At the End of the Book.”

for its innovative design, it was not widely imitated. Unlike its largely Anglophilic counterparts, *M'lle New York* looked to French literary, artistic, and satirical periodicals for its design inspiration, publications such as *Gil Blas*, *Le Rire*, and *La Plume*. Indeed, the magazine included illustrations from such magazines in addition to the distinctive work of its house illustrators, Thomas Powers (1870-1939), who was also a professional cartoonist for the mass-market Hearst syndicate;⁶¹ and Thomas Fleming (1853-1931), who was also a professional newspaper cartoonist and caricaturist.⁶² Unlike in the *Chap-Book* and other aesthetic little magazines, art and text are not treated as distinct spheres of their own. Elaborately colored illustration – suggesting hand-tinting -- is interwoven with text in the pages of *M'lle New York*, as in the pages of some of their French equivalents. Text is bordered and sometimes superimposed by sketches of bizarre creatures, caricature facial profiles, nude or scantily clad women, and leering men (see Anthology 348; 378; see figures 20.1-20.3)

In effect, the visual page in *M'lle New York* suggests an attempt to recreate the streets of the city and its inhabitants, with the reader as voyeuristic flaneur. This perception is only intensified when *M'lle New York* -- both the magazine and the city -- are personified as a wanton mistress in the closing piece of the first issue.⁶³ At the same time, the act of reading the magazine and experiencing the city are likened to sex with a prostitute. The seductiveness of the mistress and the

⁶¹ Thomas Powers obituary, published on *The Stripper's Guide*, (Sept. 21, 2006), at http://strippersguide.blogspot.com/2006_09_01_archive.html.

⁶² Vance Thompson wrote an article on Fleming for the *Inland Printer* (April 1897): 546.

⁶³ "M'lle New York," *M'lle New York* 1.1 (Aug. 1895): n. p.

city at night – “high-colored, décolleté, with warm flesh, rose-white and red-gold in the gaslight” -- are contrasted with the harsh reality of day – “haggard” with “rouge and powder . . . smeared on her frowsy face; disheveled hair . . . scant and coarse; throat . . . yellow; lips swollen with sleep and wine.”⁶⁴ Though *M’lle New York* did not have the influence that other aesthetic little magazines did in terms of design, it surely merits more attention for avant-garde innovation in the realm of magazine design.

Criticism and Editorials in the Little Magazines

The 1890s was an important period in the development of literary criticism, and magazines played a role in this history. As Mott indicates, there was more writing about literature, books, and writers in magazines than ever before.⁶⁵ Generalist literary criticism in the way of literary biography, literary history, and essays of appreciation appeared in magazines of all kinds: general magazines, little magazines, and magazines devoted to criticism and book reviews including the *Literary World* of Boston, the *Dial* of Chicago, the *Critic* of New York, and the *Bookman* of New York City, the American counterpart of a London journal of the same name. In comparison with those periodicals devoted entirely to literary criticism, little magazines were as much, if not more of a force, because, in many cases, their circulations were higher.⁶⁶ The interest in literary criticism was, on the

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 122.

⁶⁶ For example, *Ayer and Son’s Newspaper Annual* figures indicate a circulation of 5500 for the *Critic* in 1897 and 2500 for the *Literary World*. These are small circulations in comparison with the *Chap-Book*, which eventually achieved sales of 16,500, and are roughly equivalent to some of the smaller aesthetic little magazines. It must be noted, however, that while libraries and clubs might hold

one hand, an extension of the middle-class interest in cultural development that characterized the Gilded Age. On the other hand, this interest reflected newer emerging trends of literary gossip and the author as celebrity, trends exploited by mass-market magazines.

Coinciding with this growth of literary critical content were complaints about the quality of criticism and reviewing in periodicals. Mass-market magazines were blamed for the homogenization of critical discourse and for the interest in authors as celebrities, while many book reviews were criticized as being nothing more than advertisement.⁶⁷ The *Chap-Book* devoted considerable attention to this matter in the latter part of 1896, allowing its pages to be used as a vehicle for debate on the subject.⁶⁸ The complaints about criticism and reviewing are indicative of important changes in the literary and intellectual fields. It was a period, Glazener argues, when universities, little magazines, and some of the higher circulation mainstream magazines began to usurp the literary authority

subscriptions to the mainstream literary journals, they would probably not hold copies of little magazines.

⁶⁷ Schlereth, *Chap-Book*, 5; Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 121-22.

⁶⁸ The topic began as a comment in the "Notes" column on a recent article on criticism by Charles Dudley Warner (*Chap-Book* 5.8 [Sept. 1, 1896]: 378-79). Soon the debate involved a number of prominent and emerging literary figures, including Maurice Thompson and Walter Blackburn Harte, who wrote letters to the *Chap-Book* (published in "Notes," *Chap-Book* 5.9 [Sept 15, 1896]: 425-31), and Brander Mathews and Hamilton Wright Mabie who wrote articles on the subject (Mathews, "American Criticism Today," *Chap-Book* 5.10 [Oct. 1, 1896]: 474-79; Mabie, "Curiosity and Concentration," *Chap-Book* 5.11 [Oct. 15, 1896]: 482-6). The writer of the *Chap-Book* "Notes" section continued to comment and attempt to stir up controversy over the next few issues. See "Notes," *Chap-Book* 5.11 (Oct. 15, 1896): 525-26; "Notes," *Chap-Book* 5.12 (Nov. 1, 1896): 569-74. For Dec. 1, 1896, he launches a lengthy attack on the *Bookman* as a literary critical journal ("Notes," 88-94).

previously held by genteel magazines.⁶⁹ Universities, little magazines, and mainstream magazines offered significant alternatives for shaping people's notions of literary culture.

As an organ for the development of literary criticism, appreciation, and opinion, the little magazines reflected, as in many aspects of their makeup, the contradictory impulses of elitism and populism and of traditional and avant-garde tastes. Some veered more to the traditional, while others were more avant-garde in their sympathies. Most steered a middle course. They participated in discussions about literary and cultural fads and created fads of their own. Topics of interest in the non-fiction content were consistent with the magazines' fictional and poetic content: Decadence, Symbolism, Arts and Crafts, Art Nouveau, the Poster movement, Realism, Historical Romance, Dialect literature, bohemianism and the major proponents of these trends were discussed widely in the critical and editorial content. There were also features on advice to young authors.

The state of America's literary culture and its promise for the future were also widely discussed. Little magazines from regional locations sometimes featured essays on their own local literary figures. There was frequent discussion of little magazines themselves, both American and European, as well as attention (usually negative attention) to mainstream periodicals. In addition, prompted by an interest to shape literary taste and to encourage American writers to situate

⁶⁹ Glazener, *Reading for Realism*, 148. For a history of the development of the literary criticism in America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, see Graff, *Professing Literature* and Claudia Stokes, *Writers in Retrospect: The Rise of American Literary History, 1870-1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

themselves within a larger high literary tradition, there was also critical attention to classic authors, such as Shakespeare, Keats, Tennyson, or those that little magazinists sought to establish as classic, including Poe, who was underrated in this period. Book collecting, bibliophilia, and the fine press movement were also a major feature of discussion in these literary little magazines. Indeed, some of these magazines were devoted entirely to the interests of booklovers and many were issued by small presses. In reviewing, there was an effort to promote the books of the presses associated with this movement and evaluations of the physical appearance of books were part of the reviews.

Among the most discussed figures in the pages of little magazines were Whitman, Kipling, Stevenson, Crane, Carman, and Hubbard. Whitman's status in American literature in this period was not what it would become. It was lesser, for example, than that of figures such as Oliver Wendell Holmes, J. Russell Lowell, Henry W. Longfellow, Nathaniel Hawthorne, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Ralph Waldo Emerson.⁷⁰ Little magazinists, however, were largely appreciative of Whitman, lamenting his neglect at the hands of the American public. They advocated for his position as a preeminent American poet and were often disparaging of revered figures such as Longfellow and Lowell. Whitman and his ideals even formed the foundation of Horace Traubel's little magazine, the *Conservator* (1890-1919), a magazine that was part aesthetic little magazine and part periodical of protest. Through this magazine, Traubel sought to bring together Whitmanian ideas with his own radical socialist agenda in ways that his

⁷⁰ Brodhead, "The American Literary Field," 38.

mentor did not always approve of.⁷¹ It included reprints of reviews and articles on Whitman, Whitman-style poems, and, through the long years of its existence, represented a reflection of Traubel's shifting socialist allegiances.⁷²

Kipling and Stevenson were also popular subjects within the little magazines. Like Whitman, Kipling had a little magazine devoted to him, the *Kipling Notebook* (1899-1900), edited by M. F. Mansfield. Kipling was, however, an ambivalent figure in the little magazine world, regarded with some suspicion due to his popularity and imperialist views. Little magazinists were far more unanimous in their view of Stevenson, another writer with broad popular appeal, but one who was regarded as a stylist by the literary avant-garde and who epitomized to them the true bohemian man of letters. Crane, as I have indicated earlier, was generally a subject more of mockery than admiration in the pages of the little magazines and Carman derived some share of derision also. Hubbard, the most successful of little magazine editors, also drew much attention in the little magazines. Elitist literary little magazinists were largely dismissive of Hubbard's efforts, though in the realm of the periodical of protest little magazines, Hubbard was as major an influence as the *Chap-Book* was to the aesthetic little magazine.

In terms of writing style, the demise of the lengthy and ponderous review article that the genteel magazines revered made way for new forms. Aspects of the genteel still existed in soberer commentaries on literature and the arts, a

⁷¹ Brian K. Garman, *A Race of Singers: Whitman's Working-Class Hero from Guthrie to Springsteen* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 44-45.

⁷² Michael Robertson, *Worshipping Walt: The Whitman Disciples* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), 256.

shorter and more concise version of the review article. This “men [sic] of letters” approach was often associated with the bibliophilic and book collecting magazines and their belletristic interests. This kind of commentary tended to be contributed by professors and the older and more established literary men who wrote for the little magazines. Writers such as Lewis Worthington Smith (1866-1947), professor and later head of the English Department at Drake University in Iowa, who provided regular contributions to the *Optimist* (Boone, Iowa), are part of this group. So, too, are Maurice Thompson (1844-1901), who contributed to the *Chap-Book* and the *Clack Book*, and Hamilton Wright Mabie (1846-1916), contributor to the *Chap-Book* and *Papyrus*.

The demise of the lengthy review article, however, also prompted a renewal of interest in informal and conversational forms of the essay that privilege style and the personality of the writer: the familiar essay, and personal essay.⁷³ Historically, these forms were exemplified in the works of Charles Lamb, William Hazlitt, Michel de Montaigne, Joseph Addison, and Richard Steele. Some aesthetic little magazines, including the *Rubric*, and reprint magazines such as *Noon* and the *Bibelot* reprinted the work of these masters. The editor of *Kit-Kats* even used the name “Addison Steele” as a pseudonym.

Little magazinists of the period sought to update this essay form for the fin-de-siècle context, seeking to make a virtue of brevity and developing a modern personal voice characterized by wit, elegance, cleverness, urbanity, and

⁷³ Dan Roche, “Familiar Essay” and Theresa Werner, “Personal Essay,” in *Encyclopedia of the Essay*. Ed. Tracy Chevalier (Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1997), 274-75; 655-56.

sophistication. There was also a more outspoken, opinionated, and aggressive strain that developed. Often, the two went hand in hand, notably in the work of critics such as Vance Thompson and James Huneker (of *M'lle New York*) and Walter Blackburn Harte (of the *Fly Leaf* and the *Lotus*), who stand among the most prolific critical writers of the aesthetic little magazine genre. While these writers admired the essay writers of the past, they sought to create a new form for a new time. Similarly, while they expressed disdain for the muckraking journealese of the popular press, they adapted it to their advantage. In effect, these writers brought together a precious, refined, and aesthetic style with more aggressive rhetorical effects – including ridicule and cajolery. They each, however, did it in their own particular way and had distinctive voices. Indeed, this is what writers like them praised above all in criticism -- “invention, individuality, and non-conformity.”⁷⁴

Ironically, the development of this little magazine criticism was subsidized by more regular journalistic and magazine work. Each of these writers worked within both the mainstream magazine world and the world of little magazines. Little magazines, their own and others in which their work was in demand, served as a vehicle for their more outspoken criticism. Thompson and Huneker, for example, both earned a living as critics for other magazines. Huneker was a music critic for a number of music periodicals during the time he wrote for *M'lle New York*, while Thompson was a drama critic. Both used *M'lle New York* as a

⁷⁴ Doyle, *Fin-de-siècle Spirit*, 73. Doyle discusses these interests in relationship to Harte and other writers of the period, including little magazinist Percival Pollard, editor of the *Echo* and Ambrose Bierce (73-4).

medium for greater freedom of content and expression. Hunecker's criticism in *M'lle New York* was an intensified version of his already somewhat precious and highly colored style, but he was mostly interested in developing his creative talents in fiction in the magazine. It is Thompson's criticism that stands out most forcefully in the magazine. His bold opening salvo in the first number gives some sense of his acerbic style. Decrying the American bourgeoisie as "a grotesque aggregation of foolish individuals [that] pretends to literary taste," Thompson goes on to insist "*M'lle New York* is not concerned with the public. Her only ambition is to disintegrate some small portion of the public into its original component parts – the aristocracies of birth, wit, learning and art and the joyously vulgar mob" (see Anthology 348).⁷⁵

In addition to the boisterous and irreverent style of Hunecker and Thompson, the editorial and critical material in *M'lle New York* was unique in other ways. It ventured far beyond the usual Aesthetes, Decadents, and Symbolists revered in other little magazines – those such as Maeterlinck, Verlaine, Wilde, Beardsley, and Mallarmé. Hunecker and Thompson both had a vast knowledge of European writers and artists and discussed figures less widely known in America at that time, including Charles Cros, José-Maria de Hérédia, Odilon Redon, and Felicien Rops, Knut Hamsun, Edward Munch, Stanislaw Przybyszewski, Gabriele D'Annunzio, Emile Verhaeren, and Eugenio de Castro. The critical content also included strident attacks on popular American writers,

⁷⁵ [Vance Thompson], "Foreword," *M'lle New York* 1.1 (Aug. 1895): n. p.

artists, and magazines and fought for the recuperation of neglected American literary figures such as Poe and Whitman.

Like Huneker and Thompson, Harte moved between newspaper journalism and magazine work. Though British by birth, Harte was probably the most vocal proponent of the American little magazine movement of this period (see Anthology 372-74), editing two such publications and writing for numerous others. In addition to being an aggressive champion of the little magazine movement, which he promoted in his own and other magazines, Harte had radical views on a number of topics: he wrote in favor of unpopular or neglected authors such as Whitman and the American Decadent poet, Francis Saltus; he attacked the commercialism of the publishing and magazine industries; he railed against revered authors; he endorsed the aesthetic and decadent notions of the separation of art and morality; he cried out for growth of a strong and vibrant American literature; he expressed disdain for the Anglophilia of American writers, and so on.

Before establishing a little magazine, Harte was assistant editor of two magazines in the early 1890s. One of these, *New England*, was modeled after the genteel *Atlantic*. Though *New England* was a conservative periodical, Harte was given a regular literary editorial column, "In a Corner at Dodsley's" in which he expressed his radical views. The column, however, was placed in the advertising section of the magazine, a section often overlooked and frequently removed when magazines are bound for libraries. Nevertheless, it garnered enough recognition that it was soon expanded. While Harte had been able to express his radical views

in a more mainstream periodical, its positioning in the advertising section relegated it to a lowly status. Clearly, the best venue for his work was the little magazine. Once again, as with fiction and poetry, the form and aesthetic of the little magazine play an important role in the contextualization of content. In the little magazine, Harte's essays and editorials took pride of place. His "Bubble and Squeak" editorial column, for example, occupied up to half the content pages in some issues of the *Fly Leaf* and between five and ten pages in the *Lotus*, a magazine of roughly thirty pages. Less formal than his essays, these columns were an eclectic blend of Harte's thoughts, a space for him to vent his views on current literary trends in snippets. Here, in particular, he often talked about other little magazines and magazinists as well as more commercial publications.

Harte's editorial columns were not unique to his little magazines. These columns were a distinctive and notable feature of the genre – not only for aesthetic little magazines, but for other types also. Indeed, I would argue that they are the central feature of the little magazine. In aesthetic little magazines, the typical content of this chatty section includes a mish-mash of literary and cultural content -- anecdotes, opinion pieces, rants and raves about literature, authors, and other magazines. In many cases, this section also includes interesting narratives about the progress of the magazine. This section is where little magazinists narrate the trials and tribulations of their enterprise, document their successes and failures, report on the comments of their readers, criticize the mainstream press and publishing field, duke it out with other little magazines or, alternately, offer their support. They give the magazine its unique voice, its personality, and serve

most explicitly and forcefully to encourage readers to engage with radical views in ways that often the tamer fictional and poetic content of the magazine fail to achieve.

In the first issue of his own Charlottesville-based aesthetic little magazine the *Magpie* (1896), Kenneth Brown acknowledges the importance of this feature of the genre. He describes how he “hesitated some time between the editorial We of ordinary periodicals and the omniscient I of other miniature magazines,” opting finally for the latter choice – with a difference.⁷⁶ He will use the “little I” and call his column “Little Things.”⁷⁷ Sometimes these sections were characterized by mundane titles, such as “Notes” (*Chap-Book*), “Comment” (*Lotus*) or “Editorial” (*New Bohemian*). Sometimes the title was an indicator of the random nature of the content as in the “Stray Clouds” section of the *Blue Sky*. Or, the title might reflect the irreverent or bohemian nature of the content, as in “The Literary Cynic” column in *Chips* or “The Borders of Bohemia” column in the *New Bohemian*, edited by “A Woman Bohemian,” whose outspokenness was meant to come across as slightly risqué.⁷⁸ Sometimes, it was the pen name of the author that hinted at irreverence – such as “The Iconoclast” who wrote an editorial section in the *New Bohemian* called “The Passing Show.” The *Pebble* contained a section called “The Growlery,” a space not for the editors but for outsiders to vent their opinions. Another variation served to reflect the chatty, personal tone the editors

⁷⁶ Kenneth Brown, “Little Things,” *Magpie* 1.1 (June 1896): 14.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ She describes herself in her inaugural column as a “Free Thinker,” and prides herself on talking like a man (“Woman Bohemian,” “The Borders of Bohemia,” *New Bohemian* 2.5 [May 1896]: 216).

sought to achieve with their readership – hence, the “Entre nous” column in *Whims*, “The Smoking Room” in the *Philosopher*, and “By the Fireside” in *John-a-Dreams*. Given the relative amount of space given to these sections in little magazines, clearly it was one of the genre’s more popular features. It was the soul of the little magazine, the means by which the editor sought to express the personality of the magazine and to guide the reader’s understanding of it.

While aesthetic little magazines, then, are identifiable by their literary and artistic content, this content, as I have indicated in this chapter, is not always immediately distinguishable from that of mainstream periodicals. Appearance, tone, contextualization, and self-representation are key indicators of an aesthetic magazine’s littleness and distinction from the literary and general magazines of the day. The same rule holds largely true, too, for the periodicals of protest that I take up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6

Periodicals of Protest:

The Hubbard Influence

When I think of you, I rejoice that there is a man in the world that can keep up a small independent monthly howler without dying, going broke, or becoming an ass. (Stephen Crane to Elbert Hubbard)¹

While the editorial sections were important to aesthetic little magazines, particularly in terms of defining their iconoclastic voice, this feature was even more central to the second major type of little magazine, the periodical of protest. Elbert Hubbard's influential *Philistine* will serve as my starting point, a basis of comparison for other periodicals of protest. The *Philistine* is, to the periodical of protest, what the *Chap-Book* is to the aesthetic little magazine. Its subtitle, "a periodical of protest," is appropriated as my term to describe this type of periodical. In general, these magazines focused on social, political, and cultural issues eschewed by many of the art-for-art's-sake oriented aesthetic little magazines and featured less literary and illustrative artistic content. Aesthetically and decoratively, however, they were guided by much the same principles as their more literary and artistic counterparts, and some were issued through small presses associated with the revolution in fine printing.

My main focus in this chapter, therefore, will be on what is most distinctive about these little magazines, namely their editorial content. In discussing the literary content of these magazines, my aim is to demonstrate the

¹ Stephen Crane to Elbert Hubbard, May 1, 1899, in Stephen Crane, *Stephen Crane: Letters*. Ed. R. W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes (New York: New York University Press, 1960), 220.

major similarities and differences between the types and to draw attention to some of the magazines that represented a crossover between the aesthetic and periodical of protest type. Because the aesthetics of these magazines are based on the same principles, I have little more to say about that subject in this chapter.

The periodicals of protest I am describing in this chapter overlap with, or are linked to, two other types of magazine: the “one-man magazine” and the “journal of opinion.” Hoffman, Allen and Ulrich employ the term “one-man magazine” to refer to magazines that represent “a continuous editorial on a great variety of subjects, supplemented by quotations from the great and the ‘near-great’ and by a few original contributions.”² This term applies certainly to Hubbard’s *Philistine* (who is not mentioned in Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich), but also to other little magazines of this type – Michael Monahan’s *Papyrus*, for example, which Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich identify as an exemplar of the type.³ Such magazines are usually identified with, and are inseparable from, their iconoclastic and charismatic editors. Often these men (and they were invariably men) had important connections in the world of journalism, letters, and politics and some were prominent on the lecture circuit.

As magazines foregrounding, in a profound manner, the anti-establishment social and cultural views of their editors, these publications are also linked to what have been called “journals of opinion.” This type of journal develops, Casey Blake argues, to “provide a forum where intellectuals can discover one another, explore unconventional political and cultural positions, and work to expand the

² Hoffmann, Allen, and Ulrich, *Little Magazine*, 245-46.

³ Ibid.

boundaries of contemporary public debate.”⁴ Blake locates the origins of the modern-day journal of opinion in the social and cultural ferment of the Gilded Age. It was fostered, he says, by the following factors: “the triumph of a nonideological party system, the marginalization of the partisan press, the emergence of a salaried middle class, the expansion of higher education, the rise of the corporation and the state as dominant economic actors, and the waning allegiance of the educated classes to religion and party politics.”⁵ Although locating its origins in the Gilded Age, Blake fails to provide an example from this era, beginning instead with magazines of the Modernist era -- *New Republic*, the *Masses*, and the *Seven Arts*.⁶ In this respect, he is like Modernist literary critics who likewise argue that the little magazine was the product of the antagonism between high art and mass culture that emerged with particular force in the 1890s and yet overlook the magazines of this moment.

Clearly, however, many of these periodicals of protest are a species of journal of opinion, deriving from and responding precisely to the major factors identified by Casey. Similarly, like journals of opinion as defined by Casey, these magazines were a major venue for “explor[ing] unconventional political and cultural positions,” an aim they drew attention to in their mottoes and subtitles. As such, their editors dubbed them periodicals of “knock” (the *Bilioustine*) or “protest” (the *Philistine*) magazines of “independent thought” (*Kit-Kats*) and

⁴ Casey Blake, “Journals of Opinion,” in *A Companion to American Thought*. Ed. Richard Wightman Fox and James T. Kloppenborg (London: Blackwell, 1998), 355.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

journals of “opinion, aggressive and digressive” (*Kit-Kats*) or “individual opinion” (*Current Thought*).

More particularly, in these magazines we see the influence of developing alternative social movements and philosophies. The ideological currents of Free Thought, New Thought, and Theosophy, three important late nineteenth and early twentieth century precursors to the New Age Movement, pervade these magazines. The anti-clerical Free Thought movement of this period, privileging a rational and epistemological approach to issues was part of a longer tradition of religious dissent in America. In the late nineteenth century, it was less an official movement per se than an ideology informing people’s views on a number of religious, political, and social questions pertaining to human rights.⁷ In the 1890s, for example, Free Thought was associated with religious skepticism, socialism, pacifism, women’s suffrage, etc.⁸ At the same time, the principles of New Thought, endorsed by William James as the “religion of healthy-mindedness,” emerged formally in the late 1880s out of Christian Science and the mental healing movement.⁹ Theosophy, too, as propounded by Madame Blavatsky, was an important influence, particularly for its progressive acceptance of all religions and creeds.

⁷ Mary Minor Austin, “Free Thought,” in *Mark Twain Encyclopedia*. Eds. J. R. LeMaster and James Darrell Wilson (New York: Garland, 1993), 305.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ William James, “Lectures IV and V,” in *Varieties of Religious Experience*, Martin E. Marty, ed. (New York: Penguin, 1982); Dell deChant, “The American New Thought Movement,” in *Introduction to New and Alternative Religions in America: History and Controversies*. Vol. 3. Eds. Eugene V. Gallagher and W. Michael Ashcraft (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 2006), 67-91.

These views also served as an important influence on the little magazinists. The New Thought's emphasis on positive thinking, personal power, and its endorsement of religious tolerance informs the views of little magazinists of this type. Though it was a spiritual movement, its proponents often shared the progressive views associated with the anti-clerical Free Thought Movement. Thus, while both these movements were distinct, achieving formal status in the late nineteenth century, their ideals and values were pervasive more broadly amongst those without official affiliations and bled into and overlapped with one another. Hubbard, for example, who was not officially linked to either movement was influenced, as was his wife, by them both and adapted them for his own purposes. For him, "New thought," as he said, "is free thought."¹⁰ Meanwhile, many of the little magazinists, while sometimes critical of Blavatsky, share Theosophy's interest in looking for spiritual wisdom in a range of world religions.

The Original Periodical of Protest: Hubbard's *Philistine*

Though neglected by Hoffmann, Allen, and Ulrich, Elbert Hubbard's *Philistine* represents the exemplar of this type, more so than Michael Monahan's *Papyrus* (1903-1912), which emerged late in the little magazine movement of this period. The *Philistine* was begun initially in the spirit of a joke to take aim at all the popular mainstream and genteel periodicals that had refused Hubbard's work. It soon, however, developed a more serious purpose. Though it is true, as White contends, that the magazine had almost two hundred contributors in the course of

¹⁰ Elbert Hubbard, "Hypatia," *Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Teachers* (*Little Journeys* series, vol. 10), (1908): 97.

its twenty-year run,¹¹ it quickly became a platform for Hubbard and his views. Indeed, many issues are authored solely by Hubbard. Hubbard was particularly popular after the publication of “A Message to Garcia.” From 1905 until his death in 1915, he was the most sought after and highest paid lecturer in America, and he earned an additional \$30,000 a year as a writer for the mainstream-press Hearst syndicate.¹²

Hubbard embodied what today might seem to be irreconcilable views. His thinking represented a blend of populism, socialism, individualism, and corporatism. He was an admirer of Tolstoi and Christian Anarchism, and of Ruskin and Morris and their views on the dignity of labour. He was against religion, more particularly the corruption of it by churches and supported the principles of Free Love. He was a strident pacifist and anti-imperialist. Hubbard was also anti-government. Though a self-declared socialist, Hubbard was anti-union. Believing neither in unions nor government, he put his faith in corporations, trusts, and big business, arguing, for example, that “The Trusts are getting things ready for Socialism.”¹³ Hubbard was also, however, an opponent of orthodoxy of thought and encouraged his readers to think for themselves, even if it meant disagreeing with him. He was fascinated by, and sometimes admired, such individuals, even if he did not agree with them and he often discussed such figures in his magazine. In April 1902, for example, he wrote about going to see the evangelist faith healer, John Alexander Dowie, to try to understand the

¹¹ White, *Elbert Hubbard's The Philistine*, 88.

¹² Balch, *Elbert Hubbard*, 268; White, *Elbert Hubbard's The Philistine*, 3.

¹³ Hubbard, “Heart to Heart Talks,” *Philistine* 12.2 (Jan 1901): 42.

preacher's hold on his followers.¹⁴ Hubbard was also frequently a proponent of the underdog. He often chose to write about those who had fallen out of public favour and who were targets of attack in the mainstream media.

The format of the *Philistine* changed little over the twenty-year run. The magazine maintained its brown butcher-paper cover. The cover featured the title and subtitle of the magazine at the top; a changing motto, wise or witty, framed by red lines;¹⁵ a printer's device; at left bottom, a seahorse monogram in red designed by W. W. Denslow,¹⁶ featuring the volume and number information; printing, publication, subscription and newsstand price, and date at bottom right. The back cover was reserved for a serious or witty motto or quotation in decorative font,¹⁷ framed with an ornamental border, or, in Denslow's period, an illustration. Advertising, much of it for Roycroft products, frames the magazine content, though Hubbard would become renowned for his skill at transforming advertising into content.¹⁸ The issue might begin with a quatrain or a motto,

¹⁴ Hubbard, "Heart to Heart Talks," *Philistine* 14.5 (April 1902): 129-40.

¹⁵ Examples of these mottoes include: "A Pessimist is one who has been intimately acquainted with an Optimist" (March 1902); "Do not lose faith in humanity; there are over eighty million people in America who never played you a single nasty trick" (August 1905); "There is nothing so good as the sun and the wind for driving the foolishness out of one" (June 1902).

¹⁶ Denslow, who would achieve fame as the artist for Frank L Baum's *Wizard of Oz* books, worked for the Roycrofters from 1896-1900. For information about his work for Hubbard, see Robert Koch, "Elbert Hubbard's Roycrofters as Artist-Craftsmen," *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (1967): 67-82.

¹⁷ For example: "The only right you need is the right to be useful (March 1902); "One arrives at art only by roads barred to the vulgar – by the road of prayer, of purity of heart: by confidence in the wisdom of the Eternal, and even in that which is incomprehensible. Chopin (June 1903); People who are old enough to know better are old enough to die. Ali Baba [i.e. Elbert Hubbard] (Aug. 1905).

¹⁸ See White, *Elbert Hubbard's The Philistine*, for a discussion of Hubbard's importance as advertising innovator (130-33).

followed by an essay or two, but the bulk -- sometimes the entire issue -- was devoted to Hubbard's "Heart to Heart Talks With Philistines by the Pastor of His Flock" (see Anthology 360-63).¹⁹ This column was a mish-mash of essays and commentary on social, religious, and political issues, reflections, Hubbardian epigrams, gossip, satire, and jokes. Usually, Hubbard enters into his topics of discussion in this section through a personal anecdote. Often his essays are meant to impart a lesson of some kind. A good portion of the material that Hubbard featured in his magazine was indeed based on real talks, having been tried out in his Sunday talks to the Roycroft community. Hubbard's writing style aims to achieve the informal oral quality of vernacular everyday speech, a homespun style that is imitated widely by other little magazinists of this type.

¹⁹ This title sometimes varied slightly. In my own eleven copies of issues of the magazine, (Dec 1900-Jan 1901; June 1901; February-April 1902; June 1902; August-Sept 1902; June 1903; August 1905), six begin with a quatrain (Dec 1900, Jan 1901, March, April, and June 1902), and one a motto (August 1905). Of these six, four are followed by the "Heart to Heart Talks" section, which occupies the remainder of the magazine. In four of the issues (February, August and September 1902 and June 1903), "Heart to Heart Talks" leads and is the only content in the magazine. The December 1900 and June 1901 issues contain content other than a quatrain and "Heart to Heart Talks." In December 1900, there is an essay by Hubbard (signed "Fra Elbertus") on "Widows," one on literature by Michael Monahan, and a poem by Eleanor S. Inslee. This content accounts for half of the content, while "Heart to Heart Talks" accounts for the other half. In June 1901, "Heart to Heart Talks" occupies eleven of the thirty-two pages of this issue. Other content includes an essay, "Knocking and Knockers," by William Marion Reedy (1-5), famed editor of *The Mirror*, an important mainstream journal of opinion that revolted against the genteel tradition and was sympathetic to and promoted the interests of little magazinists; "The Decline of the Church" by anarchist minister Hugh O. Pentecost (5-10); an essay on Johannes Brahms by Hubbard (15-20); and a purportedly unpublished letter by Byron ("Unpublished Letter," 10-15). Hubbard later hinted that this Byron letter was an instance of what he called kabojolism -- the opposite of plagiarism, or "attributing to another Good Stuff which he never expressed" (Hubbard, *Elbert Hubbard's Selected Writings: Part 9: Philistia* [Whitefish, MT: Kessinger, 2007], 145; Hubbard, [untitled], *Fra* 3.4 [July 1909]: 82).

An example of these features of Hubbard's "Heart to Heart Talks" can be illustrated through an examination of a random issue. In Hubbard's April 1902 "Heart to Heart Talks" section, his discussion of the Dowie visit (pages 129-140) is prefaced by comments about how he is suing a particular journalist for calling him the Dowie of Erie County, New York.²⁰ The next piece in the section tells a story about English writer, Walter Besant, and how a beggarwoman to whom he was being kind turned on him (pages 140-44). Hubbard uses the anecdote to impart the following lesson – "God help those who through ignorance or folly, push from them the generous hearts that might benefit and bless."²¹ The third piece (pages 144-47) begins with reference to changes made by the Presbyterian Church to the Creed. Hubbard uses this item to launch an attack on organized religion and to put forth his own beliefs about freedom of religion and the individual nature of faith. The fourth piece (pages 147-48) is a brief reflection on the difference in character between those who have had an easy life and those who have struggled. Those who have struggled, Hubbard says, usually enter middle life gracious, serene, and uncomplaining, while those who have had it easy are bitter and fault-finding. Following this piece are a series of five Hubbardian mottoes, which precede another longer piece on Dr. R. M. Bucke, a London, Ontario doctor and friend to Walt Whitman (148-160). Hubbard praises Bucke for

²⁰ Hubbard, "Heart to Heart Talks," *Philistine* 14.5 (April 1902): 140. One of Hubbard's lawyers was the famed lawyer and leading ACLU member, Clarence Darrow who, in 1894, moved from the realm of corporate law to labor law. Darrow would most famously defend the teenage killers Leopold and Loeb in 1924 and, in 1925, John T. Scopes in the Scopes Monkey Trial. Hubbard's other lawyer was Mary Miller, a feminist and human rights activist.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 143-44.

his good work with the mentally ill and describes the doctor's methods, ending with a short eulogy to Bucke, whom Hubbard discovered had died just when the issue was about to go to press. The qualities he reveres in Bucke are qualities that come up again and again in the praises of others he writes about in the pages of his magazine: kindness, patience, trustfulness, hard-working, intelligence, honesty, courage, gentleness, manliness, and good cheer.²²

Even when the *Philistine* contains material other than the "Heart to Heart Talks," it serves as a conduit for Hubbard's beliefs, ideals, and values. In the June 1901 issue, for example, in which three contributions by others appear, they acknowledge and/or reflect Hubbard's values. Reedy's piece on "Knocking and Knockers" extolling the virtues of speaking out against that which one thinks is wrong, makes frequent allusions to Hubbard. Reedy places Hubbard in the company of history's great knockers – Christ, Cromwell, Marat, Danton, Voltaire, Rousseau, Washington, Adams, Jefferson, Franklin, Paine, Lincoln, Shakespeare, Dickens, Shelly, Wordsworth, Browning, Poe, Verlaine, etc. etc. Hugh O. Pentecost's article, "The Decline of the Church," likewise reflects Hubbard's views on organized religion and individual faith. Meanwhile, Hubbard's essay, "In Re Johannes Brahms" is not about Brahms as a musician but rather as a man in the Hubbardian mold – a man of wide learning, sympathetic to the plight of others, an idealist. Hubbard also makes much of Brahms's unorthodox relationship with Clara Schumann, one that he possibly felt mirrored his own with his mistress and one-day wife, Alice. Hubbard also included content purportedly

²² Ibid., 149, 159.

written by others, namely an unpublished letter from Byron to a mistress in this issue. Through this piece, Hubbard asserts the kind of free love views he espoused in other contexts. Even when there were other contributors to the magazine, then, the *Philistine* has the quality of a “one-man magazine” in its form of protest.

Other Periodicals of Protest

While Hubbard’s claim that the *Philistine* had as many as two hundred imitators and parodies is probably an exaggeration, there is no doubt that the magazine, which had a twenty-year run, was highly influential.²³ Though little magazinists of the aesthetic type frequently disparaged Hubbard,²⁴ even they were, in some instances, indebted to him or desirous of learning from him. Many, as I have indicated, spent time at East Aurora, including Walter Blackburn Harte, whose partnership with Hubbard lasted barely two weeks, its dissolution publicized in little and literary magazines in the subsequent months.²⁵

Those little magazinists situated outside elite cultural centres were more likely to be influenced by Hubbard. For example, the editors of the *Philosopher* (1897-1906?), of Wausau, Wisconsin and the *Pebble* (1900-1901), of Omaha, Nebraska, though mainly literary in interest, also included the kind of timely political and social commentary normally disparaged by aesthetic little

²³ White, *Elbert Hubbard’s The Philistine*, 34.

²⁴ See, for example, the *Chap-Book* for February 1, 1896, in which Hubbard’s literary pretensions are mocked. Hubbard is not identified by name but referred to as “a provincial reader” of East Aurora (“Children’s Department,” 293-95). Hubbard jibed back at such criticisms. He referred disparagingly to the *Chap-Book* as the *Chip-Munk* and its publishers, Stone and Kimball, as Rock and Bumball (White, *Elbert Hubbard’s The Philistine*, 32; Champney, *Art and Glory*, 57).

²⁵ Doyle chronicles the public fallout of this relationship in *Fin-de-siècle Spirit*, 97-99.

magazines. *Pebble* editors Mary D. Learned and Louise McPherson, for example, acknowledged their indebtedness to Hubbard, whose visit to Omaha had inspired the founding of their magazine.²⁶ The *Pebble* editors were particularly outspoken in their condemnation of the Boer War.²⁷ Meanwhile, the *Philosopher*, was, from 1897-1902, a literary periodical with only some social and political commentary in its editorial matter. After this period, however, it would become a periodical of protest, authored solely William Ellis.

Hubbard's biggest influence, however, was on those magazines that more explicitly modeled themselves after his as protest periodicals of the Hubbardian type. These included the *Ghourki* (1901-1909), *Papyrus* (1903-1912), the *Lucky Dog* (1900-1906?; 1940-1943), the *Schoolmaster* (1900-1906?), the *Thistle* (1902-1903), *Homo* (1901-1902), *Whim* (1901-1905), the *Erudite* (1900-1903), *Kit-Kats* (1900-1901), and *Ishmaelite* (1896-1899). These publications reflected the influence of Hubbard in their makeup, design, and content. In addition, their editors and publishers, from what can be discovered about them, were men like Hubbard. Many borrowed Hubbard's feature of using changing mottoes on the front and back covers and peppered quatrains and aphorisms through their publications. They also featured sections much like Hubbard's "Heart to Heart Talks," characterized by the personal anecdotal style utilized by Hubbard. Like Hubbard, the editors of these magazines were outspoken on political and social issues, though their views did not always correspond with his.

²⁶ [Mary D. Learned and Louise McPherson], "Elbert Hubbard's Visit," *Pebble* 1.1 (March 1900): 14-15.

²⁷ There is a running commentary on this subject through a number of issues of this short-lived magazine.

Sometimes the titles of contents in these magazines explicitly referenced Hubbard's publications. Tim Thrift, editor and publisher of the *Lucky Dog* (1900-1906?; 1940-1943), for example, entitled his equivalent of Hubbard's "Heart to Heart Talks," "Heart Communion Talks," while also featuring a literary critical section called "Little Peeps Into the Hearts of Poets," which echoed the titles of Hubbard's *Little Journeys to the Homes of the Great* series. Howard Llewellyn Swisher's column, "Harangues to the Ghourki by the Chief of the Tribe" in the *Ghourki* (1901-1909), of Morgantown, West Virginia, was also clearly modeled after Hubbard's talks by the pastor to his flock. Similarly, his "Moocha Saba Says" (see Anthology 358) section of aphorisms echoed Hubbard's "Orphic Sayings of Ali Baba" (Ali Baba was Hubbard's alter ego). J. C. Worthington's aphorism section in *Homo* (1901-1902), meanwhile, was called "Some Thoughts of a Wise Dog: Taken from the Original Barks." In addition, as I have indicated in Chapter 1, some of these magazines imitated Hubbard's \$10 life membership into the Academy of Immortals. The *Ghourki*, for example, offered a membership into the Tribe, while Michael Monahan, former Hubbard partner, had his own Society of Papyrites. The *Whim* (1901-1905), meanwhile, jokingly included subscribers in the "Grand Order of Whimsical Folk" and *Homo* hosted the "Guild of Homo."

Hubbardian "preachments," or short moral stories popularized by Hubbard's "Message to Garcia" (subtitled "a Preachment"), first published in his magazine in 1899, were also often an important feature of these magazines. Mae Lawson, an admirer of Hubbard and a regular contributor to the *Ghourki* in 1905, published a preachment based on the mystical ideals of Blavatskian occultism in

this magazine. The preachment combined inspirational aphorisms of the Hubbardian type (“Realization is the Real religion,” it begins), with colloquial everyday language (“He who constantly sees evil needs to do some vigorous house cleaning”).²⁸ Little magazinists also enjoyed substituting profane for sacred texts in their creation of sermons.²⁹ In 1900, William Ellis, for example, featured a series of preachments based on the popular *Rubaiyat* in the *Philosopher* that inspired Frederick Benjamin to embark on a similar project for the *Whim*, using Mother Goose stories instead.³⁰ Benjamin’s preachment, based on “Little Boy Blue,” is humorous in nature, seeking to impart the lesson that one should not make promises one cannot keep – an apology for his being unable to provide the editors with the article he had promised.³¹ More serious preachments in this magazine concern political corruption and greed.³²

Hubbard was a frequent subject of commentary in these little magazines. Despite the obvious influence his periodical had, there was some degree of ambivalence towards the creator of the prototype for this form of little magazine and little magazinists often sought to distance themselves from Hubbard. The frequent discussions of Hubbard and of particular articles in the *Philistine*, indicate, however, an expectation of a shared audience. Some of these little

²⁸ Mae Lawson, “Preachment,” *Ghourki* 4.2 (Jan. 1905): 26.

²⁹ Frederick Benjamin, for example, described “seiz[ing a profane book [to] write sermons on texts therefrom” as “a great idea” (“Little Boy Blue,” *Whim* 1.2 [March 1901]: 34).

³⁰ I have not seen those particular issues of the *Philosopher*. Benjamin alludes to the project in his opening remarks to his first Mother Goose preachment (“Little Boy Blue,” 34).

³¹ *Ibid.*, 33-36.

³² “A Tale,” *Whim* 1.4 (May 1901): 104-105; “Tweedledum and Tweedledee,” *Whim* 1.5 (June 1901): 126-30

magazinists explicitly acknowledged their debt to the *Philistine* and their admiration for Hubbard. J. C. Worthington, an architect who conducted *Homo* magazine (1901-1902), for example, credited Hubbard, along with William Morris, as an important influence.³³ “This periodical was planned in the winter of 1895 . . . [and] was probably due to the same brain wave that was sweeping around the man of East Aurora, and in the background, in both instances, William Morris seems to have played a part.”³⁴ Similarly, Albert Lane, who published the *Erudite* (1900-1903) out of Worcester, Massachusetts, wrote: “I acknowledge frankly that the *Erudite* either would have been different or not at all had I grown to my present size without having seen the *Philistine*.”³⁵ Lane frequently discussed Hubbard in his magazine and published a book on him. Lane, however, was not uncritical of his hero, objecting, for example, to Hubbard’s “Message to Garcia,” for characterizing workers as unthinking beings lacking initiative.³⁶

Indeed, many little magazinists of this type were critical, to some degree, of Hubbard, an attitude Hubbard himself commended in his view that people should develop their own opinions. He took pride, for example, in the fact that his magazine was “read by people who do not seem to share the editor’s point of

³³ There was an amateur journalist named J. C. Worthington active in the 1870s and an architect of the same name working in the 1880s and 1890s. I am speculating that this is the same J. C. Worthington who published *Homo* in Beverly, NJ, just across the Delaware from Philadelphia (“History of Early Amateur Journalism in Philadelphia,” at <http://www.thefossils.org/horvat/aj/states/Pennsylvania.htm>; “Collection of 19th Century Architecture Images,” Bryn Mawr University, at <http://www.brynmawr.edu/iconog/ajnls/kloc.html>.

³⁴ [J. C. Worthington], “About *Homo*,” *Homo* 2.1 (Dec. 1901): 31.

³⁵ Albert Lane, “Plain Tales from the Hills,” *Erudite* 1.2 (1900): 62.

³⁶ His critique of “Garcia” occurs in his “Plain Tales from the Hills” column, *Erudite* 1.3 (1900): 76-84.

view. . . . The magazine which makes the reader think is really doing a greater service than is the one that does the thinking for him.”³⁷ Certainly, “A Message to Garcia” turned those with socialist tendencies somewhat against Hubbard.

Creswell McLaughlin, of the *Schoolmaster* (1900-1906?), for example, warned that the Garcias of the world would not remain passive for long and would rise up against their treatment at the hands of corporate leaders.³⁸ In the *Optimist* (1900-1901), David Yeoman offered a rebuttal to Hubbard, crying for the need for Garcias – men of heroism and action to respond to the message in an appropriate manner.³⁹

Other criticisms, governed, undoubtedly, by strong New Thought tendencies, centred on his cynicism. Lee Fairchild (1860?-1910), writer, noted spellbinder, and editor and publisher of the *Thistle* (1902-1903), for example, objected to being compared with Hubbard, contrasting his own “decent” publication with the “vulgarity” and “bad taste” of the *Philistine*.⁴⁰ Meanwhile, *Philosopher* editor, William Ellis, objected to Hubbard’s harsh treatment of the Church: “The Church has its faults, goodness knows,” he quips, “but it hasn’t got a butcher paper cover with a wrong quotation from scripture on it. Whatever its

³⁷ [Elbert Hubbard], “Side Talks With the Philistines: Conducted by the East Aurora School of Philosophy,” *Philistine* 6.4 (March 1898): 126.

³⁸ Cresswell McLaughlin, “The Thumbscrew,” *Schoolmaster* 1.1 (March 1900): 16-20. William Ellis offered a similar critique in his “In the Smoking Room” column of the *Philosopher* (July 1899): 27-29.

³⁹ David Yeoman, “That Message to Garcia,” *Optimist* 1.5 (Jan. 1900): 264-69.

⁴⁰ Lee Fairchild, [untitled], *Thistle* 1.7 (Sept 1902): 4. Fairchild’s obituary describing his importance as a spellbinder for the Republican Party appeared in the *New York Times* on March 20, 1910 (“Lee Fairchild Dead”).

faults may be it can quote scripture right.”⁴¹ Fairchild, Ellis, and others believed that Hubbard went to far in his scathing critiques, breeding more cynicism than hope. Tim Thrift, who so blatantly echoed Hubbard in various features of his magazine, the *Lucky Dog*, included critical discussions of particular pieces in the *Philistine*.⁴² Thrift’s publication was much more conservative and idealistic than Hubbard’s, espousing traditional views of women and family values. Similarly, Thrift’s style was quite different from that of Hubbard, introspective, rhapsodical, and highly sentimental, more a periodical of uplift than of “knock.”

These little magazinists took up many of the same issues as Hubbard in their editorial commentary, sometimes referencing Hubbard in their discussions. If they did not always share the same views as he did, they were as outspoken as him. Among the topics that drew considerable attention in these magazines were the following: the rise of corporations and trusts; unions and labor protests; socialism and anarchism, and related figures, including Hugh O. Pentecost, the radical minister, and Eugene Debs, union leader and founder of the International Labor Union and later the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW); the rise of the credit system or installment plan; Cuba and the Spanish-American War; the Philippine-American War; religion, churches, spiritualism, occultism, and mysticism and related popular contemporary figures, including Theosophist

⁴¹ William Ellis, “In the Smoking Room,” *Philosopher* 5.6 (June 1899): 190.

⁴² See, for example, the article by Greer Alvin Foote commenting on Hubbard’s discussion of Hugh O. Pentecost’s critique of the Church (“The Decline of the Church: An Answer” *Lucky Dog* 3.1 [Dec. 1901]: 1-7) and a section in “Heart Communion Talks” in which Thrift tells of the disdain of “Billy,” his printer’s devil, for Hubbard’s egotism with reference to a recent article by Hubbard (*Lucky Dog* 3.4 [July 1902]: 114-20).

Madame Blavatsky, Christian Scientist Mary Baker Eddy, John Alexander Dowie, evangelist and faith healer; Henry George, the single tax movement, and land reform; the physical culture movement; education and education reform; marriage and divorce; suffrage; temperance; immigration; Tolstoi, Tolstoian socialism, and Tolstoian Christianity; Edwin Markham's "Man with the Hoe," a poem based on Jean-François Millet's painting that created a worldwide sensation with its stirring appeal for sympathy for the laborer; the "what would Jesus do?" controversy that was exploited by the media, inspired by Charles Sheldon's bestselling book, *In His Steps* (1896), a book promoting a Christian ethics approach to social problems. Also, like aesthetic little magazines, the periodicals of protest devoted time to self-commentary and reflection and to the critique of other little magazines.

Like the *Philistine*, other periodicals of protest sometimes featured a variety of contributors, even when the main focus was usually the charismatic editor and his commentaries. As with the aesthetic little magazines, contributors included professional and amateur writers. Editors of periodicals of protest often drew on their various social and professional networks to acquire contributions. They were more likely than aesthetic little magazines to seek out contributions rather than to accept unsolicited submissions. Michael Monahan of the *Papyrus* (1903-1912), for example, had an extended network of influential friends in the fields of journalism and literature who contributed to his magazine, including editor William Marion Reedy, little magazinists Percival Pollard, Bliss Carman, Charles G. D Roberts, and Ernest Crosby. Sometimes the magazine itself served

to extend this network so that, for example, readers would become contributors. Such was the case with Ameen F. Rihani, a writer admired by Monahan, who would become known as the father of Arabic-American literature.⁴³ Harold Llewellyn Swisher of the *Ghourki* particularly exploited his network of readers for his publication, publishing letters from them as well as more formal written contributions.

Perhaps the most interesting example of a little magazine exploiting non-professional writers was H. S. Kneedler's *Optimist* (1900-1901), of Boone, Iowa. Kneedler (186?-19??) was a well-connected Iowa owner and editor of newspapers.⁴⁴ Containing a significant amount of both literary and topical content and a great variety of contributors in both domains, the *Optimist* was something of a hybrid – part aesthetic little magazine, part periodical of protest, where the outspokenness on topical issues was not limited primarily to the editor. While Kneedler himself offered his opinions in his lengthy “Twilight Talks By the Editor” (between eight and thirteen pages for a roughly sixty page issue), he included controversial commentaries by a variety of other writers on topics ranging from suffragism and paternalism to socialism and insanity as well as poetry, fiction, and literary criticism.

Kneedler counted among his contributors prominent journalists, translators, professors, writers, and little magazinists, including H. L. Mencken (who was only getting started as a daily reporter in Baltimore), Percival Pollard

⁴³ “Ameen Rihani,” at Ameen Rihani Organization, <http://www.ameenrihani.org/>.

⁴⁴ Information on Kneedler obtained from various Iowa newspapers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as accessed through Newspaper Archive, at <http://www.newspaperarchive.org>.

(little magazinist and editor of *Echo*), Lee Fairchild (little magazinist and editor of *Thistle*), Lewis Worthington Smith (English Professor, Drake University, Iowa), Ella Wheeler Wilcox (prolific and popular poet) Alonzo Rice (popular newspaper poet), and Thomas Wood Stevens (little magazinist and editor of *Blue Sky*). The magazine was also significant, however, for its variety of other types of high-profile figures for whom writing was an avocation, an amateur pursuit. For example, Louis J. Block, principal of a Chicago high school; George Post Wheeler, secretary to the embassy at Tokio; J. W. Trigg, Iowa quarry owner; N. F. Thompson, a Birmingham, Iowa businessman involved with the U. S. Industrial Commission; William Cooke Daniels, a department store mogul; Carl Fritz Henning, an Iowa park custodian; Frank C. Hoyt, doctor; and W. M. Beardshear, minister, educator, and president of a college in Iowa. These amateur writers contributed both literary and topical content to the pages of Kneedler's magazine.

Periodicals of protest varied in the amount of literary content they included. Some had little but usually, at the very least, the quatrains, humorous light verse, and serious and humorous mottoes and aphorisms that were characteristic of the *Philistine* held true across the genre. Others had quite a lot of literary content, to the degree where we might consider them -- as with Kneedler's *Optimist* -- hybrid magazines. The editors of the periodicals of protest were, after all, as interested in the aesthetic as they were in the social and political at a time in America when much importance was given to the role of culture in the betterment of individual and social life. In addition, as so many little magazinists were

followers of William Morris, they believed that aesthetic and social reform went hand in hand.

In an early issue of *Papyrus* (1903-1912), a hybrid aesthetic little magazine/periodical of protest that balanced the literary and the topical, Michael Monahan tells of a friend warning him not to be “too literary.”⁴⁵ Monahan, however, is committed to upholding the importance of literature in the fight for “truth,” “justice,” “liberty,” and “humanity.” For Monahan, literature was central to his broader social and political commentary. The *Whim* (1901-1905) was another hybrid little magazine, part *Chap-Book*, part *Philistine*. Edited by Ernest Crosby (1856-1907) and Benedict Prieth (1870-?), two outspoken reformers, pacifists, and proponents of Tolstoi, the *Whim* combined the interests of bibliophilic culture with strident social commentary. The magazine contained literary content, including translations of German and Russian literature, with strident anti-imperialist, socialist, and anarchistic commentary on contemporary political topics.

Literary content with a topical bent, generally eschewed in aesthetic little magazines with art-for-art’s-sake ideals, was an important feature of the periodical of protest, serving to enhance the editorial content and to foster a link between literature and humanistic principles. Examples of such content include the “Man Without a Hoe,” a response and support of Markham’s “Man With a Hoe” published in the *Schoolmaster* (see Anthology 364-65); the story of the Cuba/Spain crisis in fairy-tale format (see Anthology 352-54) and a poem against

⁴⁵ Michael Monahan, “The Literary Character,” *Papyrus* 1.2 (Aug. 1903): 11.

the Prophet Elijah, John Alexander Dowie in the *Erudite*;⁴⁶ Swisher's publication and promotion in the *Ghourki* of poets who wrote on contemporary social issues including Sheridan Ford (?-1922) and Edward Earle Purinton (1878-1945);⁴⁷ "No Way to Freedom," a poem on the assassination of William McKinley by the British aesthetic poet Richard Le Gallienne (1866-1947), published in *Papyrus*; "Graveyard Fruit," by single-taxer and Henry George proponent Bolton Hall (1854-1938), a parable about a vegetarian businessman/industrialist who prides himself on not shedding innocent blood but whose business practices have led to the deaths of thousands (see Anthology 382-83); and "Snap-Shots at Tolstoy" by Ernest Crosby for the *Whim*, a poem chronicling Tolstoy's transformation from decadent aristocrat to humanitarian pacifist (see Anthology 375-77).⁴⁸

⁴⁶ W. A. Smith, "The Man Without the Hoe," *Schoolmaster* 1.1 (March 1900): 22-24; Morris Tudor, "Mother Goose," *Erudite* 1.1 (1900): 1-5; George F. Butler, M.D., "Elijah and His Whiskers," *Erudite* 4.6 (Aug. 1902): 161-70.

⁴⁷ In the January 1904 issue of the *Ghourki*, Swisher published a review of Ford's book of poems, *The Larger Life*, by Charles Ogilvie (12-16). Ford's poems are described as touching on "books and the Trusts, marriage, theology, commerce and government, the individual in and out of relation, education and police court morality, Social Atheists, and countless other things that make up Life" (16). Ford was a journalist and friend of James McNeill Whistler who fell out with Whistler over a plan to issue the book that would eventually become the *Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (Stanley Weintraub, *Whistler* [New York: Weybright and Talley, 1974], 338-40). Swisher published Purinton's collection called *The Soul in Silhouette* and printed a number of these poems in the *Ghourki* in 1905. They covered subjects from a New Thought perspective including mysticism, naturism, success, rational religion, mental healing forces, sex, love, and womanhood. Hubbard praised these poems for teaching him more in one hour than seven years of grappling with the New Thought (advertisement for the *Larger Life*, *Ghourki* 4.1 [Jan. 1905]: 2). Purinton would go on to write a number of self-help books.

⁴⁸ Richard Le Gallienne, "No Way to Freedom," *Papyrus* 1.2 (Aug. 1903): 15-16; Bolton Hall, "Graveyard Fruit," *Optimist* 1.4 (Dec. 1900): 222-24; Ernest Crosby, "Snap-Shots at Tolstoy," *Whim* 1.6 (July 1901): 158-62.

At the same time, however, many of the same types of fiction and poetry appear in the pages of periodicals of protest as in aesthetic magazines. Indeed, there was a considerable degree of crossover in the way of contributors between aesthetic little magazines and periodicals of protest. In his study of the *Philistine*, for example, Bruce White identifies as many as twenty-five contributors whose work appeared both in Hubbard's magazine and the most popular aesthetic little magazine, the *Chap-Book*.⁴⁹ Such crossovers were equally true of other literary little magazines and periodicals of protest. Contributors to the major periodicals of protest with significant literary content, for example, including the *Philistine*, *Papyrus*, the *Optimist* (Boone, Iowa), and the *Whim* appeared across the following range of literary little magazines: the *Philosopher*, the *Bohemian*, the *New Bohemian*, the *Lotus*, *Red Letter*, *Chips*, the *Clack Book*, *Impressions*, *Echo*, *Clique*, *Good Cheer*, the *Bibelot*, *Pebble*, *Four O' Clock*, *Whims*, and *Bradley*, *His Book*.⁵⁰

Notable crossover contributors included Carman and Crane, who were among the *Philistine/Chap-Book* contingent. Others included librarian and poet, Sam Walter Foss (1858-1911), who wrote a poem a day for newspapers and prided himself on being a poet for the common man;⁵¹ Alonzo Leora Rice (1867-1946), a farmer, schoolteacher, and magazine and newspaper poet from Indiana, whose works were traditional in style, "filled with love, grace and tenderness"

⁴⁹ White, *Elbert Hubbard's The Philistine*, 36.

⁵⁰ This information is garnered from my own growing inventory of contributors to the little magazines.

⁵¹ Robinson, "Sam Walter Foss."

with “no subtle philosophy, hidden metaphors or vague lessons;”⁵² William Reed Dunroy (1869-1921), a popular Nebraskan poet, author of *Corn Tassels* (1897), and other books of poems celebrating the landscapes of the west and the lives of its people;⁵³ Ella Wheeler Wilcox (1850-1919), one of the most widely read poets of the era; Ernest McGaffey (1861-?), Canadian-born lawyer poet and one-time colleague of Clarence Darrow;⁵⁴ prominent magazine editors Percival Pollard (1869-1911) and William Marion Reedy (1862-1920), whose crisp and clever commentaries were in demand by little magazines; and Edwin Markham (1852-1940), whose combination of mysticism and interest in the common man⁵⁵ meant he was admired alike by aesthetes and the avant-garde, socialists, and a popular audience.

If distinctions are to be made, however, what separated the literary little magazine and the periodical of protest in terms of literary content was the emphasis placed on the social and political mission of the content. Where aesthetic little magazines often advocated an apolitical art-for-art’s sake ideal and were elitist in their tone, the periodicals of protest endorsed the social function of art and were uniformly democratic in spirit. While aesthetic little magazines

⁵² Ron Hamilton, “The Shelby County Poet,” *Shelbyville News*, Nov. 22 2006, at <http://www.shelbynews.com/>. See also his obituaries posted at *Shelby County Indiana History and Genealogy*, http://www.shelbycountyindiana.org/obituaries/obit_rice.htm.

⁵³ Carrie Shippers, “‘Young Poets Write What They Know’: William Reed Dunroy, Poet of the Plains,” *Great Plains Quarterly* 27.3 (2007): 193-202.

⁵⁴ James R. Elkins, “The Remnants of a Lost and Forgotten Library: On Finding the Lawyer Poets,” *Legal Studies Forum* 30.1-2 (2006): 5.

⁵⁵ William R. Nash, “Edwin Markham’s Life and Career: A Concise Overview,” at *Modern American Poetry*, http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/m_r/markham/life.htm

might include writers with social reformist tendencies, they were more likely to draw on that author's less political work. Markham, for example, though famous for his socialistic poems, notably the "Man with a Hoe," also wrote nature poems. These were more likely to be included in the aesthetic little magazines. Periodicals of protest, by contrast, did not shy away from literature with an overtly political bent, though these magazines, in turn, may also have featured non-polemical literature. Overall, however, even this work would take on a different meaning when contextualized by a magazine with a self-consciously radical spin. In periodicals of protest, Markham is manifestly identified with social radicalism, whereas in the pages of an aesthetic little magazine, the emphasis might be more on his artistic and traditional qualities. Similarly, a writer such as Ella Wheeler Wilcox,⁵⁶ who was widely published in mainstream and little magazines, is contextualized differently in the periodical of protest, where the emphasis might be on her association with New Thought.

Though they often shared aesthetic principles and a rebellious editorial tone, aesthetic little magazines and periodicals of protest differed in their aims and intentions. Both, however, addressed and served the interests of various fractions of the middle class who saw themselves in opposition to prevailing genteel and commercial middle-class ideals. The more elitist aesthetic little magazines primarily sought reform in the narrow cultural arena of literature and art. They served, as I have said, as a training ground for many aspiring writers, artists, and other workers in the cultural field and as a

⁵⁶ "Ella Wheeler Wilcox," at Wilcox homepage, <http://ellawheelerwilcox.wwwhubs.com/>.

means for their readers, an emerging young professional middle class, to demonstrate their distinction, in the Bourdudian sense,⁵⁷ from genteel and business middle-class culture. Periodicals of protest, meanwhile, though equally anti-mainstream, tended to be less elitist and more homespun in their resistance. At the same time, for these magazinists, social and artistic reform went hand in hand. The little magazine, therefore, was a flexible genre in the years marking the emergence of modernism. The next chapter takes up this flexibility further, exploring some of the miscellaneous uses to which this form was put.

⁵⁷ In his *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), Pierre Bourdieu argues that those with the most power in the cultural hierarchy control the definitions of taste and other aesthetic judgment.

CHAPTER 7

Humor, Parody and Miscellaneous Little Magazines

Every interest has its own journal – all the ideologies and movements, all the arts, all the schools of philosophy and education, all the sciences, all the trades and industries, all the professions and callings, all organizations of importance, all hobbies and recreations. (Frank Luther Mott)¹

This chapter treats two prolific subgenres of the little magazine: humor and parody magazines and miscellaneous little magazines, most of which have a narrow focus. While many of these titles could be classed as aesthetic magazines or periodicals of protest, their particularities necessitate a closer examination of them in their own right. Though aesthetic magazines and periodicals of protest often emphasize the quirky, the whimsical, and the odd and poke fun at one another, there was a significant body of little magazines specifically devoted to humor and/or to parodying particular magazines or the genre itself. This chapter considers the topics and themes of these humor magazines as well as specific examples, notably the publications of Gelett Burgess, whose unique experimentations test the limits of the medium for formal and aesthetic experimentation.

The chapter also considers the relationship of a variety of miscellaneous types of periodical that took the little magazine form – from story magazines and socialist publications to home craft and chess periodicals. Many of these publications are what I would call single-focus magazines. Single-focus magazines, as this appellation suggests, though frequently sharing interests with aesthetic and protest periodicals, have a narrower purview. Often, for example,

¹ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 10.

they are organs for particular associations, groups, or institutions. Unlike the humor magazines, which are manifestly linked to the little magazine phenomenon, the single-focus magazines, seem, at times, to have a more tenuous relationship to the genre. Their topics, for example, though esoteric as a focus for a magazine, may not seem linked to the interests of little magazines. It may well only be their aesthetic appearance or attitude of defiance that ties them to the broader movement. This chapter will attempt to account for Faxon's inclusion of such titles in his list, as well as my addition of similar titles, and to justify the importance of these related magazines to a history of the genre.

“Oh, What a *Lark*”: The *Chop-Book*, the *Bilioustine*, and Other Knocks at the Genre

Parodies of specific little magazines and of the form itself represent a significant subgenre and are important for understanding the central characteristics of the genre. Many such publications were designed as one-offs, while some managed to sustain the joke over a longer period. The most famous of the little magazines, especially the *Chap-Book* and the *Philistine*, were the most frequently referenced. They inspired direct parodies in the *Chop-Book* and the *Bilioustine* and these magazines and their editors and contributors were also often at the centre of more generalized parodies of the genre.

With the charismatic figure of Elbert Hubbard at its head, the *Philistine* and other Roycroft publications were an easy target for parodists. Parodies of Hubbard and his publications focus on his fine book and limited edition publishing enterprise, Hubbard's own persona and his community of Roycrofters,

and the typically Hubbardian features of his magazines, in particular, the mottoes, side talks, and preachments. At least two publications specifically targeted Hubbard and his publications, both of them issued in 1901: Bert Leston Taylor (1866-1921) and William S. Lord's (1863-?) *Bilioustine: A Periodical of Knock* and Clifford Richmond's *A Little Spasm at the Home of Mozart*. Hubbard, it seems, did not mind the attention as both of these are advertised in the *Philistine*.² By 1901, Hubbard had achieved wide-scale prominence through his publication of "A Message to Garcia" and the circulation of the *Philistine* had reached over 100,000, well beyond that of the typical "little" magazine. He was, thus, an extremely recognizable figure for satire and parody and was mocked both in the mainstream press and in little magazines.³

Indeed, Taylor and Lord's *Bilioustine*, a two-issue parody, was based on material that had been published in Taylor's humorous "Line-o'-Type or Two" column in the *Chicago Tribune*.⁴ Taylor, himself, was thus a popular figure of some note. The little magazine format, however, enabled Taylor to extend his parody in visual ways that could not be achieved in the pages of a newspaper.

² [Back advertising pages], *Philistine* 14.1 (Dec. 1901); [Back advertising pages], *Philistine* 14.3 (Feb. 1902).

³ In 1904, for example, novelist Robert W. Chambers published a short story (with illustrations by J. C. Leyendecker) parodying Hubbard in the *Saturday Evening Post* called "The Story of a Business Man Beautiful." An advertisement in the *New York Times* for October 21, 1904 reads: "A very funny love story. Fra Guilfordus, who lives the simple life (*very* simple), and makes dinky books and slabby art chairs and a freak magazine, has eight daughters, very pretty girls, brought up in the back woods like so many guileless speckled fawns, in pink sunbonnets and pajamas. How they were rescued from Nature's own simplicity is told in this week's number of the *Saturday Evening Post*."

⁴ The *Bilioustine* is available on the internet archive at <http://www.archive.org/stream/bilioustineperio00taylrich>

Lord, a department store owner who had established a small press in 1901, made this extended parody possible. The *Bilioustine* directly resembles the original (see figure 21.1), down to the butcher paper cover, layout, features, and design. Instead of “Side Talks by the Pastor to his Flock,” there are “Side Wipes.” In addition, the *Bilioustine* references Hubbard’s other publication, *Little Journeys*, a series established by Hubbard that consisted of his reflections upon visiting the homes of famous people. Where Hubbard might theme a year’s worth of issues around the “homes of composers,” the *Bilioustine* features “little journeys” to the homes of “posers” and “con-posers.” Mocking Hubbard’s practice of issuing special limited editions, Taylor and Lord themselves offered a limited edition of the *Bilioustine*, replacing the ordinary butcher paper cover with a Burlap cover on boards (see figure 21.2).⁵ The *Bilioustine* also directs attacks at Hubbard’s self-styled Bohemianism and support of free love: “Art is long, why not hair?” declares the motto on the back cover (see figure 21.3), while the Roycrofters Phalanstery is called the Philandery. Similarly, the motto on the cover of the second issue draws for its comic effect on the famous words of Hubbard’s friend and little magazine contributor, poet Ella Wheeler Wilcox: “Knock and the world knocks with you, boost and you boost alone,” it declares echoing Wilcox’s “Laugh and the world laughs with you, weep and you weep alone.”

⁵ Images of this limited edition *Bilioustine* are at the Roycroft books website: http://www.roycroftbooks.org/bilioustine_bound_hricik.htm

In the same year, Clifford Richmond, an amateur editor/publisher who was a manufacturer of elastic webbing by day,⁶ issued a one-off parody called a *Little Spasm at the Home of Mozart*, a parody of Elbert Hubbard's *Little Journeys* (see figure 21.4).⁷ A *Little Spasm* purports to be based on the original manuscript for Hubbard's *Little Journey to the Home of Mozart*, but clearly it is not. It advertises for issues of other *Little Spasms* – a series that will take readers to the Homes of Great Organ-Grinders, including Jeannette Gilder, editor of the *Critic*; Hubbard; Fra Elbertus (one of Hubbard's noms de plume); preacher Alexander Dowie; Charles M. Sheldon, author of the popular book *In His Steps*, etc.⁸ Like Taylor and Lord's parody, it exploits the Hubbardian motto, declaring on its back cover, "The only good satire is one that points out the ridicule of the bad original" and mocks the Roycrofters of East Aurora as the Rakeoffers of Rising Sun. As with Lord and Taylor's parody, limited editions are derided. Richmond includes, for example, fake advertisements for "Freak De Luxe Books," featuring "oil cloth,"

⁶ Edward Dyer, *Easthampton* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2000), 29. Though a businessman, Richmond obviously had a strong literary bent and a sense of humor. In 1946 he published a book about the elastic webbing industry in the Eastern United States called *The History and Romance of Elastic Webbing Since the Dawn of Time* (Easthampton: Easthampton News Company, 1946). This book has attracted attention amongst seekers of the bizarre and outré in the book world since being included in Russell Ash and Brian Lake's *Bizarre Books* (Pavilion Books, 1998).

⁷ Robert Rust provides scans of this magazine at the Roycroft Books site, http://www.roycroftbooks.org/little_spasm_rust.htm.

⁸ I am not entirely clear what the term "organ-grinder" is meant to infer. I presume, given the lists of names included in the series, that it alludes to the negative connotations associated with organ-grinding, as an irritating and inartistic practice.

“Jim-Dandy wall-paper,” “talkative Wall Paper,” “limp bed ticking,” “blotting paper,” and “shingle fetched from my neighbor’s barn.”⁹

Lacking the charismatic figure of a Hubbard type at its head, the *Chap-Book* was not quite as amenable to the kinds of parody directed at the *Philistine*. Nevertheless, the aesthetic little magazine more broadly served as an easy target and the *Chap-Book*, as I have stressed, was the most visible of this type. The *Bauble* (1895-1896) was a generalized “burlesque,” as it called itself, of the aesthetic little magazines of the day. It was edited by Will A. Page (1877-1928), Willard Holcomb (dates unknown), and H. C. Bursley (dates unknown) and printed at Page’s home.¹⁰ The *Bauble* drew its name from the stick carried by a fool and from the phrase “to give someone the bauble,” or to make a fool of someone. The *Bauble*’s satire was harsh and the magazine itself was not well received by little magazinists generally. Burgess, for example, included it in his ABC of the little magazine under “R is for Rubbish”: “are you looking for some? Just open the *Bauble* and put down your thumb” (see Anthology 356-57).¹¹ Similarly, the *Lotus* noted in its “Commentary” section that the *Bauble* was one of the worst of the rush of “periodical bantlings” that had emerged.¹²

The *Bauble*’s targets of critical commentary and burlesque included the crème-de-la-crème of little magazinists and figures associated with the avant-

⁹ Clifford Richmond, *A Little Spasm*, n.p. See scanned pages posted at http://www.roycroftbooks.org/little_spasm_rust.htm

¹⁰ Page and Holcomb may have known each other through the *Washington Post*. Both served as dramatic critics for that newspaper (dates unknown). Page later became a theatrical press agent and was a friend of H. L. Mencken.

¹¹ [Burgess], “Our Clubbing List,” *Petit Journal des Refusées* 1.1 (July 1896): n.p.

¹² “Commentary,” *Lotus* 1.1 (Nov. 1 1895): n.p.

garde in literature: Crane, Carman, Hubbard, Maeterlinck, Gelett Burgess of *The Lark*, and Vance Thompson, Symbolism, Decadence, posters, specific little magazines, and the genre of the little magazine itself. Carman, for example, is called Cliss Barman and the Canadian Swineburne [sic] and his Symbolistic poetry is parodied in one of a projected series of satirical author profiles.¹³ A short sketch, “The Turning of the Worm,” meanwhile, satirizes the little magazine craze, telling of one man’s diseased obsession with these publications (see Anthology 380-81). Attracted by their “dainty type effects, the soft yielding paper, the colored inks, and the peculiar drawings,” he soon develops “a love for the degenerate,” avidly collecting such titles as the *Slop Book*, *Chippielot*, *Slips; from Literary Slop-Shops*, the *Pristine*, the *Bark*, and the *Fly Trap*.¹⁴ Tellingly, he hordes these magazines, but does not read them – “They might have been government reports for all he knew, but then he could tell his fellow cranks that he had complete set.”¹⁵ Ultimately he is cured, freed from the “bonds that had bound him to the idols of the Unmentionable,” when he views the lurid *M’lle New York* (the only publication referred to by its real name).¹⁶

Other such magazines had a more ambivalent relationship to the little magazine genre. The *Clack Book* (1896-1897), for example, a title that clearly references the famous *Chap-Book*, wanted to have it both ways. It wanted at once

¹³ “But the Flesh is Weak,” and “About Mr. Bliss Carman,” *Bauble* 2.3 (March 1896): 33-35.

¹⁴ “The Turning of the Worm,” *Bauble* 2.1 (Jan. 1896): 5, 6. These titles parody the *Chap-Book*, the *Bibelot*, *Chips from Literary Workshops*, the *Philistine*, the *Lark*, and the *Fly Leaf*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 7.

to exploit the craze for little magazines by burlesquing them, but also to be taken seriously as an aesthetic little magazine in its own right. This intention was announced in its first issue, an issue that consisted entirely of burlesque:

While we have assumed an attitude of burlesque on the popular little magazines of the day, we wish, at the same time, to state that it is not our desire to make this a distinctive feature. The grace with which the American mind has bowed down to and accepted so much over-drawn, impossible literature and art as coming from the younger writers has given us the idea that the literary merit of the *Clack Book* may be placed upon the same scale. Therefore, odd bits of literature, weird, fantastic, extraordinary, we shall solicit, as well as good burlesques.¹⁷

The *Clack Book*, then, parodied the kind of content typically associated with little magazines – the Maeterlinckian symbolist dramatic piece, symbolist poetry, the weird story, the poetry of Crane and Carmen. And yet, after its first burlesque issue, it contained serious attempts at this and other little magazine type content alongside parodic content. Like the aesthetic magazines, the *Clack Book* expressed an interest in stories about artists and bohemianism, exotic tales, poster poems and sketches, and the *Rubaiyat*. As it developed into a more regular aesthetic little magazine, the *Clack Book* attracted contributions from regular little magazinists such as Percival Pollard, editor of *Echo*, as well as those active in mainstream magazine work, including John Kendrick Bangs (1862-1922), an

¹⁷ [Untitled], *Clack Book* 1.1 (April 1896): n.p.

editor for various Harper's magazines, and Maurice Thompson (1844-1901), a famous Hoosier local-color writer.

The best and most viable of the humorous little magazines was undoubtedly Gelett Burgess's *Lark* (1895-1897), a magazine that did not rely on mocking other little magazines as the source of its humor. Like the *Chap-Book* and the *Philistine*, Burgess's *Lark* stands out as an exemplar of its particular type. Though it ran from only 1895-1897, its originality transcended its ephemerality enough that it continued to be referenced by later little magazines. In 1901, for example, Taylor and Lord drew on Burgess's famous "Purple Cow" poem (see Anthology 350), which first appeared in the *Lark*, to mock Hubbard in the *Bilioustine*.¹⁸ Whereas the *Chap-Book* and the *Philistine*, however, were easy to imitate and mock, the *Lark*'s absurdist humor and unpretentious attitude made it difficult either to imitate or parody. It is, therefore, unique among little magazines. At the same time it is notable, in terms of its decorative and design features, as an aesthetic little magazine. Burgess's exploitation of the little magazine format was truly experimental and innovative, not only in the *Lark*, but in his other publications as well – *Phyllida* (1897) the *Enfant Terrible* (1898), and *Le Petit Journal des Refusées* (1896). Through them, Burgess explored and exhausted the possibilities of the form.

¹⁸ A quatrain entitled "The Pale-Blue Ass," credited to Fra McGinnis, headed one of the pages of the magazine: "I never saw a pale blue ass-- / I've always wished to see one. / Meanwhile I do my level best / Endeavouring to be one" (*Bilioustine* 1.1 [1901]: 12). It follows the pattern of Burgess's original: "I never saw a purple cow / I never hope to see one. / But I can tell you anyhow / I'd rather see than be one" (*Lark* 1.1 [May 1895]: n. p.).

For Burgess, the little magazine form was interesting as a means of “personal expression.”¹⁹ Burgess accepted few unsolicited contributions: most came from his close circle of friends. Like the founders of other little magazines, Burgess and his friends (whose club was called Camp Ha-Ha) were charged with a spirit of revolt against established institutions and polite society; yet, they were unmoved by the manner in which European and American little magazines such as the *Revue blanche*, the *Yellow Book*, and the *Chap-Book*, expressed their rebellion. Indeed, they were as skeptical of “Decadence and its ‘precious’ pretensions” as they were of mainstream culture.²⁰ Their rebellion, thus, took a light-hearted and exuberant form. “The Bohemians of Camp Ha-Ha,” James D. Hart writes, “were light and gay, whimsical and raffish.”²¹ Consequently, these publications are more good-spirited in nature, lacking the biting critique of other humorous publications – fun-for-fun’s-sake. Such, at any rate, was Burgess’s intention in publishing the *Lark*. He wanted “*original* contributions, not dependent on others’ work, no satire, no parody, no criticism – no local color, no timeliness – just an expression of the joy of life – just for a lark.”²²

More Lewis Carroll and Edward Lear than Oscar Wilde and Aubrey Beardsley, more Dada than Decadence, the content of the *Lark* reflected this absurdist view. “The Purple Cow,” an illustrated quatrain appearing in the first issue of the *Lark* (see Anthology 350), is undoubtedly the most famous of

¹⁹ Gelett Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia: Fin de siècle San Francisco and Its Little Magazines* (San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1954), 19.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ James D. Hart, introduction to *Bayside Bohemia*, vi.

²² Carolyn Wells, “What a Lark,” *Colophon* Pt 8 (1931): 10.

Burgess's writings. The magazine, however, contains numerous other examples of Burgess's verse – not all of it nonsense verse, but none of it in the moody and depressing Decadent or Symbolistic mode. Burgess, like his aesthetic magazine contemporaries, was interested in experimenting with fixed poetic forms. The magazine also contained much artwork by Burgess, notably early incarnations of the “Goop” characters he would become famous for in the 1920s (see Anthology 370). The magazine also featured a running series of stories centered on the adventures of Vivette and Richard, who work for a company that bring the kind of romance and adventure of novels into people's real everyday lives. Contributions by others reflected Burgess's fanciful and whimsical ideals. He was the first, for example, to publish the verse of Yone Noguchi (1875-1947), a Japanese poet who emigrated to America at the age of eighteen where he befriended California poet Joaquin Miller (see Anthology 383). Like Crane, Noguchi wrote in blank verse, though, as Carolyn Wells argued, it is a mistake to compare the two. Noguchi, she argues, who was well read in the British and American poetic tradition, brings a Whitmanesque sensibility to a Japanese spirit.²³ Burgess's whimsical nature resulted in a magazine that reflected a Bohemianism quite different from that expounded by other aesthetic magazines and by the periodicals of protest. As one reviewer remarked on its passing after a two-year existence:

It smacked of Robert Louis Stevenson. It was ‘Alice in Wonderland’ in picture. It was art through a crazy looking-glass. It was the realism of nonsense. The whole country laughed at the

²³ Carolyn Wells, “The Latest Thing in Poets,” *Critic* 29 (Nov. 14, 1896): 302.

strange pictures with the brilliantly unintelligible verses. But much of it was not understood of the people who need diagrams. The *Lark* was always too high in the blue for the many; but for those who might mount with him or to him—for those the magazinelet was published. Those enjoyed it; and now they regret it—for the *Lark* is no more. It was so original that its death is its only unoriginality.²⁴

Burgess's intentions for the *Lark* somewhat trapped him, however. As Hart notes, he was tired by the success of the *Lark* and "irritated by its reflection of his own cleavage between quaint aestheticism and ludicrous fantasy."²⁵ Indeed, Burgess himself self-reflexively comments on this problem in one of the Vivette stories that appeared in the *Lark* (see Anthology 367-69). In it, Vivette and Richard decide to start a little magazine called *Phyllida, or the Milkmaid* so that Vivette can publish the work that has been rejected by so many magazines. Her work, says Richard, is extremely experimental in nature, going beyond "the conventional problems of versification" to tackle "Greek and Latin metres, Welch [sic] and Siamese rhyme-forms . . . antediluvian anapests of Tertiary Man . . . ho-ku's . . . and U-ta's of Japanese poetry," etc.²⁶ Soon, however, they grow bored because the magazine has established a "policy" that constrains their endeavors. So they start another one – *La revue jeune* – that will go back Vivette says, to

²⁴ *St Louis Mirror*, quoted in "Notes on the Passing of the Lark," *Lark Almanack* (San Francisco: William Doxey, 1899), n. p. This publication is available on the Internet Archive at <http://www.archive.org/details/larkalmanack189900burgich>

²⁵ Hart, introduction to *Bayside Bohemia*, vii.

²⁶ [Gelett Burgess], "The Avocations of Vivette," *Lark* 2.3 (July 1896): n. p.

“Addison – to Montaigne – to Chaucer, if need be” and will be printed in “that fascinating 8 x 10 size of the *Tatler* – with square wood-cut initials and double columns, the proper names in small caps It will make the heathen rage.”²⁷ When that magazine fails, they plan another, the *Anthrophrophagian*, to be printed on “real sheepskin rolls set from types cut to the faces of the 8th century Irish miniscules.”²⁸

Though trials and tribulations of the little magazinist are humorously played out here, they reflect Burgess’s own experience. Burgess himself had, in fact, launched a periodical called *Phyllida, or the Milkmaid* a few months before printing this story though, in practice, the magazine resembled what was called in the story *La revue jeune*. *Phyllida* was a more or less serious attempt to establish a literary periodical that would help build a literary coterie in California, though it was decidedly whimsical in form. Through this publication, Burgess, as Hart suggests, explored his interests in “quaint aestheticism.”²⁹ The four-page folio magazine aimed to revive the personal essay style of Addison and Steele. It was printed on smoke-colored imitation handmade paper in the style of the old *Tatler* down to the typographical style with its small caps, italics, and long “s.” Unlike the *Lark*, it was to treat the topical, containing “lithe and sinewy comment, gossipy chatter, causerie, and reviews, ‘devoted to literary topics, and reflections upon the doings of the town’.”³⁰ Having no interest in writing such material themselves, Burgess and his partner, Porter Garnett, sought outside contributors who failed,

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Hart, introduction to *Bayside Bohemia*, vii.

³⁰ Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia*, 31.

Burgess claimed, to provide them with adequate material. The magazine came to an end after two issues, but was memorialized in Burgess's Vivette adventure.

Burgess's experiment, in what Hart terms "ludicrous fantasy,"³¹ was played out in another publishing venture, *Le Petit Journal des Refusées*. Mention of this magazine first appeared as a notice in the *Lark* in October 1895, most probably as yet another playful jibe at little magazines. "It will be the *smallest* and most *extraordinary* magazine in existence," the notice declared:

It will be printed on *Black* paper with *Yellow* ink. The margins will be very, very wide, the cover almost impossible.

The rates for insertion of prose articles will be only *five dollars a page*; poetry, ten dollars a page; but no manuscript will be printed unless accompanied by a letter of regret at not being able to find the same available, from some leading magazine. *No manuscripts will be refused*. Terms are cash, invariably in advance.

Every article in every paper will be blue penciled, and the author's signature underlined.

Each contributor will be allowed one hundred free copies of the number in which his article appears.

Subscription to the *Petit Journal des Refusées*, will be five dollars a year; single copies, ten cents.

Address all subscriptions and manuscripts to the editor,

³¹ Hart, introduction to *Bayside Bohemia*, vii.

*Gelett Burgess, San Francisco*³²

What may well have started as a joke, however, soon became a challenge for Burgess who aimed to create a magazine that would not only “out-Lark the *Lark*,” but would also be the “*reductio ad absurdum* of the ‘freak’ journal.”³³ And so it was, in every respect. In design terms, it took the little magazine fetish for quaint aesthetic effects to the extreme. Printed using woodcuts on both sides of wallpaper, the sixteen-page *Petit Journal des Refusées*, a one-off publication, was trapezoidal in shape. Beardsleyesque figures as well as Burgess’s goops and other fantastical figures frame the texts. These poems and prose works, all purportedly by women and rejected by at least three magazines, were written by Burgess himself in imitation of the content found in little magazines. They include a Symbolistic sketch called “The Ghost of a Flea”; a poem set to music; a poem that is typeset to reflect the typographical experimentations of little magazines; a dialect piece; and a poem in rhyming couplets --the centerpiece of the magazine, occupying four pages -- that represents an alphabetical guide to the little magazine movement (see Anthology 356-57).

Having achieved the *reductio ad absurdum* in the realm of the little magazine, Burgess effectively retired from the field. He moved East to New York where he produced only one more little magazine, *Enfant Terrible*, for April Fool’s Day 1898, including a typical Burgess nonsense poem and a poem mocking the Boston Bohemian set. He then went on to London where he published accounts of his little magazine adventures for the *Academy*, a British literary magazine. Like

³² Gelett Burgess, “Petit Journal des Refusées,” *Lark* 1.6 (Oct. 1895), n. p.

³³ Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia*, 25, 26.

so many other little magazinists of his day, Burgess became an active contributor to mainstream magazines as an illustrator and writer of humorous verse. He would also achieve success for his books, especially his children's books featuring the Goops, characters who had first appeared in the pages of the *Lark*.

Miscellaneous Little Magazines

While aesthetic magazines, periodicals of protest, and their parodic imitators constitute the main forms of little magazine in this period, there are a number of miscellaneous publications that bear consideration as part of or related to the larger phenomenon. For example, Faxon includes in his list the following types of magazines:

- Story magazines, many of whose names relate to animals (*Black Cat*, *Gray Goose*, *Four-O'Clock*, *Empire*, *Cornucopia*, the *Idol*, *McC's Monthly*, *Nickell Magazine*, *Pearl Magazine*, *Penny Magazine*, *Penny Fiction*, *Pilgrim*, *Pocket Magazine*, *Poker Chips*, *Raven*, *10 Story Book*, *Wayside Tales*, *White Elephant*, *White Owl*, *White Rabbit*, *Yellow Dog*)
- magazines about history or folklore (*Gems of American Patriotism*; *North Carolina Booklet*; *Quivera Legends*)
- magazines dealing with spiritual or alternative religious movements (*Essene*; *Higher Law*; *Uriel*; *Occasional One*)
- magazines of alternative medicine (*A Stuffed Club for Everyone*; *Medical Tractates*; *Moody's Magazine of Medicine*)
- magazines relating to socialism, progressivism, and various social movements (*Rebel* and *New Occasions* – advocates of social progress;

What's the Use? and *Why?* -- single-tax periodicals; *Our Country* – a magazine representing the interests of the Patriotic League of America; *Lincoln House Review* – organ for the Settlement House movement; *American Cooperative News* and *Cambridge Magazine* – devoted to the co-op movement)

- magazines about arts and crafts, the decorative arts and household management (*What to Eat*; *Country Time and Tide*; *Home Craft*; *Handicraft*; *House Beautiful*; *Forms and Fantasies*)
- photography (*Photo Era*; *Ye Manual*; *Camera Craft*)
- sound recording (*Phonogram*)
- music and theater (*Baton*; *Baton Quarterly*; *Footlights*; *Opera Glass*)
- business (*Chat*)
- hobbies (*Corsair* – a chess periodical; the *Woman Cyclist*)

A number of these categories may seem to stretch somewhat too far the bounds of what constitutes a little magazine. How are we to understand the more blatantly commercial popular story magazines such as the *Black Cat*, which are neither avant-garde in an artistic and design sense, nor radical in their social and cultural viewpoints, as part of the little magazine movement? Faxon, himself, after all, seems uneasy with this categorization. At the same time, how are we to understand the inclusion of the wide array of journals on everything from chess and business to elocution and medicine? Are some of these magazines not better suited to contextualization in terms of the massive expansion of range and types of

periodicals in the 1890s when, as Mott argues, “every interest had its own journal or journals?”³⁴

Mott himself, structures his study around the various types of trade and consumer magazines – literary, local and regional, graphic arts, politics and economics, music and drama, education, sports and recreation, hobbies, general science and medicine, agriculture, and so on. In his categorization, the little magazines or, “ephemeral bibelots,” as he calls them, following Faxon, appear under “hobbies.” Certainly, a number of these other types of little magazines that appear in Faxon’s list might well be considered a part of more generically specific categories. While Faxon rarely offers a rationale for his inclusions of what I am calling miscellaneous little magazines, there is, I contend, a method to his madness. In the remainder of this chapter, I will account for the importance of these publications to a history of the little magazines of this period. The inclusion of these publications is an indication of the appropriation of “little magazineness” to support a variety of causes and interests that used the form, or aspects of the form, to signal a distinction from mainstream currents of thought.

By far the largest category within the miscellaneous little magazines is the story magazine. Faxon, himself, does not consider these “genuine” examples of the “ephemeral bibelots” of the period, though he includes them in his list. For him, however, they are significantly related. As he says, “[t]he rage for these freak magazines seems to have created the short-story periodicals which, while in no sense like the chap-books, except in the strange names they adopted, are included

³⁴ Mott, *History of American Magazines*, 10.

in this bibliography as a true part of the ‘ephemerals’ of the period.”³⁵ Faxon’s consideration of these magazines as linked to the larger phenomenon of freak magazines of the period was not unique to him. In the day, these magazines were referred to in discussions of the phenomenon in the mainstream press and in other little magazines.

While now, in hindsight, they may be clearly understood as a precursor to the pulp magazines that would emerge more fully in the early twentieth century, in their day they were, like the other little magazines, noted as a new and “freakish” phenomenon. They were certainly different than the story papers and dime novels that fed Americans’ desire for cheap fiction through the nineteenth century. First, they were a venue for the short story, whereas story papers specialized in serials and dime novels and were novel or novella length. Also, though Faxon claims that they were not as aesthetic in appearance as the little magazines,³⁶ they were more attractive and modern-looking, with poster-style covers, than their story-paper equivalents. This appearance, coupled with their quirky and faddish titles, marketed the story magazines in a particular way. In form and self-representation, these magazines seemed, like their little magazine counterparts, to offer a product more modern, daring, and shocking than that found in the family story papers or mainstream magazines – whether this was true or no. Thus, while these magazines represent an important moment in the transition in popular print culture from the story papers and dime novels of the nineteenth century to the pulp magazines of

³⁵ Faxon, *Ephemeral Bibelots*, 4.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

the twentieth century, they are also relevant, to some degree, to the history of little magazines of this period.

Among the miscellaneous magazines more clearly related to the little magazine phenomenon are those that treat the Arts and Crafts movement, the domestic arts, and those that deal with the arts beyond literature and graphic art. These magazines can generally be classes within the broader category of what I have called aesthetic little magazines. Magazines such as *House Beautiful* (1896-ongoing), in its early years, and *Forms and Fantasies* (1898-1899) follow the design principles of the aesthetic little magazines and though they contain no literary content, their subject matter is part of the larger Arts and Crafts and Aesthetic culture that the little magazines were a part of. This aesthetic resemblance is true also of the magazine *What to Eat* (1896-1908) – “a journal of information about What to Eat, How to Eat, Where to Eat, How to Cook, How to Serve, How to Give Up-to-Date Dinners, How to give *Recherche* [sic] Luncheon, How to Set Tables a la Mode, the Latest Thing in Tableware, Table Furnishings and Novel Effects.”³⁷ In addition to its wonderful poster-style illustrations and aesthetic layout, *What to Eat* also included fiction and poetry that reflected the magazine’s focus of interest. Similarly, though it would not make sense to include all small musical and theatrical publications in an inventory of little magazines, those mentioned by Faxon reflect the spirit of these publications. *Footlights*, for example, a theater magazine, contained fiction, poster art, book reviews, and material by little magazine contributors, it reported on the little magazine

³⁷ *What to Eat* (Feb. 1897): 162.

phenomenon, and was discussed and advertised in other little magazines.³⁸ The *Baton*, a Kansas City-based musical journal, similarly, did not limit its content to music, but also included short fiction and serials and notices about the book trade.³⁹

This blend of literary and other content extended even to some of the less obviously artistic spheres. *Moody's Magazine of Medicine* (1896-1899), for example, went beyond the medical focus of its title, calling itself a “medico-surgical literary journal.” It also apparently appropriated the little magazine aesthetic: a notice in the *Clack Book*, for example, remarked that it was printed by “an artistic printer.”⁴⁰ Another medical magazine, *Doctor's Magazine and How to Live* (1901-1903), also combined medical topics with rhyme and story.⁴¹ Similarly, *Expression* (1895-1897), an organ for the School of Expression in Boston, seems, at first glance, to have only the most tenuous of relationships to little magazines. Certainly, its cover, described in the *Bauble* as “a snaky-haired female fixedly regarding the words ‘Art – Literature – the Spoken Word’,” links it with the aesthetic style of little magazines (see picture above).⁴² And yet, with articles such as “Lessons in Vocal Training from Laughter,” “Where Shall the Teacher Begin to Develop Expression,” “The Education of the Public Reader,” “An Evil Tendency

³⁸ See, for example, the advertisement for *Footlights* in the *Bauble* 2.1 (Jan. 1896): n. p.

³⁹ Peter A. Munstedt, “Kansas City Music Publishing: The First Fifty Years,” *American Music* 9.4 (1991): 378.

⁴⁰ “Clacks,” *Clack Book* 1.6 (Sept. 1896): 193.

⁴¹ See ad in *Rubric* 2.1 (1902): n.p.

⁴² “Condemned Contemporaries,” *Bauble* 2.4 (May 1896): 57.

in the Voice of Women,” and “The Confusion of Accent,”⁴³ we seem to have drifted into very specialist terrain and far from the range of interests of little magazines. And yet, its editor, S. S. Curry (1847-1921), was very much part of the progressive and New Thought movements that underpinned the little magazine movement. In turn, his theories of elocution – known as the Curry method -- stressed the relationship between voice, body, and mind. They were informed, therefore, by the New Thought and revolted against the prevailing ideas about elocution.⁴⁴

Another class of these magazines was devoted to the various social and political topics touched on in the aesthetic magazines and the magazines of protest and that were clearly related to the interests of various fractions of the middle class in this period. But where Hubbard and other periodical of protest editors ranged more generally across a variety of alternative and fringe causes, there were magazines more directed in their focus, often organs for official movements, organizations, or institutions associated with reformist or progressive causes. Hence, the *Lincoln House Review*, an organ for the Settlement House Movement, a liberal reformist movement that sought to improve conditions for the poor and included cultural and artistic education;⁴⁵ *Atmos*, a magazine affiliated with a progressive organization called the Society for Human Endeavor; a *Stuffed Club*

⁴³ The first two articles appear in *Expression* for September 1895, the remaining in *Expression* for December 1895.

⁴⁴ The above information on Curry is listed on the history page of Curry College, where his principles are still influential, <http://www.curry.edu/About+Us/Currys+Legacy/125th+Anniversary/past.htm>

⁴⁵ David Edwin Harrell et al, *Unto a Good Land: A History of the American People Vol. 2: From 1865* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2005), 653-4.

for Everybody, an organ for rational therapeutics that was linked to a series of broader alternative medical fads, the most famous of which was John Harvey Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanitorium;⁴⁶ *Our Country*, touted as a "textbook and magazine" for the American Patriotic League, an organization that desired a restriction on immigration, longer period for naturalization, and an educational qualification for voters.⁴⁷

Unsurprisingly, given the Socialist leanings of many of the periodicals of protest, there were a number of more strictly political Socialist organs related to the little magazine movement. Thus, in addition to the numerous Socialist-leaning literary and protest magazines, including the *Whim* (1901-1905) and the *Comrade* (1901-1905), there were those with more explicit propagandist aims. Often these magazines were advertised in little magazines, especially those of the protest type. The *Ghourki*, for example, is a good source for advertisements of many socialist periodicals, including the *Socialist Spirit* (1901-1903) of Chicago and the *Vanguard* (1902-1908) of Green Bay, Wisconsin. Perhaps the most important of these Socialist little magazines were Gaylord Wilshire's publications. Wilshire (1861-1927), a millionaire Socialist from California, published the *Challenge* (1900-1901), which later became *Wilshire's Magazine* (1901-1915), one of the

⁴⁶ For an account of rational therapeutics in America, see Harry M. Marks, *Progress of Experiment: Science and Therapeutic Reform in the United States, 1900-1990* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). For Kellogg and rational therapeutics, see Robert Noah Calvert, *History of Massage: An Illustrated History from Around the World* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions / Bear and Company, 2002), 137.

⁴⁷ Wallace Evan Davies, *Patriotism on Parade: The Story of Veteran and Hereditary Organizations in America 1783-1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1955), 297.

most popular Socialist magazines, which eventually reached a circulation of 425,000.⁴⁸ Wilshire, who modeled his persona after famous Fabian Socialist, George Bernard Shaw, used his magazine, as Hubbard did, as a vehicle for his “peppery” and “dyspeptic” tirades against capitalism and the trusts.⁴⁹

The acerbic and rebellious tone of the little magazine and their formats were also widely appropriated by this miscellaneous category of publications. A number of these magazines, for example, adopted the one-man magazine style of Hubbard and their formats mirrored those of the *Philistine* and similar periodicals. The outspoken, individualistic style of little magazinists such as Hubbard and Monahan, was popular with men in the professional, political, and business worlds, and influenced those who would, in an amateur sense, take up the little magazine as a medium of expression. Both little magazinists, after all, had large followings amongst of this type. Patrick Sweeney, for example, editor of *Chat* (1901-1903?), put Hubbardian principles to his magazine dedicated loosely to business topics. *Chat* included “heart-to-heart” features, aphorisms, parables, homilies, and practical advice for everyday life and work.⁵⁰

John Tilden (1851- 1940), editor of a *Stuffed Club* is another case in point. His publication began as “a magazine of protest against superfluous surgery and use of drugs.”⁵¹ Its debts to Hubbard are clear in design and style. Aesthetically, it looked much like the *Philistine*, eventually bringing in the decorated initial letters

⁴⁸ Kevin Starr, *Inventing the Dream: California Through the Progressive Era* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), 210.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Advertisement for *Chat*, in the *Ghourki* 1.12 (1902): 376.

⁵¹ Wilbur Fiske Stone, *History of Colorado*, volume 3 (Chicago: J. S. Clarke Publishing Company, 1918), 118.

at the beginning of each section.⁵² Its orphic Hubbardian motto reads: “There is a happy mean between the extreme drug therapist and the mental therapist. Truth lies between and requires a stuffed club to beat back the vandals.”⁵³ Like Hubbard’s *Philistine*, it, too, is a one-man magazine. In it, Tilden discourses, in Hubbaridan fashion, on medical subjects but also on social phenomenon from a medical perspective. The July 1900 issue, for example, contains an essay, “The Mob,” which talks about criminality in relation to medical theories in language addressed to the layperson.⁵⁴ Tilden occasionally includes poems in his magazine and he references other little magazinists – Hubbard and Ernest Crosby, for example.⁵⁵

In general, then, there is sufficient rationale for including these miscellaneous types of periodicals within a bibliography of little magazines of the period, though also, as Mott does, with the more generically specific types of magazines to which they are also related. Certainly, though, the influence of the little magazine is clear – related subject matter, similar style and format, etc, -- even if this influence extends only to the most superficial of features. Take, for example, the *Corsair* (1902-1911), a chess periodical whose only claim to little

⁵² This design is true for later issues of the magazine. The issue available through google books for 1908-1909, for example has these features. The issue from July 1900, in my possession, has the small format of the little magazine but not the decorative initial letters.

⁵³ *Stuffed Club* 1.3 (1901): 97.

⁵⁴ [John Tilden], “The Mob,” *A Stuffed Club for Everybody* 1.3 (July 1900): 101-15.

⁵⁵ Lists of the table of contents for the first two issues of the magazine in July 1900 include an article entitled “The World Is Growing Healthier: the Great Burlington R. R., and Elbert Hubbard Are Given as Proofs” in volume 1, no. 2 and “Mr. Ernest H. Crosby’s Conception of Love,” for volume 1, no. 2.

magazine affiliation lies, perhaps, in its size and its quirky self-representation on its cover: “Official organ of the New England Chess Association, but more particularly the organ of Wally, giving him a chance to say what he has to say when there is something to be said.”⁵⁶

There is much to gain in our understanding of the little magazines of this period by acknowledging these miscellaneous periodicals as part of the broader movement – whether we consider them only tangentially related to the movement, or as full-fledged little magazines in their own right. Notably, we get a sense of the reach and flexibility of the genre and its importance as a signifier of difference and distinction for little magazinists and their audiences. The little magazine of this period was a genre amenable to a variety of uses across a range of professional fields of endeavour. The relative cheapness of these productions and the ability to distribute them far afield was instrumental in forging networks of like-minded readers across the nation and, in some cases, beyond national borders. While mass-market magazines offered one way of imagining oneself as part of a larger class or national community, the little magazines enabled the various alternative and fringe movements to establish networks. What connects these miscellaneous magazines to their counterparts in the aesthetic and protest realm is oft-repeated by the little magazinists themselves. Thus, for Walter Blackburn Harte, for example, these magazines are a medium for “independent opinion and individual craftsmanship;” for Gelett Burgess, “a means of personal expression;” for G. H. Walcott (Wally of the *Corsair*), “a chance to say what he has to say when there is something to be

⁵⁶ [Cover], *Corsair* 6.85 (June 13, 1907).

said;” for S. S. Curry, of the magazine entitled *Expression*, a medium quite literally for expressing alternative views about means of personal expression.⁵⁷ The little magazine of this period, then, is a central form for the expression of individuality, a concept particularly important at a moment when mass culture seemed to be threatening individual expression.

⁵⁷ Harte, “Bubble and Squeak,” *Lotus* 2.8 (Dec. 1896): 297; Burgess, *Bayside Bohemia*, 19; Cover, *Corsair* 6.85 (June 13, 1907).

AFTERWORD

Fin-de-siècle Little Magazines:

Not So Little After All?

In moving beyond the standard few oft-discussed little magazines of this period to the larger body of material, and beyond the narrow literary context to the broader social milieu, I have attempted to demonstrate the importance of these magazines to the development of American culture. Certainly, these magazines are far more important than they have hitherto been given credit for in studies of little magazines or in studies of the magazine culture of this period. And yet, as I think this broad overview of the terrain has indicated, a consideration of them has much to offer both these fields of study.

While generally ignored in Modernist studies, these fin-de-siècle little magazines have been credited, in some quarters, with bearing an important relationship to their successors. Jonathan Freedman, for example, with reference to little magazines of the aesthetic type, identifies three contributions to Modernist literary culture:

they made available to a broad reading public the very best of avant-garde European writing of their time . . . [meanwhile] less well-connected [little magazines] served an important role by importing national or international writers to Kansas City or Omaha or Louisville, and providing an outlet for local writers eager to emulate them. . . they also established patterns of cultural expectation and response, and provided for the first time in

American letters a successful means of matching struggling but devoted writers with a sympathetic and increasingly sophisticated audience.¹

Freedman is certainly correct in his assessment of this smaller fraction of little magazine output in this period, and yet, contextualized in this way, these magazines are destined to continue to play second fiddle to their more “sophisticated” Modernist counterparts. Fin-de-siècle little magazines, it seems to me, are less interesting for their role in literary canonical terms, which is, admittedly, a small one, than for the diffuse and subtle power they represent in shaping American culture at the turn of, and into, the twentieth century.

It is in this respect that they are significant to recent studies of the role of magazines of this period in shaping middle-class consumer identity. These magazines offer a counter to the prevailing argument in this scholarship that the middle class was passively shaped by mass print culture of this period. The large body of little magazines, many of them produced in an amateur context, indicates the degree to which America’s middle classes articulated and understood themselves through alternative print networks. The recurring insistence in these magazines on individuality, individual expression, personal opinion, protest, new ideas, free thought, originality, etc. reinforces the importance these magazines had for their producers and readers.

That these magazines coincided with the rise of the mass-market magazine is hardly a coincidence. They were, as I have said, a reaction against the kind of

¹ Freedman, *Professions of Taste*, 123-24.

cultural homogenization represented by mass culture. And yet, it would be naïve to place them entirely in an antagonistic relationship to mainstream and mass culture. Sometimes they existed as such, providing an organ for those who could not or would not express themselves through mainstream channels. They were also, however, alternative in a less hostile sense. Many little magazinists, as I have said, subsidized this activity through an involvement in the mainstream press and/or used the little magazine as an additional outlet for expression. As a result, these magazines represent an important body of material from which to study the tensions between the commercialization, professionalization, and corporatization of American life in this period and the nation's indomitable zeal for culture and self-improvement.

Though the magazines themselves were, for the most part, ephemeral, their legacy is far-reaching, existing beyond the individual pages, beyond individual articles, stories, and poems, and beyond the magazines themselves. The diffuse and subtle power that I claim for these magazines manifested itself in indirect ways. These magazines, as I have shown, touch on an extremely broad range of social and cultural movements, many of them rooted in the progressivism of this period. Though many of these were fringe interests, they were the fringe interests of a powerful class. Their proponents were often from powerful fractions of the middle class or from the wealthy elite. The little magazines were often only one -- and a minor one -- of the venues in which they exerted their cultural power. The legacy of these magazines, then, lies not so much in the magazines themselves, but in the opportunities they represented, and the outcomes they

realized in the way of little magazinists' contributions to American cultural life more broadly. The legacies of these little magazinists in the twentieth century, some of which have already been outlined in chapter 1, but worth repeating here, include: the founding of the Free Speech League, precursor to the American Civil Liberties Union (Theodore Schroeder, editor of *Lucifer's Lantern*); major contributions to graphic design in advertising and book and magazine production (little magazine contributors Bruce Rogers, Frederic Goudy, William Addison Dwiggins, Will Bradley, printer, publisher, and editor of *Bradley, His Book*, and others); the establishment of the first degree-granting university theatre program in America (Thomas Wood Stevens, printer, publisher and editor of *Blue Sky*); contributions to the building of the Golden Gate Bridge (Irving Morrow, editor of the *Muse*); innovations in architectural design (Ralph Adams Cram and Bertram Goodhue, little magazine contributors); the founding of environmentalist groups (little magazine contributors William Dallam Armes and Charles Howard Shinn); the challenging of the Butler Act, which made it unlawful to teach evolutionary theory in state-funded schools in the United States (little magazine contributor Clarence Darrow), etc. etc.

These magazines then, while neither particularly significant from the perspective of canonical literary Modernist studies, nor from the perspective of the shaping role of consumer magazines on middle-class culture, have other insights to offer. Little magazinists sought to shape rather than be shaped and advocated the same for their readers. They participated as amateurs in the literary realm and intervened in social, cultural and political debates in an alternative

arena. As a venue for the testing out of alternative social and cultural values and ideals, the little magazines fostered an astonishing array of important developments in American cultural life at the turn-of-the century and beyond.

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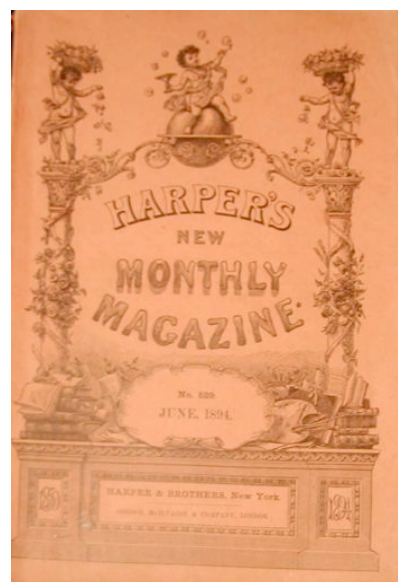
APPENDIX A: Illustrations

1. Mainstream Magazines:

1.1 *Cosmopolitan*, a cheap ten-cent magazine; **1.2** *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, a traditional “genteel” magazine, 25 cents (copies in author’s possession).



1.1



1.2

2. European Poster Artists: **2.1** Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec poster for a Paris Café (wikimedia); **2.2** Alfons Mucha poster for *La Plume* magazine

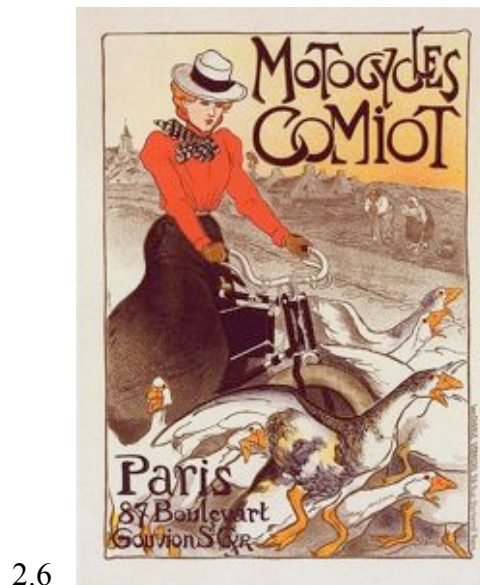
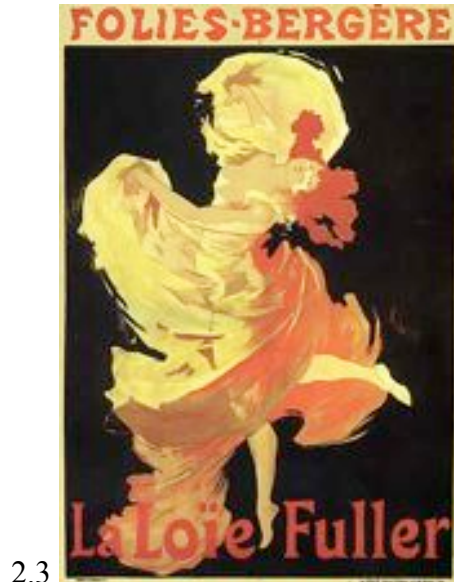


2.1



2.2

2. European Poster Artists (cont'd) 2.3 Jules Cheret poster (www.art.com); 2.4 Eugene Grasset poster (Wikispaces); 2.5 Aubrey Beardsley poster (V and A prints, Victoria and Albert Museum,); 2.6 Théophile Alexandre Steinlen poster (wikimedia).



3. American Poster Artists:

3.1 Will Carqueville (artnet.com); 3.2 Edward Penfield (wikimedia); 3.3 Ethel Reed (popartmachine.com)



3.1



3.2



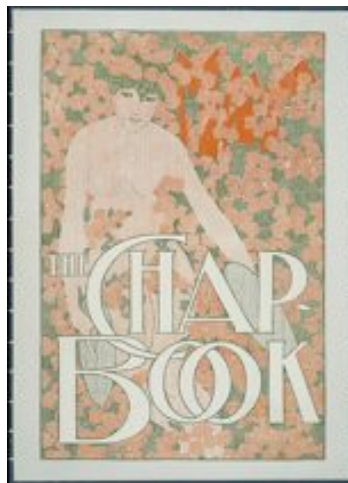
3.3

4. Will Bradley's Poster Art:

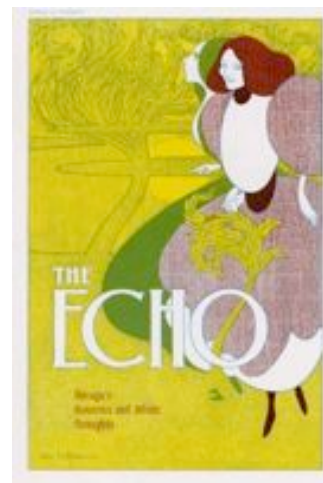
4.1 Poster for *Bradley, His Book* (allposters.co.uk); 4.2 Poster for the *Chap-Book* (MOMA); 4.3 Poster for *Echo* magazine (allposters.co.uk)



4.1



4.2



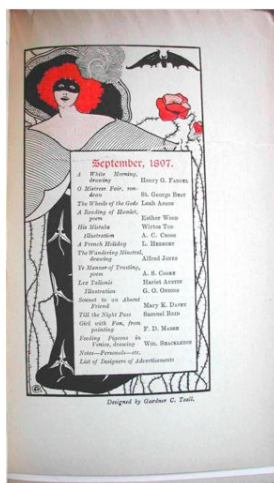
4.3

5. The Beardsley Influence:

5.1 Frank Hazenplug for the *Chap-Book* (U Alberta Library, photo by author) **5.2** Gardner C. Teall for *Quartier Latin* (Sept 1897) (Yale, photo by author); **5.3** Will Bradley for the *Chap-Book* (Dec 1894) (U Alberta Library, photo by author); **5.4** Ayre, cover for the *Fad* (Dec. 5, 1896) (copy in author's possession); **5.5** William C. Terry for *Muse* (March 1901) (New York Public Library, photo by author) **5.6** Aubrey Beardsley, cover design for the *Yellow Book* (artlex.com)



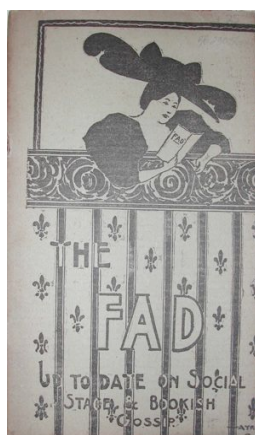
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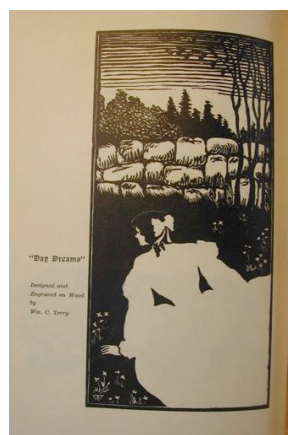
5.2



5.3



5.4



5.5



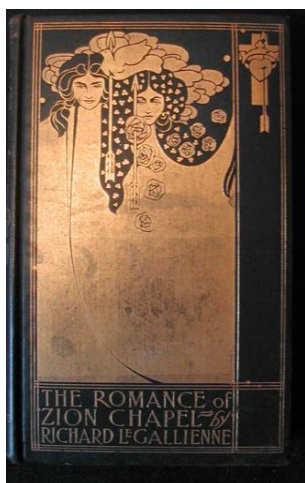
5.6

6. Revolution in Fine Printing: The British Context

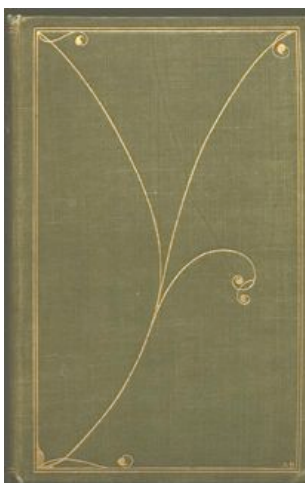
6.1 Pages from William Morris's 1891 Kelmscott Press edition of the *Glittering Plain* (Morris Online Edition, U Iowa); 6.2 pages from the 1894 edition of the *Glittering Plain*, with woodcut illustrations by Walter Crane (http://beinecke.library.yale.edu.illustratedword/)



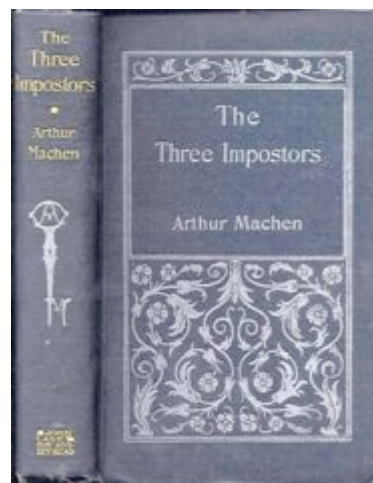
6. Revolution in Fine Printing: The British Context (cont'd): **6.3** Bodley Head edition of Richard le Gallienne, unsigned bindings attributed to American artist, Will H. Bradley (copy in author's possession); **6.4** Ernest Dowson, Beardsley design (copy in the author's possession); **6.5** Arthur Machen, with Beardsley design (Arthur Machen Gallery, <http://www.cafes.net/ditch/macgal.htm>); **6.6-6.8** Vale Press books (Elstonpress.com)



6.3



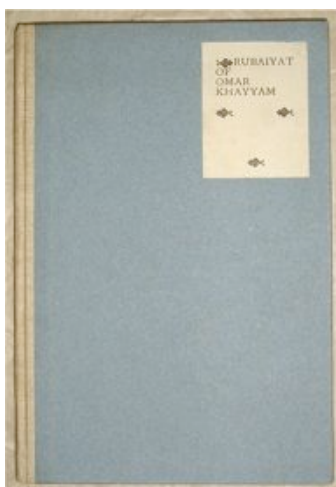
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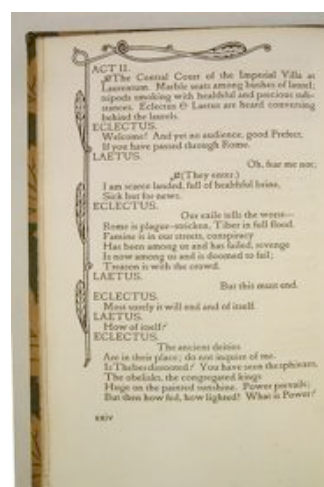
6.5



6.6



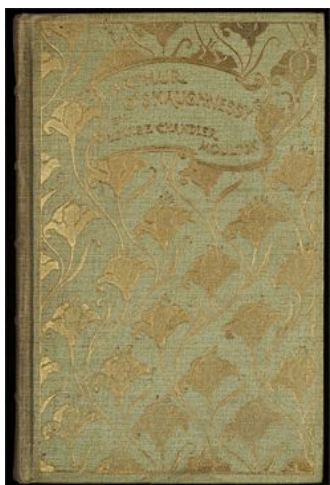
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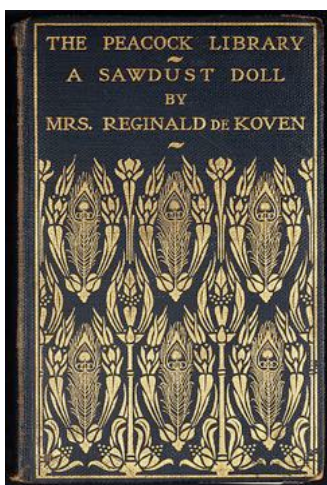
6.7

7. Revolution in Fine Printing: American Context

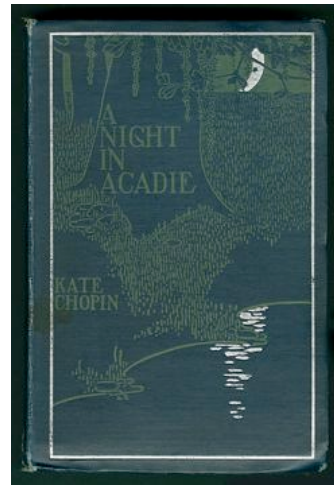
7.1-7.2 Two Stone and Kimball editions (Moulton and de Koven); 7.3 Way and Williams edition (Publishers' Bindings Online, U Alabama); 7.4 Philosopher Press edition (elstonpress.com); 7.5 Elder and Shepard edition (paulelder.org); 7.6 Thomas Mosher edition (copy in author's possession).



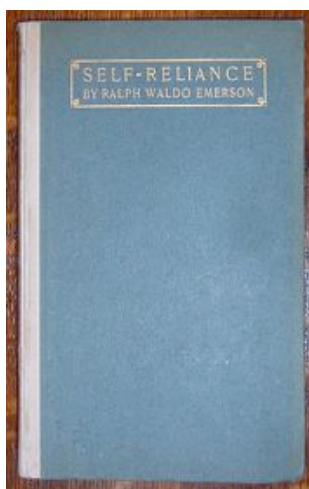
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7.2



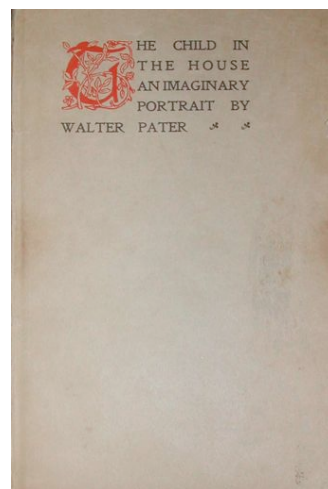
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7.4



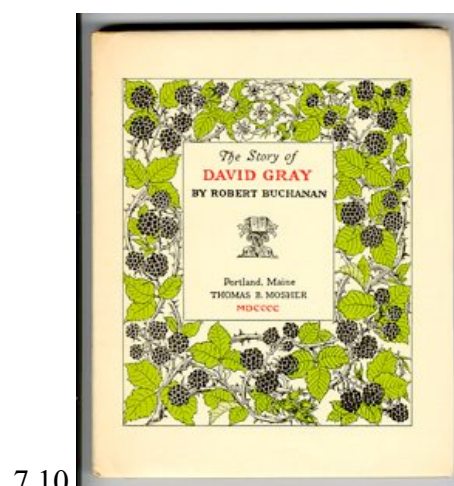
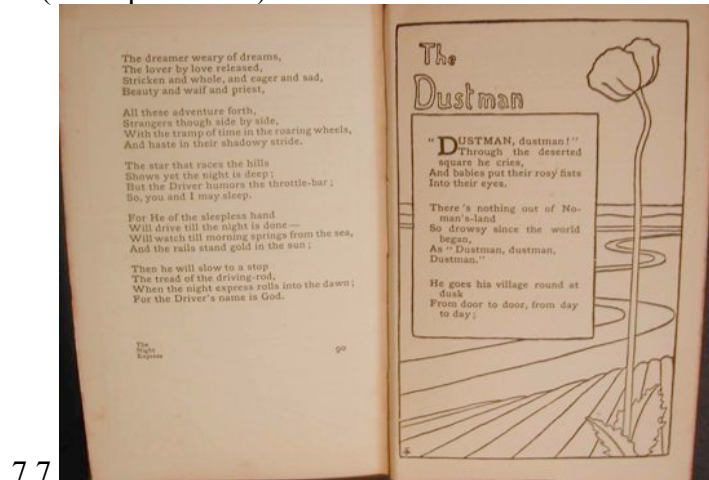
7.5



7.6

7. Revolution in Fine Printing: American Context (cont'd)

7.7 Pages from a Small, Maynard and Co. edition of Bliss Carman's *Behind the Arras* (copy in the author's possession); 7.8 Cranbrook Press edition (elstonpress.com); 7.9 Roycroft Press edition (elstonpress.com); 7.10 Thomas Mosher edition (elstonpress.com)



8. Examples of Changing Little Magazine Covers:

8.1-8.2 *Clack Book* (Yale, photograph by author); 8.3-8.4 *Bradley, His Book* (copies in author's possession); 8.5 *Lotus* (UCLA, photograph by author); 8.6 *Lotus* (copy in author's possession); 8.7 *Echo* (Yale, photograph by author); 8.8 *Echo* (copy in author's possession).



8. Examples of Changing Little Magazine Covers (cont'd):

8.9-8.10 *M'lle New York* (copies in author's possession) **8.11-8.12** *Miss Blue Stocking* (New York Public Library, photographs by author); **8.13-14** *Blue Sky* (Yale, photographs by author); **8.15-8.16** *Bachelor Book* (Yale, photographs by author).



8.9



8.10



8.11



8.12



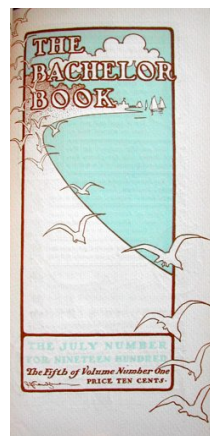
8.13



8.14



8.15



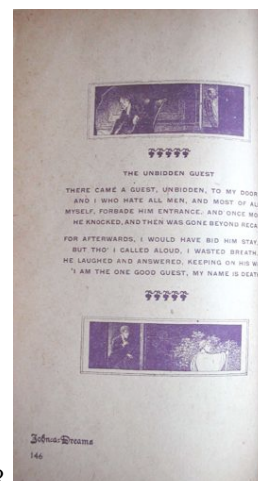
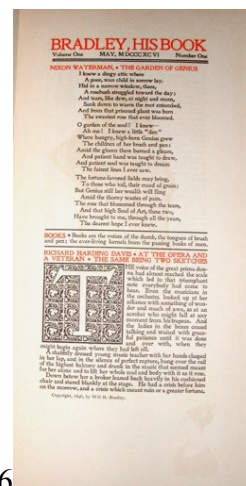
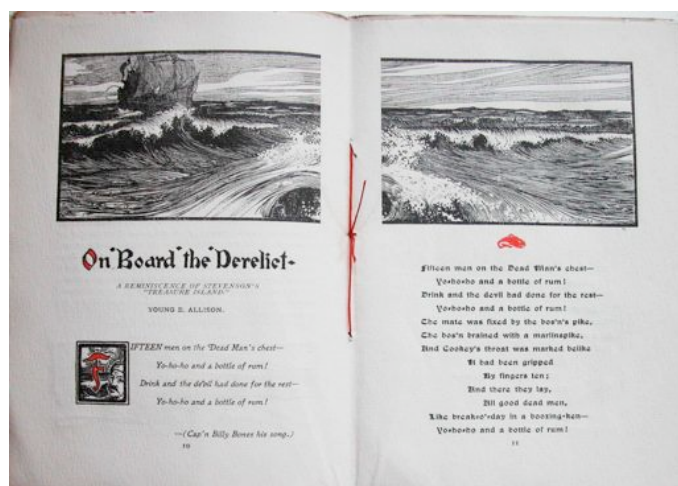
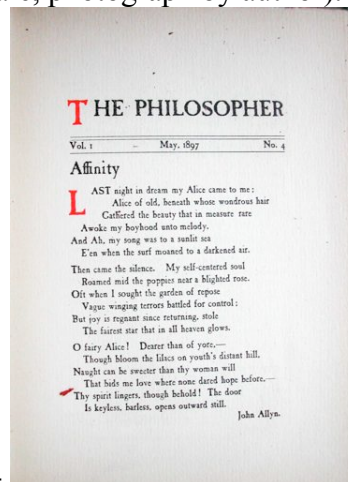
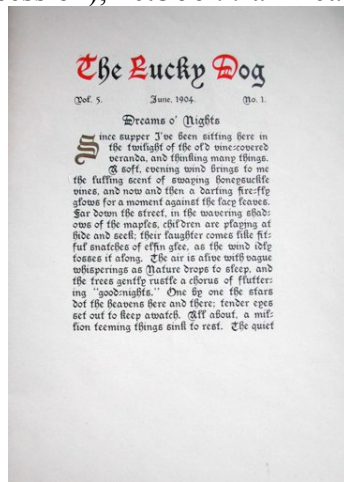
8.16



10.1 *M'lle New York* (copy in author's possession); **10.2** *Clack Book* (Yale, photograph by author).

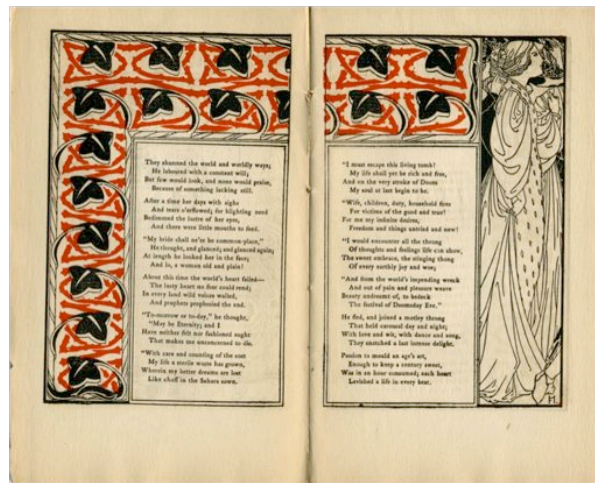


10.3

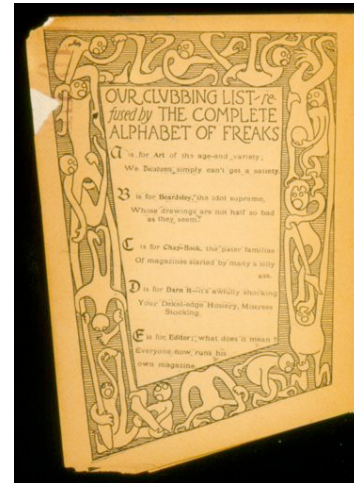


10. Little Magazine Layouts (cont'd):

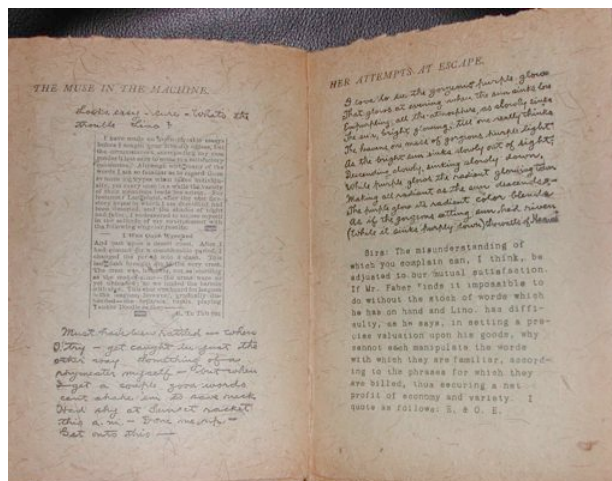
10.9 *Chap-Book* (copy in author's possession); 10.10 *Petit journal des refusés* (Modernist Journals Project online, Brown University); 10.11 *Lark* (copy in author's possession); 10.12 *Philistine* (copy in author's possession).



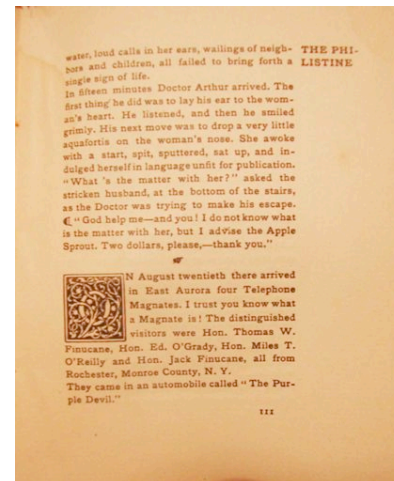
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10.10



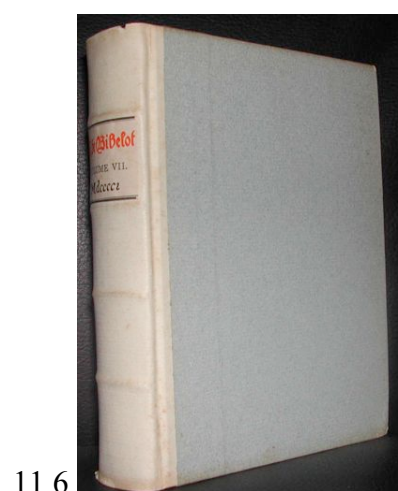
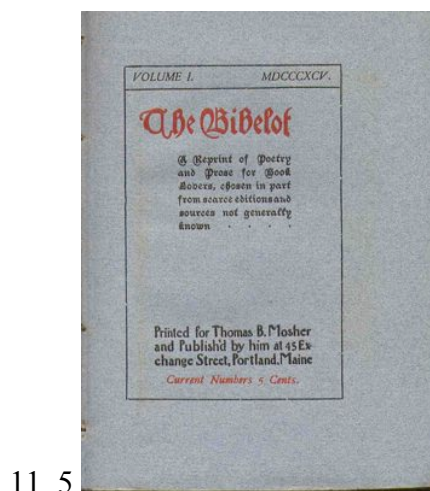
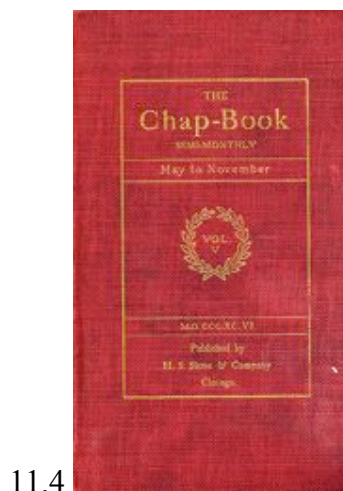
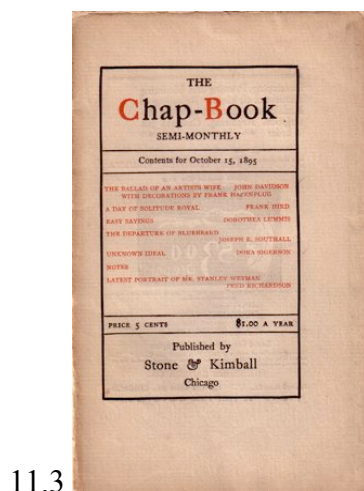
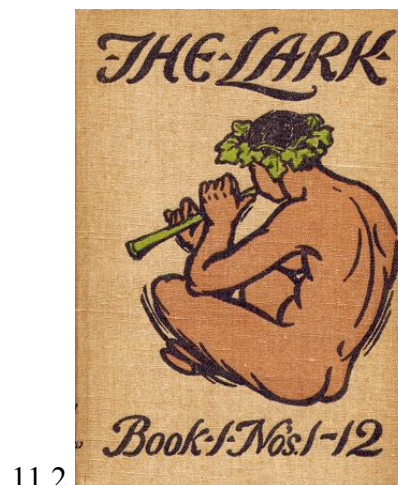
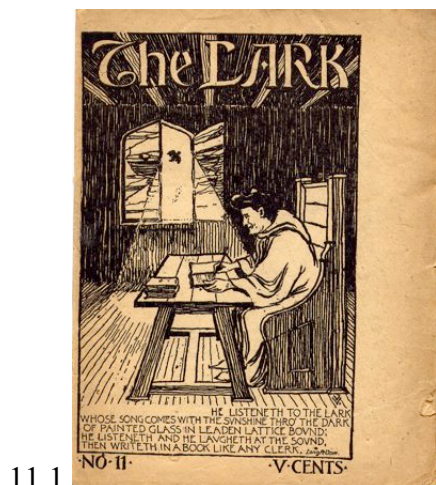
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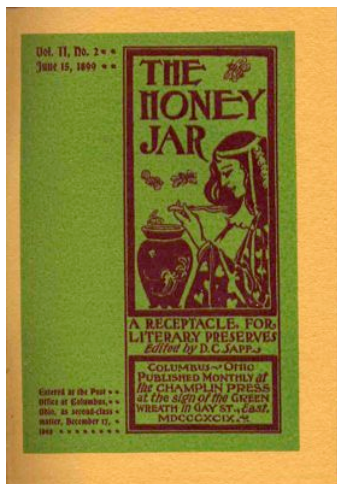
10.12

11. Little Magazines' Unbound and Bound With Publisher's Bindings:

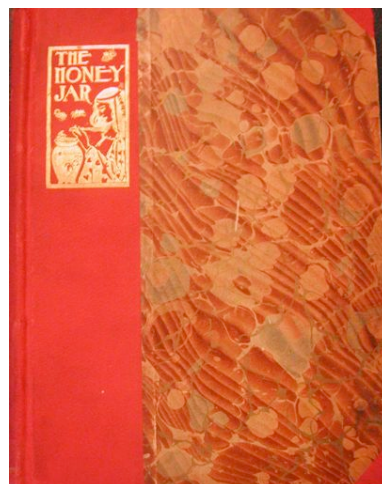
11.1-11.8 Copies in possession of author



11. Little Magazines' Unbound and Bound With Publisher's Bindings (cont'd):



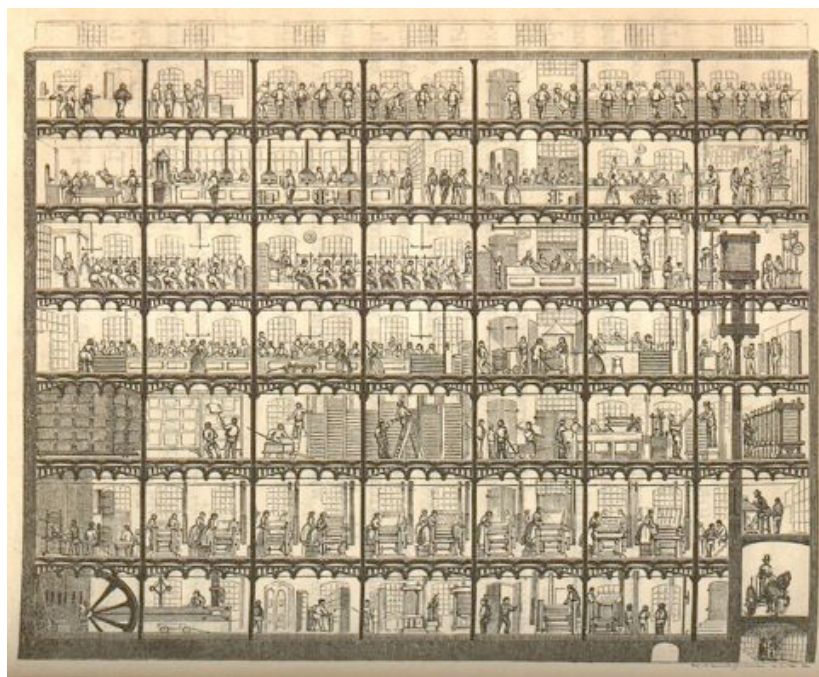
11.7



11.8

12. Printing Establishments:

12.1 Large-scale production: The Harper printing establishment circa 1855 (from Jacob Abbott's, *The Harper Establishment; or, How the Story Books are Made* (www.merrycoz.org/books/harper/HARPER.HTM)).



12.1

12. Printing Establishments (cont'd):

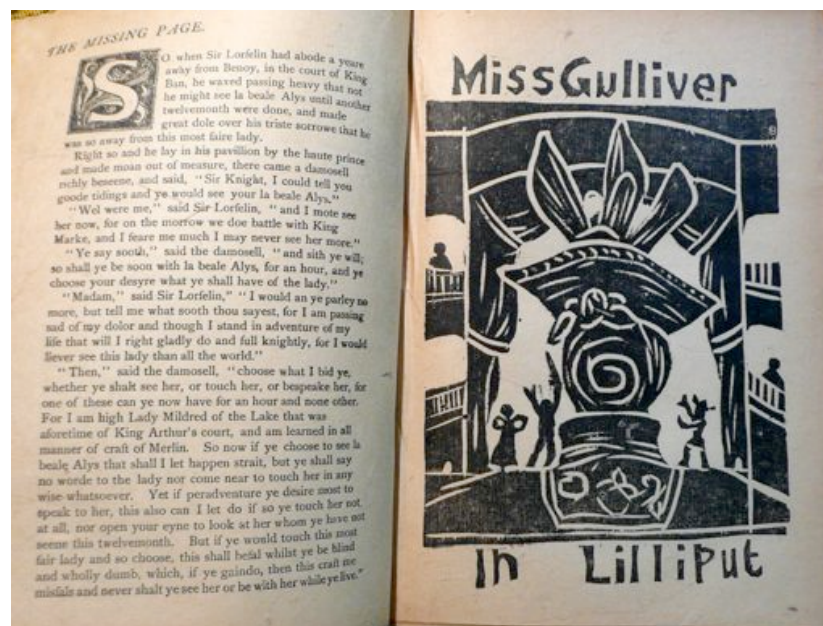
12.2 Cranbrook Press, a small-scale private press (Smithsonian Archives of American Art, www.aaa.si.edu/collections).



12.2

13. The Lark:

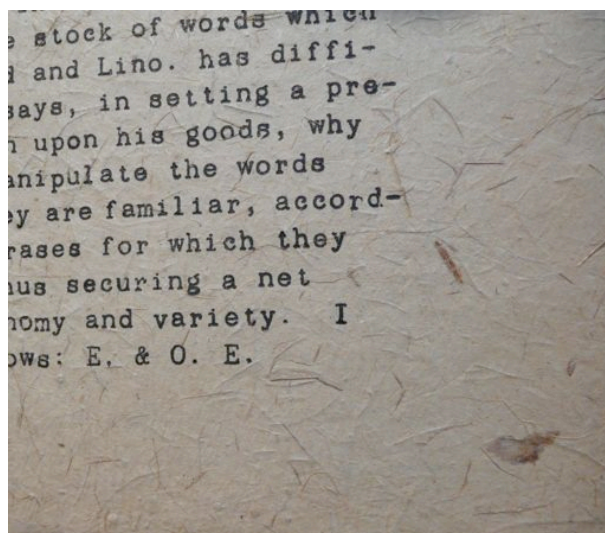
13.1 Pages from the *Lark*.



13.1

13. The Lark (cont'd):

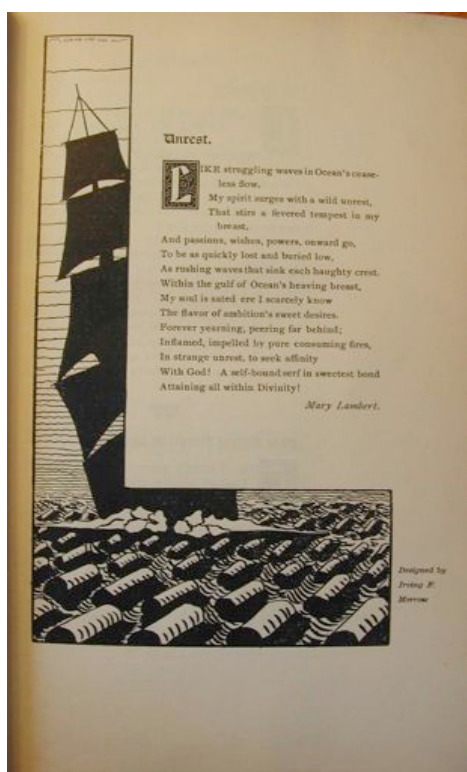
13.2 close-up of bamboo paper used in the *Lark* (copy of the *Lark* in possession of the author).



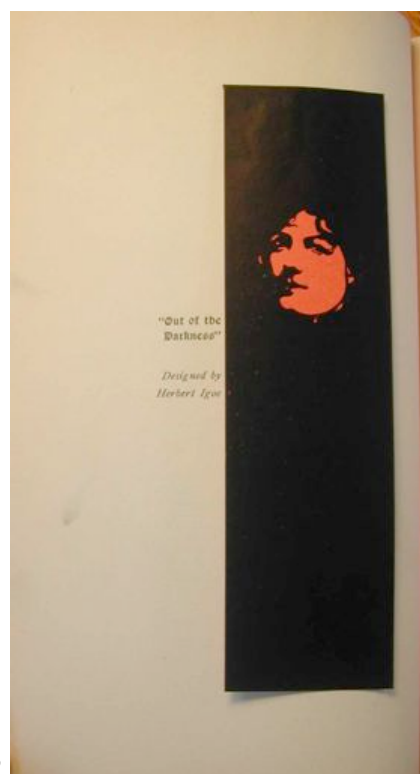
13.2

14. The Muse:

14.1-14.3 Pages from the *Muse*, including a tipped in illustration (15.2) and examples of a regular feature of bookplates (New York Public Library, photographs by author).

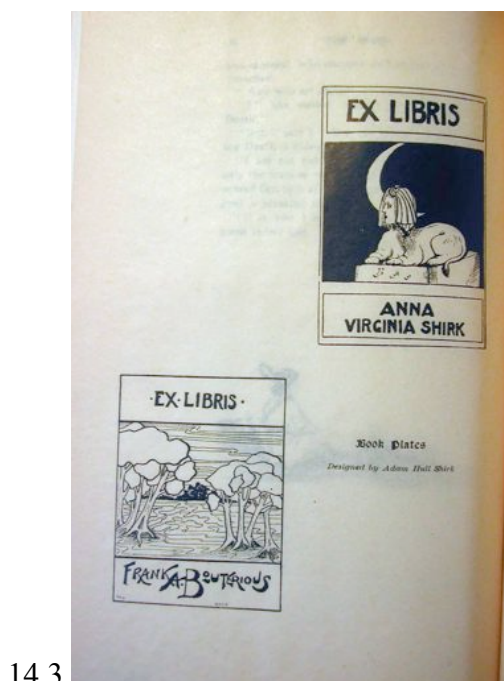


14.1



14.2

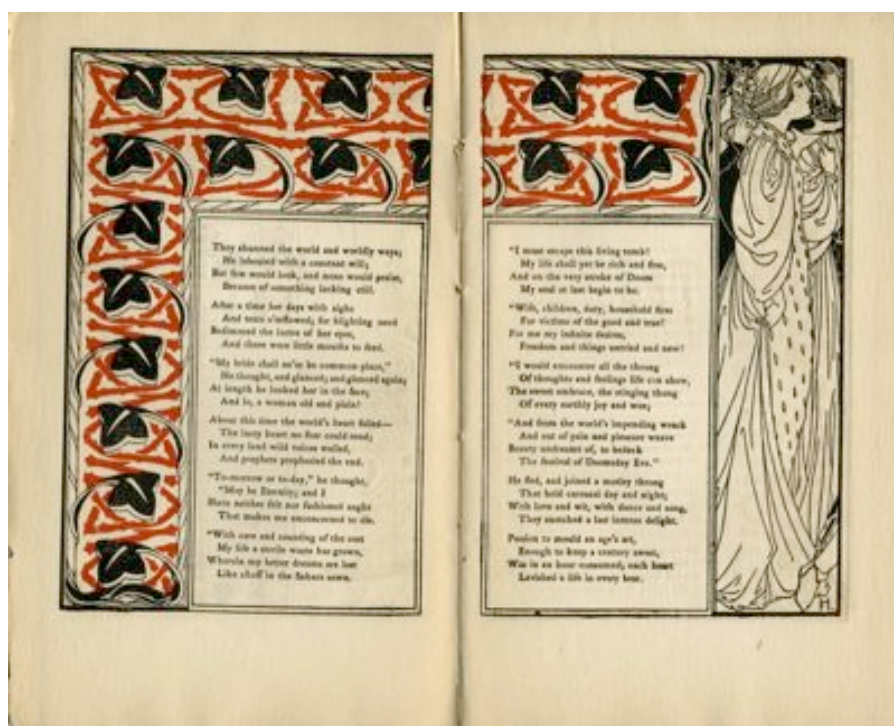
14. The Muse (cont'd):



14.3

15. The Chap-Book:

15.1-15.3 Sample pages from the *Chap-Book*, original (15.1-15.2) and after transformation (15.3) (15.1-15.2, copies in author's possession; 15.3, U Alberta library reprint edition).

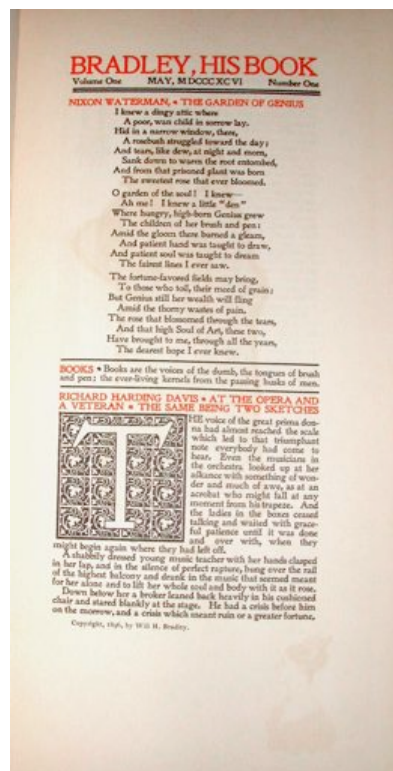


16. Bradley, His Book:

16.1-16.3 Sample pages from *Bradley, His Book* (copy in possession of author).



16.1



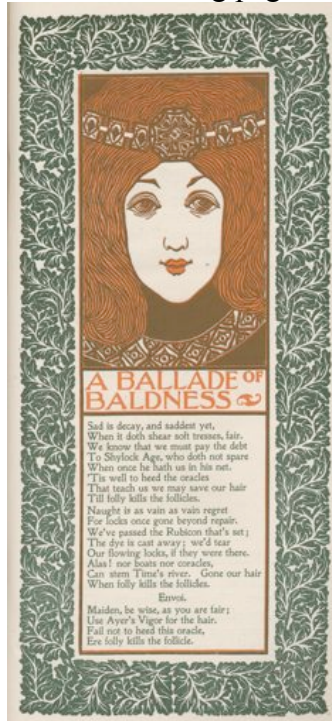
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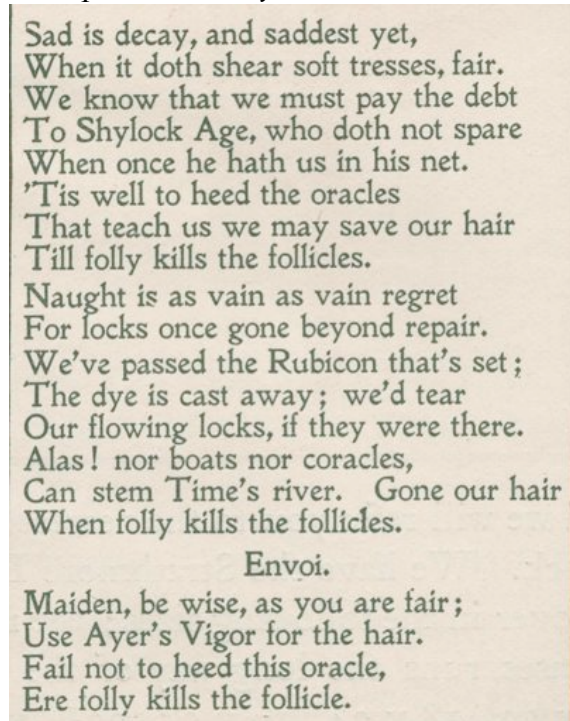
16.3

16. Bradley, His Book (cont'd):

16.4-16.5 Advertising page and close-up from *Bradley, His Book*



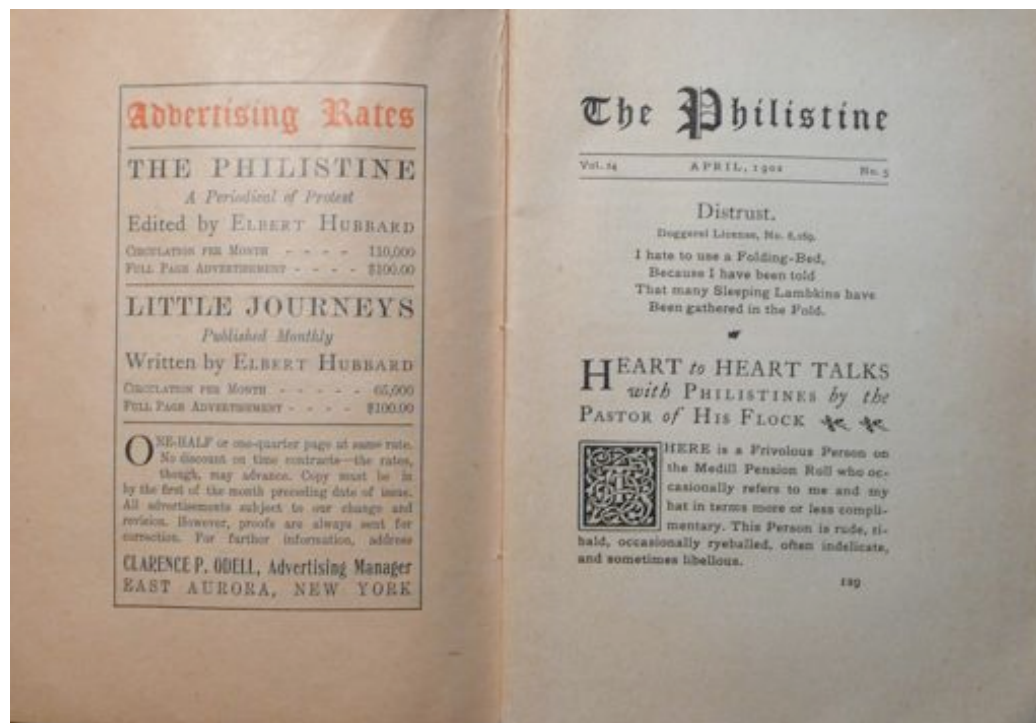
16.4



16.5

17. Philistine:

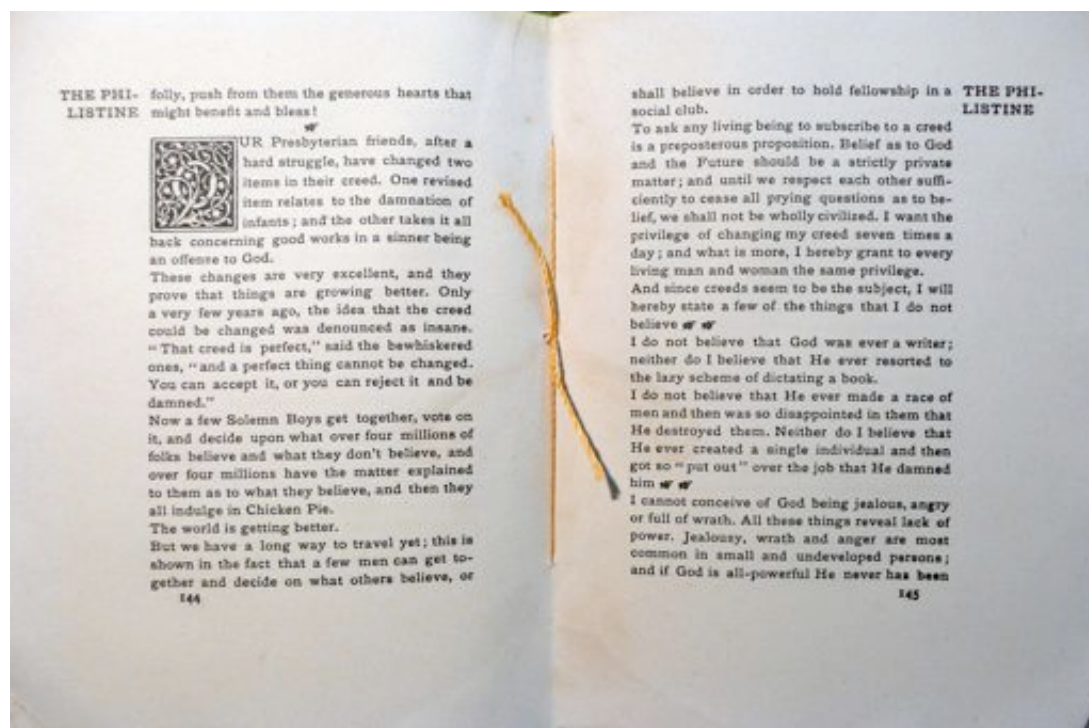
17.1 Sample pages from the *Philistine* (copy in author's possession).



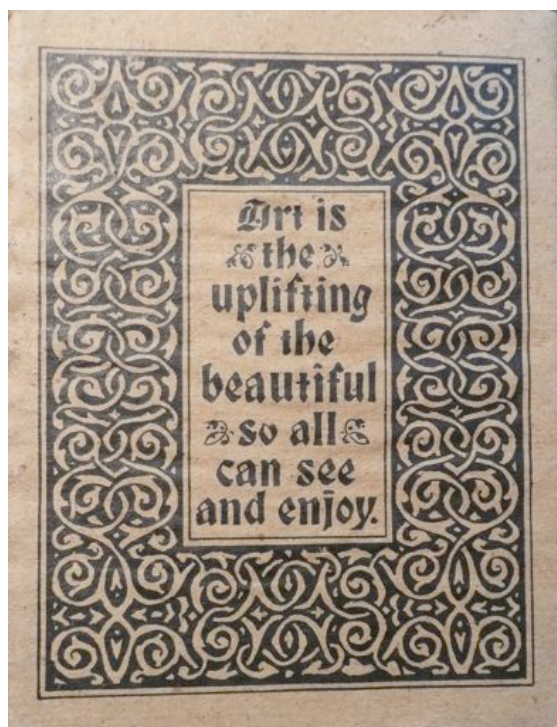
17.1

17. Philistine (cont'd):

17.2 Sample pages from the *Philistine* 17.3 Back cover of *Philistine*, bound in butcher paper (copies in author's possession).



17.2



17.3

18. What to Eat:

18.1 Fiction and poster-style art in *What to Eat* (New York Public Library, photograph by author); **18.2** Placecards for hosting a poster function as detailed in the magazine (New York Public Library, photograph by author)



18.1



18.2

19. Poster Girls

Figure 19.1 Charles Dana Gibson's "Gibson Girl" (wikipedia); **19.2** Jules Cheret's poster girl (Wikipedia).



19. Poster Girls (cont'd):

19.3 Aubrey Beardsley's poster girl (Art Renewal Center, artrenewal.org); 19.4-19.6 American poster girls by J. K. Bryans, Henry G. Fangel, and F. R. Kimbrough (copies in author's possession)



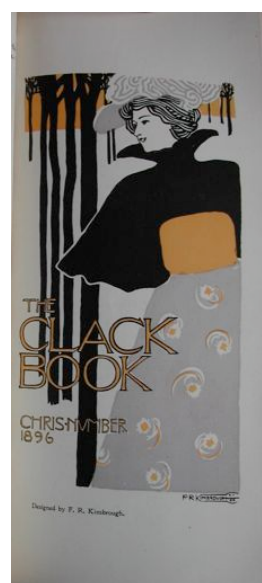
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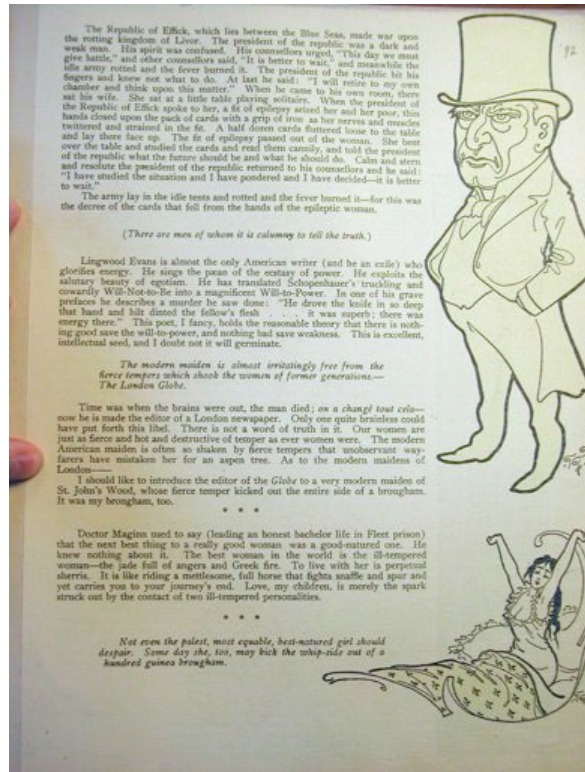


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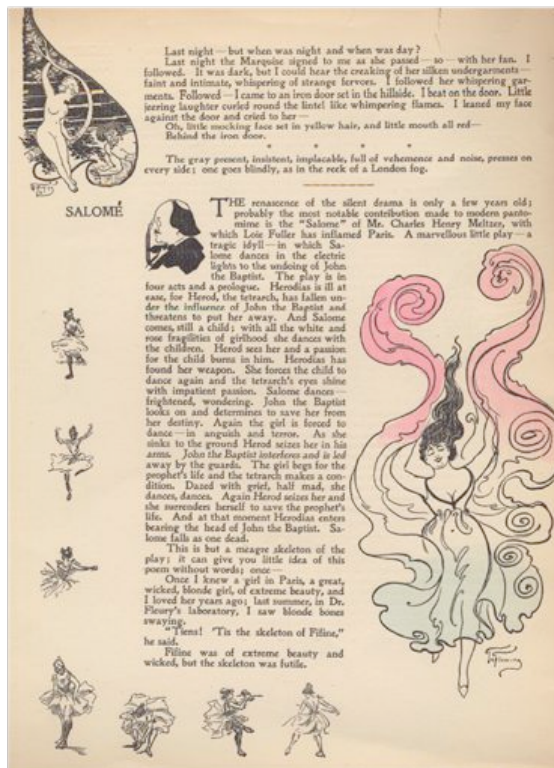
20. M'lle New York:

20.1-20.2 Interplay of art and text in *M'lle New York* (copies in possession of author).

20.1

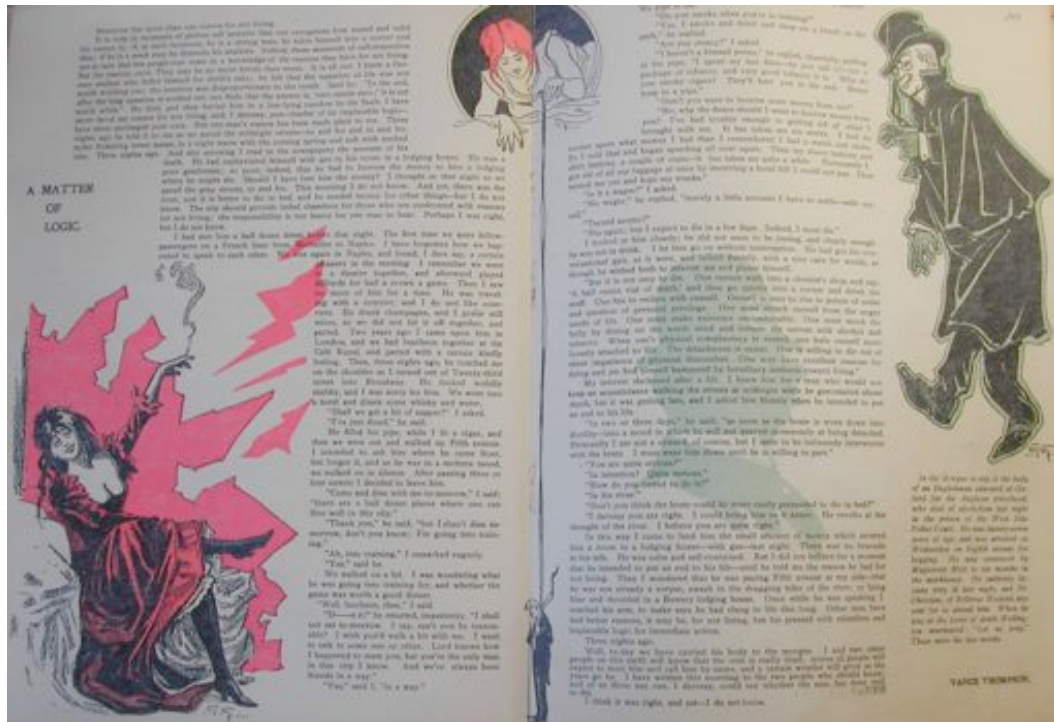


20.2



20. M'lle New York (cont'd):

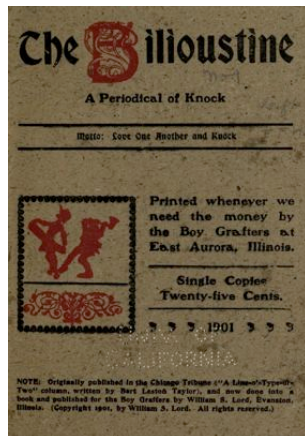
20.3 Interplay of text and illustration in *M'lle New York* (copies in author's possession)



20.3

21. Philistine Imitators:

21.1-3 Parodies of Hubbard publications (www.roycroftbooks.org)



21.1



21.2



21.3

APPENDIX B:

A fin-de-siècle Little Magazine Anthology



The mob—that glorious heritage of Shakespeare—is dead; it has become the “public.” It is not merely a juggle of words. This change goes to the root of things. Once the poet and the mob wrought together. Oh, this divine mob of the early centuries! It had a fine force of instinct; it was ignorant and it avowed it; and by this very avowal it attained a high state of intellectual receptivity and appreciation. The mob and Peter the Hermit made the crusades; the mob and Luther the Reformation; the mob and Shakespeare made the drama, as the mob and Voltaire made the French language—but the mob has become the public and the poet is its lickspittle. Poets! They are the helms—many of them the drunken helms—of the magazines. The public—

The public is made up of individuals who have opinions—they even pronounce opinions; they read the newspapers; they have a sullen and irreconcilable hate for the extraordinary; they believe in philanthropy (the most selfish of vices) and in education (the monstrous fetish of this thoughtless century); there are millions of them; they walk beneath the eternal stars and tread each other; they are given in marriage and taken in adultery; they beget children; they read the newspapers; they have opinions; they are the public. The public—

It corrupts the language it has inherited from the mob and the poets; it has debauched the stage to the level of Mr. Richard Watson Gilder’s poetry and looks upon the drama merely as a help to digestion, a peptic or aperitive; not content with having vulgarized literature and art, it has begun to “popularize” science—your boot-maker has theories of the creation and your tailor argues the existence of God; counter-jumpers play at atheism; lawyers and pedagogues are flattered at reading in the Astor Library that Moses was only a “woodcutter man” and Christ a politician. The public—

This grotesque aggregation of foolish individuals pretends to literary taste; it has its painters, its playwrights, its authors; that part of it which reads the male blue-stocking, William Dean Howells, looks down upon that part of it which reads the female blue-stocking, Richard Harding Davis; that part which reads Richard Harding Davis looks down upon the part which reads Laura Jean Libby (why, in Heaven’s name!), and the readers of Miss Libby look down in turn upon the readers of the *Public Goods*.

Mrs. New York is not concerned with the public. Her only ambition is to disintegrate some small portion of the public into its original component parts—the aristocracies of birth, wit, learning and art and the joyously vulgar mob.

FOREWORD





Life's Quest +

My Heart cried for Love ***
While my Soul yearned for Truth

I sought Love. She smiled sweetly upon me, so that my Heart was glad; but Love's eyes bred no trust in my Soul. I sought Truth, and before her chill presence my Heart turned sick within me.

And I turned away from Love and Truth to the World. And in the Gardens I let my footsteps wander, and the World told me that Love and Truth were the twin progeny of Good and Evil wedded in Eden.

"God is not Truth," said the World to me, "for with Him there is no lie. God is not Love for with Him there is no Hate."

And this the World told me as we wandered through the Gardens, before I was wise, so that I paid little heed to the tale she told.

*** And my Heart cried for Love
While my Soul yearned for Truth.

And the World seems to have gone on without me, leaving me here on these shifting sands of mortality, and the passerby tell me that Love and Truth are with the World.

*** Yet my Heart weeps for Love
While my Soul yearns for Truth.



Good or Evil? +

The DEVIL, hidden behind the palms, chuckled as he heard the man declare,

"Ah, Madame, we shall be the best of friends."

The man's face was aflame with the ecstasy of a realized ideal.

"Ah, Monsieur, can we help it if our hearts go out to those who alone of the whole world seem to understand?"

"I can sympathize, that is it, Louise," and he gently placed his hand on her's as it rested calm and moveless on the bench rail.

"Yes, that is it," and the woman looked dreamily at the Cupids on her fan.

"My dear friend," he cried, as she looked into his eyes lingeringly, caressingly. "God has kept for us this moment, when we can understand the purity of friendship, to reveal to us the depths of the other's soul."

"Armand, God is kind, is He not?" as her head sank languidly against the marble bust of Venus and she looked into the man's face down-bent close to her's.

I NEVER SAW A PURPLE COW. I NEVER HOPE TO SEE ONE



BUT I CAN TELL YOU ANYHOW I'D RATHER SEE THAN BE ONE



A Demon of the Depths

MY written words cannot describe the Demon. In Dante's dreams of hades there are no such phantasms. The eyes are luminous, and red and green by turns, and glassy. They send forth darts of fire like chains of lightning in the eastern skies. They charm and terrify. They shoot forth a virile power that fascinates and attracts like the loadstone. They rivet man's gaze, pierce him through; draw into themselves all that is good, and true, and noble in man's soul—the very life, even the clay, of man himself.

The Demon is amphibious. I have seen it on land. To see it once is to see it often.

I have seen it stalking through the streets as a funeral passed, its great orbs fastened gloatingly on the mourner's cab.

I have found the Demon in the cholera districts of Europe, whither I had journeyed in vain to rid myself of its fateful eyes.

Out in the broad Pacific, at the beautiful island of Molokai, I saw the monster. There it eat, and slept, and toiled with the damned ones.

In Death Valley I saw it, when the sands of the desert were burning the weary feet of the lost.

In the madhouse and prison I have seen the monster; in almshouse and in tenement.

I have seen it on the streets after nightfall, tramping side by side with the lost daughters of Phryne.

I have seen it force its way into hungry homes, into the sick chamber; it haunts the pesthouse.

It is a monster great in bulk, yet penetrating everything that is sombre and sad.

In the sunlight the Demon cannot live. Where hope abides the Demon may not come.

And the name of the Demon is Despair.

JAMES H. GRIFFES.

The Erudite.

Ridicule.

A kitty-cat, dog in pursuit,
Scat up a tree. Saw doggie pause.
Laughed as she spit, "Your sentence is
Not of much weight without the
claws."

SARA LORTON.

Mother Goose.

THERE was once a Woman,
very powerful in wealth of
land and people; of a fiery,
crotchety disposition, and
avaricious. And she had
two children to whom she said, one
day, "Go you, one to the East; the other
to the West, and establish yourselves.
Take with you strong men and
brave, who will be loyal to you, in following
the precepts of your Mother. You,
daughter, are my right arm commanding
the West, while you, Philip, are my left,
controlling the East. "Forget not that you
are but parts of Me, to be governed by ME; to govern
for ME; that My laws are your desires;
that My desires are your laws." So, then,
the children went to their new homes,
and grimly, but without reluctance,
obeyed the commands of their Mother.

1

VOL 1

THE

Such were the conditions that they could but prosper, for to each had been given a land that was rich in Nature's choicest things; where sunshine and fertility made easy and profitable their beginnings. They ruled as their Mother willed, with a firm hand, and ever mindful of the rigid laws laid down to them from time to time.

Years passed. Children were born to them. Children's children came. And in these years, the Mother's desire had become an avarice so fierce that her children feared for Her and for themselves.

"Desist, Mother, from your cruel acts of despotism," wailed the daughter.

"More! More!" cried the Cruel Mother.

"I beg of you to have some mercy for us here," said Philip. "Our children and their children cannot understand why they should surround you with luxuries while they are being deprived of necessities."

"No more of this!" raged the Cruel Mother. "Remember the laws I made for you. Those same laws are for your children and their children. Satisfy my demands, is my COMMAND."

And when the children of Cuba heard this, they said, "We will endure no more of this tyranny." Tell her this, and that we have suffered her pillage long enough. Look at our Neighbor. He was tortured as we are being tortured, and when his suffering became

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unbearable, he had the fortitude to fight for liberty. He won and is happy and prosperous in his Independence. So we will fight as He did."

Then the Cruel Mother sent her children—those she had kept at Home, well groomed and well fed—to punish the Erring Ones, instructing them to "destroy, capture or kill, but CONQUER."

Horrible were the next few years. The little band was far outnumbered in its glorious cause, but it struggled on. Slowly but surely it was being reduced. Starvation had become a fact; devastation, a reality; defeat, a probability; but the tone of defiance had never wavered.

It was, "Independence or Death!"

There came a time when, in the agony of despair, this little band raised its poor, feeble arms toward its Independent Neighbor, and pleaded, "Help! Help! You know what we have endured. You know how sweet is that for which we are so valiantly striving. Help us, we pray, to taste of INDEPENDENCE."

And in response, the Independent Neighbor sent a powerful ship to the little Island, "just to look on."

It was a challenge that was accepted by the Cruel Mother. And at what a cost!

Soon other ships of the Independent Neighbor were on the way, with Vengeance flying at the mastsheads.

VERSES

IN the night

Grey, heavy clouds muffled the valleys,
And the peaks looked toward God, alone.

"O Master, that movest the wind with a finger,

"Humble, idle, futile peaks are we.

"Grant that we may run swiftly across the world,

"To huddle in worship at Thy feet."

In the morning

A noise of men at work came the clear blue miles,

And the little black cities were apparent. [drops,

"O Master, that knowest the wherefore of rain-

"Humble, idle, futile peaks are we.

"Give voice to us, we pray, O Lord,

"That we may chant Thy goodness to the sun."

In the evening

The far valleys were sprinkled with tiny lights.

"O Master,

"Thou who knowest the value of kings and swallows,

"Thou hast made us humble, idle, futile peaks.

"Thou only needest eternal patience;

"We bow to Thy wisdom, O Lord—

"Humble, idle, futile peaks."

In the night

Grey, heavy clouds muffled the valleys,
And the peaks looked toward God, alone.

STEPHEN CRANE.

THE

✠The little band was rescued from the tyranny, slaughter, devastation and pillage of its Cruel Mother.

But Independence?

✠ ✠ ✠

Far away to the East, in Philip's little family, the same struggle for Liberty was waging. The same Cruel Mother had forgotten Humanity in her greed.

"For Humanity's sake! For Outrageous Wrong done ME, destroy the ships of Cruel Mother!" was the message sent to his children by Independent Neighbor.

'Twas quickly done. 'Twas Eruditely done, and Philip's seekers for Independence were freed from the tortures of Cruel Mother.

But Independence?

✠ ✠ ✠

Were I a politician, with a large-sized wad held out to egg me on; were I a bloated bond-holder, with a political pull and an eye for business, I would probably have but the dim recollection of a conscience and could glibly say, "To 'ell with the right of it! Our promise? Bah, forget it! The nut's too full of meat for us to float the flag of Humanity any longer. Pull it down and teach the Savages that WE are business men, not drivelling, simpering old women."

✠But I am neither politician nor bloated bond-holder.

Or I might reason in this way, "We sent our soldiers and our sailors to Cuba to help those poor wretches out of

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their trouble.✠ We starved our men, and poisoned 'em and fought 'em like the very Devil.✠ But we won, hands down.✠

"We sent Spain about her business; looked over Cuba and the Philippines; came to the conclusion that they were well worth keeping, and decided that the natives and half-breeds were absolutely unsuited for their cherished Independence."

"'Kh? Independence what they were struggling for? Suppose it is. WE knew they couldn't handle such a proposition.✠ They'd be fighting like cats and dogs inside of six months' ✠

"Our promise?" Pahaw!"

"'Lose their friendship and respect?" My boy, true friendship is that of a dollar in your pocket.✠ If you MUST have respect, put another dollar with it."

"Have no right there?" Pooh! Man, we Americans are blessed with the faculty of making right."

But I am neither politician nor bloated bond-holder.✠

DAMN!

MORRIS TUDOR.



A TRIBUTE



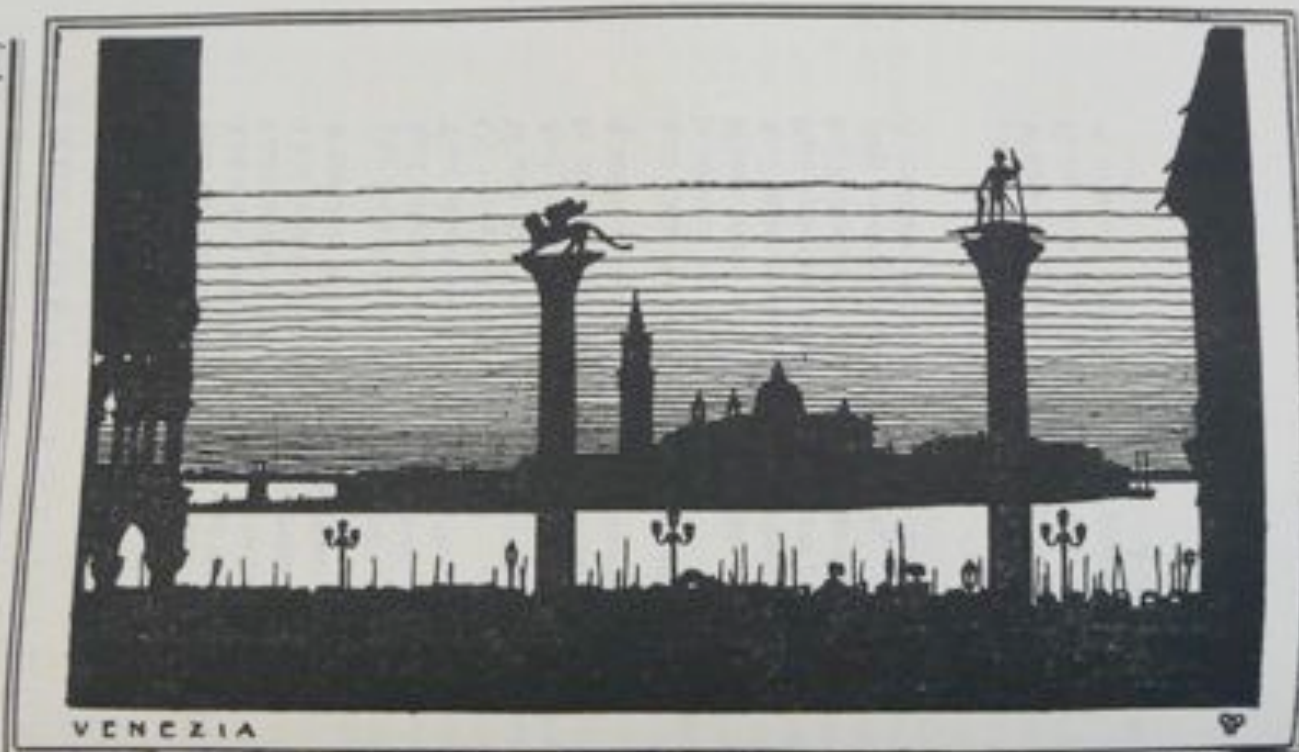
O just the dearest girl of all,
A tribute is this little verse;
Thus I send Cupid on a call
To just the dearest girl of all—
I hope our pride won't have a
fall—

And bid him soft my love
rehearse,
To just the dearest girl of all,
A tribute is this little verse.

Richard Gorham Badger.

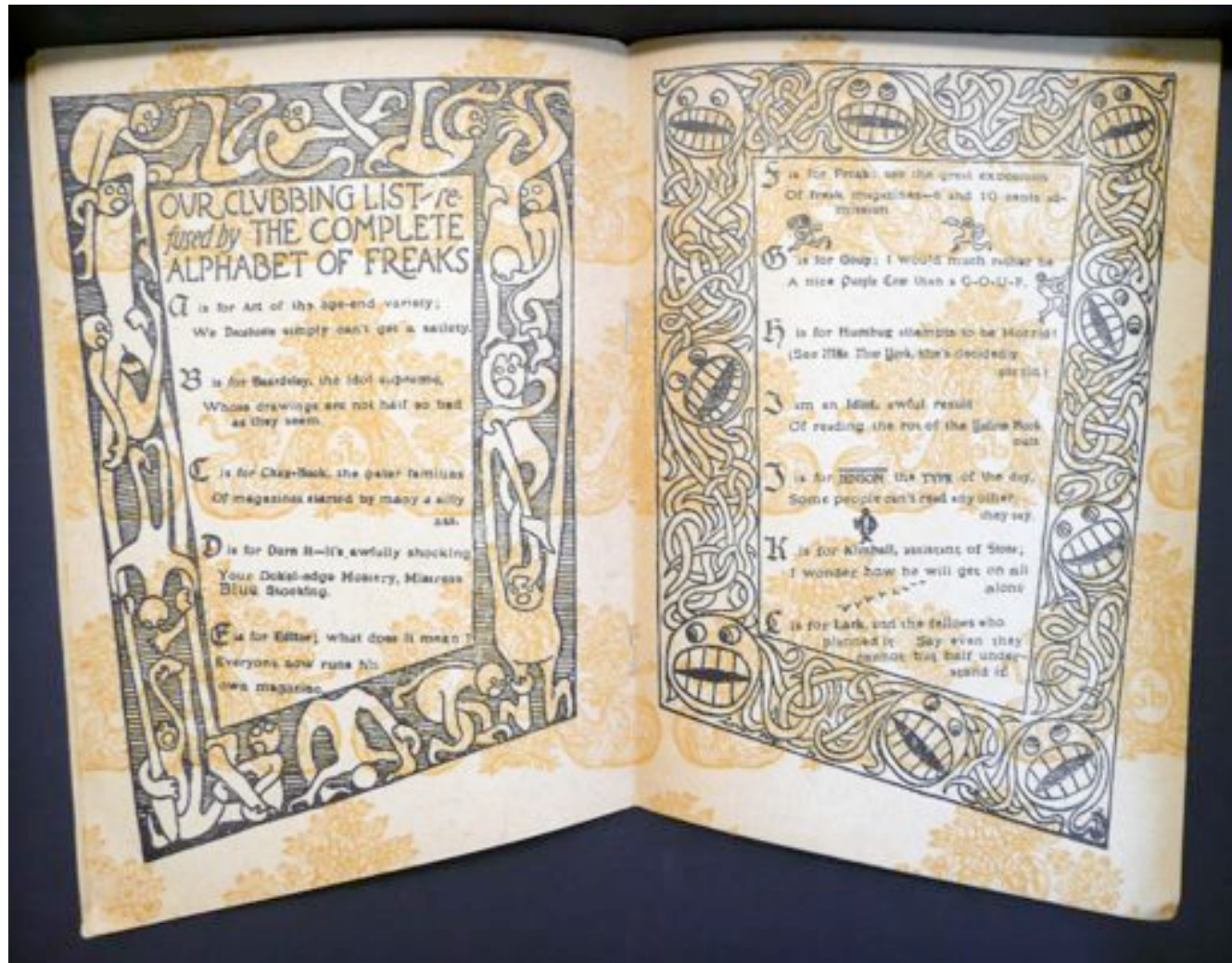
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DRAWING



VENEZIA

DRAWN BY CLAUDE PAYETTE BRAGDON



The Ghourki 13

I do not believe in capital punishment.

I do believe there should be a law preventing the marriage of physical wrecks and imbeciles.

I believe in socialism because socialism means help for mankind.

I do not believe in hell.

I do not believe in a devil.

I do not know whether there is a God or not but I believe there is.

I believe that to take care of ourselves and help our fellows is the best religion.

The God I believe in does not want me to fear him.

I believe the Bible is the Word of Man.

I consider Marriage is a social and not a religious institution.

I believe that Jesus of Nazareth was a man and that his philosophy of life is based on everlasting principles.

And so O Braves! these are a few of the things I believe. I do not expect you to believe them unless you want to. They are worth thinking about however.

14 The Ghourki

MOOCHA SABA SAYS:

There is one sure cure for boozing—strychnine.

You ought to have at least one bitter enemy to keep you from getting stuck on yourself.

About New Year's must be a good time to do paving in hell. Good intentions are so plentiful.

If the Lord could stand for such fellows as David, Solomon and Noah he oughtn't to go back on anybody.

~

I will send The Ghourki
a full year to ten of your
Friends for One Dollar
The Chief.

~

From Revolution to Revolution, George D. Herron's new pamphlet is, a masterpiece of pamphlet literature, a perfect classic, and should be read by every Socialist. Taking the ill-fated Paris Commune for his theme, the author deals with it in a manner that is as striking as it is new. With all the force of a latter day Carlyle he points out the lessons which we may learn from the tragic episode. The pamphlet is well printed by the Comrade Co-operative Co. (11 Cooper Square, N. Y.) and contains a striking portrait of the author. Price five cents.

A DECADENT SKETCH

GEORGE E. CREEL

A Man stood in a garden, and in his hand he held a withering rose. Its rich velvet tints were tarnished, and the brown sere edges of the petals, all acold, fast curled stamenward. The Man bent upon it looks of bitterest longing and wildest regret, striving to stay the decay. But, like sand, which the tighter grasped more rapidly slips away, the flower hastened to its dissolution. Coming to see the futility of it

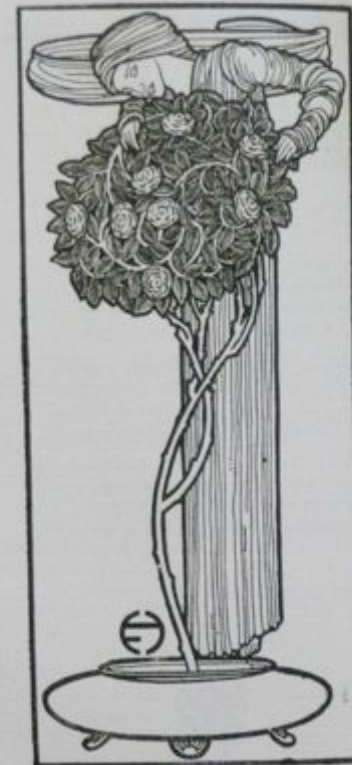
A
DECADENT
SKETCH

all, he cast it down, muttering: "Let its beauty fade—'twas at the best but transitory—others will bloom."

Raising his eyes, the Man looked around the garden. Green scum covered the pool at the fountain's foot, weed-choked were the paths and flower-beds. Over all hung the gloom of desertion and decay. The thick, heavy air clogged his breath. Dead trees, gray and grim, reared gaunt lengths to a leaden sky, emphasizing the prevailing desolation. A bird still sat on the leafless branches, chilled and bedraggled, awaiting the end. How unutterably painful were the few hoarse, cracked notes it uttered—sole remaining fragments of gay summer lilts. With passionately aching heart and tear-scorched eyes, the Man looked around him imploringly, pitifully. It was autumn—melancholy, depressing autumn—splendor-lacking autumn.

Gone were the soft blue skies that canopied his adolescence; the rich, sweet air that warmed his youthful blood, and the soft, green, flower-bespangled turf which had been his pleasure-bed, and the roses! All gone! All gone! No others will bloom.

Uttering harsh, inarticulate cries, he turned to run. The fool! He thought to escape a dawning conviction. He fell, and it overtook him and forced itself upon him. He was old, his youth lay around him, and the rose he had held was Happiness.



THE ROSE TREE

THE PHI- LISTINE

No man should dogmatize excepting on the subject of theology. Here he can take his stand, and by throwing the burden of proof on the opposition he is invincible.

The recipe for perpetual ignorance is: Be satisfied with your opinions and content with your knowledge.

Have n't you ever felt that the prince is as good as the pauper, even if he is no better?

Responsibilities gravitate to the person who can shoulder them, and power flows to the man who knows how.

It is doubtless true that stupid men by remaining quiet may often pass for men of wisdom: this is because no man can really talk as wise as he can look.

When two men of equal intelligence and sincerity quarrel, both are probably right.

In ethics you cannot better the Golden Rule.

The Philistine

Vol. 15 SEPTEMBER, 1903 No. 4

HEART to HEART TALKS with PHILISTINES by the PASTOR of HIS FLOCK



HERE is that which is called plagiarism, and I trust that upon this theme no quibbler will challenge my fitness to speak.

A frivolous person has defined plagiarism as the act of taking your own wherever you find it. I shall not, however, attempt to becloud the subject with smartness, but will deal with it seriously and sincerely, as is meet. ¶ Plagiarism consists in appropriating as your own the Good Stuff of another.

There are three degrees of this moral malady: petit plagiarism, plagiarism in the second degree, and grand plagiarism.

Petit plagiarism consists in lifting simple thoughts and sentences; plagiarism in the second degree, consists in lifting scenes and chapters; grand plagiarism consists in seizing the

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LISTINE

whole book and putting your name on the title page ❖ ❖

Grand plagiarism may be committed through the connivance of the plagiarist—in which case the offense is condoned. Judge Gaynor has recently ruled that an injunction in such an instance does not lie, although the parties may.

❖ The antithesis of plagiarism is kabojolism. This offense consists in attributing to another Good Stuff which he never expressed; and, in short, is simply plagiarism placed wrong-side out, or more properly, if I may be allowed the expression, turned t'other end to.

The simplest and most common form of kabojolism consists in quoting some absurd or mythical personage. In small towns the habit is as plentiful as the Jigger in July; and the Bucolic Philosopher at the Grocery constantly refers to Ol' Bill Jones, and states what he could easily prove had Ol' Bill not passed to the Realm of Shade.

Dickens pictures this phase of kabojolism when he has Mrs. Gamp constantly refer to her mythical friend, Mrs. Harris.

Kabojolism in the second degree consists in stating things tinted with risqué and flavored like beansprouts, for which you do not wish to stand sponsor, but which you feel should be

said in the interests of the Higher Criticism. THE PHI-
Therefore, you say them, and give another LISTINE
credit ❖ ❖

Kabojolism is no new thing: Thucydides tells of how Aristophanes referred to the great speech of Pericles over the Athenian heroic dead as "the best thing that Aspasia ever wrote" ❖ ❖

In the days of Augustus Caesar a part of the duties of the Quæstor was to write the orations for the Emperor. This was well understood, and nobody tried to dodge the proposition. Time does not change humanity much, for recently a zealous friend of Grover Cleveland put forth the claim that he was the only president since Lincoln who wrote his own messages.

❖ The late Judge Hubbard of Genesee, N. Y., once gave a particularly eloquent and forceful Fourth of July oration. After the address a local joker stepped up, shook hands with the speaker and asked him this question, "Judge, which one of your daughters wrote that speech?"

The Judge might have parried the gentle thrust, but instead the truthful man answered, "Oh, Nellie is the author of it!" Then seeing the smiles on the faces of the bystanders he continued, "Nellie is the author of the speech, but as I am the author of Nellie, I claim the

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speech." It is needless to say that the Judge was much more proud of his daughter who could write a good oration, than of any oration he could possibly write himself. I would he—would n't you?

I once advertised one of my workmen as an Infant Prodigy—he was neither an infant nor a prodigy—but he looked the part. In the language of my friend, Colonel Ed. Geers, the Prodigy could not trot a little bit, but he was a tremendous looker. So I showed him to the visitors and they were wonderfully impressed.

¶ The genuine crackerjack work about the place was mostly done by small, red-haired and bow-legged men with freckles, and hand-me-down suits and diffident manners. As long as I could keep the Prodigy from talking, and at night destroy all the work he did during the day, as Penelope raveled the shroud, I was all right. ¶

After a time the Prodigy affected a short velvet jacket, and a tailor-made codpiece. Soon he became known as the Wonder of the World. And worse than that, he began to believe it, and then either he or I had to go.

He happened to be it.

Voltaire was more given to kabojolitis than any other writer I now recall. He sent all the

savants of Europe digging in the libraries for THE PHI-
men and books that never lived outside the LISTINE
segment of his own pigment.

Grand kabojolism consists in attributing to another a whole book you yourself have Dashed Off. Not long ago one Tark Boothington wrote a book. Bone, Marl & Co., offered to publish it if my name could be used as author. There was a thousand dollars in it for Tark, and as much for me, but the book was so bad I stood firm and absolutely refused to be bribed. My friend Edgar Saltus says in his monthly gallimaufry that Daudet used to employ 'prentice talent on his books. Some of Daudet's boys did remarkably well for green hands, but they would occasionally lapse, as even careful writers may. A lady reader of Daudet's Works having stumbled upon a beautiful anachronism wrote to Daudet and put him straight. Thereupon, instead of writing a courteous note of thanks to the lady, Daudet so far forgot himself as to reply, "Dear Madam: I have not read the book in question, and damn me if I will." ¶

When Rudolph von Liebhich and Amy Fay were pupils of Franz Liszt, they were once making merry over a musical composition by the Duke of Weimar. "Have a care, children," said the

THE PHI-
LISTINE

At the last all Art is One, and the same truth can be stated of kabojolism. And I am fully convinced that as all things are held in place by the Opposition of Forces, and as the wind is only rushing to fill a Vacuum, and the flowing waters are working out an equilibrium, so kabojolism is a part of the Great Plan to hold the balance true.

Some of us are very sure that we are not getting the credit that is our due—we are not appreciated. If this is true let us take consolation in the thought that we are Necessary Parts of the Whole, and as we are not getting due credit, someone is getting a credit that is not his due. All is One, and nothing really makes any difference.

My lords, I have done.



A RIDDLE

QUESTION

Once hairy scenter did transgress,
Whose dame, both powerful and fierce,
Tho' hairy scenter took delight
To do the thing both fair and right,
Upon a Sabbath day.



ANSWER

An old woman whipping her Cat for Catching Mice
on a Sunday.

From the "The True Trial of Understanding."

THE MAN WITHOUT THE HOE



SUBDUE the earth." In mercy,
 not in wrath,
 This mandate in the olden time,
 to man
 Was given. The voice which
 said, "The gospel preach,"
 Not more of the Divine contains,
 than that
 Which said, "Subdue the earth."
 Fret not against

The wise decree that from your miserable
 Sloth doth thee arouse, and seeks to unfold
 The hidden powers that in thee lie. Go forth!
 And on the realm of Nature lay the magic
 Hand of toil. All things terrestrial
 For employment beg. The voiceful earth
 Crys in the ear of man, "Your servant let
 Me be." Go forth, and take your place as priest
 And minister in earth's great temple, thus
 Shall industry perform its mighty work
 And its high destiny fulfill. Labor
 Is worship. In scenes of common toil, how oft
 Man's lot is cast; but, let him know that
 E'en 'mid these, the work of plough and hoe
 Performed in reverential mood, by Heaven
 Is deemed as sacred as the prayer or song.

22

Of fools alone, sloth is the Elysium,
 And all things high, and low, above, beneath,
 Their words of burning condemnation speak
 To those who spurn th' appointed laws of heaven.
 Man's higher powers deny obedience to
 The sluggard's voice, and stubbornly refuse
 Except in the gymnasium of toil,
 Their hidden forces to unfold. What costs,
 A charm hath, which other things of more
 Intrinsic worth can never share. And so
 The flowers we raise, the fruits which we ourselves
 Have grown, exhale a finer fragrance and
 Possess a flavor, richer, sweeter far
 Than any which with silver can be bought.
 'Tis true, "Man's inhumanity to man"
 Wrings tears still, from eyes unused to weep
 And oftentimes, as in days of old, "the genial
 Current of the soul" chill penury
 Doth freeze; and yet 'mid all the many lets
 And obstacles which hinder genius' growth
 The ranks of toil are crowded with the names
 Of those who have enriched our earth and drawn
 An ever greatening strength and beauty from
 The hindrances that seemed their progress to
 Retard. "The anguish of the singer makes
 The sweetness of the strain." Nor plough, nor hoe
 Could ever make old Scotia's bard forget,
 "All earthly rank is but the guinea's stamp,"
 "A man's a man for a' that." The hoe,
 The plough were impotent to check his flights
 Of genius careering through all space.
 "The rift of dawn," "the reddening of the rose,"
 "The lingering star," "The wounded, limping hare,"
 "The mouse's nest," "The crimson tipped flower."
 No plough, nor spade, "no mattocks, and no hoes"
 Could darken or "blow out the light within
 The brain," that sang of these. Does toil degrade?
 Is not the intellectual firmament
 Ablaze with those, who, like the stars in heaven
 With steady radiance shine, the ages through—
 With those whose cradles in the humble home
 Were rocked? Against misfortune, poverty
 And wrong they fought, and without patronage,
 Or friend, or aid, unbolstered and unpropp'd,
 Without a finger's lift from Hercules,

23

THE
 SCHOOLMASTER

They rose to lasting eminence and fame.
 Where are the rarest virtues oftenest found?
 Do not "the simple annals of the poor"
 Such dignities reveal, that outward show,
 And pride, and rank, to nothingness are turned?
 Poor, pitiable wretch is he who feels
 Ashamed of honest toil, and views with scorn
 The laborer's horny hand; who talks of birth,
 And blood, and caste, and claims a gratis living
 From the public stock. "THE MAN WITHOUT
 THE HOE"—Ubiquitous is he. His wits
 And not his hands, must yield him bread, and so
 By stratagem and wile he seeks to filch
 His food out of the public granary.
 All plans, all schemes he tries to cheat the hoe,
 The wheel, the forge, out of their lawful rights,
 Disgusting is the toil that covers him
 With sweat, and makes him "brother to the ox."
 And so, ashamed of naught but honest work,
 And to obtain some starling office-fee,
 Like veritable snake he crawls along
 The path of each vile demagogue his end
 To gain, and licks the hand in which is held
 The magic vote. Shade of the yeoman brave!
 "Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave
 To have dominion over sea and land?"
 Know! tiller of the soil, that great
 Thine honor is, if with courageous heart
 And arm strong, thou strivest to discharge
 The debt thou owest to the great family—
 The brotherhood, of which thou form'st a part.
 What value would the acres broad possess
 Save for the toil which from their bosom wrings
 The ample products which all life sustain?
 Would dollars, mortgages and scrip suffice
 The cravings keen, of hunger to appease,
 Or shield the back from cold, or shelter from
 The pelting storm? Is not the peasant's toil
 The basis, firm and strong, on which doth rest
 The mighty fabric of Society.
 Toll on! O craftsman toll! the sweat drops on
 Thy brow are pearls rare, thy works divine.
 "A lovely face does honest labor bear."

Groton, N. Y.

W. A. SMITH.

24

THE SCHOOLMASTER



A DRAWING

BY F. VALLOTON

Moon Memories.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

He slept as weary toilers do.
 She gazed up at the moon.
 He stirred and said, "Wife, come to bed."
 She answered, "Soon, full soon."
 Oh, that strange mystery of the dead moon's face.

Her cheek was wan. Her wistful mouth—
 Was lifted like a cup.
 The moonfull night dripped liquid light—
 She seemed to quaff it up.
 Oh, that unburied corpse that lies in space.

Her life had held but drudgery.
 She spelled her Bible through.
 Of books and lore she knew no more
 Than little children do.
 Oh, the weird wonder of that pallid sphere.

Her youth had been a loveless waste
 Starred by no holiday.
 And she had wed for roof and bread—
 She gave her work in pay.
 Oh, the moon memories, vague and strange and dear.

She drank the night's insidious wine
 And saw another scene—

3

A stately room, rare flowers in bloom,
 Herself in silken sheen.
 Oh, vast the chambers of the moon, and wide.

A step drew near, a curtain stirred,
 She shook with sweet alarms.
 Oh, splendid face, oh, manly grace,
 Oh, strong impassioned arms.
 Oh, silent moon, what secrets do you hide?

The warm red lips of thirsting love
 On cheek and brow were pressed.
 And as bees know where honies grow
 They sought her mouth, her breast.
 Oh, the dead moon held many a dead delight.

The sleeper stirred and gruffly called,
 "Come, wife, where have you been?"
 She whispered low, "Yea, Lord, I go,
 "But 'tis the seventh sin."
 Oh, the sad secrets of that orb of white.



4

THE AVOCATIONS OF VIVETTE:



NOTWITHSTANDING the absorbing interest Vivette took in the management of the Romance Association, she had often urged to me the necessity of combining with the major course of action, an avocation in which we could refresh our minds after the fatiguing demands of our profession. For, varied and exciting as were our adventures, there was at times a disagreeable sense of routine in the affairs of the office, that forced our minds toward the most vulgar and commonplace Realism, for a brief relaxation.

I had indeed, long suspected Vivette of clandestine correspondence with the dynasty of magazine editors that then held sway in the world of letters, and more than once I had noticed amid the unopened mail upon her table, some particularly corpulent envelope transversely creased, that I was sure contained disagreeable news. I was of course too discreet to mention these unfortunate episodes. I had known myself, in my sanguine youth, the strangling shame that these replies must bring,—the crushing shock to one's vanity—the haggard endeavor to conceal the knowledge of the defeat even from oneself; the effort to forget, and the slow retreat of Memory, ever turning back to charge and trap one's conscious blushes once more before it disappeared.

And so one day while we were looking over an old book of Elizabethan songs, a stanza smote us from the page with an idea that made us gasp.

*"Now all you Gallants of the Towne
What would you care for Wine,
If you would hear my Milkmaide browne
A-singing by the kyne!"*

WE START "THE MILKMAID:"

The literary ambitions we had both held in solution, growing stronger every day, now at this hint, precipitated an idea that crystallized into a definite plan almost before we spoke:—*Phyllida, or the Milkmaid*—a new magazine published by Vivette & Company! Like a storm the scheme in all its possibilities broke over us, raining promise of success upon our parched hopes.

"Think of the quotations available," cried Vivette—"it is enough to do it for them alone. And the 'copy' we have in the association files, too,—and your letters, and mine! We'll begin this afternoon, it must appear on May-day."

She rang for the office boy, an intelligent lad whose imagination she had developed from a mere rudimentary fancy. He was anxious to make a name and a salary for himself, and he was forthwith given the manager's desk for a week, while we attacked the problem.

It was not until Vivette unearthed for me the treasury of her rejected manuscripts that I realized what a career was awaiting *The Milkmaid*, and the quality and quantity of her material staggered me.

Her prose was rich and full, magnificent as the music of some Austrian orchestra. She had not spared ideas neither; plot and action, clever analysis, swift and pregnant comment, character, human nature, philosophy, wit, science and art loaded her sentences with heavy values. There was enough matter in her simplest pastel in prose to rival most libraries. And her poetry was like the waving of a thousand coloured flags; she had not contented herself with the conventional problems of versification,—double sestinas, rhymed word-squares, acrostic sonnets, but she had explored the by-ways of Parnassus and wrote in Greek and Latin Quantities; she beat down the barriers of Welch and Siamese rhyme-forms; she resurrected the antediluvian anapests of Tertiary Man.

AN IMAGINATIVE MONTHLY:

The meaningful, suggestive 17 syllabled *Ho-Ku's* and the 31 syllabled imperial *U-ta's* of Japanese poetry were as wax in her hands; she had translated all the set forms of Lilliput, and invented terbolanes and octarines with new feet and measures. Her work was encyclopedic—an exposition of the Higher Mathematics of Versification.

To you, who have not known Vivette, these categories may seem impossible, and my praise overfond, but to see her writing these things! O little cramped finger, thy memories linger forever in pictures of puckered precision,—chirography child-like, demure yet so wild-like, in galloping word-dances come to my vision! Ah,—the words that like excited steeds shy from the horizontal, with emotion,—leaping clear of the line like the exclamations of Planchette; the words that chase each other in excited neck and neck races across the page,—these may not be the signs of genius, but they vehicle a fine frenzy that brings the heart of the reader to his mouth!

And thus was the first number of *The Milkmaid* prepared; the hot phrases inspiring the compositors to a fervor that bred riots in the printing-office, when the copy was split into "takes." The day of issuance came at last, a Friday to be sure, and the boys were engaged and dressed in flowing white gowns with garlands of green upon their heads, and we watched the excitement from our office-window as they ambuscaded the audience emerging from the Symphony Rehearsal. The populace bit eagerly at the novelty, and the whole edition was exhausted in a week.

Once embarked, *The Milkmaid* became the talk of the hour. Its subtle vagaries and high flown humour rendered it discussable, and it achieved a sort of dinner-party prestige that kept it afloat in the gossip of the drawing-room and verandah. Its admirers developed a cult; the few that appreciated its finesse became its ardent promoters, and exploited its wit among the secondary intellects, who in turn

THE ORIGIN OF "LA REVUE JEUNE:"

paraphased the critiques at retail, and bragged and traded upon their perception. From these, its vogue spread to the commonplace types, who, hearing of its brilliance, wondered in hesitant undertones.

The second and third numbers forced in the wedge; sense in the guise of absurdity, and nonsense masquerading as reason, played the Fiend with our readers, but audacious, irresponsible as were the articles, we began to notice in the orbit of the paper, traces of an uncalculated attraction—it was actually revolving around a fixed point—*The Milkmaid* had developed a Policy!

This was a sad blow to Vivette. "Alas!" she said mournfully, "we are circling round a central idea—we are the slaves of Optimism! Of course it is a part of the game,—but what a restriction, Robin,—I feel as if my hands were tied. It's well enough to make people want *The Milkmaid* for the restful happiness after struggles with the half-tone magazines, but I wish we could break through our old policy. It's no fun!" said Vivette.

"Why not give it up?" I said; "we have made a success of it,—we have fought off almost all our would-be yearly subscribers. Let's drop the magazine!"

"And start another!" said Vivette, transformed. "Think of it, Robin! Off on the larboard tack and get to windward of all our imitators. I see the whole thing," and she shut her eyes with her two fingers. "Back, back to Addison—to Montaigne—to Chaucer, if need be. Oh, I have the title—LA REVUE JEUNE! Print it in that fascinating 8 x 10 size of the Tatler—with square wood-cut initials and double columns, the proper names in small caps—Oh, Oh, Oh! It will make the heathen rage!"

In the lull that followed, while we digested the plot, the office-boy was called in, and the neglected reports of the Association examined; Romance was going on wheels, and we toasted our acting manager gayly. The next thing

THE REVIVAL OF THE CLASSIC:

on the program was the disposition of *The Milkmaid*. I was put to it, to devise some graceful exit for the paper, but it was accomplished with éclat by marrying her to *The Ego*, one of her most prosperous rivals, and the editor of that magazine was laden with our goodwill and *The Milkmaid's* accepted manuscripts.

The coast thus cleared, *la Revue Jeune* gathered itself together for a leap into popularity. It was a cunning sheet, coffee-dyed with age, adorned with Bewick cuts. Such *causerie*!—such reviews! lithe and sinewy comment—gossipy chatter—there was meat on the bones of *la Revue Jeune*. It was ushered into the company of the *Select*, too, by many new-made friends,—stars of the first magnitude they, who had praised *The Milkmaid* and vouched for the new essay with the pride of the discoverers of youthful genius.

With Vivette as hostess of the Salon we held at the Editorial Rooms, in afterweeks, we held ourselves well balanced on the perch of prominence, and a card to a "*Jeune Sunday*" has made many a minor poet. Now what ill wind blew Vivette away from these giddy successes, I can't remember, but the Association claimed her services imperatively soon after the Review was well under way, and she disappeared for a month. The intelligent office boy took her place. He was a demon on Circulation, and rushed the Review into the tradesworld, damming it in an afternoon.

"One really did n't enjoy seeing one's *Revue* in one's kitchen," said a contributor to me. "If one's cook could enjoy one's articles, and that sort of thing,—one, really—you know!"

Interest in the *Revue* had dropped out of sight when Vivette returned, and she was indignant at the management. "To think we should fail like that, after *The Milkmaid*,"

"THE ANTHROPOPHAGIAN."

she said. "There is but one thing to do, to retrieve our reputation. Robin,—I have the very idea."

"A new paper?" said I; growing old.

"What else," she replied—the *Milkmaid* and the *Revue Jeune* were mere toys to this. Listen to the announcement. *The firm of Vivette & Company will shortly bring out a new periodical that will be to the flood of banal imitations of their famous MILKMAID as chess is to tit-tat-toe—This new venture—THE ANTHROPOPHAGIAN will be printed on real sheep-skin rolls set from types cut to the faces of the 8th century Irish minuscules;—*

Here we were interrupted by the entrance of the office boy. "I am sorry to say we are short \$672.00, sir, and the force must be paid off to-night; the adventuresses are quite impatient."

"Is the Association insolvent," I asked fiercely, "that you come to me for a paltry \$672.00?"

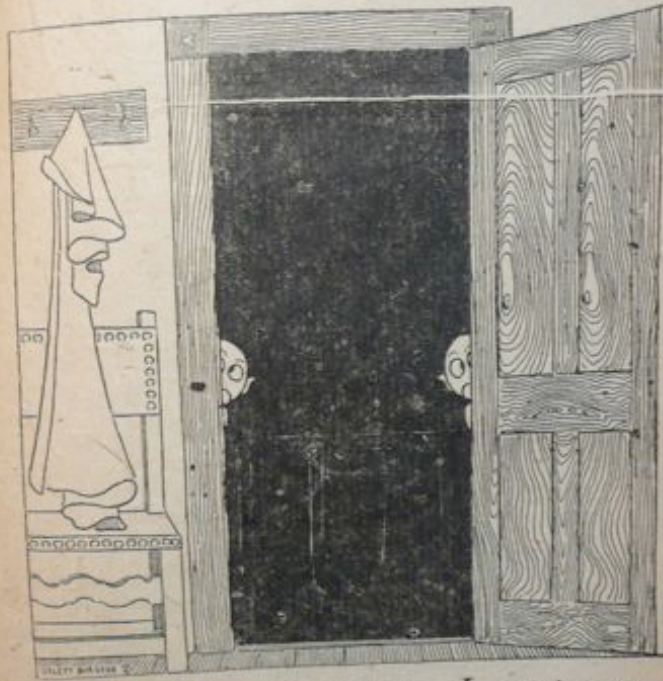
"We cleared more than that in *The Milkmaid*," interposed Vivette, kindly.

"And sank it in the Young Review!" said I.

The office-boy drew himself up with a touch of pride. "It is precisely the amount I spent buying up first copies of *The Milkmaid*, while I was acting manager of the Romance Association. Forgive me, sir;—in that capacity I felt justified in furthering your game at trade rates—but now I have the honour of informing you that I have by the investment, owing to the advance in price of *Milkmaids* No. 1, made a profit of 400% for the Association."

Vivette burst into tears of laughter: "You shall be made 27th Assistant Deputy Sub-Manager," she said, "but you have killed *The Anthropophagian*!"

*The Towel hangs upon the Wall,
And, somehow, I don't care at all!*



*The Door is open;—I must say
I rather fancy it that Way!*



Anima *Anceps*
Rondeau

*I often wonder if you know
How fast my throbbing pulses go
When now and then by happy chance
Our eyes meet in a merry glance
And when you laugh so sweet
and low.*

*As does your blood still
calmly flow*

*When soft and sweet your
dark eyes grow*

*Or does it onward faster dance
I often wonder.*

*Alas - dear doubt besets me, so
Suppose my heart should tell
its won*

*Would you then coldly look apace
Or with the eyes that so entrance
A light on all my darkness*

*I often wonder.
H.H.B.*



PHYLLIS INNE JUNE

JUNE skies are bryte and blue;
Care flies away;
Phyllis to mee is trewe;
June roses, wett wyth dewe,
Are of h^r Chekes ye hewe,
And h^r dear Lippes are, too,
Sweeter than they.

June skies are wett wyth rayne;
Ah, well-a-way!

My harte is sore wyth payne;
Phyllis hath turned awayne;
Holdeth mee inne diuayne,
Till I to wepe am fayne;

A-lack-a-day!

H. H. BENNETT.



BUBBLE AND SQUEAK.

A voracious little chronicle of individual and fantastic opinion.



THE announcement in "The Chap-Book" of December 15th that, henceforth, it will appear in a different form, as a periodical of the character of the English weekly critical reviews, has caused a little ripple of excitement among the younger generation of bookish people.

As the editorial announcement says, "The Chap-Book" has taken "what is probably the most significant step in its career."

Then follows an interesting outline of some of the fresh attractions. They have the air of Le Gallienne's Spring in the country—they are all imported from Town—from London Town. There is nothing from the adjacent kitchen garden; and it is to be supposed this is explained by the fact of a barren soil. They are, of course, indubitably good "features," for they include promises of some of the leading English contemporary writers, and some of the most notorious ones—which is a kite of even more effective and alluring probabilities.

They are all authors of name and fame; and the writer of this commentary sincerely admires them all, naturally, and has no quarrel with their individual existence on the ground of his own fortuitous obscurity, or for any other equally valid reason. But it is possible to get a little sick of them in the slop-over. I want to read them in their books and in the English papers, and not in everything I pick up. It is fair to note, therefore, that in this whole programme of a new American review, there is not a single American feature or writer mentioned.

In another paragraph the editors promise a really

BUBBLE AND SQUEAK.

tempting bill of fare. They touch upon the inadequacy of the general run of criticism in existing periodicals, and propose to give ample space to criticism that shall be sane, and entertaining—and, we presume, though they do not assert it, fair, honest, and individual. These qualities in contemporary American criticism are sorely lacking at present. There is, or should be, room for a journal of honest and capable criticism. The high aims of impartial, uncorrupted honesty are more lacking than capacity.

They also promise some variations from the type of periodical they have chosen to model themselves upon—the type being the English critical reviews—"The Academy," "The Athenaeum," "The Saturday Review" (not too much of this vulgar exemplar of bigotry, it is to be hoped), and "The Spectator." The variations are to be purely literary contributions, to relieve the criticism and comment of the usual review. These will consist of short stories, special articles, and poems. There will also be a gallery of literary portraits and variorum—a very novel feature of an English review. So altogether the retention of the name, "The Chap-Book," will appear somewhat of an anomaly.

Then "The Chap-Book" makes a formal abdication of its original character as the first venture in the significant revival in an English-speaking democracy of one of the oldest forms of printed literature. It was a venture for which the time was ripe, and the modifications of character, style, and purpose of the old effective and honorable chap-book and pamphlet literature suited the spirit of our time, and gave expression to some ideas hitherto suppressed. "The Chap-Book" editors are now ashamed of their audacity, because they fear it is catching. They are scornful of a form of publication that has served great ends, and is closely associated with some of the most glorious names in our English literature. With Dean Swift, Defoe, Dr. Johnson, and the whole roll-call of great ones, who lived and wrote before the popular press obliterated all independent opinions, criticism, heresies, and heresies, and smothered what constitutes equal worth in written word, of whatever import, great or small, all the individual style and manner, that used to hold the ephemeral commotion of an era in the permanence of literature as mere literature.

Thus Swift and Defoe still stir us. An ephemeral abiding in politics or morality or freedom of criticism in their hands was invested with more than historic interest. It held henceforth and forever the elements of all human life recurring in every generation, and with the stamp of the passion of genius, it is as significant to-day as when first written. The sincerity of unfettered genius touches all it does with the spirit of a potent individuality, and the literature of a past occasion lives in our hearts and

memories as the history of a moral crisis in the life of a great personality.

This occasional literature contains some of the greatest achievements in our English literature, and, moreover, it represents the heroic and spiritual side of men whose ideas were more to them than life or fortune and preferments. Heroes who wrote pamphlets for life's sake, instead of folios for their own secure pleasure in the treasures of imagination. Who wrote in spite of perils of pains and penalties, for the glory of the truth and freedom, at all hazards, words they dreamed ephemeral, but which, written in the ferment of feeling, flame as much to-day as then. It is hard to understand the contempt of the editors of "The Chap-Book," and others, for a form that has served the purposes of genius and freedom of thought and belief, when every door of court and church and school was barred with bars of gold and power to all non-conformists. And in other spheres, in art and in the demand for social freedom, and its treatment in art, for instance, the same attitude of individual opinion is sorely needed at this moment, and especially in America, where Mammon rules. It is true that there is a good deal of effort that is contemptible in this field, as in journalism of every sort, and in all human endeavor, but the institution itself is as dignified and legitimate as any other in literature.

The editors of "The Chap-Book" declare that "With its list of contributors it has long ceased to desire any comparison with the numerous obvious imitations of it, the so-called miniature magazines. These papers had indeed, before the majority of them suspended publication, destroyed any charm which the small size originally had."

From this it would appear "The Chap-Book" people imagine they invented this form. The break they made was commendable enough—they took the old chap-book form and adapted it to the more purely aesthetic ends of modern literature. It was really the happy thought of Bliss Carman, the poet, to adapt the individual pamphlet to the uses of a little periodical budget of literature that should exist primarily as literature—whether dubbed decadent or not.

Such a viola of freedom has bewitched several generations of poverty-stricken book-writers, and indeed the pamphlet form has never been quite abandoned, even to this day. A few heretics have always clung to this one ineffective and antiquated weapon.

In England it is the vehicle for the promotion of unpopular ideas, as of old; and it is still common for even poets and essayists, who fail to get a hearing in the press, to put out their work in unpretentious pamphlets for a small audience of a few friends.

The main novelty "The Chap-Book" introduced was to make the thing a periodical, with various authors, instead

BUBBLE AND SQUEAK.

BUBBLE AND SQUEAK

of a separate and individual publication. This was an excellent idea, and of course it was naturally followed, for it showed a medium hitherto overlooked in this land of the triumphant Smugs for the advocacy of ideas and ideals ignored and smothered in conventional publications. It raised an intellectual revolt against the tyrannical, intolerant Smugocracy in letters, and though "The Chap-Book" recants, and all sorts of exaggerated vulgarity slips imperceptibly into the movement, it will ultimately create a more catholic taste in letters in America. It has already begun to effect this very thing, and the old publishing houses are feeling the keen rivalry of any new publisher who has the courage to exploit new ideas and themes. This is the beginning of the modern era in English letters, and we hope to live to see Mrs. Grundy hang, with her whole dirty-minded entourage of pageant.

"The Chap-Book" is disgusted with imitations, and so abandons its original character. But it announces in the same advertisement that it is to be modelled on the English reviews. This looks a trifle illogical, if it is granted that imitation in the mere form of a periodical is so criminal. There are so few forms possible for periodicals that any objection to imitation of form is really out of the question.

The revival of the chap-book form has simply made it possible for some writers to fight for a hearing, who otherwise would be suppressed by the powerful conspiracy of respectability. We have only gone back to the oldest form of printed publications, on the hint of the poet of Vagabondism. But if it makes "The Chap-Book" folk uncomfortable, we wish them God-speed in their larger craft and greater spread of canvas, and since the seas are wide, we shall be glad to hear of their success. But we sit around on the settee and talk literary revolution for the joy and distraction of being honest. There is so much damnable Cant in literature. And there is some English blood on fire in America for the right to take our life here seriously, without wanting, as some extremists advocate, to pitch Shakespeare and Milton into Boston Harbor with the British Tea.

But when "The Chap-Book" is so severe on imitations, we cannot think what particular periodicals are referred to. "The Chap-Book" was always interesting, and it always had the curious air of being written by gentlemen for gentlemen. So it cannot intend any refection upon "The Philistine." It must be "The Lotus" which is aimed at, though it is absurd to call "The Lotus" an imitation of "The Chap-Book." The two periodicals are imbued with distinctly opposite aims, and occupy different fields. The Atlantic Ocean, 2,000 miles of absolute British dominion,



rolls between the Chicago periodical and Kansas City, whence "The Lotus" issues.

The man who created and made "The Arena" what it stands for to-day, whether the reader cares for its aims and views or not, is a man of extraordinary energy and indomitable will. He is B. O. Flower, and with the December "Arena" his connection with the magazine is severed.

In an extraordinary and curious circular issued by the Arena Publishing Company, we learn that the man who created whatever "The Arena" may be considered to be as a literary and commercial property, is out of it. This seems a rather ironical ending of his heroic labors. One may not indorse all his aims and methods (and the writer most decidedly disapproves of some of them), but one cannot deny that Mr. Flower devoted energy, enthusiasm, a great personal force, and a brilliant and sustained generalship to his cause.

He began the periodical and he made "The Arena," and everything that it stood for—in fact, he was the personification of all the ideas advanced in it, and made converts by the sheer, undaunted courage with which he promulgated his social and moral and political propaganda. It was the man himself that his readers felt dominating and moulding the whole character of the magazine. Its constituency to-day is held together solely by his strong personal magnetism, and the intensity and adroitness with which he appealed, as a popular advocate, on all the subjects of the day, to those who bear the vast and onerous burdens of civilized life.

Whether one approves his aims and methods or not, it is but fair to recognize the tremendous force of Flower's talent as an aggressive political writer. He had all his weapons ready to his hand, he knew the game and the temper of every section and class in the country. In the arena of political hostilities he was a writer who has no parallel in American journalism to-day, for while others are the mere agencies of newspapers, he was for a large section of the States a veritable prophet, and his papers carried almost the weight and conviction among his readers that the "Letters of Junius" and the "Dragler Letters" did in their day.

It will be interesting to await the developments of "The Arena" without its moving spirit. There is not much encouragement for it to reform itself and become intensely respectable and conservative, for that field is already occupied. And if the intention is to make Helen M. Gardner the successor of Mr. Flower, it will seem to Mr. Flower's most uncompromising opponents an unfortunate substitution. It was the man of fire and flame and audacity who made the magazine a force among the discontented. If it ceases to appeal to them, it must cry repentance with

BUBBLE AND SQUEAK

Snap-Shots at Tólstoy.



RICH young nobleman,
seeking knowledge in atten-
dance at the

University, drives out in a
sleigh one bitter winter
night to a ball at a great house in
the country.

He passes the hours in revelry and in
the early morning comes out wrapped
in his furs, to find his peasant-driver
unconscious, lying half-dead from
cold.

Only after long and weary labor is he
brought to and restored to life.

This scene remains graven on the mind
of the young student, for he has eyes
to see, and, a true seer, he beholds
the truth rather than thinks and
argues.

He sees that it is no accidental event,
but the picture in miniature of the
civilisation in which he is living,—
The noble, the rich, the idle, feasting in
palaces on the good things of the

world, while the overworked labour-
ers who built the palaces and
produced the good things are
shut out in the cold.

That night's tragedy taught him more
than all the books and professors, and
he abandons his college life and
determines to devote his life to
his serfs.

* * * * *

The young seer witnesses an execution
by the guillotine at Paris.

As the head and body fall separately into
the box prepared for them, he feels,
not only in mind and heart, but
throughout his entire being, that
that is an evil act; that no theory
of Civilisation or Law-and-Order
justify it, and that the tree
which brings forth such fruit
must be rotten to the core.

He has gone abroad in search of the
wise men of the world.

He has found them there but their
wares have no nourishment for him.
They talk of Civilisation and Progress

and Science but not one word of it all strikes in to his heart.
 Again he has learned from a dramatic event enacted before his eyes what men and libraries were powerless to teach.

* * * * *

We see the seer again, now a man of middle age. He is walking into town with a peasant and each of them drops a small coin into the hat of a beggar at the wayside.

Once more his eyes teach him a lesson that was not written in the books. "How different," he thinks, "was this man's act from mine, like though they seemed to be.

He earned that coin by hard labor, — he was giving his toil, he was giving himself.

He needed that coin too for his sustenance and he will feel the lack of it perhaps tonight at supper.

But my penny, that looked so much like his, will never be missed from my full coffer.

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And where did I get it?

It was part of the rent of one of my inherited farms.

All that I did was to take it from the pocket of a peasant in the country & put it in the hat of a peasant in the city. That is all I had to do with it. This is no true alms-giving.

The only true alms-giving is to give your own earnings, your own work, your own self, and deprive yourself of something in the giving."

* * * * *

And now we see the seer clad in peasant garb following a rude plough over the unfenced hills, leading a horse with a harrow behind him.

He has torn off the purple and fine linen because they strangled him.

He has put on the labourer's blouse and shares his heavy toil as the necessary mark of brotherhood.

He seeks his true level as a Man because he cannot help it.

Unwittingly, with no eye for the gallery, yet with unerring dramatic instinct,

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this simplest, least theatrical of men
has become the dramatic prefigure-
ment in his own person of a re-
united race.

As it was with the prophets of old, so
with him, there is a deeper significance
in his life, in the tragedy of himself,
than in the burden of his spoken
message.

He is the protagonist to-day of the
drama of the human soul.

The stage that can put forward such a
protagonist has no reason for despair.

Ernest Crasby.



THE DIARY OF A DEGENERATE

J. G. H.



Maria Bachobukhishvili was a young pianist of twenty summers. Early in life she displayed such a remarkable aptitude for winding up the big musical box that opened under a glass case in the paternal drawing-room that her parents, her father, mother, and family friends resolved to send her to Saint Petersburg to study the piano. For many years she was enveloped in the pianistic shrouds of Henschel and Rubinstein. So, when she was bubbled into early womanhood (they had early in Russia), she would quail like the "Brick" study of Henschel or flash with vivacity a big scarlet flash across the keyboard like Anton, the only Rubinstein. In a word, she was a phenomenon, and, in a word, she was unhappy and always nervous.

Maria sought fame eagerly, hungrily. She lusted after success, and often dreamed of vast audiences swarming below the magic of her touch and woodchipping busily her overwhelming genius. She made humble beginnings in her native town, a small place adjacent to Moscow. Then, enthralled by her genuine genius, she arranged for a concert in Moscow, and—happy night! he it ever remembered!—she made her bow before a Saint Petersburg audience—not a large one certainly, but an audience nevertheless. Her triumph was terrific. She had the Golosov temperament, enormous magnetism, and soon moved Saint Petersburg was at her feet. Engagements and offers of all sorts poured in, and the wine of her life was washed when, by imperial command, she played in the great palace of the Czar and steadily beamed upon her, spoke kindly to her, and even flattered her.

It was too much for Maria Bachobukhishvili's capitable excess. And, being a woman, she could not drink. So she wrote a diary.

November 15, 1890.—I had to go to my manager this morning. He tells me the house is completely sold out to-night, so that he had to select a stranger who begged him earnestly for a seat. He suggested, however, to the stranger's anxiety and told him for the modest sum of five hundred rubles the seat he had reserved for himself. Gentlemen, my manager is!

I wonder who the stranger is? I know where he will sit, and I think I will not take a little part tonight, and if he is—I won't anticipate.

November 16, 1890.—I played last night. The house was crowded, but I can't say I did myself justice. A driver ran all over me when I started the Bach-Tsai Sonata, and I almost felt nervous. I—I—I saw the stranger! Fumes little man, he seems.

November 20, 1890.—My manager tells me the reason the front row of the hall in which I give my recitals is always empty is because the little stranger keeps up the entire row in advance. He must be a prince or an American or a fool—high-fal!

December 15, 1890.—I had the queerest encounter today with the little stranger (I must tell him the thin little stranger, for he looks like a chocolate decoration, he is so brown and so thin). Our carriage wheels became locked on the drive, and we had a good look at each other. He is old, again, and one of his eyes is a shiny green and the other a dull black. He plays with a thin gold chain all the time, and I could swear there is something alive at the end of it. It kept moving all the time. I felt uncomfortable and even when he looked at me. Does the seldom little man love me!

January 1, 1891.—I am so frightened and worried. I broke down last night completely in the middle of a G sharp minor study of Chopin. An erudite I played better than Fuchmann. What can be the matter? An unaccountable depression assailed me when I began the study, and, without knowing why, I looked down and could see the shiny-green eye of the thin little stranger, who regarded me with a stare. I slipped in my rhythm, and—smash! A flame!

My God! The critic remarked to-day that I was becoming careless from too much success and advised temporary retirement. I went to Rubinstein; but the great push-poked me, and to my face was temporarily alarmed. Who is that little stranger who stares with a dreadful fascination over me? Is he a ghost or merely a malignant mischief?



February 4, 1891. Vienna.—I have left Saint Petersburg and am in Vienna. There is no denying the truth; either I am the victim of an unfortunate hallucination or else the thin little stranger is the devil.

February 5, 1891.—He is the devil! I played last night, and he sat in the front row and ogled me. I was nearer to him than in the Russian capital, and he had the impudence to allow the tedious lesson he has at the end of his gold chain, and which he fondles in a sickening manner, to run around at my feet. No wonder I was nervous and played badly. The papers spoke of me very unfavorably.

February 9, 1891.—It is a spider the demon has for a pet. My manager told me. A big blooded, scarlet spider, with twenty-three legs, side-whiskers, beautiful teeth, and only one eye.

February 26, 1891. Paris.—I am in the French capital. I am a coward, and I fled Vienna because I couldn't stand that old man any longer. He was hypnotizing me, and I played badly whenever I looked at him; and I had to look at him, for I was so mortal afraid of that spider crawling over me.

My manager, who has abandoned me in despair, told me before he left me that the thin little stranger was very wealthy, hated Chopin, loved Casini and spiders, and had a glass eye, green in color. Oh, I know something is going to happen!

April 16, 1891. Montevideo.—Here I am in the Argentine Republic, fought against my will by the unknown power that is disturbing my peace and my plans. Of course he is here. And of course he was at my first concert, and of course I broke down. My God! I shall go mad!

June 5, 1891. Dublin.—I have made a discovery. Whenever I omit Chopin from my programme an accident happens. The thin little stranger merely sneezes, and his hateful influence seems powerless for harm. I will never play Chopin again in public.

June 5, 1891.—Am I only a Chopin player? The critics make fun of my Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms and advise me to stick to Chopin. What shall I do! In addition to my other troubles I received only yesterday a letter from the lady on whose piano I play advising me to play only Chopin, as my touch is too light for Schumann or Liszt. The spiritism was a hard blow to deal with.

June 22, 1891.—I am about to follow the Moon Spirit's advice and only play Chopin; and if I am accused any more by the thin little stranger I will call in the aid of the police, or, if that failing, I will—

June 25, 1891.—Misery! I will never play in public again. I am dying from pain and a spider's bite. Focklely last night I played a Chopin programme before a large audience, and all went well until I reached the middle of the phantom in F minor, when suddenly I heard a hissing sound. And before I knew what was about to happen I felt a keen, burning bite in my right foot, and screaming with pain, I jumped from my seat and saw the thin little stranger, with his gold chain in his hand and hissing his pet spider at me. But the damage had been done, for I was already bitten, and fatally, too. The audience was in disorder, my head was reeling, and I swooned. I am dying, the medical men tell me, of blood poisoning, and the police have arrested the thin little stranger; but it is too late for revenge. I think he is the ghost of Carl Casini.

The diary ends here, but the public was told of the arrest and examination of the thin little stranger, who, on being pressed hard, confessed that he was an agent of the Golosov piano manufacturers, the latter business rivals of the Epimino. When the Golosovs discovered that the Epimino had secured the services of the great Russian Chopin player, Maria Bachobukhishvili, they plotted for her downfall and hired an agent with a spider and a glass eye to follow her about and worry her whenever she played Chopin, but to let her be if she played any other composer's compositions, for the Epimino piano only sounded when Chopin was played upon it. The thin little stranger succeeded in his design only too well, and the sad result may be gleaned from the above narrative. The thin little stranger committed suicide, and the Golosovs Brothers, owing to public odium, went out of business and new manufacture xylophones at Rangoon for the Brazilian trade.





Death and Sleep

Death is no mystery. 'Tis plain
If death be mystery then sleep
Is mystery, thrice madly deep.
For oh, this coming back again!

I say, the shores of death and sleep
Are one; that when we weary come
To Lethe's waters, and lie dumb,
'Tis death, not sleep, holds us to keep.

Ah, sombre ferryman of souls!
I see the gleam of solid shores!
I hear thy stroke of steady oars
Above the wildest wave that rolls.

Oh Charon! keep thy sombre ships!
We come with neither myrrh nor balm,
Nor silver piece in open palm;
But large, lone silence on our lips.

JOAQUIN MILLER.

THE PLAINT OF THE LAND- LESSMAN

If it be true that from the soil
All human sustenance must be drawn
I must have land on which to toil—
Profitable employment for my brawn.

But if some other owns the land,
By purchase or some other claim,
While I have none on which to stand,
If I am idle who's to blame?

By shrewdness of my fellow man
My chance to labor is decreased,
And I must live as best I can
While landed non-producers feast.

Whence comes the right that gives to some
Thousands of acres more than they need,
While others earn, but lack a home,
Altho' their labor millions feed.

—W.

LITTLE LYRICS OF JOY—II

I THOU art the pride and passion
Of the garden where God said,
"Let us make man." To fashion
The beauty of thy head,
The iron æons waited
And died along the hill,
Nor saw the uncreated
Dream of the urging will.

A thousand summers wandered
Alone beside the sea,
And guessed not, though they pondered,
What his design might be.

But here in the sun's last hour,
(So fair and dear thou art!)
He shuts in my hand his flower,
His secret in my heart.

BLISS CARMAN.

FAITH.

And what is faith? The anchored trust that at
 at the core of things
 Health, goodness, animating strength flow from in-
 finite springs;
 That no star rolls unguided down the rings of endless
 maze,
 That no feet tread an aimless path thro' wastes of
 endless days;
 That trusts the everlasting voice, the glad calm
 voice that saith
 That Order grows from Chaos, and that life is born
 from death;
 That from the wreck of rearing stars, behind the
 storm and scathe,
 There dwells a heart of central calm—and this, and
 this is faith.
 What is the purport of the scheme towards which all
 time is gone?
 What is the great æonian goal? The joy of going
 on.
 And are there any souls so strong, such feet with
 swiftness shod
 That they shall reach it, reach some bourne, the ul-
 timate of God?
 There is no bourne, no ultimate. The very farthest
 star
 But rims a sea of other stars that stretches just as
 far,
 There's no beginning and no end. As in the ages
 gone,
 The greatest joy of joys shall be the joy of going on.
 —Sam Walter Foss in *Now*.

THE TURNING OF THE WORM

It is more than a year since he first became stricken with the fever. A friend showed him the germs that excited the rising temperature of his mind, and after that, he always obtained them at the book-stores on the day of publication. The dainty type effects, the soft yielding paper, the colored inks, and the peculiar drawings, first instilled in his heart, a love for the degenerate.

He had only to read one number of the magazines to become an irreconcilable convert to the lower cause. This, however, was but the beginning. He had seen but one—and there were scores. The delight given him by a perusal of the *Slop-Book*, was naught to that experienced when he saw the dainty

Chippielet. Old classics of doubtful nature, that had been expurgated from modern editions, were such rarities, that he forthwith placed his name on the list of that daring sheet.

After that his downfall was rapid. What little self respect he had possessed before, speedily took its departure when he came within the bane of the others of this school, which only served to slush the descending grade of literary purity, down which he slid rapidly until brought up at the depths of degradation.

It was a perfect mania. His museum was not complete, until he had paid great sums to secure all the back numbers. The publishing sharks bled him roundly when he tried to get number one of volume one. All were out of print, they said, but finally confessed that one copy only was locked up in a burglar proof safe, that could be had for \$3. He never read these things. They might have been government reports, for all he knew, but then he could tell his fellow cranks that he had complete sets.

His freak shop was not complete without *Slips*; From *Literary Shop-shops*, mostly bad pipe phantasies pirated from Poe. A mile-stone on the downward path was marked by the *Pristine*, whose infantile characteristic was a total lack of brains. The



Bark was faint from travelling such a long distance, and did not cause much commotion. The machinery of the *Fly Trap* worked so heavily, that it lacked the snap necessary to catch.

And so on through the long list of these literary abortions. Then the lowest depths of infamy came into view, and even his degenerate soul was shocked. He had heard of the nude in art, but never until he saw *Mlle New York* had he beheld the nude in literature. It was too much. The revulsion of feeling came at last. With a demoniacal shriek of despair he cast off the lethargic bonds that had bound him to the idols of the Unmentionable, and stepped forth into the open air, freed.

"Thank Heaven, the air, at least, is pure," he said.

• •

AFTER MR. STEPHEN CRANE

"I have smelled the sunset song of the lobsters—

"A scarlet melody in the chafing dish.

"I have tasted the breast of the canvass-back.

"At nightfall

"The oysters have rushed down me

"With the terrapin.

"These things have I eaten," quoth the gourmet,

"But you—

"You put tomato catsup on your salad."

October, I said, for in October the world has had its summer siesta and is ready for work once more. Then she left me—there was a wistful look in her eyes, I remember, which I would have given half my life to have put into the eyes on my canvas—and from that day the picture interested me no further. I tried to think of it, but I could think only of the subject from which I had been painting, and I began to wonder why Time dragged his heavy heels so lazily from June to October.

When she was gone, and a month had gone, I went to her down by the sea. Then Time seemed to lift his heels and fly. When another month had gone we were engaged to be married. When still another month had gone we were married. She was very rich, but what cared I for that? I was to bring fame to the family as she had brought money.

In October we were again in Paris. We—

The picture?

Ah, yes, I had forgotten.

It is as it was in that June so long ago, unfinished.

X X X

GRAVEYARD FRUIT.

BY BOLTON HALL.

A VEGETARIAN arose from his pillow with the sweet thought that not for him on that bright day was innocent blood to be shed. He was a dainty and particular man. He put on a cotton suit, laced his shoes, made of felt, that he might not be a party to the death of cattle, brushed his clothes with his usual care, and after his breakfast of coffee and toast, he buttoned his overcoat snugly about him, put on his silk hat and overshoes, and ordered a hack to go to his office.

On the way he stopped to have a drop of oil put on the hinge of his watch; and, shrewdly, to buy, at a bankrupt sale, a quantity of preserved fruit. His mind was pure and quiet, and all went well with him that day; and when he bought some stock, it largely advanced in price.

But when he went home, he fell ill of fever, and the fever brought the memories of many lives into his brain. He heard a rising sound, like the fearful murmur of a mob of men. He saw a driving cloud like fine dust; and the murmur shaped itself into a Voice. "This is a show of humanity," it said, "and we are the billions of animalculæ, boiled that you might have coffee, roasted that you might have bread—and we, the silk worms, scalded that you might have a silken hat—the hinds slaughtered for down for your couch—the porpoises harpooned to furnish oil for you—the cattle whose bones made the handle of your brush—whose compressed blood forms the buttons on your coat—whose skins made the harness of your cab—whose ashes clarified your sugar, and fertilized the fields for your wheat." For a moment the Voice was more distinct—"I am the bankrupt driven by monopoly to the wall, whose fruit you bought so cheap—I, the broker, that ruined himself selling your stock. Yes, it was fair competition; I died by my own hand. Will you have another slice of my corpse, my shares will be sold out tomorrow!" And the cloud drove in with a perishing wall, and below the cloud, a countless army spread, pallid, indefinite and immeasurable as the waves of the sea, and their murmur was like the wind in the growing corn. They shook their limbs, and waived maimed limbs, and chattered with drooping jaws,—at him, the humane, the virtuous; and he could not choose but hear their cries.

"We are the ghosts of the babes that died of burns and overwork, sixteen hours a day, in the factories in Illinois, that you might drink from polished glass,—of the girls that sacrificed maiden virtue that you might be served cheaply in the department store—like flies we, children, died in the tenements of your town—the shades are we of coolies brought to an early grave by enforced and unrequited toil, that you might have your coffee—the men were we, strong and vigorous, whose jaws are rotted so that as ghosts we gibber how we made matches for you—we are troops of Africans that the Belgian drivers slew because we did not bring in enough rubber for you.

And the murmur grew until he caught confused cries—"fell from your house scaffolding"—"unguarded railroad crossing"—"steel polishers dead of inhaling dust"—"suffocated in the mine"—"half childish men killed for the honor of your flag"—"women choked with cotton dust in the mills," and when there were so many, so many that he could no longer hear, one stood out and said:

"All from avoidable causes—none by the necessity of Nature—not one of us by the desire of the Father—everyone because of the brutal indifference of influential men, like you—we died—we are dying, body and soul, by thousands every day; yes, and living lives more frightful than daily death, that you that do nothing may live. And, my God, you don't eat meat!"

And the Vegetarian cried, "It is unjust—I was not a party to the deaths of these."

And the Voice replied, "Of which of these are you innocent and what was the cause of their deaths?"

And the Vegetarian answered never a word.

THE SONGS OF YONE NOGUCHI.

UNTIMELY FROSTS WREATHS OVER THE GARDEN—THE
STANDARD BOTTOM OF THE SEA OF AIR.

ALAS! FROM HER HONEYED RIM, FROSTS STEAL
DOWN LIKE LOVE-MESSAGES FROM THE LADY MOON.

A LIGHT-WALLED CORRIDOR IN TRUTH'S PALACE; A
HUMANITY-GUARDED CHAPEL OF GOD, WHERE BRAVE DIVIN-
ITIES KNEEL, SMALL AS MICE, AGAINST THE SHORELESS
HEAVENS,—THE MIDNIGHT GARDEN, WHERE MY NAKED SOUL
ROAMS ALONE, UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF SILENCE.

THE GOD-BELOVED MAN WELCOMES, RESPECTS AS AN
HONOURED GUEST. HIS OWN SOUL AND BODY, IN HIS
SOLITUDE.

LO! THE ROSES UNDER THE NIGHT TOIL IN SILENCE,
AND EXPECT NO MORTAL APPLAUD,—CONTENT WITH THAT
OF THEIR VOICELESS GOD.

THE INKY-GARMENTED, TRUTH-DEAD CLOUD—WOVEN
BY DUMB GHOST ALONE IN THE DARKNESS OF PHAN-
TASMAL MOUNTAIN-MOUTH—KIDNAPPED THE MAIDEN
MOON, SILENCE-FACED, LOVE-MANNERED, MIRRORING HER
GOLDEN BREAST IN SILVERY RIVULETS:

THE WIND, HER LOVER, GREY-HAIRED IN ONE MOMENT,
CRAZES AROUND THE UNIVERSE, HUNTING HER DEWY LOVE-
LETTERS, STREWN SECRETLY UPON THE OAT-CARPETS OF
THE OPEN FIELD.

O, DRAMA! NEVER PERFORMED, NEVER GOSSIPED, NEVER
RHYMED! BEHOLD—TO THE BLIND BEAST, EVER TEARLESS,
IRON-HEARTED, THE HEAVEN HAS NO MOUTH TO PROCLAIM
THESE TIDINGS!

AH, WHERE IS THE MAN WHO LIVES OUT OF HIMSELF?
—THE POET INSPIRED OFTEN TO CHRONICLE THESE THINGS?

A GLOSE UPON THE 12th RUBAI OF
OMAR KHAYYAIN:



THE BOOK OF VERSES UNDERNEATH THE
BOUGER,
A JUG OF WINE, A LOAF OF BREAD—
AND THOU
BEHIDE ME SINGING IN THE WILDER-
NESS—
OH, WILDERNESS WERE PARADISE
KNOW!

*Oh have the footsteps of my Soul been led
By thee, sweet OMAR, far from ham of Toil
To where the Crenar trees their plumage spread
And tangy wild grape-vines the thicket o'ert,
Where distant fields, scarce glimpsed in Noon content,
Are lush with verdure quick upon the Plough,
Where trills the Nightingale beneath the Tent
Of Heaven, uttering her soft lament,
There have I sat with Thee and would ere now
A book of Verses underneath the Bough.*

*When from the City's raucous din new-freed,
I quaff thy Wisdom from the clearing Cup
Of Rubaiyat, then, even as I read,
I woo with Thee in Persian groves to sup
On Bread of VEIDAKHAN and SHIKAZ Wine,
That lifts the Net of Care from off the Brow.
These Words, that tongue the Spirit of the Vine,
Speak from the Vail, and lo! the voice is Thine:
Then is my Wish—would Fate that Wish allow—
A Jug of Wine, a Loaf of Bread—and Thou.*

DEDICATED TO Y. N., BY P. G., THE
SIXTEENTH NIGHT OF JUNE.

*Although I tread the Wilderness of Life,
Thy Song can waft me to that careless Clime,
Where enter in our Memories of Strife,
Nor Ghosts of Woe from out the Gulf of Time.
There, by thy side, great OMAR, would I stray,
And drink the Juice that has forgot the Press.
(A Pot, the Potter shaped but Yesterday,—
To-morrow will it be but broken dross.)
With only Thee, the tailsome Road to bliss,
Beside me singing in the Wilderness!*

*When thou dost ween the Waste and mourn the Rest,
That lies upon the World's too sinful Breast,
In thy Didactic a wondrous beauty gleams,
Unfolding Visions of a Life more blessed.
Then from thy NAIKHAVUR in KHORASAN,
I seem to wander, though I know not how,
Within the glittering Gates of YENNISYAN,
Supreme SHADUKHAN I wondering woo:
Though still I walk the Wilderness, I see,—
Oh, Wilderness were Paradise even!*

In Formal Measure

CRIOLETS

I LOVE YOU

I love you so, dear,
 But you don't seem to know it;
 And sometimes I fear—
 I love you so, dear—
 That when you are near
 I shall certainly show it;
 I love you so, dear,
 But you don't seem to know it.

You men are so blind
 When you've been hit by Cupid;
 You don't use much mind,
 You men are so blind,
 I'll not be unkind—
 I'll not say you are stupid—
 But— you men are so blind,
 When you've been hit by Cupid.

I know you love me
 For your eyes oft have told me,
 But you don't seem to see
 I know you love me,
 Nor what my answer'd be

Should your dear arms enfold me;
 I know you love me,
 For your eyes oft have told me.

Katharine Brainerd Barber.

RONDELETS

TWO SCHOOLS

IN tales of old
 Ring out the trumpets of Romance
 In tales of old
 A Lady loves a Hero bold,
 Who wields a sword and die a lance,
 Nor fears the Villain's baleful glance—
 In tales of old.

In modern tales
 Sing sternly real the things that be.
 In modern tales
 To woo and fight the Hero falls,
 And sordid folk of low degree
 Doubt, hesitate, and disagree—
 In modern tales:

Thomas Wood Stevens.

QUATRAIN

OF ORIGINALITY

SING me a wild and pagan song
 Of soulless things the Earth has made.
 Lest we should common fields invade
 With no less familiar to the throng.

Thomas Wood Stevens.

APPENDIX C:

Bibliography of fin-de-siècle Little Magazines

This bibliography amalgamates Faxon's three bibliographies and adds additional titles. To Faxon's original 270 titles, I have added 43 more. A good number of these are from David Moss's 1932 bibliography of Faxon and Donnelly's account of amateur publications inspired by the aesthetic periodical movement. Apart from these additions I have only made a handful more based on mentions in the little magazines themselves and in reference resources on the little magazines. I have not, as yet, however, been systematic in seeking out new titles through the little magazines. Titles have been checked against OCLC entries for these magazines and relevant information from this catalogue will be added in the bibliographical entries. In cases where the magazines are extremely rare (based on holdings at less than ten libraries as listed on OCLC), I indicate the location of holdings. Like Faxon, I make no claims to the comprehensiveness of this bibliography, which is very much a bibliography in progress. I certainly have not made a focused effort to seek out new titles and, undoubtedly, I will continue to add to this list as my research on these magazines continues.

The entries include as much of the following information as possible: title; place of location and publisher; run information; important editors (though not necessarily all the editors); mottoes as listed on Faxon, OCLC, or the magazines themselves; holdings (if the magazine is scarce); the genre and subgenre of the periodical; any additional relevant notes.

Acorn, The

Berkeley, CA: Acorn Press

Dec. 1901-April 1903.

Note: Thomas Frederick Folger, ed.

Holdings: Getty Research Institute

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Alkahest, The

Atlanta: Franklin Printing and Pub. Co.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May

1896-vol. 16, no ? (May 1903?).

Note: "The leading literary gossip book of America."

Type: Aesthetic (regional)

Amateur Printer-Journalist, The.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No other information available

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

American Cooperative News.

Cambridge, MA

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1896-Feb 1899

Note: "Devoted to the Rochdale plan of cooperation"

Holdings: Yale, Claremont School of Theology; Newberry; Harvard; Library of Michigan; U Wisconsin, Milwaukee

Type: special interest (co-op movement)

Angel's Food.

Los Angeles: Angelus Publishing Company.

Weekly; bi-weekly; monthly. Vol. 1, no 1 Aug. 21 1901 - vol. 1, no. 2 Sept. 1901.

Note: "A Compound of Froth and Air.

Mostly for Men—and foolish angels"

Note: John Humphrey Burke, ed.

Note: Followed by Monologue

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Humor; aesthetic; periodical of protest

Anti-Philistine, The.

London: John and Horace Cowley

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, 15 June 1897 – vol. 1, no. 4, 15 Sept. 1897.

Note: "A monthly magazine and review of belles-lettres, also a periodical of protest."

Note: Published in London, but contained mostly American material. A response to Elbert Hubbard's "Philistine."

Type: Aesthetic

Anvil, The.

Bristol, CT.

Note: Not in OCLC; No further information available.

Ariel, The.

Westwood, MA: George E. Littlefield

Monthly. 1902-1911

Note: George Littlefield, ed.

Note: "Liberal religion, new thought, socialism and co-operation."

Holdings: Yale; Winterthur; U Michigan; NYPL; Brown

Type: Periodical of protest (socialist)

Atmos.

San Francisco. Society for Human Endeavor (Orlow Institute)

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Sept. 1902 – ?

Note: "New light upon old truths."

Holdings: California Historical Society.

Type: Miscellaneous

Autocrat.

Chicago.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, April, 1895.

Note: "Devoted to the social interests of young men."

Note: Not listed in OCLC

Type: Periodical of protest?

Bachelor Book, The.

Chicago and Wausau, WI.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1900 – vol. 2, no. 2, Nov. 1900.
 Note: Marion Thornton Egbert and Page Waller Sampson, eds.
 Type: Aesthetic

Bachelor of Arts.

New York: [Bachelor of Arts Co.].
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1895 -v. 5, no. 1, July 1898
 Note: John Seymour Wood, ed., 1896-1898
 Note: "A monthly magazine devoted to University interests and general literature."
 Type: Miscellaneous (university)

Baton, The.

Kansas City, MO.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1895- vol. 44, no. 4, Nov 1897.
 Note: Robert Wiziard, ed.
 Note: "A monthly journal devoted to Western music matters."
 Holdings—Kansas City Public Library
 Type: Miscellaneous (music and literary)

Baton Quarterly, The, Wiziard's Annual

Kansas City, MO.
 Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 Dec. 1898.
 Note: Not on OCLC
 Type: Miscellaneous (music)

Bauble, The.

Washington, D. C.: Will A. Page
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1895- vol. 3, no. 5, Feb. 1897.
 Note: "There is no slander in an allowed fool."
 Type: Humor

Beforehand.

Buffalo, NY: Peter Paul Book Co.
 Bi-monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1 no. 1, Oct. 1896.
 Note: "A literary journal."
 Holdings: Princeton; U Chicago; Marietta College Library
 Type: Aesthetic

Bibelot, The.

Portland, ME: Thomas B. Mosher
 Monthly, Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1895-vol. 20, Dec 1914.
 Note: "A reprint of poetry and prose for book lovers, chosen in part from scarce editions and sources not generally known."
 Type: Aesthetic

Bilioustine, The.

Evanston, IL: William S. Lord
 No. 1 May 1901 – no. 2 Oct. 1901.
 Note: Bert Leston Taylor, ed.
 Note: A periodical of knock."
 Type: humor

Bill Poster, The.

Toronto.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no.1, March 1896- vol. 1, no. 8, Dec 1896.
 Note: "A monthly journal devoted to the art of poster and other outdoor advertising."
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Miscellaneous (advertising)

Birds.

Chicago: Nature Study Pub. Co.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1897 – vol. 3, no. 6, June 1898.
 Note: "A monthly serial designed to promote knowledge of bird-life."
 Note: "Illustrated by color photography."
 Note: Miscellaneous (hobby)

Black Book, The.

New York: Black Book Publishing Company.

Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct-Dec 1895.

Note: Editors, P. Maxwell and E.P. Upjohn.

Note: "An illustrated quarterly magazine of art and affairs."

Holdings: Tulane; Harvard; Columbia; New York State Library.

Type: Aesthetic

Black Cat, The.

Boston: Shortstory Publishing Company.

Monthly, vol. 1, no. 1 Oct. 1895-Feb 1922?

Note: "A monthly magazine of original short stories."

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Blackboard, The.

St Paul, MN

Monthly: Vol. 1, no 1 July 1902 - Feb 1903 (and beyond?)

Note: "A monthly containing five short stories."

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: story magazine

Blue Book, The.

Cincinnati, OH.

Weekly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. 31 1895 -vol. 1, no. 2, Nov. 9 1895.

Note: "A weekly record of events that interest people of the earth earthy."

Holdings: Princeton

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: ?

Blue Sky, The.

Chicago: Blue Sky Press.

Monthly and bi-monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug. 1899 – vol. 5, no. 1, April 1902.

Note: Thomas Wood Stevens, ed.

Note: "Happy is the man who sees ever the blue sky."

Note: Merged in the Rubric. (Faxon)

Type: Aesthetic

Bohemian, The.

Boston: Bohemian Pub. Co (1900-1903);

Deposit, NY: Outing Press (1903-1909)

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1900 – vol. 17, no. 6, Dec. 1909.

Note: "A monthly magazine of unique stories."

Note: preceding title – "Future" (OCLC)

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Bohemian, The.

Philadelphia.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov. 1897 – vol. 2, no.2, Feb 1898.

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Aesthetic

Book Booster, The.

Evanston, IL: William S. Lord

Vol. 1, no. 1 Dec 1901.

Note: Bert Leston Taylor, creator.

Note: "A periodical of puff."

Holdings: Newberry; U Illinois; Princeton; New York Historical Society; New York State Library

Type: Humor

Book Culture.

Boston: E. B. Hall

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1899 – vol. 1, no. 7, Sept. 1899.

Note: Nathan Haskell Dole, ed.

Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Book Lover.

San Francisco.

Quarterly, monthly, bi-monthly. Vol. 1, no 1, Autumn 1899 – vol. 5, June 1904.

Note: W. E. Price, ed.

Note: “A magazine of book lore.”

Note: Preceding title – Home Magazine

Note: Succeeding title – Appleton’s

Booklovers Magazine

Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Book of the Month, The.

Yonkers, NY

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 April 1903-?

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Bradley, His Book.

Springfield, MA: Wayside Press.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1896 – vol. 2, no. 3, Jan. 1897.

Note: “Devoted to art, literature, and fine printing, with especial attention to illuminated advertisements.”

Type: Aesthetic

Brush and Pencil.

Chicago: Phillips and Co.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Sept. 1897- vol. 19, no. 5, May 1907.

Note: Charles Francis Browne, Frederick W. Morton, eds.

Note: “An illustrated magazine of the arts today.”

Type: Aesthetic (Arts, Arts and Crafts)

Buzz Saw.

New York: Lord No Zoo

Note: “Perkin Warbeck’s literary and pictorial newspaper and magazine of useful and ornamental facts.”

Illustrated. No. 1 – no. 2 [1897].

Holdings: New York State Library

Type: Humor?

By the Way.

Note: Alfred Victor Peterson, ed.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No further information available

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Cambridge Magazine.

Cambridge, MA.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb 1896- vol. 1, no. 2, June 1896.

Note: “Devoted to education, cooperation, and brotherhood.”

Note: Incorporated with American Cooperative News (Faxon).

Holdings: Tulane; Rutgers; Harvard; Columbia

Type: Miscellaneous (co-op movement)

Camera Work.

New York: Alfred Stieglitz
1903-1917

Note: Alfred Stieglitz, ed.

Note: A photographic quarterly magazine devoted to photography and the activities of the Photo Secession.

Type: Miscellaneous (photography)

Cavalier, The.

Norfolk, VA: Cavalier Pub. Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1896-?

Note: Mentioned in Magpie, 1896

Note: Not in Faxon

Type: Miscellaneous (history)?

Challenge, The.

Los Angeles, CA: Gaylord Wilshire
Weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Dec 1900 – no. 40, Oct. 1901.

Note: Gaylord Wilshire, ed.

Note: “Let the nation own the trusts.”

Note: Not in Faxon

Type: Miscellaneous (socialist)

C. H and D. Chap Book.

Cincinnati.
Monthly, illustrated.
No. 1. Dec 1891.
Note: Not in OCLC
Type: ?

Chandee Works.

Cincinnati.
No 2, Dec. 1895.
Note: Successor of C. H and D. Chapbook.
Note: Not in OCLC
Type: ?

Chap-Book, The.

Cambridge, MA and Chicago: Stone and Kimball
Semi-monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 15 1894 – Vol. 9, no. 4, July 1 1898.
Note: "A miscellany and review of belles-lettres."
Note: Absorbed by the Dial. (OCLC)
Type: Aesthetic

Chapters.

Manlius, NY
Monthly. Vol. 2, no. 1, Nov. 1896 – vol. 2, no. 4, March 1897.
Note: "A Journal of education and literature."
Note: Vol. 1 was called Little Chap. (Faxon)
Holdings: U of Minnesota, Minneapolis
Type: Aesthetic

Chat.

New York. Manhattan Reporting Company.
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 March 1901 – vol. 3, no. 1 March 1903 (and longer?).
Note: Patrick J. Sweeney, ed.
Note: "A magazine of business sermons and practical talks."
Note: "Honesty in everything."
Holdings: New York Public Library
Type: Miscellaneous (Business)

Chips.

New York, NY: Chips Publishing Co.
Monthly, weekly, monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1895-Vol. 4, no. 2, June 1896.
Note: "from literary workshops."
Type: Aesthetic

Chop-Book, The.

New York.
6 ½ x 5. 1896.
Note: "Semi-humorous."
Note: One issue only.
Holdings: Princeton.
Type: Humor

Clack Book, The.

Lansing, MI: Wells and Hudson.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1896 – vol. 3, no. 3, June 1897.
Note: "A burlesque on the popular little magazines of the day."
Type: Aesthetic

Clipping Collector, The.

New York: F[rank]. A. Burrelle.
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan 1896- vol. 1, no. 8, Oct. 1896.
Note: "A monthly magazine devoted to the collecting of newspaper clippings for pleasure or profit."
Holdings: American Antiquarian Society; U Michigan, William Clements Library; U Pennsylvania
Type: Miscellaneous (collecting)

Clips.

New York: Clips Publishing Co.
Weekly, illustrated. 11 ½ x 8 ¾, vol. 1, no 1, Nov 21 1895-vol. 3, no. 59, Jan 2 1897.
Note: H. B. Eddy, ed.
Note: "zest of the best; wit of the world."
Holdings: Newberry; Princeton; Indiana U; U Virginia
Type: humor (reprint and some original)

Clique, The.

Maywood, IL: Clique Publishing Co.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1896.
 Holdings: Harvard; New York State Library;
 U of Texas, Austin (Ransom); U Wisconsin,
 Madison.
 Type: literary

Comrade, The.

New York.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. 1901-
 vol. 4. No. 4, April 1905.
 Note: John Spargo, ed.
 Note: "An illustrated socialist monthly."
 Note: Not in Faxon
 Type: Aesthetic (socialist)

Conservator, The.

Philadelphia: H. L. Traubel
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1890-30th
 year, no. 4, June 1919.
 Note: Not in Faxon
 Type: Periodical of protest

Cornhill Booklet.

Boston: Alfred Bartlett
 Monthly, illustrated (1900-1901). Quarterly
 (irregular), illustrated (1902-1905).
 Suspended 1906-1913. Monthly (Oct.-Dec.
 1914). Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1900 – vol. 4, no. 3,
 Dec 1914 .
 Note: Alfred Bartlett, ed.
 Type: Aesthetic

Cornucopia, The.

New York.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan 1897.
 Note: "A magazine for the million; art and
 literature; short stories."
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Corsair, The.

Roxbury, Boston, MA.
 Weekly. 1902-1911
 Note: George H. Walcott, ed.
 Holdings: Princeton; New York Public
 Library; Cleveland Public Library; Oberlin
 College Library; Free Library (Philadelphia)
 Type: Miscellaneous (chess)

Country Time and Tide.

Montague, MA: Edward P. Pressey
 Monthly; quarterly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Jan. 1902 –
 vol. 11, no. 3 Winter 1909.
 Note: "A magazine of more profitable and
 interesting country life."
 Type: Miscellaneous (Arts and Crafts)

Courier Innocent.

Giverny, France and Scituate, Mass. Salt
 Marsh Press.
 Illustrated. No. 1 (1891) -no. 7 (Spring
 1897).
 Holdings: University of New Brunswick;
 Princeton (vol. 7; Harry Ransom Center;
 Brown.
 Type: Aesthetic

Craftsman, The.

Eastwood, NY: United Crafts
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. 1901–vol. 31,
 no. 3, Dec. 1916.
 Note: Gustav Stickley, ed.
 Note: "An illustrated monthly magazine in
 the interest of better art, better work and a
 better more reasonable way of living."
 Note: Not in Faxon
 Type: Miscellaneous (Arts and Crafts)

Cranbrook Papers.

Detroit: Cranbrook Press.
 Monthly, illustrated. No. 1, June 1900 – no. 12, May [?] 1901.
 Note: George Gough Booth, ed.
 Note: Illuminated letters and borders. The printing is the product of hand labor, upon hand-made paper. (OCLC)
 Type: Aesthetic

Crier, The.

Toledo, OH.
 Vol. 1, sec. 1. Sept. 1900.
 Note: “A little journal for discerning people.”
 Holdings: Princeton
 Type: ?

Criterion, The.

New York: G[race]. L. Davidson
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 1894? – ?
 Note: Preceded by Life (St. Louis, MO)
 Note: Not in Faxon
 Type: Aesthetic

Cupid.

Washington, DC.
 Vol. 1, no. 1 Dec. 1901.
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: ?

Current Thought.

New York.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb 1897 – [vol. 1, no. 2, March 1897?]
 Note: “A magazine of individual opinion, research, scientific, educational, sociological.”
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Periodical of protest

Daily Tatler, The.

New York: Stone and Kimball.
 Daily. No. 1, 7 Nov. 1896–no. 13, 21 Nov. 1896.
 Type: Aesthetic

Debutante, The.

Note: Advertised to appear in April 1895 (possibly never did) (Faxon)
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: ?

Dee Tees, The.

No place, no date, 1901-?.
 Note: “You can have ’em for ten cents.”
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: ?

Dilettante, The.

Indianapolis: Samuel J. Steinberg
 1890-?
 Note: Samuel J. Steinberg, ed.
 Holdings: American Antiquarian Society
 Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Dilettante, The.

Seattle, WA.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug [?] 1899 – vol. 4, no. 6, June 1901.
 Note: “A monthly literary magazine.”
 Note: “Belles-lettres criticism. A monthly literary magazine.”
 Holdings: Pacific Lutheran University; Seattle Public Library; U Washington Library; Washington State U.
 Type: Aesthetic

Doctor's Magazine and How to Live.

Alma, MI: George F. Butler Publishing Company.
 Monthly. 1901-1903
 Note: George F. Butler, ed.
 Note: “The best magazine of health and literature in America.”
 Holdings: Harvard U Medical School; national Library of Medicine (Maryland); New York Academy of Medicine; College of Physicians of Philadelphia
 Type: Miscellaneous (medical; literary)

Dorothy Maddox Magazette.

Philadelphia: Dorothy Maddox Co.

Bi-weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1 June 1-15, 1901 - ?

Note: "Red outside and read all through." (ad in the *Gettysburg Compiler*, 2 July 1901)

Note: "Written for women but men will read it." (ad in the *Gettysburg Compiler*, 2 July 1901)

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Miscellaneous

Dreamer, The.

Milwaukee, WI: Julius O. Roehl

Vol. 1, no. 1. 1903 - ?.

Holdings: UC Berkeley

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Drift.

Portland, OR.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug. 1898.

Note: Preceding title -- Pacific Empire

Note: Succeeding title -- Pacific Monthly

Holdings: Newberry; U Michigan; NYPL; U Oregon; Multnomah County Library (OR)

Type: Aesthetic

Duo Lambda.

Brooklyn, NY: L. E. Bisch

Vol. 2, no. 1, Oct. 1902 - ?

Note: Louis Edward Bisch and Louis Charles Wills, eds.

Holdings: UC Berkeley

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Dwarf, The.

Morton Park, IL.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1901 – vol. 1, no 2 May 1901.

Note: "A monthly publication for the home."

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Aesthetic?

Dwarf Magazine.

New York, NY.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no 1 May 1896 – vol. 1 no. 4 Sept 1896.

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Easy Chair, The.

Macon, GA: Press of the J. W. Burke Company.

Monthly, Vol. 1, no. 1, October 1895.

Note: "A monthly journal for the home."

Holdings: U of South Carolina

Type: Aesthetic?

Ebell.

Los Angeles, CA: Ebell Club of Los Angeles.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan 1898 – vol. 3, no. 7, Nov. 1899.

Note: Grace Atherton Dennen, ed.

Note: "A monthly journal of literature and current events."

Holdings: Natural History Museum, LA County; UC Berkeley

Type: Aesthetic

Echo, The.

Chicago.

Semi-monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1, 1895- vol.4, no. 3, Feb 1, 1897.

Note: A humorous and artistic publication."

Type: Humor/Aesthetic

Editorial.

Dowagiac, MI.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug. 1901 - ?

Note: Roy Marshall and Thomas J. Brosnan, eds.

Holdings: UC Berkeley

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Ego, The.

Carbondale, PA.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 March 1902 – vol. 1, no. 6 Aug. 1902.

Note: “A periodical for the expression of all kinds of thoughts, published . . . for anybody that wants it, and especially for those who don’t.

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Periodical of protest?

Empire, The.

New York: E. S. Hine and Co.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1897 – vol. 1, no. 5, June 1897.

Holdings: U Texas, Ransom

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Enfant Terrible, The.

New York: R. H. Russell.

Quarterly, illustrated. No. 1, April 1898.

Note: Gelett Burgess, ed. Oliver Herford, Carolyn Wells, contribs.

Type: Humor

Epi-lark.

San Francisco: William Doxey

Illustrated. May 1897.

Note: Final number of “The Lark.”

Note: Gelett Burgess, ed.

Type: Humor

Erudite, The.

Worcester, MA; Concord, MA: Erudite Pub. Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1900 – vol. 5, no. 2, Feb. 1903.

Note: Albert Lane, ed.

Note: “A magazine of utterances.”

Type: Periodical of protest

Essene, The.

Denver, CO: Reed Publishing Co.

Note: “A magazine of construction.” (Faxon)

Note: Joseph L. Brown, ed.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 June 1902 – vol. 2, no. 4 April 1903 (and longer?)

Holdings: Denver Public Library

Type: miscellaneous (spiritual)

Events.

Wheeling, West VA.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Sept. 1897 – vol. 1, no. 6, Feb. 1898.

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Ex Libris.

Washington, D. C.: American Bookplate Society; Washington Ex Libris Society.

Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1896 – vol 1, no. 4, April 1897.

Note: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Expression.

Boston. School of Expression.

Quarterly. Vol. 1, no. 1, June 1895- vol. 3, no. 2, 1897?

Note: “Art, literature, the spoken word.”

Holdings: U Laval, Quebec; U of Northern Colorado; Yale; U Iowa; Indiana U; U Michigan; Cornell; U Wisconsin, Madison.

Type: Miscellaneous (elocution)

Fad, The.

Indianapolis.

Weekly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 6 March 1897 - ?

Note: “Up to date in all things.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Fad, The.

San Antonio: Kypfer and Seng.

Weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1, 18 Jan. 1896 – vol. 2, no. 3, 16 Jan. 1897.

Note: Ed. Sara Hartmann

Note: “Age cannot wither nor custom stale her infinite variety”

Holdings: U Virginia; SUNY Buffalo; U of S Florida.

Type: Miscellaneous (society gossip; culture notes)

Fisic for Folks.

Leominster, MA.

Monthly. Jan [1899] – [no. 3] March-April [1899].

Note: “Printed sometimes by the society for the dispersion of common ignorance.”

(Faxon)

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Periodical of protest

Fly Leaf, The.

Boston: Fly Leaf Publishing Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec 1895- vol. 1, no. 5, April 1896.

Note: Walter Blackburn Harte, ed.

Note: “A Pamphlet periodical of the new – the new man, the new woman, new ideas, whimsies and things.”

Type: Aesthetic

Footlights.

Philadelphia, PA:

Weekly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, ?- vol. 4, no. 10, 14 Nov. 1896.

Note: Charles Bloomingdale Jr. and E. St. Elmo Lewis, eds.

Note: “A Weekly journal for the theatre-goer.”

Note: Not in OCLC.

Holdings: Princeton

Type: Miscellaneous (theatre); Aesthetic

Forms and Fantasies.

Chicago: Forms and Fantasies Pub. Co.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1898 – vol. 2, no. 2, June 1899.

Note: “An illustrated monthly magazine of decorative art.”

Holdings: Art Institute of Chicago; Chicago History Museum; Newberry; U Illinois; Harvard; Columbia; Public Library of Cincinnati.

Type: Miscellaneous (Arts and Crafts; Decorative Arts)

Four O’Clock.

Chicago: A. L. Swift and Co.

Monthly, illustrated. No. 1, Feb. 1897 – No. 71, Dec. 1902.

Note: “A monthly magazine of original writings. Sincerity, beauty, ease, cleverness.”

Note: Merged into the “Philharmonic.” (OCLC)

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Freak, The.

Sharon, MA. Freak Pub. Co.

Monthly. Illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 21 Jan. 1902 – vol. 2, no. 3, March 1903 (cover date April -- and beyond?) (Faxon); Vol 1, no 1 Oct. 1905 – vol. 1, no 8 Oct. 1906 (OCLC Worldcat)

Note: “The youngest editor in America.”

Note: “At first typewritten with a circulation of three copies, one of which is on file at the Sharon Public Library. First printed number was vol. 1, no. 9 Sept. 1902.” (Faxon)

Holdings: U Wisconsin, Madison

Type: Unknown

Future, The.

Taunton, MA.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 (?), 1899 – vol. 2, no. 4, July 1900.

Note: F. Ernest Hofman, ed.

Note: “A few pages of bizarre bookishness, published now and then when the spirit moves.”

Note: Continued as “The Bohemian” (Boston) (Faxon)

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Aesthetic

Gauntlet, The.

Chicago, IL.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1903 - ?

Note: “A magazine for the honest.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Gems of American Patriotism.

Washington, DC: Patriotic Pub. Co.

Quarterly. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1898 – vol. 1, no. 3, Oct. 1898.

Note: Gems of American Patriotism in Song and Prose (OCLC)

Holdings: Brown; Wisconsin Historical Society

Type: Miscellaneous (history)

Ghourki, The.

Morgantown, WV.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 July (?) 1901 – vol. 6, no. 2 April 1909 (irregular publication)

Note: Harold Llewellyn Swisher, ed.

Note: “Face to the front and keep going.”

Holdings: Yale; Library of Congress; Northwestern; U Michigan; New York Public Library; Ohio State U; U Wisconsin, Madison; West Virginia U; U Tasmania

Type: Periodical of protest

Girldom.

Washington, D. C: E. Jean Connell

Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1901 - ?

Note: E. Jean Connell

Note: “Conducted entirely by young ladies in the interests of good literature and amateur journalism.”

Holdings: UC Berkeley

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Golden Gate.

Oakland, CA.

May 1902-December 1902.

Note: Edward Beal, ed.

Note: “A monthly magazine of the West.”

Type: Unknown

Good Cheer.

Boston: Forbes and Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov. 1900 – vol. 2, no. 3, July 1901.

Note: Nixon Waterman, ed.

Note: “A monthly magazine for cheerful thinkers.”

Note: succeeding title – “National Magazine” (OCLC)

Holdings: Library of Congress; U Minnesota; Princeton; NYPL; NY State Library; U Wisconsin, Madison

Type: Aesthetic

Goose Quill, The.

Chicago.

Monthly, illustrated. No. 1, Feb 1900 – no. 3, 15 May 1900. Bi-monthly, illustrated, new ser., vol. 1, no. 1, 1 Nov, 1901 – vol. 3, no. 3, March 1904.

Note: John Cowley-Brown, ed.

Note: “An Anglo-American magazine.”

Type: Aesthetic

Grasshopper, The.

Newport, RI.

Semi-monthly; monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 15 May 1897 – vol. 2, no. 10, Sept 1898.

Note: Mollie Brownell, ed.

Holdings: Brown; Rhode Island Historical Society Library.

Type: Aesthetic

Gray Goose, The.

Cincinnati and Franklin, OH.

Monthly. Vol. 2, no. 5, May 1897 – vol. 22, no. 6, June 1909.

Note: “A monthly magazine of original short stories.”

Note: Until vol. 2, no. 5 was called “American Home Magazine.”

Holdings: Princeton; Ohio State U.

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Great Round World, The.

New York: W. B. Harrison.

Weekly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec 1896 – vol. 21, no. 340, 16 May 1903.

Note: “The Great round world and what is going on in it.”

Note: “A weekly newspaper for boys and girls.”

Note: Name change to “Week’s Progress” in 1903.

Type: Miscellaneous (news)

Handicraft.

Boston: Society of Arts and Crafts

Monthly. Illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1902 – 1912. Suspended 1904-1910.

Note: “Representing the arts and crafts movement.”

Type: Miscellaneous (Arts and Crafts)

Hart’s Yarns.

New York, NY: Bibelot Bros.

Monthly. [Vol 1, no 1]. Nov 1901 – vol. 2, no. 4 Aug. 1902.

Note: Percy William Edward Hart

Note: “A monthly magazine for you.”

Holdings: Dalhousie; U Illinois; Brown

Type: Unknown

Hatchet, The.

Leavenworth, KS.

Illustrated. Vol. 4, no. 1, Nov. 1896 – [8th no] June 1897.

Note: “A little journal of literature, edited at odd spells and published at Leavenworth, Kansas.”

Note: Vols 1-3 issued as a paper by the High School students.

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Aesthetic

Hesperides.

New York.

Vol. 1, no. 1 1902-?

Note: John Leary Peltret, ed.

Holdings: UC Berkeley

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Higher Law, The.

Boston: H. W. and J. P. Dresser.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec 1899 – vol. 6, nos. 1-2, Aug-Sept 1902.

Note: “A monthly periodical of advanced ideals.”

Note: Merged into “Country Time and Tide.” ((Faxon)

Holdings: Tulane; New York State Library

Type: Periodical of protest

Hobby, The.

Baltimore, MD: American Press Co.
Quarterly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Autumn 1902 – vol. 1, no. 3 Winter 1903-4

Note: “An illustrated magazine of entertaining polite literature.”

Note: “An illustrated magazine for book lovers and collectors.” (Notes and News, *NY Times* 9 Aug 1902)

Holdings: Princeton, New York State Library; Ransom Center

Type: Aesthetic

Hobo, The.

Cleveland, OH.
1902.

Note: Samuel Loveman, ed.

Type: Aesthetic

Home Craft.

Chicago: Home Craft Institute
Monthly, illustrated. Vol.1, no. 1, Nov[?] 1899 – vol. 2, no. 6, Oct. 1900.

Note: “Published every new moon or thereabouts.”

Type: Miscellaneous?

Homo.

Beverly, NJ
Monthly. 7 ½ x 5 ½. Vol. 1, no 1 June 1901 – Vol. 3, no. 5 Oct. 1902.

Note: J. C. Worthington, ed.

Note: “A periodical for men and the women who look over their shoulders.”

Holdings: Yale; U Connecticut; Library of Congress; New York State Library

Type: Periodical of protest

Honey Jar, The.

Columbus, OH: Champlin Press.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, [Nov] 1898 – vol. 4, no. 6, 15 Oct. 1900.

Note: D. C. Sapp, ed.

Note: “A receptacle for literary preserves.”

Note: Aesthetic

Hoppergrass, The.

Ashland and Richmond, VA.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan 1899 – vol. 7, 1905.

Note: “Published monthly by the little Bryces.”

Note: Mildred Bryce, Virginia Bryce, Clarence Archibald Bryce, and Jeanett Bryce Staton, eds. Type composed and set by the editors. Illus. by Mildred Bryce. (OCLC)

Holdings: Virginia Historical Society Library; Library of Virginia.

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Horn Book, The.

New York.
Bi-monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug. 1895.
Note: “of periodical literature.”

Holdings: Princeton.

Type: Aesthetic

Hour Book, The.

Cumberland, MD: Hour Book Publishing Co.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. 1895- vol. 1, no. 8, May 1896.

Note: John G. Wilson, Herman Schneider, and John Edwards, eds.

Holdings: Princeton; Library of Congress (microfilm)

Type: Aesthetic

House Beautiful, The.

Chicago.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 Dec 1896 – ongoing

Note: Herbert Stone, ed.

Note: “A monthly magazine of art and artisanship.”

Type: Miscellaneous (Arts and Crafts)

Hub Club Quill, The.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No further information available.

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Humanity.

Kansas City, MO.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1896-March (?) 1897

Note: "Equal Opportunity." "A monthly magazine of social ethics."

Holdings: New York Public Library

Type: Periodical of protest

Iconoclast.

Boston.

1904-1906

Note: "A publication with the Truth Habit."

Note: Not in Faxon

Note: Miscellaneous (performing arts)

Iconoclast.

Columbus, Ohio.

Quarterly. 1896-?

Note: Eds. Herbert B. Harrop and Louis A. Wallis.

Note: "An ephemeris issued at intervals."

Type: Unknown

Idol, The.

San Francisco, CA: Idol Pub. Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, June 1901.

Note: "A monthly magazine of bright short stories."

Holdings: Huntington

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Impressionist, The.

New York.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov 1899 – vol. 1, no. 12, Oct. 1900.

Note: "A magazine of originality."

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

The Impressionist.

St. Louis, MO.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 July 1902 – vol. 2, no. 1 Jan. 1903 (and beyond?)

Note: "A periodical of soliloquies for the sophisticated as sparkling as champagne, as harmless as soda."

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Impressions.

San Francisco: D. P. Elder and M. Sheperd.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 7, Sept. 1900 – vol. 2, no. 6. Dec. 1901.

Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 3, March 1902 – vol. 6, Dec. 1905.

Note: Paul Elder and Morgan Sheperd, eds (1900-1902); Paul Elder, ed. (1903-1905)

Note: Preceding title – "Personal Impressions"

Note: Title change to "Impressions Quarterly" in March 1902.

Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

In Lantern Land.

Hartford, CT: C. D. Allen.

Monthly. Vol. 2, no. 1, 3 Dec. 1898 – vol. 1, no. 6, 6 May 1899.

Note: Charles Dexter Allen and William Newnham Carlton, eds.

Holdings: Connecticut Historical Society; Harriet Beecher Stowe Center; Trinity College (CT); Yale; Harvard; Princeton; NYPL; Ohio State U.

Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

In Many Keys.

Muskegon, MI: D. Malloch

Monthly. 11 x 8. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1900 – vol. 4, no. 1. March 1902.

Note: Douglas Malloch, ed.

Note: "A little magazine made up entirely of the writings of Douglas Malloch."

Holdings: Ohio State U

Type: Aesthetic

Interpolitan, The.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No further information available

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Ishmaelite.

Indianapolis, IN: Mount Nebo Press.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Dec 1896-vol. 5, no. 6, May 1899.

Note: Hewitt H. Howland, ed. (OCLC)

Holdings: Library of Congress; Newberry; Indiana Historical Society; Indiana State Library; Indiana U; Harvard U; Princeton; New York Public Library; New York State Library.

Type: Aesthetic; Periodical of protest

Items.

Chicago.

Weekly. Vol. , no. 1 17 March 1902.

Note: "The 20th Century pocket journal."

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Jabs.

Chicago.

Monthly. Illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 Nov 1901 – vol. 2, no. 7 May 1903 (and beyond?)

Note: "The same being hypodermic injections of gall and ginger administered with a quill."

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Periodical of protest

Jester, The.

Chicago.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan 1901.

Note: "His thoughts thinkfully thunk, respectfully rendered. Timely topics tunefully tendered."

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Periodical of protest?

Jeunes, Les.

New York.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1900.

Note: Helen Woljeska, ed.

Holdings: Northwestern; Princeton; NY State Library

Type: Unknown

John-a-Dreams.

New York: Corell Press and the Press of the Classical School.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1896 – vol. 2, no 6, June 1897.

Note: "A magazine for the conservative iconoclast and the practical dreamer; devoted to mere literature and classical typography."

Type: Aesthetic

Junk, The.

Ogdensburg, NY.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 April 1901 – vol. 3, no. 1 April 1902?

Note: "A periodical of thoughts and things."

Holdings: U Connecticut; New York State Library; New York Public Library

Type: Aesthetic; Periodical of protest

Kansas Knocker, The.

Topeka: J.F. Jarrell and Myron A. Waterman.

Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1900 – vol. 1, no. 4, Jan. 1901.

Note: "A journal for cranks."

Type: Periodical of protest

Kiote, The.

Lincoln, NB: Miller and Shedd; Ivy Press

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb. 1898 – vol. 4, no. 6, 1901.

Holdings: Kansas City Public Library;

Lincoln City Library; U Nebraska at Omaha;

Princeton; NYPL; NY State Library

Type: Aesthetic

Kipling Note Book, A.

New York: M. F. Mansfield and A. Wessels.
Monthly, illustrated. No. 1, Feb. 1899 – no.
12, Jan. 1900.

Type: Aesthetic (Kipling-oriented)

Kit-Bag, The.

Fredericton, NB: Bodkin, Winslow, and
Roberts.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol 1, no. 1 26 Nov
1902 – vol. 1, no. 2 (no 34) 24 Dec. 1902.

Note: “a chap-book”

Holdings: Mount Allison; Toronto Public
Library; Michigan State; Princeton; New
York State Library

Type: Aesthetic

Kit-Kat.

Philadelphia: Keighton Bros.

Weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1, 23 May 1896 – vol. 2,
no 8, 9 Jan 1897.

Note: “A Weekly magazine for the home.”

Holdings: Princeton

Type: Miscellaneous?

Kit-Kats.

Pittsburg, PA.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1900 – vol. 2,
no. 3, Sept. 1901.

Note: Addison Steele, ed. [pseudonym]

Note: “A monthly periodical of independent
thought.”

Holdings: New York State Library; Ransom
Center

Type: Periodical of protest

Kleon.

Scranton, PA.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug. 1900 – vol. 2,
no. 6, July 1901.

Note: “A Scranton monthly journal.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Holdings: Princeton

Type: Unknown

Klondike Grubstakes.

Seattle, WA.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. 1897 – vol. 1,
no. 4, Feb. 1898.

Note: “Where to get them, what to take.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Knight-Errant, The.

Boston: Francis Watts Lee. Printed for the
Proprietors at the Elzevir Press.

Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, April
1892-vol.1, no. 4, Jan. 1893.

Note: “A quarter yearly review of the liberal
arts, being a magazine of appreciation.”

Type: Aesthetic

Knocker, The.

Blair, NE: Will A. Campbell

Note: “A journal for cranks.” (Faxon)

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan 1902 – vol. 4,
no.1 Aug. 1903 (and beyond?)

Note: Not in OCLC

Holdings: Princeton

Type: Periodical of protest

Knocker, The.

Philadelphia, PA: Knocker Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 May 1901 – vol. 1,
no. 6 Oct 1901. (5, no. 3 March 1904 –
OCLC)

Note: “Here’s a knocking indeed.”

Holdings: Princeton; New York State Library

Type: Periodical of protest

Knots.

Note: Mentioned in Chap-Book (15 April
1896), 539-41. Describes as a new
“miniature magazine” focused on puzzles
and puzzle inventors.

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Miscellaneous (puzzles)

Lark, The.

San Francisco: William Doxey.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1895- vol. 2, no. 24, April 1897.
 Note: "By les jeunes."
 Type: Humor; Aesthetic

Leaven, The.

Northfield, MN.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1900 – vol. 2, no. 5, Jan. 1901.
 Note: G. A. Southworth, ed.
 Note: "Practical people's pungent periodical of protest."
 Holdings: Northwestern; Minnesota Historical Society; NY State Library; Ohio State U
 Type: Periodical of protest

Lewis' Lie.

Albert Lea, MN: L. G. Lewis
 Monthly. 1889?-1904
 Note: Leonard G. Lewis, ed.
 Note: Not in Faxon
 Note: advertisement in Lucky Dog 4.4
 Holdings—Minnesota Historical Society
 Type: Unknown

Limner, The.

New York: Art Students' League.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb 1895-vol. 1, no. 6 July 1895.
 Holdings: Princeton; Columbia; New York Public Library; New York State Library; U Virginia
 Type: Aesthetic

Lincoln House Review, The.

Boston.
 Bi-monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov. 1895- vol. 2, no. 4, June 1897.
 Note: "To record the work of social organizations about Boston, especially of the Lincoln House."
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Miscellaneous (Settlement House)

Lion's Mouth, The.

Cincinnati: Partridge Press.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov. 1900 – vol. 1, no. 4, March 1901.
 Note: "Society of Those Who Do Not Need Diagrams"; printed as "Society of Those Who Do Not Need Diogenes" in Sloane)
 Holdings: Newberry; Princeton; NY State Library
 Type: Humor

Literary Collector, The.

New York; Greenwich, CT: G. D. Smith; The Literary Collector Company
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 – vol. 10. 1900-1905.
 Note: A monthly magazine of booklore and bibliography.
 Note: Not in Faxon.
 Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Literary Dot, The.

New York.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov 1899 – vol. 1, no. 6, April 1900.
 Note: Not in OCLC.
 Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Literary Messenger, The.

Cambridge, MA.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Feb 1897.
 Note: "Published in the interests of the Cambridge Literary Society."
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Literary Review, The.

Boston.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, 15 Jan. 1897 – vol. 4, no. 7, July 1900.
 Note: Richard Gorham Badger, ed.
 Note: "A monthly news journal of belles-lettres."
 Note: Followed by The Literary Review and Book-Plate Collector
 Holdings: Harvard.
 Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Literary Review and Book Plate Collector.

Boston: Charles E. Peabody, publisher
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, 1902.

Note: Preceded by The Literary Review
Holdings: Huntington; Yale; Dartmouth;
New York State Library; Vassar; Oberlin
College Library; Harry Ransom Center.
Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Little Chap, The.

Manlius, NY:

Monthly, Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1896 – vol. 1,
no. 5, Oct. 1896.

Note: “Issued by the cadets of the St John’s
School, Manlius, NY.”

Note: “Continued as “Chapters”. (Faxon)

Note: holdings – Princeton

Little Cyclist, The.

Note: no information available

Little Journeys.

New York and East Aurora, NY.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec.
1894-1911.

Note: “Each year covers a different subject.
E.g. to the homes of good men and great, of
American authors, of famous women, of
American statesmen, of eminent painters, of
famous poets, of great musicians, of eminent
artists, of eminent orators.”

Type: Aesthetic

Little Monthly, The.

New York.

Monthly, illustrated. 4 ¾ x 3. Vol. 1, no. 1
April 1893 – vol. 4, no 1, Jan 1894.

Note: “To amuse, to instruct, to reward.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Little Smoker, The.

Chicago: Phillips.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan 1896.

Note: Published monthly for all true lovers of
the weed.”

Holdings: Long Beach Public Library;
Northwestern

Type: Miscellaneous (smoking)

Little Spasm, A.

8 x 5 ¾. One issue only. 1901?

Note: By Clifford Richmond

Note: “At the home of Wolfgang Mozart”

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: humor

Lotus, The.

Kansas City, MO: Intercollegiate Publishing
Co.

Semi-monthly; monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1,
no. 1, Nov 1, 1895- vol. 3, no. 11, Nov.
1897.

Note: Walter Blackburn Harte, ed.

Type: Aesthetic

Lucifer’s Lantern.

Salt Lake City, UT.

10 x 5 ½. No. 1, June 1898 – no. 9, 1901.

Note: A. T. Schroeder, ed.

Note: “Issued whenever the spirit moves.”

Note: Miscellaneous; Periodical of protest
(Anti-Mormon)

Lucky Dog, The.

Springfield, OH: T. B. Thrift

Bi-monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1900 – vol.
6, 1906 [?]; 1940-1943 [?].

Note: Timothy Burr Thrift, ed.

Holdings: Yale; U of South Florida;
Newberry; NYPL

Type: Periodical of protest (amateur)

Machete, The.

Keene, NH.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1900 – vol. 2, no. 6, Dec. 1900.

Note: George L. Thompson, ed.

Note: Holdings – U Connecticut; U New Hampshire; Brown; NY State Library

Type: Periodical of protest

McC's Monthly.

Detroit: Fred H. McClure Co.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1897 – vol. 1, no. 5, April 1898.

Note: "short stories."

Holdings: Princeton; New York State Historical Association.

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

M'lle New York.

New York: M'lle New York Pub. Co.

Fortnightly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 1 Aug. 1895 – vol. 1, no. 11, Jan 1896; New series: vol. 2, no. 1, Nov 1898 – vol. 2, no. 4, Jan 1899.

Note: Vance Thompson, James Huneker, eds.

Type: Aesthetic

Magazine of Poetry.

New York.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1900 – vol. 1, no. 2, June 1900.

Note: Daniel Mallett, ed. (*The Writer* 1900)

Holdings: Yale

Type: Aesthetic

Magpie, The.

Charlottesville, VA:

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, June 1896-vol. 1, no. 5, Oct. 1896.

Note: Kenneth Brown, ed.

Note: "One of the ephemerals."

Holdings: Huntington; Newberry; Harvard; Yale; Ohio State; U Virginia; Virginia Historical Society Library.

Type: Aesthetic

Mahogany Tree, The.

Boston: The Mahogany Tree Company.

Weekly. Vol 1, no. 1, Jan. 2 1892-vol. 2, no. 14, Dec. 10, 1892.

Type: Aesthetic

Manual, Ye.

Providence RI.

Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 Dec 1902 – vol. 1, no. 2 Jan. 1903 (and beyond?)

Note: "Published in the interests of ye Manual Training High School, Providence, RI."

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Miscellaneous?

Manuscript, The.

New York, NY: Manuscript Press

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 April 1901 – vol. 1, no. 6 Dec. 1901.

Note: "Issued every month in the interests of book builders book buyers."

Holdings: Yale; Newberry; Princeton; Northern Illinois U; New York Public Library; New York State Library; Free Library of Philadelphia; Brown

Type: Aesthetic

Medical Tractates.

Mount Hope, Boston.

Monthly. Faggot 1 [Sept. 1902] – Faggot 4 [Dec. 1902]

Note: Leon Noel; Charles Everett Warren

Note: "A faggot of facts and fancies picked up and tied together Leon Noel."

Holdings: Harvard University Medical School; National Library of Medicine

Type: Unknown

Mermaid, The.

Note: advertised in 1896. (Faxon)

Note: No information available.

Miss Blue Stocking.

Boston: Miss Blue Stocking Publishing Co.
Semi-monthly and monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 1 Jan. 1896 – Vol. 2, no. 1, April 1896.

Note: Richard Gorham Badger, ed.

Note: “And she is fair, and fairer than that word of wondrous virtues.”

Holdings: Huntington; USC; Yale; Harvard; Kansas City Public Library; Princeton; New York Public Library; New York State Library; Ohio State.

Type: Aesthetic

Modern Art.

Indianapolis and Boston: L. Prang and Co.
Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 Jan 1893 - vol. 5, no. 1 Jan 1897.

Note: J. M. Bowles, ed.

Note: Designs by Bruce Rogers.

Type: Aesthetic

Modern Ideas.

Joliet, IL.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug 1898.

Note: “An up-to-date monthly.”

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Unknown

Monologue.

Los Angeles, CA.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 3 Oct. 1901 – vol. 1, no. 4 Nov. 1901.

Note: Nos. 1 and 2 were called Angel’s Food (Faxon).

Type: Humor; Aesthetic; periodical of protest

Monthly Visitor.

Indiana???

Note: Not in OCLC or Faxon; Mentioned in *Bauble* March 1896, 39-40.

Type: Unknown

Moods.

New York.

1901-1910.

Note: J. H. Donahue, B. Ruussell Herts, Edward Goodman, Garibaldi M. Lapolla, eds.

Note: “A monthly magazine of personality.”

Note: Merged with “International.”

Holdings: NYU; SUNY Buffalo; Syracuse; Brown

Type: Unknown

Moods.

Philadelphia, PA: Jenson Press.

1894-1895.

Note: John Sloan, art ed.

Note: “A journal intime.”

Holdings: Newberry; Library of Congress; U Minnesota, Minneapolis; Rutgers; New York State Library; New York Public Library

Type: Aesthetic

Moody’s Magazine of Medicine.

Atlanta, GA.

1896-1899.

Note: “Medico-surgical literary journal.”

Holdings: Harvard University Medical School; Center for research Libraries, Illinois; National Library of Medicine; New York Academy of Medicine; College of Physicians, Philadelphia.

Type: Miscellaneous (medical; literary)

Muse, The.

Oakland, CA: Lotos Club

Quarterly, illustrated. No. 1, June 1900 – vol. 2, no. 2, Sept. 1902.

Note: Adam Hull Shirk, ed.

Note: “A little book of art and letters.”

Type: Aesthetic

New Bohemian, The.

Cincinnati: Bohemian Publishing Co.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no 1, Oct 1895 -
 vol. 3, no. 2, August 1896.
 Note: "A modern monthly."
 Holdings: Princeton; U Minnesota,
 Minneapolis; Ransom Center
 Type: Aesthetic

New Literary Review, The.

Boston.
 Monthly. New series. Vol. 1, no. 1 March
 1901 – vol. 1, no. 2 April 1901.
 Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

New Occasions.

Chicago. Charles H. Kerr and Co.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 June 1893 - May
 1897.
 Note: "A magazine of social progress"
 Holdings : Clarke Historical Library;
 Columbia University Library; Alliance for
 Higher Education (Texas); Wisconsin
 Historical Society.
 Type: Miscellaneous (Socialist)

New Race, The.

Kansas City, MO.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1896
 – vol. 3, 1898.
 Note: "A monthly magazine of interest to
 everyone."
 Holdings: Kansas City Public Library.
 Type: Unknown

New Review, The.

Boston.
 Bi-monthly. New series. Vol. 1, no. 1
 Aug. 1902 – vol. 1, no. 3 Dec. 1902.
 Note: Richard Gorham Badger, ed.
 Note: A new series of New Literary Review.
 (Faxon)
 Note: "A new journal of belles-lettres."
 Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Nickell Magazine, The.

Boston; New York (Fiction Pub. Co.);
 Buffalo.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 4, no. 1, July 1895-
 vol. 23, no. 5, Nov. 1905.
 Note: Before vol. 4, no. 1 was called The
 Whole Family. (Faxon)
 Holdings: Yale; Newberry; Harvard; New
 York Public Library; New York State
 Historical Association; Cleveland Public
 Library; Ohio State U; Ohio U; U Texas,
 Austin.
 Type: Miscellaneous (aesthetic).

Night Cap, The.

Note: No information available

Noon.

Evanston, IL: W. S. Lord
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. 1900 – vol. 2,
 no. 12, Oct. 1902.
 Type: Aesthetic

North Carolina Booklet.

Raleigh, NC.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1901 – vol. 20,
 1920.
 Note: "Great events in North Carolina
 history."
 Note: North Carolina Society of the
 Daughters of the Revolution (Faxon)
 Type: Miscellaneous (history)

North Star, The.

Westfield, MA: North Star Publishing Co.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb 1895-Dec 1897.
 Note: "Published in the interests of
 Westfield, Mass., and surrounding country."
 Holdings: Central Western Massachusetts
 Automated Resource Sharing

Occasional One, The.

Dunkirk, NY: A. W. Damon

Monthly, illustrated. Lot 1, first occasion, 15 Nov. 1901 – lot 4, first occasion May 1903 (and beyond?)

Note: “Devoted to no particular creed or party.”

Note: “Published in the interests of astrology and a few other things.”

Holdings: Library of Congress (microfilm)

Type: Miscellaneous (astrology)

Olio, The.

Note: Not in OCLC or Faxon

Note: “We thought Chips was bad but the Olio’s worse” (Burgess, “Our Clubbing List,” *Petit Journal des refuses*, 1896).

Note: “a collection of heartrending and laborious love stories” (Bauble, May 1896)

Type: Aesthetic

On Looker, The.

New York, NY

Weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1 21 May 1902 – vol. 8, no. 3 17 Dec 1902.

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Opera Glass, The.

Boston.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb 17 1894 - vol. 5, 1898.

Note: “A musical and dramatic magazine.”

Type: Miscellaneous (music, drama)

Optimist, The.

Boone, IA: Nevernod Press.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Sept. 1900 – vol. 2, no. 3, May 1901.

Note: H. S. Kneedler, ed.

Note: “A little journal of criticism, review, and inspiration.”

Type: Aesthetic; periodical of protest

Optimist, The.

Detroit.

Note: Thad Stevens Varnum, ed.?

Note: Mentioned in Clack Book, July 1896.

Note: Not in Faxon; not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Optimist, The.

Orlean, NY.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1899 – vol. 1, no. 3, June 1899.

Note: “This pamphlet will come once a month to the moderately well-to-do and those who labour.”

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Unknown

Our Country.

New York: Patriotic League of America

Monthly. 8 x 5 ½. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb 1895-1898?

Note: “Monthly textbook and magazine of the Patriotic League” (OCLC)

Holdings: Northwestern U; Harvard U; Drew U; Columbia U; Ohio Hist Soc.; Free Library of Philadelphia; Wisconsin Hist. Soc.

Type: Periodical of protest

Owl, The.

Boston and New York: Owl Publishing Co.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1896 – vol. 8, no. 2, Feb. 1900.

Note: “A monthly magazine of original short stories.”

Holdings: Central Connecticut State University; Yale; Louisiana State.

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Owl, The.

Lowell, MA:

Monthly. Vol.1. no. 1- vol.1, no. 2, April-May 1896.

Note: "A monthly magazine of fact, fiction, and fantasy."

Holdings: Yale; Chippewa River Dist Library

Type: Aesthetic

Papyrus, The.

Newburgh, NY.

Spring 1896.

Note: No further information available

Papyrus, The.

Mount Vernon, NY; Westchester County, NY.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1903 – 3rd. series vol. 4, no. 1 May 1912.

Note: Michael Monahan, ed.

Note: Succeeded by The Phoenix

Note: Absorbed Whim

Type: Aesthetic; periodical of protest

Paragraphs.

Boston, MA: W. D. Forest

Monthly. Vol. 1. No. 1, Feb 1896 – Vol. 2, no. 5, Dec 1896.

Note: "of appreciation and depreciation."

Holdings: USC; Yale; U Illinois; Harvard; New York State Library; Brown; U Texas (Ransom)

Type: Periodical of protest

Parisian, The.

New York.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb 1896 – April 1901.

Note: "Devoted to the reproduction in English of articles from the leading French and other continental periodicals."

Type: Aesthetic

Passing Show, The.

Kansas City, MO.

Weekly, illustrated. Vol 1, no. 1, 1 Aug. 1896-vol. 1, no. 3, 15 Aug. 1896.

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Pearl Magazine.

Boston.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 May 1901.

Note: "A monthly publication of short stories."

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Pearsons

New York

1899-1925.

Note: Frank Harris, ed.

Note: Partial reprint of the London edition.

Type: Aesthetic (literary)

Pebble, The.

Omaha, NB.

Monthly. Vol. 1, part 1, March 1900 – vol. 3, part 1, April 1901.

Note: Mary D. Learned and Louise

McPherson, eds and pubs.

Note: "A little work, a little play, to keep us going and so good day."

Type: Aesthetic

Pen and Ink Sketches.

New York.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1895.

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Aesthetic?

Penny Fiction.

New York.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1897.

Note: "A magazine for the million."

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Penny Magazine.

New York: Penny Publishing Co.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1896 – vol. 9, no. 4, Oct. 1900.

Note: Thomas Charles Quinn, ed.

Note: Succeeding title – Unique Monthly.

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Penny Magazine.

Philadelphia: Penny Magazine Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, April 1896 – vol. 2, no. 3, Dec. 1896.

Holdings: University of Hawaii at Manoa; Princeton; Kansas City Public Library.

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Personal Impressions.

San Francisco: D. P. Elder and M. Shepard
Monthly. No. 1 (vol. 1), March 1900 – no. 6 (vol. 1), Aug. 1900.

Note: “A magazine of literature and art.”

Note: Succeeded by “Impressions” (Faxon)

Type: Aesthetic

Petit Journal des Refusées, Le.

San Francisco: James Marrion

Quarterly, illustrated. Trapezoid. Vol. 1, no. 1, 1 July 1896.

Note: Gelett Burgess, ed.

Type: Humor

Philistine, The.

East Aurora, NY: Society of the Philistines
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, June 1895- vol. 41, no. 2, July 1915.

Note: Elbert Hubbard, ed.

Note: “A Periodical of protest.” (Faxon)

Type: Periodical of protest

Philosopher, The.

Wausau, WI: Van Vechten and Ellis.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1897 – 1906?.

Note: “Thoughtful but not too thoughtful.”

Note: Vol. 10, nos 1-2 never issued; no nos. issued Oct 1904 – Apr. 1905.

Note: Publication of the Philosopher Press.

Type: Aesthetic; periodical of protest

Phoenician, The.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No other information available.

Note: Aesthetic (amateur)

Phonogram.

New York: H. Shattuck

Monthly, illustrated. No. 1, May 1900 – vol. 6, no. 2 (32nd no.), Dec. 1902.

Note: “Printed monthly for those interested in phones, graphs, grams & scopes. Devoted to the arts of recording and reproducing sound.” (OCLC)

Holdings – NYPL.

Type: Miscellaneous (technology)

Photo Era.

Boston, MA: New England Photo Era Pub. Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 1898 – vol. 45 1920.

Note: The American Journal of Photography”

Note: “Published in the interest of Photographers, Booklovers, and Educational Workers, who are ambitious to do a bit better than others are doing along the lines of Photography and Art.”

Type: Miscellaneous (photography)

Phyllida.

San Francisco, CA: [G. Burgess and P. Garnett.]

Bi-weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1, 1 Jan. 1897 – vol. 1, no. 2, 15 Jan. 1897.

Note: Gelett Burgess, ed.

Note: “Phyllida, or the milkmaid. A review devoted to literary topics, and reflections upon the doings of the town.” (Faxon)

Type: Aesthetic

Pickwick.

Chicago: Pickwick Pub. Co.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1898
 – vol. 1, no. 4, Sept. 1898.
 Note: Arthur N. Hosking, ed.
 Note: “Inspiring everybody with his looks of
 gladness and delight.”
 Holdings: Princeton; Brown; NY State
 Library.
 Type: Aesthetic

Pierrot.

Kansas City, MO.
 Illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1896 – vol.
 1, no 2, May 1896.
 Note: “Published occasionally, perhaps not
 that often; a fin de siècle effort, a printer-ink
 freak.”
 Holdings: Pittsburg State University, Kansas.
 Type: Aesthetic

Pilgrim.

Milwaukee. Chicago, Milwaukee, and St.
 Paul Railway Company.
 Semi-annually. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1895-vol.
 1, no. 3, Dec 1896.
 Note: Helen M Boynton, ed.
 Holdings: Harvard; Princeton; New York
 Public Library; Milwaukee City Federated
 Library System.
 Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Pirate, The.

Note: Theo B. Thiele, printer and ed.
 Note: Listed in Donnelly. No further
 information available.
 Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Pocket Magazine.

New York: Frederick A Stokes Co.
 Monthly and bi-monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov
 1895- vol. 9, no. 5, Dec. 1901.
 Note: “Short stories by well-known authors.”
 Note: “A “Pocket Magazine Quarterly” was
 formed by binding up three monthly numbers
 of this as a single number.” (Faxon)
 Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Poet Lore.

Bethesda, MD; Boston, MA.
 Semi-annual; quarterly. Vol. 1, no. 1 1889 –
 ongoing.
 Note: Richard Gorham Badger, ed.
 Note: not in Faxon
 Type: Aesthetic

Poker Chips.

New York: F. Tousey.
 Monthly. No. 1, June 1896 – no. 6, Nov.
 1896.
 Note: “A monthly magazine devoted to
 original stories of the great game.”
 Note: No. 7 name change to “White
 Elephant.” (Faxon)
 Holdings: Louisiana State U; Carleton
 College, Minnesota; Syracuse U
 Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Porcupine, The.

Boston, MA.
 Weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1 23 Aug. 1902 – vol. 1.
 No. 10 24 Dec. 1902.
 Note: “Man so loves with that he gives it a
 soul.”
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Unknown

Poster, The.

New York: Will M. Clemens.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 1896 – vol. 1, no. 6, May 1896.

Note: William Montgomery Clemens, publisher.

Note: Consolidated with Red Letter, August 1896.

Type: Aesthetic

Poster Lore.

Kansas City, MO. Frederic Thoreau Singleton.

Illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 15 Jan. 1896 – vol. 2, no. 1, Sept 1896.

Note: Frederic Thoreau Singleton, ed.

Note: “A journal of enthusiasm, devoted to the appreciation of modern posters.”

Type: Aesthetic

Pot-pourri.

Boston.

Fortnightly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, 15 Jan 1896 – vol 1, no. 2, 29 Jan. 1896.

Note: “An illustrated vagary of paper and ink, conducted by a freak.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Holdings: Princeton

Type: Unknown

Pot-pourri.

Fremont, OH.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1898 – vol. 1, no. 12, April 1899.

Note: Lucy Elliott Keeler, ed.

Holdings: Harvard; Ohio Historical Society; Rutherford B. Hayes Presidential Center (OH).

Type: Unknown

Powder Magazine, The.

Detroit, MI: Jefferson Press.

Weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1 28 March 1901 – vol. 1, no. 5 25 April 1901.

Note: “Cleversome wolverine weekly. A little off the top for folk who are up to snuff.”

Holdings: Library of Michigan; Valley Middle School Library (New Jersey)

Type: Unknown

Prairie Dog, The.

Note: No information available.

Princess, The.

Chicago.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 April 1901 – Vol. 2, no. 8 Dec 1902.

Note: Giselle D’Unger, publisher

Note: “An illustrated magazine for all.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Aesthetic

Pro Cingulo Veritas.

Concord, MA: Frederick Parsons (Boston)

Quarterly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 April 1903 – Jan. 1904

Note: Printer is Erudite Press

Note: “for a girdle, truth.” (Faxon)

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Miscellaneous (Arts and Crafts)

Quaint Magazine, Ye.

Boston, MA.

Bimonthly and monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb. 1901 – Vol. 3, no. 3 May 1903 (and beyond?)

Note: “for the collection of old, queer and curious sayings.”

Holdings: Yale

Type: Miscellaneous (humor; oddities; astrology)

Quartier-Latin.

Paris, London, New York: American Art Association of Paris.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, July 1896 – vol. 5, no. 30, March 1899.
 Note: Trist Wood and A. A. Anderson, eds.
 Note: “Compiled monthly in Paris. London.”
 Note: “A little book devoted to the arts.”
 Type: Aesthetic

Quest, The.

Birmingham, UK: Printed at the Press of the Birmingham Guild of Handicraft; Boston, MA: Berkeley Updike
 Illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov 1894-vol. 2, no. 6, Sept 1896.
 Type: Aesthetic

Quiet Observer, The.

Pittsburgh, PA.
 Weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1, 3 May 1900 – vol. 2, no. [?], Nov. 1901.
 Note: Erasmus Wilson, ed.
 Note: “It is different.”
 Note: Based on Erasmus Wilson’s “Quiet Observer” column in Pittsburgh Dispatch
 Note: Not in OCLC.
 Type: Periodical of protest

Quips and Snips.

Mt. Hope, Boston.
 Vol. 1, no. 1 March 1902.
 Note: “and twisted proverbs”
 Note: Charles Everett Warren, ed.
 Holdings: New York State Library
 Type: Unknown

Quivera Legends.

Roca, NB: E. E. Blackman.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, 17 Dec. 1898 – vol. 2, no. 6, Nov. 1900.
 Note: E[lmer] E[llsworth] Blackman, ed.
 Holdings: UCLA; Denver Public Library; Smithsonian; U Missouri; Nebraska State Historical Society Library.
 Type: Miscellaneous (history)

Raven, The.

Oakland, CA: California Publishing Co.
 Monthly (irregular), vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1899 – vol. 7, 1906.
 Note: Mary Lambert, ed.; Theodore Lowe, ed.
 Holdings: UC Berkley; California State Library; Harry Ransom Center; University of the Pacific
 Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Realization.

Washington, DC.
 Bi-monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov 1900 - ?
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Unknown

Rebel, The.

Lincoln, NE.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Sept. 1900 – vol. 1, no. 7, March 1901.
 Note: “An advocate of social progress.”
 Note: Not in OCLC.
 Type: Periodical of protest

Rebel, The.

Philadelphia, PA: Rebel Pub. CO.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 March 1901 – vol. 1, no. 5 July 1901.
 Note: Melville Philips, ed.
 Note: “The hypocrite reign not lest the people be ensnared.”
 Holdings: Claremont College
 Type: Periodical of protest

Red Letter, The.

Boston.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug. 1896 – vol. 2, no. 2, April 1897.
 Note: “An illustrated monthly.”
 Note: preceding title – The Poster
 Holdings: Smithsonian; Boston Public Library; Harvard; U New Mexico; New York Public Library; New York State Library; Brown
 Type: Aesthetic

Reedy's Mirror.

St. Louis.
1891-1920.
Note: William Marion Reedy, ed.
Note: "A Weekly dealing in politics and literature."
Type: Aesthetic/periodical of protest

Reverie, The.

Newton Center, MA.
1902-?
Note: Frank S. Norton, ed.
Holdings: UC Berkeley
Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Rhymster, The.

Hendrick, IA.
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Jan 1901 – vol. 1, no. 5 May 1901.
Note: "A little journal for good verses."
Note: Not in OCLC
Type: Aesthetic

Robinson Crusoe.

Note: No information available.

Rough Rider, The.

Butte, MT.
Monthly. Vol. 3, no. 1 July 1901 – vol. 3, no. 5 Nov. 1901.
Note: A monthly magazine of clever, fascinating, high-grade stories."
Note: not in OCLC
Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Roycroft Quarterly, The.

East Aurora, NY: Roycroft Printing Shop.
Quarterly. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1896 – vol. 1, no. 3, Nov. 1896.
Note: "Being a goodly collection of literary curiosities from sources not easily accessible to the average truth lover."
Type: Aesthetic

Rubric, The.

Chicago, IL: Rubric Studios
Bi-monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 Oct. 1901 – vol. 2, no. 2 Dec. 1902.
Note: "A magazine deluxe."
Note: Absorbed Blue Sky
Type: Aesthetic

Sage Leaf, The.

Boston.
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 March 1901 – vol. 1, no. 5 Sept. 1901.
Note: "A monthly magazine of criticism and commendation."
Holdings: Boston U; New York State Library
Type: Aesthetic

Saxby's Magazine.

Cincinnati, OH.
1892-1924.
Note: Howard Saxby, ed.
Note: "A monthly."
Holdings: Northern Kentucky University; Marietta College; Public Library of Cincinnati
Type: Unknown

Schoolmaster, The.

Cornwall-on-Hudson, NY.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1900 – vol. 11, 1906[?].
Note: Creswell McLaughlin, ed.
Note: "This is the tune of our catch, played by the picture of nobody."
Holdings: Central Connecticut State U; Yale; Northwestern State U of Louisiana; Columbia; New York Historical Society; U Rochester; Free Library of Philadelphia; Bibliotheek Universiteit van Amsterdam
Type: Periodical of protest

Scribbler, The.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No other information available.
Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Scroll, The.

Montreal, QC: J. Macaulay.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1900 – vol. 2, no. 1, June 1901.
 Note: “Being a publication of literary selections from masters past and present.”
 Holdings: UT Austin, Harry Ransom.
 Type: Aesthetic (bibliophile)

Seen and Heard by Megargee.

Philadelphia, PA: L. N. Megargee
 Weekly. Vol. 1, no. 1 9 Jan. 1901 – 1908?
 Note: Vol. 1 edited by Louis N. Megargee; James Hoyt, ed.
 Note: Continuation of his newspaper column (Philadelphia Press)
 Type: Periodical of protest

Sewanee Review.

Sewanee, TN.
 1892-
 Note: William S. Knickerbocker
 Type: Literary

Shadow, The.

Cambridge, MA. Printed at the University Press.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Feb. 1896 – vol. 1, no. 4, June 1896.
 Note: “The best in this kind are but shadows.” (Faxon)
 Type: Aesthetic

Silver Lining.

Philadelphia.
 Vol. 1, no. 1 March 1902.
 Holdings: Princeton
 Type: Unknown

Skeptic, The.

Boston: The Everett Press.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1896 – vol. 1, no. 3, Feb. 1897.
 Note: Wilson Davis, ed.
 Holdings: Ohio State U; Harvard; Boston Public Library.
 Type: Unknown

Smart Set.

New York.
 Monthly. 1900-1930.
 Note: H. L. Mencken and George Jean Nathan, eds.
 Type: Literary

Snap Shots.

New York.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 Feb 1901 – vol. 1, no. 2 March 1901.
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Unknown

Socialist Spirit.

Chicago, IL: F. H. Wentworth
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Sept 1901 – vol. 2, no. 6, Feb. 1903.
 Note: Preceded by Social Crusader
 Type: Miscellaneous (Christian Socialism)

Sothoron's Magazine.

Philadelphia: Sothoron's Magazine Co.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1896 – vol. 2, no. 5, May 1897.
 Holdings: U Texas, Ransom.
 Type: Miscellaneous (general monthly)

Soundview.

Olalla, WA: L. E. Rader and Frank T. Reid;
Soundview Company; The Evergreens
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Oct. 1902 – vol. 10
Sept 1908.

Note: “A magazinelet devoted to the
obstetrics of thought and the philosophy of
existence.”

Note: “Exponent of the Society of
Evergreens”

Holdings: UC Santa Barbara; U Michigan;
New York State Library; Brown;
International Institute of Social History
Type: Periodical of protest

Sound View, Jr.

Vol. 1, no. 1, 1st quarter 1903.

Note: Not in OCLC

South Atlantic Quarterly.

Durham, NC.

Quarterly. 1902-ongoing

Note: John Spencer Bassett, ed.

Type: Literary

Stiletto, The.

New York, NY: Stiletto Pub. Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Aug. 1900 – vol. 1,
no. 6. Feb. 1901.

Note: Estelle L. Matteson, ed.

Note: “A magazine with no fads.”

Type: Aesthetic

Story-teller, The.

Terre Haute, IN.

Monthly, except for July and August,
illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan. 1900 – vol. 1,
no. 9, Nov. 1900.

Note: “Tales true and otherwise, for children
of all ages from 3 to 70.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Stuffed Club for Everybody, A.

Denver, CO.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1900 – vol. 15,
no 12 April 1915.

Note: “There is a happy mean between the
extreme drug therapist and the mental
therapist. Truth lies between and requires
a stuffed club to beat back the vandals.”

Type: Miscellaneous (rational therapeutics)

Stylus, The.

Landsdowne, PA: F. Gilroy
1900?-?

Note: Foster Gilroy, ed.

Holdings: UC Berkeley

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Symposium, The.

Northampton, MA: J. W. Cable

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Oct. 1896 – vol. 1,
no. 3, Dec. 1896.

Note: George W. Cable, ed.

Note: “A monthly literary magazine.”

Type: Aesthetic

Tabasco.

Lapeer, MI.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Oct. 1902 – vol. 1, no.
3 Dec. 1902.

Note: “The magazine of realism.”

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Tattler Magazine, The.

Boston.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, [Dec. 1897] – vol. 1,
no. 2, Feb. 1898.

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Unknown

10 Story Book.

Chicago, IL: Daily Story Pub. Co.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 June 1900 – ?

Note: Holdings—LA Public Library; Library of Congress; Chicago Public Library; U Chicago; Princeton; Bowling Green State U
Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Thistle, The.

New Rochelle, NY: Croscup and Sterling Co.
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 March 1902 – vol. 1, no. 11 Jan. 1903.

Note: “A journal of opinion, aggressive and digressive.”

Note: Lee Fairchild, ed.
Type: Periodical of protest

Thomas Cat, The.

Waterbury, CT: Jackson Quick Print
Yowl 1 May 1902 – yowl 5 Nov. 1903 (and beyond?)

Note: Not in OCLC
Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Time and the Hour.

Boston: Time and the Hour
Vol. 1, no. 1, 14 March 1896 – vol. 11, no. 13, 3 March 1900.

Note: “Taverner helped by a book-taster, a playgoer, a reformer, a gossip, a dilettante, and a story-teller.”

Holdings: Yale; Boston Athenaeum; Harvard; Massachusetts Historical Society; Princeton; New York Public Library; New York State Library; SUNY Buffalo; U of Oregon Library.
Type: Aesthetic

Torpedo, The.

Note: Frank. A Kendall, printer and ed.
Note: Listed in Donnelly. No further information available.
Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Truth in Boston, The.

Boston: Truth Association.
Weekly. No. 1, Dec 21, 1895- no. 22, May 16, 1896.

Note: “Tell truth and shame the devil.”
Holdings: Yale; Harvard; U of Massachusetts, Amherst; U New Mexico; New York State Library.
Type: Periodical of protest

Twilight.

San Francisco, CA.
Monthly, illustrated. No. 1, May 1898 – no. 2, June 1898.
Note: Yone Noguchi, M. Takahashi, eds.
Holdings: Huntington; Harvard; Princeton; New York State Library.
Type: Aesthetic

Two-cent Monthly.

New York.
Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Dec. 1896.
Note: “A magazine for the million.”
Note: Not in OCLC
Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Two Penny Classics.

Chicago.
Quarterly. 5 ¾ x 3 ¾. Vol. 1, no. 1 April 1901.
Note: Not in OCLC
Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Uriel.

Boston: The Cabbalistic Publishing Co.
Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, Aug. 1895.
Note: Naphtali Herz Imber, ed.
Holdings: U California, Berkeley; Jewish theological Seminary of America
Note: “A monthly magazine devoted to cabalistic science.”
Type: Miscellaneous (spiritual)

Valley Magazine, The.

St Louis, MO.

1902-1907.

Note: William Marion Reedy, ed.

Holdings: U Michigan; Missouri Historical Museum; St. Louis Public Library; U Missouri, St Louis; Princeton; U Texas Austin.

Type: Unknown

Vandal, The.

Pittsburgh, PA.

Vol. 1, no. 1 (?) – Vol. 1, no. 2 April 1900.

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Unknown

Vanguard.

Green Bay, WI.

Monthly. Vol. 1. No. 1, Nov. 1902 – vol. 6, no. 12, Oct. 1908.

Type: Miscellaneous (Socialism; socialism and religion)

Vanity Fair: A Whim

Note: E. J Hulse, printer and ed.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No further information available

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Varied Year, The.

Note: Edith Miniter, printer and ed.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No further information available.

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Villa de Laura Times.

Chicago.

Irregular. 1898?-?

Note: Linden D. Dey, ed.

Note: "A magazinelet of literary and opinion originality by Linden D. Dey of Chicago, Illinois."

Holdings: Yale

Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Washingtonian, The.

Washington, DC.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, June 1897 – vol. 1, no. 6, Nov. 1897.

Note: "An illustrated monthly magazine."

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Miscellaneous (general monthly)

Wayside Tales.

Detroit, MI.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1 Aug. 1901 – May 1903.

Note: "short stories of interest, ranging from three to five thousand words."

Note: Previous title – Detroit Monthly (1899-1901)

Note: Not in OCLC

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Westminster Chap Book.

Franklin, IN: Westminster Press

Monthly, illustrated. Book 1, part 1 June 1902 – Book 1, part 2 Aug. 1902.

Note: William M. Voris, pub.

Holdings: Yale; Columbia; New York State Library; Ohio State U

Type: Aesthetic

Wet Dog, The.

Boston: Wet Dog Publishing Co.

Weekly. No. 1, 15 Feb 1896 – no. 5, 14 March 1896.

Note: "A paper for people with money to burn. Boston's brightest, best, and biggest circulated weekly."

Note: Not in OCLC.

Type: Unknown

What to Eat.

Minneapolis, MN: Pierce and Pierce.

Monthly, illustrated. Book 1, no. 1, Aug. 1896 – vol. 25, 1908.

Note: “An authority upon foods, cooking, serving, table decoration and furnishings.”

Note: Succeeding title – National Food Magazine

Type: Miscellaneous (domestic; food)

What's the Use?

East Aurora, NY: Society for the Propagation of Decency

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 June 1901 – vol. 1, no. 6, Nov. 1901; vol. 2, no 1, March 1903 – ?

Note: “Printed occasionally for the society for the propagation of decency.”

Holdings: U Michigan; Princeton; U Virginia

Type: Miscellaneous (single-tax)

Whim, The.

Newark, NJ.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Feb. 1901 – vol. 8, Jan 1905.

Note: “A periodical without a tendency, published ever and anon, or say once a month.”

Note: Ernest H. Crosby and Benedict Prieth, eds.

Note: Absorbed by The Papyrus

Type: Aesthetic; periodical of protest

Whims.

New York: The Whims Co.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Jan 1896 – vol. 2, no. 3, Sept 1896.

Type: Aesthetic

Whisper, The.

East Aurora, NY: L. H. Kinder

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 June 1901 – vol. 1, no 11 April 1902.

Note: L. H. Kinder, ed.

Note: “A magazine of brief practical suggestions for bookbinders.”

Holdings: Toronto Public Library; Boston U;

U Michigan Library; Grolier Club; Morgan

Library; Rochester Institute of Technology;

U Rochester; Huntington; Ransom Center.

Type: Miscellaneous (book binding)

White Elephant, The.

New York: F Tousey.

Monthly. No. 7, Dec 1896 – no. 16, Sept. 1897.

Note: First six nos. called Poker Chips.

Note: “A monthly magazine of original stories.”

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

White Owl, The.

Philadelphia, PA.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Dec. 1901 – vol. 1, no. 7 June 1902.

Note: “A magazine of tip-top tales.”

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

White Rabbit, The.

Oberlin and Norwalk, OH: White Rabbit Publishing Co.

Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1897 – vol. 1, no. 4, July 1897.

Note: “A monthly magazine of short stories by known authors.”

Holdings: Princeton; Oberlin College Library.

Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Why?

Cedar Rapids, IA: F. Vierth
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1, March 1898 – vol. 6,
 no. 2, Feb. 1903.
 Note: “A single-tax periodical.”
 Holdings: Newberry
 Type: Miscellaneous (single-tax)

Wild Rose, The.

Cleveland, OH.
 1904 (2 issues).
 Note: Samuel Loveman, ed.
 Type: Aesthetic

Wilshire's Magazine.

New York; Toronto
 Monthly. Nov. 1901-Feb. 1915.
 Note: Gaylord Wilshire, ed.
 Note: Not in Faxon
 Note: Preceded by the Challenge
 Type: Miscellaneous (Socialist)

Woman Cyclist.

Chicago.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, May 1896.
 Note: “her book.”
 Note: “Devoted to the lady of the wheel and
 kindred sports.”
 Note: Not in OCLC
 Type: Miscellaneous (cycling)

World, The.

Note: Listed in Donnelly. No other
 information available
 Type: Aesthetic (amateur)

Writer, The.

Boston.
 1887-ongoing.
 Note: W. D. Kennedy, ed.
 Note: “A monthly magazine for literary
 workers.”
 Type: Literary (trade)

Yahoo.

St. Louis, MO.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 Aug. 1903 – vol. 1,
 no. 4 Nov. 1903.
 Holdings: New York State Library
 Type: Unknown

Yellow Book, The.

New York: Howard, Ainslee, and Co.
 Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 10, Aug.
 1897 – no. 15 (vol. 2, no. 1), Jan. 1898.
 Note: First nine numbers called “Yellow
 Kid.” (Faxon)
 Note: Succeeding title, “Ainslee’s
 Magazine.” (OCLC)
 Holdings: Library of Congress; Yale; U
 Illinois; Syracuse U.
 Type: Miscellaneous (general monthly)

Yellow Dog, The.

Chicago, IL: Yellow Dog Publishing Co.
 Monthly. Vol. 1, no. 1 April 1901.
 Note: “Look at Me! Well?”
 Note: “A monthly short story magazine.”
 Holdings: Princeton
 Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Yellow Kid, The.

New York: Howard, Ainslee, and Co.
 Semimonthly and monthly, illustrated. Vol.
 1, no. 1, 20 March 1897 – vol. 1, no. 9, July
 1897.
 Note: “A semi-monthly of wit, fiction and
 illustration.”
 Note: “A fortnightly of art, fiction, and
 illustration.”
 Type: Miscellaneous (story magazine)

Young Folks' World, The.

Denver, CO: Chapin Pub. Co.

Monthly, illustrated. Vol. 1, no. 1, Nov.
1896 – 1897?.

Holdings: Colorado Historical Society
Library; Colorado Newspaper Project,
Colorado Historical Society.

Type: Unknown