JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY'S EDITORIAL PRACTICES 1911-1927

by

BRITTANY MARIE MOSTER

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Department of English Literature
School of English, Drama and Creative Studies
College of Arts and Law
University of Birmingham
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ABSTRACT

This thesis tracks the editorial development of John Middleton Murry (1889-1957), a prolific writer of criticism, fiction, and poetry, and the editor of some of the twentieth century's most influential artistic and literary magazines. Five of them are examined in this thesis: *Rhythm* (1911-1913), the *Blue Review* (1913), the *Signature* (1915), the *Athenaeum* (1919-1921), and the *Adelphi* (1923-1927). This thesis aims to reinsert Murry into the modernist dialogue by affirming both the importance of editorships to periodical studies and the influence of his editorial practices on twentieth-century art and literature. The thesis highlights his developing editorial aptitude and the influence he wielded as a magazine editor. Chapter 1 examines *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature*. During these early editorships, he learned many of the techniques that would become identifying features of his editorial career, such as methods of interacting with his audiences. Chapter 2 tracks his editorship of the literary review the *Athenaeum* and examines the ways in which he transformed the struggling review into a critical success, in spite of suggestions by scholars that his editorship was a failure. Chapter 3 addresses the first four years of Murry's editorship of the *Adelphi*, the magazine he founded in 1923 to combat the mechanistic and, in his opinion, inaccessible nature of literary criticism. While Murry's seemingly sudden turn from a well-respected critic to an anti-critical editor shocked many of his fellow writers, this thesis demonstrates how his desire to make literature and art more accessible was evident throughout his editorial career and was refined as his editorial confidence increased. Examining Murry's editorial development alongside the cultural and personal motivations for his decisions, this thesis delivers the only book-length editorial study of one of the most overlooked figures of twentieth-century literature while drawing attention to the value of editorial studies, and of Murry's editorships in particular, to periodical modernism.

For Mom

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The archives at City, University of London, London, UK

The D. H. Lawrence Collections at the University of Nottingham, Nottingham, UK

The University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Edinburgh, UK

The *Blue Mountain Project* database

The *Modernist Journals Project* database

The *ProQuest* online newspaper database

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

These abbreviations are used only in the footnotes of this thesis, not in the text.

WORKS

The Letters and Journals of Katherine Mansfield: A Selection, ed. by C. K. Stead (London: Allen Lane, 1977)	*Letters and Journals of KM*
The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield, ed. by C. A. Hankin (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1983)	*Letters of JMM to KM*
John Middleton Murry, *Between Two Worlds: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1935)	*BTW*
John Middleton Murry, 'Coming to London – VIII', *London Magazine*, 3.7 (1 July 1956), 30–37	'CtL'

ARCHIVES

Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand	ATL
University of Edinburgh Special Collections, Edinburgh, UK	UESC

AUTHOR'S NOTE

This thesis makes use of a number of contributions to John Middleton Murry's edited periodicals as well as those in contemporary and competing periodicals, including the *New Age*, the *English Review*, the *Little Review*, the *London Mercury*, the *TLS*, the *New Statesman*, and the *Spectator*. The contributions to these periodicals discussed in this thesis in the context of periodical comparisons or market competition are cited individually in the footnotes and are not listed in the bibliography.

It should be noted that particularly in Chapter 2, the author has attributed Murry's name to several anonymous contributions in the *Athenaeum*. The marked copies of the review housed in the City, University of London Archives and Special Collections confirm Murry's authorship of these articles, and his name appears in brackets in the footnote entries for these to indicate that they were originally published anonymously.

INTRODUCTION:

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY AND 'THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH'

In 1929, John Middleton Murry (1889-1957) wrote a letter to a former subscriber to his magazine the *New Adelphi*. This letter highlights the concerns that Murry (Fig. 1), a peripheral modernist figure whose editorial techniques this thesis examines in light of their value to modernist periodical studies, had about the survival of his periodical, the duty of its readers, and his own responsibility as an editor, as well as about the financial, social, and moral contexts in which his magazine was situated.

> Dear Sir,
>
> I am sorry to learn that you have not renewed your subscription to 'The New Adelphi'.
>
> May I urge one consideration upon you? This is an age of ever-increasing commercialisation of the press, in which it becomes ever more difficult to found or to keep in being a truly independent journal of any kind. Independence is impossible when journals are conducted primarily as dividend-paying enterprises, and not as organs for the pursuit of truth. Truth has never been a popular commodity, nor the pursuit of it a popular enterprise. In journalism less to-day than ever before.
>
> I venture to think that if you reflect on this position, you may agree that your support of a magazine like 'The New Adelphi' should not be withdrawn simply because it happens to have expressed views with which you are not in agreement. You may have other reasons for not renewing your subscription, of which I should be glad to be informed. But whatever they are I ask you to reconsider them in the light of what I have urged above: namely, that at a time when the pursuit of Truth in modern journalism is generally giving way to the pursuit of profit and power, a journal wholly devoted to the former has a just claim to your continued support.
>
> Yours very truly,
>
> J. M. Murry[1]

This letter is a fitting introduction to Murry's editorial voice, the hallmarks of which include personal addresses to the reader, aggrandised understandings of his periodicals, and references to morality to sway his audience. All of these traits, which will be addressed in detail in the three chapters of this thesis, provide insight into Murry's editorial development

[1] Letter from John Middleton Murry to an unknown recipient, 23 January 1929, University of Edinburgh Special Collections (UESC), MS 2515.

as well as his awareness of the larger cultural concerns of early twentieth-century writers and artists. This thesis contends that these concerns and the ways in which Murry shapes his periodicals in order to address them justify his importance as a central modernist figure, and justify the study of editorships as a unique and valuable source of knowledge in periodical studies.

Throughout his editorial career, Murry interacted with his audiences in a number of ways. Sometimes, as he is in the *New Adelphi* letter, he is cajoling, pressuring his readers to contribute financially, through correspondence, or by encouraging their friends to subscribe to Murry's periodicals. Often, he uses moral concepts to justify the demands he places upon his readers, in the same way that he employs 'truth' in the letter above, in order to elevate the moral and intellectual value of his periodical, and to highlight its uniqueness in a world which is inundated with what he calls 'dividend-paying enterprises' like the popular press. Murry was forthcoming about the financial instability of his periodicals in order to garner enough monetary support to maintain his publications, an unusual editorial trait in a modernist climate which, as Joyce Piell Wexler writes, 'was rooted in an ideological contradiction between art and money'.[2] Murry's preoccupation with money, manifested in his willingness to print advertisements in his magazines and ask his audiences for financial support, indicates one of the ways in which he was different from the editors of other modernist periodicals, a topic which will be discussed in more detail in the 'Murry in Context and on the Fringe' section of this introduction. However, his public pleas likely contributed to others viewing him as T. S. Eliot did: writing to his mother in 1921, Eliot called Murry 'a man of weak character and great vanity […] I think he loves both money and being a public figure'.[3] As a magazine editor, Murry certainly was a 'public figure', and this thesis examines

[2] Joyce Piell Wexler, *Who Paid for Modernism? Art, Money, and the Fiction of Conrad, Joyce, and Lawrence* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 1997), p. xii.
[3] Letter from T. S. Eliot to his mother, 22 January 1921, in *The Letters of T. S. Eliot I: 1898-1922*, ed. by Valerie Eliot (London: Faber and Faber, 1988), p. 433.

how his perceptions of his duty to his readers were manifested through his editorial practices and were influenced by the wider periodical climate of the early twentieth century.

Murry's critical and social views progressed alongside, and likely because of, his editorships, providing insight into his reactions to the societal changes of early twentieth-century Britain. This thesis examines these mutual developments by evaluating five key modernist periodicals in chronological order of Murry's role as their editor: *Rhythm* (1911-1913), the *Blue Review* (1913), the *Signature* (1915), the *Athenaeum* (1919-1921), and the *Adelphi* (1923-1927). This thesis makes use of the criticism Murry published in these magazines as well as a selection of his other contributions, some of which were written under pseudonyms, to assess his understandings of his critical and editorial identity and to provide evidence of his editorial progression. Reading his editorials and criticism alongside his personal writings reveals his anxieties about, intentions for, and awareness of his periodicals, providing a fuller understanding of the complexities of twentieth-century print culture and, crucially, of the power of magazines and their editors to influence their publics. This study encourages a unique reading of these five magazines, highlighting the ways in which Murry's experiences editing earlier periodicals influenced his editorship of later ones and emphasising how his editorial development was due largely to societal influences, such as a post-World War I fear of mechanisation, which he increasingly used his magazines to combat.

Periodical studies, a phrase which Sean Latham and Robert Scholes use in their 2006 article 'The Rise of Periodical Studies' to describe a 'field [which] is particularly distinguished by its insistence on interdisciplinary scholarship as well as its aggressive use of digital media', are continually giving rise to new understandings of magazines and reviews, their contributors and editors, and the impact they continue to make on print culture.[4] This thesis takes into account Murry's role within these periodical contexts, examining his work

[4] Sean Latham and Robert Scholes, 'The Changing Profession – The Rise of Periodical Studies', *PMLA*, 121.2 (2006), 517–31 (p. 517).

within the context of individual periodical communities as well as within larger literary networks. His editorial choices provide unique insight into periodical competition in the early twentieth century, as well as into larger cultural anxieties, such as the unintellectual nature of the popular press and diminishing societal morality. Murry's belief in the ability of magazines to combat these intellectual, artistic, and social issues through their specific connections with their audiences makes his voice an important source of knowledge about the role of literary and artistic periodicals in interwar Britain. His growing recognition of his magazines' power to influence their publics, as evidenced through his changing editorial techniques and his increasingly socially-oriented editorial writings, further suggests that periodical studies require a reimagining in order to accommodate the more specific and thus far largely unexplored realm of editorial studies. This is a field that, as I hope this thesis will show, lends new and valuable insight into modernism through the exploration of previously silenced editorial voices such as Murry's.

Literature Review: Murry in Criticism

Murry's relationship with his periodicals has never been the subject of a book-length study, and this thesis aims to fill that critical gap. However, there are a number of published biographical works about Murry, in addition to works on Murry's criticism, his relationships with other modernist figures, and the magazines he edited. The most thorough Murry biography is *The Life of John Middleton Murry* (1959), written by his friend F. A. Lea at the request of Murry's fourth wife, Mary.[5] Another useful biographical source is Murry's autobiography, *Between Two Worlds* (1935), but the book only records his life through 1918, and the planned second part was never published. Comparatively recently, Murry's daughter Katherine published *Beloved Quixote: The Unknown Life of John Middleton Murry* (1986),

[5] F. A. Lea, *The Life of John Middleton Murry* (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1959), p. ix.

which focuses heavily on Murry's later life with his family. In addition to these single-study works on his life, there are others that, while not about Murry alone, provide useful biographical information and insight into his life and career. John Carswell's *Lives and Letters: A. R. Orage, Beatrice Hastings, Katherine Mansfield, John Middleton Murry, S. S. Koteliansky, 1906-1957* (1978) and Sydney Janet Kaplan's *Circulating Genius* (2010), for example, consider Murry's life and work within the context of specific modernist networks, allowing for a fuller understanding of his personal and professional relationships and influences. In these works, his contribution to literature is largely viewed in light of his criticism. Ernest G. Griffin's *John Middleton Murry* (1969) examines Murry's literary career slightly more broadly, considering him to be a journalist in addition to a critic; notably, however, Griffin's work does not mention Murry's editorial practices. Sharron Greer Cassavant's *John Middleton Murry: The Critic as Moralist* (1982) also focuses on Murry's critical output, highlighting his changing reception during his life alongside the moral concerns that became fundamental components of his writings. Like Griffin and Cassavant, I consider Murry's role as a critic to be hugely valuable to modernist studies; however, this thesis considers his role as an editor – a role which is largely unmentioned, and which has never been given precedence over his role as a critic – to be the most important facet of his professional identity, gaining him access to communities, knowledge, and experiences which his criticism alone could not.

The works listed above do not discuss Murry's editorships in any detail, but the rise of modernist periodical studies has led to works that do give more critical attention to his role as an editor. David Goldie's *A Critical Difference* (1998) examines the influences that Murry and T. S. Eliot had on each other as editors of literary magazines. Although Goldie's book focuses on the different critical ideas expressed by the two editors, it also highlights the importance of periodicals as platforms for the voices of their editors. Faith Binckes's

Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde (2010) also examines Murry's editorial intentions and practices through the lens of his first magazine, *Rhythm*. Most recently, Bridget Chalk's article 'John Middleton Murry and Ethical (Anti-) Modernism' (2019) explores Murry's emerging ethics through his edited periodicals. There are also a number of articles and chapters about the magazines he edited, which discuss, although in necessarily limited capacities, his editorial practices. These include Angela Smith's article on Katherine Mansfield and *Rhythm* (2003), Caroline Maclean's (2013) and Richard Cappuccio's (2014) work on Mansfield's Russian-inspired writings in *Rhythm*, Marysa Demoor's article about how Murry's experiences editing *Rhythm* influenced the *Athenaeum* (2009), Oscar Wellens's article on Murry's editorship of the *Athenaeum* (2001), and Leslie K. Hankins's (2004) and Nöelle Cuny's (2016) work on Iris Barry's contributions to the *Adelphi*.[6] These works all touch on Murry's editorial career, but their brevity highlights the need for a singular study of his magazines and the editorial practices that shaped them.

Examining Murry's voice through his editorships provides necessary focus to his long career and enormous productivity. In an *Observer* article published a few days after his death, his friend and colleague Richard Rees wrote 'that the critic who examines [Murry's] entire output, attempting to sift the ephemeral from the permanent, will have an onerous task'.[7] Illustrating Murry's prolific output and fluctuating reputation, Rees describes him as a 'literary critic and biographer; unorthodox religious and political thinker; there were times

[6] Angela Smith, 'Katherine Mansfield and "Rhythm"', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 21 (2003), 102–21; Caroline Maclean, 'Russian Aesthetics in Britain: Kandinsky, Sadleir, and *Rhythm*', in *Russia in Britain, 1880-1940: From Melodrama to Modernism*, ed. by Rebecca Beasley and Philip Ross Bullock (n.p.: University Press Scholarship Online, 2013). Oxford Scholarship Online ebook; Richard Cappuccio, 'Katherine Mansfield's Russian Mask: Boris Petrovsky and the Poetry of "Rhythm"', *Journal of New Zealand Literature*, 32.2 (2014), 182–202; Marysa Demoor, 'John Middleton Murry's Editorial Apprenticeships: Getting Modernist "Rhythm" into the *Athenaeum*, 1919-1921', *English Literature in Transition, 1880-1920*, 52.2 (2009), 123–43; Oscar Wellens, '"The Brief and Brilliant Life of *The Athenaeum* under Mr. Middleton Murry" (T. S. Eliot)', *Neophilologus*, 85 (2001), 137–52; Leslie K. Hankins, 'Iris Barry, Writer and Cineaste, Forming Film Culture in London 1924-1926: The *Adelphi*, the *Spectator*, the Film Society, and the British *Vogue*', *Modernism/modernity*, 11.3 (2004), 488–515; Nöelle Cuny, 'Gender, the Demotic and the Cinema in the Early *Adelphi* (1923-1924): The Iris Barry Moment', *Etudes britanniques contemporaines*, 50 (2016) < https://journals.openedition.org/ebc/3080?lang=en> [accessed 13 November 2018].

[7] Richard Rees, 'John Middleton Murry', The *Observer*, 17 March 1957, p. 15 (p. 15).

when he enjoyed great success and influence, and others when he was unfashionable and neglected, but neither state of affairs had the slightest perceptible effect upon his activities'.[8] As was the case during his life, Murry's works after his death have experienced phases of popularity, and his vast output, as Rees points out, has made it difficult to know how best to categorise and comment upon his works. His subject areas, too, were varied. In the five periodicals discussed in this thesis, Murry's topics range from play reviews to Jesus to films to Renoir, and his various writings for his periodicals were published under his name, his title 'The Editor', and at least three pseudonyms.[9] The digital accessibility of most of his periodicals has allowed for more focussed studies of his magazines, and thanks to the *Modernist Journals Project*, the *Blue Mountain Project*, and *ProQuest*'s digital newspaper database, it is now possible to examine his immense editorial output within the particular framework of the magazines he edited.

Villains and Heroes

One component of Murry's life that will not be discussed at length in this thesis is his personal relationship with Mansfield, except for when their correspondence reveals insight into his editorial experiences. One reason for this is that the personal and professional influences she had on Murry, and he on her, have already been examined extensively. Helen McNeish's *Passionate Pilgrimage: A Love Affair in Letters* (1976), a collection of Mansfield's letters to Murry, and C. A. Hankin's two collections, *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield* (1983) and *Letters Between Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry* (1988), are key examples of the ways in which Murry's writings have been presented in the context of Mansfield's. There are several editions of Mansfield's

[8] Ibid.
[9] John Middleton Murry, 'The Two Joans', The *Adelphi,* 1.12 (May 1924), 1043–50; The Editor [Murry], 'Poetry and Prayer', The *Adelphi,* 4.7 (January 1927), 403–12; [Murry] 'A New System', The *Athenaeum,* 30 May 1919, pp. 389–90; M. [Murry], 'Auguste Renoir (1841-1919)', The *Athenaeum*, 12 December 1919, pp. 1329–30.

letters, the first of which, *The Letters of Katherine Mansfield* (1928), was edited by Murry himself, but there is no published collection of Murry's private correspondence except in response to Mansfield's. Kaplan's *Circulating Genius* and Carswell's *Lives and Letters* also examine him in the context of other modernist figures, including Mansfield and D. H. Lawrence. His turbulent relationships with them, and the negative impact those relationships had on his reputation, have likely contributed to the lack of individual attention given to him in recent criticism. Margaret M. Jenson's *The Open Book* (2002) states that 'Murry's serial idolatry of other writers, Lawrence, Hardy, and Mansfield among them, seems, ironically, to have denied him the place in literary tradition that each of them have secured'.[10] Similarly, Griffin writes that as a

> friend of D. H. Lawrence and the husband of Katherine Mansfield, Murry has not only been underestimated for his own contribution to literature, but has been adversely, even bitterly, criticized for not being the friend or the husband he should have been.[11]

Certainly, Murry has been condemned for his treatment of Mansfield during her life and for his questionable handling of her writings after her death. In *Katherine Mansfield: A Secret Life* (1987), Claire Tomalin alludes to the desire for fame that Eliot recognised in Murry. She writes:

> For Murry, everything in life had to be turned into literature; even his feeling for Katherine was an occasion for self-congratulation because it interested (supposedly) the members of a new, distinguished group of people to whom he had been introduced.[12]

[10] Margaret M. Jensen, *The Open Book: Creative Misreadings in the Works of Selected Modern Writers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), p. 90.
[11] Ernest G. Griffin, *John Middleton Murry* (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1969), p. 21.
[12] Claire Tomalin, *Katherine Mansfield: A Secret Life* (London: Viking, 1987; repr. Penguin, 1988), p. 141.

In *Katherine Mansfield, the Story-Teller* (2010), Kathleen Jones also discusses Murry's public image in relation to Mansfield. Jones writes about him preparing Mansfield's papers for publication, noting that 'The editorial process seemed designed to soften and smooth, for public consumption, a relationship that had often been anything but'.[13] C. K. Stead, the editor of *The Letters and Journals of Katherine Mansfield: A Selection* (1977), corroborates this view, but provides a less overtly condemnatory assessment of the situation. Stead writes:

> Murry's promotion of his wife's literary remains brought him royalties and opprobrium, and increased her fame […] He transcribed, edited and wrote commentaries tirelessly but in a way which encouraged a sentimental, and sometimes a falsely mystical, interest in her talent […] He was accused of making capital out of her death. He antagonized many people previously well-disposed towards her writing and perhaps ensured something of a reaction against it at the same time that he was making it more widely known. Finally, by publishing more and more of his wife's private papers revealing tensions in the marriage, Murry cast himself publicly in the role of the husband who had failed her.[14]

As discussed in Chapter 3 of this thesis, Murry's literary reputation suffered after Mansfield's death, largely due to the anti-elitist position he assumed in the *Adelphi*. His apparent mishandling of her work contributed to his already-declining status in the literary world, resulting in Mansfield's work being celebrated in recent scholarship while Murry's has been largely overlooked. Whether or not he 'failed' Mansfield will not be interrogated in this thesis; however, it is crucial to note that his work has been closely associated with hers and that in this study, her influence on him will only be discussed in the context of his editorial practices.

Rather than focussing on Murry's relationships with figures such as Mansfield and Lawrence, this thesis emphasises the ways in which the two writers impacted his editorial

[13] Kathleen Jones, *Katherine Mansfield the Story-Teller* (Edinburgh: Ferber Jones Ltd., 2010), p. 313.
[14] C. K. Stead, 'Introduction', in *The Letters and Journals of Katherine Mansfield: A Selection*, ed. by C. K. Stead (London: Allen Lane, 1977), 9–20 (p. 11). Hereafter *Letters and Journals of KM*.

decisions. Their influences are evident in his personal writings, as well. In 1930, in his private journal, Murry writes that since his published works on Mansfield and Lawrence were nearly finished, 'there doesn't seem any reason why I should not die fairly soon […] it struck me that I hadn't really much more to do'.[15] He compares the way he felt when the two writers were alive to his feelings about his life in 1930, writing, 'I had something to do, with them. Now, I don't feel I have anything to do, with anybody'.[16] Several months later, he revisits the same topic: 'The only positive evidence that I might be important is that Katherine & Lawrence both needed me'.[17] He was prone to what Tomalin calls 'hero-worship', and the first to point it out was Murry himself.[18] In *Beloved Quixote*, his daughter quotes from his 1935 journal, in which he discusses his renewed interest in Wordsworth, writing:

> It's one of the things which (I think) does distinguish me from the worst of my contemporaries, that I have a tremendous desire to *admire*. To have yet another hero is perhaps as exciting a thing as can possibly happen to me.[19]

Mansfield and Lawrence were two of Murry's greatest literary heroes, and he devoted much of his professional life to commemorating theirs. The *Adelphi*'s first issue appeared with a photo of Mansfield at the front (see Fig. 16) and her work was published in the magazine for years. He published *D. H. Lawrence* in 1930; *Son of Woman, the Story of D. H. Lawrence* in 1931; and *Reminiscences of D. H. Lawrence* in 1933. Also in 1933, he published *The Life of Katherine Mansfield* with Ruth Elvish Mantz. Of all the heroes in Murry's life – some others were Keats, Shakespeare, and Jesus – Mansfield and Lawrence had the largest impact on his

[15] Journal entry, 26 April 1930, 'Diary 1930-1933', Wellington, the Alexander Turnbull Library (ATL), MSX-4148.
[16] Ibid. Emphasis in original.
[17] Journal entry, 30 October 1930, ATL, MSX-4148.
[18] Tomalin, p. 97.
[19] Qtd. in Katherine Middleton Murry, *Beloved Quixote: The Unknown Life of John Middleton Murry* (London: Souvenir Press, 1986), p. 136.

editorial decisions. As discussed in Chapter 2, Mansfield's conversations with Murry about marketing the *Athenaeum* were likely the impetus for several changes he made to the review during his editorship. Lawrence, too, influenced his editorial practices, beginning with his pacifist leanings in the *Signature* and culminating with Murry's insistence in the *Adelphi* that he was only standing in as editor 'for a better man'.[20] He believed that 'better man' to be Lawrence, who, in spite of his friend's efforts to involve him, never took over the *Adelphi*, leaving to Murry the title which this thesis maintains is the most undervalued one that he held during his life and one of the most overlooked in periodical studies: editor.

Editorial Practice in Periodical Context

Latham and Scholes write that 'Periodicals […] are by their nature collaborative objects, assembled in complex interactions between editors, authors, advertisers, sales agents, and even readers'.[21] This thesis emphasises the importance of the first of these – editors – by linking together five magazines through the singular lens of Murry's editorial development. Murry has been labelled many things – a critic, writer, journalist, lecturer, man of letters – but he is rarely called an editor.[22] This fact is a symptom of a larger gap in modernist studies, which Matthew Philpotts identifies as the 'lack of a formalized conceptualization of the editorial role that might act as a platform for serious comparative and typological research'.[23] Taking into consideration the fact that most of Murry's life was spent editing periodicals, this thesis is a necessary step towards righting this absence.

Philpotts's article 'The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus' (2012) highlights the necessity of viewing Murry's editorial practices, at least to a

[20] John Middleton Murry, 'The Cause of It All', The *Adelphi*, 1.1 (June 1923), 1–11 (p. 9).
[21] Latham and Scholes, p. 529.
[22] Lea, p. x; Griffin, p. 23; and David Goldie, *A Critical Difference: T. S. Eliot and John Middleton Murry in English Literary Criticism, 1919-1928* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 1.
[23] Matthew Philpotts, 'The Role of the Periodical Editor: Literary Journals and Editorial Habitus', *The Modern Language Review*, 107.1 (January 2012), 39–64 (p. 40).

certain extent, in light of his other writings. Specifically, he attributes Murry's success as editor of the *Athenaeum* to his 'training and experience as a highly regarded literary critic', and draws attention to the 'remarkable strength of editorial purpose' evident in each of Murry's editorships.[24] Philpotts's focus, however, is not on Murry individually; rather, he assesses editorship more broadly, determining that editing a periodical

> demands a diverse range of often conflicting dispositions: intellectual and literary; economic and managerial; social and personal. The ideal editor is not only a poet and professional, but also a politician and profiteer, a prophet and a publicist; less a double personage than a multiple personage.[25]

This description of editorial success is entirely applicable to Murry, who used his often-criticised and uncomfortably confessional voice to make himself a 'prophet' to his audiences. In fact, the word 'prophet' was used to describe him on more than one occasion, as will be discussed in the chapters of this thesis. In order to provide the fullest picture of an editor with such necessarily diverse skills, roles, and motivations, this thesis makes use of a range of sourcing, including Murry's personal writings, reviews, and criticism. Reading these sources in light of his editorships provides insight into the development of his ideas from private pages to published print, and they reveal his increasing interest in morality and community as he reacted to the changing post-War society in which he lived and wrote.

Philpotts's article is one example of how editorial practices are gaining more prominence in the field of modernist periodical studies. Another is Goldie's study of Murry and Eliot, which discusses the importance of the two critics' editorial roles and the debates that took place in their periodicals. Goldie points out that Murry's choice to publish monthly editorials in the *Adelphi* likely influenced Eliot's decision to introduce editorials to the

[24] Ibid., p. 47.
[25] Ibid., p. 61.

Criterion, illustrating how editorial practice could influence the editors of contemporary and competing periodicals.[26] Binckes also addresses competition in her study of *Rhythm*, examining the often-hostile dialogues between *Rhythm* and its weekly competitor the *New Age* and emphasising the influence of competition and the periodical market on editorial practice.[27]

This method of comparative mapping is helpful for tracing magazine networks, as has been effectively shown in Kate Campbell's edited collection *Journalism, Literature and Modernity: From Hazlitt to Modernism* (2000), Jason Harding's book *The Criterion: Cultural Politics and Periodical Networks in Inter-War Britain* (2002), and, most extensively, in the *Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines* (2009). The introduction to the first volume of the *Critical and Cultural History* provides a comparison of the advertising space in *Rhythm* and the *Adelphi*, which reveals the differences in the two magazines' financial situations and in Murry's willingness to engage with the commercial market.[28] The *Critical and Cultural History* introduction more widely focuses on the publishing contexts that can be revealed though the study of 'periodical codes', such as the space a magazine devotes to advertising and the cost per issue, while the larger volume explores the 'multiple relationships [that] shaped both individual magazines and groups of magazines in the dialogic network of modern art and ideas'.[29] The chronological arrangement of the volume's sections encourages a comparative reading of magazines that were published in similar periods, highlighting how a magazine's identity could be shaped by competition and editorial rivalry.

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[26] Goldie, pp. 93, 95.
[27] See Faith Binckes, *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 30–31.
[28] Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, 'General Introduction', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, ed. by Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009-2013), I (2009), pp. 1–26 (p. 8).
[29] Ibid., pp. 8, 9.

Discussions of competition and rivalry also characterise scholarship about modernism and commercial culture, a topic about which Murry was particularly opinionated. As he does in his 1929 *New Adelphi* letter, he often presented his own periodicals as nobler publications than mass-market newspapers. Jean Chalaby's work on the English press assesses the financial motivations that demanded that 'In order to gain and keep readerships of several million, editors and journalists had to make the content of their newspapers as attractive as possible'.[30] These attractions included printing 'more illustrations, bolder headlines, and […] more sensational and emotional news', which contributed to the fear that newspapers were harmfully democratising the reading public.[31] Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier, in the introduction to their edited collection *Transatlantic Print Culture* (2008), sum up the concerns of many modernist writers and artists: 'Was mass publication producing – or pandering to – a public unfit for self-governance and inattentive to serious literature? What, if anything, was to be the role of the arts in a print-saturated, democratic society?'[32] These are the sorts of questions addressed by Murry, particularly in his *Athenaeum* editorials, in which he glorifies the intellectual's 'aristocracy of the spirit' in contrast to the mechanistic nature of the news journalist.[33] His use of the word 'aristocracy' and his discussions of the contrasting 'herd' are representative of a larger concern with the rise of an unintellectual reading public, which is addressed in Chapter 2.[34]

This thesis also engages with recent scholarship about modernism and the market, particularly Mark S. Morrisson's *The Public Face of Modernism* (2001), Joyce Piell Wexler's *Who Paid for Modernism?* (1997), and Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt's *Marketing*

[30] Jean Chalaby, 'Twenty Years of Contrast: The French and British Press During the Inter-War Period', *European Journal of Sociology*, 37.1 (1996), pp. 143–59 (p. 148).
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier, 'Introduction', in *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880-1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, ed. by Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 1–12 (p. 2).
[33] [Murry] 'Prologue', The *Athenaeum*, 4 April 1919, pp. 129–31 (p. 131).
[34] [Murry] 'Thin Ice', The *Athenaeum*, 30 July 1920, p. 133 (p. 133).

Modernisms: Self-Promotion, Canonization, and Rereading (1996). All of these works interrogate the view that, as Terry Eagleton writes in his 1985 article 'Capitalism, Modernism and Postmodernism', 'Modernism is […] a strategy whereby the work of art resists commodification, holds out by the skin of its teeth against those social forces which would degrade it to an exchangeable object'.[35] Eagleton, Andreas Huyssen in *After the Great Divide* (1986), and Lawrence Rainey in *Institutions of Modernism* (1998) all question the over-simplistic modernism-hates-market paradigm, proposing instead that modernism is largely, as Eagleton writes, a 'contradiction' due to its will to resist the market and its inability to succeed in doing so.[36] Rainey explains further that 'Modernism marks neither a straightforward resistance nor an outright capitulation to commodification but a momentary equivocation that incorporates elements of both in a brief, necessarily unstable synthesis'.[37] Morrisson, Wexler, and Dettmar and Watt go one step further, illustrating how modernists were, to use Dettmar and Watt's phrase, 'deeply complicitous' in the mass market by borrowing tactics from the commercial press in order to promote their own work, including their periodicals.[38] John Xiros Cooper's book *Modernism and the Culture of Market Society* (2004) goes further still, suggesting that rather than being 'complicitous' in the mass market, the modernists created a market of their own. Cooper writes, 'Modernism, to put it bluntly, *is*, and always has been, the culture of capitalism', although, he acknowledges, its artists and writers were not necessarily aware of it at the time.[39] Rather, Cooper explains,

[35] Terry Eagleton, 'Capitalism, Modernism, and Postmodernism', *New Left Review* (1985), 60–73 (p. 67).
[36] Ibid.
[37] Lawrence Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), p. 3.
[38] Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt, 'Introduction', in *Marketing Modernisms: Self-Promotion, Canonization, and Rereading*, ed. by Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1996), pp. 1–13 (p. 6).
[39] John Xiros Cooper, *Modernism and the Culture of Market Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 23. Cambridge Core ebook.

> they often used their unique position in the new order of things to devise strategies by which the more corrosive and threatening aspects of that order could be kept at arm's length, or blocked, or used to further personal ends. In other words, the early modernists, who were themselves the direct products of market society, devoted all their considerable talents and intellects to the task of protecting themselves from the very beast that had given them birth.[40]

The liminal space that modernism inhabits between resisting and engaging with the commercial is perfectly illustrated in the unique positions that magazines occupy as bridges between art and the market and between the artistic elite and the public.

The complexities involved in maintaining a magazine's anti-market identity while necessarily employing market-driven tactics required periodical editors to fulfil a number of different roles, as Philpotts suggests when he writes that the successful editor must be both 'a prophet and a publicist'.[41] Claire Hoertz Badaracco's book *Trading Words: Poetry, Typography, and Illustrated Books in the Modern Literary Economy* (1995) illustrates this reality in a similar way. She writes that modernist

> [a]rtists discovered how to market their reputations just as magazines and newspapers used a writer's fame to boost circulation. The modern artist emerged from the joining of journalism and literature, psychology and realism, art and commerce; he or she was an artistic engineer, a scholar-publicist, a poet-businessperson.[42]

Murry, too, uses similar language in his first editorial in the *Adelphi*, when he recounts that, when starting the magazine, he had to be 'editor, press-agent, advertising man, and business manager rolled into one'.[43] Three years later, in an *Adelphi* contribution written under the

[40] Ibid., p. 29.
[41] Philpotts, p. 61.
[42] Claire Hoertz Badaracco, *Trading Words: Poetry, Typography, and Illustrated Books in the Modern Literary Economy* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 6.
[43] 'The Cause of It All', p. 4.

pseudonym The Journeyman, he writes similarly about an author who has been praised as being a 'new type of author – the novelist-business man'.[44] The fact that Murry's understandings of the literary market align with those of recent scholars reveals his voice to be one which can offer more insight into the realities of print culture than has been yet recognised.

Murry's engagement with the idea of 'the novelist-businessman' also reveals his ideas about periodical communities, which, this thesis contends, were fundamental to his understandings of his role as an editor. In 1926, he wrote that all 'men of letters' should 'aspire' to be novelist-businessmen, and he who does not 'drive the best bargain he can for what he has to sell is a fool and worse, a traitor to his tribe'.[45] Murry's use of the words 'traitor' and 'tribe' is typical of his understanding of writers as having a duty to their professions and their publics. Throughout his editorial career, he creates magazine communities in order to combat what he perceives to be dangerous social trends, such as mechanisation and declining morality. This thesis refers to Benedict Anderson's work on imagined communities, which is also the title of his 1983 book on the subject, to examine the ways in which Murry's editorial abilities enable him to successfully use his periodical communities to resist these perceived social dangers. Anderson writes that certain communities are '*imagined* because the members […] will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'.[46] He writes specifically about conceptions of nationhood, but precisely the same understandings can be applied to readerships. Eric Bulson, in his book *Little Magazine, World Form* (2017), also applies Anderson's concept to periodicals, writing that, in some cases, 'the little magazine functioned as a world form, a place where writers, readers, critics,

[44] The Journeyman [Murry], 'Three Famous Men', The *Adelphi*, 4.2 (August 1926), 120–25 (p. 121).
[45] Ibid.
[46] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 1983; repr. 2006), p. 6. ACLS Humanities ebook. Emphasis in original.

and translators could imagine themselves part of a global community'.[47] Similarly, in his book *Vernacular Voices* (1999), Gerard A. Hauser discusses newspapers as promoting a sense of community amongst their readers.[48] He emphasises the ability of language to encourage feelings of belonging in a reader, and that an audience's shared reading of certain words leads to 'intersubjective meanings', which in turn, Hauser writes, 'constitute a *we*'.[49] Anderson's and Hauser's theories of community will both be employed in this thesis to examine Murry's methods of community building through his editorial choices. Murry's developing editorial practices reveal that he increasingly understood the editor's role to be one of facilitation, delivering the magazine's content to the public and receiving the public's views in response. His development is demonstrated in part by the fact that his earliest magazine, *Rhythm*, has no place to print its audience's feedback, while the later *Athenaeum* adopts a correspondence section devoted to printing readers' letters. The *Adelphi* takes audience participation one step further, integrating the readers' voices into the magazine's content rather than setting them apart. This progression reveals Murry's growing desire for his audiences to actively participate in his magazine communities, and using his editorial voice to facilitate dialogue becomes a crucial part of how he views the social duty of his magazines and of himself as an editor.

'Whatever I am I'm not that sort': Murry in Context and on the Fringe

All his life, Murry existed, much like Rainey's description of modernism, 'perennially on the brink'.[50] During his life, he was excluded from the literary networks that may have made his name more recognised; since his death, he has been reduced to a peripheral modernist figure

[47] Eric Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), pp. 189–90. ProQuest ebook.
[48] Gerard A. Hauser, *Vernacular Voices: The Rhetoric of Publics and Public Spheres* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), p. 68.
[49] Ibid., p. 67. Emphasis in original.
[50] Rainey, p. 172.

defined by his relationships to others. This thesis aims to redeem Murry from his position on the brink of modernist studies before he disappears from them completely, and contends that the ways in which he differed from his contemporaries characterise his voice as a unique one which should be examined for the insights it provides into his practices as the editor of several key modernist periodicals.

During his life, Murry was disliked by many of his colleagues. Virginia and Leonard Woolf, the latter of whom submitted a story for publication in the *Blue Review* and both of whom wrote for the *Athenaeum*, found him 'personally distasteful', and Bertrand Russell, who also wrote for the *Athenaeum*, 'disliked' Murry's 'absurd arrogance'.[51] Carswell writes that these personal aversions resulted in Murry lingering 'on the edge of high intellectual society, never wholly admitted, and never, despite his intense application, able quite to sustain the high place in literature he felt impelled to claim'.[52] Another component of Murry's exclusion from the Bloomsbury group was his class. The son of a London clerk, Murry felt a fraud when others perceived him to be an Oxford-educated intellectual. Lea writes that 'The higher he rose in the social scale, the better he adapted himself outwardly to one milieu after another, the more of an imposter he would feel, the more rootless, the more homeless, the more complete an outsider'.[53] These feelings of isolation in part encouraged the creation of the *Adelphi*, and throughout his life they were likely a primary motivation for his work. In *Beloved Quixote*, his daughter writes:

[51] Alex Owen, 'The "Religious Sense" in a Post-War Secular Age', *Past & Present*, 1 (2006), 159–77 (p. 163); John Carswell, *Lives and Letters: A. R. Orage, Beatrice Hastings, Katherine Mansfield, John Middleton Murry, S. S. Koteliansky, 1906-1957* (London: Faber and Faber, 1978), p. 137.
[52] Carswell, p. 137.
[53] Lea, p. 9.

> If ever a man was elitist it was my father. It mattered not from what 'class' a person issued, he simply had to be the best: the best artisan, the best artist. The high standards he set for himself he naively thought he could discern in his followers.[54]

Murry's 'elitist' practices change over the course of his career, as revealed through his periodicals, shifting from an adherence to strict critical standards to a rejection of them as he came to view them as the defining features of what he perceived to be a mechanistic and harmfully selective form of literary journalism.

His editorial progression, and his use of his editorial position to promote certain social and moral values, is inextricably linked to his perceptions of himself as an artist. Murry's increasingly negative reception by many of his fellow writers aligns with his shift from artist and intellectual to ethical critic, and thus with his decreasing production of creative work in favour of literary and social criticism. Goldie writes that 'Murry began the post-war period with the critical world at his feet but ended it as something of a doormat', and, as Lea confirms, '[b]y 1933, his reputation had touched bottom'.[55] Carswell characterises him as being 'on the edge' of the Bloomsburies, publishing their writings in his periodicals but never included as a member of their group.[56] Murry himself attributed his estrangement from literary communities like the Bloomsburies to the fact that his sense of purpose was different from that of other writers. In the introduction to the collection of Murry's personal writings currently housed in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington, New Zealand, his son, Colin Middleton Murry, quotes from one of Murry's letters:

> I have the feeling that I have been completely outside the main stream of literature: that I don't 'belong' and indeed never have belonged. My concern has always been that of a moralist, and I have

[54] Katherine Middleton Murry, p. 132.
[55] Goldie, p. 2; Lea, p. 213.
[56] Carswell, p. 137.

> never been sufficient of the artist to be diverted from it. […] That distinguishes me, absolutely, from the Bloomsburies…[57]

However convinced Murry was later in life that he had 'never been sufficient of the artist' to overcome his moralist concerns, at the start of his career, he certainly considered himself to be one. For example, in a 1917 journal entry, Murry classifies himself 'As an artist', and writes, 'I would die if […] battle were being waged against a tyranny which would deny me the right to make poetry. No other battles concern me'.[58] However, Murry's creative writing was never commercially or critically successful, and his ultimate recognition that he would have to give it up in order to devote his time to more profitable pursuits, such as writing literary journalism and publishing books of criticism, is one of the ways in which his career reflects the financial struggles of many twentieth-century artists and writers.

Murry's private writings reveal that early in his career, before his editorship of the *Athenaeum*, his novel-in-progress and his poetry were his primary concerns. In a journal entry from 1914, Murry records that he writes his novel *Still Life*, which would be published in 1916, in the morning and 'do[es] some journalism' for the *Westminster Gazette* in the afternoon and evening.[59] By 1915, Murry sees the completion of his novel as a financial necessity, writing that it will 'allow me to be free' from relying upon book reviews for the Saturday *Westminster* for income.[60] Whether to write poetry also becomes a financial decision for Murry. In 1920, he writes to his friend Orlo Williams that he is 'more interested in writing poetry than criticism' but that, as editor of the *Athenaeum*, his 'time is precious'.[61] Two years later, he writes, 'I have a choice between poetry & the novel. Poetry is quite impossible. "Cinnamon & Angelica", for instance, was a complete failure […] Remains,

[57] Qtd. in Colin Middleton Murry's 'Introduction' (1983) to 'The Journals of J. Middleton Murry: "The Early Years" (1913-1923)', ATL, MS-Papers-11327-001.
[58] Journal entry, 9 April 1917, 'Journal 1913-1920 [ca 1930]', ATL, MSX-4147.
[59] Journal entry, 10 November 1914, ATL, MSX-4147.
[60] Journal entry, 14 May 1915, ATL, MSX-4147.
[61] Letter from Murry to Orlo Williams, 1 December 1920, UESC, MS2515.E91.38.

therefore, the novel'.[62] *Cinnamon and Angelica* was Murry's play, published in 1920 and reviewed negatively by Eliot in the *Athenaeum*; the novel to which he refers is *The Things We Are*, published in 1922.[63]

As discussed throughout this thesis, Murry's initial desires to publish creative writing which was worthy of critical praise eventually shifted into a rejection of the critical standards he once promoted. This transition would cement Murry's position at the periphery of the literary world. In his private writings, he often compares himself to writers he admires – he names Rupert Brooke, A. R. Orage, and Lawrence, among others – all of whom he encountered because of his position as an editor.[64] However, just as Murry was on the edge of the Bloomsbury Group, he was also at the fringes of the networks with which these writers were associated. Murry recorded in his journal that he could not make a name for himself as a poet in the same way that other writers did, writing in 1914, 'nowadays you have to be a bloody poet like Willie Yeats, or a rhymester like Rupert Brooke to catch on. Whatever I am I'm not that sort'.[65] Similarly, he bitterly recognised that Lawrence was more famous than him, writing in 1915 that 'I was not important enough. Though I feel important enough in myself, I realise that L. has at least more inward and outward importance than I'.[66] Murry's comparisons of himself to other writers emphasise the importance of a good literary reputation and Murry's apparent unwillingness to conform to the methods of other writers in order to gain one. As discussed in this thesis, he criticises writers who churn out work for critical praise without, in his opinion, producing anything of lasting value. In the *Blue Review* and the *Athenaeum*, Murry distinguishes such writers from those published in his own magazines to promote his publications as unique products. Murry was, even at the height of

[62] Letter from Murry to Williams, 12 May 1922, UESC, MS2515.E91.38.
[63] See T. S. E. [Eliot], 'The Poetic Drama', The *Athenaeum*, 14 May 1920, pp. 635–36.
[64] Journal entries, 16 February 1914, 30 March 1917, and 22 December 1914, ATL, MSX-4147.
[65] Journal entry, 16 February 1914, ATL, MSX-4147.
[66] Journal entry, 23 February 1915, 'Diaries and Poems, 1915-1919', ATL, MSX-4143.

his critical career, always at the edge of literary circles, and this thesis proposes that he learned to use his position on the edge to create new markets and appeal to new audiences.

At least in part, Murry's distinction from other editors is due to his rejection by them. Orage is one example. A critic and editor who, like Murry, had begun his own literary magazine, he is now considered, as Binckes notes, 'an almost legendary figure with whom the identity of the [*New Age*] is often conflated'.[67] However, Murry was not welcomed into Orage's circles, likely because Mansfield had left the *New Age* to write for *Rhythm*. In 1915, Murry wrote to Mansfield that Orage had refused his offer to meet, a response which he says was 'a slap in the eye […] No, Orage may be a brainy fellow, as he is, but he's not one of my kind. My kind don't, can't do things like that'.[68] Notably, Murry uses the language of an imagined community – 'my kind' – and morality – people like him 'don't, can't' perform such hurtful acts – to distinguish himself from others. He will employ the same tactics during his editorships to create communities and increase readership, and it is through tracing the development of techniques such as these that this thesis aims to reclaim Murry from the 'brink' of modernism. Through examining his editorial practices, this thesis holds that his career provides valuable insight into the networks, periodicals, and anxieties that define modernism, and that his role as editor provided him with the significant influence he exhibited in each of these areas.

The Private and the Public

Murry has often been criticised for being an overly personal writer, but this thesis values his personal and at times confessional style of writing for the insight it provides about twentieth-century anxieties about art and society. Cassavant writes that Murry was 'the most personal

[67] Binckes, p. 8.
[68] Letter from Murry to Katherine Mansfield, 22 March 1915, in *The Letters of John Middleton Murry to Katherine Mansfield*, ed. by C. A. Hankin (London: Constable and Company Limited, 1983), p. 48. Hereafter *Letters of JMM to KM*.

of critics and insisted that his life and his work must be seen as being of a piece'.[69] Accordingly, this thesis places particular importance on Murry's private voice as expressed in his journals and correspondence. These private sources provide a fuller understanding of him as an individual, lending insight into his understandings of the ideas about which he writes in his periodicals. He writes privately about his periodicals' financial situations, their advertisements, his own visions and anxieties for his magazines, and his changing understandings of art and morality. Therefore, this study engages heavily with Murry's private writings in order to trace his personal development that, in turn, facilitated his editorial development.

One topic that Murry addresses repeatedly in his private writings is that of being a public intellectual, revealing his ideas about editorial publicity and the magazine's ability to facilitate it. He writes in his journal in 1914, 'I need an audience […] It's no use denying it. I live a great deal upon being appreciated'.[70] In the *Signature*, he uses the metaphor of the stage and of standing in the blinding 'light of a thousand lamps' to emphasise his devotion to his duty as a critic.[71] Nearly a decade later, in the *Adelphi*, he compares his role as a magazine editor to a 'New Adventist preacher at the street-corner, trying to establish a new Church'.[72] It is likely that these self-aggrandising images of himself led to his being called during his lifetime 'the best-hated man of letters in the country', and the deeply personal nature of his public writings has prevented his reputation from improving after his death.[73]

His works are often difficult to categorise; they are not entirely spiritual, objectively critical, or strictly autobiographical, and it is perhaps this fluidity which makes Murry a

[69] Sharron Greer Cassavant, *John Middleton Murry: The Critic as Moralist* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1982), p. 5.
[70] Journal entry, 16 February 1914, ATL, MSX-4147.
[71] John Middleton Murry, 'There Was a Little Man, II', The *Signature*, 18 October 1915, pp. 19–28 (p. 26).
[72] John Middleton Murry, 'The Two Worlds', The *Adelphi*, 1.10 (March 1924), 859–66 (p. 865).
[73] Rayner Heppenstall, qtd. in Lea, p. 213. Sydney Janet Kaplan points out that this description comes from Heppenstall's book *Middleton Murry: A Study in Excellent Normality* (1934), from Kaplan, *Circulating Genius* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 11, n. 1. ProQuest ebook.

difficult subject of scholarship. Early in his career, his primary goal was to create praiseworthy poetry and criticism; however, as his critical and editorial careers progressed, his desire to be considered an artist and intellectual waned as his interest in art as a tool for promoting ethics and spirituality grew. This transition will be examined in this thesis in light of his development as an editor, and, as is evident in his writings, it reveals his shift not only towards his acceptance of himself as an 'emotional' – as he called himself – rather than a dispassionately intellectual critic and editor, but of the value he increasingly placed on the duties of the editor to create communities and promote societal morality.[74] His initial fears about his reception as un-intellectual are evident in a journal entry from 1914, in which 24-year-old Murry worries that his work will be received as a joke:

> Am I a bloody fool or a great writer in a cracked shell? Problem. It's hard to see how to attempt to solve the question […] Here's a wonderful spectacle of J.M.M [sic] sitting down trying to think out some essays for a book that's promised for 6 weeks from now – not an idea. The old ones seem just stupid and there aren't any new. Will people just laugh if they ever appear? or will they say Good God! A thinker! A critic! It might just as well be one as the other.[75]

The labels which Murry presents here – 'A thinker! A critic!' – display his focus on the mind and its importance in the creation of art, a theme about which he writes in *Rhythm* and the *Signature*. He also addresses the role of intellect in art during his editorship of the *Athenaeum*, although his writings from this time reveal that his thoughts on the subject were shifting. In a letter to Mansfield in 1919, he responds to Virginia Woolf calling him 'intellectual', writing:

[74] Letter from Murry to Mansfield, 23 November 1919, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 223.
[75] Journal entry, 16 February 1914, ATL, MSX-4147.

> Now that's pitifully wrong. Whatever I am I am not an intellectual critic at all […] If a work awakens a profound response in me, then I sit up and try to find what it is that is working on me. In other words I am an absolutely emotional critic. What may seem intellectual is only my method of explaining the nature of the emotion.[76]

While he was likely too attached to the idea of himself as an intellectual to ever abandon it completely, Murry's transition towards a less intellectually rigid understanding of literature and art is evident in his periodicals. Emotions, and the human connections they facilitate, became an important component of Murry's writing during his *Athenaeum* years, and it was precisely his desire for a 'profound response' – from his readers, from himself, and from society – that prompted Murry to begin the *Adelphi*, a magazine that, he writes, is first and foremost 'an assertion of […] faith'.[77] In his first *Adelphi* editorial, in which he expresses the desire to overcome his feelings of isolation and to work to bridge the 'gulf' between people, he writes, 'All this, I know, is the most frightful give-away. Above all for an editor'.[78] Murry makes an obvious effort in the *Adelphi* to involve his readers in the content of the magazine, and his personal, 'give-away' editorials are one way in which he breaks down the barrier between editor and audience. By sharing his personal reflections in his editorials, he proves that the *Adelphi* is a safe space in which a submission will be judged not for its adherence to critical standards, but for its emotional impact, and the inversion of typical critical standards evident in the *Adelphi* is a manifestation of Murry's embracing of the very thing which, as Ardis and Collier point out, most modernists opposed: artistic democratisation.[79] As discussed in Chapter 3, the *Adelphi* represents, for this thesis, the culmination of Murry's editorial knowledge, exhibiting how he used his magazine to promote individuality through the formation of a magazine community that, on the surface, seems to reject everything he

[76] Letter from Murry to Mansfield, 23 November 1919, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 223.
[77] 'The Cause of It All', p. 8.
[78] Ibid., pp. 3, 9.
[79] Ardis and Collier, p. 2.

had upheld during his previous editorships. His perceptions of his duty as an editor shift dramatically across his career, and this shift is evident through his editorial voice and practices.

Murry's 1929 letter to the former *New Adelphi* subscriber is another example of one of his 'frightful give-away[s]': in begging a reader to stay, he reveals himself and his periodical to be dependent upon the support of the reader.[80] However, Murry's characterisation of the *New Adelphi* as a bastion of 'truth' in a world overrun by the commercial press in turn characterises him as a seasoned editor who is not afraid to, as his younger self was, appear emotional rather than intellectual. This letter reveals his willingness to reach out to an individual reader and call upon that reader's sense of loyalty in order to support individuality and truth in a world which Murry perceives to value 'profit and power' above all else. By signing the letter with his own name, rather than his 'Editor' title, he aligns himself with his readers, those who have a duty, he writes, to 'support […] a magazine like "The New Adelphi"' in order to combat the commercial press and to promote human connection in an increasingly mechanistic world.

Methodology

This thesis examines Murry's editorial career from 1911, with the start of *Rhythm*, to 1927 and the end of the *Adelphi*'s fourth year of publication, before it changed its name to the *New Adelphi* and became a quarterly rather than a monthly. *Rhythm* was Murry's first edited periodical, making 1911 the logical starting place for a study of his editorial career. This thesis ends in 1927 for practical reasons: the *Adelphi* lasted for over thirty years, and could not be examined in full in this thesis. Ending this study with the *Adelphi*'s transition from a monthly to a quarterly allows Chapter 3 to more closely match the timespans of the editorial

[80] 'The Cause of It All', p. 9.

periods discussed in Chapters 1 and 2. Further, the *Adelphi* eventually developed into a politically and socially opinionated periodical. Its first four years are largely exempt from its later political leanings, allowing Chapter 3 to focus more on Murry's practices as the editor of a literary, rather than a political, periodical and providing a stronger focus for the thesis.

This thesis uses an inductive approach to examine his editorships, drawing its conclusions from his own writings in his periodicals, his personal journals, and, at times, from his other published works to inform an as yet unexplored perspective of Murry as a successful editor whose writings and editorial decisions reveal new understandings of modernist print culture as being more engaged with and aware of the mass market and societal morality than has yet been explored. Other works about Murry and about the periodical contexts in which he lived and worked will be referred to throughout the thesis to provide background information on Murry as well as examples of how he has been discussed in past scholarship. This study also draws from his personal diaries, journals, and letters from the University of Edinburgh Special Collections and the Alexander Turnbull Library; the marked editor's copies of the *Athenaeum* from Murry's editorship, housed at City, University of London; and the issues of the *Adelphi* at the British Library and the University of Nottingham. All other periodicals have been accessed digitally, through the *Modernist Journals Project*, the *Blue Mountain Project*, and *ProQuest*; however, to allow for a better understanding of the physicality of the magazines discussed, issues of all of the magazines except the *Signature* have been handled in person.

This thesis uses specific terminology to discuss these sources. The term 'review' is used in this study only to describe those periodicals in which the discussion of other works makes up a large part of their content. The *Blue Review* and the *Athenaeum* are the only two of Murry's periodicals discussed in this thesis that defined themselves as 'reviews'. These two reviews are both 'magazines' and 'periodicals', and these two terms will be used

interchangeably throughout this thesis. As Keelia Estrada Moeller points out in her 2019 review of Koenraad Claes's *The Late-Victorian Little Magazine* (2018), magazines' primary functions are as 'specifically targeted storehouses of information'.[81] I have chosen a selection of Murry's writings, including editorials, reviews, criticism, and correspondence, in order to represent the scope of his works published in the magazines.

One potentially problematic term used in this thesis is 'little magazine'. All of Murry's periodicals discussed in this study qualify as little magazines as Bulson defines them: as 'a medium intended for the publication of contemporary literature and criticism'.[82] However, other definitions are more limited. Ezra Pound, in his 1930 essay 'Small Magazines', considers little magazines to be 'fugitive periodicals "of small circulation"', a description which likely excludes the *Athenaeum* and the *Adelphi*.[83] Demoor, in her book *Their Fair Share* (2000), points out that such limited definitions, like Pound's, can be problematic for modernist studies because

> [a]s a rule, 'modernist periodicals' suggests the 'little magazines', those idealistic enterprises launched at the end of the nineteenth or at the beginning of the twentieth century with the specific purpose of giving modernist writers a platform […] Yet it would be unjust to deny the mainstream papers the role they played in the careers of modernist artists.[84]

The *Athenaeum*, with a circulation of around 4,000 per week, might warrant categorisation as one of these 'mainstream papers' rather than a little magazine.[85] Michael H. Whitworth points out that, for the same reasons, the *Adelphi* also might not be considered a little

[81] Keelia Estrada Moeller, review of Koenraad Claes, *The Late-Victorian Little Magazine* (2018), *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 52.1 (2019), 212–14 (p. 212).
[82] Eric Bulson, 'Little Magazine, World Form', in *The Oxford Handbook of Global Modernisms,* ed. by Mark Wollaeger and Matt Eatough (2012), pp. 267–87 (p. 270). Oxford Handbooks Online.
[83] Ezra Pound, 'Small Magazines', *The English Journal*, 19.9 (November 1930), 689–704 (p. 701).
[84] Marysa Demoor, *Their Fair Share: Women, Power and Criticism in the* Athenaeum*, from Millicent Garrett Fawcett to Katherine Mansfield, 1870-1920* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2000), p. 141.
[85] Calculated from circulation notes in Murry's personal diary, 1920, ATL, MSX-4144. [Exact average circulation number: 3,874].

magazine. In a specific display of the problem that Demoor identifies in modernist studies more broadly, Whitworth suggests that this lack of categorisation as a little magazine has led to the assumption that the *Adelphi* has no value as a modernist periodical.[86] He recommends that 'The modernism of *The Adelphi* therefore needs to be reassessed with reference to a more generous definition of the movement, one which defines modernism primarily as an engagement with the intellectual problems of modernity'.[87] Alternatively, the term 'little magazine', while implying a certain type of modernism that was certainly visible in Murry's periodicals, presents the danger of misrepresenting the identities of the magazines discussed here. For example, Wellens, in his article about Murry's time as editor of the *Athenaeum*, refers to the *Adelphi* as being 'short-lived' when, in fact, it was published for decades, albeit under slightly different names, and this misconception may have derived from the *Adelphi*'s potential mislabelling as a little magazine.[88] In order to avoid confusion about the definition of little magazines, and to maintain focus on Murry's editorships rather than the classification of his periodicals, this thesis will employ the term to refer only to the magazines discussed in Chapter 1.

This thesis is arranged chronologically by Murry's editorships, which I have demarcated into three phases. The first comprises the years 1911 to 1915 and his editorships of *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature*; the second, his editorship of the *Athenaeum* from 1919 to 1921; and the third, the first four years of his editorship of the *Adelphi*, from 1923 to 1927. The divisions between these phases are based firstly on the obviously different natures of the periodicals he edited during each phase. The first three magazines were self-started and each survived no longer than two years. Conversely, the *Athenaeum* had existed for nearly a century before Murry assumed editorship. The *Adelphi* was different still, and its

[86] Michael H. Whitworth, 'Enemies of Cant: *The Athenaeum* (1919-21) and *The Adelphi* (1923-48)', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker, pp. 364–88 (p. 388).
[87] Ibid.
[88] Wellens, p. 149.

overtly spiritual tone, inversion of critical standards, and longevity separate it from Murry's previously edited periodicals.

These three sections also denote three distinct phases in Murry's personal and editorial development. The first, when he edited *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature*, reveals an editor who was concerned with his appearance as an intellectual and artist. During this phase, it is his own voice, rather than those of the writers he reviews or the audience with which he engages, which takes precedence in his magazines. His increasing audience awareness is evident during the second phase, particularly through the changes Murry made to the *Athenaeum* to make it more attractive to readers. The third phase, during which he edited the *Adelphi*, represents the culmination of his editorial knowledge. His success is not measured in copies sold, but in the active role his audience played in nearly every issue of the first four years of this periodical, indicating that the *Adelphi* was an effective mediator between audience and editor and a successful platform for delivering Murry's thoughts about art and society to the public.

Chapter 1 examines Murry's editorial voice in *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature*. It draws particular attention to the third issue of *Rhythm*, which was the first to feature advertisements, and discusses the cohesiveness of this issue in order to draw attention to his developing market awareness. His specific language and the ways in which he engages with certain themes such as art, the artistic and intellectual aristocracy, and journalism will be examined thematically, with references to how his engagement with these topics changes in the future. His writings for the *Blue Review* and the *Signature* are also discussed in detail in this chapter, and they reveal Murry's changing perceptions of himself as a public figure and as an editor. His personal writings, contextual information about these three periodicals, and a number of critical sources, including Binckes's study on *Rhythm*, will be referred to

throughout the chapter. This chapter is significantly longer than the following two, due to the fact that it examines three periodicals while the other two each focus on one.

Chapter 2 focuses on Murry's increasing audience awareness, which is manifested in many aspects of his editorship of the weekly review, the *Athenaeum*. It draws primarily from his editorials and reviews printed in the *Athenaeum*, but also references his personal writings to highlight his increasing interest in morality and in the ethical duty of art. This is shown particularly through his recognition that he is a critic, rather than a novelist or poet. The chapter also draws attention to his awareness of the demands of the market to illustrate his growing awareness as an editor, which developed alongside his thoughts on the dangers of mechanisation and the popular press. This phase of his editorial career left Murry with an excellent literary reputation and the confidence to enact in the *Adelphi* the subversive artistic and social ideals he had begun to express in the *Athenaeum*.

Chapter 3 focuses on the first four years of the monthly *Adelphi*, paying special attention to the ways in which Murry signs his contributions and editorials and the topics he discusses in them. This chapter holds that his choices to only sometimes call himself the 'Editor' and to willingly upend normal critical standards are not the whimsical choices of a changeable character; rather, they are deliberate editorial decisions which invite Murry's readers to be active participants in the formation of the magazine, leading to the creation of an active imagined community which reveals Murry's success as an editor. The advertisements for the *Adelphi* in other periodicals reveal the way it marketed itself as being different from standard literary reviews, suggesting that the shift from aesthetic to moral criticism that Murry begins in the *Athenaeum* is completed in the *Adelphi*. Most importantly, the *Adelphi* signifies Murry's acceptance of himself as an editor, rather than as a critic or a novelist or a poet, and this chapter examines the ways in which he crafted his own definition

of the role of editor in order to better serve his public, even at the expense of his critical reputation.

Conclusion: The 'stage' and the 'street-corner'

When Murry encourages his ex-subscriber to reconsider his decision to no longer read the *New Adelphi*, he makes a point to draw a distinction between himself as the editor of a magazine devoted to the pursuit of 'truth' and those who pursue 'profit and power'. He emphasises the value of his periodical not as a lifeless 'commodity' but as a breathing 'organ' that is as vital to survival as a human body part. Murry's belief in the power of his periodicals to convey social truths to his readers is clear through his editorial practices, which emphasise the importance of morality, loyalty, and community in early twentieth-century society. His personal writings reveal his concerns with perceived social ills such as mechanisation, war, and societal ignorance, but it was through the platform of his magazines – the same platform which, notably, Murry likens in 1915 to a stage and in 1924 to the street corner used by a preacher to deliver sermons – that he made these concerns public.[89] His increasing encouragement of active audiences and the building of magazine communities illustrate his own developing perceptions of the role of art in society and of the editor's duty to facilitate that relationship. He placed himself, heart and soul, centre-stage of his periodicals, and when viewed in light of his increasing interest in the morality of art and literature, his voice is revealed to be a crucial facet of modernist periodical studies. This thesis values his sometimes distastefully personal voice as a vital expression of the interconnectedness of magazine politics and finances, broader social and cultural concerns, specific connections between individuals who were working on and contributing to the same magazines, and editors and their audiences. With frequent reference to the field of modernist periodical

[89] 'There Was a Little Man, II', p. 26; 'The Two Worlds', p. 865.

studies, this thesis explores magazine modernism through the study of sixteen years, five key periodicals, and one editor whose belief in his magazines' abilities to be vehicles for social change is evident through his editorial practices. As this thesis will show, Murry's previously unexamined editorial voice proves to be a valuable tool for identifying the processes, motivations, and concerns of modernist periodical editors who, by maintaining their periodicals in the face of the rising mechanistic press and shifting understandings of the role of art in society, provided the public with what they considered to be, as Murry writes in his *New Adelphi* letter, 'organs for the pursuit of truth'. In addition to engaging with periodical studies, this thesis calls for recognition of the currently non-existent field of editor studies by highlighting the value of one of modernism's least valued and most misrepresented figures: John Middleton Murry, the editor.

CHAPTER 1:

'THESE DAYS OF SKY-BLUE PERIODICALS'[90]

RHYTHM (1911-1913), THE *BLUE REVIEW* (1913), AND THE *SIGNATURE* (1915)

Introduction: '[S]eeking new chords'

Rhythm was a first in many ways, making it an important periodical for the life and work of its editor as well as for periodical studies more broadly. Malcolm Bradbury points out that 'there is a good case for regarding *Rhythm* […] as the first of the English little magazines', a designation which highlights its unique celebration of international artists amongst early twentieth-century periodicals.[91] In many ways, *Rhythm* aligns with – and, in some cases, complicates – the definition of a little magazine. In 1946, Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich defined the little magazines as those publications that

> are willing to lose money, to court ridicule, to ignore public taste, willing to do almost anything – steal, beg, or undress in public – rather than sacrifice their right to print good material […] Such periodicals are, therefore, non-commercial by intent, for their altruistic ideal usually rules out the hope of financial profit.[92]

The typical editor of these magazines, they write, 'views the world of publishers and popularizers with disdain, sometimes with despair'.[93] This effort to maintain distance from the market at all costs is, Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich write, the reason for these magazines' characteristically short life spans. Renato Poggioli reaches a similar conclusion about little magazines, writing, 'In sum, their chief characteristic is the non-commercial nature of their

[90] P. Selver, 'Readers and Writers', The *New Age*, 3 July 1913, pp. 265–66 (p. 265).
[91] Malcolm Bradbury, '"Rhythm" and "The Blue Review"', *TLS*, 25 April 1968, pp. 423–24 (p. 423).
[92] Frederick J. Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn F. Ulrich, *The Little Magazine: A History and a Bibliography* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946; repr. London: Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1947), p. 2.
[93] Ibid., p. 3.

publishing; that is their natural condition (and the no less natural reason for the failure of each of them or, at least, for their short lives)'.[94] More recently, scholars have questioned the traditional understanding of little magazines as being entirely 'non-commercial'. Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt, for example, write that 'modernists were more deeply complicitous' in the workings of the marketplace than Hoffman et al.'s and Poggioli's definitions of little magazines imply.[95] Similarly, Mark S. Morrisson suggests that modernist writers and editors

> adapt[ed] commercial culture to the needs of modernist literature, thus complicating the polarization of modernism and mass culture. Many modernists found the energies of promotional culture too attractive to ignore, especially when it came to advertising and publication techniques.[96]

Like the modernists about whom Morrisson writes, *Rhythm* engaged with the mass market by publishing advertisements, but, as 'The Sign of the Fourposter' section of this chapter addresses, this act of market engagement uniquely resisted any possibility of the magazine being classified as straightforwardly commercial. Therefore, in spite of its advertisements, *Rhythm* retained its identity as an artistic, commercial-resistant magazine. These subtleties of market engagement, which were individual to each periodical, are precisely the situations to which Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible refer when they write about the fluid realm between art and the market that little magazines occupy. They write:

> Although modernism circulated in commercial markets, it should not be considered synonymous with mass culture. Indeed, to highlight the collusion between modernist and commercial periodicals risks

[94] Renato Poggioli, *The Theory of the Avant-Garde*, trans. by Gerald Fitzgerald (Societa editrice il Mulino, 1962; repr. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), p. 22.
[95] Dettmar and Watt, p. 6.
[96] Mark S. Morrisson, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception 1905-1920* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 2001), p. 6.

> simplifying the complex array of motivations, interests, and relations that distinguished various magazines and their constituencies.[97]

This chapter assesses some of the unique editorial motivations that make certain periodicals' classifications as commercial-resistant little magazines untenable. For example, *Rhythm*'s lifelong financial struggles, conditional market engagement, and self-proclaimed commitment to delivering new art to its audience classify it as a particularly interesting example of a little magazine which adheres to both traditional and more recent definitions of the term.

For its editor and co-founder, John Middleton Murry, *Rhythm* was an entry point into the realm of early twentieth-century periodicals, introducing him to networks of modernist artists and writers, honing his market awareness, and giving him a space in which to practice his newfound editorial voice. Murry records that *Rhythm* was the first magazine to print Pablo Picasso's artwork in England, securing its reputation as a first-class artistic magazine.[98] It facilitated his first meeting with Katherine Mansfield, which later resulted in co-editorship (and, in 1918, marriage), and with D. H. Lawrence, who became one of the most influential figures in Murry's life.[99] Both writers would also have long-lasting effects on Murry's editorial practices. Finally, and most importantly for this study, *Rhythm* was the first outlet for his editorial voice and the origin of what would become a decades-long relationship with periodicals.

Rhythm was one of the first publication platforms for writers who would become huge influencers of literary modernism, but unlike the strictly literary periodicals that Murry would edit later in his life, *Rhythm* was a haven for all artists, not just writers. Its bold black-and-

[97] Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible, 'Modernism in Magazines', in *The Oxford Handbook of Modernisms,* ed. by Peter Brooker, Andrzej Gasiorek, Deborah Longworth, and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 335–52 (p. 337).
[98] John Middleton Murry, 'Coming to London – VIII', *London Magazine*, 3.7 (1 July 1956), 30–37 (p. 33). Hereafter 'CtL'.
[99] Kaplan, p. 4.

white sketches defy its apparent disposable nature as a magazine, characterising it instead as a unique artistic product. Since *Rhythm*'s first appearance in the summer of 1911, its literary contributions and its artistic content have been weighed against each other, leading to an emphasis on the value of the magazine's drawings over its literary content. The *New Age*, for example, which frequently and harshly reviewed *Rhythm* and its successor, the *Blue Review*, considered *Rhythm* to be an organ of 'illiterate decadence'.[100] In 1912, Huntly Carter wrote of *Rhythm* that other than 'the illustrations the volume has little of interest. Its text, in fact, continues to creep from bad to worse'.[101] In spite of boasting the writings of Holbrook Jackson, Laurence Binyon, Wilfrid Wilson Gibson, Gilbert Cannan, H. G. Wells, and Rupert Brooke, *Rhythm*'s literary contributions were largely overshadowed by its artwork. Elizabeth Cumming, Sheila McGregor, and John Drummond describe the magazine's art, which was directed by Scottish painter J. D. Fergusson, as 'arresting'.[102] Faith Binckes draws attention to the fact that *Rhythm*'s drawings are not illustrations of the magazine's written text, and that '[t]his was in itself an indication of their status' in a periodical which was 'promoted initially as an "artist's magazine"', not a literary one.[103] The magazine's artistic success, of course, should not imply that *Rhythm*'s literary contributions have no value.

Rather, this chapter maintains emphatically that they do, and will examine them in light of the magazine's artwork, advertisements, and larger periodical context to provide an understanding of how these features collectively illustrate the development of Murry's editorial knowledge. This chapter gives particular attention to Murry's writing, which appeared under his own name in addition to his title 'The Editor' and the pseudonym Arthur Crossthwaite. The three magazines addressed in this chapter will be discussed from the

[100] 'Present-Day Criticism', The *New Age*, 18 April 1912, p. 589 (p. 589).
[101] Huntly Carter, 'Art and Drama', The *New Age*, 4 January 1912, p. 227 (p. 227).
[102] The Scottish Arts Council and Elizabeth Cumming, Sheila McGregor, and John Drummond, *Colour, Rhythm, & Dance: Painting and Drawings by JD Fergusson and His Circle in Paris* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Arts Council and the authors, 1985), p. 15.
[103] Binckes, p. 131.

particular perspective of Murry's editorial practices. Identifying the techniques that Murry employs in his first edited magazines allows for comparisons between this phase of his life and later ones, and this comparative practice will be used throughout this thesis to track his development as a writer, a moralist, and, most importantly, an editor.

This chapter discusses Murry's first three edited publications: *Rhythm* (1911-1913), its successor the *Blue Review* (1913), and the subscription-only magazine the *Signature* (1915). These magazines house Murry's first attempts at addressing an audience with the voice of an editor, his earliest works of criticism and poetry, and the seeds of his thoughts on topics such as the harmful effects of the popular press and the intellectual aristocracy of artists, all of which would be revisited and refined throughout his editorial career. *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review* are often critically discussed in relation to one another because their editorial team was largely the same and because their financial situations were merged. Binckes suggests that the *Blue Review* was a rebranded *Rhythm* that was 'aiming for a popularity which *Rhythm* had lacked'.[104] Certainly the *Blue Review*'s first issue, published in May 1913, was targeted at a different audience from *Rhythm*, which had first appeared in the summer of 1911. Originally printed by The St Catherine Press, *Rhythm* was later picked up by Mansfield's publisher, Charles Granville, of Stephen Swift and Company.[105] The company collapsed in late 1912, necessitating the magazine's move to Martin Secker, who continued to publish the *Blue Review*.[106] The first four issues of *Rhythm* were printed in grey covers (Fig. 2), but in 1912, when the magazine shifted from a quarterly to a monthly, its grey covers changed to the distinctive shade of blue that would be retained for the *Blue Review*, establishing a deliberate visual link between the two magazines (Figs. 3 and 4).

However, the cover of the *Blue Review* lacked Fergusson's cover art and instead adhered to a more traditional review-style cover which listed the issue's contents, much like

[104] Ibid., p. 38.
[105] Ibid., p. 23.
[106] Ibid., pp. 26–31.

the covers of the *English Review* and the *New Age*. The *Blue Review*, far from being an 'artist's magazine' like *Rhythm*, was instead a literary magazine which featured occasional drawings and marked out its place as a competitive review by commenting on musical performances, plays, French and Italian reviews, and European literature, in addition to publishing original fiction and poetry.[107] While *Rhythm* regards literature as part of the broader category of art and praises the artist above all, the *Blue Review* anticipates Murry's engagement with an established critical framework in the *Athenaeum*. Thus, this chapter examines these two early magazines as being different in appearance, content, and purpose, but with nearly identical editorial and financial circumstances.

This thesis identifies the *Signature* as the third and final part of the first phase of Murry's editorial career. All three publications were begun and ended within four years, and the only three writers affiliated with the *Signature* – Murry, Mansfield writing under the pseudonym Matilda Berry, and Lawrence – met through Murry's earlier magazines. Additionally, I consider the *Signature* to be the last component of Murry's first editorial phase because his writing reveals his personal exploration of his own publicity and his role as a writer in a way that is no longer evident in the *Athenaeum*, when his reputation as an editor is more secure. His voice in the *Signature* is particularly reflective, partly due to the nature and purpose of the periodical but also, I suggest, due to the fact that his editorial role in the magazine was necessarily restricted by its subscription-only nature and by Lawrence's direction.

Peter Brooker also groups these three publications together, largely due to their strained financial situations. In his article 'Harmony, Discord, and Difference', he writes that '*The Signature* brought the uneven, sometimes Utopian, sometimes catastrophic adventures of three magazines and three publishers, heavy debts, and bankruptcies in a period of less

[107] Ibid., p. 131.

than six years to an end', and he suggests that the *Signature* was *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review*'s 'final regrouping'.[108] The pamphlet, which only existed for three issues, although more were planned, was managed and contributed to exclusively by Murry, Mansfield, and Lawrence, and allowed Murry the opportunity to pen a series of continuous, reflective essays which engage with several topics, such as publicity, mechanisation, and the duty of art, that continue to characterise his personal and professional development throughout his career. However, the *Signature* also limited Murry's editorial role, denying him the dialogic engagement with readers that would define his later editorships.

This chapter emphasises the importance of *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature* as the venues in which Murry first develops his editorial practices. Crucially, these magazines were also Murry's introduction to the world of periodicals, with which he would be involved for the rest of his life. In an example of what Eric Bulson identifies as magazines' 'power to create a real and imagined community of writers, critics, and readers working to produce a modern literature', some of the acquaintances Murry made as editor of these periodicals would prove to be valuable friendships later in his life.[109] For example, Max Plowman, who contributed a poem to *Rhythm* in 1913, would later work with Murry on the *Adelphi* and in the 1930s became its editor. Other relationships forged during this first phase of Murry's career paralleled his public rise as a critic and, later, his declining popularity. One of these changing relationships was with the Woolfs. Murry's first contact with Leonard Woolf was through the *Blue Review*, when Woolf submitted a story that was never printed because the magazine ceased publication.[110] Although he and Virginia Woolf would write for the *Athenaeum* under Murry, they would come, as John Carswell writes, to consider the editor to be part of what they called '"the literary underworld" – a phrase in which there is a

[108] Peter Brooker, 'Harmony, Discord, and Difference: *Rhythm* (1911-13), *The Blue Review* (1913), and *The Signature* (1915)', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History*, ed. by Brooker and Thacker, pp. 314–36 (pp. 323, 335).
[109] Bulson, 'Little Magazine, World Form', p. 285.
[110] Binckes, p. 72.

mixture of fear, distaste, and admiration'.[111] Murry's relationship with Lawrence, too, was turbulent, seemingly ending during Murry's *Athenaeum* editorship but rekindling after Mansfield's death. These individual relationships greatly impacted his editorial choices, as did the importance that he placed on community, both within the contributors' circle of his magazines and between himself and his readers.

This chapter considers *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature* in their material entirety, including their written, artistic, and advertising content, in order to examine the effectiveness and development of Murry's editorial practices. These periodicals reveal his exploration of and experimentation with methods of audience engagement – such as calling upon his readers' loyalty and using morality to justify his magazines' existence – in addition to his developing understandings of the editor's place in the periodical marketplace. This first phase of Murry's career characterises him as an inexperienced editor whose awareness of himself and his magazines grows exponentially in the four years between *Rhythm*'s first issue and the *Signature*'s last. While he begins this phase of his life considering himself to be a writer, he ends it as an editor. Taking a broadly chronological approach in order to better gauge this development, this chapter contends that Murry's earliest editorial experiences reveal his already significant editorial aptitude and determines how he successfully navigates the nuances of the modernist-market relationship. Balancing his unique, sometimes jarringly reflective editorial voice with his knowledge of his audiences and of the market in which his magazines are positioned, Murry reveals himself between 1911 and 1915 to be a particularly valuable focal point of periodical modernism. This chapter positions the challenges of the three little magazines he edited within the context of what this thesis considers to be one of the most under-examined facets of periodical studies: editorship.

[111] Carswell, p. 271.

Faith Binckes, in her study *Modernism, Magazines, and the British Avant-Garde*, regards *Rhythm* as 'a point of entry into the relationship between "modernism" in Britain and the periodical culture in which little magazines circulate'.[112] With this relationship in mind, this chapter begins with a discussion of *Rhythm*'s artistic, cultural, and periodical contexts.

'[A]n art that strikes deeper': Beyond the Appearance of Passivity

Although Murry's first edited periodical 'pulsed with the excitement' which Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible identify as a feature of little magazines, the other traits which characterise *Rhythm* as a little magazine – its short life, financial struggles, and small readership – also classified *Rhythm*, in Murry's mind, as a failure.[113] Murry writes about the magazine in his autobiography, *Between Two Worlds*, with a distance that seems to deny the importance of his role in its formation. He implies that he was passive in its creation, writing that he 'was appointed' rather than choosing 'to be the man who should carry the new doctrine of rhythm into literature'.[114] He continues,

> I was quite capable, in those days, when stimulated by a friendly atmosphere and my own desire to please, of suddenly magnifying into seriousness a project which had been in reality no more than a daydream. But whether this is actually the case now, I do not remember.[115]

Murry's words give a perplexingly passive account of his involvement in a periodical that was, in reality, hugely influenced by his editorial direction. These reflections alone suggests that Murry's perceptions are worth probing within the context of his audiences and editorial development: why does he minimise his role in the creation of the magazine which he would

[112] Binckes, p. 5.
[113] Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible, 'Little Magazines and Modernism: An Introduction', *American Periodicals*, 15.1 (2005), 1–5 (p. 2).
[114] John Middleton Murry, *Between Two Worlds: An Autobiography* (London: Jonathan Cape Ltd., 1935), p. 156. Hereafter *BTW*.
[115] Ibid., p. 157.

edit for the next two years, which he and Mansfield would support with their own money until it bankrupted them, and which would make his name known in the world of modernist periodicals?

One tension highlighted by these questions is the ironic fact that often a little magazine's financial failure signified its artistic success. Ezra Pound vocalises this inherently contradictory nature of the modernist magazine market in his 1930 essay 'Small Magazines', in which he writes that 'Honest literary experiment, however inclusive, however dismally it fail, is of infinitely more value to the intellectual life of a nation than exploitation (however glittering) of mental mush and otiose habit'.[116] Of course, 'dismal' failure was the very thing that Murry devoted his editorship to preventing. Viewing *Rhythm* in light of the market pressures to which Pound alludes is one of the many ways in which Murry's experiences as an editor contribute to current understandings of the anxieties that defined modernist periodical culture.

Murry's portrayal of his involvement with *Rhythm* as predominantly passive is also indicative of his lifelong tendency to write about himself in an unflatteringly self-deprecating style. Geoffrey West, in a 1935 *Times Literary Supplement* review of *Between Two Worlds*, highlights precisely this style of self-portrayal, stating that the autobiography reveals 'an apparent paradox, for on nothing is [Murry] so insistent as upon his own non-being, his lack of any self'.[117] This seemingly incongruous portrayal of the editor portraying himself as passive repelled many of his colleagues. As Neil Berry points out, 'What [Murry's] critics found unforgivable was his penchant for parading himself as a victim', as someone entirely passive, without talent or conviction.[118] His series of contributions to the *Signature*, discussed at the end of this chapter, display precisely this self-deprecating style of writing and is likely

[116] Pound, p. 699.
[117] Geoffrey West, 'Mr Murry's "Confessions"', *TLS*, 21 February 1935, p. 101 (p. 101).
[118] Neil Berry, '"We Believe in Life": The Contentious Career of John Middleton Murry', *TLS*, 3 January 2020 <https://www.the-tls.co.uk/articles/we-believe-in-life/> [accessed 13 January 2020] (para. 13 of 14).

one of the reasons that his writing in the *Signature* is not often critically discussed. This style of self-representation has also undoubtedly negatively affected Murry's reputation as one of modernism's influencing figures. David Goldie describes the editor's fall in inter-war literary England's estimation from a respected writer to a 'doormat', a term which succinctly represents Murry's treatment as a background figure whose importance repeatedly gives way to the stronger modernist players he published in his magazines.[119] His passivity, which became a recurring feature of his confessional writing style, undermines his active role in modernist periodical culture. Ironically, by laying himself bare, he has prevented his readers from being able to see the true extent of his involvement in his magazines.

While developing an accurate understanding of Murry's significance as an editor demands that we take his portrayals of his own passivity with a grain of salt, his private writings reveal that his deliberate downplay of his involvement in his own editorial history is not an entirely fabricated or stylised representation of his views of his own abilities as an editor; in fact, he *did* considerably doubt the success of his magazines and his editorial capabilities. In May 1913, Murry listed in his personal journal the work he had completed up to that point, including 'a good part of the editing of Rhythm which was a failure and the Blue Review [which] may well be another'.[120] He perceived *Rhythm* to have been disastrously unsuccessful, and he had no reason to believe that the *Blue Review* would fare any better. His autobiography picks up on this sense of despondency, and while the autobiography is, as West's *TLS* review states, at times offputtingly 'passive', it also reveals the fact that Murry did not believe himself to be a successful editor in 1913, in spite of the crucial place his early periodicals now occupy in periodical studies.[121]

[119] Goldie, p. 2.
[120] Journal entry, 29 May 1913, ATL, MSX-4147. A large part of this journal entry is reprinted in *BTW*, pp. 254–56.
[121] West, p. 101.

In fact, Murry had a huge part to play in bringing *Rhythm* into being, and, as this chapter contends, in maintaining the magazine's high creative and critical standards. Cumming, McGregor, and Drummond, in their work on Fergusson and *Rhythm*, note the same, stating that 'however much Fergusson's artistic creed was to influence the publication, the initiative came mainly from Murry'.[122] Murry visited Paris first while still an undergraduate at Oxford, where he studied classics. In Paris, he encountered the ideas of Henri Bergson and met Fergusson, S. J. Peploe, and Francis Carco, all of whom would contribute to *Rhythm*. In his 1956 essay 'Coming to London', Murry writes about his first time in Paris and its influence on his career:

> Perhaps most exciting of all were the windows of the little shop of the *Cahiers de la Quinzaine* in the Place de la Sorbonne, through which more than once I gazed at Charles Péguy himself packing up parcels of his famous but ill-subscribed review. Thenceforward, I could conceive nothing finer than to follow his example: to have a review like his, a little shop like his, and to pack the parcels with my own hands.[123]

While Murry would not come to own 'a little shop', he did, in essence, package *Rhythm* 'with [his] own hands'. He gave up his place at Oxford to work on the magazine full-time with Michael Sadler, who was given £50 by his father to begin the magazine which, its founders hoped, would deliver the spirit of Parisian art and philosophy to London.[124] *Rhythm*'s purpose was, as stated in its first editorial,

> To treat what is being done to-day as something vital in the progress of art, which cannot fix its eyes on yesterday and live; to see that the present is pregnant for the future, rather than a revolt against the past;

[122] The Scottish Arts Council and Cumming, McGregor, and Drummond, p. 14.
[123] 'CtL', p. 33.
[124] Binckes, p. 18; Brooker, p. 315.

> in creation to give expression to an art that seeks out the strong things of life; in criticism to seek out the strong things of that art.[125]

The terms 'vital' and 'strong' align with the sort of art Murry encountered in Paris and which *Rhythm* published. Angela Smith, in her article 'Fauvism and Cultural Nationalism', connects this style of art – called Fauvism, from the French for *wild beasts* – to artists' reacting to colonialism by emphasising internationalism. Smith writes that while newspapers were showing 'the barbarism of the colonizer', the Fauves were emphasising 'the "native" as a powerful aesthetic, rather than as a primitive and outmoded convention'.[126] Brooker, Chris Mourant, and Caroline Maclean all point out *Rhythm*'s focus on crossing international boundaries in content and circulation, a seemingly contrastive intention for a magazine which was also meant to be low-cost and, as Fergusson desired, accessible enough for 'any herd boy to be able to have the latest information about modern painting from Paris'.[127] However, when considered alongside *Rhythm*'s Fauvist aesthetic, its international reach – which in September 1912's issue was exhibited in the list of cities which had 'Agents for *Rhythm* Abroad', including those in France, the U.S., Germany, Finland, and Poland – is important less for calculating the number of *Rhythm*'s international readers and more for its efforts to show that the magazine's intention was to highlight international connections rather than colonial ties. *Rhythm*'s first issue features an article by Sadler on Fauvism, connecting the magazine's work directly with the Fauvist movement, and its artistic content, too, portraying dynamic figures and scenes in bold, black lines, lends the magazine a decidedly Fauvist feel.[128]

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[125] [Murry] 'Aims and Ideals', *Rhythm*, 1.1 (Summer 1911), 36 (p. 36).
[126] Angela Smith, 'Fauvism and Cultural Nationalism', *Interventions*, 4.1 (2002), 35–52 (pp. 36, 38).
[127] See Brooker, p. 324; Chris Mourant, *Katherine Mansfield and Periodical Culture* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), p. 111; and Maclean, p. 147; qtd. in Margaret Morris, *The Art of J. D. Fergusson, A Biased Biography* (Glasgow: Blackie & Sons Limited, 1974), p. 64.
[128] Michael T. H. Sadler, 'Fauvism and a Fauve', *Rhythm*, 1.1 (Summer 1911), 14–18.

While *Rhythm*'s art was undoubtedly avant-garde, it was also, as Binckes points out, linked to a history of democratisation in its mission to make art accessible. Binckes notes *Rhythm*'s similarities to the illustrated *Penny Magazine*, first published by Charles Knight in 1832.[129] In a study on the *Penny Magazine*'s reproductions of artwork, Patricia Anderson draws attention to Knight's 'deep personal commitment to the democratization of art – a commitment, that is, to making art's history and theory comprehensible to those with little education, and to making its reproduced images affordable to those with little money'.[130] She writes that the *Penny Magazine*'s success in transferring works of art from a museum or personal gallery to the pages of a periodical meant that 'for the first time, working people had access to a whole realm of images and ideas from which they had been previously excluded'.[131] *Rhythm* had a similar goal. Even though it was an artist's magazine, a fact which necessarily limited its appeal to a specific sort of reader, Fergusson, as stated above, 'wanted any herd boy' to have access to it.[132] The magazine's low price, selling for one shilling per issue, also enhanced its accessibility. By increasing accessibility through its affordable price, the magazine simultaneously put itself at greater financial risk and therefore had to adopt the methods of the most accessible of all periodicals, the newspaper, by running advertisements. The magazine was caught between maintaining its unique, artistic identity and ensuring that it had enough capital to continue printing. This confused position is representative of a much larger struggle, which Churchill and McKible sum up when they write that 'The story of modernism in magazines is a tale of complex entanglements between high art and intellectual thought, mass culture, and the commercial marketplace'.[133] *Rhythm*'s situation was not unique, but this chapter will examine it from the previously unconsidered

[129] Binckes, p. 144.
[130] Patricia J. Anderson, 'Pictures for the People: Knight's *Penny Magazine*, an Early Venture into Popular Art Education', *Studies in Art Education*, 28.3 (1987), 133–40 (pp. 137–38).
[131] Ibid., p. 138.
[132] Qtd. in Morris, p. 64.
[133] Churchill and McKible, 'Modernism in Magazines', p. 352.

perspective of its editor's development. It will consider the magazine through the lens of a man who knew what a difficult position his magazine was in and who learned to balance the artistic and the commercial to give it its best chance at survival.

The very name of the magazine presents an attempt at both artistic uniqueness and marketability. In his autobiography, Murry discusses the importance of the word that he and Fergusson chose to represent the magazine:

> One word was recurrent in all our strange discussions – the word 'rhythm'. We never made any attempt to define it; nor even took any precaution to discover whether it had the same significance for us both. All that mattered was that it had some meaning for each of us.[134]

As stated above, Murry wrote that he was 'appointed to […] carry the new doctrine of rhythm into literature'; however, while he claims that the use of the concept of 'rhythm' was 'new', in fact, it was already being used in other periodicals.[135] In the *New Age*, a weekly review edited by A. R. Orage, the word appeared several times per issue across 1911 and 1912 and was used to describe everything from architecture to drama. For example, in Huntly Carter's 'Letter from Abroad' in September 1911, variations of the word 'rhythm' are used thirteen times. Carter uses the word to describe Krakow – 'The simple lines of the architecture are swinging rhythmically round a great coloured crowd of Polish peasants' – as well as the plays of Stanislaw Wyspianski, who 'appears […] to have neglected the new principle of rhythm and mood'.[136] While there is no evidence to confirm that Murry launched *Rhythm* to be a direct competitor of the *New Age*, he was surely aware that the readerships of the two periodicals would be similar, and the two magazines frequently engaged in heated discussions about artistic value, literary criticism, and authenticity. Murry also contributed to

[134] *BTW*, pp. 155–56.
[135] Ibid., p. 156.
[136] Huntly Carter, 'Letters from Abroad, The Drama of Patriotism', The *New Age*, 28 September 1911, pp. 522–24 (pp. 522, 523).

the *New Age*, and considering his knowledge of the content of the weekly review, his choice of magazine title becomes less original, but no less important. Rather, 'rhythm' becomes a word that he and Fergusson used not only as a theme to craft the content of their magazine, but also as a marketing device, both to make the magazine familiar to potential readers who may have seen the word in other reviews, and to make their magazine competitive with those reviews.

However passive Murry considered himself to have been during *Rhythm*'s two years of publication, his contributions to the magazine suggest that he was very active indeed in cultivating its sense of purpose and its audience appeal, which he achieved by writing under a variety of names and titles. The first issue alone includes four contributions by Murry: 'Art and Philosophy', written under his own name; the unattributed editorial 'Aims and Ideals'; and a poem, 'Songe D'ete', and short sketch, 'Ennui', both by Arthur Crossthwaite, a pseudonym of Murry's. Short stories and poems published under Crossthwaite's name also appear in four subsequent issues. As Mourant points out, the name almost certainly comes from Murry's younger brother, Arthur Richard Crossthwaite Murry, who was born in 1902.[137] Later, when he edits the *Athenaeum*, Murry will use his brother's address to receive payment for contributions he publishes under the pseudonym Henry King. Publishing as Arthur Crossthwaite in *Rhythm* is the first instance of Murry using his younger brother's identity to disguise his own.

The use of the name Arthur Crossthwaite is also likely the first instance of Murry's exploration of pseudonyms, which he, although undoubtedly influenced by Mansfield's frequent use of them, was employing long before her involvement with the magazine. In *Rhythm*, Mansfield published as Lili Heron and Boris Petrovsky, in addition to using her and Murry's nickname 'The Tigers'. Angela Smith suggests that these pseudonyms are indicative

[137] Mourant, p. 152.

of Mansfield's 'increasingly Fauvist aesthetic', and that the 'masks' of the pseudonyms she employs echo the mask imagery that appears in *Rhythm*'s illustrations.[138] One example is Fergusson's 'Drawing' in Issue 2 which depicts a woman whose eyes are obscured by what appears to be a short veil (Fig. 5); another is Henri Gaudier-Brzeska's drawing of a mask-like face in Issue 9 (Fig. 6).[139] Smith, Richard Cappuccio, and Isabelle Meyer have all addressed the importance of pseudonyms and their role in shaping Mansfield's sense of self.[140] I suggest that Murry's use of pseudonyms is similarly important to his identity as an editor, revealing his awareness of the potential reception of his periodicals and their contributors. Murry publishes short fiction and poems under Crossthwaite's name, allowing him to contribute to *Rhythm* without appearing to inundate an issue with his own name and providing him, as the pseudonym Henry King will, with an opportunity to try his hand at writing poems and stories without having his attempts associated with his editorial reputation. Using the pseudonym also makes the circle of contributors to *Rhythm* look more varied than if Murry were to use his own name, giving the impression that the periodical drew from a wider range of contributors than was actually the case and therefore making the magazine appealing to a more diverse group of writers and artists who might be interested in subscribing and contributing.

Murry would use pseudonyms and different titles – including Henry King, The Journeyman, and The Editor – to sign his work for the next two decades, and his first use of one in *Rhythm* suggests that, even before he knew Mansfield, he was using pen names to practice editorial awareness. Ironically, a close study of his magazine reveals that the depth of his involvement with *Rhythm* was much more devoted, driven, and clever than even he

[138] Smith, 'Katherine Mansfield and "Rhythm"', p. 113.
[139] J. D. Fergusson, 'Drawing', *Rhythm*, 1.2 (Autumn 1911), 14 (p. 14); Henri Gaudier-Brzeska, 'Head', *Rhythm*, 2.9 (October 1912), 198 (p. 198).
[140] See Cappuccio, pp. 182–202, and Isabelle Meyer, 'A Masque of Masks: Self Presentation in the Writings of Katherine Mansfield', *Women's Studies Journal*, 4.2 (1988), 71–79.

represents in later writing, challenging his portrayal of himself as a passive player in the magazine's success.

Murry's portrayals of himself as a passive editor do not, as West and Berry point out, paint a favourable picture of the man who in reality exhibited great editorial development and effective audience and market awareness during his early editorships. However, this section has exemplified that Murry's portrayals of himself, while valuable in many ways, cannot be taken at face value. His autobiography reveals his anxieties about his magazines' failure and his own potential image as an unsuccessful editor, but a closer look at his editorial practices in *Rhythm*, such as his use of pseudonyms to make the contents of his magazine look more varied, illustrate his active role in shaping *Rhythm*'s identity as well as some of his early editorial tactics that contributed to *Rhythm*'s success.

'[A] sure messenger of eternal truth': Murry's Early Editorial Voice

In the first issue of *Rhythm*, Murry discusses terms and concepts with which he will engage for the rest of his career. His beliefs in the importance of art for humanity, in the spirituality of the artist, and in the purpose of art to reveal truth are evident in his first contribution, 'Art and Philosophy', but this contribution also reveals those beliefs about art which will change drastically for Murry over the next several years. One crucial way in which his thinking will develop is in his perceptions of the duty that art has in fostering morality, a belief which is evident in the *Athenaeum* and the *Adelphi*, but which is comparatively unformed in *Rhythm*.

In the *Athenaeum* in 1920, Murry writes that 'the vital centre of our ethics is also the vital centre of our art', and this phrase, in many ways, encompasses the transition he makes over the course of his career from an intellectual artist to a moral critic and editor.[141] Similarly, in July 1926, Murry writes in the *Adelphi* that 'the relation between the moral and

[141] J. M. M. [Murry], 'Reviews: The Cry in the Wilderness', The *Athenaeum*, 27 February 1920, pp. 267–68 (p. 267).

the literary ideal we pursue is far closer than we have yet indicated', and that the 'protest against the democratization of literature' is harmful to both creativity and morality.[142] Chapter 2 of this thesis discusses Murry's transition to an ethical critic in detail, while Chapter 3 pays close attention to his increasing support of a democratic view of art and criticism. His time as editor of the *Athenaeum*, then, marks his shift to thinking of art as having an obligation to convey morality; in contrast, *Rhythm* reveals that Murry's ideas are still unformed and, in some cases, contradictory. This section will examine some of the ideas that are unsophisticatedly presented in *Rhythm* both to highlight the development of Murry's writing and thought over time, and to explore the overly confident and self-aggrandising nature of his early editorial voice.

The concept of using art to promote morality would, in time, become the cornerstone of Murry's social and critical writings, and is reflected in his later editorial style. In *Rhythm*, however, he insists that morality and democracy have nothing to do with art, in spite of enacting editorial practices that suggest otherwise. 'Art and Philosophy', published in *Rhythm*'s first issue, is his first opportunity to address his audience. Its importance is made clear by its placement just after a full-page Picasso sketch that, unlike most of the other art in the magazine, is printed on glossy paper, emphasising its significance. The appearance of 'Art and Philosophy' just after such a work implies that Murry's article is also significant, while its title and its first line – 'Art is consciously eternal' – suggest both confidence on the part of the writer as well as an amateur confusion about editorial purpose: such a title and first line do not adhere to *Rhythm*'s intended appeal to Fergusson's 'herd boy'.[143]

This is not the only apparent contradiction in 'Art and Philosophy'. One example is Murry's inconsistent view of the relationship between art and religion. In 'Art and Philosophy', he establishes that 'Art is beyond creeds, for it is the creed itself', and while this

[142] The Editor [Murry], 'The Fourth Year', The *Adelphi*, 4.1 (July 1926), 1–10 (pp. 7, 8).
[143] John Middleton Murry, 'Art and Philosophy', *Rhythm*, 1.1 (Summer 1911), 9–12 (p. 9).

statement allows for art to be connected in some way to spirituality, it is not portrayed to be the moral guide of the public, as he will come to see it in later years.[144] Rather, in *Rhythm*, Murry states that art

> comes to birth in irreligion and is nurtured in amorality. Religion and morality alike mean for the western world that this life fades away into the colour-less intensity of the world to come. For them Life has neither meaning nor continuity, for its value begins with death. Only a creed which is of and for this world can give us art; for then it is art. Art is against religion or religion itself. It can hold no middle course.[145]

His language implies that someone who believes in an afterlife cannot value art as it should be valued, and in particular his use of the words 'irreligion' and 'amorality' reinforce his belief that art is worldly rather than spiritual. While Murry does not quite deny art's moral function, he does affirm that its value is opposed to 'religion and morality' more largely because it represents the present world, which, for those who adhere to religious and moral codes, is less meaningful than the 'world to come'.

However, he negates this statement almost immediately when he discusses the spirituality of Saint Teresa, whom he considers to be a true 'artist'. He writes that the saint's visions 'are now no longer the discredited phantasms of a fevered brain, but the clear and conscious vision of the artist, the true seer'.[146] Even though Murry praises her as a great artist, Saint Teresa, a sixteenth-century mystic and Carmelite nun, also obviously adhered to the beliefs of the Catholic Church, complicating his previous claim that art 'comes to birth in irreligion'. He makes use of this change of perception of Saint Teresa – from a madwoman to

[144] Ibid., p. 10.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid., p. 11.

a ‘true seer’ – to point out the need for changing perspectives of art and of life, but his claim rings hollow because of the illogical way in which it is justified.

In spite of Murry’s muddled views on the relationship between art and religion, his interest in certain spiritual ideas is plain. His explanation of what he labels ‘the new Philosophy’, which is necessary for ‘all true art’, reveals both this interest in these topics as well as his unformed critical voice, particularly when he explores the idea of freedom. He condemns bad artistic and literary criticism, which he perceives to be a challenge to freedom, labelling it ‘a chronology which esteems the past because it is the past’ and praising those who instead ‘rise above the mere reactions of a dull mechanical routine’, which Murry considers to accompany the falseness of ‘spurious criticism’ and the rigidity of ‘universal dogmatism’.[147] To reject these is, he writes, to be ‘free’.[148] His interest in the relationship of the past to the present as well as his dislike of the mechanical are topics he revisits in *Rhythm* and in later periodicals, but much of this writing seems to contradict itself: he calls for a better quality of criticism which, presumably, would adhere to a certain standard based on certain guidelines, but he condemns unified belief. Likewise, to be ‘free’ is a characteristic of adhering to ‘the canons of the new Philosophy’, but to subscribe to ‘canons’ at all necessarily limits individual freedom. Murry’s first editorial during his editorship of the *Athenaeum* revisits many of these topics, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, and while the topics addressed in ‘Art and Philosophy’ will continue to be of interest to him for years to come, his handling of them here is much less sophisticated than it will be even months later, as discussed in the ‘The “Arch-Democrat” and the “Aristocracy”’ section of this chapter. However, far from being a blight on Murry’s career, ‘Art and Philosophy’ is hugely valuable as a starting point for his ideas about art. Comparing his later understandings of freedom, the

[147] Ibid.
[148] Ibid.

artist, and mechanisation to his handling of the same topics in 'Art and Philosophy' reveals his development as a thinker, writer, and editor.

Any sort of sustained thought or belief is difficult to find in 'Art and Philosophy', but perhaps the most identifiable theme is in Murry's focus on the new and the present. He uses the word 'modernism' in 'Art and Philosophy' not to denote a specific style of art or literature, but to describe a new way of perceiving the world. 'Modernism', he writes,

> is not the capricious outburst of intellectual dipsomania. It penetrates beneath the outward surface of the world, and disengages the rhythms that lie at the heart of things, rhythms strange to the eye, unaccustomed to the ear, primitive harmonies of the world that is and lives.[149]

For Murry, the present is the ultimate condition of newness and, he writes, it is 'the all-in-all of art. Derive its very elements, the matter of its being, from the past if you will; it remains the creation of a new thing'.[150] He ends 'Art and Philosophy' with a mention of the new, as well, writing that 'the Life of the world and the Life of art hang upon seeking new chords to create new harmonies', in contrast to 'a criticism and an aestheticism fixed in the past [which] would create a symphony of a single chord'.[151] His editorial in this issue, titled 'Aims and Ideals', also promotes newness as one of the purposes of *Rhythm*, the title of which expresses, Murry writes, 'the ideal of a new art, to which it will endeavour to give expression in England'.[152] His denunciation of a brand of criticism which builds on the past is likely an example of him exercising a version of his own voice which is not in line with his personal beliefs; rather, his voice in 'Aims and Ideals' seems carefully produced for consumption by *Rhythm*'s specific audience, displaying how Murry is willing to craft his voice for particular publications and readers.

[149] Ibid., p. 12.
[150] Ibid., p. 11.
[151] Ibid., p. 12.
[152] 'Aims and Ideals', p. 36.

In contrast to Murry's emphasis on newness in *Rhythm*, two years later in the *Blue Review* he emphasises the value of learning from great past novelists, naming Stendhal, Tolstoy, and Dostoyevsky.[153] Further, as will be discussed in more detail in the section of this chapter titled '"[T]he self-constituted spokesman": Community and Self-Image in the *Blue Review*', Murry will become a frequent critic of modern novelists, advising them to look to the experts of the past to better hone their craft. It is possible that his later emphasis on the value of the past to inform the present was the product of his intellectual and social development, and changed significantly over time. However, it is more likely that he is writing for a particular audience with the goal of increasing readership. Revealingly, in his autobiography, Murry refers to his editorship of *Rhythm* in the language of performance, stating that when he was not writing for the periodical, he 'was off-stage, and free from the obligation of keeping up my aesthetic role'.[154] Although this chapter has acknowledged that his later perceptions of his involvement with *Rhythm* are, to a certain extent, suspect, I want to draw attention to this comparison, the language of which is very similar to the language he will use in the *Signature* and which will be discussed later in this chapter, to emphasise that there is an undoubted element of performance in Murry's editorial voice, illustrating the fact that he changed his public voice for consumption by different audiences in order to promote his magazines' popularity. In 'Art and Philosophy' and 'Aims and Ideals', he uses specific language to market himself as a promoter of new and exciting art to make his magazine attractive to potential buyers.

The theme of newness is the connective thread throughout *Rhythm*'s first issue. The word is mentioned in almost every written work, first in Frederick Goodyear's discussion of spiritual freedom in 'The New Thelema', and then in Murry's 'Art and Philosophy'. It is used several times in Sadler's 'Fauvism and a Fauve', which Arnold Bennett, under the

[153] John Middleton Murry, 'Mr. Bennett, Stendhal and the Modern Novel', The *Blue Review*, 1.3 (July 1913), 164–74 (p. 166).
[154] *BTW*, p. 157.

pseudonym Jacob Tonson, reviewed in the *New Age* as the issue's 'best contribution', and it is used four times in Hall Ruffy's story 'The Death of the Devil'.[155] There is no way of knowing whether the use of the word so many times in a single issue was part of the original editorial plan, but a similarly frequent use of a single word is also evident in Issue 3, for which 'creation' is the major theme. Even if certain themes were not chosen for these issues before publication, the adherence of these issues to single, predominant ideas suggests that Murry intended for each issue to be viewed as a cohesive work, not as a collection of disparate contributions.

The *New Age* also picked up on *Rhythm*'s first issue's mission of novelty, which was the focus of Carter's 'Letters from Abroad' segment in August 1911. In a review of *Rhythm*'s first issue, Carter calls the magazine the 'first fruit of the Revolution' and states that its purpose is 'to bury the old contracting civilisation and to foster the new expanding one. Like Columbus, it has discovered a new world, but not on the other side of the Atlantic. The new, new world is everywhere – or soon will be'.[156] Carter characterises *Rhythm* as being a unique periodical in 'a "Daily Mail"-governed world', marking the magazine out as being in opposition to the mechanisation and impersonality of the popular press.[157] He satirically emphasises *Rhythm*'s opposition to the mechanical by suggesting that the magazine is of interest to the natural world, and writes about each natural element's imagined response to *Rhythm*'s first issue:

> The cool, penetrating, early morning odour of the water, the colour threading the dimpled surface of the river, the pine-clad highway conducting to gossamer heights, the original red-roofed houses dipping and swaying in cataracts of green foliage paused to listen […] The many and varied forms of a natural

[155] Jacob Tonson [Arnold Bennett], 'Books and Persons', The *New Age*, 3 August 1911, pp. 327–28 (p. 327).
[156] Huntly Carter, 'Letters from Abroad: The New Idea of Dramatic Action – IV.', The *New Age*, 10 August 1911, pp. 345–47 (p. 345).
[157] Ibid.

> rhythmical life were alive to the importance of knowing whether this was a sure messenger of eternal truth or merely a twittering sparrow.[158]

But, Carter decides, *Rhythm*'s effect does not live up to its audience's expectations, especially in its written content. Carter's underwhelmed impression is manifested in his description of the natural elements which come to *Rhythm* to determine its value, and find it lacking: a 'crystal stream wandered downhill' to read 'The New Thelema', but 'could make nothing' of it; 'The lofty plateau above Loschwitz bent down to catch the words of wisdom of Mr. Middleton Murry' but '[i]t could not see Mr. Murry's connection between "Art and Philosophy"'; meanwhile, 'A huge barge shot some dying bubbles at Mr. Michael T. H. Sadler's verse'.[159] When Carter praises the magazine's illustrations, it is through the eyes of another human, a Dresden resident who cannot understand English and 'turned to the universal language' of the artwork instead.[160] Overall, the review conveys that much had been expected of *Rhythm* but, disappointingly, its written content does not live up to its art. This *New Age* article is not nearly as vicious as some of its later reviews of *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review*, but it did, nevertheless, evoke a response. In *Rhythm*'s third issue, Murry makes use of a more mature editorial voice to address criticism such as Carter's in 'What We Have Tried to Do', a piece that exhibits Murry's rapid acquisition of editorial knowledge and foreshadows his future editorial success.

This section has highlighted the contradictions and potential sources of confusion in Murry's early writings, but it also emphasises the value of these writings for identifying the ways in which he altered his voice for his particular audiences. This practice of writing for specific publics will become a particular strength of his, as will be discussed in later chapters, and successfully gained him many loyal readers throughout his career. The ability to write for

[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid., pp. 345–46.
[160] Ibid., p. 346.

particular audiences depending on the needs of his periodicals as well as his adherence to the theme of newness which helped to market his magazine as a fresh item in a saturated market are some of the ways in which Murry exhibits his early editorial aptitude and his growing market awareness.

From 'Aims and Ideals' to Action: A Tale of Two Editorials

The third issue is the second and final issue of *Rhythm* to feature an editorial. The differences in language and function of 'Aims and Ideals' in Issue 1 and 'What We Have Tried to Do' in Issue 3 reveal both *Rhythm*'s developing sense of identity and Murry's increasing knowledge about the role of an editor. The first editorial, 'Aims and Ideals', states *Rhythm*'s purpose; the second, 'What We Have Tried to Do', defends that purpose and marks out the magazine's value in the competitive market. This section will examine both editorials in detail, comparing their language, contexts, and methods of audience engagement to illustrate how Murry's editorial practices change according to the needs of his magazine.

'Aims and Ideals' is, as the title suggests, idealistic, and is filled with sweeping statements about art and humanity which, as Carter suggests in 'Letters from Abroad', express ideas which are not concretely delivered in the magazine's content. However, in spite of its vagueness, *Rhythm*'s sense of mission is still identifiable. Vibrant words such as 'life', 'new', 'humanity', and 'strong' are used several times in its first editorial, emphasising the issue's attention to newness and vitality while justifying *Rhythm*'s ability to deliver it. 'Aims and Ideals' states that 'Humanity in art in the true sense needs humanity in criticism', implying that this magazine will not only deliver 'art in the true sense', but will also contain high-level criticism about that art.[161] The editorial focuses strongly on humanity, and this focus is evident in the magazine's mission to publish art which has a wide appeal rather than

[161] 'Aims and Ideals', p. 36.

'a narrow aestheticism', confirming that its purpose is to be accessible to all people, not just art experts.[162] The intended broad accessibility of *Rhythm* is reinforced by the energetic but simple language used in the editorial, which is a contrast to the elevated language of Goodyear's 'The New Thelema', Francis Carco's French contribution 'Les Huit Danseuses', and, of course, Murry's 'Art and Philosophy'.

The editorial's placement at the back of the magazine may seem to complicate its otherwise accessible nature. On the one hand, this placement credits the reader with good judgment by allowing the content to speak for itself and by giving the audience the chance to freely interpret the content without the influencing voice of the editor. On the other, opening the magazine to its first contribution, 'The New Thelema', which engages with the human desire for a heavenly community and makes use of abstract spiritual and philosophic ideas, may put off a reader who might be attracted primarily, like Carter's Dresdener, to the 'universal language' of the artwork.[163] In reality, the placement of the editorials at the back of the issues was likely a marketing tactic. If a potential buyer at a bookstall were flipping through the magazine to find the editorial, he or she would encounter the drawings and other content in the process, piquing the viewer's interest and increasing the likelihood of a potential purchase.

In addition to reinforcing the magazine's commitment to artistic vitality, the editorial engages readers with tempting glimpses of what sort of art they can expect from *Rhythm* in the future. It proclaims that 'RHYTHM is a magazine with a purpose' and that 'We need an art that strikes deeper, that touches a profounder reality, that passes outside the bounds of a narrow aestheticism, cramping and choking itself, drawing its inspiration from aversion, to a humaner and broader field'.[164] Murry uses the strangled image of aestheticism as being 'cramp[ed] and chok[ed]' to juxtapose it to the 'broader', freer quality of the 'new art' that

[162] Ibid.
[163] Carter, 'Letters from Abroad: The New Idea of Dramatic Action – IV.', p. 346.
[164] 'Aims and Ideals', p. 36.

Rhythm represents.[165] Murry continues to define the qualities of the 'new art' in strong, even violent language, writing that 'Both in its pity and its brutality it shall be real' and that 'Before art can be human it must learn to be brutal'.[166] As Antony Alpers has pointed out, Murry adapted this concept from playwright J. M. Synge, who wrote in 1908, 'It may almost be said that before a verse can be human again it must learn to be brutal'.[167] Synge died in 1909, but, as Gregory Dobbins writes, 'Synge's writing implicitly calls for something new which will negate the fetishisation of the past; in doing so, it anticipates the more radical modernist positions that would follow'.[168] It is no stretch of the imagination to see how Synge's ethos infuses 'Aims and Ideals', in which Murry eschews aestheticism, which, he writes, 'has had its day and done its work', in favour of 'a new art […] which cannot fix its eyes on yesterday and live'.[169] 'Aims and Ideals' also aligns with the larger purpose of modernist manifestos, which served to, as Laura Winkiel writes in the introduction to her book *Modernism, Race and Manifestos*, '[communicate] an experience of crisis and a conceptual break with the past'.[170] Winkiel points out that the manifesto is characterised by 'its tendency to wield words as weapons in which the absolute certainty of its message contains the threat of violence'.[171] In 'Aims and Ideals', Murry treats violence as a necessary step on the way to 'a humaner and broader field' of art and literature.[172] However, while the editorial promises violent action as a means of achieving better art, as is the case with 'Art and Philosophy', it lacks focus and specificity. This lack of focus is indicative of Murry's willingness to appeal to a particular artistic audience by using impressive language rather

[165] Ibid.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Antony Alpers, *Katherine Mansfield* (London: Jonathan Cape Limited, 1954), p. 148; J. M. Synge, *The Complete Works of J. M. Synge: Plays, Prose and Poetry*, ed. by Aidan Arrowsmith (Ware, Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2008), p. 434.
[168] Gregory Dobbins, 'Synge and Irish Modernism', in *The Cambridge Companion to J. M. Synge*, ed. by P. J. Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 132–45 (p. 137). Cambridge Core ebook.
[169] 'Aims and Ideals', p. 36.
[170] Laura Winkiel, *Modernism, Race and Manifestos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 1. Cambridge Core ebook.
[171] Ibid., p. 12.
[172] 'Aims and Ideals', p. 36.

than by providing any particular evidence of how *Rhythm* will uphold its professed intentions. It is also likely that Murry's space was limited to a page, preventing him from going into detail about how *Rhythm* will progress. In contrast, the *English Review*'s first editorial in December 1908 was four pages long, while the *New Age*'s were typically two.[173] Later, in the *Athenaeum* and the *Adelphi*, Murry's editorials are much longer, allowing him to respond to critics and to voice his opinions in more detail than he is able to in *Rhythm*. Considering his limited space, as well as his yet unformed editorial voice, it is no wonder that 'Aims and Ideals' is particularly vague; in fact, its vagueness characterises it as a useful point of contrast to *Rhythm*'s second editorial.

'What We Have Tried to Do', is, I suggest, a much more sophisticated editorial than 'Aims and Ideals', and the changes between the two pieces illustrate Murry's ability to alter his editorial practices according to his magazine's needs. One reason for the second editorial's effectiveness is its increased focus. Murry uses 'What We Have Tried to Do' in part as a defence against *Rhythm*'s critics, and in defending his magazine, he also exhibits his awareness of the competitive field in which it is situated. He writes that 'The men of authority have said things often unintelligent, sometimes thoughtful, sometimes even helpful. With the second number we do well to criticize ourselves'.[174] These comments are the words of an editor who is engaging both with his periodical community by acknowledging the right judgment of his critics, as well as with his audience by exhibiting his willingness to accept suggestions for the improvement of the magazine. 'What We Have Tried to Do' is a masterful example of the editorial appeal, a form of writing at which Murry will become something of an expert over the course of his career, using it to defend his magazines against criticism and garner support from his readers. His audience appeal in *Rhythm* comes at a crucial point in the magazine's history: Issue 3 was the first to feature the advertisements that

[173] 'Editorial – The Functions of the Arts in the Republic, I. Literature', *The English Review*, December 1908, pp. 157–60.
[174] The Editor [Murry], 'What We Have Tried to Do', *Rhythm*, 1.3 (Winter 1911), 36 (p. 36).

had become necessary for maintaining the periodical's financial stability. The editorial defends the appearance of advertisements by emphasising the larger importance of the magazine's survival.

'What We Have Tried to Do' is the first example of Murry using his editorial position to morally compel his audience to support his magazine. His emphasis on the nobility of *Rhythm*'s purpose, his openness about the magazine's strained financial situation, and his praise of the good taste of those who are willing to accept *Rhythm*'s choice to print advertisements are all tactics he will use later in the *Athenaeum* and the *Adelphi* to ask for financial support from his audiences. This first example of such tactics, with its rousing language and its deliberate adherence to the issue's overall theme of creation, defends *Rhythm*'s value as an artistic periodical in spite of its advertisements, and exhibits Murry's increasing awareness of the periodical market and of an editor's role in it.

Notably, Issue 3's advertisements appear on the final pages of the magazine. In contrast, the *Athenaeum*'s advertisements ran on its front pages, while the *Adelphi* printed a half-page advertisement on its front cover. Making use of the advertisements' position at the end of *Rhythm*, Murry uses his editorial to prepare his audience for their appearance. By *Rhythm*'s third issue, as Binckes notes, Sadler's original funding was nearly gone, and the introduction of advertisements was a financial necessity.[175] This chapter suggests that Issue 3 should be examined as a cohesive work that adheres closely to a single theme – creation – in order to prepare readers to encounter the advertisements at the end of the issue. While there is no evidence to suggest that Murry asked for contributions to specifically address the topic of advertising in the magazine, the following section pays particular attention to the many uses in the issue of the word 'creation' and the various discussions of art breaking with the old to create something new. I suggest that this issue is arranged for the purpose of preparing a

[175] Binckes, p. 152.

reader to accept *Rhythm*'s advertisements not as a limitation of the magazine, but as an economic necessity that reveals the financial struggle of artistic magazines more broadly. Murry uses this struggle to justify his readers' loyalty and financial support, and his editorial serves as the culmination of the entire issue's intimations that *Rhythm*'s readers should be prepared to change their ways of thinking about art. Even the contributions that do not directly address the theme of creation encourage the audience to adopt new perceptions of art, and support the editorial's plea for readers to accept *Rhythm* as an artistic magazine that includes advertisements as opposed to a primarily commercial product that has a passing interest in art.

For example, the issue's first contribution, C. J. Holmes's 'Stray Thoughts on Rhythm in Painting', suggests that an artist's definition of the word *rhythm* should be different from the dictionary definition. He criticises art that is too balanced or 'photographic', even though such art might appear to coincide with established understandings of 'rhythm'.[176] Rather, Holmes writes, 'Our definition of rhythm appears once more to demand inequality rather than equality, and to condemn all methods of work which incline to mechanical repetition'.[177] This aversion to the mechanical implies a differentiation between artistic creation and mere production, and, as will be discussed later in this section, *Rhythm*'s artistically unique advertisements will blur the line between these. Holmes's article was likely not written with a defence of *Rhythm*'s advertisements in mind, but it certainly contributes to the issue's sense of editorial purpose. The next prose contribution, Holbrook Jackson's 'A Plea for Revolt in Attitude', does the same. Like Holmes, Jackson states that it is not the artist's responsibility to reproduce the world – as he points out, 'the camera can do that far better' – but to provoke 'action'.[178] Notably, he also 'demands a change in attitude towards art', calling for a

[176] C. J. Holmes, 'Stray Thoughts on Rhythm in Painting', *Rhythm*, 1.3 (Winter 1911), 1–3 (p. 2).
[177] Ibid.
[178] Holbrook Jackson, 'A Plea for Revolt in Attitude', *Rhythm*, 1.3 (Winter 1911), 6–10 (pp. 6, 10).

transformation not in the nature of art itself, but in the reception of its audiences.[179] He writes, 'Art has assumed a new adolescence; it has once more kicked over the traces, and we have got to ask ourselves what precisely this rejuvenescence means, not so much to the artist as to us'.[180] Jackson's focus on the audience's reception of art rather than on the artwork itself also aligns with this issue's editorial purpose to encourage readers to accept *Rhythm*'s new advertisements not as, as Murry writes, 'a degradation', but as an indication of the magazine's will to survive.[181] As this section discusses later, *Rhythm*'s advertisements, which were drawn by the magazine's own artists, deliberately challenged the mechanical, mass-produced look of typical periodical advertising. Jackson's wish for art to result in 'action' prepares a reader to respond to *Rhythm*'s editorial and, ultimately, its advertisements by financially supporting the magazine rather than standing idly by while such a worthy publication dies.

One piece in this issue to which Murry seems to directly refer in his editorial is the full-page reproduction of a woodcut print by André Derain titled 'Creation' (Fig. 7).[182] Unlike the artworks typically featured in *Rhythm*, this one does not show human subjects, street scenes, or still-life images; instead, it presents a crowded picture of horses, butterflies, fish, birds, and other wild creatures. Its inclusion of plants, water, and animals calls to mind the biblical creation story, an allusion that thematically aligns with the Eve-like figure on the cover of the magazine. It also foreshadows the look of *Rhythm*'s advertisements, which feature black-and-white woodcuts in the style of 'Creation'. It is possible that the image was used as the centrepiece of the issue, as the word 'creation' appears seven times across four contributions in Issue 3, including twice in Murry's editorial.

[179] Ibid., p. 8.
[180] Ibid.
[181] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36.
[182] André Derain, 'Creation', *Rhythm*, 1.3 (Winter 1911), 28 (p. 28).

In addition to adhering to the overarching theme of the issue, 'What We Have Tried to Do' exhibits Murry's engagement with other critics, his awareness of the marketability of his magazine, and his appeals to his readers' sense of loyalty to support his periodical. This editorial, like 'Art and Philosophy', appears just after another Picasso 'Study' (Fig. 8), ensuring that readers are in no doubt of the magazine's artistic value when they read Murry's words.[183] He begins by acknowledging the criticism that *Rhythm* has received, indicating that he is willing to engage with contemporary critics and that he is aware of *Rhythm*'s place amongst its fellow magazines. He writes:

> undoubtedly for those who had eyes for drawing that is born of a vision more direct than the popular academic monstrosities of to-day, to those who had eyes for promise rather than for achievement in writing, for the promise of something truer because less external, it was no hard thing to divine that our aim was creation rather than criticism.[184]

Murry's deliberate juxtaposition of the words 'creation', which is represented by *Rhythm* and which is likely a reference to Derain's woodcut, and 'criticism', which *Rhythm*'s competitors are full of, sets *Rhythm* apart from other periodicals by emphasising its uniqueness as an artistic object rather than an overly critical journal. It also emphasises *Rhythm*'s intention to invent rather than to imitate, a goal which is embodied by the magazine's artistically unique advertisements which are positioned just after the editorial.

Murry goes on to unite the creative and the active, and uses militaristic language to defend and morally elevate *Rhythm*'s purpose. He writes that 'Our protest is creative', and specifies that the magazine's 'protest' exists within a larger 'battle for expression'.[185] In this battle, *Rhythm*, Murry implies, is on the side of the artists. He writes, 'Those who, however

[183] Pablo Picasso, 'Study', *Rhythm*, 1.3 (Winter 1911), 35 (p. 35).
[184] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36.
[185] Ibid.

vaguely […] have felt the need of a saner attitude towards life in art are our friends. No matter what their nationality, these are the men for whom we fight, and who by their creations fight for us'.[186] Again, his use of the word 'creation' calls to mind artists like Derain, and engages *Rhythm* in an international fraternity of artists and thus with a larger mission of art that expands beyond the critical circles of London. With this editorial, he also marks out *Rhythm* as a safe space for explorative art which might not find an outlet elsewhere. Mourant emphasises the magazine's focus on international appeal and accessibility, and suggests that it 'presented a liberating publication venue' to artists such as Mansfield, who would use her contributions to *Rhythm* 'to fully explore her cultural origins as well as play with different national registers in her writing'.[187] French and Russian influences are particularly evident in *Rhythm*, and Maclean writes that its publication of international artwork 'established the magazine's position at the cutting edge of modernism, and contributed to the magazine's promotion of a distinctive interpretation of post-impressionism'.[188] Murry was certainly defending the unique value of his magazine in 'What We Have Tried to Do', but his primary goal, as he states in the final paragraph, is to ward off anticipated criticism for his decision to run advertisements in an artistic periodical.

This last paragraph brings the editorial and, in many ways, the entire issue to their culminating point. Calling upon his readers for friendship and support, Murry articulates the avant-garde struggle, which is represented by *Rhythm*: 'The men who try to do something new for the most part starve. They can only win to success by unity, by helping their best friends and neglecting petty differences'.[189] While this comment is likely directed in part towards the *New Age*, in which *Rhythm* had already been criticised, it is also an appeal to *Rhythm*'s audience to support the magazine not as readers or viewers, but as 'friends'. This

[186] Ibid.
[187] Mourant, pp. 111–12.
[188] Maclean, p. 148.
[189] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36.

word appears twice in the page-long editorial, and is an indication of Murry's first attempts at creating a community through his periodicals. This is an editorial technique that he will use for the rest of his career to attract and maintain readers, as he does in the *Athenaeum*, and to create a democratic space to accommodate a less hierarchical form of criticism, as he does in the *Adelphi*. In *Rhythm*, Murry uses the word 'friend' in a way that will become typical of his editorial writings: he draws upon a reader's sense of loyalty to a particular magazine community to garner support for that periodical. The word 'friend' assumes a mutual commitment between the magazine and its audience, and he calls for his readers to give up the 'petty' reasons they might have for doubting *Rhythm*'s value and instead to support the magazine on its path to 'success'. This support, he writes, depends upon his readers' ability to rise above being bothered by what he calls 'unessentials', which he defines as the trivial differences between people that might hold them back from uniting for a common cause.[190] Some of these 'unessentials' are, Murry reveals, advertisements.

The purpose of the editorial is to tell readers that from now on *Rhythm* will be publishing commercial announcements, but the word 'advertisements' is not used until the final few lines. Rather, Murry appeals to readers' loyalty and sense of duty first so that by the time they discover that *Rhythm* has begun to feature advertisements, they are, it is hoped, already devoted to its cause. He creates a sense of community among those who adhere to *Rhythm*'s values by specifying precisely what sort of reader the magazine does not want, writing, 'There may be some who will say that the admission of advertisements is a degradation of an artistic magazine. These are the people who are in love with the print and the paper. We have no use for them'.[191] Although *Rhythm*'s woodcut images and wide-margined pages – its 'print' and 'paper' – are precisely what visually sets it apart from other periodicals, Murry condemns those who support a magazine primarily for its appearance and

[190] Ibid.
[191] Ibid.

not for the artistic and intellectual interventions it makes. He considers these readers to exhibit 'artistic snobbery', and they are not, Murry writes, 'really for us'.[192] He implies that the shallow, artificial qualities of 'snobbery', which are based entirely upon appearance, are contrary to the truth contained in *Rhythm*. In subsequent issues, as will be discussed later in this chapter, he and Mansfield will use the ideas of artificial shallowness and deeper truth to discuss the mission of true artists. Here, Murry uses them to establish *Rhythm*'s uniqueness as an artistic periodical, the value of which 'depends on free expression, not on the methods by which that freedom is secured'.[193] The 'methods' of securing freedom to which he refers are the advertisements, which *Rhythm* calls 'Select Announcements', for products such as artistic reproductions, the magazine *T.P.'s Weekly*, and *Rhythm*'s own upcoming issue.

It is crucial to note that *Rhythm*'s advertisements look like a continuation of the content text, featuring the same font used for the magazine's written contributions as well as decorative woodcut images that have appeared before in the periodical. Later, the advertisements will take on an even more distinctive visual quality, blurring the line between art and advertisement in a way that challenges Murry's claim that advertisements are 'unessentials'; rather, the attention displayed to their appearance and placement suggests that advertisements were crucial to *Rhythm*'s existence and to its identity as an artistic periodical. Andrew Thacker draws attention to this catch-22 of periodical modernism by referring specifically to 'What We Have Tried to Do'. He writes, 'We can […] note the difficulty, the contradictions of the position stated here: advertisements are artistically unessential, but economically an absolute necessity, and without them those who strive to create new modernist rhythms will starve'.[194] As Thacker notes, Murry markets his magazine as being

[192] Ibid.
[193] Ibid.
[194] Andrew Thacker, 'Modern Tastes in *Rhythm*: The Visual and Verbal Culture of Advertisements in Modernist Magazines', *Katherine Mansfield Studies*, 2 (2010), 4–19 (p. 12).

unique and worthy of purchase, but acknowledges that his readers will see any engagement with the market as undermining the magazine's artistic identity.

Murry attempts to overcome this disconnect with his audience by engaging them in the community of the periodical he edits. By inviting them to be loyal to the magazine at all costs, he encourages them to be active participants in the imagined community of *Rhythm*'s contributors, readers, and editor. The advertisements in *Rhythm* also display particular attention to the magazine's specific audience, and provide further evidence for Murry's intention to create a mutual connection between his magazine and its readers.

I will discuss these advertisements, and the particular work they perform in breaking down the division between art and the commercial market, in the next section. To conclude this one, I emphasise once more the progression of Murry's editorial knowledge that is already evident from Issue 1 to Issue 3. 'Aims and Ideals', Murry's first editorial, marks the magazine out as an artistic magazine for a particular type of reader. He writes for an audience of artists, and he emphasises what value *Rhythm* can add to their lives. However, in 'What We Have Tried to Do', *Rhythm* is no longer characterised as a ground-breaking artistic magazine with unique appeal; rather, it is transformed into a symbol of the larger artistic struggle, and the emphasis of the editorial is less about what the magazine can bring to its readers and highlights instead what *Rhythm*'s readers can do to preserve its existence. This shift in editorial voice represents Murry's larger recognition of his fluctuating purpose as an editor, a role which sometimes requires him to market his magazine as an artistic item sold at a bargain price, and at other times demands that he use every tool at his disposal to sell his magazine at all costs.

'The Sign of the Fourposter': *Rhythm*'s Heal & Son Advertisements

In their introduction to *Marketing Modernisms*, Dettmar and Watt state that 'Advertising is arguably the modern(ist) art form par excellence'.[195] While this bold claim seems rather an overstatement, there is no doubt that the relationships between magazines and the businesses they advertise offer fresh insight into the periodical-market relationship through their facilitation of the creation of advertisements that reveal an effort to reach the specific audiences of certain magazines. The advertisements in *Rhythm* for Heal & Son furniture shop in particular display this audience awareness, and reveal how elusive the line between art and advertisement can be. Binckes points out that the introduction of advertisements to an artistic magazine was potentially dangerous to the magazine's reputation because advertisements were 'the dreaded signifier of commercial contamination'.[196] Thacker also highlights this danger, writing that *Rhythm*'s advertisements provide 'a fascinating instance of the dilemmas facing the modernist artists in the cultural marketplace of the early twentieth century, and of how magazines and movements functioned to address these problems'.[197] The design of *Rhythm*'s advertisements reveals their deliberate dissociation from those published in mass-market publications such as newspapers, suggesting that these advertisements, rather than aligning with Murry's description of them as 'unessentials', were in fact crafted with extreme care to further showcase the magazine's artistic style and to appeal to its particular audience.

Appearing in five different versions, the Heal & Son advertisements were printed in several issues of *Rhythm* across 1912 and 1913 and in the first issue of the *Blue Review*. Far from being reproduced images which were printed in a number of other periodicals, these unique advertisements were drawn by the magazines' own artists, a fact which reveals two important conclusions about the advertisements. Firstly, they function visually as a continuation of the magazine's content, not an interruption to it, combatting their potential perceived status as a 'degradation'; secondly, they elevate the quality of the magazine as a

[195] Dettmar and Watt, p. 5.
[196] Binckes, p. 133.
[197] Thacker, 'Modern Tastes', p. 12.

whole, transforming it from a periodical which conformed unthinkingly to market standards to one which accepted those standards only, as Binckes writes, on its 'own terms'.[198] As Thacker points out in his article about *Rhythm*'s advertisements, 'the "essential forms" of the modernism that Murry sought to demonstrate in the pages of the magazine encompasses the world of commerce as much as that of poetry or the visual arts'.[199] This analysis emphasises the value of *Rhythm*'s position as a simultaneously market-resisted and market-adapting publication. Dorothy 'Georges' Banks and Gaudier-Brzeska, both of whom contributed drawings to *Rhythm*, were the primary designers of the Heal's ads.[200] In contrast to the majority of the advertisements in *Rhythm*, which are text-heavy and are often decorated with woodcuts used elsewhere in the magazine, the Heal's ads are more distinctive and seem to have been given more artistic attention, frequently featuring full-page illustrations of Heal's furniture, particularly the four-poster beds for which the company was best known. Some of these advertisements feature lines from literature or promotional text aimed directly at *Rhythm*'s readers.

The care given to the presentation of these advertisements exhibits how far they are from being 'unessentials', and, when viewed alongside 'What We Have Tried to Do', they illustrate the complex relationship between the artistic and the commercial that was navigated by magazine editors. In the *Oxford Handbook of Modernisms*, Thacker sums up precisely this complexity when he writes about the diverse modernist movements in London:

> Rather than a sudden dismissal or embrace of commercial culture, the structural features that governed the emergence of metropolitan movements saw a more fluid to and fro motion. Rejection, distancing, re-engagement, compromise – these seem part of the more multifaceted scenario governing how cultural formations emerge and organize themselves in order to get their voices heard, perhaps

[198] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36; Binckes, p. 154.
[199] Thacker, 'Modern Tastes', p. 16.
[200] Binckes, p. 154. Banks's signature is on the June 1912 Heal's advertisement. Binckes cites Horace Brodzky's memoir of Gaudier-Brzeska, which attributes the August advertisement to the *Rhythm* artist.

> detaching themselves from certain mainstream aspects of culture, only to re-engage with other aspects of commercial culture and thus compromise some of their own artistic rhetoric.[201]

The trajectory from 'rejection' to 'compromise' which Thacker maps out is evident in *Rhythm*, from its initial lack of advertising to its carefully crafted Heal's advertisements, a transition which offers new insight into modernist magazines and the market about which they were so famously suspicious.

The four-poster bed, the focal point of most of *Rhythm*'s Heal's advertisements, was an important part of Victorian family life, and these advertisements' unique representations of the four-poster further reveal *Rhythm*'s intentions to break with existing artistic norms. James Norbury, writing about Victorian furniture, states that 'The main bedroom, the one that belongs to the parents, has as its main item a large and ornate mahogany four-poster bed. This was the unspoken of, unwritten of, centre of marital life'.[202] The four-poster could also be read as a nod to ancestry, and to one's nation. Penny Sparke notes that 'The mid-century, middle-class European home modelled itself materially upon that of the aristocracy with many of its artefacts […] clearly echoing noble dwellings'.[203] The imposing four-poster bed is one of the ways in which the Victorian interior represented the desires of its inhabitants to socially elevate themselves through the display of specific pieces of furniture. Scholars such as Georgina Downey, Christopher Reed, and Hilary Hinds describe modernist design as representing a 'liberation' from traditional ideas about the home, which were embodied by what Hinds describes as the 'imposing edifice of the Victorian marriage bed'.[204] This

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[201] Andrew Thacker, 'London: Rhymers, Imagists, and Vorticists', in *The Oxford Handbook of Modernisms*, ed. by Brooker, Gasiorek, Longworth, and Thacker, pp. 687–705 (pp. 690–91).
[202] James Norbury, *The World of Victoriana: Illustrating the Progress of Furniture and the Decorative Arts in Britain and American from 1837-1901* (London: Hamlyn, 1972), p. 94.
[203] Penny Sparke, *The Modern Interior* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd., 2008), pp. 25–26.
[204] Georgina Downey, 'Introduction', in *Domestic Interiors: Representing Homes from the Victorians to the Moderns*, ed. by Georgina Downey (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013), pp. 1–11 (p. 5); Hilary Hinds, 'Together and Apart: Twin Beds, Domestic Hygiene and Modern Marriage, 1890-1945', *Journal of Design*

'liberating' reaction against the traditional Victorian home is evident in *Rhythm*'s Heal's advertisements through its artists' reimagined versions of the traditional four-poster.

In an example of this new take on a traditional furniture item, a June 1912 advertisement (Fig. 9) combines a description of Heal's reproduction furniture with a whimsically illustrated four-poster bed. The advertisement, signed by Banks, is square, leaving a significant amount of white space around it on the page, and the drawing of the bed is also largely white, contributing to the effect of airiness and freedom. The most colour-saturated area is the bed's spotted canopy, which has a black-and-white tassel hanging down between the lettering of the Heal's slogan: 'The sign of the fourposter is the mark of good bedding'.[205] In addition to being visually interesting, the advertisement reveals particularly strong audience awareness. The bulk of the advertisement's text, which is framed by the bed's headboard, posts, and canopy, states, 'When you wish your house to appear a beautiful and simple environment, chosen with Taste, visit Heal & Son's, who have made it a study to reproduce the finest designs in furniture of all periods', all of which can be chosen 'at a very moderate price'.[206] The drawing of the bed is certainly 'beautiful and simple', but its design is not indicative of any particular period. This lack of detail invites the viewer to place the bed in any time and place, and the accompanying text supports this effect, stating that when a potential buyer visits the Heal's shop, 'An expert will help you to realize your ideas and make the best possible use of your surroundings'. The white space surrounding the bed, then, could be any room at all, including the bedroom of the viewer. The advertisement targets an audience that is imaginative, adventurous, and unwilling to limit its design choices to one particular style, and serves as an example of the ways in which *Rhythm* crafted its advertisements to affirm, rather than detract from, its artistic identity.

History, 23.3 (2010), 275–304 (p. 278). See also Christopher Reed, *Bloomsbury Rooms: Modernism, Subculture, and Domesticity* (New York: Yale University Press, 2004), p. 4.

[205] Heal & Son advertisement, *Rhythm*, 2.5 (June 1912), i.

[206] Ibid.

The next month's advertisement, from July 1912, exhibits similar audience awareness. Interestingly, this advertisement is not unique at all; it is redrawn from a 1909 issue of *Golf Illustrated*. The major difference between the two advertisements is that while the 1909 advertisement could be a photograph, the *Rhythm* advertisement has obviously been drawn by hand, again suggesting that much more attention was given to *Rhythm*'s advertisements than Murry lets on in 'What We Have Tried to Do'. Published in May 1909, the Heal's advertisement that appeared in *Golf Illustrated* (Fig. 10) shows an attractive, beam-ceilinged kitchen with a long table, wooden sideboard, large fireplace, and curtained window.[207] There are rugs on the wooden floor, and a long bench and three chairs are arranged invitingly around the table, which has plates and teacups laid out. The effect of the image is of a comfortable, lived-in room, the owners of which could enter at any moment. The familiarity of the scene as well as the open perspective, which places the viewer in the room, implies that the owner of this room could, in fact, be the viewer. An almost identical image is published in *Rhythm* three years later (Fig. 11), but with some key differences, and the distinctions between the two display how the later advertisement targeted *Rhythm*'s artistic audience.[208] The effect of the *Rhythm* advertisement is to suggest that someone is sitting in the unseen front corner of the room, perhaps in the fourth chair from the table, sketching the scene. This marks the space as an artist's domain. While the *Golf Illustrated* advertisement labels the image as 'The Golfer's Cottage', the *Rhythm* version never defines what sort of cottage it is; rather, it is implied that this room, which is depicted as being much brighter, through the contrast of the black-and-white woodcut look, than in the greyer photographic image, is perfect for an artist. The language of the advertisements also suggests a difference in audience. The furniture pieces which are described in *Golf Illustrated* as being 'essential' to a cottage-style home are described in *Rhythm* as being 'plain, though

[207] Heal & Son advertisement, *Golf Illustrated*, 28 May 1909, p. iv, from London, Victoria and Albert Museum Archives at Blythe House, AAD/1978/2/176.
[208] Heal & Son advertisement, *Rhythm*, 2.6 (July 1912), i.

completely comfortable', making them more attractive to lower-income audiences, such as London artists. Similarly, the furniture that *Golf Illustrated* assures is part of a 'charming selection' becomes 'simple without being in any degree mannered' in *Rhythm*. The emphasis in the *Rhythm* advertisement is on authenticity rather than fashion, and this dichotomy becomes an important topic in the magazine's written content, as well, as will be discussed in the next section.

Particularly when viewed alongside 'What We Have Tried to Do', these Heal's advertisements reveal that while Murry denounces those who value the non-commercial appearance of a magazine over its artistic contributions, in fact, he and the *Rhythm* artists worked to make even the magazine's advertisements an exciting and unique viewing experience for its readers. However, as Murry's combative language in 'What We Have Tried to Do' suggests, the decision to run advertisements in an otherwise market-resistant magazine was a dangerous move, as exhibited by the *New Age*'s range of commentary on *Rhythm*'s advertising pages. At first, Carter notes that *Rhythm*'s advertisements have simply 'crept in'.[209] This language characterises Murry as a passive editor who has lazily sat by and allowed the advertisements to appear. Several months later, while reviewing the June 1912 issue of *Rhythm*, an unattributed *New Age* writer refers again to the magazine's advertisements:

> An editorial advertisement of lectures by Mr. Frank Harris, 'the greatest living critic and story-writer,' holds up a trade ad. which informs us all that 'The Sign of the Fourposter is the Mark of Good Bedding.' 'Rhythm,' also, is now down to a shilling monthly.[210]

[209] Huntly Carter, 'Art and Drama', The *New Age*, 4 January 1912, p. 227 (p. 227).
[210] 'Reviews: Rhythm', The *New Age*, 27 June 1912, pp. 208–09 (p. 208).

In referring specifically to an advertisement for a lecture series alongside one for a 'trade ad.', the *New Age* implies that *Rhythm*'s editors equate the priceless acquisition of knowledge with the material value of a four-poster bed. The fact that *Rhythm*'s price has now decreased is phrased deliberately as a passing comment and implies that *Rhythm* is cheap, both in price and in artistic and intellectual value. The review suggests that *Rhythm*, a magazine that runs furniture advertisements, is barely worth the now-lower price its editors are asking for it.

In 'What We Have Tried to Do', Murry anticipates precisely the sort of negative response which the *New Age* delivers, and his editorial exhibits his awareness of the perception of advertisements as indicators of what Binckes calls 'commercial contamination'.[211] However, the advertisements in *Rhythm* suggest that, as Thacker points out, Murry's approach to advertisements was more complex than simply denouncing them as 'unessentials'.[212] In her chapter on 'Feminist Things', Barbara Green advocates the study of periodicals in part because of the relationships they facilitate between people and information, writing that

> It is first, perhaps, in their role as tour guides to a world of things, mediators that describe, promote, and sell, that early twentieth century periodicals open a window onto the theories of objects that organized relationships between their readers and the things surrounding them.[213]

The commercial aspects of periodicals, including their advertisements, contribute to Green's description of magazines as 'mediators' between sellers and buyers, and between companies and individuals. *Rhythm*'s advertisements, and Murry's treatment of them in his editorial, provide evidence for precisely why Green's suggestion of viewing periodicals as 'mediators' is so valuable.

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[211] Binckes, p. 133.
[212] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36.
[213] Barbara Green, 'Feminist Things', in *Transatlantic Print Culture*, ed. by Ardis and Collier, pp. 66–79 (p. 66).

This section has illustrated how *Rhythm*'s Heal and Son advertisements in particular suggest that rather than expecting his audience to ignore his magazine's advertisements, he encouraged his readers to engage with them as artists as well as consumers. The advertisements' unique style blurs the line between the artistic and the commercial, as well as between the essential and the unessential content of magazines, providing insight into how magazines could adopt advertising to fit their own needs and integrate it, as Binckes writes, on their 'own terms'.[214] Further, these advertisements reveal Murry's developing confidence as an editor and his increasing market awareness. Far from conforming to the expectations of his readers and competitors, Murry encourages them to embrace the cause of the little magazine more broadly by supporting *Rhythm* in spite of its advertisements. His calls for a community of supportive readers and his anticipation of the criticism *Rhythm* receives for printing advertisements reveals his growing editorial knowledge and his confidence to challenge, rather than to conform to, the expectations of his audiences.

The 'Arch-Democrat' and the 'Aristocracy': Portrayals of the Journalist and the Artist

In spite of their unique function as a bridge between the commercial and the artistic, *Rhythm*'s advertisements did not make the magazine any more willing to align itself with mass-market publications. Rather, the magazine's contributors made it clear that their work as artists was distinctive from the sensational stories produced by journalists for mass-market newspapers. Several contributions in *Rhythm* criticise journalists as being beholden to the public, while artists are portrayed as being free from the market's demands. Several key ideas about the differences between journalism and art that Murry will explore for the rest of his editorial career, including discussions of the aristocracy, democracy, freedom, community, spirituality, and individuality, make their first appearances in *Rhythm*. This section places

[214] Binckes, p. 154.

both Murry and *Rhythm* at the centre of larger early twentieth-century concerns about the democratisation of art, the lack of intellectual value of daily newspapers, and the role of the artist in society.

Murry distances himself and his periodicals from the work of the journalist, even though he, like many others, wrote reviews and criticism for several London newspapers, including the *Times* and the *Westminster Gazette*, to support his income.[215] His discussions of journalists' work as being more commercial and therefore less 'serious' than artists' reveal his dissatisfaction with his own inability to support himself as a novelist, and this frustration emerges in his writing in *Rhythm* as well as in his personal journals.[216] In 1913, when Murry was writing book reviews alongside his poetry and fiction, he wrote in his journal, 'Unless I change my way of life, cut myself free from this supervacuating journalism, there'll be nothing left worth freeing at all'.[217] His struggle between the need for the money earned by writing reviews for newspapers and devoting himself entirely to writing literature is representative of a larger modernist dilemma. Patrick Collier explains, 'As a source of income and a means of making oneself visible, journalism was irresistible […] At the same time, to abstain from the critique of journalism was to expose oneself to identification with the forces of cultural decline'.[218] As will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, newspaper journalism was seen as a threat to the literary and artistic ideals that a magazine like *Rhythm* upheld. As Claire Hoertz Badaracco writes, 'In the modern literary economy, standardization and mass consumption presented financial opportunity, but also a threat to the values of artistic individualism, classical ideas about heroism, and storytelling itself'.[219] Murry's public denunciations of journalists in *Rhythm* illustrates precisely this catch-22, and by denouncing

[215] Journal entry, 16 February 1914, ATL, MSX-4147.
[216] John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, 'Seriousness in Art', *Rhythm*, 2.6 (July 1912), 46–49.
[217] Journal entry, 27 October 1913, 'The Journals of J. Middleton Murry: "The Early Years" (1913-1923)', ATL, MS-Papers-11327-001.
[218] Patrick Collier, *Modernism on Fleet Street* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2006), pp. 3–4.
[219] Badaracco, p. 10.

the quality of journalism, even while engaging with it as a reviewer for newspapers and by publishing advertisements in *Rhythm*, he preserves his magazine's identity as an artistic item, as well as his own identity as an artist.

Ann Ardis and Collier explain how the democratising effects of popular newspapers spurred anxiety amongst modernists because of the concern that mass-market periodicals would eliminate the public's desire for art and literature. In the introduction to *Transatlantic Print Culture*, Ardis and Collier ask, 'Was mass publication producing – or pandering to – a public unfit for self-governance and inattentive to serious literature? What, if anything, was to be the role of the arts in a print-saturated, democratic society?'[220] Murry sought answers to these questions throughout his editorial career, and his attempts to counteract the perceived harmful effects of mass-market journalism are evident in his periodicals, albeit in different ways. For example, in the *Athenaeum*, Murry's transition from praising the intellectual elite as an aristocracy to advocating a more democratic understanding of art becomes apparent, and by the time he edits the *Adelphi*, he will have made a complete break from his understandings of art and literature as being only for the intellectual few. As Goldie points out, this democratic trajectory was in direct opposition to some of Murry's contemporaries, such as T. S. Eliot. Goldie writes that 'while Murry came more and more to believe that even religious values were achieved through the workings of consensus and fraternity, Eliot was appropriating a dogma in which all values were already given and required only sensitive adjudication'.[221] This split can be seen clearly in the titles of their respective magazines: the *Criterion* clearly, Goldie writes, 'stressed the imposition of value'; in contrast, the *Adelphi* was named for the offices where Murry and his team worked on the *Athenaeum*, and the title would come to be associated strongly with the idea of community, and particularly

[220] Ardis and Collier, p. 2.
[221] Goldie, p. 132.

brotherhood.[222] During his editorship of *Rhythm*, however, Murry was counteracting the harmful effects of commercial journalism in a notably different style. Along with Mansfield, he co-authored several *Rhythm* pieces which praise the superiority of the artist over the journalist, and which make it clear that *Rhythm* is a haven for those who seek escape from the market-driven demands of society.

For example, in 1912, a joint Murry-Mansfield piece called 'The Meaning of Rhythm' uses political and moral language to emphasise the differences between the artist and the journalist, and to classify themselves, and all who are like them, as the former. The piece is filled with variations of this dichotomy. For example, the 'minority' of artists is contrasted to the 'majority' who do not understand art; the 'aristocracy' of the few is praised over the 'democracy' which inhibits the audience's 'effort to comprehend' art and the artist's 'effort to create' it; the 'individuality' of the artist is preferred to the 'mob'.[223] Murry and Mansfield use words such as 'freedom', 'lavishness', and 'generosity' to establish the exalted nature of artists, who, they write, possess the 'purely aristocratic quality' of 'intuition'.[224] Their implication is that artists, in refusing to betray their talent by writing 'machine-made realism' like the journalists, are superior because they choose a total 'surrender to life'.[225] Similarly to Murry's language in 'Art and Philosophy', the language of 'The Meaning of Rhythm' calls to mind religious spirituality, particularly Christian devotion.

Such language suggests firstly how, for *Rhythm*, art possesses spiritual importance and secondly how much the magazine values artists, who are portrayed as saint-like. Murry and Mansfield write that the 'conscious surrender to life means for the artist to surrender to freedom', a line which is reminiscent of St Paul's letter to the Romans in the New Testament: 'you can be the slave either of sin which leads to death, or of obedience which leads to saving

[222] Ibid.; Whitworth, p. 378.
[223] John Middleton Murry and Katherine Mansfield, 'The Meaning of Rhythm', 2.5 (June 1912), 18–20 (p. 18).
[224] Ibid.
[225] Ibid., p. 19.

justice'.[226] Like the Christian who surrenders himself to God and obtains heaven, the artist surrenders himself to his art and obtains freedom. Notably, Murry and Mansfield use the word 'slave' to describe the journalist, who 'cannot even dream of freedom' because he has denied his individuality by selling himself to the demands of the public.[227] Another potential reference to St Paul is the authors' claim that 'the life of the artist is one long princely giving and princely taking back again that which is his by right of giving'.[228] Similarly, St Paul writes, 'do not use your freedom as an opening for self-indulgence, but be servants to one another in love, since the whole of the Law is summarised in the one commandment: You must love your neighbour as yourself'.[229] These oblique references to the New Testament imply the moral superiority of the artist who, like Christians surrender to God, surrender totally to life and use their resulting freedom to create art.

Murry and Mansfield go on to directly juxtapose the freedom of the artist with the slave-like work of the journalist. They write:

> In its attempt to reproduce art democracy has succeeded in producing journalism. The journalist himself is the arch-democrat, for he denies his own individuality. In his work facts triumph over truth. He is the prince of democrats because for him all things have equal values, that is, no value at all.[230]

The mechanistic nature of the popular press and the slave-like behaviour of the journalist are deficient, Murry and Mansfield write, because they deny individuality. Murry's concerns with the threat that an increasingly mechanised world posed to individuality are voiced in the *Athenaeum*, as well. However, while in the *Athenaeum*, his fears about the loss of individuality coincide largely with his anxieties about the death of literary reviews at the

[226] Romans 6:16, *The New Jerusalem Bible*.
[227] 'The Meaning of Rhythm', p. 19.
[228] Ibid.
[229] Galatians 5:13–14, *The New Jerusalem Bible*.
[230] 'The Meaning of Rhythm', p. 19.

hands of the popular press, in *Rhythm*, his concerns are focussed on the nobility of the artist and of *Rhythm*'s implied value in delivering the products of those noble artists to readers. The differences in the purposes and presented images of these two magazines, then, become apparent: the *Athenaeum* is a symbol of the preservation of 'Literature, the arts and sciences', topics that, as Murry writes in 1921, 'the managers of the "circulation" newspapers' have deigned 'as unworthy of their attention'.[231] It is a reminder of what reviews were like before the commercial press forced them out of existence, and Murry calls upon his audience to not forget how important such periodicals are, even if they are disappearing. In contrast, *Rhythm* stands not for the existing tradition of literature and art, but for new understandings of them. In both, however, the popular press is the enemy.

In *Rhythm*'s next issue, in another co-authored piece titled 'Seriousness in Art', Murry and Mansfield carry on their discussion of artists versus journalists. Although the word 'journalism' is only mentioned once, the writers make it clear that anyone – whether he or she is a novelist, poet, or newspaper writer – who writes for money is a 'journalist'. Far from being a label for those who contribute to mass-market newspapers, the 'journalist' becomes for Murry and Mansfield the market-driven rival of their ideal of the 'artist'. Like 'The Meaning of Rhythm', 'Seriousness in Art' conveys its purpose through presenting a list of what the authors consider to be contrasts. For example, the first sentence states, 'To-day the craft of letters in England is become [sic] a trade instead of an art'.[232] 'To-day' is a contrast to yesterday, when, it is implied, writing was still appreciated as a form of art; 'craft' becomes the counterpoint to mechanisation, which robs an artist of uniqueness; and 'trade' is the opposite of 'art', which should never be created for profit. They go on to note that there is a 'gigantic output' of literature at the moment, but nothing exhibits the 'artistic seriousness'

[231] [Murry] 'Notes and Comments', *The Athenaeum*, 11 February 1921, p. 145 (p. 145).
[232] 'Seriousness in Art', p. 46.

that the editors actively 'seek'.[233] This verb choice indicates a mission or a journey, one that *Rhythm*'s editors have taken it upon themselves to complete. Just as Murry casts himself as a defender of art in 'What We Have Tried to Do', now he and Mansfield create for themselves the characters of brave adventurers who are on a mission to discover the treasure of true art.

The primary threat to the seriousness of art is the temptation to create it for profit. They write that, for most writers, literature 'is at best a somewhat disreputable means to a purely commercial end, means only to be justified by ultimate financial success'.[234] Murry and Mansfield join ranks against these purely commercial writers, accusing them of having as little knowledge of writing as a tradesman might have of the products he peddles. They imply that art, when sold for profit, transforms its creators from artists to salesmen. Just as mechanisation was contrasted with the individuality of the artist in 'The Meaning of Rhythm', here the taint of commercialisation threatens the artist's creativity. Murry and Mansfield write that the 'profound enthusiasm of the artist for his art' is 'the essential distinction between creativeness and mere production, between art and journalism'.[235] Democracy is described as being 'the absence of enthusiasm and true seriousness', which, Murry and Mansfield write, 'are the hall-mark of aristocracy, the essentials of the leader'.[236] They cast themselves, and the artists they publish, as such leaders who choose to live a life outside of typical 'conformity' to democracy.[237]

One notable and central component of this contribution is Murry and Mansfield's objection to the public's perception of what a good artist should look like. They particularly condemn the idea that an artist must succumb to this public perception in order to be taken seriously. They write that

[233] Ibid.
[234] Ibid.
[235] Ibid.
[236] Ibid., p. 49.
[237] Ibid.

> For the English public a writer becomes serious when he becomes 'a gentleman,' organized and respectable […] The man whose personality is sunk in a refined home, a baby in a white perambulator and a plate-chest, has attained to 'seriousness.' He has taken the mob seriously. He has adopted their trademarks.[238]

The hostility in this passage is not, it seems, directed towards those who have homes and families; rather, Murry and Mansfield's concern is that an artist who cannot afford a 'refined home' and does not have a family could not be taken seriously because of his or her position in society. An artist who does not look like the public's idea of a gentleman, the authors imply, would have a diminished chance at being considered a 'serious' artist.[239] Elsewhere in the piece, they refer again to social status, writing, 'For the bagmen of letters, the book financiers, "seriousness" has a purely external value. They put it on with their evening dress'.[240] They imply that such a display of 'seriousness' is inauthentic, and goes only as deep as one's clothing. The particular mention of 'evening dress' hints at Murry and Mansfield's disdain for any event for which one is required to wear it – the sort of event at which people might care more about their clothing and the social status of their companions than their integrity as artists. It is worth pointing out that the cottage furniture advertisement for Heal & Son, discussed in the previous section of this chapter, appears later in the same issue. The advertisement's assurance that Heal's furniture is 'simple without being in any degree mannered' corresponds with the message of 'Seriousness in Art', suggesting that *Rhythm*'s audience was likely largely made up of working artists and, further, highlighting the alignment between the magazine's artistic content and the content of its advertisements.[241] This alignment reinforces the importance of Murry's editorial practices,

[238] Ibid., p. 46.
[239] Ibid.
[240] Ibid., p. 49.
[241] Heal & Son advertisement, *Rhythm*, 2.6 (July 1912), i.

which reveal the complexity and skill involved in creating a magazine that promoted a particular view, even in its advertisements.

The concern with the inauthenticity of appearances which Murry and Mansfield voice in *Rhythm* is indicative of a larger anxiety about writers' and artists' perceived devotion to their work. In *The Haunted Study*, Peter Keating suggests that clothing could – or, crucially, could not – be a sign of an artist's abilities. He writes:

> The clothes worn by a novelist could […] signify success to the public at large and, at the same time, failure to the insider. The most potent image of this kind was that of the writer who looked like a businessman. If the image was justified then it meant that the writer had sold out artistically: if it wasn't then it meant he was an enigma.[242]

Keating writes that the reactions towards such sartorial indicators of commercial success provoked certain responses from less successful artists, 'revealing the bitterness or envy created by unpopularity'.[243] Although Murry and Mansfield are careful to cast themselves and those who contribute to their magazine as the moral superiors in a world of inauthentic sell-outs, 'bitterness and envy' were certainly, at least in part, motivators for 'Seriousness in Art'. The couple's constantly strained finances often prevented them from eating proper meals, and Murry reflects that while in Paris one could easily earn little and still be considered an artist, the same was not true of London.[244] Reflecting on his editorship of *Rhythm*, which was increasingly losing money, he writes:

> That republic of art, which I had entered in Paris, where it made no odds if one lived on two shillings a day, and it cost only fourpence to talk for hours in a café, had no counterpart in London. The Café

[242] Peter Keating, *The Haunted Study: A Social History of the English Novel 1875–1914* (London: Martin Secker & Warburg Ltd., 1989; repr. Fontana Press, 1991), p. 382.
[243] Ibid.
[244] Tomalin, p. 106.

> Royal belonged to a different world; it was not a place for the poor […] We struggled on and impoverished ourselves; and being poor, we cut ourselves off.[245]

Much of Murry's life was defined by financial strain, and this condition was, for him, a lifelong source of personal insecurity. In the same article, he describes his feelings about being a clerk's son whose academic success, as opposed to his family's income, landed him at Oxford:

> I was all at sea. Even though Christ's Hospital had licked me into the semblance of a gentleman […] I felt an imposter. I did not belong anywhere […] I was nothing but a bundle of antennae, feeling out for a new social persona.[246]

Editing *Rhythm* was one way in which Murry created for himself a particular 'social persona', but his concerns about the public's perception of the successful artist point towards his insecurities about his own place in twentieth-century artistic and periodical networks, and these insecurities were due in part to his anxieties about his strained personal finances. Carswell sums up Murry's insecurities about his social position, writing that

> Throughout his life he was haunted by a Camberwell itch for financial security, and this prevented him from ever being a true Bohemian. It would be a great mistake to think that the literary people of that time placed no value on money, and Murry […] thought more about it than most of them.[247]

Murry and Mansfield's comments in 'Seriousness in Art' about families in comfortable homes and men in evening suits is certainly one way in which they, by contrast, justify their identities as true artists rather than commercial journalists, but they also reveal Murry's

[245] 'CtL', p. 37.
[246] Ibid., p. 32.
[247] Carswell, p. 70.

attempts to find a 'social persona' with which he was comfortable.[248] Editing *Rhythm* allowed him the space to exercise his voice from behind the persona of an art-magazine editor, and to become, through this title, the true artist he could not be in real life because of his strained financial situation.

The spiritual superiority of the artist is a topic to which Murry will return several times in his later writings. In the *Athenaeum*, he invites his readers to join the 'republic of the spirit', a community of artists and intellectuals that, Murry implies, can be entered into by reading the *Athenaeum*.[249] He also invites his readers to join a spiritual community in the *Adelphi*, writing in 1924,

> anyone who starts a magazine, if he does not aim at personal profit and is not indulging his personal vanity, is just as surely as the New Adventist preacher at the street-corner, trying to establish a new Church – a society of people who take seriously the things that he takes seriously and so far share his faith.[250]

In *Rhythm*, too, he and Mansfield establish a spiritual community of artists as an alternative to 'the outworn known' of the world in which most people live.[251] 'The mob', they write, live in a land that 'is barren and desolate, lying parcelled and monotonous in the midst of an unknown sea'.[252] The word 'parcelled' brings to mind bound newspapers ready for delivery, or stacks of copies of a popular novel ready for distribution, and suggests that the 'mob' have built their understandings of art upon commercialised and therefore corrupted works. In contrast, 'The artists sail in stately golden ships over this familiar and adventurous ocean. Their gay flags of greeting stream in the sunlight; and far-off winds blow in their great sails

[248] 'CtL', p. 32.
[249] 'Prologue', p. 131.
[250] 'The Two Worlds', p. 865.
[251] 'Seriousness in Art', p. 49.
[252] Ibid.

and in their hair, as they go sailing by'.[253] The next lines reinforce the superior image of the artists and metaphorically express the ways in which true artists go about their lives, ignoring their critics and revelling in the talent and company of each other. They write, 'the little people are frightened, and cry out to them in rage, and abuse them […] But clean and true rings back their answer, the singing of the sailors, the joyful laughter of serene delight'.[254] The imagery of the golden ships invokes the notion of the artists passing over to a spiritual realm, reinforcing their spiritual fulfilment. By contrast, the ending image of the floating ships emphasises the sad situation of the drowning and stagnant man who is 'sunk in a refined home' with the proceeds from his commercialised art. Initially, the phrase suggests the comfort of being rooted and established; however, when viewed in light of the artists' golden ships, the implication of the phrase becomes much more severe, suggesting that the artists have thrown the man overboard or refused to bring him onto the ship in the first place. His commercialism becomes, then, an active betrayal to the community of artists who float past him while he sinks.

The inauthentic nature of society becomes a theme for *Rhythm*'s writers, and comes up again perhaps most notably in 'Sunday Lunch', a scathing contribution by Mansfield which condemns those who consider themselves to be part of the literary elite. In 'Sunday Lunch', several self-satisfied, faux artists meet to eat and gossip, but their feast is not one of meat and potatoes; rather, the perceived literary elite satiate themselves by critiquing their fellows. Mansfield draws vivid images of the symbolic death of the artist that a bad review can bring about, using the fictional artist James Fanton as an example. In 'Sunday Lunch', the elite discuss Fanton's work:

[253] Ibid.
[254] Ibid.

> "S'pose you've read Fanton's 'Grass Widower!'" "Yes." "Not as good as the 'Evergreen Petals.'" "No," "I did not think so either." "Tailed off." "So long-winded." "Fifty pounds." "But there were bits, half lines, you know, and adjectives." The knife pauses. "Oh, but have you read his latest?" "Nothing. All about ships or something. Not a hint of passion." Down comes the knife, James Fanton is handed round.[255]

Mansfield refers to the critics as 'cannibals', and describes 'Society' as 'kill[ing] and eat[ing] itself', even though it is, in fact, 'never real enough to die'.[256] The concern with authenticity is carried over from Murry and Mansfield's earlier contributions, suggesting that the particular circle of the literary elite portrayed in the story lacks true artists, and instead is full of those inadequate but wealthy writers and critics who publish for money. In this piece, Mansfield also attacks those who attack *Rhythm*, writing in the voice of one of the cannibals:

> "I think it's brave of you to advertise so much, I really do, I wish I had the courage – but at the last moment I can't. I never shall be able." With ever greater skill and daring the cannibals draw blood, or the stuff like blood that flows in their veins.[257]

Mansfield's symbolic representation of a lunchtime gathering denounces those who can, with their market-courting popularity, survive a bad review while their fellow artists, such as the editors of artistic magazines, must fight to produce every issue. Jenny McDonnell points out the story's 'complex portrayal of the artist and his audience' that, when viewed within *Rhythm*'s wider discussions of the elite and the democracy, reveals that the power an artist wields is at the mercy of her reception not only by the public, but by her fellow artists.[258]

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[255] The Tiger [Katherine Mansfield], 'Sunday Lunch', *Rhythm*, 2.9 (October 1912), 223–25 (p. 224).
[256] Ibid., p. 225.
[257] Ibid.
[258] Jenny McDonnell, *Katherine Mansfield and the Modernist Marketplace: At the Mercy of the Public* (n.p.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), p. 70. Google ebook.

Murry's calls for community in his editorials as well as in his and Mansfield's jointly-authored pieces reveal the desire of *Rhythm*'s artists to band together with other artists and publications rather than criticising them. Such views of community will become fundamentally important to Murry's later understandings of his periodical audiences and will come to define his editorial voice. Crucially, it is in *Rhythm* that they are first apparent. However, as this section has discussed, *Rhythm* also retained a distinctively elite perspective of itself, its contributors, and its readers in order to promote its own status as an intellectually aristocratic magazine. During Murry's editorship of *Rhythm*, he explored the balance between the elite and the democratic, developing a voice that would be particularly attractive to his artist audience while simultaneously using his magazine to promote a community in reaction to the perceived common enemies of the newspaper journalist and the sell-out artist. Such examples of *Rhythm*'s editorial agenda display Murry's increasing knowledge of his audience as well as his growing understanding of the power of the magazine to create a society of its own.

'As ever, most unrhythmic': Dialogue and Debate in *Rhythm* and the *New Age*

As Murry developed as an editor, his desire to form magazine-based communities with his readers increased. His understandings of, and his ability to effectively communicate with, his audiences are evident in his increasingly complex and socially astute editorial voice, which not only marketed his magazines to certain audiences, but also marketed those audiences to themselves. By praising his readers' creativity, intellect, and spirituality, he also implied that by purchasing his magazines, his audiences would enter into a community of likeminded, intellectually superior readers. In her book *Who Paid for Modernism?*, Joyce Piell Wexler suggests that modernist artists and writers were not the only ones who wanted to single themselves out as being different from the masses; modernist audiences, did, as well. These

coterie audiences emerged, Wexler writes, 'because the forces that made some writers want to distinguish themselves from popular authors also made some readers eager to distinguish themselves from the popular audience'.[259] Murry was keen to distinguish his audiences by speaking to them through his editorials and by encouraging their participation in the communities formed around his magazines.

However, *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature* do not feature some of the key features of audience engagement that Murry will later employ so effectively. His editorials, which were his most direct method of engaging with his audiences, were limited and sporadic in *Rhythm*; the *Blue Review* and the *Signature* would have none at all. These magazines do not print letters to the editor, nor do they encourage communication with their reading publics beyond providing the publisher's postal address. Do these three periodicals, then, all edited at the start of Murry's career, reveal any early efforts to engage with his audiences?

They do, although not in the ways in which the *Athenaeum* and the *Adelphi* will. Rather, *Rhythm*'s, the *Blue Review*'s, and the *Signature*'s cultivation of periodical communities was more subtle, but no less valuable to the modernist magazine dialogue. I suggest that the ways in which Murry addresses his audiences in these early periodicals are indicative both of his lack of editorial purpose as well as his lack of experience of using his editorial voice, although they also reveal his aptitude for rapidly and effectively increasing his editorial knowledge and improving his practice. The apparent limitations resulting from his inexperience exemplify the challenges facing a magazine editor who had access only to a limited periodical community and had not yet gained entry into the modernist networks that were so crucial to periodicals' success. In his article on 'The Role of the Periodical Editor', Matthew Philpotts discusses the characteristics of a successful modernist editor, writing that 'the ideal editor would possess a highly differentiated, multiple habitus encompassing

[259] Wexler, p. 8.

intellectual, economic, and social dispositions which allow him to mediate the network of forces of which he is the focus'.[260] The ability to 'mediate' requires not only confidence in one's own editorial abilities, but also intimate knowledge of the circles of artists and editors which periodical networks comprised. Notably, scholars acknowledge Murry's later magazines' positions within larger networks, a factor that contributed to their success and that was made possible by Murry's editorial experience. For example, Whitworth writes that 'Murry's range of contacts accounts in part for the eclecticism' of the *Athenaeum*, which set it apart from other modernist periodicals and likely broadened its readership.[261] Similarly, writers Murry had known since his *Rhythm* days, including Max Plowman and Lawrence, contributed to the *Adelphi*, illustrating the value of establishing relationships that could create and extend periodical networks. Murry's extensive personal networks gave his later magazines the security of regular contributors in addition to the status secured by publishing writers who were widely and favourably recognised by the reading public, an attractive feature that was crucial for marking out a periodical's place against its competitors. However, early in his career, with minimal editorial experience, he had little knowledge and few contacts on which to rely.

As Philpotts correctly points out, 'so lacking is sustained critical analysis of the editorial role that it is difficult to identify criteria by which success might be judged'.[262] Particularly in the case of Murry's early editorial career, when the readership numbers of his magazines are not precisely known and when the most substantial reviews of *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review* come from the magazines' fiercest rival, the extent of his 'success' is difficult to determine. However, I suggest that his awareness of his competitors and the language and techniques he uses to cultivate community through his writings are factors which mark out even Murry's earliest editorships as successful because of the audience awareness they

[260] Philpotts, p. 43.
[261] Whitworth, p. 372.
[262] Philpotts, p. 40.

demonstrate and because they are nascent manifestations of techniques that will be proven in this thesis to undoubtedly define Murry's editorial career as a 'success'.

Other than in *Rhythm*'s editorials, Murry's editorial voice shines most clearly when he defends *Rhythm* against opposition from the *New Age*, and the dialogue between the two periodicals provides a wealth of insight into interperiodical relationships, shared periodical communities, and the commercial nature of editorial personas. Binckes writes about *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review* that 'The networks within which they operated, and the varieties of investment made, shaped both their content and their image'.[263] Certainly, as identified in this chapter's discussion of the editorial 'What We Have Tried to Do', Murry shaped his magazines' content in reaction to rivalry, and he also reacted to the *New Age*'s criticism on the pages of the rival review. The fact that Murry defends his magazines in the *New Age*, coupled with the fact that the *New Age* was willing to publish rebuttals from a competing magazine's editor, suggests that the debate would be beneficial for both publications: the *New Age* may gain some of *Rhythm*'s readers by showing its superiority, while *Rhythm*'s responses to the long-running weekly secured its place in a network of established periodicals and ensured that its name was mentioned in a magazine with an audience which may be interested in subscribing to it. Goldie points out that Murry later encouraged debate in the *Adelphi* to create interest and, therefore, to potentially increase readership.[264] Similarly, Binckes writes that debates between periodicals highlight 'The very periodicity of magazines' and '[imply] a textual culture with an almost infinite capacity to renew itself and an equally prodigious capacity to reproduce itself'.[265] These reproductive capabilities occurred largely in reaction to competing periodicals, a fact that speaks to the influence of magazines on each other's identities. The audiences of these magazines were necessarily a crucial part of this process of renewing and reproducing, and it was for their audiences that

[263] Binckes, p. 40.
[264] Goldie, p. 130.
[265] Binckes, p. 55.

Rhythm and the *New Age* publicly sparred about their unique contributions to the periodical market.

One such exchange took place in November 1911, and began with Carter's article 'The Plato-Picasso Idea'. In it, he quotes from a personal letter from Murry (spelled incorrectly throughout as 'Murray') about Plato and Picasso, in which 'Murray' proposes that 'Plato was looking for a different form of art, and that form was Picasso's art of essentials'.[266] Murry suggests that Picasso's unique art provides new insights into Plato's writings, and vice versa. It is worth noting that Carter quotes extensively from Murry – 12.5 of the article's 70 lines are from Murry's letter – after announcing that 'The New Age is the first journal in this country to show an intelligent appreciation of the latest stage of M. Picasso's remarkable development'.[267] By making Murry's words look as though they belong to the *New Age*, Carter strengthens his own magazine's reputation. Notably, Carter had already criticised *Rhythm*'s first issue, which featured the Picasso 'Study' which secured *Rhythm*'s artistic reputation.[268] Now, three months later, the *New Age* published its own Picasso 'Study' in its art supplement. Carter allows Murry's thoughts to drive the article in which Carter contends not only that Picasso is an indication of how 'painting is at the point of its greatest development', but that the *New Age* and *Rhythm* are the most competent periodicals in which such painting is discussed.[269] While *Rhythm* is not mentioned in the article, it was reviewed several pages before, also, notably, by Carter. If audiences were to read the *New Age* front to back, they would recognise that the Middleton Murry in 'The Plato-Picasso Idea' is the editor of the magazine reviewed in 'Art and Drama' only four pages previously.[270] By creating a sense of shared authority with *Rhythm*, Carter strengthens his own magazine's appeal by affirming its association with a fellow artistic magazine that

[266] Huntly Carter, 'The Plato-Picasso Idea', *The New Age*, 23 November 1911, p. 88 (p. 88).
[267] Ibid.
[268] Pablo Picasso, 'Study', *Rhythm*, 1.1 (Summer 1911), 7 (p. 7).
[269] Carter, 'The Plato-Picasso Idea', p. 88.
[270] Huntly Carter, 'Art and Drama', *The New Age*, 23 November 1911, p. 84.

publishes similar artwork. Further, acknowledging Murry's expertise on the subject deters any reader, or Murry himself, from pointing out that the *New Age* was one step behind *Rhythm* in its publication of Picasso's art. Carter, then, by placing Murry's private letter centre-stage in his article, gives his readers the impression that the *New Age* is working with *Rhythm* to deliver the most important art to its audience. Further, when Carter specifically states that Murry's words come from a personal letter, he implies that these two men devote their private time to discussions of the art to which they also devote their respective periodicals, enhancing their public images not only as writers and editors, but also as artists.

Murry responds a week later with 'The Art of Pablo Picasso', in which he defends himself from any 'suspicion of intellectual arrogance and assumed finality' which may have been perceived in his letter to Carter.[271] However, the most important features of this article are Murry's displays of some key techniques of editorial audience engagement, including emphasising his own credibility, creating a sense of community, and praising his readers' intellect. In the article, Murry's own credibility is shown through his implied associations with important artists and, it is suggested, with Picasso himself. Murry writes that Picasso's work 'is not a blague. Of that I am assured; and anyone who has spoken to him will share my assurance'.[272] Murry does not exactly state that he has met Picasso, but he leads his audience to assume that he is acquainted with the artist or, at least, with people who are. Later, he similarly enhances his credibility by association, writing of his 'great friend […] a leader of the Modernists in Paris, a woman gifted with an aesthetic sensibility far profounder than my own'.[273] Although he does not name the artist about whom he speaks, again, the implication is that she is an important artist, and the fact that Murry considers her a friend enhances his credibility as an art critic.

[271] John Middleton Murry, 'The Art of Pablo Picasso', *The New Age*, 30 November 1911, p. 115 (p. 115).
[272] Ibid.
[273] Ibid.

Murry also carefully cultivates a sense of community by emphasising the ways in which Picasso is like himself and his readers, who were likely mostly working artists. He writes, 'Picasso has to live by his work, and a man who depends for his bread and butter on his work in paint does not paint unsellable nonsense'.[274] The subject of having to produce art for income was one that troubled Murry personally and occupied his professional writings for much of his life. Here, he unites the great Picasso with himself and his readers, suggesting that Picasso, like them, must be aware of the market in which they operate, even while resisting it as much as possible. In addition to making Picasso more real for his readers, Murry also equates himself with his audience, casting himself as another working artist who must write for his living. In this response to Carter, Murry is encouraging subscription to his magazine by garnering support from readers on two fronts: professionally, by showing his knowledge of art and giving readers a glimpse of what his own magazine has to offer, and personally, by characterising himself as a working artist, just like many of his readers.

Murry also subtly institutes a sort of hierarchy amongst his readers, suggesting that only those with a true understanding of art will fully understand him. Jonathan Rose writes that modernist coterie audiences were often attracted by the ability to 'purchase a sense of distinction by patronizing elite literature'.[275] In the *New Age*, Murry puts this distinction into practice by implying that only some of his readers will be able to engage fully with his writing and with Picasso's art. He writes:

> I recognise fully that a speculation such as mine on the relationship between the art of Picasso and the aesthetic of Plato is perhaps of no great value in itself; but to those who have read and wondered at the

[274] Ibid.
[275] Jonathan Rose, 'Lady Chatterley's Broker: Banking on Modernism', in *Disciplining Modernism*, ed. by Pamela L. Caughie (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 182–96 (p. 184).

> seeming contradiction in the greatest of all philosophers, to those who have a living interest in living art, the work of Picasso offers the suggestion of vistas through which we can never see.[276]

Murry's emphasis through repetition of 'to those' in this passage makes it clear that 'those' described here are part of a select few who, like Murry himself, are intelligent enough to have probed the connections between art and philosophy. He continues to create the perception of an elite, writing, 'They who condemn Picasso condemn him because they cannot understand what he has done in the past, and are content to assume that all that is beyond their feeble comprehension is utterly bad'.[277] By characterising those who are incapable of understanding Picasso as being mentally 'feeble', Murry implies that the others are the brave, intelligent few who are capable of recognising true art. Of course, the aim of defending himself and *Rhythm* in the *New Age* is to get as many new readers as possible, so Murry's implied hierarchy, in which he distinguishes some readers as being more artistically conscious than others, is intended not to make some of *Rhythm*'s readers feel superior to others, but to market *Rhythm* as being superior to other magazines as a tool for promoting its readers' artistic knowledge. This *New Age* contribution features many of the techniques Murry will use for the rest of his life to garner and maintain audiences, including appealing to his audience's sense of distinction. It also encouraged audience participation in the form of readers' letters printed in future issues of the *New Age*, all of which was, as Kathleen Jones points out, 'good publicity for John's new magazine'.[278] Most importantly, this contribution illustrates the ways in which Murry engaged with his readers even when *Rhythm* did not allow the space for letters to the editor or regular editorials: he simply moved his platform to another periodical.

Although the two competing magazines played upon each other's expertise early on, they would later denounce each other for running similar content. On 28 March 1912, in

[276] 'The Art of Pablo Picasso', p. 115.
[277] Ibid.
[278] Jones, p. 148.

response to *Rhythm*'s spring issue, the *New Age* ran a long critique of *Rhythm* that Alpers condemns as 'so thoroughly disreputable, malicious, and gross in its language, so undeserving of its heading, "Present Day Criticism," that to attribute it to jealousy is being charitable rather than otherwise'.[279] He blames the attack on Mansfield's move from the *New Age* to *Rhythm*; indeed, in *Rhythm*'s next issue she would be listed as one of its assistant editors, and in 1913, in a review of the first issue of the *Blue Review*, the *New Age* would backhandedly praise Mansfield's contribution as 'the best work she has done since she left us for an editorial feather to stick in her cap'.[280] Marysa Demoor suggests that Mansfield's defection threatened the *New Age* in more ways than one. She writes that the *New Age* was afraid that *Rhythm*'s move from a quarterly to a monthly meant that it 'would possibly make use of other *New Age* contributors', too, making *Rhythm* an even fiercer competitor.[281] However, the importance of this *New Age* review of *Rhythm* for this chapter lies in Murry's response a week later, in which, as will be discussed below, he defends his own periodical by proving that what is perceived to be imitative is precisely what makes his magazine competitive.

The exchange begins on 28 March, when the unspecified author of 'Present-Day Criticism' highlights the 'new features' that *Rhythm* will present in its next issue,

> among these, 'a series of criticisms by younger men of their seniors in the Art of Letters, coherent treatment of the Art of the Theatre, and caricatures of the principal contributors'. Could any suggestions, even without the *last*, appear more dutifully imitative of the newest 'New Age'?[282]

The review is riddled with jabs at *Rhythm*'s authority as an artistic magazine. The first line of the review refers to it as 'the magazine called "Rhythm"', implying that it is not worthy of its

[279] Alpers, p. 158.
[280] 'Reviews: The Blue Review', *The New Age*, 15 May 1913, p. 64 (p. 64).
[281] Demoor, 'John Middleton Murry's Editorial Apprenticeships', p. 132.
[282] 'Present-Day Criticism', *The New Age*, 28 March 1912, pp. 519–20 (p. 519).

name.[283] Repeatedly, the reviewer criticises *Rhythm*'s content, but then writes, 'But our business is not art criticism', as though *Rhythm* has childishly claimed the realm of art criticism for itself.[284] The review slips in the fact that *Rhythm* has published a sketch, the finished product of which was printed in the *New Age* in January, and ends with a lengthy quotation from Horace's letter to the Pisos, casting the *New Age* as the wise Horace and *Rhythm* as one of the 'sons of Piso […] strong in conceit' and managed by 'true Philistines'.[285] Murry wrote to Mansfield on the day of the review's publication: 'Have you seen this *New Age* and *Present Day Criticism*? They really have done it this time. Good old Horace'.[286] His response was printed in the next issue.

True, *Rhythm* was changing, and its similarity to more established periodicals such as the *New Age* was becoming more obvious. In its fourth issue, *Rhythm* began running short reviews of other periodicals. The next issue, the first monthly number, included *Rhythm*'s first book review, as well as its first instalment of the section 'Letters from France'. Letters from abroad were a regular segment in many reviews, and serve as an indication of a particular periodical's unique place in what Eric Bulson describes as 'an emerging literary network that was truly global in scope and scale'.[287] For example, in 1909, Ford Madox Ford's *English Review* ran several 'Letters from America', and Murry's *Athenaeum* would run letters from various foreign correspondents. Later issues of *Rhythm* would also feature a literary supplement in the same way that the *New Age* sometimes included art and literary supplements. All of these changes are examples of how *Rhythm* was borrowing not, as the *New Age* believed, from a particular competing magazine, but from the market at large, and this is the defence which Murry uses most effectively in his response in the *New Age* on 4 April.

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[283] Ibid.
[284] Ibid.
[285] Ibid., p. 520.
[286] Letter from Murry to Mansfield, 28 March 1912, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 18.
[287] Bulson, *Little Magazine, World Form*, p. 2.

The response is nestled amongst other letters to the editor, signifying how little significance the *New Age* gives to the words of 'The Editor of "Rhythm"'. Yet, by running the letter under Murry's title rather than his name, the *New Age* is certain to draw the attention of anyone who may be a reader or has heard of *Rhythm*, and since the names of the authors of the letters to the editor were listed on the front page of the *New Age*, it would have been easy for potential readers to see that Murry's response was featured in this issue, suggesting that, just as the *Adelphi* will in the 1920s, the *New Age* uses debate to attract readers. Likewise, Murry uses his place in the debate to affirm *Rhythm*'s superiority by questioning the value of the *New Age*:

> You have, at least, the merit of an admirable frankness, although your adoption of the Ars Poetica as your critical touchstone is a little disconcerting to one who has long been endeavouring, in vain, to discover if 'Present-Day Criticism' had any basis at all. It is, indeed, fortunate that 'your business is not art criticism'.[288]

Through devaluing the *New Age*'s contribution to criticism more largely, Murry emphasises the absurdity of a periodical which could accuse another magazine of imitation, which is the point to which he turns next.

He writes that 'it is against the wholly unfounded suggestions of plagiarism in your opening paragraph that I wish to protest', defending the 'new features' which *Rhythm* advertises as being

> new for 'Rhythm,' not new in the history of the universe. 'A series of criticisms by younger men of their seniors in the art of letters' is not a development of such epoch-making originality that it must of necessity have been appropriated from The New Age. 'Coherent treatment of the art of the theatre' is, again, not an exclusive feature of your periodical […] It would be as reasonable and as puerile to

[288] [Murry] 'Rhythm', in 'Letters to the Editor', *The New Age*, 4 April 1912, p. 551 (p. 551).

> suggest that, because 'Rhythm' was the first paper in England to publish the work of Picasso and Herbin, The New Age had 'dutifully imitated' 'Rhythm'.[289]

The *New Age*, Murry writes, has no right to accuse *Rhythm* of imitation when the *New Age* has, in fact, likely based its artistic content on *Rhythm*'s. Further, Murry insists that, far from being imitative of the *New Age* specifically, *Rhythm* is simply making itself marketable by borrowing the successful features of other periodicals. It is a tactic which he will use later to increase readership for the *Athenaeum*, when he introduces a literary gossip column and a section for correspondence to increase the review's attraction to a wider audience and to make it 'less elitist'.[290] In *Rhythm*, too, he was bound by his position as an editor whose job was to make readers want to buy his product, and, as Binckes points out, it was impossible to produce an entirely original periodical. She writes, 'it was particularly hard for competing periodicals not to display their participation in [the] […] transtextual cycle. Whether they owned it or disowned it, appropriated or pilloried it, they were part of its fabric and it of theirs'.[291] The fact that Murry defends his magazine by emphasising its adoption of techniques which had existed, as he writes, throughout 'the history of the universe' acknowledges *Rhythm*'s membership in the larger periodical community and emphasises its nature not as an entirely new product, but as a magazine which tries to deliver to its audience the best product possible.[292]

This response, I suggest, is another example of Murry's effective use of his editorial voice, which he employs to engage in dialogue with a competing periodical as well as with *Rhythm*'s and the *New Age*'s shared audience. This section has illuminated his increasing confidence and market awareness through his engagement with other periodicals. His

[289] Ibid.
[290] Wellens, p. 143.
[291] Binckes, p. 111.
[292] 'Rhythm', in 'Letters to the Editor', *The New Age*, p. 551.

particular employment of his title 'Editor' indicates that he is becoming more aware of his role as a public figure, and that he is willing to give up the name he uses to publish his creative writing and criticism in favour of a title that displays his devotion to his magazine. Chapter 3 in particular will address Murry's tactical use of his editorial title in the *Adelphi*, and his use of the same title in the *New Age* to defend his first edited magazine against criticism represents the first steps of his development into the editor he will become just over a decade later.

'[T]he self-constituted spokesman': Community and Self-Image in the *Blue Review*

While *Rhythm* was an artistic magazine that also ran literary reviews, the *Blue Review*, as its title as a 'review' suggests, was an obviously literary magazine. Fergusson's 'Rhythm' cover sketch was replaced with a list of featured articles and writers that made the *Blue Review*'s cover look like those of other, established literary reviews, such as the *English Review* and the *New Age* (Fig. 12). The latter seemed to approve of the change, savagely noting that 'The cover is really well done. The vile "Rhythm" plaque has vanished'.[293] As suggested by its new, text-heavy cover, the *Blue Review* was on the whole visually less exciting than *Rhythm*. Cumming, McGregor, and Drummond make note of the 'decline in the quality of the artwork' in later issues of *Rhythm* and in the *Blue Review* due to the editorial team's split with Fergusson, and while the first issue of the *Blue Review* featured several pages of drawings, the third and final issue had only one.[294] Unlike *Rhythm*, which has been largely recognised as one of the first British little magazines, the *Blue Review* seemingly holds no such lasting importance in the realm of periodical studies. Bradbury suggests that one of the reasons that the review is not seen 'simply as a Georgian magazine' is because of its association with the recognisable names of Murry, Mansfield, and Lawrence, but in spite of

[293] 'Reviews – The Blue Review', p. 64.
[294] The Scottish Arts Council and Cumming, McGregor, and Drummond, p. 16.

publishing several well-known writers, the *Blue Review* did not last long enough (it only survived for three issues) and was not literarily unique enough to make its mark on periodical scholarship.[295] It is also true that in a study of Murry's editorial voice, the *Blue Review* necessarily takes a backseat to *Rhythm*. Running for only three issues, it did not feature editorials, and his only written contributions are his works of criticism, which appeared once per issue.

However, the content of the magazine, including Murry's brief contributions, provides a fuller picture of his developing editorial and market awareness. One of the reasons that the *Blue Review* is often considered to be a resurrected *Rhythm* is because the two magazines' editorial team and list of contributors are all but identical. While the *Blue Review*'s contributors' list looks distinctively more Georgian than *Rhythm*'s initial issues, the later issues of *Rhythm* exhibit the similarities between the two magazines much more clearly. This change was due to *Rhythm*'s original publisher's, Stephen Swift's, bankruptcy in 1912. As Mourant writes, the debt for the magazine was left with Murry, and Mansfield wrote to Edward Marsh to ask for his help financing *Rhythm*. Marsh, the editor of the *Georgian Poetry* anthologies, found the magazine a home with the publisher Martin Secker, and, Mourant writes, 'in his wake followed a flood of Georgian poets to the pages of *Rhythm*'.[296] The *Blue Review* retained this predominantly Georgian contributors' list. The *New Age* regarded this similarity to *Rhythm* to be a negative feature of the *Blue Review*: 'Can the leopard change his spots? […] you might suppose the new blue to be introducing all the masters. Alack! Inside are only our old Pandarins, unchanged and interminable'.[297] The *New Age* criticises Murry's new magazine for recycling *Rhythm*'s old contributors' list, stating that 'It would be fairly safe to say that at present no new periodical might prove to be new in interest'.[298] However,

[295] Bradbury, p. 424.
[296] Mourant, p. 169.
[297] 'Reviews – The Blue Review', p. 64.
[298] Ibid.

by listing its contributors on its front cover, and by retaining the recognisable *Rhythm* blue, the *Blue Review* uses its familiar contributors list as a marketing device to assure its readers that while its content is different, its quality is the same. Such choices ensure that the *Blue Review* would be attractive to new readers while still appealing to the old through a sense of familiarity and community.

Another way in which the *Blue Review* encouraged a sense of loyalty was by printing reviews of the works of its own community of artists and writers. This style of internal review is one that Murry also enacts later in the *Athenaeum* and the *Adelphi*, and its impact on the reading community is twofold. Firstly, it enhances the reading public's knowledge of and sense of involvement in the authorial community of the magazine by allowing them access not only to the works of the authors they enjoy reading but also to what other writers have to say about those authors. Secondly, it strengthens the appearance of the internal community of magazine contributors by suggesting that they read and provide feedback on each other's work. In his book *Vernacular Voices*, Gerard A. Hauser writes that communities are sustained by the sharing of 'a web of significant meanings that define a *reference world* of common actions, celebrations, and feelings […] If those participating in a public did not share this reference world, its community status would be severed'.[299] This technique of internal review was not unique to Murry and, in fact, could be seen in many twentieth-century reviews; however, the frequency of the practice in larger periodical culture illustrates his increasing editorial knowledge and confidence through his adaptation of successful editorial techniques for his own periodicals. This practice of adaptation suggests that he was learning to discern which techniques were successful and which would be most effective for his own magazines.

[299] Hauser, p. 69. Emphasis in original.

By maintaining conversation about and amongst his contributors, Murry creates a sense of community to which his audience can gain membership by reading the magazine. For example, Frank Swinnerton's contribution to the *Blue Review*'s first issue discusses Lascelles Abercrombie, whose work will be published in the next issue; meanwhile, Michael Sadler reviews Anne Estelle Rice's most recent exhibition, and both Sadler's and Rice's names would have been familiar to old *Rhythm* readers.[300] Likewise, the 'Review of Reviews' segment praises the work in other periodicals of the *Blue Review*'s own circle, including Rupert Brooke, Gilbert Cannan, and Fergusson.[301] Issue 3 reviews the works of Lawrence, who contributed to two of the *Blue Review*'s three issues.[302] By reviewing its own contributors, the magazine gave its readers the strong impression of an existing intellectual community with which they could be involved if they purchased the magazine that would make them privy to the discussions that their favourite writers were having on its pages. Although the *New Age* condemns the *Blue Review*'s familiar list of contributors as unoriginal, in fact, it serves to strengthen the periodical's reader-contributor community, making the transition from *Rhythm* to the *Blue Review* as seamless as possible for readers while simultaneously emphasising the *Blue Review*'s particularly literary appeal.

Murry's contributions in the *Blue Review* are reviews of other writers' works, but they also reveal his thoughts about art and society. I suggest that his final contribution, 'Mr. Bennett, Stendhal and the Modern Novel', embodies his views about modern writers and his place amongst them as a fiction writer, a critic, and an editor. This review is particularly significant for its insights into his role within what he perceives to be a new generation of artists. In the review, Murry contrasts himself to Arnold Bennett, 'one of the most

[300] Frank Swinnerton, 'General Literature – The Final Word', The *Blue Review*, 1.1 (May 1913), 51–55; Lascelles Abercrombie, 'Poetry', The *Blue Review*, 1.2 (June 1913), 117–22; Michael T. H. Sadler, 'The Galleries – Anne Estelle Rice', The *Blue Review*, 1.1 (May 1913), 68–70.
[301] 'Review of Reviews: English, French, Italian – I. The English Reviews', The *Blue Review*, 1.1 (May 1913), 71–72.
[302] Hugh Walpole, 'The Novels – Security and Adventure', The *Blue Review*, 1.3 (July 1913), 189–93.

accomplished novelists of the present day', who will later contribute regularly to the *Adelphi*.[303] In contrast to Bennett's more 'matured' views about modern novelists, Murry wishes to voice 'the critical attitude in a writer of the younger generation', and he designates himself the group's 'self-constituted spokesman'.[304] His understanding of himself as one of the younger generation here is significant because just six years later, when he edits the *Athenaeum*, Murry will consider himself to have entered the ranks of an older generation of traditional editors. In 1920, he will refer to himself as one of the last editors who is not 'of the truly modern brand yet', although 'very probably the whole of the next generation of editors will be'.[305] Drawing on the long history of the *Athenaeum*, Murry, who was just thirty years old in 1920, rouses his readers' sense of loyalty to classic literary reviews, of which the *Athenaeum* was one of the few remaining. In the *Blue Review*, an infant magazine with no existing reputation except for that of its predecessor, *Rhythm*, Murry uses a different tactic, emphasising instead his magazine's importance as a mouthpiece for younger writers, like himself, who want to set themselves apart from the norm.

In this *Blue Review* contribution, Murry emphasises his difference from other writers of his generation by criticising the sheer volume of work published by many young writers, and the lack of depth in their writing. To illustrate his criticism, just as he and Mansfield did in *Rhythm*, he places paramount importance on the individuality of both the novelist and the characters the novelist creates. Murry gives examples of characters he considers to be successful, writing:

> Their supreme individuality is the novelist's creation, coming from the novelist's own brain, in a certain vague sense the 'objectification' of his own personality. The work of the great novelist consists

[303] 'Mr. Bennett, Stendhal and the Modern Novel', p. 164.
[304] Ibid.
[305] M. [Murry], 'The Economics of It', The *Athenaeum*, 12 March 1920, pp. 329–30 (p. 330).

> in the creation of such characters […] [they] are the end and justification of the novelist; in them we acknowledge the greatness of the great novelist.[306]

Murry asserts that the novelists who are able to create great characters must be great themselves, concluding that 'Aristocracy of the intellect is inevitable in a great novelist' and is 'no less inevitable in the created character'.[307] He uses this analysis to critique modern novelists, explaining that a character must display 'not an aristocracy of externals […] but an aristocracy of the soul'.[308] His primary concern is with the lack of reality represented in current fiction, and he writes that

> we are grown a little tired of watching our modern novelists urge their undistinguished puppets to an unattainable perfection […] So much of modern novel writing amounts to nothing more than a mere skirmish with preliminaries. Sparring is all very well, and helps to make the fighter fit to battle for world's championships; but too much sparring is not only tedious […] but destroys the ability to fight in real earnest. Perhaps our novelists have spent so much time in sparring they have forgotten, if they ever knew, how to fight.[309]

Murry comes to the conclusion that over-publication is one of the causes of bad writing amongst young writers, causing each of them to 'get a great conceit of himself from the critics', who 'groan in mechanical raptures concerning the permanence of his ephemeral work'.[310] He even goes so far as to congratulate himself for resisting the temptation to publish a novel, stating, 'It is a virtue, as I count virtue to-day, not to have written a novel at the age of twenty-three'.[311] His desire to set himself apart from his own generation of writers is notable as an example of his marketing of his own image as an artist. Rather than admitting

[306] 'Mr. Bennett, Stendhal and the Modern Novel', p. 166.
[307] Ibid., p. 167.
[308] Ibid., p. 168.
[309] Ibid., pp. 168–69.
[310] Ibid., p. 171.
[311] Ibid., p. 170.

that he has not had the time to finish a novel like many of his contemporaries have, he presents it as a positive outcome of his artistic maturity. In fact, Murry's lack of authorship at the age of twenty-three was the result of unfavourable circumstances. In May 1913, he wrote in his journal about his contemporary novelists, 'I know quite certainly that I could write now something bigger (if not so technically accomplished) than any of them; but I must fight through my money troubles first'.[312] However, in choosing to frame the situation in the *Blue Review* as the deliberate choice of a wise and patient young writer, Murry builds credibility for himself as a critic and editor who, though young, is different enough from his contemporaries to comment upon them with wisdom and concern.

In 1920, Murry writes about a similar topic in the *Athenaeum* when he promotes a writing prize. Similarly to his *Blue Review* piece, he blames the empty praise of publishers for the overproduction of mediocre writing:

> The heavens rain superlatives upon the luckless head of young talent; it is bowed with laurels before it has learned to stand upright. And the publishers, who cannot be expected to be immune from the general contagion of ecstasy, announce on the dustcovers of their books that they are masterpieces. Who can blame them? There are so many modern masters and modern masterpieces that it is unfair that the highest excellence should not be shared among all. Is not this a democratic and equalitarian age?[313]

The topic of the literary overproduction and lack of talent of young writers becomes a sustained interest for Murry, who writes in the *Athenaeum* just a few months later, 'We doubt whether there has ever been a generation of men of letters so startlingly uneducated as this, so little interested in the study of great writers before them'.[314] In June 1920, he would devote an entire article to the question 'Is There a New Generation?', in which he purports that there

[312] Journal entry, 29 May 1913, ATL, MS-Papers-11327-001.
[313] M. [Murry], 'Critical Interest', The *Athenaeum*, 20 February 1920, pp. 233–34 (p. 233).
[314] J. M. M. [Murry], 'The Condition of English Literature', The *Athenaeum*, 7 May 1920, pp. 597–98 (p. 598).

is now 'a very conscious refusal to accept the ideals of a past generation'.[315] The observations about low-quality overproduction that Murry initially voices in the *Blue Review* grow into a persistent anxiety in the *Athenaeum* as his interest in the effects of art on society grows.

The crucial distinction between Murry's voice in the *Blue Review* and that in the *Athenaeum* is his perception of himself and his place in the editorial network. In the *Athenaeum*, Murry considers himself to be a member of the fading golden age of the literary review. In contrast, in the *Blue Review*, he places himself within a younger generation of writers, distinguishing himself from them not by his age and experience, as he will in the *Athenaeum*, but by his personal taste in and knowledge of literature. In the *Athenaeum*, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, his frequent discussions of generational differences is an appeal both to members of his own literary generation as well as to those of the younger generation he criticises who, perhaps like his younger self, wish to be seen as more substantial than other fleetingly popular writers. In the *Blue Review*, he also makes himself and his magazine attractive to multiple generations by acknowledging that although he is young, he has a deeper understanding of the literary tradition than his contemporaries.

As is evident in this *Blue Review* contribution, Murry's ability to insert himself not only in dialogue with established writers such as Bennett but also in larger discussions about generational perspectives about art provides evidence of his growing confidence as an editor, and of his perceptions of his place in the periodical and artistic communities of the early twentieth century.

'The stage lights are off': The Private, the Public, and the *Signature*

The *Signature* (Fig. 13) has often been written about as the closing chapter of the wave of periodicals made up of *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature* due to the three

[315] [Murry] 'Is There a New Generation?', The *Athenaeum*, 18 June 1920, p. 789 (p. 789).

magazines' similarly strained financial situations and shared lists of contributors. Further, Murry's writing in the *Signature* reveals his search for his own identity as a literary figure in early twentieth-century Britain. In the *Athenaeum*, his strong editorial voice firmly grounds him as a confident editor with a large support network of contributors and subscribers. In the *Signature*, that editorial identity is still not fully formed, making it the final periodical of what I consider to be the first phase of Murry's career. The pamphlet-like magazine consisted of only three issues, each containing three segments by its three contributors: Murry, Mansfield (writing as Matilda Berry), and Lawrence. Murry's regular contribution, titled 'There Was a Little Man', is a reflective piece of writing which blurs the lines between the private and the public, and considers the effects of World War I on artists, including himself. The musing piece is each issue's final instalment, as Murry's editorials were for *Rhythm*, and as a result, 'There Was a Little Man' prompts certain questions about its purpose and intended reception. Was it meant to serve as a sort of editorial? It is certainly the one of the three *Signature* contributions that reflects the most upon the role of the artist. Was its reflective style intended to have a particular effect? It is possible that, in a foreshadowing of the *Adelphi*, such an informal writing style was meant to emphasise human connection in an otherwise mechanistic and war-defined world. These characteristics and their potential effects are certainly notable components of 'There Was a Little Man', but, I suggest, there is also much evidence of a turning point in Murry's writing for the *Signature*, which leaves us with the impression that it was written by an editor hovering between identities. On the one hand, 'There Was a Little Man' features more personal, reflective writing than Murry exhibits over the rest of his editorial career, suggesting, perhaps, that his awareness of his audience and platform are secondary to his desire to get his own thoughts into print. However, he also exhibits intense awareness of the market, audience expectations, and the role of the artist and editor in the larger literary climate. This section proposes that 'There Was a Little Man',

while certainly reflective and personal, exhibits Murry's awareness of the market and of his audience through his taking advantage of the subscription-only nature of the *Signature*. Further, his discussions of the private and the public, violence and mechanisation, and the role of the artist are explorations of his personal understandings of these topics, and the *Signature* provided a unique place for him to present a reflective, concerned, and deliberately personal image of himself to a limited audience. I suggest that this opportunity for the exercise of his private-sounding public voice sets the stage for Murry's transition to the audience-focussed editor he proves himself to be in the *Athenaeum*.

The *Signature* was necessarily small, as it operated on subscription rather than being available to the general public. Carswell emphasises that it could never have been a popular scheme, as its only selling point was its reaction to the First World War. Even its three contributors could not be considered a draw for readers; in 1915, Carswell writes, 'They were not famous. They were detached from the main currents of war fever. They had no access to the popular press, and they had no money'.[316] Brooker points out that to have printed the planned six issues, the *Signature* would have needed 250 subscribers, but it 'got less than half that number' and, as a result, lasted only three instalments.[317] However, the magazine was never intended to be a big seller; rather, it was a platform through which its writers could speak to like-minded people and represented, as Brooker writes, 'Murry, Lawrence, and Mansfield's coming together in common despair at the war'.[318] The War was the apparent impetus for the creation of the *Signature*, but the motivation for Murry's contribution, 'There Was a Little Man', goes much deeper.

More than *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review*, the *Signature* reveals Murry's attempts to make sense of his own identity as an artist, an individual, and an editor. The *Signature*, as a subscription-only paper, was not reliant, as other magazines were, upon drawing people in

[316] Carswell, p. 111.
[317] Brooker, p. 323.
[318] Ibid.

with carefully constructed audience addresses and eye-catching cover designs. Rather, its appeal was more personal, offering writing from three people who felt troubled by the war to a hundred or so others who felt the same way. For Murry, the absence of normal market conditions allowed him the freedom to speak more reflectively and freely than he had before as an editor because he was not under pressure to sell as many copies as possible. In his autobiography, he reinforces the sense of individuality expressed in 'There Was a Little Man', writing about the magazine that 'the very title which I proposed for it, *The Signature*, was meant to be an indication that we took no responsibility for one another's creeds'.[319] The *Signature*, unlike Murry's other publications, allowed him the freedom to speak as an individual, not as an editor representing a magazine community.

Indeed, in 'There Was a Little Man', community is notably absent. Rather, in these contributions, Murry emphasises his individuality and sense of loneliness in the face of the mechanistic nature of war and the popular press. His daughter differentiates Murry, Mansfield, and Lawrence from other writers, stating that 'Unlike their contemporaries of the Bloomsbury Group who, they felt, went on with their sheltered lives as if the War were simply not happening, they were profoundly affected; nothing for them could ever have the old insouciance again'.[320] Similarly, F. A. Lea highlights Murry's particular sense of isolation: 'Feeling no solidarity with any class of society, he could share none of the patriotic emotions, base or noble; sharing none of these, he was feeling more uprooted than ever'.[321] Murry's desire to protect his identity as an individual led to him feeling separate from the war and from his contemporaries who enlisted to fight. In *Between Two Worlds*, he uses the mechanistic language which he also uses in 'There Was a Little Man' to emphasise his resistance to the temptation of surrendering himself to the War, writing:

[319] *BTW*, p. 352.
[320] Katherine Middleton Murry, p. 16.
[321] Lea, pp. 45–46.

> I had been overwhelmed by the desire to be quit of all responsibility for myself, and to lose the burden of my identity by becoming an obedient part of a great machine. But immediately I had felt that, if I had surrendered to it, I should have betrayed myself.[322]

The reflective nature of 'There Was a Little Man' reveals Murry's awareness of his own individuality and his desire to protect his humanity in the face of machine-made death.

It is worth noting that the three regular contributions to the *Signature* are distinct from one another. Thus, while the magazine overall represented a community of three writers who wanted to express themselves in the face of war, its individual components do not reinforce this value of community, and instead retain their identities as individual contributions. For this reason, this section explores only Murry's writing in the *Signature*, and will not address Lawrence's and Mansfield's contributions.

Lea refers to 'There Was a Little Man' as a 'long, rambling, stilted contribution to *The Signature*'.[323] I view each of these intended criticisms as valuable insights into Murry's personal and professional development. The contributions' lengths – nearly ten pages each – indicate that Murry was not bound by the same market restrictions that will impact his writings for other publications. For example, in the *Athenaeum*, his introductory notes fill only a page or two and frequently use the editorial 'we', aligning him with the larger periodical for which he is the public voice. Even in *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review*, his contributions display consciousness of the audience's expectations by adhering to certain themes and topics, such as creation and the aristocracy of the artist. The *Signature*'s much more personal and less direct language highlights Murry's ability to alter his writing for a particular audience. His 'rambling, stilted' contribution, then, becomes a valuable halfway point between the public and the private, the audience-oriented and the deeply reflective, the

[322] *BTW*, p. 354.
[323] Lea, p. 46.

confident and the hesitant, illuminating the many ways in which the modernist editor's voice could be shaped for the consumption of particular audiences.

Although 'There Was a Little Man' is predominantly inward-focussed, Murry uses his own perceptions of the world to discuss situations that all of his readers, many of whom were fellow writers, could relate to, such as the on-going war in France and the slave-like act of writing for the popular press.[324] In fact, he uses similar language to describe war and the press, defining them in terms of the mechanistic and condemning them for their denial of humanity. He describes the War as a 'mechanical process' and a 'fighting-machine', and directly contrasts it to the creation of art: 'I hold nothing higher, nothing more perfect, nothing truer than the achievement of art […] I will live on for this. I will not die for something which means nothing to me'.[325] These comparisons characterise war as being directly opposed to art, but aligned with another institution towards which he expresses revulsion: the popular press. He writes, 'I cannot despise myself' for not wanting to die for a cause in which he does not believe, 'Yet for other things I do despise myself'.[326] As an example, Murry condemns himself for lacking the strength to live as true artists do, writing:

> I have not yet found the courage to risk the extreme of poverty rather than wear out the little talent that I have in sterile and mechanical operations […] there remains always a little cloud of self-contempt hovering within my mind.[327]

The 'sterile and mechanical operations' to which Murry refers are the mass-produced newspapers to which he contributes journalistic work for his income. His strong language magnifies his guilt over having contributed to such an unworthy and perceived evil cause,

[324] Lea lists George Bernard Shaw, Albert Rothenstein, Frank Swinnerton, and Lytton Strachey as some of the *Signature*'s subscribers (p. 45).
[325] John Middleton Murry, 'There Was a Little Man, I', The *Signature*, 4 October 1915, pp. 24–32 (pp. 27, 28, 29).
[326] Ibid., p. 29.
[327] Ibid., pp. 29–30.

and the constant presence of Murry's 'little cloud of self-contempt' reinforces his shame over selling out rather than embracing the impoverished conditions of a true artist. His use of the same language to describe war and journalism indicates that both are equally dehumanising, and that the popular press should be resisted with the same fervour as the War.

Murry writes in his autobiography that 'There Was a Little Man' provided a space for 'self-examination'.[328] It is no surprise, then, that his lifelong interest in spirituality emerges in the second instalment. Like he does in *Rhythm*, Murry uses the language of Christianity to make sense of his artistic impulses. In 'There Was a Little Man', the deity he honours is Freedom, to which he refers in the language of a disciple:

> Freedom! How wonderful is your name […] And the name will never be lost, for I am baptised and can never be utterly cast out. I shall return forever to the fold, to the warm fold of my own heart. Miracle Freedom![329]

Murry compares the devotion of a Christian to his own devotion to artistic freedom, and he goes so far as to compare his work for newspapers to sin. He writes that the 'angel Freedom' compels him to write, 'though I sit in the room where I deny you everyday and I write with the pen that blasphemes you in the morning, in the evening you call me to be your willing, gracious slave'.[330] Murry's knowledge of, and interest in, Christian scripture is evident in such statements; this one, for example, likely alludes to St Paul's letter to the Corinthians, which states, 'anyone who was called in the Lord while a slave, is a freeman of the Lord; and in the same way, anyone who was free when called, is a slave of Christ'.[331] In their bibliography of little magazines, Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich write that

[328] *BTW*, p. 358.
[329] 'There Was a Little Man, II', p. 20.
[330] Ibid., pp. 19–20.
[331] 1 Corinthians 7:22, *The New Jerusalem Bible*.

> Throughout Murry's life as an editor of and contributor to literary reviews, the aesthetic and moral attitudes warred with each other. This was because he had never made up his mind about the exact complexion of either–and was able to withdraw from one into the security of the other.[332]

While it is true that the aesthetic and the moral informed Murry's understandings of himself and of society, it is too simplistic to suggest that he 'never made up his mind' about their relationship. In fact, beginning with the *Athenaeum* and appearing even more strongly in the *Adelphi*, his understandings of morality will come to inform his ideas about the aesthetic, and hints of this coexistence are evident in the *Signature*, as well, in the blending of religious language and artistic endeavour. In 'There Was a Little Man', Murry experiments with the associations between the moral and the artistic, revealing this contribution to be a testing ground for the spiritual voice with which he will come to be strongly associated later in life.

Another relationship that Murry explores in the *Signature*, and one that will later become a frequent topic of his *Adelphi* editorials, is the comparison of the editor to a public speaker. In the *Signature*, he becomes increasingly interested in discussing his perceptions of the public role of the artist, and of the relationship between editors and the public. In the second issue, he examines his own intentions, writing, 'Now that I come to think of it, I don't believe that anyone will understand a word of this. And yet there's no getting away from it that I am writing to be understood'.[333] This is, of course, an act: Murry has written this piece with the magazine's specific audience in mind, not as some private scribbling which has accidentally been leaked to the public. His fabricated realisation that his audience may not understand him is crucial to the persona that he is creating – that of a thoughtful, working artist who appears to be more concerned about recording his own contemplations than their reception by potential readers. In fact, his writing style in the *Signature* is precisely in line

[332] Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, p. 26.
[333] 'There Was a Little Man, II', p. 23.

with his later discussions of his own involvement in *Rhythm*, as discussed earlier in this chapter: he considers his writing for both magazines to have been almost an accident. For example, in 'There Was a Little Man', Murry imagines that he is on a stage and an old man is the only audience member left. The old man engages Murry's persona in dialogue:

> "I don't believe you are quite such a fool as you look […] I'd have you know I paid to come in."
>
> "Paid?" I stammer.
>
> "I tell you I paid half-a-crown."
>
> "Are you sure .. [sic] you paid to hear me? There are others before me. Perhaps you came too late, mistook the time?"[334]

The old man insists upon hearing Murry speak, and this imagined conversation gives two key impressions about the writer of 'There Was a Little Man'. Firstly, he is humble, convinced that his readers have come for the 'others' – Lawrence and Mansfield – rather than for himself, and his specific mention of the cost of an issue of the *Signature* – half a crown – reinforces to his audience that he is speaking about them in particular. These details illustrate Murry's intention to connect directly with his readers by imagining a conversation between one of them and himself. Secondly, the old man's insistence to hear Murry speak proves that others have faith in what he has to say, even if he does not believe in himself. Both his humility and his public's belief in him are tactics that he uses to make himself more attractive to his audience.

Murry's persona continues to act humbly in the face of fame, using the image of the stage lights to represent his public role. He writes that he has successfully 'turned the lights

[334] Ibid., p. 24.

on again… But they are too bright, too hard […] I hate this light'.[335] He implies that he has no interest in being a public figure, but that his audience encourages him to continue. In this way, he retains his identity as a true artist who resists the demands of the public. However, he also flatters the *Signature*'s audience by implying that he will come on stage only for them. In spite of its 'rambling' reflective style, 'There Was a Little Man' displays Murry's early engagement with his audience in his role as a public figure, as well as his own perceived importance as an editor.[336]

The final published segment of 'There Was a Little Man' features Murry's engagement with Jesus, death, and evil, topics which lead him down a dark path of self-perception. As he did in the second issue, he appears to recognise that his writing is perhaps inaccessible to his readers and condemns himself for it, admitting, 'I hate this pontifical parade of my own self'.[337] His voice is conflicted, fluctuating between expressing his confidence as an artist and his hesitance to accept his own influence. For example, he compares himself to Jesus and Moses, emphasising his importance as a prophet but then reminding himself and, pointedly, his audience that 'there is no one to listen to me save myself'.[338] Typically, however, Murry's apparent self-deprecation is double-edged, serving both to emphasise his importance as a public figure and to engender pity for his lack of confidence in himself. He writes:

> I strut about as though the world were for my audience, hungrily watching my exits and entrances. Fool that I am, to make even my truth look like a lie […] I cannot even in the quiet of my own room save myself from writing big sounding words to cover my own nakedness.[339]

[335] Ibid., p. 26.
[336] Lea, p. 46.
[337] John Middleton Murry, 'There Was a Little Man, III', The *Signature*, 1 November 1915, pp. 19–28 (p. 25).
[338] Ibid.
[339] Ibid.

Murry is practicing here the brand of editorial voice which he will perfect in the *Adelphi*: by revealing to his audience his concerns about his own abilities and his seemingly private insecurities, he ushers his readers into his private life and gives the impression that his audience know him more deeply than simply as an editor of magazines. He cultivates an image of his own inexperience and incapability while reminding his audience all the while that he is, in fact, a public figure with the power to influence his audiences. In the *Adelphi*, Murry will use these tactics to create a community of faithful readers; here, in the *Signature*, are his first sustained public attempts to bridge the public and the private to present a certain image of himself to his audience in order to build up both his own reputation and that of his magazine.

The *Signature* is the only magazine Murry edited that is not characterised by its need to attract and maintain readership, and the reflective style of 'There Was a Little Man' reinforces the magazine's function of giving him a space to assess his own role as a public figure and his voice as an artist and editor. I suggest that 'There Was a Little Man' also reveals that his role as an editor was necessarily reduced by the nature of the periodical itself, contributing to the sense of isolation which pervades the contribution. The *Signature* was detached from the interperiodical relationships practiced by other magazines, such as engaging in debate with other periodicals. Lawrence attempted to convene weekly meetings for its subscribers, which Murry describes as an opportunity for Lawrence to 'preach' his message.[340] However, John Worthen writes that these attempts at community failed, and only two meetings ever materialised.[341] The most sustained sense of community engendered by the *Signature*, then, was the very act of subscription, which allowed the magazine's publishers to know exactly how many copies to print to keep costs at a minimum. I suggest that, combined

[340] *BTW*, p. 352.
[341] John Worthen, 'Chapter 4: War: 1914–1919', *Extended Biography of D. H. Lawrence*, Part II, from Manuscripts and Special Collections at the University of Nottingham, <https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/manuscriptsandspecialcollections> [accessed 28 February 2020] (para. 12 of 14).

with Murry's existing feelings of isolation about the War, the lack of audience engagement required by a periodical such as the *Signature* is the cause of Murry's portrayal of himself in 'There Was a Little Man' as lonely figure, speaking only to the creations of his own mind, such as his muse Freedom. In this contribution, Murry's persona acts like an editor without the typical roles of editorship, leading to a sense of isolation and loss of purpose.

This sense of loneliness pervades all three of his contributions for the *Signature*. In the first instalment of 'There Was a Little Man', he vocalises the thought which will become his underpinning motivation for the editorships of his later magazines: the connection of humans through art. He describes his reactions to certain works of art, 'pictures and writings', which particularly attract him.[342] However, it is not their beauty which excites Murry; rather, it is the human connections they promote:

> They awaken my active sympathy. I feel with the soul which expressed itself thus and thus, which shows in the face, the picture or the writing. Yes, only that interests me deeply which I can understand as the expression of a striving soul. Then I feel with another soul […] I recognise in them an intimate, personal possibility.[343]

Murry will use similar language in the first issue of the *Adelphi*, in which he writes about the differences between himself and each individual he passes on the street, deciding that they all, himself included, are 'very much the same sort of people', all searching for 'satisfaction for [the] soul'.[344] This soul-to-soul connection is celebrated throughout the *Adelphi*, as will be discussed in Chapter 3. In the *Signature*, however, Murry's persona becomes increasingly more isolated. In contrast to the *Adelphi*, for which he actively promoted an involved reading community, the *Signature*, with its disappointingly small subscription list, truly is, perhaps

[342] 'There Was a Little Man, I', p. 30.
[343] Ibid., pp. 30–31.
[344] 'The Cause of It All', p. 2.

more than Murry ever imagined, the empty stage he describes in the second instalment of 'There Was a Little Man'.

In the third issue, Murry reveals that he feels hidden and worried that no one will ever find him. On the surface, he speaks about his talent as a writer, but I read the section discussed below as an indication of his sense of loss at not having a magazine community to shepherd as its editor. He expresses his conviction that one day someone will identify him as a true artist: 'The thought that no one should look, that no one should reach out after the soul that is too often hidden beneath its own pretence of revelation, is intolerable to me'.[345] Murry is used to being seen: as the editor of *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review*, his writings would have been easily identified as being the products of the editor of those magazines, giving him an esteem which is not present in the *Signature*, where his name is listed only as a contributor, and listed last. Three issues into a magazine that he edits with no editorial attribution and for which Lawrence was the public face, it is likely that Murry's lofty conceptions of himself as an editor were collapsing. He admits that he 'care[s] deeply' for recognition, but, he writes, 'I feel alone, and it may be I write about my own soul to cover it with the love and affection which it seeks'.[346] Although Murry never refers to himself as an editor in his 'There Was a Little Man' contributions, the segments reveal his lack of purpose during his editorship of a periodical for which there was no need to seek new contributions or attract new readers. It is not clear from Murry's public or private writings what precisely his role as editor of the subscription-only periodical entailed, but it is certain that he felt himself second to Lawrence in the *Signature* endeavour. He writes in *Between Two Worlds* that the main draw for readers was Lawrence's 'little centre in London where those who cared to hear might come to hear Lawrence expound his views'.[347] The magazine, for which Murry was to serve as its

[345] 'There Was a Little Man, III', p. 26.
[346] Ibid.
[347] *BTW*, p. 349.

'technical editor', was made to exist only 'in connection with' Lawrence's lectures.[348] As a result, Murry's control over the *Signature* was almost certainly reduced to corresponding with the printer. His later editorships of the *Athenaeum* and the *Adelphi* would be notably audience-focussed, including managing advertising to attract more readers, writing regular editorials, and maintaining correspondence with readers and contributors. His recognition of the abilities of magazines to create communities becomes paramount to his understandings of literature, and to his views of society more largely. These ideas about the value of magazine communities are, I propose, present in the *Signature* through Murry's explorations of his own isolation as an artist and, most importantly, through his sense of loss at being an editor with a disappointingly limited audience.

Conclusion: '[A] truly preposterous position'

In *Between Two Worlds*, Murry provides a succinct reflection of his editorship of *Rhythm* by writing, 'I had got myself into a truly preposterous position'.[349] He implies that his role with the artistic magazine was inauthentic, writing that 'when I was off-stage, and free from the obligation of keeping up my aesthetic role, I plunged with the relief of simple enjoyment' into reading literature.[350] Tellingly, he refers to his editorships merely as a series of 'polite accomplishment[s]' that offered him a convenient alternative to writing journalism.[351] As exhibited by the editorial practices displayed in *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature*, Murry was aware of the power of magazines to influence their publics and of the editor's vital role in that process. In his autobiography, however, this awareness is overshadowed. He contrasts his experience with *Rhythm*, an artist's magazine, to his love of purely literary publications, but he ignores the fact that during his editorship of *Rhythm*, he engaged with the

[348] Ibid., p. 350.
[349] Ibid., p. 157.
[350] Ibid.
[351] Ibid.

New Age about Horace, was reviewed by Arnold Bennett writing under a pseudonym, and used his experiences with *Rhythm* to launch a literary review of his own. Even retrospectively, Murry does not see – or, at least, does not write about – *Rhythm*'s influence on placing him firmly within the modernist periodical community in which he would become a prolific and influential member.

In *Rhythm*, Murry first exercises his editorial voice through writing editorials in his own magazines and through his defences of his periodicals in a competing publication. His language in *Rhythm* promotes the cultivation of a loyal audience, a practice that he will continue to develop throughout his editorial career and one that reveals his early editorial aptitude. His awareness of the dangers of engaging with the market is expressed in his handling of the introduction of *Rhythm*'s advertisements, which themselves become unique, artistic additions to the magazine rather than detractions from it. His exploration of certain ideas, such as the religious devotion of the artist and the harmful effects of the popular press, can be traced throughout his life in his public and private writings, and *Rhythm* provides us with the earliest examples of his engagement with these topics.

In the *Blue Review*, Murry's editorial agenda is clear in his publication choices for the magazine, which, in contrast to *Rhythm*, was a literary periodical, and in his reviews, which address the role of the artist and the duty of art. Interestingly, Murry carries on these discussions in the *Athenaeum*, making the *Blue Review* a valuable example of his involvement with the ideas that would shape his later magazines.

The *Signature* presents the most unique of Murry's editorial voices. Denied, by the nature of the periodical, the editorial influence he had already experienced with *Rhythm* and the *Blue Review*, he uses 'There Was a Little Man' to explore his role as a public figure and to express his sense of loss while managing a magazine which lacked all of those periodical features which would come to define his editorships, such as regular editorials and

correspondence through letters to the editor. In light of the lack of these editorial practices, Murry's expressions of isolation become more complex than a writer's sense of loss in the face of war; rather, they represent his dejection at the loss of his role as editor and, accordingly, at the loss of an increasingly important part of his identity.

While Murry may have glossed over the significance of his editorships, particularly the early ones, in his autobiography, this thesis aims to reclaim them as his most important contributions to modernism. Without Murry, there would have been no *Rhythm*, no *Blue Review*, and likely no *Signature*, and without these early publications, there would have been no sustained platform for him to practise his editorial voice. These periodicals are important in their own right as modernist magazines, but they are also necessary for understanding Murry's entrance onto the modernist stage. Through these periodicals, he developed his sense of what magazines should do, and they gave him the knowledge and experience to put that sense of mission into practice with the *Athenaeum*, which he would cultivate into a weekly platform for audiences and contributors alike to voice their social and artistic concerns under the guidance of his editorial practices.

The limited importance that Murry places on his own editorial involvement is indicative of the larger lack of attention given to him as a modernist figure. He is not deemed a great author, and was considered even in life to be a mediocre poet. His most influential claim to the literary tradition is his criticism, which is rarely discussed in modernist studies because he was not a straightforwardly modernist critic. What Murry did produce which should be of special interest to modernist studies are a variety of writings and a legacy of editorial practices which give us previously unexplored insight into the modernist market and the identity of that vastly underrepresented and hugely important modernist figure, the editor.

This chapter establishes Murry's earliest editorial practices as being indicative of his aptitude as an editor, reclaiming him as an influential modernist figure. The audience

awareness, market consciousness, and understanding of his own role as a public figure which he displays in *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature* provide particular insight into the struggles of the little magazines to retain financial sovereignty and a unique identity in a literary world inundated with competing periodicals and dominated by the popular press. Most importantly, this chapter has made it clear that the editor's vital role in navigating those concerns cannot be ignored. Viewing Murry in light of his involvement with his early periodicals provides, as this chapter has established, necessary information about his personal and editorial development. Additionally, and even more significantly, it has shown that viewing these magazines in light of their editor and his practices is unavoidable if we wish to gauge the true value of these magazines' contributions to modernist studies. This chapter has tracked Murry's growing editorial knowledge during the first phase of his career in order to prove that while *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature* gave him his first editorial venues, he gave them something much more. It was Murry's editorial practices that defined the identities of these magazines and, as such, shaped the course of periodical modernism from 1911 to 1915.

CHAPTER 2:

'CONDEMNED TO BE A CRITIC'[352]

THE *ATHENAEUM* (1919-1921)

Introduction: '[A] third kingdom'

Murry was appointed the final editor of the *Athenaeum* in 1919. The former Victorian review had experienced many changes during its ninety-year life. For its newest and final owner, Arnold Rowntree, Murry's editorship represented a hope that the review, which had lost a significant amount of money since Rowntree purchased it in 1917, might reclaim its Victorian glory.[353] For Murry, it was a professional turning point. His editorship of the *Athenaeum* made it undeniably clear that he was no longer the inexperienced editor of his *Rhythm* days; rather, as this chapter will address in detail, he used his experiences editing *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature* to transform the *Athenaeum* from a struggling monthly paper into a first-rate literary review. Employing the professional networks and editorial techniques he had cultivated since his first editorship in 1911, Murry improved the quality of the *Athenaeum*'s content by hiring recognised and celebrated writers and reviewers, engaged his audiences through editorials and letters to the editor to encourage sustained readership, and, as his personal papers reveal, increased the popularity of the review, a fact which will be positioned in this chapter against recent critical claims that Murry's editorship caused the *Athenaeum* to fail. Further, as this chapter makes clear, he used the platform of the *Athenaeum* to strengthen his own public image in addition to refining his personal and professional understandings of the role of literature in society, giving him the confidence to use the *Adelphi* in 1923 to break with the very established literary standards he celebrates in the *Athenaeum*. This chapter's primary aim is twofold: it establishes Murry's

[352] Letter from Murry to Williams, 25 October 1921, UESC, MS2515.E91.38.
[353] Whitworth, p. 366.

editorship of the *Athenaeum* as a success in spite of claims by recent scholars that it was a failure, and it demonstrates that the years 1919 to 1921 were of enormous personal and professional importance for Murry because the successful editorial techniques he practiced during this period cemented his reputation as an editor, both to his public and to himself.

Misrepresentations about the *Athenaeum* are rampant in scholarship, leading to a lack of awareness – or, in some cases, a complete denial – of Murry's success as an editor. For example, in several sources about the *Athenaeum*, key dates from his editorship are wrongly reported. Oscar Wellens states that he was approached to edit the *Athenaeum* in February 1919, but Murry writes that he was offered the job in January.[354] Alfred Havinghurst writes that Murry was editor of the *Athenaeum* until it merged with the *Nation* in February 1922, when in fact the merger took place in 1921.[355] These incorrect dates point towards the greater lack of understanding surrounding Murry's editorship, and the lack of care it is given in scholarship. More importantly, and much more harmfully for Murry's editorial reputation, some scholars incorrectly imply that the *Athenaeum* failed because of his mismanagement of the periodical. Marysa Demoor implies that his editorial decisions led to the paper's merger with the *Nation*, and while she acknowledges that the situation was largely due to external factors, she writes condemningly that 'appointing Murry as the new editor of a paper like the *Athenaeum* was not such a good decision after all'.[356] Actually, the *Athenaeum*'s merger with the *Nation* was, as Michael Whitworth writes, 'a consequence and not a cause' of Murry's decision to leave the review, which he did because of Mansfield's failing health.[357]

Another misrepresented facet of Murry's editorship of the *Athenaeum* is the paper's readership. His personal papers reveal that circulation numbers, which to date have only been

[354] Wellens, p. 139; *Katherine Mansfield's Letters to John Middleton Murry, 1913-1922*, ed. by John Middleton Murry (London: Constable and Company Ltd., 1951; repr. 1958), p. 309.
[355] Alfred F. Havinghurst, *Radical Journalist: H. W. Massingham (1860-1924)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), p. 276.
[356] Demoor, 'John Middleton Murry's Editorial Apprenticeships', p. 140.
[357] Whitworth, p. 375. The same is suggested by Philpotts, p. 51; Collier, p. 55; Lea, p. 66; and Wellens, p. 148.

estimated, were actually much higher than scholars have suspected. From March-June 1920, he recorded the weekly circulation numbers of the *Athenaeum* in his personal diary.[358] Some weeks, the review's readership reached more than 4,000. The average readership for those months is, by my calculation, 3,874 per week, a significantly higher number than is implied by recent writing on the subject. Kathleen Jones, for example, writes that the review's sales had 'been declining since [Murry] became editor', when, in fact, readership in 1920 was more than seven times what it was in 1917, when the review was selling only 2,000 issues per month.[359] Whitworth estimates, based on readership numbers before Murry's editorship and after the review's merger with the *Nation*, that under Murry readership was between 3,000 and 3,500 readers, and while this suggestion closely resembles the actual readership, it still undermines the extent of Murry's editorial success.[360] Such misrepresentations justify a closer look at the periodical, and at the editorial practices that made it so successful.

In a 1919 review in the *Athenaeum*, Murry writes:

> Between belief and logic lies a third kingdom, which the mystics and the philosophers alike are too eager to forget – the kingdom of art, no less the residence of truth than the other two realms, and to some, perhaps, more authentic than even they.[361]

This reference to art as being in between or on the margins is typical of how Murry writes about art and artists in the *Athenaeum*, which he presents as a refuge for art lovers. This image of the 'third kingdom' is one I will employ in this chapter as being representative of the review to emphasise its precarious position between art and the mass market, and the transitional function it served for Murry by facilitating his conversion from a primarily

[358] Murry recorded circulation numbers every Friday from March to June 1920, from 'Diary 1920', ATL, MSX-4144.
[359] Jones, p. 391; Whitworth, p. 367.
[360] Whitworth, p. 367.
[361] J. M. M. [Murry], 'The Poetry of Mr. Hardy', The *Athenaeum*, 7 November 1919, pp. 1147–49 (p. 1148).

critical writer to a moral one. The *Athenaeum* is a paper that resists certain methods of categorisation. It referred to itself as being only for artists and intellectuals but was marketed to the larger public. It relied heavily on its own history of adherence to literary tradition but embraced modern writers and print design which made it more attractive to contemporary readers. Further, similarly to *Rhythm*, it denounced the market dependency of the popular press while publishing advertisements in order to sustain itself. These contradictions not only contribute to the complicated identity of the review and the challenges it posed to its editor, but also reinforce the value of the *Athenaeum* to on-going critical discussions about the modernist market and editorial practices.

The review's central role in the lives and careers of so many modernist writers is another indication of its importance. When Murry was offered the editorship of the *Athenaeum* in early 1919, he spent weeks using what John Carswell refers to as his 'wide contacts' to cultivate a writing staff of notable names which helped to make it particularly appealing to a literary audience.[362] Wellens notes that 'under Murry *The Athenaeum* gradually broke with anonymous criticism so prevalent in the nineteenth century and still widely practiced in the early twentieth century', and instead printed the names or initials of contributors and reviewers.[363] Exhibiting at least the initials of his reviewers – which included Leonard and Virginia Woolf, Bertrand Russell, E. M. Forster, and T. S. Eliot, among others – was a deliberate marketing move. Katherine Mansfield, who wrote reviews for the *Athenaeum* and worked closely with Murry during his editorship, recognized the significance of such a decision in December 1920, suggesting to Murry that all of the reviews should be signed because a paper the size of the *Athenaeum* 'must be *definite*, *personal*, or die'.[364] As will be discussed in more detail in this chapter, one of the major transformations of the

[362] Carswell, p. 156.
[363] Wellens writes that this practice started with Murry's third issue (p. 139).
[364] Letter from Mansfield to Murry, 5 December 1920, in *Letters and Journals of KM*, p. 204. Emphasis in original.

Athenaeum during Murry's editorship was its increased engagement with readers. As he and Mansfield both recognised, and as evidenced by the various forms of audience engagement he utilises throughout his editorship, a magazine could not survive without a personal connection to its readers. Direct audience engagement was a practice Murry employed first in his editorial in the third issue of *Rhythm*, and it was one that would become a defining feature of the *Adelphi*. In the *Athenaeum*, he refines his methods of audience engagement, and one example is through marketing his reviewers by printing their names and initials clearly for potential readers to see. Due to space constraints, this chapter will not address writings other than Murry's in the *Athenaeum*; however, his effective marketing of his writers' works should be recognised as an example of his successful editorial practice.

Significantly, Murry's writings for the *Athenaeum*, including his editorials, reviews, and responses to letters to the editor, reveal more than his intention to engage his audiences; they also illustrate what Sharron Greer Cassavant calls his 'unfashionable turn' to moralism.[365] In her book *John Middleton Murry: The Critic as Moralist*, Cassavant traces Murry's lifelong spiritual tendencies but designates the start of the *Adelphi* as the point at which Murry had his 'volte-face of 1923' and turned his back on what she defines as the '"professional" criticism' he wrote during his *Athenaeum* editorship.[366] Cassavant acknowledges that there is some space for nuance here, writing that 'Murry did not so much become a different man in 1923 as begin to follow his personal inclinations more freely', but it is the aim of this chapter to further challenge this seeming division between Murry's professional and post-professional careers.[367] This chapter argues against any clear-cut distinction between Murry's *Athenaeum* writing and his writing for the *Adelphi* by illustrating the ways in which his moralist tendencies were already present in the *Athenaeum*. As will be

[365] Cassavant, p. 3.
[366] Ibid., pp. 51, 50.
[367] Ibid., p. 52.

discussed in detail in this chapter, his increasingly democratic understandings of the role of art in society make it clear that the *Athenaeum* was indeed a 'third kingdom' for Murry, functioning as a space between the artistically elite magazines of his early editorships and the later, wide-reaching *Adelphi*, and a place in which he expertly balanced his increasingly community-focussed personal beliefs with the professional image of himself as the editor of an intellectually elite literary review.

The successful methods of audience engagement that Murry practices in the *Athenaeum* reveal the importance that he places on the influence of periodical-based communities, and on the vital role that the editor plays in the creation of those communities. His direct audience addresses in his *Rhythm* editorials as well as his writings in the *New Age* in which he defends *Rhythm* from criticism are echoed in his practices in the *Athenaeum*, which include defences of the review's publication decisions as well as regular editorials intended to cultivate and maintain a loyal audience. In addition to revealing Murry's abilities to engage with and, at times, adapt his practices to attract a particular readership, his writings in the *Athenaeum* also illustrate his increasing understandings of the role of an editor and of the power of magazines to shape the public. His discussions of the *Athenaeum*'s value as a bastion against the popular press revive old ideas from his and Mansfield's contributions to *Rhythm* while presenting them in more sophisticated ways, and the changes he introduces to the *Athenaeum* to make it more attractive to readers similarly illustrate his growing knowledge of his periodical's position within the literary marketplace. This chapter examines the *Athenaeum* in detail to illustrate the success of Murry's editorial practices from 1919 to 1921, and to emphasise the ways in which his professional and personal development during this period contributed to him recognising himself not as a novelist or poet, but as a critic and an editor.

'The only aristocracy in the world worth having': An Appeal to the Intellectual Elite

Murry's first editorial (Fig. 14) in the *Athenaeum* reveals his growing recognition of his influence as an editor and his awareness of the need to create a relationship with his readers to secure the review's survival. It exhibits his willingness to direct his periodical to a specific audience, pointing towards his awareness of the *Athenaeum*'s position within the wider periodical market. In 'Prologue', the elite language and frequent use of the word 'we' imply that the *Athenaeum* is directed towards readers of an exclusive intellectual stratum of which the editor considers himself a member, and the effect is to invite readers into a selective community which can be joined by purchasing and reading the review. This section draws attention to some of the specific ways in which Murry engages his audience in 'Prologue', with a particular focus on how these methods of engagement coincide with or, at times, seem to work against his larger editorial mission.

Murry's first issue was intended to impress, and 'Prologue' prepares a reader for the type of high-level thinking that will define the coming issues of the new *Athenaeum*. The article is preceded by a Thomas Hardy poem and ends with a discussion of what Murry calls 'the republic of the spirit' to which true artists and their supporters belong.[368] The title itself suggests the start of a literary epic, and the impression of the editorial is that only a select, intelligent few are invited on the journey when in reality the *Athenaeum*'s circulation in 1919 was likely 3,000 or more. However, Murry gives the impression of speaking to the implied few in a deliberate attempt to make each reader feel personally recognised and therefore more likely to continue subscribing to a review that markets itself to readers of only the highest intellect.

'Prologue' flatters the potential *Athenaeum* reader, suggesting that those few who are able to recognise its value are worthy of entry into the communal space of its pages and to the

[368] 'Prologue', p. 131.

implied larger community of the intellectual elite. In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson writes that 'Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined'.[369] Murry's frequent mentions of intellect and aristocracy are indicative of his particular 'style' of drawing in readers who want to feel as though they are part of an elite group of literary thinkers, and they also reinforce the *Athenaeum*'s identity as an intellectual publication.

Presenting such a clear view of its intended audience is one of the ways in which the *Athenaeum*'s first issue under Murry is different to those of his other edited periodicals. While *Rhythm* and, later, the *Adelphi* refined their understandings of themselves and of their audiences over time, the *Athenaeum* came to Murry with an already established reputation. Founded in 1828, the paper had reviewed the latest works by writers such as Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson, and Dickens across its nearly ninety years.[370] Murry plays on this history in 'Prologue' to justify his public's support of its coming issues. Unlike his introductory editorial in *Rhythm*, 'Prologue' is not a promise of what the *Athenaeum* will achieve and why it is worth supporting; rather, it is a show of solidarity from an editor who considers himself, like his readers, to be of the 'aristocracy of the spirit'.[371] Notably, this issue's contents appear on the first page along with Hardy's poem and Murry's editorial. Featuring work by and about recognisable writers such as W. B. Yeats, Alec Waugh, Anton Chekhov, Hardy, Lytton Strachey, George Santayana, Clive Bell, Edward J. Dent, and Murry himself, the contents list is positioned to complement the editorial and to ensure that potential readers will recognise the *Athenaeum*'s quality at first glance.

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[369] Benedict Anderson, p. 6.
[370] Miriam M. H. Thrall, review of Leslie A. Marchand, *The* Athenaeum: *A Mirror of Victorian Culture* (1941); Ralf Buchmann, *Martin F. Tupper and the Victorian Middle Class Mind* (1941); and Merle Mowbray Bevington, *The Saturday Review, 1855–1868: Representative Educated Opinion in Victorian England* (1941), *Modern Language Notes*, 57.8 (1942), 677–79 (p. 678).
[371] 'Prologue', p. 131.

The appearance of Hardy's poem 'According to the Mighty Working' on the first page also confirms the review's quality. Hardy's 12-line poem occupies the top part of the page, before 'Prologue'. This positioning helps to characterise the *Athenaeum* as a publication which will place the greatest importance on the best literature, even more so than on the thoughts of its editor. Hardy's name, too, carries significance. Margaret Jensen suggests that Murry printed 'According to the Mighty Working' because 'commencing his reign as editor with a poem from Thomas Hardy would provide *The Athenaeum* with a stamp of legitimacy'.[372] Murry had written to Hardy asking for a piece to publish in the review, and Jensen writes that he intended to use Hardy's increasing popularity with a younger generation of artists and readers to increase readership for his publication. It was a relationship, Jensen writes, which 'was not only informed by personal feelings, but also by the materialist mechanics of print production'.[373] Written in 1917, Hardy's poem was not intended for Murry's first issue of the *Athenaeum*, but the fact that a previously unpublished poem by such a well-known writer appears in this issue of the *Athenaeum* not only establishes the review's ability to identify good literature, but also validates Murry's abilities as an editor who is able to deliver the best work to his readers.

Like he does in *Rhythm*, Murry uses his first *Athenaeum* editorial to address an audience of art lovers, and individuality is one of the key themes he uses to appeal to those readers. However, while in *Rhythm* his intended audience was artists, whom he urged to strive for 'individuality of expression', in the *Athenaeum*, he addresses the receivers of art – its viewers and readers – and reinforces his focus on their distinction from the masses by referring to the 'individual mind' of each.[374] With this sort of language, he reconciles two seemingly contradictory intentions of this editorial: to address individuals and to build a community. By speaking to his audience as though addressing each person individually,

[372] Jensen, p. 63.
[373] Ibid., p. 61.
[374] 'Art and Philosophy', p. 11; 'Prologue', p. 130.

Murry begins pre-emptively to act upon the warning which Mansfield will give him in 1920: that the paper must be '*personal*, or die'.[375] He reaches out to each reader's 'individual mind' in order to invite them into the community gained by subscribing to the *Athenaeum*.

The glorification of the individual is also a technique that he uses in 'Prologue' to define the sort of reader who is worthy of joining the *Athenaeum*'s community, and he makes a point of distinguishing them from the general public by the nature of their intellectual appreciation for art. Even though Murry emphasises the importance of individuality, he also values communication, writing that 'The appeal of art is from one single mind to another single mind'.[376] This claim is a more concise version of an idea he first printed in the *Signature*, when he wrote about certain works of art:

> They awaken my active sympathy. I feel with the soul which expressed itself thus and thus, which shows in the face, the picture or the writing. Yes, only that interests me deeply which I can understand as the expression of a striving soul. Then I feel with another soul […] I recognise in them an intimate, personal possibility.[377]

For Murry, true communication – that transmitted from one soul to another – is made possible by art. It is crucial to understand that this communication, as he states in 'Prologue', necessarily is limited because it can only travel from one individual to another. This is the sort of community that he promises in the *Athenaeum*: a haven of individuals, removed from the masses, who will receive only the highest level of intellectual communication via the pages of the review, delivered straight from the minds of the greatest writers to the minds of the *Athenaeum*'s readers. To emphasise the review's superiority, Murry criticises the larger public and those who cater to it, writing that 'Those who stoop to declare *vox populi, vox dei*

[375] Letter from Mansfield to Murry, 5 December 1920, in *Letters and Journals of KM*, p. 204. Emphasis in original.
[376] 'Prologue', p. 130.
[377] 'There Was a Little Man, I', pp. 30–31.

[…] insult their deity, their people and themselves'.[378] The specific use of the phrases 'their deity' and 'their people' implies that loyalty is a fundamental component of the *Athenaeum*'s community and that, in contrast to 'those who stoop' to the demands of the public, the *Athenaeum* will not bend to the will of the masses. Rather, the *Athenaeum*, with the support of an intellectually distinguished readership, will serve as a 'republic of the spirit', and a haven for those who wish to remove themselves from the intellectually inferior masses.[379]

Murry's expressed elitism was not unique to the *Athenaeum*, and highlights the anxieties that permeated literary and artistic circles in the early twentieth century. Mark S. Morrisson identifies the 'sense of crisis' which 'pervaded much modernist rhetoric about the masses and the mass market'.[380] John Carey writes that 'In response to the revolt of the masses, intellectuals generated the idea of a natural aristocracy, consisting of intellectuals', precisely as Murry does in 'Prologue'.[381] The 'revolt of the masses' that Carey writes about is the title of José Ortega y Gasset's 1932 book on the growing influence of what he calls the 'multitude'.[382] Although it was written over a decade after 'Prologue', Ortega y Gasset's book highlights the anxieties that Murry addresses in the *Athenaeum*. Like Murry, one of Ortega y Gasset's primary concerns is a loss of individuality. He writes that 'The mass crushes beneath it everything that is different, everything that is excellent, individual, qualified and select'.[383] His use of the word 'individual' is synonymous with Murry's; both believe in the necessity of a community of individuals who will withstand 'the mass and the vulgar'.[384] In *Vernacular Voices*, Gerard A. Hauser presents a similar understanding of communities, writing, 'A public's emergence is not dependent on consensus but on the

[378] 'Prologue', pp. 130–31.
[379] Ibid., p. 131.
[380] Morrisson, p. 5.
[381] John Carey, *The Intellectuals and the Masses: Pride and Prejudice among the Literary Intelligentsia, 1880-1939* (London: Faber and Faber, 1992), p. 71.
[382] José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company Inc., 1932), pp. 13; 45. Archive.org ebook.
[383] Ibid., p. 18.
[384] Ibid., p. 16.

sharing of a *common* world, even when understood and lived differently by different segments in society'.[385] Murry's *Athenaeum* community, positioned in opposition to the mass public, precisely corresponds with this desire to create a community based less on shared belief than the desire to leave the larger world for a smaller, more elite one. Like Ortega y Gasset's, Murry's use of the term 'individual' in order to promote a community is not paradoxical; rather, the distinction of considering oneself to be 'individual' is predicated on the joining of such a community. Of course, this distinction between the aristocracy and the masses was, as Carey writes, 'a fiction'.[386] As will be addressed throughout this chapter, Murry, as he did in *Rhythm*, engages with the market in the *Athenaeum* even as he emphasises his review's separation from it.

'Prologue' denies all commercial engagement, making its glorification of the elite community it advertises a marketing device. Murry knew that gaining as many readers as possible was a key goal of his editorship. Unlike most of the other periodicals he edited in his life, the *Athenaeum* was not his to lose. He was only a hired editor and, as Whitworth points out, was not even a member of the *Athenaeum*'s editorial board, meaning that the only influence he had to make the paper a success was through his editorial decisions.[387] His job was at stake if he could not increase readership, and the community he invites readers to join in 'Prologue' is one of the marketing techniques he employs to achieve this goal.

One indication that Murry is in the business of cultivating a community is his frequent use of 'we': 'We have lost friends in and through whom we largely lived'; 'Thus we may flee to art as to a place where there is neither wind nor snow'; 'We must remember what we have learned'.[388] In these examples, Murry appeals to those who experience isolating situations: those who lost friends in the War, seek solace in art, and recognise that true appreciation of

[385] Hauser, p. 69. Emphasis in original.
[386] Carey, 'Preface', n.p.
[387] Whitworth, p. 366.
[388] 'Prologue', pp. 129, 130.

art is not practised by the masses, but by a select few. He is careful not to exclude anyone from potentially joining the community that he has created, writing that 'The aristocracy of the spirit is the only aristocracy in the world worth having, for any man may enter it', but he also uses political language to further promote the image of the elite.[389] For example, in addition to calling this group an 'aristocracy', Murry uses the word 'republic' to define his community, a word which combines the *Athenaeum*'s intellectual identity with its function as a community space. The word's classical associations, combined with Murry's use of French and Latin phrases elsewhere in the editorial, reinforce the highbrow appearance of the review and, further, imply to readers that the *Athenaeum* is directed towards those who are well-educated; however, the republic is by nature democratic, and Murry emphasises this when he warns his readers that membership to this republic is not associated with social status. He writes that the *Athenaeum*'s audience 'must admit that the citizenship of that republic is at present no title to honour in the temporal city', suggesting that membership in this society carries significance only to other members and is not recognised by the public.[390] This aristocratic community, he stresses, is based solely on the internal traits of the individual, not on his or her status in society.

In fact, Murry states plainly that he believes art to be for the individual, not the public, an assertion that opposes some of his later writings for the *Athenaeum* but is in line with his emphasis in 'Prologue' on the individual. He writes that 'art and thought are self-satisfying activities. If they chance to serve any social purpose the service is not one which society as a whole acknowledges'.[391] Murry minimises art's social function – particularly through suggesting that if art does fulfil a social function, it is by 'chance' – as well as the intelligence and artistic knowledge of the general public in order to promote the exclusivity of the 'republic' to which a reader might gain access by purchasing the *Athenaeum*. Like he does in

[389] Ibid., p. 131.
[390] Ibid., p. 130.
[391] Ibid.

Rhythm, he casts society as the antithesis of the artistic elite in order to market his periodical as an exclusive item for those who wish to access the group that it promotes. Murry balances the attractive elitism of the review with its nature as a widely circulated periodical by appealing to as many people as possible, but on a personal level. This marketing technique illustrates not only the periodical's identity as a 'third kingdom' between the commercial and the individual, but also the finesse with which Murry uses the review's liminal nature to navigate the wider periodical market.

Writing about modernist marketing, Jonathan Rose states, 'Defensively, the modernists styled themselves as uncommercial artists, but that pose was itself a marketing device'.[392] Murry's implications in 'Prologue' that the market in which the *Athenaeum* is situated is morally corrupt and that the review is a retreat displays precisely the sort of 'pose' about which Rose writes. In 'Prologue', Murry casts the *Athenaeum* as a private space for the intellectual elite. He writes:

> To wink at any defection from its own standards, to tolerate slovenly thought or meretricious art, to admit for one single moment that the republic of the spirit is a place of licence because it is largely screened from the public eye, to forget that the rejection of the standard of the market-place is justified only by the acceptance of a far sterner morality – is to have forfeited the claim to present respect and ultimate allegiance.[393]

The specific mention of the *Athenaeum*'s 'own standards' and its 'rejection of the standard of the market-place' reinforces the image of the review as being a safe space that is 'screened from the public eye'. Presenting this community as so exclusive that people who are not involved cannot even recognise its members elevates it to the status of a secret society. Through emphasising its selectiveness and strictness, Murry makes the *Athenaeum*'s

[392] Rose, p. 184.
[393] 'Prologue', p. 131.

community appear even more attractive to readers and reinforces the review's resistance to the standards of public taste. Of course, the intention of enticing readers into this exclusive community was to sell as many copies of the *Athenaeum* as possible, making 'Prologue' an excellent example of Murry's awareness of the liminal boundary between the perceived haven of the literary review and the chaos of the market.

Further, his use of the word 'morality' to describe a code of conduct which is opposed to the market and society more generally is indicative of the ferocity with which he will repeatedly distinguish his periodical from the popular press during his editorship. The term 'morality' is one that Murry uses in a number of ways across his writing for the *Athenaeum*, and this will be discussed in more detail in the next section of this chapter. In 'Prologue', it is obvious that he believes that the artist and those who consider themselves lovers of art should adhere to a form of morality which can only exist outside of society, and that the value of art stems from the adherence of its creator to, as he wrote in his journal two years earlier, a specific 'moral code', making art a valuable tool for social influence.[394]

Murry's thoughts in 'Prologue' about the differences between personal and market standards are adapted from a journal passage he wrote in 1917, revealing how he shaped his private writings for public consumption. In 1917, he wrote:

> No doubt I recognise, definitely recognise and make it my duty to obey, a moral code that is not obviously aesthetic […] But that resembles hardly at all the code of social or citizen duties. From the point of view of that code I do not exist; and it is unreal for me.[395]

Two specific language choices about privacy and morality appear both in this passage and in the one from 'Prologue' quoted above. The first is to do with the lack of recognition of the

[394] Journal entry, 9 April 1917, ATL, MS-Papers-11327-001.
[395] Ibid.

artist by society. In 1917, Murry writes that because he does not adhere to 'the code of social or citizen duties', he does 'not exist' in society, implying that he occupies the private realm of the artist. Similarly, in the *Athenaeum*, he reminds his readers that the 'republic' is 'screened from the public eye', a problematic description for a community which is being broadcast on the pages of a review read by thousands of people each week.[396] However, Murry's decision to retain an emphasis on the privacy of the artistic life in 'Prologue' indicates that he intends to make the review feel personal and exclusive, separated from the implied evils of the mass market and the public it serves. The second comparison to note is his use of variations of the word 'moral'. In his journal entry, he is unable to define precisely which 'moral code' he obeys, defining it instead by what it is not: it 'is not obviously aesthetic' but it also does not 'resemble […] the code of social or citizen duties'. Similarly, in 'Prologue' he fails to define specifically the sort of 'sterner morality' to which his aristocracy adheres.

Notably, however, the language used in 'Prologue' is more defined and dynamic than that of the 1917 journal entry, exhibiting Murry's awareness that his role as editor required him to inspire action in his readers, and particularly the action of purchasing the review. He emphasises what is to be lost by not joining the community, writing that to deny the republic's code 'is to have forfeited the claim to present respect and ultimate allegiance'.[397] He encourages his readers' entrance into this community by marketing to them what they will miss if they let this chance – and this issue of the *Athenaeum* – pass them by. By calling upon his potential readers' moral obligation to practice 'allegiance' to art and literature, Murry, just as he did in *Rhythm*, engages his audience's emotions as well as their intelligence. He invites these readers into what he portrays as a restricted community in order to appeal to each potential reader's sense of intellectual and moral superiority.

[396] 'Prologue', p. 131.
[397] Ibid.

He also makes use of religious language to encourage his readers' devotion to his periodical. Specifically, Murry combines two seemingly unconnected ideas – royalty and humility – to elevate his readers' perceptions of themselves and, more subtly, to compare them to persecuted biblical figures. By preparing his audience for the fact that society will reject them, he presents the *Athenaeum* as a refuge, similarly to the ways in which he and Mansfield used biblical allusions in 'The Meaning of Rhythm' to commend artists who 'surrender' not to their audiences or the demands of the market, but to the 'freedom' of art itself.[398] Using similarly devotional imagery in 'Prologue', Murry appeals to the morality of his audience and to its sense of elitism. He writes:

> The free spirit should behave like a king indeed, and choose to go in rags rather than wave from the balcony to a crowd which it does not control.
>
> In other words, we must no longer confuse the earthly city with the heavenly.[399]

This 'heavenly' city is the city of the artistic spirit, and although, Murry writes, its members are truly 'kings', they will never be recognised as such in the 'earthly city'. His description of a 'king' in 'rags' coincides with the Christian image of Jesus, the son of God, living as a travelling preacher on Earth. Further, his discussion of the heavenly and earthly cities is reminiscent of John's gospel, in which Jesus tells his disciples:

> If you belonged to the world, the world would love you as its own; but because you do not belong to the world, because my choice of you has drawn you out of the world, that is why the world hates you.[400]

[398] 'The Meaning of Rhythm', p. 18.
[399] 'Prologue', p. 130.
[400] John 15:19, *The New Jerusalem Bible*.

Murry's pronouncement that those who answer to the demands of the public 'insult their deity' further equates readers of the *Athenaeum* with disciples, and characterises the *Athenaeum* as a sacred text which will help them to access the republic of the spirit.

Using similarly moral language, Murry establishes a high critical standard for the review through a discussion of the republic's strong internal community. He writes:

> If […] the republic of the spirit is to attract the loyalty of those without, it must at all costs maintain its inward probity. If it would defend the truth, it must itself be true. If it would gain allegiance, it must not demand it. It can compel only its citizens, and only if it does compel those will it finally attract others […] No man need join it unless he will, but once joined he must obey its single, simple law. To do less than his uttermost is to have betrayed the commonwealth to which he claims to belong.[401]

Here, he equates the republic with the review itself, the goal of which is to 'attract' more readers through the quality of its contents. He also attempts to ensure continued subscription to his periodical by warning against 'betray[ing] the commonwealth', access to which is provided by the *Athenaeum*. These morally charged appeals reveal an editor who is engaged with a broader awareness of the ethical implications of art and criticism, as will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter. They also highlight his desires to connect personally with the audiences of his periodicals by appealing to their morality and intellectual elitism.

The particular ways in which Murry characterises his magazines reveals how they were marketed to their publics and how his sense of editorial mission was refined as his career progressed. In 'Aims and Ideals', *Rhythm*'s first editorial, he announces that *Rhythm* is 'a magazine with a purpose', and discusses the sort of art that a reader will encounter while reading the magazine.[402] In 'Prologue', the *Athenaeum*'s purpose is portrayed as being more

[401] 'Prologue', p. 131.
[402] 'Aims and Ideals', p. 36.

intrinsically moral, and he characterises the review as a 'defend[er]' of 'truth'.[403] In an illustration of what Rose describes as an 'uncommercial […] pose', Murry suggests that the *Athenaeum* is for the loyal few, but emphasises that its mission is to 'attract others' to the republic.[404] By contrast, he will open up the *Adelphi* to all, calling its pages a 'meeting-ground' for people to express their opinions and positioning the periodical against precisely the sort of intellectual exclusivity the *Athenaeum* endorses.[405] These three magazines' purposes reveal obvious editorial progression. *Rhythm* is an artist's magazine, and promises to deliver new art to its audience. Murry's straightforward classification of *Rhythm* as a magazine with an artistic 'purpose' is representative of his earliest editorial understanding of magazines as publications that delivered content to readers. However, in the *Athenaeum*, his growing understanding of the more complex, community-building role of periodicals is evident. The *Athenaeum* exists not only to deliver quality criticism; it is also a vessel of truth, and is therefore marking out its place as the best, most honest literary review on the market. By classifying his review as the entry point into an intellectual community that celebrates the sort of criticism which is published in the *Athenaeum*, Murry makes his review seem elite while, in fact, marketing it to a large readership. By 1926, however, he is keen to encourage the public's access to art without any pretence of intellectual elitism. By that point, Murry was a well-known critic and literary figure; he had developed the editorial confidence and the reputation necessary to succeed in publishing a magazine that actively worked against accepted critical standards. In 1919, however, he was still establishing his reputation as an editor, a process that was undoubtedly aided by his skilful engagement with the periodical market. The fact that he emphasises the elitism of the *Athenaeum* while simultaneously making it appeal to a large public exhibits his growing knowledge of the complexities of the

[403] 'Prologue', p. 130.
[404] Rose, p. 184; 'Prologue', p. 130.
[405] The Editor [Murry], 'Pro Domo Mea', The *Adelphi*, 2.9 (February 1925), 721–24 (p. 724).

market, and of the editor's role in navigating them. Crucially, it also reveals his increasing recognition of the power of magazines to form and influence communities.

This section has focussed on how Murry's first editorial sets the stage for his two-year editorship of the *Athenaeum* through its appeal to a seemingly selective, intellectual community and its concern with the relationship between art and morality. I contend that 'Prologue' should not be read as an indication of his personal beliefs at the time of writing; rather, it is an example of how he deliberately shaped his writing for particular audiences at certain times, and while this tactic may appear to be the work of a changeable mind, it was, in fact, the practice of a successful editor. This thesis maintains that Murry altered the style and content of his editorial writing to increase the likelihood of his magazines' survival. For example, in *Rhythm* and the *Adelphi*, at times of particular financial strain, he printed editorials that pleaded for increased support from readers. The *Athenaeum*'s chief concern from 1919 to 1921 was increasing readership, and Murry's editorial choices reflect this mission. His promotion of an intellectual community appeals to his readers' desire for elitism and classifies the *Athenaeum* as an intellectually selective paper, even though, as discussed in this section, that tactic was a marketing technique. His audience awareness and his ability to shape his voice for particular situations and audiences are evident throughout 'Prologue', and attest to his increasing editorial knowledge and his growing confidence as an editor.

'[I]t is a question of morality': The Purpose of Criticism

Although Murry began his writing career intending to be a poet, for most of his life, and certainly after his death, he was best known as a critic. His ideas about the form and purpose of criticism shifted over the course of his career, and one of the most crucial phases of his critical development was during his editorship of the *Athenaeum*. Cassavant defines the years just before and during his editorship as his 'Eliotic period', during which he was heavily

inspired by T. S. Eliot's classicism and advocated a hierarchical system of criticism that determined literature's success based on the truthfulness of its depiction of life.[406] Contrastingly, Murry's later understandings of criticism, as exhibited in Chapter 3's discussion of the *Adelphi*, are grounded in a much more democratic assessment of a work's effects on its audience. It is often perceived that there is a significant distinction between his work from the earlier phase and his writing from the latter. In fact, Murry's understandings of criticism during his *Athenaeum* period were increasingly intertwined with his views of ethics and of art's role in shaping morality, and his writing for the *Athenaeum* largely prefigures the views he expresses in the *Adelphi*. It is true that the tone and reception of his writing from 1923 were different, largely due to the nature of the *Adelphi*'s particularly dialogic relationship with its audience and its overt spirituality. However, his concerns with the social effects of art and with delivering art to the public – two factors that will encourage him to shape the *Adelphi* into a community-focussed, uncritical periodical – are evident in his *Athenaeum* contributions, as well. This section examines his transitioning ideas about religion and art in the *Athenaeum*, and establishes how these ideas relate to his understandings of the purpose of criticism, the duty of the critic, and the role of the public. In another example of how the space of the *Athenaeum* is a 'third kingdom', and in illustration of Murry's increasing editorial finesse, this section particularly emphasises how he moves criticism into a democratic sphere while maintaining the review's intellectual reputation.

One way to distinguish Murry's changing ideas about the role of art and criticism is by comparing his perceptions of the relationship between art and religion. For example, in the *Signature* in 1915, he expresses his thoughts on this relationship in a strikingly similar way to his writing in 1920. However, the two passages reach different conclusions about the purpose

[406] Cassavant, pp. 43–45.

of art and about the value of criticism, demonstrating his developing views about criticism and his changing priorities as an editor. In 1915, Murry writes:

> the gulf between religion and art is now fixed and impassable. It may yet be truly said that for the artist art takes the place of religion; but it is far truer to say that in the religious man, religion has supplanted art. The rarer, stronger and more intensely human thing must have the precedence.[407]

His conclusion is that humans' connection to art is the oldest and purest form of worship, suggesting that art holds a deeper moral significance than religion. Five years later, he discusses the same topic in a review in the *Athenaeum*, but rather than favouring art as more natural than religion, he warns against blindly valuing all art as worthy of religious devotion:

> Neither the art of religion nor the religion of art is an adequate statement of the possibilities and purpose of art, but there is no doubt that the religion of art is by far the more vacuous of the two.[408]

The *Signature* passage is part of a larger discussion of personal freedom, which Murry decides is entirely dependent upon the individual's 'inward principle'; in other words, assessing the value of art, whether it is a religious experience or not, is a personal one which should exist without external guidelines.[409] Contrastingly, the *Athenaeum* article concludes that for art to be useful, it must be judged against other works of art and ranked by certain critical standards, eliminating what Murry calls the 'insensibl[e]' belief that 'all works of art are equally good if they are equally expressive'.[410] In contrast to his writing in the *Signature*, in the *Athenaeum* he acknowledges the value of external criticism and so markets the *Athenaeum* – a critical literary review – as being necessary for determining the value of art.

[407] 'There Was a Little Man, III', p. 21.
[408] 'The Cry in the Wilderness', p. 267.
[409] 'There Was a Little Man, III', p. 24.
[410] 'The Cry in the Wilderness', p. 267.

This *Athenaeum* review also reveals Murry's perception of good criticism as being dependent upon morality. He contends that the two things – criticism and morality – are necessarily inseparable, writing that

> the vital centre of our ethics is also the vital centre of our art […] The values of literature, the standards by which it must be criticized and the scheme according to which it must be arranged, are in the last resort moral.[411]

He condemns critics who reduce literature to 'a mass of hard, irreducible facts' like newspaper journalists, implying that these writers ignore the 'vital' nature of art by minimising its social function as a moral compass.[412] In this review, Murry calls for a revolution in criticism which incorporates the recognition that art should be judged, at least in part, on its ability to ethically influence the public. This is a far cry from his earlier writings in *Rhythm* and the *Signature*, which celebrate personal freedom and condemn being a 'slave' to creating art that is dictated by public taste.[413]

World War I was one of the driving factors for Murry's transition to a moral rather than a strictly aesthetic critic. I will discuss his reaction to the isolating effects of the War in more detail in Chapter 3, but in this section I want to draw attention to the fact that Murry's adoption of what Bridget Chalk calls 'ethical criticism' was largely motivated by the desire to create a unified critical community, and this aim is evident in his writings for the *Athenaeum*.[414] Chalk writes that Murry's morality stemmed from his belief that 'only through the sympathetic function catalyzed by art can we begin again to strive to overcome our

[411] Ibid.
[412] Ibid.
[413] 'The Meaning of *Rhythm*', p. 19.
[414] Bridget Chalk, 'John Middleton Murry and Ethical (Anti-) Modernism', *Modernism/modernity*, 4.2 (24 June 2019), n.p. <https://modernismmodernity.org/articles/ethical-anti-modernism> [accessed 5 May 2020].

separateness'.[415] For Murry, this separation between individuals facilitates what he perceives to be the deteriorating relationship between art and the public. In his 1920 book *Aspects of Literature*, he observes that it is likely that, in 'the present state of society', only artists and poets will possess a 'truly aesthetic philosophy' because 'art and poetry were never more profoundly divorced from the ordinary life of society than they are at the present day'.[416] In the *Adelphi*, it is precisely this 'divorce' between society and art that he works to bridge by creating a platform for anyone, not just critically praised writers, to submit work for publication. While he does not voice an interest in democratising literature in the same way in *Aspects of Literature*, he does assert the importance of producing work that is great, not just aesthetically good, by promoting 'a definite hierarchy among the great artists of the past, as well as to test the production of the present'.[417] William H. Heath suggests that Murry's belief that critics should create a hierarchy by which to judge artistic works demonstrates his perception of critics as 'definer[s] of taste'.[418] This perceived duty of criticism contributes to Murry's identity as a moral critic through its implication that the critic's duty is to guide the public's perceptions of art. He writes specifically about defining the public's taste in the *Athenaeum* in a contribution that I will address in detail shortly, but first this section offers another, complementary perspective on Murry's changing views about criticism that is based on his changing perceptions of himself and his place in the literary world.

When Murry started out as an editor in 1911, he primarily considered himself to be an artist. In 1916, he published a novel, *Still Life*, which Sydney Janet Kaplan writes, 'was considered a failure by friends and critics alike'.[419] For Murry, however, it was a hoped-for way of releasing him from the restrictions of being a newspaper critic. In 1915, he wrote in his journal:

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[415] Ibid.
[416] John Middleton Murry, *Aspects of Literature* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1920), pp. 11–12.
[417] Ibid., p. 14.
[418] William H. Heath, 'The Literary Criticism of John Middleton Murry', *PMLA*, 70.1 (1955), 47–57 (p. 49).
[419] Kaplan, p. 19.

> How terribly I loathe writing for the Saturday Westminster. Today I am frozen with horror at the thought […] I take not the slightest interest in the work. I crib everything quite openly from the Times. Oh God, if this novel will only allow me to be free – in part.[420]

His distaste is not based on the act of writing criticism; rather, he is resentful that the *Gazette* gives all of the interesting books for review to someone else, leaving him to write pieces that he feels no one will read. It is this perceived general lack of interest in his criticism that he hopes to correct by perfecting the critical form. He writes in 1917 about training himself to craft interesting criticism, a skill that is necessary, he writes,

> if I am to realise my plan of restoring criticism to honour. It will neither have nor deserve honour if it is not eminently readable; nor if it lacks the solid substructure of ideas. No literary critic, writing now, has the gift at all.[421]

The *Athenaeum* provided Murry with the perfect platform from which to 'restor[e] criticism to honour', but it was at the cost of his creative work. During his editorship of the review, he largely gave up hope of being a creative writer and instead devoted himself to criticism. His editorship of the *Athenaeum* corresponds both to his changing understandings of criticism, including its association with morality and its appeal to the public, and his reluctant labelling of himself as exclusively a critic, rather than a poet or a novelist. Initially, Murry hoped that the *Athenaeum* would allow him to develop his critical voice alongside his poetry. He wrote to Mansfield in 1920 about his plans for his editorship of the *Athenaeum*, which he then thought would last much longer than it did:

[420] Journal entry, 14 May 1915, ATL, MSX-4147.
[421] Journal entry, 30 March 1917, ATL, MS-Papers-11327-001.

> I believe that I can make myself a first-class critic (& I mean really first-class) […] without doing harm to my poetry, which is & always will be, my chief concern […] I want to lay the foundations of all this in the next 3 years while I control the *A*. It is my experimental farm, my seed-testing station. Editing the *A*. I shall find my line & learn my job.[422]

Murry did publish poetry in the *Athenaeum* during his editorship, but it was not critically recognised, and towards the end of his editorship, there was little time for writing poetry alongside his more lucrative critical work. A year and a half later, he writes to a friend that he will probably be 'condemned to be a critic and very little besides' in order to remain financially stable.[423] The end result was, ironically, what Murry had hoped for: he had found his line and learned his job, for it was the *Athenaeum* that secured his reputation as a critic. Further, and most importantly for the purposes of this thesis, his recognition of the influence that periodicals could have upon the public as disseminators of information and, under the right leadership, as moral influencers also cemented his perception of himself as an editor.

Murry's increasing understandings of periodicals as social influencers are evident in his writings about the relationship between the critic and the public. In a November 1919 editorial titled 'The Social Duty of the Critic', he disapproves of writers who categorise themselves as one of two types of critic, both of which fail because of their lack of duty to their critical communities and to their publics. A critic of the first category is 'a member of a literary confraternity, a city within a city, a member bound by honourable obligations towards his fellows'.[424] This type of critic initially seems to align with the sort of reader Murry wants for the *Athenaeum*'s 'republic', but he goes on to make it clear that these critics fail because they do not reach 'the public at large'.[425] He does not directly praise the *Athenaeum* for avoiding the publication of such restrictive criticism, but he does condemn 'those who have

[422] Letter from Murry to Mansfield, 6 April 1920, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 306.
[423] Letter from Murry to Williams, 25 October 1921, UESC, MS2515.E91.38.
[424] [Murry] 'The Social Duty of the Critic', The *Athenaeum*, 7 November 1919, pp. 1145–46 (p. 1145).
[425] Ibid.

been responsible for this degradation', suggesting that the *Athenaeum* is an exception because it resists engaging with this inferior style of criticism.[426] The second type of critic addressed in this article sacrifices critical standards in order to please the public. About this public, Murry writes:

> Who it was that first gave them blood to taste, we do not know. But after it they had to be told that what they liked was good and what they disliked was bad, and so room was made for the nominal man of letters who would appeal to 'the good sense' of the general public, that is to say, for the man who would exploit the ignorant prejudices of the uneducated against work which he disliked.[427]

That a critic could 'exploit' the public, which Murry simultaneously portrays as being as dangerous as sharks and as being too helpless to make decisions on its own, reinforces the titular idea of the critic as having a 'duty' to uphold a high moral standard. This sense of obligation is revisited at the end of the article:

> The critic has to reconcile two duties: he has to be loyal to his art and to the public as intelligible as he can. He has to judge a work of literature by literary standards; he has to educate the public into understanding why his judgment was given. But the first of these duties is categorical; if he fails in it he is a renegade. If he fails in the second, he is only a failure.[428]

Like he does in 'Prologue', Murry uses morally charged language to encourage integrity in critics. His specific use of the words 'loyal' and 'renegade', and his choice to condemn the 'renegade' much more harshly than the mere 'failure', implies that he believes that critics must hold themselves to a higher standard, much like the *Athenaeum*'s 'sterner morality', than other writers because of their obligation to ethically guide the reading public. By

[426] Ibid.
[427] Ibid.
[428] Ibid., p. 1146.

echoing the language of 'Prologue' in this editorial, Murry casts the *Athenaeum* as a model review that will only publish those critics who hold themselves to the strict standards that he demands. The editorial reveals his increasingly moral perception of criticism, as well as of the ethical duty of periodicals and their editors.

A 1920 editorial further illustrates Murry's understandings of criticism as being rooted in morality, which in this editorial, called 'Critical Interest', is defined in opposition to the modern notions of originality and uniqueness. 'Critical Interest' casts Murry and the *Athenaeum* as protectors of a tradition of literary criticism that is being threatened by writing that lacks critical value. Murry writes, 'The emphasis nowadays is almost wholly upon difference, upon originality; and apparently the last thing that occurs to a modern mind is to examine whether the difference, the uniqueness, the originality have a value of their own'.[429] This 'value' can be judged by adhering to an existing hierarchical ranking; as Murry writes, 'What is important is that the system should openly be avowed and vigorously applied'.[430] His emphasis on using an external ranking 'system', rather than an internal emotional reaction, to judge art is notably different to the individualist understandings of art expressed in his earlier periodicals. Crucially, however, the 'system' that Murry promotes is not strictly aesthetic; rather, it is rooted in morality and social influence. He ends the editorial by writing, 'our taste in literature shall not be governed by the same laws as our taste in clothes. Fashion may have its uses and significance; but it is not the guide for the good, in morals or in art'.[431] For Murry, a literary critical ranking system must also serve as a 'guide for the good', one which is rooted not in the changeable whims of 'fashion', but in what he perceives to be a more sustainable source of knowledge: morality.

The public is a crucial component of Murry's understanding of morality and art, and he often explores the duty that artists have to their publics from an overtly moral standpoint.

[429] 'Critical Interest', p. 233.
[430] Ibid., p. 234.
[431] Ibid.

In November 1920, for example, he calls upon artists to preserve the morality of the public. The issue's 'Notes and Comments' section, which takes the place of individually titled editorials in later *Athenaeum* issues, begins with a discussion of plans for the preservation of Vienna, which is important, Murry writes, because it is 'an advanced outpost of European culture' and 'If it is allowed to fall into ruin, civilization in the Near East will receive a set-back from which it may never recover'.[432] He links 'civilization' to 'the intellectual activities detailed in the sub-title of The Athenaeum' (English & Foreign Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music, & Drama), presenting his periodical as a vehicle of high culture and a bastion against what he perceives to be

> the common enemy of us all – barbarism. One does not need sharp eyes to discern the symptoms of 'war-coursening' everywhere. The spiritual fibre of the world has been roughened and abraded. The common consciousness of civilization, the sense of distinction between right and wrong, is being worn away […] this is no question of politics; it is a question of morality.[433]

Ortega y Gasset echoes Murry more than a decade later when he writes that 'barbarism' is a danger into which society may fall because of its 'aspiration to live without conforming to any moral code'.[434] Unlike Ortega y Gasset, Murry identifies the War as a potential cause of this danger. He writes that war has impaired people's abilities to make moral choices because it encourages the belief that 'nothing matters', and that this view of life affects the duty of artists.[435] In one of the most obvious examples of Murry's transition from a critic with a duty to determine the value of art based on aesthetic standards to one who bases the value of art on its effects on the wider public, he writes that

[432] [Murry] 'Notes and Comments', The *Athenaeum*, 5 November 1920, pp. 607–08 (p. 607).
[433] Ibid.
[434] Ortega y Gasset, pp. 45, 187.
[435] 'Notes and Comments', 5 November 1920, p. 608.

> The dangerous half-truth that Art should be pursued for Art's sake was harmless in the days when a common moral consciousness steadied the world; to-day, when the artists (in the broadest sense of the word) are perhaps a majority of the few who are sensitive to the spiritual degradation that threatens the world, the half-truth is sapping at the springs of action.[436]

Murry's appeal to artists 'in the broadest sense of the word' includes critics, editors, and all others who may have an audience, and his call for the creation of art with a purpose beyond critical value prefigures the *Adelphi*, a magazine that, as stated in its first issue, 'wants only those things that you can't help writing, because you will burst if you don't'.[437] While the *Adelphi*, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, positioned itself against intellectual reviews such as the *Athenaeum*, the seeds of its inception are evident on the pages of the *Athenaeum*, particularly in Murry's writings about the obligations that artists and critics have to their audiences.

His 'Prologue'-like ideas about community are also present in the editorials in which he calls for readers to unite against the 'moderns' who do not seem to have any understanding of morality. In the same 1920 'Notes and Comments' segment, he writes that the 'moderns' 'shudder at the word. They feel that they can be kind and generous and forgiving without having recourse to this exploded superstition of morality'.[438] However, he goes on to write, 'Salvation, if there is to be salvation, rests with them'.[439] Notably, Murry's solution involves coming together for a common cause, illustrating his increasing understanding of the power of periodical communities to influence society.

Under Murry's editorship, the *Athenaeum*'s critical reputation soared. Carswell writes that 'the hundred or so numbers of the *Athenaeum* under Murry were not only distinguished

[436] Ibid., p. 607.
[437] 'The Cause of It All', p. 11.
[438] 'Notes and Comments', 5 November 1920, p. 607.
[439] Ibid., p. 608.

but decisive in forming a new literary taste'.[440] Similarly, David Goldie writes that for many, the new *Athenaeum* represented 'the best guarantee of the survival of English literary culture'.[441] Murry's excellent contributors as well as his audience-engaging editorial techniques contributed to sustaining the high readership which denoted the review's success, but the review also embodied a particular desire by its editor to maintain rigorous moral standards, as well, a feature of modernist works which is not as unique as it may initially seem. Martin Halliwell writes that 'Although many early European and American modernists made noisy attempts to break away from bourgeois moral values and the utilitarian ethic characteristic of Victorianism, questions of morality continued to impinge on their aesthetic concerns'.[442] Peter Keating addresses a more magazine-specific manifestation of this 'impingement', and writes that periodicals aimed 'to establish between themselves and their readers common principles and standards on the major political, moral, religious, and cultural issues of the day'.[443] As Keating suggests, morality was certainly being discussed on the pages of modernist magazines, but often the 'common principles and standards' these magazines sought to establish were grounded in an interrogation of morality's place in modern society rather than a straightforward adherence to it. For example, in a 1914 issue of the *Little Review*, Margaret Anderson defends John Galsworthy's novel *The Dark Flower* against a reader who complains that 'such art expended in defense of immorality would soon tend to confuse our standards', writing that part of the book's merit is that 'it doesn'[t] attempt to force a philosophy upon you'.[444] Similarly, the *New Age* published criticism that questioned the usefulness of morality. In an article about Henrik Ibsen, Janko Lavrin writes, 'A moral, solely moral, consciousness is even bound to […] lead not towards a higher unity

[440] Carswell, p. 157.
[441] Goldie, p. 2.
[442] Martin Halliwell, *Modernism and Morality: Ethical Devices in European and American Fiction* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001), p. 2.
[443] Keating, p. 35.
[444] Margaret C. Anderson, '"The Dark Flower" and the "Moralists"', The *Little Review*, March 1914, pp. 5–8 (pp. 6, 7–8).

but towards disintegration of personality and life'.[445] Like his contemporary writers, Murry expresses concern with the function of morality in modern life, and, like them, he often finds that they are incompatible. However, rather than advocating a society devoid of morality, he supports a change in society to better accommodate a universal moral code, and he suggests that those with access to distributing art – editors, booksellers, artists, and publishers – have the power to aid this process.

For example, in September 1919, Murry specifically calls upon the bookseller to resist the superficial, impersonal, and transient nature of modern society by ensuring that everyone has access to literature. In this editorial, he describes bookshops as shelters from the 'wicked world' and encourages booksellers to resist succumbing to the temptations of the market.[446] He advocates book reprints in order to make 'the heritage of English literature' more accessible, but acknowledges that the expense of reprinting would need to be justified by high demand.[447] His solution is to emphasise the role of the bookseller in society, writing:

> The bookseller, like the journalist, should be told again and again that his trade is different from any other; that he has responsibilities and potentialities that are given to few; that in any provincial town he has the opportunity to be the centre of an influence equal to that of the schoolmaster or the parson. He has to resist the tendency that would make of him merely a cog in the machine for distributing a commodity.[448]

The specific comparison of the bookseller to the journalist, whom Murry condemns as being 'merely a cog in the machine' of the mass market, introduces a moral duty to the role of the bookseller, which, he heavily implies, has been lost in that of the journalist. He equates the act of selling as a potentially dangerous one that could result in booksellers becoming entirely

[445] Janko Lavrin, 'Ibsen and His Creation', The *New Age*, 17 April 1919, pp. 393–95 (p. 393).
[446] [Murry] 'Our Inaccessible Heritage II.', The *Athenaeum*, 5 September 1919, pp. 837–38 (p. 838).
[447] Ibid., p. 837.
[448] Ibid., p. 838.

driven by the demands of the market and, thus, the desires of the public. His juxtaposition of 'the schoolmaster' and 'the parson' with the potentially cog-like bookseller represents the clashing of two worlds: the rural, pre-industrial village versus the modern, impersonal city. Further, Murry's chosen provincial figures – the schoolmaster and the parson – are both imparters of knowledge as well as morality. His idealisation of a world in which the bookseller is as important as a teacher or a parson is an example of his appeal to the emotions of his readers through nostalgia. Through painting a picture of a bygone time, he contrasts its virtues with the modern world's moral privation.

He goes on to differentiate the journalist and the bookseller – and, by extension, journalism and literature more broadly – as being, respectively, of the 'world' and of the 'spirit'. He writes:

> We do not envy the man who cannot look back to at least one moment, if only in boyhood, in a bookshop when he became as pure an idealist as any saint–when he gave all that he had, and sacrificed the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, for a book that should be a spiritual possession.[449]

The moral underpinnings here are many. Firstly, his use of religious language – evident in the mention of saints and in the specific use of the phrase 'all he had', which is borrowed from the parable in Mark's gospel describing the widow who gave 'all she had to live on' to the poor – establishes that buying books is an objectively good act.[450] Secondly, he differentiates the bookshop and its products from the 'wicked world' with its 'pomps and vanities'. Such specific language implies that, in contrast to those superficial readers of the popular press and other worldly material, those who engage with literature, even though it might be more expensive to obtain, will be rewarded for their 'sacrifice' with the satisfaction and associated

[449] Ibid.
[450] Mark 12:44, *The New Jerusalem Bible*.

moral implications of owning a 'spiritual possession'. Finally, his use of the editorial pronoun 'we' to convey pity for the individual who has never experienced the fulfilment of good literature reinforces the *Athenaeum*'s exclusiveness: readers will either understand because they are part of the presented community of book buyers, or they will be encouraged to develop an appreciation for bookshops in order to become like the others. Further, although the exclusivity of the *Athenaeum* is preserved, Murry encourages increased accessibility to literature through his recognition of the high prices of books. In this editorial, he signals his awareness of the fact that all lovers of literature and, perhaps, all readers of the *Athenaeum* are not financially stable enough to afford new books, and he expresses his hope that literature will become more accessible through his support of booksellers being treated like journalists, schoolteachers, and preachers, to whom everyone has access.

In the *Adelphi*, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, Murry obliquely refers to himself as a preacher, but the term is used to refer to him years before in a review of *Aspects of Literature* in the *Athenaeum*, illustrating how his moralist tendencies were already visible even at the height of his critical reputation. In January 1921, S. W. (Sydney Waterlow) differentiates Murry from other critics, writing:

> Mr. Clive Bell cultivates significant form, Dr. Santayana the life of reason, Mr. Eliot his rage: all let the age go hang. Not so Mr. Murry. He is driven by a different kind of impulse, and it is worth while trying to understand what that impulse is. It is not merely that he is a preacher, that he wants to reform us. That is in a sense true; but it is not the whole truth, and it does not give what is really characteristic of him as a critic.[451]

The reviewer stresses the novelty of Murry's insistence that artists should have an understanding of good and evil, and of art and morality. About Murry's efforts to create a

[451] S. W. [Sydney Waterlow], 'What is Art?', The *Athenaeum*, 7 January 1921, pp. 13–14 (p. 13).

literary-ethical code in *Aspects of Literature*, Waterlow writes, 'To attempt anything of the kind is strange nowadays'.[452] However, as discussed in this section, the idea that literature should hold itself to the highest moral standards was a central tenet of Murry's understandings of art and criticism. For example, in the review 'The Cry in the Wilderness', he writes:

> Literature should be a kingdom where a sterner morality, a more strenuous liberty prevails–where the artist may dispense if he will with the ethics of the society in which he lives, but only on condition of revealing a deeper insight into the moral law to whose allegiance man, in so far as he is man and not a beast, inevitably tends. Never, we suppose, was an age in which art stood in greater need of the true law of decorum than this.[453]

His call for a 'sterner morality' directly echoes his words in 'Prologue' from the year before, reinforcing the image of the *Athenaeum* as the space in which this stricter moral code might be adhered to, and of Murry as the guardian of this ethical space.[454]

This section has highlighted some of the ways in which Murry's understandings of criticism are expressed during his editorship of the *Athenaeum*, revealing his shift from an inwardly motivated, aesthetic critic to a socially focussed, moral one. In spite of this shift towards moral criticism, he preserves the *Athenaeum*'s identity as a critical review by maintaining the importance of an external critical system that should be used to assess the value of literature. Notably, as this section has discussed, this critical system was heavily influenced by morality. Murry's support of judging art based on its moral value rather than its aesthetic value alone suggests that during his editorship of the *Athenaeum*, he views art as having a particularly didactic social function. This section has established that his moral

[452] Ibid.
[453] 'The Cry in the Wilderness', p. 267.
[454] 'Prologue', p. 131.

critical voice, which was obviously present in the *Athenaeum*, was also evident to his contemporaries, one of whom labelled him a 'preacher', and that Murry increasingly used his role as editor to shape his review and the criticism it published into tools for social change.[455]

'The weakest go to the wall': The *Athenaeum*'s Resistance to Popular Journalism

The popular press was a frequent topic of discussion in the *Athenaeum* during Murry's editorship, and the ways in which he addresses it reveal his anxieties about the moral implications of mass-circulated newspapers and their detrimental effects on the reading public, as well as his perception of how his periodical – and his own role as editor – could be used to combat these concerns. The financial pressures the *Athenaeum* experienced during his editorship influenced his anxieties about the threat posed by mass-market periodicals such as newspapers. These pressures existed from his first days as editor: he had been offered the editorship for the very purpose of attempting to save the paper from losing as much money as it did under its previous editor, Arthur Greenwood.[456]

Murry expressed his anxiety about finances through writing about the *Athenaeum*'s competitors, highlighting what he perceives to be the review's unique purpose as a defender of truth in a periodical-saturated market. As Whitworth notes, 'the *Athenaeum*'s sense of identity was reinforced sharply in November 1919 with the launch of J. C. Squire's *London Mercury*'.[457] Shortly before the *Mercury*'s first issue was printed, Murry wrote to Mansfield:

> The *A*. is producing an impression. The *Lit. Sup.* has gone in for a tremendous advertising scheme. 100,000 copies are to be given away next week & then there's this *London Mercury* a new monthly (run by the awful Jack Squire) which announces a list of contributors including nearly all ours, except

[455] S. W., p. 13.
[456] Whitworth, p. 366.
[457] Ibid., p. 373.

> you & me. So we shall have to pull hard together during this winter, and make the paper as good as a paper can be.[458]

Just as *Rhythm* and the *New Age* – whether willingly or not – shared contributors nearly a decade before to make them both attractive to similar audiences, the *Mercury*, through advertising a contributors' list which looks like the *Athenaeum*'s, makes itself directly competitive with Murry's review. While it was generally accepted in the *Athenaeum*'s circle that the *Mercury* was inferior in quality, the new review had a dangerous weapon: its editor was a journalist. In 1920, Eliot acknowledged how useful journalistic experience could be when managing a periodical, writing, '*The London Mercury* […] will I hope, fail in a few years' time. It is run by a small clique of bad writers. J. C. Squire, the editor, knows nothing about poetry; but he is the cleverest journalist in London'.[459] Murry, too, recognised that the *Mercury* was a powerful competitor because, he wrote, of its 'money and réclame', both of which classified it, in his mind, as a literary review that erred dangerously towards the commercial mire of journalism.[460]

Although Murry's editorial practices undoubtedly included market-engaging tactics, such as printing advertisements and publishing material that made his periodical attractive to large audiences, he refused to allow the *Athenaeum* to be classed with what he perceived to be low-quality, sensationalist journalism. This resistance was noble but, as many scholars have suggested, proved futile because of the nature of inter-war periodical publishing. Wellens notes that 'in addition to rising production costs and a phalanx of competitors, after the War literary journals with an exclusive focus on book reviews were no longer in great demand with the public at large'.[461] Similarly, F. A. Lea writes that

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[458] Letter from Murry to Mansfield, 11 October 1919, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 185.
[459] Letter from Eliot to John Quinn, 25 January 1920, in *The Letters of T. S. Eliot*, p. 358.
[460] Addition to letter from Murry to Mansfield, 28 October 1919, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 199, n. 2.
[461] Wellens, p. 149.

> the literary reviews, numerous and influential as they still were compared to their present-day counterparts, had had their day […] costs of production now were geared to the mass-circulated newspapers. Only an editor prepared to compromise with Fleet Street methods could hope to compete.[462]

Patrick Collier attributes the *Athenaeum*'s merger with the *Nation* not to any particular failing of the periodical, but to its very nature as a review. He writes, 'The *Athenaeum*'s demise indicates a changed competitive balance' in which the 'values of "daily journalism" [were] ascendant'.[463] Murry's own awareness of the *Athenaeum*'s financially precarious position is evident as early as March 1920, nearly a year before the review's final issue, when he wrote to Mansfield:

> I […] learned that the *Times Supplement* has put its payment to contributors up 50%. This is a serious matter for us: we must follow suit or see our contributors drift off to them; and yet we can't get away from the fact that the *A*. is losing money […] I've arranged to be present at the next board meeting (I ought to be invited to them all) and discuss the solution of the problem. Also I'm determined to give them a piece of my mind about the disgusting production & printing of the paper. It's a handicap of the very worst kind.[464]

Murry's desire to improve the physical quality of the review illustrates his unwillingness to succumb to 'Fleet Street methods', which, as Jean Chalaby writes, included 'more pages, with more recent news, more illustrations, bolder headlines, and […] more sensational and emotional news'.[465] In staunch opposition to these mass-market publication methods, Murry,

[462] Lea, p. 66.
[463] Collier, p. 55.
[464] Letter from Murry to Mansfield, 26 March 1920, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 301.
[465] Lea, p. 66; Chalaby, p. 148.

playing with the *Athenaeum*'s long identity as a traditional review, characterised himself as an old-fashioned editor.

In a 1920 editorial, he makes his opinions of new reviews and their young editors clear by planting himself firmly in the camp of tradition. Understanding his motivations for presenting himself in this way is necessary for assessing the effectiveness of his editorial techniques and his own perceptions of an editor's role. In 'The Economics of It', an article about the financially challenging position of a literary review, which will be discussed in more detail later in this section, Murry writes:

> A good literary page is merely, as the honest editor only too well knows, an encumbrance in the struggle for circulation. If he is a truly modern editor he will discard it altogether and devote it to personal paragraphs about heavy-weight boxers, prominent divorcees, and an extra column of racing tips. In that way he stands a reasonable chance of increasing his proprietor's dividends and his own salary at least. Fortunately not all the editors are of the truly modern brand yet; but very probably the whole of the next generation of editors will be. The weakest go to the wall.[466]

Murry's deliberate shaming of the 'truly modern editor', whose literary review looks more like a daily newspaper and who is more concerned with personal income than the integrity of his magazine's content, is precisely the sort of journalist whom Murry and Mansfield condemned in *Rhythm* for making literature 'a trade instead of an art'.[467] In addition to Murry's critical attitude towards editors who are too journalistic, his portrayal of himself as a traditional editor markets himself and his review as guardians of tradition. In 'The Economics of It', he, at thirty years old, designates himself the representative of an older generation of editors and the last stand against the 'next generation' of journalists, just as he made himself

[466] 'The Economics of It', p. 330.
[467] 'Seriousness in Art', p. 46.

the 'self-constituted spokesman' of 'the younger generation' in the *Blue Review*.[468] Murry, whatever his personal convictions, is tactically calling upon his readers' emotions and loyalty to support the *Athenaeum* against the threat of the mass market, and the fact that he presents himself as being the designated 'spokesman' of two different generations only seven years apart is indicative of his growing editorial awareness. In the *Blue Review*, he emphasised his place amongst the younger generation, justifying his ability to comment on the young and, in his opinion, untrained writers he criticised in his magazine. Contrastingly, he uses the *Athenaeum*'s identity as a traditional review as well as his own editorial experience to cast himself as the paper's protector, signalling his awareness both of his role as editor of the review and of his review's place in the larger market.

That larger market was precisely what Murry positioned the *Athenaeum* against during much of his editorial writing from 1919 to 1921. These anxieties were not unique to his review; rather, they were representative of a generation of artists that was concerned with the public's apparent lack of interest in literature. Many felt that this phenomenon was being facilitated by the popular press, the huge circulations and production methods of which Murry associated with the mechanical nature of war. In a 1920 editorial called 'Thin Ice', he addresses precisely this association, writing:

> Logically, there is every reason to anticipate that the degeneration which has been hastened by the war will slide from bad to worse. The refinements of a mechanical civilization have merely made a nation more like a herd than it was before; the modern circulation newspaper, based on satisfying the appetites common to the greatest number, which are the brutish appetites, must brutalize instead of educating. The only real check on the process is the sentiment of *noblesse oblige* in the editor or film director; and Heaven knows how long that can endure against commercial pressure.[469]

[468] 'Mr. Bennett, Stendhal and the Modern Novel', p. 166.
[469] 'Thin Ice', p. 133.

Those developments made possible by mechanisation, Murry says, are failing in their duty to 'educate' rather than 'brutalize'. Crucially, he does not blame mechanisation as an inherently evil process or the newspaper as a fundamentally flawed object; rather, he names 'the editor' as the single person to whom the responsibility for the wellbeing of the public falls. As an editor himself, he has the authority to appeal to the '*noblesse oblige*' of other editors, and to lament its deterioration for the sake of potential financial gain.

This editorial's focus on mechanisation and brutality are key to identifying how Murry's individual concerns about mass media represent larger cultural anxieties about the journalist being mechanistic rather than human, and the effects of this mechanistic nature on literature. In *Fiction and the Reading Public*, Q. D. Leavis expresses her concerns about the low-quality reading material printed in newspapers. She writes that the tendency towards surface-level reading, driven by the daily reading of the 'mannered prose' of the journalist, leads to reading habits that adopt 'the form of commercial and economic machinery', and she identifies this mechanistic style of reading as 'probably the most terrifying feature of our civilisation'.[470] Neil Berry writes that Murry and D. H. Lawrence shared a similar 'belief in the deathliness of "machine civilisation"', which for them represented the antithesis of individuality and freedom and was embodied in the market-driven nature of the popular press.[471] Part of the intellectual concern with the mass press, as Ann Ardis and Collier point out, was finding a place for art amidst a reading public that was, due to the accessibility of newspaper journalism, 'inattentive to serious literature'.[472] The mass consumption of perceived low-quality material had the potential to make readers, like machines, incapable of individual thought. Claire Hoertz Badaracco sums up the struggle when she writes, 'In the modern literary economy, standardization and mass consumption presented financial

[470] Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932; repr. 1978), pp. 228, 270.
[471] Neil Berry, 'Literary Fusion: The Story of Katherine Mansfield and John Middleton Murry', *Contemporary Review*, 293.1702 (2011), 353–59 (p. 358).
[472] Ardis and Collier, p. 2.

opportunity, but also a threat to the values of artistic individualism, classical ideas about heroism, and storytelling itself'.[473] As Murry expresses in 'Prologue', individuality is one of the defining qualities of the artist and the intellectual, and he revisits this key idea in his discussions of the popular press to engage with larger concerns about what the loss of that individuality might mean not only for the person in question, but for society more largely.

The concerns about individuality voiced in the *Athenaeum* hearken back to Murry's writing about journalism in *Rhythm*. In 1912's 'The Meaning of Rhythm', he and Mansfield refer to the dangers of 'machine-made realism', and just like Murry's concerns in 'Thin Ice' that 'a mechanical civilization' has turned the nation into 'a herd', it is the lack of 'individuality' that makes journalism so repugnant to him and Mansfield.[474] In another *Rhythm* piece, they voice the similar critique of journalism being 'mere production' and of the work of the 'tradesman' journalist as being 'mechanical and based on monotone'.[475] Likewise, in 1911 when Murry refers to the cause of 'lifting literature and literary criticism above the level of journalism', it is the mass appeal of the newspapers to which is he most opposed.[476] These examples are not simply the embittered complaints of an editor whose magazines have to compete with mass-circulated newspapers; rather, they are indications both of Murry's long-lasting concerns about the social implications of the mass press and of how his concerns represent larger societal worries about the increasingly mechanised inter-war world.

In addition to causing social concerns about mechanisation, mass-market journalism was also a source of financial strain for literary editors, and Murry was no stranger to making financial appeals of his audiences in order to combat these economic struggles. In the *Adelphi*, he would write morally charged editorials explaining the financial position of the

[473] Badaracco, p. 10.
[474] 'The Meaning of Rhythm', p. 19; 'Thin Ice', p. 133; 'The Meaning of Rhythm', p. 19.
[475] 'Seriousness in Art', pp. 46, 49.
[476] John Middleton Murry, 'The Aesthetic of Benedetto Croce', *Rhythm*, 1.2 (Autumn 1911), 11–13 (p. 13).

magazine and asking his audience for direct monetary support. This form of writing will be examined in detail in Chapter 3, but it is important to note that his financial-appeal style of editorial appears in its infancy stage in the *Athenaeum* in 'The Economics of It'. In this editorial, he appeals to his readers' senses of loyalty and moral obligation to convey to his readers the importance of maintaining support for a paper like the *Athenaeum*, and to stir in them a desire to prevent literary critics from 'bring crushed out of existence'.[477] The primary purpose of the article is to point out, Murry writes, that 'literary journalists at the present moment receive precisely the same payment for their work as they did before the war […] Moreover, of all his journalistic colleagues, it is precisely the reviewer who has to suffer most'.[478] Interestingly, unlike in most of his other pieces in the *Athenaeum*, here he uses the term 'literary journalist' to describe critics, including those who write for the *Athenaeum*, rather than highlighting the differences between the popular-press journalist and the literary critic. The deliberate phrase is one which speaks to the fact that it is not necessarily the journalists who are at fault for the low standards of newspaper content; rather, Murry blames the market, and using the term 'journalist' to identify the critics about whom he writes indicates that he is aligning himself and other critics with all writers who rely on writing articles for income.

His use of the term 'journalist' also aligns with the fact that on a broader scale the term was becoming more applicable to a more diverse range of writers, and was no longer used to refer only to newspaper reporters. Sarah Lonsdale explains the climate of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century journalistic field, writing that the demand

> for a more cultured journalistic discourse shrank while the market for popular journalism grew and as these changes occurred, so the meaning of the word 'journalist' changed and the 'professional man of

[477] 'The Economics of It', p. 329.
[478] Ibid.

> letters' who wrote fiction, essays for intellectual periodicals, paragraphs for the daily press and reviewed books for literary journals gradually died out.[479]

In 'The Economics of It', Murry's particular use of the term 'literary journalist' indicates that he is not interested in differentiating between the critic who also writes fiction and the playwright who also reviews books; rather, his aim is to draw attention to the flawed economic conditions which demand that these writers perform multiple roles to support themselves. Lonsdale also points out that 'between 1881 and 1911, the numbers of people calling themselves "journalist, author, editor" and "reporter, shorthand writer" increased from just over 5600 to nearly 14,000, a nearly threefold increase in three decades'.[480] These climbing numbers of self-identifying professional writers and the increasingly multifaceted meaning of the word 'journalist' highlight the changing identity of the marketplace and indicate how market-savvy a writer had to be in order to carve out a niche within it. In 'The Economics of It', Murry's awareness of the competitiveness of the market is clear, and his proposed solution is not for journalists to be better writers, but for the conditions of journalism to change, and that change, he writes, can only come from the public.

Murry uses moral and religious language to discuss what he perceives to be the root of the problem: 'society itself'.[481] He writes that 'Unless the public can be induced to discover in itself a vastly increased liking for conscientious literary work the man of letters is doomed to suffer hardships even more serious than those he now endures'.[482] His implication is that the critic's impending 'doom' is in the hands of the reading public, and he goes on to write that 'Those who have it in their power to prevent it are the few who are faithful to good

[479] Sarah Lonsdale, 'Man of Letters, Literary Lady, Journalist or Reporter?', *Media History*, 21.3 (2015), 265–79 (p. 267).
[480] Ibid.
[481] 'The Economics of It', p. 330.
[482] Ibid.

work in literature and the arts'.[483] He uses religious associations to stress the devotion that his readers need to practice at this critical time, writing that 'They must set themselves to make proselytes, not just for this journal rather than any other, but for any journal which treats literature seriously and makes a real effort to provide honest and enlightened criticism'.[484] Murry demands evangelisation in order to gain converts to the religion of 'enlightened criticism', and he makes it clear that he is championing the cause of criticism at large, not just that published in the *Athenaeum*. In 'The Economics of It', he encourages his readers to support his review by presenting them with the facts of the publishing climate to appeal to their senses of tradition and loyalty. Further, by defending the *Athenaeum* as one among several reviews that need similar support, Murry avoids appearing to be a self-serving editor and instead casts himself as a champion not only of his own literary review, but of the entire dying breed. His aligning of himself and his fellow critics with journalists demonstrates his ability to expertly adapt his editorial voice for particular situations and audiences. Throughout his career, he makes no secret of the fact that he thinks that newspaper journalists and other commercial writers are traitors to the art of the written word; however, in this editorial, he changes his usual style of attack on journalists to rally his audience to subscribe to reviews like the *Athenaeum*, illustrating his growing editorial awareness.

Besides expressing his concerns about finances, another specific way in which he suggests that the popular press is harming the public is through the degradation of language. In November 1919, he writes that 'Up till now some of the very finest descriptive writing has been the work of the newspaper reporter'.[485] However, the modern audience, Murry writes,

> is more impatient of reading anything which does not afford satisfactions like those of the cinematograph, the maximum of change and the minimum of effort. And the proprietors and editors of

[483] Ibid.
[484] Ibid.
[485] [Murry] 'The Condition of English', The *Athenaeum*, 14 November 1919, pp. 1177–78 (p. 1178).

> newspapers anticipate the nature of the demand. The writer with a linguistic conscience makes way for others less scrupulous.[486]

Instead of blaming the public, as he does in 'The Economics of It', here he places the responsibility for the decline of the written language on different forms of entertainment and on the desire of newspapers to make money. Rather than pardoning the economically focussed actions of newspaper 'proprietors and editors', Murry accuses them and their writers of being without 'linguistic conscience', and he blames the source of the writing – the newspapers and the people who run them – for morally corrupting the integrity of the English language.

In July 1920's 'Thin Ice', he voices similar concerns over the effects of mass newspaper reading. What begins as an editorial discussing a film about a criminal's execution turns into a larger comment on the responsibilities of the media. He writes, 'Our cinematograph and newspaper proprietors are undoubtedly correct in their view that there is no limit to the popular appetite for sensation; and the only limit to their own profitable indulgence of it is that imposed by law'.[487] His language invokes images of wild animals foaming at the mouth. The public have an 'appetite for sensation', implying that the desire for entertainment is innate and that, rather than categorising the need itself as inherently bad, those who have control over feeding the desire should be more careful about pandering to the public. He condemns the newspapers for giving into the appetites of the public for 'their own profitable indulgence', implying that the end goal of newspapers is not to help society, but to gain money for themselves.

Murry's final paragraph continues to place heavy responsibility on the proprietors of newspapers, and he ends his editorial with a warning. Man is easily led, he writes: 'The

[486] Ibid.
[487] 'Thin Ice', p. 133.

problem is: how to give him a lead[.] It can only be done by a leader. The crux of the problem is that the word has two meanings, and we do not know which to choose'.[488] Murry's comparison of the leader of a group to a newspaper editorial – also called a 'leader' – is a cry to his mass-circulating counterparts to resist the commercial pull of writing purely sensational content and to provide some material of substance instead. The implication, of course, is that Murry, who voices his moral condemnation of newspapers in the editorial of his own periodical, is already doing his duty, and his editorial gives him the chance to set his own periodical, and himself as an editor, apart from those publications which are not as honourable as the *Athenaeum*.

As it was in *Rhythm*, journalism is a popular topic of discussion in Murry's *Athenaeum*, and the ways in which he positions his review in opposition to it reveals his concerns about the finances of his own review as well as about the reading habits of the public more largely. As this section has discussed, these concerns were not unique to Murry, and were, in fact, an indication of the changing nature of print culture after World War I. However, in addition to illustrating his personal and professional anxieties, his writings about the harmful effects of the popular press also reveal the expertise with which he navigates his role as an editor. By situating his periodical as a protector of language and a last remnant of traditional criticism, he not only garners support for the *Athenaeum* by appealing to his audience's emotions and sense of loyalty, but he also casts himself as a member of an older generation of editors, one that is likely to die out soon and needs readers' support to carry on. Murry, at thirty years old, displays in the examples discussed in this section his growing editorial knowledge, as well as his developing perceptions of an editor's duty to his own periodical and to society.

[488] Ibid.

'The liberty which you give your correspondents': The *Athenaeum*'s Audience Engagement

While 'Prologue' characterises the *Athenaeum* as the gathering space of an intellectual society hidden from the masses, the paper was, of course, entirely public, and many improvements that Murry made over the course of his editorship made it more attractive to the public while also displaying his increasing editorial knowledge. Scholars have pointed out that he made changes to the *Athenaeum* during his time as editor that made the paper more accessible, attractive, and, as Whitworth writes, 'more popular in its appeal'.[489] Whitworth also points out the accessible price of the *Athenaeum*: 6d., which made it the same price as other reviews such as the *Nation*, the *Spectator*, and the *New Statesman*. This new price was reduced from the shilling that the monthly had cost under its previous editor.[490] Further, Wellens points out that from June 1920, the *Athenaeum* published more prose fiction to 'present *The Athenaeum* as a less elitist paper', and soon after Murry assumed editorship, he introduced a correspondence section to encourage audience participation, as will be discussed in detail in this section.[491] Remarkably, as Leslie Alexis Marchand writes, these changes to the ninety-year-old review made the paper more accessible to a larger public '[f]or the first time in its history'.[492] Shortening editorials, introducing less critical and more conversational segments such as 'Literary Gossip' and 'Marginalia', and introducing the names and initials of previously anonymous writers were all features that Murry introduced to, as Mansfield advised him in 1920, 'attract the public' to the *Athenaeum*.[493]

That public was, however, difficult to define, and the ways in which the *Athenaeum* approached its audience contribute to the review's identity as a liminal 'third kingdom'. As

[489] Whitworth, p. 373.
[490] Wellens, p. 139.
[491] Ibid., p. 143.
[492] Leslie Alexis Marchand, *The* Athenaeum*: A Mirror of Victorian Culture* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1941), p. 95.
[493] Letter from Mansfield to Murry, 5 December 1920, in *Letters and Journals of KM*, p. 204.

Whitworth points out, the advertisements printed in the *Athenaeum* avoided classifying the review's readers as 'intellectual', a deliberate decision that was intended to attract a larger pool of readers even though 'Prologue' sets up the paper as a haven for the intellectual elite.[494] Murry also intended for the review to be attractive to a range of generations, including both the younger, modern readers who would have been enticed by the *Athenaeum*'s contributors' list, as well as the older generation who might appreciate the *Athenaeum*'s traditional review format and long literary history. This section examines the review's 'Correspondence' section to assess the methods of audience engagement Murry uses as editor of the *Athenaeum* to address his review's diverse public, and his decisions demonstrate his increasing editorial confidence.

The 'Correspondence' section first appeared in May 1919 (Fig. 15), and while it was a feature that had never appeared before in a periodical edited by Murry, it was a common feature of contemporary reviews, including the *London Mercury* and the *Times Literary Supplement*. Martin Conboy addresses the importance of audience-periodical correspondence using the language of Anderson's *Imagined Communities*. In his study of British tabloids, Conboy writes that 'The language of the letters' page is one of the most explicit sites for the celebration of the assumed community of the tabloids, providing an ideological link between newspaper institution and readership'.[495] Murry's introduction of the 'Correspondence' section indicates his willingness to engage his readers in dialogue, suggesting that his understandings of successful editorship are changing and that his perceptions of a successful periodical include the active participation of its audience. Similarly to Conboy, Jade Smith and Ralph Adendorff stress the importance of the newspaper correspondence section, writing:

[494] Whitworth, p. 369.
[495] Martin Conboy, *Tabloid Britain: Constructing a Community Through Language* (London: Routledge, 2006), p. 20.

> The letters page is symbolic of the newspaper's aim, that is, to provide a mouthpiece for its readers, so that they can be heard, and […] so that the reader can bring the struggles of their everyday life into the public arena.[496]

While the *Athenaeum*'s correspondence section is more focussed on the literary opinions of its readers rather than their personal lives, their struggles, their opinions, and, most importantly, their voices are made public through their letters to the editor, allowing readers to become active shapers of the content of the periodical.

The letters in the *Athenaeum* are from individuals, institutions, and, sometimes, businesses, illustrating the review's engagement with a variety of audiences and facilitating its identity as a periodical that is of particular interest for modernist studies because of its insertion into the very market which it claimed to resist. As Jason Harding writes, 'literary journalism is not a private speculation in a vacuum, rather an intervention in an ongoing cultural conversation'.[497] Likewise, Morrisson calls for 'an understanding of early modernism as engaged with the public sphere and with the commercial culture of the early twentieth century'.[498] The *Athenaeum*'s 'Correspondence' section reveals the review's place in the 'cultural conversation' of the early twentieth century, and functioned as a meeting space for writers and readers to engage in dialogue with each other, as well as with the businesses and institutions which shaped the market in which the *Athenaeum* existed. The review's engagement with these conversations reveals its liminal nature: the review markets itself as a closed society of like-minded readers, but its correspondence pages reveals its community of readers to be significantly broader. The review's correspondence section, which was an addition to the review that was intended to make it more commercially attractive, places the

[496] Jade Smith and Ralph Adendorff, 'The Creation of an "Imagined Community" in Readers' Letters to the *Daily Sun*: An Appraisal Investigation', *Text & Talk*, 34.5 (2014), 521–44 (pp. 523–24).
[497] Jason Harding, *The Criterion: Cultural Politics and Periodical Networks in Inter-War Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 1.
[498] Morrisson, p. 10.

Athenaeum's stances on art and the public firmly within the commercial, rather than the purely intellectual, sphere.

For example, Heal & Son, the London furniture shop that had regularly advertised in *Rhythm*, became involved in the *Athenaeum*'s correspondence section on 31 October 1919. The initial letter to the editor is signed by Ambrose Heal, the chairman of Heal & Son and, as his obituary in the *Architectural Review* stated in 1959, a key figure in making '"Art for All" a little less of a slogan and a little more of a reality'.[499] Heal's lifelong interest in making art more widely accessible characterises his conversation with Murry on the pages of the *Athenaeum* as one of social concern. In fact, it is Murry's concern about the limited accessibility of art, and about the high prices of Heal's furniture in particular, which sparked the conversation. It began with an editorial titled 'Art and Industry' on 10 October, in which Murry discusses a 'charmingly furnished' model home in London that showcased what was advertised to be 'good and cheap furniture'.[500] He expresses his shock when the price of the 'cheap' furniture was revealed to be £350, making the entire exhibition, in Murry's opinion, 'an exceedingly bad joke'.[501] He refers to the railway strike of September and October 1919, during which railway employees objected to decreased wages, writing that it is 'ruthless' to call a set of furniture affordable when it would take 'a railwayman earning 49s. a week' several years to afford it.[502] He concludes that 'the working classes do not want art, because they cannot afford it, and because they have learned by long experience that it is no use wanting things you cannot afford'.[503] In the editorial, Murry casts himself as a defender of the working class, and uses the platform of his editorial to intervene on behalf of workers about the unaffordable price of furniture.

[499] 'Obituary: Sir Ambrose Heal: 1872–1959', The *Architectural Review*, 1 January 1960, p. 6 (p. 6).
[500] [Murry] 'Art and Industry', The *Athenaeum*, 10 October 1919, pp. 993–94 (p. 993).
[501] Ibid.
[502] Ibid.
[503] Ibid.

Murry does not mention Heal's specifically, but, as Heal states in his 31 October letter, his company designed the model home. Heal defends the cost of the showcased home, writing that 'the cost of [furniture] production has trebled' since before World War I and pointing out that the high price of furniture reflects the rising cost of the materials used to make it.[504] Heal writes to Murry again two weeks later, eliciting a response from the editor in which he states that Heal's letter 'shows […] that there is little hope of improving lower middle-class homes and none at all of improving the homes of working-men'.[505] Murry's dialogue with Heal in this case engages the *Athenaeum* in the market economy of art in the form of furniture. Murry's staunch belief that furniture displayed to the public should be affordable for that public characterises the *Athenaeum* as a socially involved paper and one that, in spite of its first issue's emphasis on the selective 'republic of the spirit', inserts itself into wider 'cultural conversation[s]' about wages, sales, and domestic life.[506] Notably, the 'Correspondence' section makes this debate accessible to the public in question. If someone besides Murry and Heal wanted to weigh in on the topic, the 'Correspondence' section offers them that possibility, democratising not only this particular conversation, but also the space of the *Athenaeum*.

In addition to engaging the review in larger cultural and economic dialogue, the *Athenaeum*'s correspondence section also functions as a space for readers to engage with the review's writers and with each other, facilitating the active role of the audience in the review's community. One example was published from December 1919 to February 1920, and began with Eliot's review of a book by Charles Whibley.[507] In the review, Eliot notes that Whibley's book does not mention translator Gawain Douglas, who 'wrote in Scots', and

[504] Heal & Son, Ltd. (Ambrose Heal), 'Correspondence: Art and Industry', The *Athenaeum*, 31 October 1919, pp. 1131–32 (p. 1131).
[505] [Murry] response to Ambrose Heal, 'Art and Industry', The *Athenaeum*, 14 November 1919, p. 1198 (p. 1198).
[506] Harding, p. 1.
[507] T. S. E. [Eliot], 'The Local Flavour', The *Athenaeum*, 12 December 1919, pp. 1332–33 (p. 1332).

this comment became the topic of several letters of correspondence between two *Athenaeum* readers, R. Erskine and W. Mackay Mackenzie.[508] Eliot, notably, is not involved in the conversation; rather, for several weeks, the two readers speak to each other through the medium of the review's 'Correspondence' section, correcting and challenging each other about the nature of Douglas's use of Scots. Erskine and Mackenzie address their letters to The Editor, but write about each other, until, on 6 February 1920, Murry leaves an editor's note after Mackenzie's letter: 'This correspondence must now close. —Ed.'[509] This short note indicates that Murry, even when he is not actively writing for the 'Correspondence' section, continually monitors it, and is using his editorial knowledge to judge when to get involved and when to close conversations to allow space for other correspondents. This editor's note also illustrates the fact that the 'Correspondence' section is a marketing tool: when a conversation has run its course and is no longer of interest to the public, Murry ends it, allowing space for a conversation which might engage more people and, potentially, attract new readers.

Murry was, of course, also actively engaged in correspondence, and his participation occurred in a number of ways and under a variety of names. In most situations, he writes under his regular *Athenaeum* titles, such as 'The Writer of Literary Gossip' or 'Ed.', but he also uses a pseudonym which he will carry over to his editorship of the *Adelphi*: Henry King.[510] He likely employs the penname, which he also uses in the *Athenaeum* to publish poetry, in a similar way to how he used the name Arthur Crossthwaite in *Rhythm* in that it provides an opportunity for him to publish without his works being attached to his editorial identity. The editorial copies of the *Athenaeum*, on which Murry wrote contributors' names and the payments owed to them, reveal that Henry King was probably a secret even from the

[508] Ibid., p. 1333.
[509] [Murry] Editor's note after 'Scots', The *Athenaeum*, 6 February 1920, p. 189 (p. 189).
[510] The Writer of Literary Gossip [Murry], response to 'Publishers and First Novels' by F. Sidgwick, The *Athenaeum*, 29 October 1920, p. 595; Ed. [Murry], response to 'Dickens and Chancery Lane' by Henry Lucy, The *Athenaeum*, 12 November 1920, p. 670.

review's regular writers. As Whitworth points out, wages for Henry King's contributions were sent to Murry's brother, as though Henry King is an entirely independent contributor.[511] Further, Henry King will contribute much more frequently to the *Adelphi* than he does to the *Athenaeum*, suggesting that Murry is testing his voice as an anonymous contributor in the *Athenaeum*, with which his name was affiliated too closely to criticise his own staff writers on the review's correspondence pages.

One example of Murry using his Henry King voice to criticise his own writers takes place in 27 June 1919's issue, when he objects to an article written by Clive Bell. In a particularly illustrative example of the ways in which pseudonyms could aid the building of imagined communities, he writes a letter from himself as Henry King to himself as editor, stating:

> Sir, –While I express my appreciation of Mr. Clive Bell's admirable exposition of the artistic problem in your issue of last week […] may I protest against the casual manner in which Zola and Arnold Bennett are dismissed as incapable of works of art? Such unsubstantiated apercus do not advance Mr. Bell's argument.[512]

It is likely that, as Murry will do in the *Adelphi*, he uses the name Henry King in this instance to respond anonymously to his staff writers to maintain the appearance of agreement amongst the internal review community. Perhaps, too, Murry makes his complaint against Bell public to encourage further comments from readers. Not only, then, does his use of a pseudonym protect the community of *Athenaeum* writers from any appearance of unfriendly dissent, but it also serves as a model to potential readers, offering them an example of how they might respond to a reader with whom they disagree.

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[511] Whitworth, p. 366.
[512] Henry King [Murry], 'Correspondence: The Artistic Problem', The *Athenaeum*, 27 June 1919, p. 535 (p. 535).

He also encourages audience participation by expressing his willingness to accept the suggestions and corrections submitted by his readers. For example, in 8 October 1920's 'Literary Gossip' section, Murry, in response to publisher John Murray's contribution to the October issue of *Cornhill* magazine, breaks down the costs of book production to determine the profits for publishers and authors.[513] In 29 October's issue, F. Sidgwick writes a response:

> I looked in your October 15 issue for Mr. Murray's reply, and finding none, assumed that some other competent authority would take up the challenge in the following week. But your last issue was still silent; and as I cannot conceive that you are unwilling to correct your 'Gossiper's' errors, I venture to butt in where my betters have failed.[514]

Murry, as 'The Writer of Literary Gossip', prints a response immediately below Sidgwick's letter, stating: 'I acknowledge my serious error in regard to the figures for 1920, and thank Mr. Sidgwick for his corrections'; however, Murry writes that, towards some of Sidgwick's suggested corrections, 'I am still sceptical'.[515] He provides his own calculations, to which Sidgwick responds in another letter, published on 12 November.[516] The dialogue encouraged by this type of correspondence is indicative of an editor who understands that conversation is crucial for cultivating a loyal readership. By acknowledging his mistakes in answer to readers who point them out, he allows those readers to shape the content of the review and encourages their continued subscription to the periodical. One reader, whose letter is published in June 1920, suggests that perhaps Murry allows too much criticism from his audience, writing:

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[513] [Murry] 'Literary Gossip', The *Athenaeum*, 8 October 1920, p. 477.
[514] F. Sidgwick, 'Correspondence: Publishers and First Novels', The *Athenaeum*, 29 October 1920, p. 595 (p. 595).
[515] [Murry] response to 'Publishers and First Novels', p. 595 (p. 595).
[516] F. Sidgwick, 'Correspondence: Publishers and First Novels', The *Athenaeum*, 12 November 1920, p. 668.

> Dear Sir, –The liberty which you give your correspondents to criticise your contributors is evidence of an editorial courage which is as rare as it is stimulating. Yet I cannot help thinking that on occasion you allow too wide a latitude.[517]

Murry does not respond, but the fact that he chooses to publish this letter, which defends one of Mansfield's reviews from the criticism of another reader, indicates that he is more interested in encouraging reader participation than he is in maintaining a reputation as an infallible editor.

The 'Correspondence' section was one of the ways in which Murry opened up the *Athenaeum* for a broad, involved reading public, and his readers' enthusiasm for the review's newest incarnation is evident from their letters. On 30 May 1919, Arthur Newcombe writes:

> Dear Sir,–May I congratulate you on the new weekly Athenaeum, of which the first two numbers have just reached me? I find them full of criticism that is really stimulating, based as it evidently is upon a singular honesty of general outlook.[518]

Similarly, Sidgwick, in spite of his criticisms of Murry's calculations, aligns himself 'with many others who are rejoicing to see The Athenaeum renewing its mighty youth'.[519] The 'Correspondence' section allowed a space not only for this enthusiasm to be voiced, which contributed positively to the *Athenaeum*'s reputation, but it also served as a place for readers to have as much power to shape public opinion as the paper's reviewers and editor. The involvement of the *Athenaeum*'s readers prefigures the *Adelphi*'s readers' active involvement several years later, and indicates that Murry is learning how effective active audiences can be for maintaining readership and building periodical communities. His editorial practices, then,

[517] William Henderson, 'Correspondence: A Model Story', The *Athenaeum*, 25 June 1920, p. 842 (p. 842).
[518] Arthur Newcombe, 'Correspondence: The Sonnets of Philip Sidney', The *Athenaeum,* 30 May 1919, p. 408 (p. 408).
[519] Sidgwick, 'Correspondence: Publishers and First Novels', 29 October 1920, p. 595.

reveal him not only to be the critic or social commentator that his contributions alone might imply that he is; rather, he is a facilitator, using his readers' opinions to shape his decisions about the *Athenaeum*. Not only do these dialogic methods of editorship make the review more marketable, but they also reveal Murry's editorial knowledge and confidence. By allowing himself to be criticised, he casts himself as an editor who is willing to shape his practices to please his public, and this thesis contends that this particular editorial technique, far from being a sign of an ineffective leader, is one of the hallmarks of a great editor.

Conclusion: '[T]he tradition of honest criticism'

Murry's final editorial for the *Athenaeum*, published on 11 February 1921, features many of the traits that characterised his writing throughout his editorship. He announces the review's merger with the *Nation* and assures his readers that many of the *Athenaeum*'s writers will continue to write for the amalgamated paper. Thus, he assures his readers that the internal community of the *Athenaeum* will survive, and he encourages the continuation of the external one – his subscribers – through their support of the amalgamated paper. He continues to advocate the influence of the arts in society, asserting that while the *Nation* is a political paper and the *Athenaeum* was not, the latter has always supported 'the peace and reconciliation of the world because that is the only atmosphere in which the arts and sciences can flourish'.[520] He refers to the competitive market in which the *Athenaeum* existed, and implies that its demise is due to the 'commercial press', that harmful institution which, he writes,

> devoid of principles and ideals, is crushing out of existence those organs of independent opinion which, like The Athenaeum, endeavour to stimulate clear and honest thinking. Literature, the arts and sciences are now considered by managers of the 'circulation' newspapers as unworthy of their attention. They

[520] [Murry] 'Notes and Comments', The *Athenaeum*, 11 February 1921, p. 145 (p. 145).

> do not 'pull' readers; they do not help sales […] There may come a time when this surfeit of sensationalism will produce nausea. But in the interval it is doubly necessary that the tradition of honest criticism should be maintained.[521]

His description of criticism as 'honest' implies that all else, especially the commercial press, is false, and the use of the word 'tradition' intensifies the loss of the *Athenaeum*, which has existed for so long only to be snuffed out now by the mass market.

The editorial ends with a call to action. 'The tradition of honest criticism', Murry writes,

> can only be achieved by the co-operation of our readers. We ask them to realize that it is not sufficient in these days to appreciate and admire a paper conducted on the principles of The Athenaeum. They must endeavour to make two readers grow where there was one before.[522]

Like he did in *Rhythm* and will do in the *Adelphi*, Murry asks his readers for devotion and active involvement in the preservation of, if not this paper, then those like it, marking him out once again as a defender of dying literary reviews. More importantly, his addresses, like the one above that displays his knowledge of the market and his belief in his community of readers, mark him out primarily not as a critic, a reviewer, or a champion of traditional literary practices, but as an editor. The *Athenaeum*, more than any of his earlier magazines, made it clear, even to himself, that his power to influence the public through the platform of the periodical was made possible through editorship.

Murry's editorship of the *Athenaeum* is largely recognised at having successfully revived the dying review. Indeed, as Wellens writes, 'There can be little doubt that under

[521] Ibid.
[522] Ibid.

Murry's aegis *The Athenaeum* had peaked extraordinarily'.[523] The success of its dazzling contributors' list, audience-focussed improvements, and expert guidance of its editor are evidenced by its thousands of weekly readers. As Carswell writes of Murry during his editorship of the *Athenaeum*, 'the young aesthete of *Rhythm* had given way to a seasoned and iconoclastic literary journalist'.[524] Murry, too, anticipated that the *Athenaeum* would cement his identity, writing in 1920, 'Editing the *A*. I shall find my line & learn my job'.[525] However, it has been the aim of this chapter to emphasise that although his editorial practices were effective and were obviously honed during his editorship of the review, he was not at the end of his journey towards editorial expertise. Rather, during his successful two years of editorship of the *Athenaeum*, which introduced him to new editorial practices and methods of audience engagement, he was still finding his line and learning his job.

The *Athenaeum*'s first issue reveals Murry's desires to build an intellectual community that was, in many ways, the predecessor of the devotional following he would create with the *Adelphi*. The concerns he expresses throughout the *Athenaeum* about the role of art in promoting morality exhibit his development since *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature*, and demonstrate his awareness that he must balance his shifting personal beliefs with the review's commitment to delivering criticism in the style of a traditional literary review. His commitment to publishing high-quality criticism in the *Athenaeum* cemented his reputation as a critic, making him recognise that it is through criticism – and through periodicals – that he had the power to influence his public. His successful reputation as a critic, as well as the success of the *Athenaeum*, gave him the confidence to break from formal expectations and start the *Adelphi*, which was founded on the rejection of established critical methods. Further, Murry's introduction of features such as the 'Correspondence' section provides examples of his engagement with his audience through the dialogues sustained on

[523] Wellens, p. 148.
[524] Carswell, p. 156.
[525] Letter from Murry to Mansfield, 6 April 1920, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 306.

the pages of the review. His direct engagement with his readers indicates a new use of his editorial voice, which he employs to facilitate and take part in discussion. It is a tactic he will use even more frequently in the *Adelphi*, suggesting that the *Athenaeum* was, after all, precisely what Murry called it in 1920: his 'seed-testing station', a space which allowed him to develop his thoughts about literature and refine his editorial voice.[526]

It is in the *Athenaeum* that Murry transitions from poet to critic and from artist to preacher, and it is in the transitional 'third kingdom' of this review that he explores the social function of criticism and its effects on the public. Most importantly, the *Athenaeum* established his reputation as an editor. His realisation in 1920 that his future lay in criticism was, in fact, also a recognition that it was through periodicals that he could most effectively reach his audiences with his thoughts about morality and art. *Rhythm*'s, the *Blue Review*'s, and the *Signature*'s financially strained positions forced Murry to end his editorships. Contrastingly, with the *Athenaeum*, he chose to leave at what is likely to have been the height of his critical career. Choosing to end his editorship of the review that he had made a success, and that in turn had given him an excellent critical reputation, gave him the confidence in his own editorial abilities that he lacked at the end of his earlier editorships. Further, through the *Athenaeum*, he established the effective techniques that would come to define his editorial career. As this chapter has shown, the *Athenaeum* was not only an influential modernist periodical because of the writers it featured, but also because of the editorial practices which made it a wide-reaching, critically successful, and socially vocal review.

[526] Letter from Murry to Mansfield, 6 April 1920, in *Letters of JMM to KM*, p. 306.

CHAPTER 3:

'I AM NOT AN EDITOR'[527]

THE *ADELPHI* (1923-1927)

Introduction: 'There is a gulf between us'

When John Middleton Murry launched the *Adelphi* in 1923, it was after a rapid few months of planning and advertising, writing to friends and colleagues to get them involved, and trying to pin down in words the spiritual realisation to which he had come shortly after Katherine Mansfield's death: that he was 'not alone'.[528] However, once the initial flurry of activity had died down, he writes that his reservations about creating a new periodical surfaced:

> When I began to write these first few words of a new magazine, I was suddenly smitten with the terror that visited me when I glanced down on the crowd at Camden Town. There is a gulf between us: why make the vain attempt to bridge it? It was all very well (said my attendant demon) when you were occupied in trying to get The Adelphi organized. Then you ran from printer to paper-maker, from paper-maker to estate agent, and when you got home you passed the remaining hours in writing letters. You had no time to think about what you were doing. You were caught up in the practical business of realizing an idea you had months ago. But now that self-forgetful phase is over. You are up against it, chuckled my demon.[529]

In fact, Murry could never have predicted just how 'up against it' he was. He had no idea that the first issue of his new magazine would sell far beyond his projected numbers, could not know that it would be published for more than thirty years, and could not have foreseen that it would one day be both contested and defended as an influential modernist periodical. The

[527] 'The Cause of It All', p. 9.
[528] John Middleton Murry, 'A Month After', The *Adelphi*, 1.2 (July 1923), 89–99 (p. 95).
[529] 'The Cause of It All', p. 3.

Adelphi (published from 1923 to 1955; Murry's involvement lasted until 1948) was a monthly literary magazine that published stories, poetry, essays, and criticism.[530] Its contributors included H. G. Wells, Dorothy Richardson, H. M. Tomlinson, Iris Barry, J. W. N. Sullivan, and, once, Charlie Chaplin.[531] Its first issue, published in June 1923, included a full-page photograph of Mansfield (Fig. 16), who had died in January, and Murry published her journals, poems, and stories in the magazine for years. Its cover was yellow, and its colour would surely have been its most notable feature had it not also depicted a half-page advertisement for a Remington portable typewriter (Fig. 17). Unlike with *Rhythm*, which introduced its uniquely styled advertisements in the third issue, or the *Athenaeum*, the advertisements of which ran in the expected, unobtrusive places for a newspaper-sized periodical, the *Adelphi*'s front cover indicates that Murry was taking no chances; he partially financed his magazine with advertising revenue from the start, and the front-cover advertisement was an indication that the magazine would practice transparency and value a readership which cared more about the magazine's contents than its looks. All of this was in spite of Arnold Bennett's early criticism that, thanks to the giant typewriter on the front, 'the appearance of the review is deplorable'.[532]

However, Murry made it clear that he was not interested in those who criticised what he once referred to in *Rhythm* as the 'unessentials', including the magazine's 'print and […] paper'.[533] In the *Adelphi*, he actively opposed those critics he refers to as 'the clever ones and the sniggerers and the people who say "How amusing!" because they haven't anything truer to say. Once upon a time', he writes in the *Adelphi*'s first editorial, 'I was rather frightened of them. But now no more'.[534] Chapter 2 of this thesis maintained that the *Athenaeum* increased

[530] Whitworth, p. 376.
[531] Charles Chaplin, 'Does the Public Know what It Wants?', The *Adelphi*, 1.8 (January 1924), 702–10.
[532] Letter from Arnold Bennett to Murry, 3 June 1923, in *Letters of Arnold Bennett*, ed. by James Hepburn, 4 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1966-1986), III (1970), p. 191.
[533] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36.
[534] 'The Cause of It All', p. 9.

Murry's editorial confidence through establishing his literary reputation as well as the success of his editorial practices. This chapter shows how the *Adelphi* illustrates precisely this confidence through his audience addresses in his editorials, his use of pseudonyms to create the impression of an internal magazine community, and his methods of audience engagement that garnered for the *Adelphi* a loyal readership. He employed these editorial tactics not, as he did in *Rhythm*, to deliver the best and newest art, or, as he did in the *Athenaeum*, to publish the most intelligent criticism; rather, he deliberately acted against hierarchical understandings of art to shape the *Adelphi* into a democratic space which, as noted by his critics, seemed to counteract the editorial talent he exhibited during his previous editorships. This chapter illustrates that, in fact, Murry demonstrates his editorial expertise during the first four years of the *Adelphi* in a more refined and successful way than he did in any of his previously edited periodicals, and that his earlier editorships gave him the confidence and capability to do so.

Many scholars writing about the *Adelphi* draw attention to Murry's declaration in the first issue's editorial that 'The Adelphi is nothing if not an act'.[535] He characterises the *Adelphi* as an 'act' even above classifying it as a magazine, suggesting that he has no interest in publishing a periodical which conforms to existing standards. Exactly what that 'act' would be, however, was not clearly defined, and the *Adelphi*'s aim was expressed in a number of vague forms over its first four years. Nevertheless, the language that Murry uses in his editorials and in the advertisements for the *Adelphi* in other periodicals characterise the magazine as a platform for individual expression and the democratisation of the literary marketplace, revealing the value he placed on community in a society which was increasingly focussed on isolation. His awareness of what he identifies in the *Adelphi*'s first issue as 'the gulf' between individuals became his impetus for making his monthly magazine a platform

[535] Ibid., p. 8.

for open expression that inverted the standards of a normal literary review, invited contributions from professional and amateur writers alike, and promoted direct and continuous interaction between the magazine and its audience.[536]

Considering the first four years of the *Adelphi*, this chapter examines how the success of Murry's editorial aims and practices is exemplified through his identification of himself as a new type of editor who was opposed to the hierarchical critical standards he had previously promoted. His descriptions of himself in the *Adelphi* as a 'critic' and 'preacher' but, crucially, 'not an editor' reveal the process of self-identification that he underwent on the pages of his magazine.[537] Additionally, Murry's discarding of the title 'editor', which is evident in the signing of most of his editorials as 'John Middleton Murry', with a few notable exceptions which will be discussed in detail in this chapter, places him within the circle of contributors to the *Adelphi* rather than characterising him as a distant figure behind an editorial desk, illustrating how the magazine eliminated the expected distinction between editor and audience.

In the *Adelphi*, the relationship between magazine and editor is more fluid than it was during Murry's other editorships. Unlike in *Rhythm* and the *Athenaeum*, in the *Adelphi* he explores his beliefs using singular personal pronouns and claiming his expressions as his own and not those of the magazine, suggesting that the *Adelphi*, like the *Signature* was, is simply a platform for his personal voice.[538] However, he also uses his editorials to respond directly to criticism of the *Adelphi* received in correspondence and published in other periodicals, exhibiting his control over the content of the magazine and his efforts to shape it in particular ways. He invites debate, encourages dialogue, and openly discusses the *Adelphi* not as a platform for the artistic 'aristocracy', a term he used in both *Rhythm* and the *Athenaeum* that

[536] Ibid., p. 9.
[537] John Middleton Murry, 'The Unknown Country', The *Adelphi*, 2.5 (October 1924), 369–78 (p. 375); 'The Two Worlds', p. 865; 'The Unknown Country', p. 372.
[538] 'A Month After', p. 99.

denotes selectiveness and distinction, but for 'those things that you can't help writing, because you will burst if you don't', a phrase that provides a contrasting image of the sort of writing which anyone could do.[539] Inverting the normal standards of a literary review, Murry's *Adelphi* was intended to be a democratic space for the magazine's community of readers and writers, a 'brotherhood' that Michael Whitworth writes 'was crucial' to the *Adelphi*'s identity.[540] The magazine was named for the Adelphi Terrace, where the *Athenaeum*'s offices had been. This nod to his own editorial history suggests that Murry wanted to create the same style of internal community that he had with his reviewers at the *Athenaeum*, but the *Adelphi*'s inversion of accepted literary standards denotes an obvious break from the review-style criticism of the *Athenaeum*.

Keeping Murry's previous editorships in mind, this chapter examines his editorial purpose in the *Adelphi* and considers his editorial techniques to be highly successful, based on the *Adelphi*'s sustained readership and longevity. It will assess the specific choices he makes as editor of and contributor to his periodical in order to place his magazine in opposition to those that, like T. S. Eliot's *Criterion*, valued an intellectual 'imposition of value' and 'judgment rather than brotherhood'.[541] This chapter also places Murry's magazine within the greater interwar literary climate in order to examine the ways in which its community-building goals were opposed to a greater cultural trend towards intellectual isolation. Faye Hammill notes the 'separation between high culture and popular culture that became entrenched during the heyday of literary modernism', a divide that the *Adelphi* intended to bridge by creating a democratising literary space.[542] Although the magazine's particular brand of inclusion was criticised by contemporaries for lowering the *Adelphi*'s literary standards, it represents Murry's attempts to bridge 'the gulf' between what John

[539] 'Seriousness in Art', p. 49, and 'Prologue', p. 131; 'The Cause of It All', p. 11.
[540] Whitworth, pp. 378, 385.
[541] Goldie, p. 132.
[542] Faye Hammill, 'Cold Comfort Farm, D. H. Lawrence, and English Literary Culture Between the Wars', *MFS Modern Fiction Studies*, 47.4 (2001), 831–54 (p. 851).

Carey refers to as the 'intellectuals' and the 'masses' that critical reviews often reinforced.[543] Sydney Janet Kaplan, in her study of Murry, Mansfield, and D. H. Lawrence, highlights the importance of Murry's focus on community, combined with his sometimes off-putting confessional style. She writes:

> Murry's emphasis on the personal – in the midst of the era of modernist 'impersonality' – might actually be the suppressed element in modernism which would break open in the years following the Second World War, with the rise of confessional poetry and the subsequent outpourings of autobiographical fiction and non-fiction in the latter decades of the twentieth century.[544]

Murry's repeated public appeal for fellowship is a fundamental component of the *Adelphi*'s identity, but it was also an unattractive feature for many critics who expected literary reviews to maintain a level of, as Kaplan writes, 'impersonality'. Most importantly for this study, the fellowship promoted by the *Adelphi* also illustrates the ways in which Murry broke away from his previous understandings of successful editorship to pursue a style of editing which defined the *Adelphi* as a distinctive product both in its contemporary market and in periodical studies.

In his early editorships of *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature*, Murry was introduced to the periodical networks and editorial techniques that he would use to make his later editorships successful. Editing the *Athenaeum*, he refined his techniques of communicating with his audience and ended his editorship with the knowledge that it was through the platform of periodicals that he could best influence the public. In the *Adelphi*, his deliberate use of certain titles, his creation of communities, and his invitations to his readers to shape his magazine represent the ways in which he combines all of his previous editorial knowledge into producing a periodical that is not, as one might expect from the editor of the

[543] Carey, p. 71.
[544] Kaplan, p. 8.

Athenaeum, for the intellectual elite, but for those who, like Murry, wish to combat the sense of isolation which pervaded Britain after World War I. His navigation of his role as an editor further reveals the expertise with which he presents himself, his magazine, and their place in the market and in society more broadly on the pages of the *Adelphi*.

The Seed and the Pod: Individualisms

This chapter makes a close study of only the first four years of the *Adelphi*, when it existed as a monthly and was consistently edited by Murry. From 1927-1930, the magazine's name changed to the *New Adelphi* and ran as a quarterly; from 1930, it resumed its life as a monthly edited by Max Plowman and Richard Rees, although Murry still had editorial involvement until 1948.[545] Whitworth writes that the journal then changed editorial hands from Henry Williamson, to George Goodwin, to Sir Ifor Evans before the journal ended in 1955.[546] Because the nature of the periodical changed significantly after 1927, and because this project cannot accommodate an in-depth study of the entire run of the *Adelphi*, this chapter only considers the magazine until Volume 4, Issue 12, published in June 1927.

Initially, the *Adelphi* sold many more copies than anyone could have predicted. The first issue alone sold 15,240 copies which, as Patrick Collier points out, is only about 5,000 fewer than the average circulation at the time of the *Times Literary Supplement*.[547] By comparison, David Goldie writes that the *Adelphi* sold 'more in one issue than the *Criterion* would sell in its first five years'.[548] The huge sales of the first number were likely due to advertising, on which, F. A. Lea writes, Murry spent £250 of the £400 that his friend, Vivian Locke-Ellis, gave him to launch the magazine.[549] There is no question that after the first issue, sales dropped dramatically, but Q. D. Leavis suggests that the average sales for the first

[545] Whitworth, p. 376.
[546] Ibid.
[547] Collier, p. 29.
[548] Goldie, p. 94.
[549] Lea, p. 106.

four years of the *Adelphi* were still a respectable 4,200 copies per issue.[550] This sustained readership is evidence of Murry's successful editorship of a magazine that critics often misrepresent in scholarship. For example, Oscar Wellens wrongly describes the *Adelphi* as 'short-lived'.[551] Similarly, Alex Owen writes that Murry's inability to shape his personal beliefs for the public resulted in 'the failure of the *Adelphi*'.[552] Owen does not explain what the *Adelphi*'s 'failure' looked like or when it took place, and the audience is left to assume that the *Adelphi* ceased publication shortly after it was begun. These mistaken perceptions minimise Murry's success as an editor, and this chapter aims to correct them.

Mansfield's death in January 1923 was the primary motivation for Murry to begin the *Adelphi*, and she is commemorated in the first issue of the magazine. A number of critics have described the *Adelphi* as a pitiable attempt by a husband to memorialise his wife. John Carswell calls the magazine Katherine's 'mausoleum' and says that it encouraged 'the cult of her heroic literary life'.[553] Likewise, Kathleen Jones writes that Murry 'mythologise[s]' Mansfield in the magazine.[554] In 1923, Bennett wrote to Murry about the *Adelphi*'s September issue, voicing a similar concern:

> Your note towards the end about style and K.M. is a mistake in demeanour, as likewise your previous repeated references to K.M. In brief, the view is that it would be better for you to leave the appreciation of K.M.'s unquestioned and remarkable gifts to others […] I have ventured, perhaps wrongly, to tell you what I think, because I know that your present policy is harming you with the very soundest people I am acquainted with.[555]

[550] Leavis, p. 20.
[551] Wellens, p. 149.
[552] Owen, p. 172.
[553] Carswell, p. 204.
[554] Jones, p. 49.
[555] Letter from Bennett to Murry, 10 September 1923, in *Letters of Arnold Bennett*, pp. 199–200.

In the magazine's second issue, Murry acknowledges the significant role that Mansfield's death played in the start of the *Adelphi*, writing, 'Not many months ago I lost someone whom it was impossible for me to lose – the only person on this earth who understood me or whom I understood. This impossible thing happened. Katherine Mansfield died'.[556] He then recounts the mystical experience that moved him to begin the *Adelphi*: 'What happened then? Ah, if I could tell you that, I should tell you a secret indeed […] I knew I was not alone – that I never could be alone any more'.[557] This is one of the messages at the heart of the *Adelphi*, and one that Murry will convey repeatedly in his editorials and his correspondence with his readers.

Murry's daughter, however, points to someone other than Mansfield as the impetus for the *Adelphi*. In 1923, Lawrence sent him a copy of his book *Fantasia of the Unconscious*, and it is possible that Murry started the magazine to 'be a mouthpiece for himself and Lawrence', for whom Murry was waiting to come back from America to help him run the magazine.[558] Lawrence, however, reacted unfavourably to the first issue of the *Adelphi*. In August 1923, Lawrence wrote to Murry from New York, 'I was disappointed with the apologetic kind of appeal in *The Adelphi*: but you most obviously aren't my enemy in it. And anyhow you make a success of the thing: so what does it matter what I say'.[559] Over the next few years, Lawrence contributed frequently to the *Adelphi*, but his feelings about Murry's handling of the periodical fluctuated. In September, Lawrence gave him positive feedback, as well as some advice:

> I had your letter here – also the *Adelphi* – I like your little attack on Mr Mortimer: very amusing. *Do* attack them. Go for them amusingly like this. Satirise them to death. That's your job.

[556] 'A Month After', p. 94.
[557] Ibid., p. 95.
[558] Katherine Middleton Murry, p. 21.
[559] Letter from D. H. Lawrence to Murry, 7 August 1923, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, ed. by Warren Roberts, James T. Boulton, and Elizabeth Mansfield, 7 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), IV, June 1921-March 1924 (1987), p. 480.

> And gradually the *Adelphi* will get a concrete fortress-value, by slow building. Till now it has been a bit vague. Build a new place of skulls, the skulls of the imbecile enemy. That's *very* necessary […] One has to be an absolute individual, separate as a seed fallen out of the pod.[560]

While Lawrence's brand of individuality involves isolation – being 'separate as a seed' – Murry's, as is evident in the creation of the *Adelphi*, necessitates community – remaining in 'the pod'. For Murry, his periodicals represented one of the only sustained ways in which he had been involved in the larger literary community. Shunned from the Bloomsbury group and maintaining an unstable friendship with Lawrence and his wife Frieda throughout their lives, Murry and Mansfield had created for themselves more secure communities through their magazines. After Mansfield's death, Murry was likely feeling his isolation more acutely than ever. In 1956, the year before he died, he wrote to his son:

> I have the feeling that I have been completely outside the main stream of literature: that I don't 'belong' and indeed never have belonged. My concern has always been that of a moralist, and I have never been sufficient of the artist to be diverted from it […] That distinguishes me, absolutely, from the Bloomsburies…[561]

His labelling of himself as a 'moralist' differentiates his practice of individuality from that expressed by Lawrence. Murry's interest is with how people engage with the world; Lawrence's aim is to remove himself from it. It is well documented that Lawrence's goal was to establish Rananim, 'a small community of friends and like-minded individuals in a far-off place away from the civilized world'.[562] Andrew Harrison points out that Rananim was likely a 'fantasy' rather than an actual plan for communal living, a dream of Lawrence and his

[560] Letter from Lawrence to Murry, 17 September 1923, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 500.
[561] Qtd. in Colin Middleton Murry's 'Introduction' (1983), ATL, MS-Papers-11327-001.
[562] Andrew Harrison, 'D. H. Lawrence, Rananim and Gilbert Cannan's *Windmills*', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s., 69.292 (2018), 953–66 (p. 953).

friends to 'offset their unhappiness in wartime England'.[563] Lawrence's community, which he invited Murry to join, was envisioned to allow escape and isolation; Murry's, manifested in the *Adelphi*, called for active engagement.

As early as the magazine's second year, Lawrence made it clear that he did not find Murry's brand of individualism palatable. In response to Murry calling himself a 'merman' in February 1924's editorial, Lawrence wrote, 'Your articles in the *Adelphi* always annoy me. Why care so much about your own fishiness or fleshiness? Why make it so important? Can't you focus yourself outside yourself? Not forever focussed on yourself, ad nauseum?'[564] Less than a week later, Lawrence advised, 'one must eschew emotions – they are a disease'.[565] For Murry, to follow such advice was impossible. In the March issue, he writes a revealing passage in his editorial 'The Two Worlds' in which he discusses 'the individual who because he is an individual must refuse to behave as an atom in a mass, [who] suddenly discovers that there is an abyss between his realities and those of his fellow-men'.[566] Murry's unnamed individual realises that while 'he had thought himself a member of a nation, in reality he is (at most) a member of a tiny sect'.[567] The differentiation between his 'tiny sect' – the religious connotations of which suggest that, to some extent, Murry views the *Adelphi* as a spiritual community – and Lawrence's Rananim is worth noting. Lawrence invited his friends to come with him to create a community of individuals who were recruited because they held similar beliefs. Conversely, Murry's community, by nature of it being broadcast through a public periodical, makes itself known to everyone. Lawrence's is deliberately small, for only a few have been invited to join; Murry's is small because, as he expresses above, common belief is rare.

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[563] Ibid.
[564] John Middleton Murry, 'Heads or Tails?', The *Adelphi*, 1.9 (February 1924), 769–76 (p. 770); Letter from Lawrence to Murry, 7 February 1924, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 572.
[565] Letter from Lawrence to Murry, 13 February 1924, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 581.
[566] 'The Two Worlds', p. 859.
[567] Ibid., p. 860.

It is to this idea of common belief that Murry returns at the end of 'The Two Worlds'. He writes:

> we cannot live alone. We do need a Church: but we have to insist on founding new ones. We want our Church, not *the* Church. And anyone who starts a magazine, if he does not aim at personal profit and is not indulging his personal vanity, is just as surely as the New Adventist preacher at the street-corner, trying to establish a new Church – a society of people who take seriously the things that he takes seriously and so far share his faith. And so is every writer who tries to put all he has and is into what he writes; he too is looking for disciples and fellow-members. There is nothing to be alarmed at in this.[568]

There are several specific points in the above passage worth noting. First is Murry's statement that 'we cannot live alone', indicating that community is necessary for survival. It is evident that he was working against a form of modernist expression that was rooted in, as Maurice Beebe describes, 'detachment and non-commitment'.[569] Expressions of isolation and the rejection of emotion are apparent in some of the period's best-known works, a fact that emphasises the *Adelphi*'s unique call for community. One of the most obvious examples of the rejection of the emotive in art is W. B. Yeats's 'The Second Coming' (1919), which states, 'The best lack all conviction, while the worst | Are full of passionate intensity', while Eliot's *The Waste Land* (1922) presents haunting images of the isolated individual, from those who 'think of the key, each in his prison | Thinking of the key, each confirms a prison' to the unnamed speaker who calls out to one of the 'crowd flow[ing] over London Bridge' but gets no response.[570] Murry's cultivation of a democratic space encourages his readers to combat the isolation that Yeats and Eliot, while not necessarily celebrating, certainly

[568] Ibid., p. 865.
[569] Maurice Beebe, '*Ulysses* and the Age of Modernism', *James Joyce Quarterly*, 10.1 (1972), 172–88 (p. 175).
[570] W. B. Yeats, 'The Second Coming', *The Poetry Foundation*, ll. 7–8 <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/43290/the-second-coming> [accessed 22 June 2020]; T. S. Eliot, *The Waste Land*, *The Poetry Foundation*, ll. 413–14, 62 <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/47311/the-waste-land> [accessed 22 June 2020].

thematise. Rather than emphasising an individualism of isolation, represented for Murry by the mechanical nature of hierarchical criticism, the *Adelphi* was an equalising space that accepted contributions from anyone who felt that they had something to express. Amidst an artistic culture which required its artists to practice, as Eliot expressed in 1919, 'a continual self-sacrifice, a continual extinction of personality', Murry's magazine valued contributions which were precisely opposed to this perceived literary ideal, as will be discussed in more detail throughout this chapter.[571]

The second significant point of note from 'The Two Worlds' passage quoted above is Murry's comparison of himself to an evangelical preacher. In interwar Britain, tensions emerged between different practices of evangelical Christianity, and in the 1920s, David W. Bebbington writes, 'The unity of Evangelicalism was broken', leading to a certain freedom of choice for those who were interested in practicing Christianity.[572] The desire for such freedom is illustrated in Murry's insistence that 'We want our Church, not *the* Church'. His comparisons of his magazine to a church and of himself to a preacher are intended to convey his enthusiasm to his audience and to promote involvement in the *Adelphi* through the commonality of belief. However, others would use the image of Murry as preacher to demean him. For example, in 1924, Ernest de Selincourt wrote for the *Times Literary Supplement*, 'To most of those who had followed Mr. Murry's career as a critic with admiration, his appearance as a religious propagandist was a shock', and in a similar response to the *Adelphi*'s first issue, Desmond MacCarthy, writing as Affable Hawk in the *New Statesman*, wrote that 'It would be the greatest pity if Mr. Murry threw away his fine gifts as a literary connoisseur because he thought the role of moral prophet more vital'.[573] Affable Hawk hits

[571] T. S. Eliot, 'Tradition and the Individual Talent', The *Egoist*, 4.6 (September 1919), 54–55 (p. 55).
[572] David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain* (Unwin Hyman Ltd., 1989; repr. London and New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 332. Taylor & Francis ebook.
[573] [Ernest de Selincourt] 'Mr. Middleton Murry's Essays', *TLS*, 11 December 1924, p. 844 (p. 844); Affable Hawk [Desmond MacCarthy], 'Current Literature, Books in General', The *New Statesman*, 9 June 1923, p. 270 (p. 270).

on the concern of fellow critics about Murry's religious leanings: that, he writes, Murry 'has suddenly become ashamed of being "a high-brow," without becoming anything else'.[574] These critical reactions to the *Adelphi* reveal the perception of religious zeal as being opposed to intellect, and in planting himself firmly in one camp, Murry made it difficult to present the *Adelphi* as a vehicle for the other. Indeed, in reviews of the *Adelphi* in other periodicals, any praise for the magazine's contributions is often minimised by a mention of, as one reviewer from the *Spectator* puts it, Murry's 'too facetious, and intrusively personal' editorials.[575] As discussed in Chapter 2, Murry's moralist concerns about art and society were visible in and even formative to the *Athenaeum*, but in 1923, his rejection of the critical standards he had upheld during his previous editorship became the subject of harsh criticism.

Relatedly, the third point to note about this editorial is Murry's defence of using emotions in writing. Even though writers such as Lawrence and Eliot were opposed to the seemingly unrestrained influence of emotions in the creation of art, Murry makes it clear that he takes a different view when he writes about forming a church of his own, and, he writes, so does 'every writer who tries to put all he has and is into what he writes; he too is looking for disciples and fellow-members'. He aligns himself with other writers seeking followers, and his next sentence, which assures readers that 'There is nothing to be alarmed at in this', indicates that he knows that his position will be questioned, and he has taken the pre-emptive step to minimise any potential criticisms. The phrase also conveys a knowing sort of comradeship: as a writer himself, Murry makes it clear to other writers that there is nothing wrong with seeking such support from an audience, even if it is an aspect of authorship that is not commonly discussed. Through openly writing about topics which are avoided or considered distasteful by other writers, Murry establishes the *Adelphi* as an honest space

[574] Affable Hawk, p. 270.
[575] 'The February Magazines, The Adelphi', The *Spectator*, 16 February 1924, pp. 253–54 (p. 254).

where nothing is out of bounds, reinforcing its identity as an egalitarian, anti-critical periodical.

Murry's approach to cultivating an audience through the discussion of emotions has been recognised as an effective method of community building more widely. In his study of how discourse can create and maintain communities, Gerard A. Hauser writes, 'People become engaged because issues touch their lives. A rhetorical understanding of communication regards life-engaging decisions as necessarily involving emotions. Emotions are essential for establishing the relationship between an attentive and empowered audience and their particular circumstances'.[576] Hauser's use of the word 'empowered' is particularly pertinent to a discussion of the *Adelphi*'s audience, which played an influential role in the development of the periodical over its first four years not only as subscribers, but as the writers of letters, submissions, and contributions to the conversational 'Multum in Parvo' section of the magazine.

Although Murry received criticism from other periodicals, such as the *New Statesman*, and his closest friends, including Lawrence, he maintained the *Adelphi* as a space in which to combat the expected features of a literary magazine. Particularly, as this section has shown, his emphasis on the *Adelphi* as a communal space for readers and contributors gives it a church-like function and places Murry in the role of a preacher. He cultivates this image of himself as a moralistic leader by using the platform of his magazine to combat what he perceives to be the harmful effects of an increasingly isolated society. The *Adelphi*, through functioning primarily as an honest, uncritical space, opposes precisely the sort of hierarchical criticism which made the *Athenaeum* a success, illustrating how Murry used the experiences of his previous editorships to create in the *Adelphi* a product which shocked

[576] Hauser, p. 51.

many of his friends and fellow writers, but which successfully maintained a loyal community of readers.

'I am in the position of a man who desires to sell a commodity': Murry as Editor and Contributor

This thesis has contended that Murry's identification of himself as an editor was a gradual process. His hesitancy to define himself as editor was the result of his desires to be an artist and a novelist during his early editorships, and of his prioritisation of his role as a critic during his editorship of the *Athenaeum*. It is, then, hugely significant that in the *Adelphi*, he openly writes about what it means to label himself an editor. His discussion of the nature of his own editorial identity, published in the 1924 editorial 'The Unknown Country', illustrates how the *Adelphi* allowed Murry the space in which to engage with and challenge his and his audience's ideas about editorship.

In 'The Unknown Country', Murry describes himself as an editor, but he makes it clear that he is not the sort of editor that he used to be. In 1923, in his first *Adelphi* editorial, he had questioned his own characterisation as an editor, writing, 'But I am not an editor. I would do anything, I verily believe, rather than be an editor anymore'.[577] His identification of himself as anything except an editor reveals his active avoidance of being affiliated with the brand of literary criticism that he promoted in the *Athenaeum*, but, crucially, it does not separate him from his editorial capabilities, as he recognises a year later in 'The Unknown Country'. Echoing his own language, he writes in 1924, 'I am not an editor, yet perhaps I am'.[578] After this initial hesitancy, he goes on to differentiate his current editorial role from his previous ones. He writes:

[577] 'The Cause of It All', p. 9.
[578] 'The Unknown Country', p. 372.

> It is no good for well-meaning people to say to me, as they sometimes do: 'Why don't you really *edit* your magazine, as you used to edit *The Athenaeum*?' Frankly, I have no interest in editing what the critics would call a good magazine. There was a time when I had such an interest; but that was in the days when I did not know the difference between the true and the false, when I had a welcome for anything that was 'well-written'. That was the only standard I could apply: and I was by virtue of that standard, a good editor. Now I am something different.[579]

Through contrasting the *Adelphi* to the *Athenaeum*, the latter of which fulfils the general understanding of a 'good magazine', Murry makes it clear that he recognises that once he considered himself to be, and was considered by others, a 'good editor'. Now, however, because he edits a magazine that, because of its lack of critical content, cannot be classified as a 'good magazine', he is no longer a 'good editor'. Murry does not have the words to express what he is, writing only that now he is 'something different'. His identification of his place outside of a recognised form of editorship reveals how fully the *Adelphi* represents his abandonment of all formal conceptions of successful criticism and editorship. This passage reveals that he is, at last, willing to accept the title of 'editor', but only on his own terms.

The names that Murry uses to sign his contributions in the *Adelphi* reveal a great deal about the ways in which he chooses to present himself to his readers and how he views his new brand of editorship. Unlike in *Rhythm* and the *Athenaeum*, the editorials of which were almost always signed by Murry as the 'Editor', his *Adelphi* 'editorials' – a term which he deliberately avoids using to describe the *Adelphi*'s opening articles – are signed by 'The Editor' only when he must address his audience about some crisis concerning the *Adelphi*'s survival. It is this conscious distinction between the use of his own name and his title, as well as his use of 'I' and 'we', which this section addresses in order to better understand the ways in which he perceives his editorship of the *Adelphi*.

[579] Ibid., pp. 372–73.

In his second editorial, Murry makes it clear that he does not wish to conform to the editorial hierarchy of the typical literary review. He writes that his articles

> are not 'editorials' at all. I happen to be editing the paper, it is true. And I put my article at the head of the magazine, because I think that those who read it will expect to find it there. But what I write in this article is personal to me. In order to make this plain it is signed with my own name. I neither expect my colleagues to agree with me, nor expect to agree with them.[580]

These simple statements of purpose are, in fact, indicative of the subversive nature of the *Adelphi*. Murry's acknowledgement that he will not use the title of editor but will instead write under his own name indicates that he aims to eliminate the distance between himself as editor and the *Adelphi*'s contributors, democratising the space of the magazine and presenting himself to potential contributors as an accessible collaborator rather than a distant judge (Fig. 18). His specific use of the word 'colleagues' conjures images not of an imposing editorial board, but of a group of companionable workers, further emphasising the *Adelphi* as a friendly, welcoming community.

Murry's acknowledgement of his readers' expectations is also significant. He writes that he places his articles in the space that an editorial would normally occupy because readers 'will expect to find it there', indicating that he is willing to craft his magazine for the sake of the comfort of his audience. Finally, his passive confirmation that he 'happen[s] to be editing' the *Adelphi* indicates an ironically active attempt not, I suggest, to shirk responsibility, but to reinforce his identity as a part of the community which was so important to the *Adelphi*, even from its first issues. Goldie writes that Murry exhibited 'a careless disregard for literary politics' in the *Adelphi*, but this chapter contends that Murry's choices

[580] 'A Month After', p. 99.

to act against the grain of expected editorship are far from 'careless'.[581] Rather, his personal addresses to readers and his sharing of his own experiences were intended to cultivate exchanges between himself and a small audience, a goal which is perfectly in line with the practices of the little magazines, for which 'smallness' in audience size was often, as Felix Pollak states, 'not only a matter of necessity but also a matter of choice'.[582] In the case of the *Adelphi*, the deliberate cultivation of what Murry calls 'a faithful clientele' is evident from the first issue's editorial, 'The Cause of It All'.[583]

In this editorial, he uses his experiences to set a precedent for the nature of the *Adelphi*'s published writing. The predominant personal pronoun used in the first four pages of the editorial is 'I': 'Nowadays I once more ride on the top of a 'bus from Trafalgar Square to Hampstead'; 'I am frightened'; 'I no longer have the feeling that we may be engaged in something futile and incomprehensible'.[584] He expresses his doubts about starting the *Adelphi*, referring to the 'demon' that taunted him with ideas of failure, but, he writes, the demon 'has lost the game'.[585] A section break follows this pronouncement, which signals Murry's shift from using 'I' to predominantly using 'we': '[W]e know we are not isolated'; 'We believe in life'; 'We know it is worth fighting for'.[586] This pronoun shift is an indication that the singular experience of Murry's life has ended, and the collective experience of the *Adelphi* has begun. Crucially, the 'we' that he uses does not seem to be the editorial 'we'; rather, it refers to those whom Murry calls 'people like ourselves' who subscribe to the cause of the *Adelphi*.[587] In using 'we' to refer not to the exclusive group of the magazine's editors but to the wider readership of the journal, he extends the call to support the *Adelphi* to

[581] Goldie, p. 188.
[582] Mark Olson, John Judson, and Richard Boudreau, 'Felix Pollak, An Interview on Little Magazines', *TriQuarterly*, 43 (1978), 34–49 (p. 36).
[583] 'Pro Domo Mea', pp. 723–24.
[584] 'The Cause of It All', pp. 1, 2, 3.
[585] Ibid., pp. 4, 5.
[586] Ibid., p. 5.
[587] Ibid.

everyone who feels that they have some connection with its professed purpose, and he reinforces this call with the use of direct audience address through the use of the word 'you'.

Using the direct second-person pronoun gives the impression that Murry knows his readers almost personally. He writes to his audience, 'You will meet with many names you know in this magazine. Probably you will buy it because you have learned to trust in one or the other of them'.[588] In this case, he presumes to know not only which writers his readers like, but also their reasons for buying the magazine. Later, he attempts to create a similar intimacy, this time through expressing different ways of belief:

> You may simply believe that life, as it is, squalor lit by sudden splendours, splendour darkened by sudden squalors, is in itself glorious and enchanting and beautiful. Or you may believe that life as it is is terrible, a mere caricature of the splendid thing it might be. Or you may believe that the truth is precious and the lie is hateful beyond all other earthly things we know. Or you may believe that literature and music and painting at their pinnacle reveal to us Pisgah sights of a mode of existence more perfect and more candid than our own, a world we might inhabit, if only our minds would suddenly slip sideways across the thin abyss.[589]

This list of potential beliefs is long, and it is likely that at least one item on the list could apply to any reader of the *Adelphi*, which undoubtedly was Murry's intention. However, it also implies a community of believers, for any one reader of this editorial is reminded by the list format that there are others reading this magazine who might conform to a certain method of belief. Further, the use of the direct 'you' rather than the indirect 'some' or 'others' simulates spoken dialogue, and creates the impression that the *Adelphi* is more personal than other more critical periodicals. This use of the personal pronoun also continues to break down any perceived barriers between the editor of the *Adelphi* and his readers, suggesting that he is

[588] Ibid.
[589] Ibid., p. 7.

speaking directly to them as though in conversation, reinforcing the perception of the magazine as a transparent, dialogic, and truthful publication.

This presumed intimacy with his audience is reinforced by Murry's own confession that he has 'given myself away'.[590] This two-way practice of honesty between audience and editor becomes an identifying feature of the periodical, as well as the subject of criticism from external reviewers, as will be discussed later in this chapter. In 'The Cause of It All', Murry establishes a sort of contract with his audience, writing, 'I don't want people to buy this magazine under false pretences. I want them to have an inkling of the kind of thing they may expect to find in it'.[591] His intended policy of honesty and its effect of editorial openness may seem overly direct when compared to the more distanced voice of his writing in the *Athenaeum*, but it also makes it clear to readers of the *Adelphi* – readers whose interest and loyalty Murry, in this first issue, needs to ensure – that he is willing to enter into an agreement with them: if they are honest with him, expressing their true feelings when they write to the magazine, then he will be honest with them and deliver a publication with no ulterior motives other than those that are clearly stated on its pages.

The attempted cultivation of a mutually honest relationship between magazine and audience is also evident in the open way in which Murry discusses money in his first editorial. At first, he uses financial language metaphorically. He writes, 'We believe in life. Just that. And to reach that belief, to hold it firm and unshakeable, has been no easy matter for some of us. We have paid for it'.[592] He does not explain what he means by this, but he goes on to use the phrase again: 'what we write with our pens in this magazine will have been paid for, honestly, by our lives, in the world of experience'.[593] Notably, in the next paragraph, he abandons symbolic language and writes about the *Adelphi* as a commodity, telling his

[590] Ibid., p. 9.
[591] Ibid.
[592] Ibid., p. 5.
[593] Ibid.

readers that they will be familiar with many writers in the magazine and that 'probably you will buy it because you have learned to trust in one or other of them'.[594] Murry's deliberate use of the word 'buy' rather than 'read' indicates that he is not interested in pretending that people will not have to make a financial decision to acquire the *Adelphi*. This word choice reinforces Murry's already-established policy of honesty, and, on a deeper level, reveals his subversion of the expectations of a typical literary review, which, like the modernist writers they published, publicly 'disclaim[ed] interest in money' to mark them out as non-commercial periodicals.[595] This first editorial illustrates the fact that the *Adelphi*'s aim is not to be taken seriously by critics; rather, it intends to be a platform for individual expression, as exhibited by the fact that Murry is willing to risk the *Adelphi*'s literary reputation by favouring language and content which characterise the magazine as valuing its relationship with its readers over its critical reception.

Throughout his editorship of the *Adelphi*, Murry uses his transparent relationship with his readers to request their financial support, often, as he did during his previous editorships, by appealing to their morality. In one particular example from his first editorial, he attempts to influence his readers' decisions to buy the *Adelphi* by asking them to respect the efforts of the magazine's writers by supporting their work. He writes about the *Adelphi*'s contributors:

> each one of these people whose name is familiar to you will have made a sacrifice by writing for The Adelphi. The writers, because they can make far more money by writing elsewhere, the men of science in that they turn aside from their researches to expound their ideas to those who are not familiar with them.[596]

[594] Ibid.
[595] Wexler, p. xv.
[596] 'The Cause of It All', p. 5.

Again, Murry employs the direct 'you' to call upon readers individually, and the effect is to present each reader of the *Adelphi* with the opportunity to be a patron of the artistic and scientific work promoted in the magazine. Further, the use of the word 'sacrifice' carries obvious religion connotations, bringing to mind Jesus's crucifixion and challenging the *Adelphi*'s readers to exhibit their faith for the cause of the magazine and the truth it delivers. Murry also echoes language that was used in World War I poetry. For example, William Noel Hodgson's poem 'Before Action' describes those who were offered as a 'fresh and sanguine sacrifice' for their country, while Ella Wheeler Wilcox's poem 'War Mothers' focuses on those who were 'forced by war | To sacrifice the things worth living for'.[597] The connection to these specific appearances of the word was likely not deliberate, but it is important to note that the word conveys a sense of duty, whether to one's faith, one's country, or, in this case, to one's monthly literary periodical. Similarly to the appeals of his previous editorships, here Murry presents his readers' support of their favourite contributors as an act of duty and morality, implying that buying the magazine would be an objective good on the scale of sacrificing everything during a war. Further, his appeal to his readers to match the work of the magazine's contributors by equalling their 'sacrifice' places the readers and contributors of the magazine on equal footing and implies that the audience is just as important to the *Adelphi* as its writers.

This manipulation of financial and moral language in order to promote sales is evidence of the complexity of Murry's created editor-audience relationship, and exhibits the implementation of the knowledge he gained throughout his previous editorships. Although he demands honesty from readers and seems to reciprocate with his own apparently truthful information about the magazine, he also uses indirect tactics to stir in his readers a sense of

[597] William Noel Hodgson, 'Before Action', in *The Winter of the World: Poems of the Great War*, ed. by Dominic Hibberd and John Onions (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd., 2007), no. 89, l. 20. Google ebook; Ella Wheeler Wilcox, 'War Mothers', *Poetry Foundation*, ll. 22–23 <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/57317/war-mothers> [accessed 9 April 2019].

morality in order to secure the *Adelphi*'s stability. His previous editorships employed the same method. In *Rhythm*'s 'What We Have Tried to Do', Murry writes that 'The men who try to do something new for the most part starve. They can only win to success by unity, by helping their best friends and neglecting petty differences'.[598] In this example, he attempts to unite his readers under the common cause of 'revitalising art' and calls them 'friends', enacting the same sort of imagined relationship between editor and audience that he will refine in the *Adelphi*.[599] The *Athenaeum* features similar appeals to readers' senses of loyalty. For example, in 'Prologue', Murry sets his review apart from what he perceives to be sell-out periodicals which only publish popular content, writing, 'Those who stoop to declare *vox populi, vox dei* […] insult their deity, their people and themselves'.[600] His implication is that his readers should do their bit to preserve literature by supporting the *Athenaeum*, which would never stoop to 'insult' the name of literary criticism by lowering its standards to make itself more popular. Frederick Hoffman, Charles Allen, and Carolyn Ulrich point out the *Adelphi*'s first issue in particular for displaying 'the continuity of Murry's thought, for there are reminiscences in it of his earlier editorial expressions in other English reviews'.[601] Certainly, Murry uses the tactics that he learned from his previous editorships to communicate with his audiences in the *Adelphi*, including appealing to his readers' devotion to the cause of literary magazines, and to the *Adelphi* in particular.

One component of Murry's devotional appeals is his promotion of his magazines as spiritual items. In 'The Cause of It All', he blurs the worldly financial business of the magazine with the *Adelphi*'s spiritual mission, writing, 'This magazine is run neither by capital nor by charity nor by advertisement, but by a belief in life'.[602] This statement gives him another plane of morality on which to appeal to an audience: through the idea of

[598] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36.
[599] Ibid.
[600] 'Prologue', pp. 130–31.
[601] Hoffman, Allen, and Ulrich, p. 386.
[602] 'The Cause of It All', p. 6.

defending one's faith. He rallies his readers around their shared belief in life, writing, 'We have to fight for it. We know it is worth fighting for, the only thing worth fighting for. We fight in our own way with our pens'.[603] This militaristic language implies a crusade-like mission, and his language is intended to rally his readers to action through encouraging them to purchase the magazine and to contribute to the *Adelphi*'s community by writing about it and for it. Further, it aligns with Murry's use of militaristic language in his previous editorships to encourage action from his readers, such as when he writes in *Rhythm* about 'the men for whom we fight, and who by their creations fight for us, in the battle for expression in which we are engaged'.[604] Similarly, in the *Athenaeum*, he demands 'allegiance' to the 'sterner morality' from the artistic elite.[605] These examples reinforce the fact that even though the *Adelphi*'s identity is significantly different from those of the other periodicals he edited, the magazine still displays the techniques he developed throughout his previous editorships.

Often, these calls to action are present in the articles which Murry signs with his title 'The Editor' rather than his name. From July 1926, in an obvious stylistic change, all editorials are signed by 'The Editor', but until that point, his use of the title 'The Editor' in certain situations conveys his authority, knowledge, and ownership of the magazine, and these editorials almost always concern the financial state of the *Adelphi*. These editorials, of which there were only a handful during the *Adelphi*'s first four years, display Murry's willingness to assume the title of editor for the specific purpose of convincing an audience that the magazine needs its readers' support to carry on.

The first one was published in February 1925, and his blending of professional and personal language is an indication that he is willing to plead for support using a number of tactics. Titled 'Pro Domo Mea', Latin for 'For My House', the editorial casts Murry as the father figure of the family of the *Adelphi*'s readers. The editorial's title likely comes from the

[603] Ibid., p. 5.
[604] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36.
[605] 'Prologue', p. 131.

Roman writer Cicero's speech *De domo sua*, in which Cicero tries to convince the senate to give him back his home after his return from exile.[606] The potential connection to a Roman philosopher and, more fundamentally, the use of a Latin title elevates the importance of this editorial even from first glance, and Murry's employment of the title 'The Editor' rather than his name makes it clear to the audience that this piece is different from, and more important than, the magazine's other introductory articles.

Murry begins the editorial by announcing that he 'must interrupt the story of Keats's poetic life for more immediate concerns'.[607] It sounds as though he is making an editorial decision to cut a regular contributor's piece when, in fact, he is only interrupting his own series of editorials about Keats. His readers know that he is the writer of both; it is the piece's signature that indicates that in writing this editorial, Murry is wearing not the hat of the critic, but of the editor. The concerns that he presents in this article are financial, and he writes transparently about the editorial decisions required to manage the *Adelphi*. Exemplifying the magazine's particularly dialogic reader-editor relationship, he expresses his personal concerns about and hopes for the periodical, and he elevates his readers' involvement in the magazine by making it clear that it is their job to sustain the *Adelphi*. Even when Murry chooses to use his title instead of his name, a decision that may seem to establish a hierarchical separation between the audience and the unnamed editor, he continues to cultivate a personal and, in this case, collaborative relationship with his readers.

One notable syntactic feature of this editorial is that Murry does not use the editorial 'we' in this piece; he uses 'I' as a representation of himself as the editor, indicating that he alone is responsible for the magazine. He writes:

[606] Anders Lisdorf, 'The Conflict over Cicero's House: An Analysis of the Ritual Element in "De Domo Sua"', *Numen*, 52.4 (2005), 445–64 (p. 448).
[607] 'Pro Domo Mea', p. 722.

> I hope that the position has been made clear. I want, and must have, a reasonable measure of certainty, completely apart from revenue for advertisements which The Adelphi may or may not receive. I must know definitely where I stand and know it without delay. I do not want donations. I am in the position of a man who desires to sell a commodity which gives him so much satisfaction to produce that he is content to forgo all thought of profit. I wish to establish a quite simple buyer-seller relation with a faithful clientele.[608]

Notably, every sentence quoted above begins with 'I', indicating that on some level, Murry is calling upon his readers for personal support. Rather than presenting himself as an editor who is concerned about the fate of his periodical because something will be lost if the *Adelphi* does not continue to exist, he provides his own satisfaction as a reason for the continuation of the magazine, implying that readers have come to associate the magazine primarily with him. Further, referring to the readers of the *Adelphi* as 'faithful' buyers and to himself as a seller introduces a moral aspect to the act of supporting the magazine.[609] Murry casts himself as the saintly editor who wants no handouts and will even 'forgo all thought of profit' for the sake of his magazine. This image of his own moral superiority is reinforced by his use of the market language of buying and selling, the presence of which reminds a reader, as it does in the *Adelphi*'s first editorial, that Murry is not an editor who will forget that his magazine is a commodity. This complex presentation of himself both as seller and as a man who simply wants to convey a message through his magazine exhibits just how confident he has become navigating his editorial role. Unlike his previous editorships, which veiled, however thinly, the commercial realities of his magazines behind their intellectual and moral value, Murry recognises in the *Adelphi* that speaking plainly about the fact that the magazine is a commercial product can only increase his readers' positive perceptions of the magazine and of himself as an honest editor. He eliminates the potential discomfort of discussing the

[608] Ibid., pp. 723–24.
[609] Ibid., p. 724.

financial situation of the magazine by addressing it directly, exhibiting his confidence as an editor and as a navigator of the commercial market.

Murry continues to use honest, personal language in this editorial when he expresses how helpful the *Adelphi* has been in the formation of his own faith, and, in an example of another marketing tactic, he makes a projection about the direction of the magazine and encourages his readers to secure the *Adelphi*'s future so they can experience it together. He writes:

> The Adelphi itself, in more ways than are obvious, has helped to change the vague and unformed faith with which I began it into deep and secure convictions; and, for my own part, I should like to be able henceforward to use The Adelphi not, as in the past, to assert, but to define and justify those convictions, and to make it a meeting-ground for those who seem to me to be working, consciously or unconsciously, as thinkers or artists, to the end that these convictions may prevail.[610]

This voicing of a change in mission for the *Adelphi* – to 'define and justify' rather than to 'assert' – is a clear statement that the *Adelphi* depends on community and dialogue rather than the 'assert[ive]' commands of its editor. Murry's vision for the magazine as a 'meeting-ground' is a reassertion of its democratic values, and his declaration that the *Adelphi* helped him to solidify his own beliefs is an endorsement for the impact of the magazine and a justification for its survival.

In this editorial, Murry encourages support for his magazine on a number of levels, including an appeal to the emotions and loyalty of his readers. He reveals private information in the *Adelphi*, treats his readers as though they know him personally, and casts himself as the magazine's only editorial member, and while such decisions could be – and have been – perceived as a reinforcement of what Goldie describes as Murry's 'careless disregard' for the

[610] Ibid.

established hierarchy of the periodical market, they are also markers of his success in creating a 'faithful clientele' amongst the *Adelphi*'s readership.[611] Enacting these editorial practices prevents Murry from being characterised as the 'good editor' he was of the *Athenaeum*, but, as he expresses himself, being a 'good editor' is no longer his goal. Rather, he uses the *Adelphi* to cultivate the image of a new brand of editor, one who is honest about his magazine's circumstances and who values the creation of a periodical community more than its critical content.

'[M]y colleague, the Editor': Real Dialogue, Imagined Community

The complex implications of Murry's use – or lack of use – of the title 'Editor' are particularly evident in two regular *Adelphi* features: the 'Contributors' Club' and the Journeyman's regular segment. The 'Contributors' Club' was a space for the *Adelphi*'s writers to review books and comment on plays or other recent events, and to react to reviews of their own works. The Journeyman – a Murry pseudonym – segment was a space, like his editorials, for that regular eponymous contributor to write about any topic of interest, and it sometimes included responses to readers' letters, as discussed in the '"[H]ere I shall tell our readers what we expect from them"' section of this chapter. Both features ran in every issue of the first four volumes of the *Adelphi*, and both provide a space for Murry to contribute to the magazine in apparent anonymity. These sections also serve as examples of the vibrant dialogue that existed between him, the contributors, and the audience, and they reveal the ways in which he manipulated that dialogue to make the magazine more attractive to readers.

This section first discusses the Journeyman, a voice that Goldie writes was a 'thinly veiled disguise' for Murry's.[612] In the Journeyman contributions, Murry's attempts to create dialogue between fabricated voices illustrate his construction of a community, not just

[611] Goldie, p. 188; 'Pro Domo Mea', p. 724.
[612] Goldie, p. 94.

amongst *Adelphi* readers, but also amongst real and imagined contributors. Eric Bulson, alluding to Benedict Anderson, writes about the ability of the magazine form to 'create a real and imagined community of writers, critics, and readers', and the Journeyman contributions reveal one of these imagined communities in action.[613] Murry establishes this community by using one of his written voices, that of the Journeyman, to refer to another, that of the Editor. For example, in January 1924, the Journeyman begins his segment by writing, 'Sometimes my colleague, the Editor, allows me a glimpse of his articles. More exactly, sometimes, when I call in at the office, I am required to read his proof. [S]o it happened this month'.[614] The proof that the Journeyman has been 'required' to read this month is January's opening editorial, 'Religion and Christianity'. This Journeyman article serves as an opportunity for Murry to bookend the issue with his thoughts about a particular topic while giving the impression that two different writers have focussed on the same subject. The Journeyman even objects to 'Mr. Murry' in some respects, displaying Murry's commitment to maintaining the appearance that the two articles were written by different contributors. In reality, this segment is an expansion of his editorial, giving him extra space to express his thoughts as well as the opportunity to create the impression of a strong internal magazine community.[615]

The Journeyman segment is usually the last full-length contribution to the *Adelphi*, meaning that each issue begins and ends with Murry's voice. Considering the *Adelphi*'s frequent financial trouble, it is likely that this arrangement was based on the fact that it was cheaper to fill the space himself than to pay someone else to do it. However, it is also possible that Murry chose to monopolise page space to ensure that his views were the ones that readers encountered most frequently. It has been suggested in recent scholarship that this is the case. Kathleen Jones refers to the *Adelphi* as 'the mouthpiece of its editor', while Peter

[613] Bulson, 'Little Magazine, World Form', p. 18.
[614] The Journeyman [Murry], 'On Standing Alone', The *Adelphi*, 1.8 (January 1924), 749–53 (p. 749).
[615] Ibid., p. 751.

Brooker and Andrew Thacker write that Murry 'dominated the contents and tone of *The Adelphi*'.[616] Murry's voice is certainly, and perhaps even overwhelmingly, present on the pages of the *Adelphi*. However, this chapter maintains that the magazine's purpose was not solely to broadcast as many of its editor's thoughts as possible; rather, his disguised dialogues with himself were intended to generate reader interest through reinforcing the image of the *Adelphi*'s tight-knit contributors' community and through creating debate to attract readers and encourage their involvement.

The *Adelphi*'s other contributors also reinforced the Journeyman's anonymity. In May 1926's issue, the Journeyman writes at the end of his regular contribution that 'The Editor has handed me the following letter' from H. G. Wells, who frequently wrote for the 'Contributors' Club'. Wells's letter objects to a previous Journeyman article, and states, 'The Journeyman, who appears in a more than usually befuddled state in your April issue, mixes Jesus, Shakespeare, the Bishop of Gloucester and myself in a discourse which emerges with something incoherently condemnatory of the Bishop and myself'.[617] The layers of communication revealed here are noteworthy: Wells writes to the editor criticising the voice of a contributor who is actually the editor in disguise, and Murry, similarly to how he published criticism of the *Athenaeum* in its 'Correspondence' section, publishes Wells's letter as an illustration of how, even when the *Adelphi*'s writers criticise each other, they still engage in open and constructive dialogue. This practice of transparency allows readers insight into the inner workings of the magazine community and promotes audience interest through the debate. Further, this letter reveals how Murry is constantly promoting his editorial image. While the conversation is between Wells and the Journeyman, the impression is that the editor, as the letter deliverer, has also been involved, and the image of the editor presented, however briefly, is one of connector and dialogue-promoter. Not only, then, do the

[616] Jones, p. 172; Peter Brooker and Andrew Thacker, 'VI. Editors and Programmes: Introduction', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History*, pp. 339–45 (p. 343).
[617] The Journeyman [Murry], 'A Protest from Mr. H. G. Wells', The *Adelphi*, 3.12 (May 1926), 831–32 (p. 831).

Journeyman's references to the editor promote a vibrant impression of the magazine's internal community, but they also cast Murry in a positive light and reinforce the fact that even if he chooses not to use the title of Editor to describe himself, his 'staff' do, implying that those who work – or appear to work – for Murry consider him worthy of the title and of respect. As Bulson suggests, the magazine form, with its ability to promote dialogue by and about regular contributors, sustains an imagined community that appeared lively to an audience in order to promote the *Adelphi*'s reputation as an exciting and dialogue-oriented magazine.

In addition to writing the Journeyman's segment, Murry was also an active player in the 'Contributor's Club' throughout the *Adelphi*'s first four years, sometimes using the Journeyman name and other times using his old *Athenaeum* pseudonym Henry King. This segment reveals that the magazine had an active and communicative group of writers and readers who engaged in dialogue, and that it had an editor who promoted such exchanges by devoting space to them. For example, in September 1924, Sarah Gertrude Millin, who contributed short stories to the *Adelphi*, writes a response to a Journeyman segment from several months before. She never names him, but calls him 'one of the contributors', and she writes that while she admires his attempts in his article to explain 'why the writer writes', he left out the fact that often the explanation can be found by going back to one's childhood.[618] Whether or not Millin knew that the Journeyman was actually the editor, their public dialogue presents an image of a writing community which values active discussion and supportive criticism.

In the *Adelphi*, reader-contributor dialogue was as important as inter-contributor discussion, as exhibited in June 1924. In this issue's 'Multum in Parvo' section, the writer 'W. J. L.' responds to a regular *Adelphi* segment called 'From a Miner's Journal'. The writer

[618] Sarah Gertrude Millin, 'Why the Writer Writes', in 'The Contributors' Club', The *Adelphi*, 2.4 (September 1924), 334–36 (p. 334).

doubts the authenticity of the author's, Roger Dataller's, identity, and calls for the *Adelphi* to remember its stated purpose 'to portray life as it is'.[619] (In fact, Dataller was the pseudonym of the writer Arthur Eaglestone, but the magazine never reveals this fact.) W. J. L.'s contribution runs alongside a discussion of two workers' unions and an anonymously authored paragraph setting the humorous scene of a royal visit. This placement gives no particular elevation to W. J. L.'s letter; rather, it incorporates it into a regular section of the magazine, placing it on a par with its neighbouring contributions and presenting it as an integral part of the periodical's content. In the following issue, Dataller responds to W. J. L., writing 'A Rejoinder' in the 'Contributors' Club' and defending his perceptions of miners and their work.[620] In the 'Contributors' Club' and 'Multum in Parvo' exist many similar examples of dialogue giving praise and criticism, some of which are responded to and others of which stand unchallenged. The fact that regular contributors, such as Dataller, and one-time writers-in, such as W. J. L., alike have an opportunity to present their opinions on the pages of the *Adelphi* reinforces Murry's claims about the importance of the *Adelphi*'s active audience and strengthens the magazine's attractiveness to those who, like him, were eager to seek fellowship through the pages of the periodical.

Goldie writes that one of Murry's particular goals with the *Adelphi* was 'to stimulate debate', and that the 'disputative "Contributors' Club"' was one of the ways in which Murry went 'out of his way to solicit controversy'.[621] Goldie further suggests that these attempts to create debate 'are either manifestations of a rebarbative egotism or an appealing humility' on Murry's part.[622] It has been the aim of this section to demonstrate that neither is the case; rather, Murry's invitation to his audience to critique and comment on his magazine's content is one of the many ways in which he put what he learned during his previous editorships into

[619] W. J. L., 'The Miner's Attitude', in 'Multum in Parvo', The *Adelphi*, 2.1 (June 1924), 78–79 (p. 78).
[620] Roger Dataller, 'The Miner's Attitude – A Rejoinder', in 'The Contributors' Club', The *Adelphi*, 2.2 (July 1924), 153–55.
[621] Goldie, p. 130.
[622] Ibid., p. 131.

practice with the *Adelphi*. Exhibiting his ability to discern which editorial techniques are most effective for particular audiences, he designates space in the *Adelphi* for dialogue between readers and contributors, similarly to the 'Correspondence' section in the *Athenaeum*. This facilitation of dialogue was not, as Goldie suggests, for the sake of debate, but was intended to make his magazine more attractive to the audience he cultivated through his careful attention to its tastes.

'[H]ere I shall tell our readers what we expect from them': The *Adelphi*'s Active Audience

From the *Adelphi*'s first issue, active audience participation was demanded rather than suggested. Unlike other periodicals, such as the *Athenaeum* and its rival the *London Mercury*, the *Adelphi* featured no correspondence section. 'Multum in Parvo' was for readers to write in to the magazine, but it was not intended to facilitate dialogue specifically between the editor and his audience. Rather, in the *Adelphi*, the audience's input was most often discussed in Murry's editorials, or responded to in the Journeyman's regular segment. Integrating readers' letters into the core contributions of the magazine instead of separating them into a designated section suggests a reaction against what Jason Harding calls 'a sensitivity and consciousness of caste [which] was a defining trait of the cadres, cabals, and coteries that coloured inter-war literary journalism'.[623] True to its democratising mission, the *Adelphi* offered readers the chance to be published and responded to alongside the magazine's regular contributors, breaking down the distinction between established staff writers and those who occasionally write in.

Some of the best examples of this particularly dialogic type of audience engagement come from the Journeyman's regular section. Appearing at the end of each issue, the segment

[623] Harding, p. 3.

served as a sort of bookend along with the editorials at the beginning and, as discussed in the previous section, allowed Murry to start and end each issue with his own voice. Often, the Journeyman's segment is a response to a reader's letter, illustrating how formative readers' opinions were to the content of the *Adelphi*. For example, the December 1923 Journeyman article begins, 'Someone has written to me and called me "damnably inhuman"', and in the article, titled 'On Inhumanity', the Journeyman uses this letter as a starting point to discuss freedom and existence.[624] Similarly, in March 1924, the Journeyman responds to a letter that asked him 'Why then do you write?'[625] This integration of readers' letters into the magazine's main sections indicates that the average reader has the capability to contribute with more than a letter on a correspondence page; rather, a letter to the *Adelphi* could shape the direction of the issue, and could spark a contribution-length response from a writer.

This influential and, to use Hauser's term, 'empowered' role of readers seems to have been an integral part of Murry's vision for the magazine.[626] In the first issue, he writes:

> Here I shall reply to people who criticize; and here I shall tell our readers what we expect from them. I dare say it will be a great deal. If they do us the honour of expecting a great deal from us, it is only right that we should retaliate.[627]

Murry makes it clear that the relationship between the magazine and its readers will be a reciprocally beneficial one, and, crucially, an active one. He does not say that he expects much from contributors; rather, it is his readers from whom he demands 'a great deal', indicating that they will be expected to play a dynamic role in the formation and continuation of the *Adelphi*.

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[624] The Journeyman [Murry], 'On Inhumanity', The *Adelphi*, 1.7 (December 1923), 632–40 (p. 632).
[625] The Journeyman [Murry], 'Why Do I Write?', The *Adelphi*, 1.10 (March 1924), 930–34 (p. 930).
[626] Hauser, p. 51.
[627] 'The Cause of It All', p. 10.

The dialogue through which Murry and the other contributors engage with the magazine's readers is a reaction against a more exclusive model of literary review and demonstrates how he cultivated the community of readers that was so crucial to the *Adelphi*'s identity. In *Imagined Communities*, Anderson writes that 'Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined'.[628] This observation is key to understanding the *Adelphi*'s uniqueness as a periodical because of the efforts its editor made to encourage a sense of connectedness not only between its audience and contributors, but also amongst its readers. In an expression of precisely this sort of community formation, Anderson affirms that particular communities form amongst readers of the same literature. He writes that the act of reading a text

> is performed in silent privacy, in the lair of the skull. Yet each communicant is well aware that the ceremony he performs is being replicated simultaneously by thousands (or millions) of others of whose existence he is confident, yet of whose identity he has not the slightest notion.[629]

Anderson uses the example of a newspaper's large readership, but the same phenomenon is true of the *Adelphi*, particularly because the magazine's readers would have been aware of each other due to their active participation on the pages of the magazine and through Murry's frequent addresses to his audience. Similarly to the 'Correspondence' section in the *Athenaeum*, in the *Adelphi*, Murry strips away the anonymity of the reading experience and makes his readers actively aware of each other. The effect of such efforts is twofold: publishing letters from readers and commenting on them provides him with an opportunity to position himself and his magazine in certain ways in response to praise or criticism, enhancing the magazine's reputation. Secondly, it gives his audience an impression of who is

[628] Benedict Anderson, p. 6.
[629] Ibid., p. 35.

reading and writing to the *Adelphi*, and simultaneously serves as an invitation for new readers to subscribe and join the community.

An example of both effects is evident in the *Adelphi*'s third issue, in which Murry prints a letter from the Westminster Catholic Association in which the organisation objects to a contribution by Lawrence published in the previous issue. Not only does this letter provide Murry with an opportunity to defend his magazine, but it also gives him a platform from which to cultivate a sense of community amongst his readers through his expressed preference for maintaining relationships with individuals rather than with organisations made up of anonymous members.

In response to the letter, Murry defends the *Adelphi* by emphasising its uniqueness in a market of what he disparagingly labels 'responsible reviews'. About his own magazine, he writes:

> For indeed it is not [a responsible review], if that upholstered phrase means what it seems in practice to mean. A 'responsible review' – as far as my experience goes – is one that takes care not to offend anybody; and the only way to offend nobody is to be nothing and to say nothing. In which the 'responsible review' is generally successful.[630]

He grounds his defence of his magazine in free expression. His implication is that if readers do not like the *Adelphi*, they can take their business elsewhere. It is a tactic Murry has used before. The month before, he wrote unapologetically that 'The contents of The Adelphi will always be "lower-grade" to those who found the contents of the first number "lower-grade". We were born like that'.[631] Both pronouncements are similar to what he writes in *Rhythm* about certain readers being 'in love with the print and the paper', in response to which he

[630] John Middleton Murry, 'Religion and Faith', The *Adelphi*, 1.3 (August 1923), 177–84 (p. 178).
[631] 'A Month After', p. 98.

asserts, 'We have no use for them'.[632] In risking alienating some readers who might not agree with his magazines' content, Murry implies that his periodicals retain the moral high ground; if he loses a reader because that reader cannot see the value of the magazine in question, then it is the reader's loss. By expressing what the *Adelphi* is not, Murry provides a clue to what the magazine is: a publication that will not apologise for content with which some might disagree.

It seems that such a statement might weaken the *Adelphi*'s mission to promote community and democracy; however, just as the *Athenaeum*'s seemingly selective aristocracy was a marketing pose to attract more readers, this *Adelphi* defence reinforces the communal tenets of the journal by emphasising the strength of its already existing community. Further, through expressing how the journal will not apologise for displeasing certain readers, Murry makes the original complaints of those readers public, providing his readers with a chance to judge the situation for themselves. In this instance, he paraphrases the original letter from the Westminster Catholic Association, and writes in his editorial, 'I can never take associations, federations, leagues, committees, societies, academies, and other bodies corporate quite seriously. They are so depersonalized that they seem to lose half the quality of real existence'.[633] While this might seem to be a sweeping generalisation intended to undermine the organisation's original critique, Murry's concerns with 'depersonalized' organisations that seem to lack 'real existence' reveal a deeper preoccupation with the preservation of individuality, and they emphasise the value he places on the *Adelphi*'s community.

Lawrence's 1924 letter about the seed as 'an absolute individual' is only one of several instances in which he and Murry discussed individuality.[634] In 1915, when Murry visited Lawrence at Greatham and the two were tentatively planning the pamphlet that would become the *Signature*, Murry recorded in his journal that he and Lawrence decided that in

[632] 'What We Have Tried to Do', p. 36.
[633] 'Religion and Faith', p. 178.
[634] Letter from Lawrence to Murry, 17 September 1923, in *The Letters of D. H. Lawrence*, p. 500.

this new publication, 'the revolution [should] be expounded by us individually'.[635] The use of the word 'individually' is crucial because of what it signifies – that Murry and Lawrence will express their honest, personal opinions about the War and society – and for what it does not – that the views expressed in the publication will not be aligned with any existing organisation, association, or religion. In Murry's contributions to the *Signature*, his ideas about the beauty of art are pitted against images of the 'mechanical process' and the 'fighting-machine' of war, descriptions that imply that war eliminates the possibility of acting as an individual.[636] Again, in a draft of his editorial notes to Mansfield's letters (date unknown), he presents war and the individual as opposites, writing, 'the only power which will ever put an end to wars is love between individual men and individual women'.[637] For Murry, the individual is synonymous with humanity, freedom, and art, as opposed to war, which is representative of impersonal machinery, the loss of freedom, and death.

Murry comes to understand critical literary reviews as representing the same sort of mechanisation that he once attributed to war. In 1926, he writes in the *Adelphi* that 'a growing movement towards an intellectualized and esoteric art is in being. It is the mere mechanical antithesis of vulgarization, and therefore no less vulgar than its opposite'.[638] This statement is a reaction against criticism and literature that is inaccessible to the public and, to maintain its 'intellectualized' identity, is intended only for the select few. Murry condemns this type of criticism, which is cut off from the world and from public dialogue, as 'mechanical', and determines therefore that it is no better than any mass-produced writing that resists individual expression. He articulates his desire to protect individuality in art throughout his career, and he perhaps best sums up his thoughts on the matter in a journal entry from 1917: 'surface cleverness is certainly one of the more clamant literary diseases of

[635] Journal entry, 12 February 1915, ATL, MS-papers-11327-001.
[636] 'There Was a Little Man, I', pp. 27, 28.
[637] From Murry's editorial notes for Mansfield's 'Letters', ATL, MS-papers-11327-001.
[638] 'The Fourth Year', p. 8.

my generation. That is at most ornament; unless it decorates a sound substructure of individual thought or vision it is wicked'.[639] Through opposing 'individual thought' to 'surface cleverness', Murry implies that individuality signifies depth, integrity, and truth. He views individuality as the defining characteristic of good writing and art, and he continues to refine his understandings of it in the *Adelphi* in his response to the Westminster Catholics.

Alongside the Westminster Catholic Association letter, Murry prints a second letter that, like the first, objects to Lawrence's contribution in the previous issue. However, a single reader, rather than an entire association, wrote the second letter, and rather than restating the *Adelphi*'s commitment to being different from 'responsible reviews', Murry responds in a strikingly different way. About the author of the second letter, he writes, '[t]o alienate such a reader would be for me a personal disaster. I can do no less than try to explain'.[640] His responses to these two letters present an interesting contrast. The *Adelphi* is unwilling to apologise for alienating those readers who represent an organisation and as such seem to Murry to be inauthentic or inhuman. However, towards those individuals who express, as Murry describes the writing of the second letter, 'simple sincerity', he feels a sense of responsibility.[641] He does not want to push these readers away, and so he addresses them personally to illustrate their importance to the *Adelphi*'s community. These two letters demonstrate the fact that the magazine does not aim to please everyone, but it does intend to respond and explain itself to those who, in expressing their own forms of spirituality, might not agree with those presented in the magazine. The *Adelphi*, then, welcomes those who actively participate in the dialogue of the journal, even if they do not agree with the magazine's content, suggesting that Murry is more interested in maintaining his magazine's

[639] Journal entry, 30 March 1917, ATL, MS-papers-11327-001.
[640] 'Religion and Faith', p. 179.
[641] Ibid.

reputation as a communal space rather than as what he disdainfully calls a 'responsible review'.[642]

At the end of the editorial, Murry attempts to strike a balance between potentially causing offense to readers and celebrating the *Adelphi*'s commitment to publishing the truth, even if it is unpopular. He writes:

> I am sorry that anything in this magazine should have given pain to one who has both religion and faith. I am sorry, too, that I cannot promise it shall never happen again […] It must be left to the future to decide whether I shall live for ever wholly in a world of my own.[643]

This last sentence presents a sort of challenge to readers and reveals Murry's confidence in his own abilities as an editor: those readers who disagree with his ideas about spirituality and freedom of expression could stop subscribing to the *Adelphi* and, in exiting the community of the magazine, take the first step towards their own version of the lonely world which Murry describes. However, their second option is to continue reading the *Adelphi* to see how the debate plays out and to perhaps take part in it themselves. Murry promotes this option by assuring these readers that he will respond to them respectfully as long as they are sincere. This editorial exhibits his commitment to ensuring that his readers' opinions are heard, even if they are opposed to his own. It is also evidence of his editorial confidence, which is displayed by the fact that he refuses to change the way his periodical functions, even at the risk of losing readers.

In August 1925, Murry uses his editorial to address two more letters from readers, which he says are 'important […] sincere and serious'.[644] He uses the same word, 'sincere', in 1923 to describe the second letter in 'Religion and Faith', reinforcing the *Adelphi*'s

[642] Ibid., p. 178.
[643] Ibid., p. 184.
[644] John Middleton Murry, 'Science and "The Control of Life"', The *Adelphi*, 3.3 (August 1925), 155–66 (p. 159).

commitment to transparency and, as implied by the use of this word in particular reference to readers' letters, to publishing works that express the honest emotions of their authors. These two 1925 letters criticise Murry's recent writings in the *Adelphi*, and he chooses to print them 'practically complete', displaying his willingness to present the thoughts of his readers even when they do not reflect positively on himself.[645] The objections of the two readers whose letters are presented here have to do with Murry's lack of acknowledgement of science in the *Adelphi*, and he responds with a practical answer that reveals his understanding of his role as an editor and of the *Adelphi*'s position in the market. His response, like his response to the Westminster Catholic Association, is one of defence. He writes:

> That science, as such, receives but little attention in these pages is true; but that is simply because I am incompetent to write about it myself, and because my various attempts to persuade men of science to write here have failed. I am not in the position of being able to go into the open market to buy (even if they were plentiful) scientific articles of the kind that I desire. I can only wait for them to come. They do not come.[646]

Although indirectly, Murry calls for action from readers and contributors through voicing his own inability to act. His 'various attempts' to commission such works have failed; now the responsibility of securing such contributions rests with those who have read this editorial. Further, he hints at the *Adelphi*'s financial constraints, suggesting that if the magazine made more money, perhaps he would be in the 'position' to go out 'into the open market to buy' scientific articles to publish. His implication is that if readers are dissatisfied because of the magazine's lack of scientific content, then they should consider financially supporting the *Adelphi* in order to remedy the situation. Through revealing the realities of the magazine's publication situation to explain its lack of scientific articles, Murry turns the blame upon

[645] Ibid., p. 155.
[646] Ibid., p. 160.

writers who do not submit their articles to the *Adelphi* and to readers who complain about there being no content but do not contribute the means with which Murry might procure it. Essentially, he suggests that loyalty to the *Adelphi* would solve the problem.

Similarly to 'Religion and Faith', this editorial's response to the two readers' letters expresses Murry's recognition that the *Adelphi* will not please everyone. Just as he feared in 1923 that he could not guarantee that the contents of the *Adelphi* would not offend some readers, in 1925 he anticipates his readers' negative reactions to his current editorial, writing, 'But for this, I am afraid, I shall be accused once more of despising science'.[647] Murry's seeming resignation to anticipated criticism indicates that he believes that his readers view him as an extension of the *Adelphi*: even though he has explained that the realities of publishing will not allow him to publish scientific articles, he still expects criticism not of the magazine, but of himself personally for 'despising science'. His writings for the *Adelphi* continually promote this strong association between the magazine and its editor. Unlike he did in *Rhythm* and the *Athenaeum*, he does not often use the editorial 'we' in the *Adelphi*; rather, like his writing for the *Signature*, his *Adelphi* writings are attributed solely to him rather than to an editorial team. This suggests that even though Murry's writing dismayed some of his contemporaries, such as Affable Hawk of the *New Statesman*, as will be discussed later in this chapter, Murry himself was a major point of attraction for many members of the *Adelphi*'s audience.

As this section has discussed, Murry's choices to print and respond to readers' letters in his editorials rather than in a separate correspondence section endows the *Adelphi*'s readers prominent status, for their letters are not only integrated into the regular content of the magazine, but they frequently shape the subjects of the editorials, as well. The textual integration of readers' letters into the magazine's contributions also means that they cannot

[647] Ibid., p. 165.

be left out. A reader could not skip the correspondence section in the *Adelphi* as they could with another periodical, such as the *London Mercury*; it is too woven into the fabric of each issue, elevating the status of the *Adelphi*'s readers and displaying the importance the *Adelphi* places on its active audience. This democratising arrangement sets the *Adelphi* apart from other periodicals, particularly, as Goldie points out, the *Criterion*. He writes:

> Where the *Adelphi* attempted to open itself to a broad swathe of middle-class and working-class experience, risking offence to literary good manners and taste in the process, the *Criterion* concerned itself more with applying the standards of an elite […] Where Murry was democratic, Eliot was hieratic: while Murry came more and more to believe that even religious values were achieved through the workings of consensus and fraternity, Eliot was appropriating a dogma in which all values were already given and required only sensitive adjudication.[648]

This comparison of Murry and Eliot highlights certain criticisms of Murry's writing, including his apparent disregard for 'taste' and his growing interest in religion, which were also addressed by contemporary publications, as will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. However, it is likely that Murry's readers equated his magazine primarily with his name and with his role as its editor. As such, even though his fellow writers may have been shocked by his rejection of accepted literary standards, his readers were receptive to the moralistic and spiritual beliefs with which his name and the *Adelphi* came to be associated.

'[W]ilful individualism and whimsies': The *Adelphi* in Contemporary Periodicals

The initial critical response to Murry's new periodical was one of cautious optimism. Undoubtedly, his fellow writers were eager to see what the editor of the *Athenaeum* would do with the *Adelphi*, in spite of the new magazine's jarringly confessional style. In July 1923,

[648] Goldie, p. 132.

the *Spectator* applauded the appearance of Mansfield's journal and poetry in the *Adelphi*'s second issue, withheld judgment on Lawrence's 'curious' contribution 'Sex and Education', and was hesitant to criticise Murry because others seemed to have liked him. The unattributed review states:

> Mr. J. Middleton Murry continues this month to go publicly through a process, in his thirties, which many of us went through privately in our twenties: his articles, as his quotations from letters show, have been of assistance to others in similar straits, and are, so far, worthy of praise.[649]

Only two issues into the *Adelphi*'s existence, the *Spectator* is drawing conclusions about the magazine's audience, which here is presented to be, like Murry, emotionally immature. This is one of the first instances of many in which reviewers, both contemporary to the *Adelphi* and more recent, created imagined, and largely unhelpful, profiles of *Adelphi* readers, and it is a topic addressed in more detail later in this section. Further, the *Spectator* review emphasises Murry's inclusion of readers' letters as a unique feature of the magazine and is deemed, at least 'so far', a positive feature, reinforcing the fact that even if Murry's fellow writers did not find his writing particularly palatable, his audiences did.

A *TLS* review of the *Adelphi*'s first issue exhibits a similar guardedly positive assessment. 'This is a first number of quite unusual interest and vigour', the review states, 'but it does show here and there the tendency to wilful individualism and whimsies'.[650] The phrase 'wilful individualism' implies that the *Adelphi* is a bit too individual in its refusal to comply with the standards of the average literary review, while the term 'whimsies' suggests a childishness about the periodical and its editor. Like the *Spectator*, the *TLS* implies that the *Adelphi* has yet to reach critical maturity. The *TLS* review ends with a conditional statement:

[649] 'The New Magazines, The Adelphi', The *Spectator*, 7 July 1923, p. 20 (p. 20).
[650] 'Periodicals, The Adelphi', *TLS*, 7 June 1923, p. 390 (p. 390).

'The *Adelphi*, if it modifies its touch of "freshness", should be a very welcome monthly visitor'.[651] The reviewer praises Mansfield's story and Tomlinson's prose, but regrets that Murry's editorial is not more critical. The review indirectly advises Murry to be cautious, stating:

> it is clear that the *Adelphi*, to judge by its prospectus and start, is to be a field for individuality […] 'this magazine will be a place where other and more important people than myself will give themselves away' is the editor's avowed ambition. But surely it has ever been the quality of Mr. Murry's own criticism to suggest that man had better measure his own experience against other people's before being sure of its value, and that the man who 'gives himself away' is too often hardly worth taking as a gift.[652]

This review emphasises Murry's seeming abandonment of his previously held critical beliefs, as exhibited in his editorship of the *Athenaeum*, and cautions him not to place too much value on 'giving oneself away' when criticism requires careful intellectual, rather than emotional, judgment. However, unlike this reviewer implies, Murry's views on the artist who 'gives himself away' are not new; in fact, he had written about the matter of 'giving oneself away' in the *Athenaeum* in 1919. In an editorial written in response to the death of Auguste Renoir, Murry writes:

> It is not the habit of great men to arm themselves from head to foot against the arrows of criticism; they are seldom careful to avoid giving themselves away; they never trouble to be certain that they will always have the last word. What is peculiar to them is that when the arrows have entered, when they have given themselves away, when their enemies (who are always legion) have secured the last word,

[651] Ibid.
[652] Ibid.

> they do not mind. They go on, intent upon their work, as though none of these disasters had ever happened to them.[653]

In this article, to 'give oneself away' is only negative in that it invites backlash from the public and, specifically, the critics. Actually, Murry implies, to give oneself away is a sign of greatness. His next sentence can be read as a foretaste of his efforts in the *Adelphi* to disassociate himself from those writers of what he perceives to be mechanical, hierarchical criticism: 'In short', he writes about 'great men', 'they are never modern, for modernity consists chiefly in a consciousness of these disasters, and a determination to avoid or to inflict them'.[654] In his 1919 editorial, Murry does not make it clear whether he thinks that being modern is good or bad (although, when read alongside his other *Athenaeum* contributions, some of which have been discussed in Chapter 2, it is clear that he considers certain aspects of modernity to be harmful, both to society and art); he does, however, recognise that modernity does not always allow for an appreciation of what he considers to be greatness, and that greatness, to an extent, involves the unpopular practice of 'giving [oneself] away'.

In the *Athenaeum*, Murry uses imagery related to war, writing about 'arrows' and 'enemies' in a 'legion' to represent the critics which the 'moderns' are either afraid of or intent upon enraging, both, presumably, for the purpose of creating publicity and ensuring readership. Of course, in 1919, Murry was one of these critics who, at the helm of a leading review, had the capability to strongly impact an author's reception. As such, public taste was a necessary influence on his writing for the *Athenaeum*. In the *Adelphi*, however, he eschews the established hierarchical system of criticism and instead chooses to 'give himself away' in spite of the potential critical repercussions. As editor of the *Adelphi*, his goal is no longer to

[653] 'August Renoir (1841-1919)', p. 1329.
[654] Ibid.

write about what the public will find tasteful, but to provide a space for writing which a specific public will find stimulating. A magazine focussing on the promotion of individualism rather than critical excellence is, in the *Spectator* and the *TLS*, at least, perceived to be immature and subversive. However, it was certainly attractive to the *Adelphi*'s audience and, in spite of the perceptions of reviewers, was not a completely surprising move by Murry. After all, as discussed in Chapter 2, he had been paving the way for the *Adelphi* throughout his editorship of the *Athenaeum*.

This obvious distance from the critical realm that Murry establishes in the *Adelphi* was also picked up on by the *New Statesman*'s Affable Hawk (Desmond MacCarthy). In his review of the *Adelphi*'s first issue, which is notably less positive than those in the *Spectator* and the *TLS*, he implies his disappointment in Murry's democratic approach to garnering contributions. In response to Murry's statement that 'the *Adelphi* wants only those things that you can't help writing', Affable Hawk writes:

> Now the first emotion such an invitation rouses in the breast of a journalist is pity for the editor. What a post-bag he'll get! Then, if he knows Mr. Murry, he may feel some ruth for the deep and widespread disappointment of would-be contributors.[655]

Affable Hawk laments the fact that the typical critical process for determining the quality of a submission seems, in the *Adelphi*, to have disappeared. Therefore, he suggests, any writers of taste who may have considered submitting to the *Adelphi* will now have to think twice, as there is no guarantee that their contribution would run alongside work of a similar standard. The review's warning is clear: in appealing to the *Adelphi*'s new, democratic readership, Murry was in danger of alienating those writers' networks he had spent his previous editorships building. His continuation of the *Adelphi* in spite of these warnings from his

[655] 'The Cause of It All', p. 11; Affable Hawk, p. 270.

fellow writers sent an equally clear message. For the sake of creating what he perceived to be a review that could improve society, he was willing to forsake his reputation in the world of literary criticism. In other words, over a decade after his first editorship, Murry was at last willing to 'give himself away' to being an editor whose primary concern was not pleasing his critics or maintaining his literary reputation, but strengthening his relationship with his audience in order to sustain his magazine.

Further revealing Murry's intentional break with his previous editorship of the *Athenaeum*, the *Adelphi* was published without any indication that it was a literary review; rather, the only information provided on the cover was its publication frequency (monthly), its cost (one shilling), and its editor's name, suggesting that Murry was, at least in part, using his literary reputation to sell the *Adelphi*. In contrast to the *Criterion*, which labelled itself 'A Quarterly Review', or the *Athenaeum*, which in 1919 ran with the lengthy description, 'A Journal of English & Foreign Literature, Science, the Fine Arts, Music, & Drama', the *Adelphi* was deliberately undefined. The typewriter advertisement on the front gave an indication that the *Adelphi* would be literary in some sense, but potential readers would have to open the journal before they could determine with any certainty what sort of magazine it was. Murry's choice to forego classifying the *Adelphi* as a review reinforces the democratic nature of the magazine, and it is this aspect of the periodical that makes Affable Hawk so hesitant to take Murry's opening editorial seriously.

Affable Hawk uses religious language in his review in part, it seems, to cast Murry's seemingly sudden embrace of the spiritual as absurd, but also to attempt to make sense of the *Adelphi*'s readers. In addition to suggesting that Murry has cast himself as a 'moral prophet', Affable Hawk chooses from Murry's own list of descriptions for his first editorial and calls it a 'homily', in addition to referring to the *Adelphi*'s 'spiritual blaze' and writing that Murry

sees himself as a 'guide, philosopher and friend'.[656] The tone of disappointment in this review coupled with its religious language results in the implication that the *Adelphi* is a bit of a joke, and that it is not for those who value serious literature. The same sentiments are repeated in the *TLS* several months later in response to a published collection of Murry's *Adelphi* essays. The unattributed review, which the *TLS* online archive credits to Ernest de Selincourt, states:

> To most of those who had followed Mr. Murry's career as a critic with admiration, his appearance as a religious propagandist was a shock. The sincerity of his conviction was questioned by no one; but his promptitude in converting a personal illumination into a public gospel seemed of questionable wisdom even to those who could best sympathise with the views he was expounding.[657]

The sense of discomfort amongst those who believe that Murry has failed to provide a serious literary review is evident; however, the audience to which the *Adelphi* appealed was not seeking a serious literary review, and the *Adelphi*'s advertisements make it clear that, in fact, it intended to occupy an entirely different space in the periodical market.

The advertisements for the *Adelphi* that were published in other magazines confirm that its target audience was more interested in individual expression than traditional criticism. For example, the *Adelphi* advertisements that were printed on the first page of the *TLS* for much of 1924 suggest that the *Adelphi* aimed to offer readers of the *TLS* an alternative to literary criticism. The evolution of the content of these advertisements also exemplifies that the magazine's understanding of itself shifted over time. Suzanne Churchill and Adam McKible point out the importance of cross-examining contemporary periodicals to unearth 'the sense of intimate dialogue and heated dispute' present in their contents.[658] In the case of

[656] Affable Hawk, p. 270.
[657] [Ernest de Selincourt] 'Mr. Middleton Murry's Essays', p. 844.
[658] Churchill and McKible, 'Little Magazines and Modernism', p. 3.

the *Adelphi*, it is evident that the magazine's reception influenced Murry's own perceptions of his magazine as well as his developing ideas about the periodical's readership, both of which are evident in the advertisements for the magazine. The first advertisement to appear in the *TLS* looks like the *Adelphi*'s front cover, making it easy for a potential reader to identify it at a bookstall (Fig. 19). Its price is obvious, as is its editor's name, suggesting that these are the two most attractive aspects of the publication. However, in place of the usual front-cover Remington ad are the contents of the forthcoming issue, indicating that a potential reader will be attracted by the recognisable names of Murry, Tomlinson, Maxim Gorki, Lawrence, and Mansfield. Just above the contents list is a note stating that 'The demand for the first issue of *The Adelphi* so far exceeded expectations that four reprints were necessary'.[659] This emphasis on the popularity of the *Adelphi* is an easy way to broadcast its influence and to suggest to potential readers that they might be missing out by not reading it.

A year later, another advertisement for the *Adelphi* in the *TLS* suggests that the *Adelphi*'s perception of itself has changed – or, at least, the way it presents itself to a potential audience has changed. Rather than stating how many copies the *Adelphi* has sold, this advertisement focuses on the public's reception of the magazine, stating that 'During the first [year] it has won for itself the reputation of being the most original and stimulating of all the magazines' (Fig. 20).[660] It specifies that the *Adelphi* is 'Serious, but never solemn, literature but not "literary"', and that 'It holds that literature is inseparable from life, and that the standards by which men judge them must be reconciled'.[661] This mention of 'the standards by which men judge' life as well as literature indicates that the *Adelphi*, far from simply presenting writing which is considered to be critically important, is working to create a new critical process, one which presents a more democratic alternative to the standard criticism presented in publications such as the *TLS*. The advertisement highlights the

[659] *Adelphi* advertisement, *TLS*, 28 June 1923, p. 441.
[660] *Adelphi* advertisement, *TLS*, 29 May 1924, p. 329.
[661] Ibid.

Adelphi's individualism, presenting the magazine as 'unique among contemporary periodicals' and 'an indispensable part of the reading of those who desire to think for themselves'.[662] Notably, the *Adelphi* is not selling itself as something that everyone will love; it is distinguishing itself as being for a select audience made up of those who are brave enough 'to think for themselves' rather than being told what to think by periodicals other than the *Adelphi*. This advertisement also presents the names of the most notable contributors, and this time, the Journeyman appears on the list, indicating that his name has become popular enough to advertise alongside writers such as Herbert E. Palmer and Edmund Blunden. This detail implies that a magazine community has already been formed, as only readers of the *Adelphi* and of reviews of it would recognise the Journeyman's name.

The *Adelphi*'s 1924 advertisements present to the public a magazine which will help them not only to be knowledgeable about the most popular and recent literature, but to, as one advertisement states, develop a 'sense of their own identity' (Figs. 21 and 22).[663] Presenting positive reviews from religious publications such as the *Methodist Recorder*, the *Adelphi*'s advertisements reveal the emphasis that the magazine placed on its appeal as a diverse, and not purely literary, publication, and also gives a clue about the identities of its readers, who may have been attracted by the fact that the *Adelphi* was reviewed favourably by a religiously affiliated periodical (Fig. 23).[664] Such advertisements suggest that the magazine was particularly interested in appealing to a religious audience and used the front cover of the *TLS* to offer its readers a more spiritual style of literary criticism.

In a 1924 article for the *Spectator*, Alan Porter narrowed down this community of readers in the most specific description that exists of the *Adelphi*'s audience. In a none-too-flattering review, he writes about the magazine:

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[662] Ibid.
[663] *Adelphi* advertisement, *TLS*, 28 August 1924, p. 517.
[664] *Adelphi* advertisement, *TLS*, 26 June 1924, p. 393.

> Every month it has been bought by thousands of readers anxious to feel themselves familiar with profundities, thousands of readers (school-teachers, litterateurs, business men, undergraduates, and nobodies) who, finding themselves thwarted and unfulfilled in life, demand some emotional outpouring, some compensation of soul, to soften their discontents.[665]

Porter describes Murry's editorials as 'pitiful and shameful', leading the editor to respond in the August 1924 issue of the *Adelphi*, but it is this specific audience profile to which I want to draw attention.[666] In his review, Porter admits to the popularity of the *Adelphi*, but it is a form of popularity of which he disapproves. The magazine may sell thousands of issues per month, but, Porter implies, its readers are those with whom readers of taste would never want to align themselves. He characterises these 'unfulfilled' readers as 'nobodies', implying that 'school-teachers, litterateurs, business men, [and] undergraduates' are worth nothing, particularly as readers of a magazine which cultivates a certain standard of readership. However, it is crucial to note that Porter's standard of readership has little to do with the readers' knowledge of literature – his implication is that even 'litterateurs' are not serious or refined enough to be considered a worthy audience; rather, his perception of the ideal reader is seemingly based on social standing and income, those recognisable traits which belong to the opposites of the 'nobodies'. In identifying these hypothetical readers only by their occupations, and in assuming that people who have these particular occupations are more likely to be 'discontent' with their lives, Porter succeeds in categorizing the *Adelphi* as a low-class periodical that is read by no one of distinction.

Porter's justification for believing that most of the *Adelphi*'s readership is made up of these particular people is unclear. The most identifiable connection between his list of occupations and the *Adelphi* is the magazine's publication of several articles written by schoolteachers in its first year; beyond that, Porter's profile of *Adelphi* readers seems

[665] Alan Porter, 'Anathema', *TLS*, 17 May 1924, pp. 793–94 (p. 793).
[666] Ibid.

arbitrary. However unfounded this profile of the magazine's over-emotional, unfulfilled readership is, it is representative, at the most fundamental level, of the sort of people to whom Murry was appealing in the *Adelphi*: anyone who enjoyed reading about literature, regardless of class, gender, or level of education. Critics who have attempted to categorise the *Adelphi*'s readership reinforce the broadness of its target audience. For example, Goldie writes that the magazine 'proved an immense and immediate popular success, especially among Methodist and nonconformist communities in the north'.[667] In contrast to this religious audience, Leslie K. Hankins uses the term 'bohemian *literati*' to describe *Adelphi* readers.[668] Brooker and Thacker sum up these diverse descriptions by referring to the magazine's target audience simply as the 'broader middle band', reinforcing the *Adelphi*'s commitment to democratisation through its appeal to a wide, and thus largely indefinable, audience.[669]

A large part of this 'middle band' seems to have been women, and, as Nöelle Cuny and Whitworth have pointed out, Murry enacted some obvious changes to the magazine which make it clear, as with the *Athenaeum*, that he was aware of his readership and was willing to shape the *Adelphi* to best serve it. Cuny highlights that the *Adelphi*'s list of contributors was initially male-dominated, but, she writes:

> this posed a problem in terms of marketing. In the quest for a stable readership and commercial success, not to be taken for granted in the interwar period, targeting the right audience involved tailoring one's editorial line to the expectations of as broad a middle-class as possible. This educated public with a steady source of income included a dramatically increased proportion of women.[670]

[667] Goldie, p. 94.
[668] Hankins, p. 509.
[669] Brooker and Thacker, 'VI. Editors and Programmes', p. 343.
[670] Cuny, para. 5 of 22.

Cuny rightly points out that in Issue 11, one-third of the contributors are women, in contrast to the *Adelphi*'s first issue, in which the only female name listed on the contents pages is that of the deceased Mansfield.

Cuny and Whitworth also note the increase in advertisements that targeted women in the magazine. The first volume of the *Adelphi* featured advertisements that were almost entirely image-less, and these were mostly for books and other periodicals. By contrast, the first issue of the second volume published advertisements for women's clothing from three suppliers, and two of these – Harvey Nichols and Marshall and Snelgrove – ran full-page advertisements with images of women wearing the clothing advertised (Fig. 24).[671] Although there is no way of knowing how many women subscribed to the *Adelphi*, Whitworth writes that the magazine's female-oriented advertisements 'suggest that it may have been, of the literary journals, more than usually attractive to female readers', and the growing number of female contributors to the magazine supports this claim.[672] Cuny's article addresses the *Adelphi*'s attempts to appeal to women in order to '[open] itself up to modernity'.[673] Whether Murry intentionally made the *Adelphi* more audience-aware in order to appear more modern is questionable; it is likely, as Cluny acknowledges, that appealing to women was a tactic to improve sales. It also aligned with the *Adelphi*'s mission to democratise its content by making the magazine more attractive to more people, rather than restricting its appeal to the few, as Murry believed that critical literary reviews did. Ultimately, his decision to alter the magazine's advertisements as well as its content to accommodate the tastes of its audience point towards his, to use Cuny's words, 'commercial astuteness', a phrase which reinforces the fact that he had learned effective market engagement techniques during his previous editorships and employed them successfully in the *Adelphi*.[674]

[671] Various advertising pages, The *Adelphi*, 2.1 (June 1924).
[672] Whitworth, p. 385.
[673] Cuny, para. 4 of 22.
[674] Ibid., para. 10 of 22.

Although the *Adelphi*'s lack of critical content may have inspired in Murry's reviewers a sense of 'deep and widespread disappointment', its advertisements and tentatively positive reception by other periodicals reveal that it was likely disappointing only for those who expected another critical review in the style of the *Athenaeum*.[675] In reality, the *Adelphi* targeted a different audience than Murry had ever overtly courted before, and the ways in which the magazine marketed itself make it clear that it was not intended to compete with other literary reviews in the style of *Rhythm* and the *New Age* or the *Athenaeum* and the *London Mercury*. Instead of printing content that was similar to that of the *TLS* and other critical reviews, the *Adelphi* offered readers an alternative in the form of writing which was emotionally honest rather than critically acclaimed. The *Adelphi*, as its advertisements illustrate, celebrated individuality of thought and honest self-expression, making it appealing to a much broader audience than the literary elite of the *Athenaeum* or the small, artistic circles of *Rhythm*. While broadening the *Adelphi*'s audience was met with doubt from those who expected Murry to produce a critical magazine, it gave him the opportunity to put into practice the skills he had garnered over the past twelve years and four editorships through engagement with a new, wider audience.

Conclusion: 'It must seem strange, indeed, to those who have never glimpsed our star'

The editorial practices evident in the *Adelphi*, even down to Murry's assurances that he is not an editor, reveal the complexities of a literary realm in which finances, content, and celebrity played equally influential roles in a magazine's survival. This particular magazine adhered to common publicising techniques, printed advertisements on its front cover, and used the recognised names of its contributors to market itself, but it also actively cultivated a particularly collaborative relationship with its readers. Murry's specific use of language

[675] Affable Hawk, p. 270.

reveals his intention to appeal to an audience which was looking for something more than a critical review, and the dialogue between contributors, readers, and the editor in the *Adelphi* speaks to its success as a magazine and as a community.

In July 1926, Murry writes in his editorial, 'The course we steer is difficult to define. It must seem strange, indeed, to those who have never glimpsed our star'.[676] As is true for most of its appearances in the *Adelphi*'s editorials, the 'we' here does not refer to the editorial board of the magazine, but to its readers. Hauser uses the phrase 'empowered audience' to describe those who successfully relate to others because of their emotional responses to shared situations, and the same phrase should certainly be applied to the readers of the *Adelphi*.[677] Murry's use of the word 'we' reveals his desire to place himself and his audience on equal planes, eliminating the editorial hierarchy which was inherent to most other periodicals and giving the *Adelphi*'s audience a particularly strong influence over the magazine.

From the *Adelphi*'s start, Murry made it clear that he expected involvement from his readers, and as the magazine developed, so, too, did its sophistication in crafting itself for a specific audience. Its editorials, advertisements in other publications, and audience-driven content continually reinforced the magazine's appeal to those who wanted a magazine that was literary without being too critical. To break down the typical hierarchical structure of a review, Murry uses his own name instead of calling himself the 'editor', publishes the writing of his readers as though they are regular contributors, and questions the value of criticism that is inaccessible to the public. In 1926, in the midst of a reaffirmation of the *Adelphi*'s beliefs, he writes:

[676] 'The Fourth Year', p. 8.
[677] Hauser, p. 51.

> it is of the utmost importance that a firm stand should be made against the strange confusion with which our critical values are threatened to-day. As though in protest against the democratization of literature, a growing movement towards an intellectualized and esoteric art is in being. It is the mere mechanical antithesis of vulgarization, and therefore no less vulgar than its opposite. To both these vulgarities we are implacably opposed.[678]

He makes it clear that the *Adelphi* is not what he calls an 'anti-intellectualist' publication; rather, without defining itself in so many words, it presents itself as anti-elitist.[679] To Murry's fellow writers, this seemingly sudden shift from a respected critic to a democratic moralist was a shock. It has been the intention of this chapter to show that this shift was no surprise at all; it had been waiting in the wings for the duration of his editorial career.

Ironically, by the time Murry identifies himself as an editor rather than a critic, novelist, or poet, his understandings of successful editorship have changed so much that he feels uncomfortable characterising himself as a 'good editor'.[680] However, as illustrated in this chapter, the *Adelphi* exhibits all of the ways in which he was an astoundingly 'good editor'. Defying the expectations of his critics, Murry instead favoured what he perceived to be the needs of society in his democratic, community-oriented magazine. Using his reputation as a respected literary critic, he promoted the *Adelphi* so fiercely that its first issue had, Lea writes, 'more success [than] had attended a new magazine within living memory'.[681] Over the following decades, as Murry continued to publish his critically unpopular magazine, his reputation as a critic faded. However, as this chapter contends, the magazine that proved to be the ruin of his critical reputation secured his editorial identity.

The *Adelphi* demonstrates the sophistication of Murry's editorial knowledge, and its sustained audience involvement and longevity confirm the effectiveness of the tactics he

[678] 'The Fourth Year', p. 8.
[679] Ibid., p. 5.
[680] 'The Unknown Country', p. 373.
[681] Lea, p. 109.

employed. Those tactics, including the publishing of advertisements, engaging his audience in various ways, and marketing his magazines as having particular intellectual or moral value, display his ability to judge the success of certain practices that he learned during his previous editorships. Further, the *Adelphi* was the first of his magazines to embody a social, rather than an intellectual or artistic, purpose. Promoting community in a world that Murry believed was being threatened by depersonalised criticism and mechanical writing, the magazine demonstrates his increasingly spiritual understandings of art and gave him the freedom to express those understandings to an audience that also sought literature that was valued for the human connections it established, not its critical success. Murry's editorial career provides invaluable insight into the market pressures that twentieth-century magazine editors encountered, and his navigation of those pressures illustrates how shifting inter-war cultural concerns shaped both the professional and personal lives of its literary figures and, more importantly, how those literary figures used the platforms of their magazines to shape society.

CONCLUSION:

JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY AND EDITORIAL STUDIES

In the introduction to the edited collection *Ford Madox Ford, Modernist Magazines and Editing*, Jason Harding writes: 'A sober estimate of Ford's achievement as editor entails unravelling the web of myths, many of them spun by Ford himself, that have enveloped discussions of his place in literary history'.[682] This thesis has aimed to approach John Middleton Murry's editorships with the same 'unravelling' method in order to reclaim his importance as an early twentieth-century literary figure and to highlight the vital role that editors played in shaping literary and artistic modernism, and society more widely. Murry's (Fig. 25) contribution to modernism has been largely overlooked for many reasons, some of which he himself brought about. As discussed in Chapter 1, he deliberately misrepresented the level of his involvement in shaping *Rhythm* into a celebrated artistic magazine, and while the magazine is undoubtedly associated with his name, his role as its editor has not been given the critical attention it deserves. Further, the literary reputation he established during his editorship of the *Athenaeum* was dismantled by the spiritual moralism he promoted in the *Adelphi*, leading to his near erasure from modernist scholarship. Many of Murry's colleagues, including those he published in his magazines, found him 'distasteful', and he was never welcomed into literary groups such as the Bloomsburies.[683] Murry, on the outskirts of the networks and societies which have historically been central to discussions of modernism, instead built his own communities through his magazines.

As addressed in Chapter 1 of this thesis, *Rhythm*, the *Blue Review*, and the *Signature* served as Murry's introduction to the power that magazines could wield in conveying information to their publics. Learning crucial lessons about the commercial market and inter-

[682] Jason Harding, 'Introduction', in *Ford Madox Ford, Modernist Magazines and Editing*, ed. by Jason Harding (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010), p. 17.
[683] Owen, p. 163.

periodical relations, he employed editorial techniques in these early periodicals that would come to define his editorial career, including appealing to his audience's sense of loyalty and morality to garner their financial support. By the time he edited the *Signature*, which, as a subscription-only periodical with just three regular contributors, offered him little opportunity to practice the editorial techniques he had learned in his previous editorships, his recognition of the public nature of editorship and of the responsibility which editors had to their publics was transforming, and the sense of isolation expressed in his *Signature* contributions signifies the lack of purpose he felt at not being in a position to maintain an active relationship with his readers.

His editorship of the *Athenaeum* from 1919 to 1921, discussed in Chapter 2, offered Murry the opportunity to practice precisely this active engagement with his audiences, and the previously unpublished circulation numbers of the *Athenaeum* for several months in 1920, which he recorded in his private diary, reveal that his tactics were successful in attracting and maintaining readers. Employing editorial practices he had exhibited before, such as appeals to his audience's intellectual and moral superiority, as well as new techniques, such as the *Athenaeum*'s 'Correspondence' section, Murry transformed the review into a critical masterpiece that John Carswell writes was 'not only distinguished but decisive in forming a new literary taste'.[684] While editing the *Athenaeum*, Murry also exhibited his exceptional ability to navigate the liminal space between literary and popular journalism, as well as between aesthetic and moral criticism. He characterised his review as being aggressively opposed to the mass market, but he also made editorial choices, such as publishing advertisements and making his paper more attractive to higher numbers of readers, which reveal the *Athenaeum*'s commercial engagement with the very market it purported to resist. Murry's increasingly moral understandings of art and criticism were also a crucial part of his

[684] Carswell, p. 157.

editorial development during this period, displaying his audience and market awareness through his adherence to rigorous critical standards that were grounded in morality. Ultimately, Chapter 2 argues, the *Athenaeum* provided him with the literary reputation and editorial confidence that led to the openly anti-elitist stance he expressed in the *Adelphi*.

Chapter 3 maintains that the final periodical discussed in this thesis is the one which best displays Murry's editorial knowledge. His refusal in the *Adelphi* to identify himself as an editor reveals not his denial of his role, but his hesitancy to be affiliated with the sort of critical and, he feared, mechanistic editorship displayed in other literary periodicals. His recognition of his own separation from other editors, Chapter 3 contends, freed him from the accepted editorial practices by which other editors were restrained. By contrast, the *Adelphi* removed the expected separation between editors and their audiences and published not critically acclaimed content, but any writing that was deemed to be worth reading because it expressed some truth about the world. This style of editorship made him unpopular with his fellow writers, but highly successful with the magazine's readers. Further, the advertisements for the *Adelphi* which were published in other periodicals suggest that Murry marketed the magazine as an alternative to critical reviews and as an aid to free thinking, reinforcing his desires to combat any potential threat to individual expression and signifying that while his perception of criticism and art's function in society had changed, his desires to combat the mechanistic nature of journalism had not.

This thesis has had two primary functions: to reassert Murry's importance as a modernist figure, and to establish the value of editorships to periodical studies. The first goal is a reaction against the fact that Murry is often viewed as being secondary to other writers. Carswell's *Lives and Letters: A. R. Orage, Beatrice Hastings, Katherine Mansfield, John Middleton Murry, S. S. Koteliansky, 1906-1957* (1978), David Goldie's *A Critical Difference* (1998), Sydney Janet Kaplan's *Circulating Genius* (2010), and the various collections of

letters to and from Murry all provide valuable insights into his life and work. However, in these texts, his interactions with others are valued over his personal motivations and practices, leading to a lack of attention to and understanding of what this thesis marks out as the most important affiliation of his life: his relationships with his magazines. Murry himself correctly predicted that he would be overshadowed by more celebrated writers. In 1931, he wrote in his personal journal, 'if I go down to posterity simply as the husband of Katherine Mansfield – well, it won't be far from the truth'.[685] F. A. Lea, Murry's biographer, suggests that this is another example of Murry downplaying his own importance, as he did with his involvement in *Rhythm*. Lea reads this journal entry as a display of insecurity, writing in 1959 that 'It was only in his [Murry's] own estimate that he figured first and foremost as the husband of Katherine Mansfield and the friend (or enemy) of D. H. Lawrence'.[686] Certainly, for a time, Murry was considered, as Lea writes, 'the most influential literary critic of the day'; however, the past several decades have proven Murry correct and Lea wrong: Murry's contributions to twentieth-century literature have been overshadowed by those of Mansfield, Lawrence, Eliot, and many others, all of whom, ironically, he published in his magazines.[687] Using his editorships to establish his influence, this thesis has aimed to reclaim his importance as a key literary figure.

As recognised throughout this thesis, Murry's current presentation in scholarship is not helped by the fact that he often portrayed himself to be passive, even in his editorial roles. For example, in his autobiography, *Between Two Worlds*, he drastically undermines *Rhythm*'s importance as well as his own formative role in its production, writing, 'I was quite capable, in those days, when stimulated by a friendly atmosphere and my own desire to please, of suddenly magnifying into seriousness a project which had been in reality no more than a

[685] Qtd. in Katherine Middleton Murry, p. 77.
[686] Lea, p. 99.
[687] Ibid.

daydream'.[688] Similarly, during his editorship of the *Athenaeum*, he downplayed his critical abilities while overlooking his editorial role entirely. In a letter to his friend Orlo Williams in 1920, he writes:

> It is very kind of you to say such nice things of me as a critic. They satisfy me very much, for I have put a good deal of energy and as much thought as I perhaps am capable of into making myself a tolerable critic. A letter like yours gives me the idea that I am on the way to achieving my aim.[689]

Of course, in 1920, as Goldie writes, Murry had 'the critical world at his feet', and that influence was largely due to his editorship of the highly regarded *Athenaeum*; however, in this letter, Murry chooses to portray himself merely as a 'tolerable' critic, a description that severely misrepresents his literary influence.[690] His writings for and about the *Adelphi* further complicate his professional identity because of his repeated denials that he is an editor. In his first *Adelphi* editorial in 1923, he writes, 'I am not an editor. I would do anything, I verily believe, rather than be an editor anymore'.[691] A month later, he admits, 'I happen to be editing the paper, it is true', but it is not until 1924 that he identifies himself, albeit hesitantly, as an editor: 'I am not an editor, yet perhaps I am'.[692] At first glance, these denials seem to confirm Murry's tendency to give, as Lea writes, 'a quite false impression' of his own abilities.[693] However, as discussed in Chapter 3, Murry's objection to being labelled an editor stemmed from his unwillingness to be considered a proponent of what he refers to in the *Adelphi* as 'a growing movement towards an intellectualized and esoteric art', which he viewed as being a dangerous indication of the mechanisation of literary journalism.[694] When

[688] *BTW*, p. 157.
[689] Letter from Murry to Williams, September 1920, UESC, MS2515.E91.38.
[690] Goldie, p. 2.
[691] 'The Cause of It All', p. 9.
[692] 'A Month After', p. 99; 'The Unknown Country', p. 372.
[693] Lea, p. 25.
[694] 'The Fourth Year', p. 8.

viewed alongside his career-long development as a moralist, his lack of recognition of himself as an editor actually signifies the *Adelphi* as displaying a new type of editorship, one that was based on the creation of a community rather than the ranking of work according to critical guidelines.

Murry's progression from an aspiring novelist and poet keen for critical acclaim to a self-recognised 'preacher at the street-corner, trying to establish a new Church' represents much more than the personal journey of a man who edited a handful of modernist magazines.[695] Rather, his journey, which was traced in and defined by his magazines, provides unique insight into the changing nature of print culture and society in early twentieth-century Britain. His concerns about fame and reputation, his increasingly public worries about finances which were influenced heavily by the shifting standards of print production, and his ultimate devotion of himself to his community of *Adelphi* readers which united people craving an antidote to the isolating inter-war world all provide invaluable insight not only into the mechanics of magazine production, but also into the motivations for five magazines that helped to shape modernism.

The second aim of this thesis has been to illustrate through Murry's developing editorial practices how integral editorships are to periodical studies and how, so far, they have been severely undervalued. As exhibited in this thesis, scholarship about Murry and his magazines is not always given as much care as these topics deserve. From the blatantly incorrect descriptions of the nature of his periodicals, such as Oscar Wellens's statement that the *Adelphi* was 'short-lived', to the erroneous implications that his incompetence caused his magazines to fail, illustrated by Marysa Demoor's suggestion that 'appointing Murry as the new editor of a paper like the *Athenaeum* was not such a good decision after all', specious understandings of his involvement with his periodicals, combined with the fact that he has

[695] 'The Two Worlds', p. 865.

recently been given minimal independent attention as a modernist figure, exemplify the need for a close study of his editorial practices.[696]

One factor that encourages such misrepresented information about Murry's editorships is that editorial studies, as a separate entity from periodical studies, do not exist in any formal capacity. As Matthew Philpotts points out in his article 'The Role of the Periodical Editor', 'That we still lack a formalized conceptualization of the editorial role that might act as a platform for serious comparative and typological research can scarcely be attributed to a shortage of research into literary periodicals'.[697] Rather, he attributes the absence to 'the sheer volume of material' that makes the focus of an editor study difficult to pin down and the 'narrow thematic and historical specialisms that obstruct a productive synthesizing approach'.[698] As Philpotts acknowledges, while periodical studies continue to lend fresh insights into the value of magazines from myriad perspectives, such as Eric Bulson's work on international magazine networks (*Little Magazine, World Form*, 2017), and from various periods, such as Koenraad Claes's book about *The Late-Victorian Little Magazines* (2018), editors and their practices, while necessarily included in these studies, are not given central focus.

While recent articles about Murry and his editorships have been published, these works are restricted by their limited word counts. For example, Wellens's '"The Brief and Brilliant Life of *The Athenaeum* under Mr. Middleton Murry" (T. S. Eliot)' (2001), Demoor's 'John Middleton Murry's Editorial Apprenticeships: Getting Modernist "Rhythm" into the *Athenaeum*, 1919-1921' (2009), and the several chapters in the *Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines* (2009) about editors, while hugely valuable for their contributions to the study of periodical networks and editor development, cannot accommodate an assessment of the large selection of editorial output which is necessary to

[696] Wellens, p. 149; Demoor, 'John Middleton Murry's Editorial Apprenticeships', p. 140.
[697] Philpotts, p. 40.
[698] Ibid., pp. 40, 41.

achieve what Philpotts suggests is the primary purpose of editorship studies: 'interrogat[ing] the social processes which underpin cultural practice'.[699] This thesis has aimed to do precisely that: by devoting a book-length study to Murry's editorial career across sixteen years and five periodicals, this thesis has revealed his developing editorial knowledge alongside his personal and societal motivations. This approach makes this thesis valuable not only as an examination of Murry and his magazines, but as an intervention in modernist studies that assigns equal importance to the magazines that delivered information, the publics that were shaped by it, and the editors who facilitated the process.

This thesis has aimed to reclaim Murry's importance to modernism and periodical studies, as well as to illustrate how valuable an investigation of editorship can be for these fields. He was a prolific writer of fiction, poetry, criticism, and reviews, but the works that reveal the most about his perceptions of the world are his editorial writings. The editorials and criticism he wrote for his periodicals, as well as his personal writings pertaining to his magazines, reveal the importance he placed on community and his lifelong interest in the ability of art to shape society. As his career progressed, it became clear to Murry that magazines were a powerful tool for exerting social influence, and the topics with which he engaged on their pages reveal not only his personal development, but also the accompanying cultural shifts that motivated his particular editorial practices. Above all, I hope that this thesis has, as Harding writes, 'unravelled' the image of Murry as a side character on the stage of literary modernism and has used those loose threads to weave a new image of the importance of editorship as a field of study, and specifically of the value of Murry's editorships to that field.[700]

[699] Ibid., p. 64.
[700] Harding, 'Introduction', p. 17.

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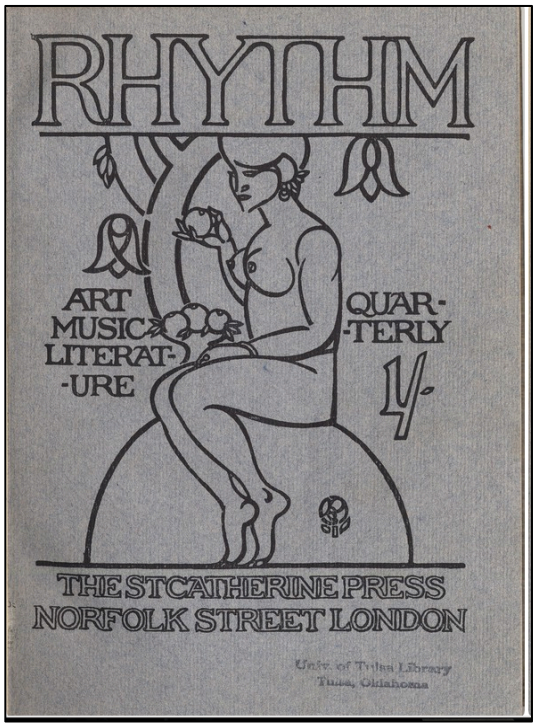
APPENDIX: ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 1: John Middleton Murry in 1917. Photo taken by Lady Ottoline Morrell. From the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 2: *Rhythm*'s first issue, published Summer 1911. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.



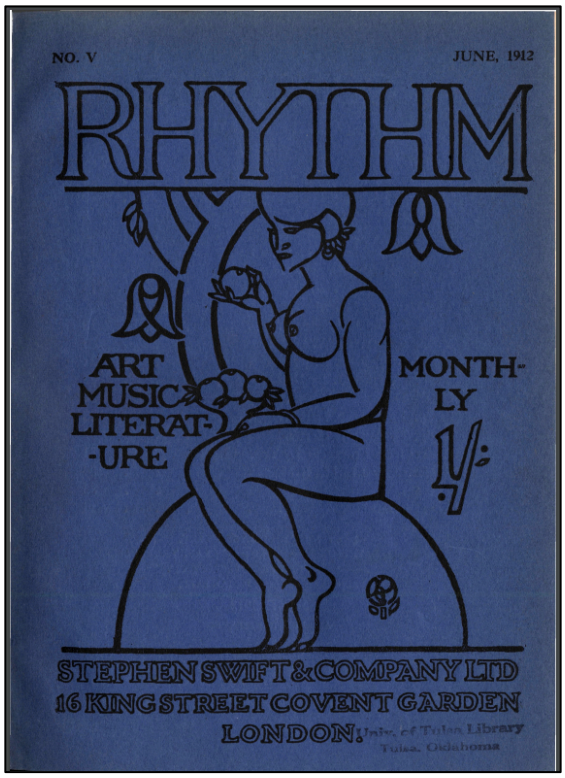


Fig. 3: *Rhythm*'s fifth issue. Its cover changed from grey to blue at the same time the magazine changed from a quarterly to a monthly. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.

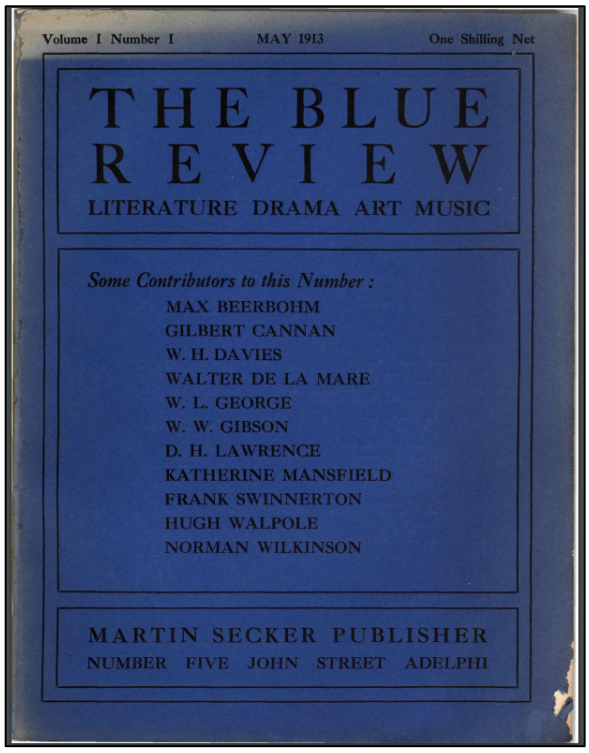


Fig. 4: The first issue of the *Blue Review*. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.

Fig. 5: Fergusson's 'Drawing' from *Rhythm*'s second issue, p. 14. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.

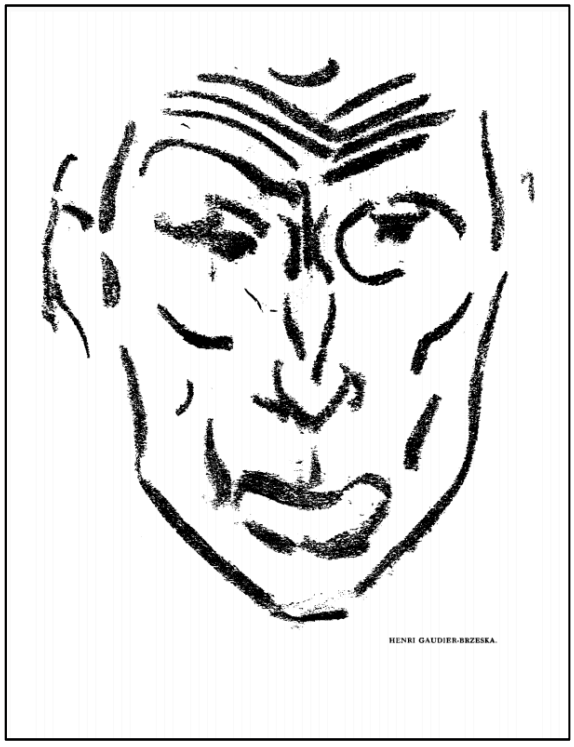


Fig. 6: Gaudier-Brzeska's mask-like 'Head' sketch, *Rhythm* Vol. 2, No. IX, p. 198. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.

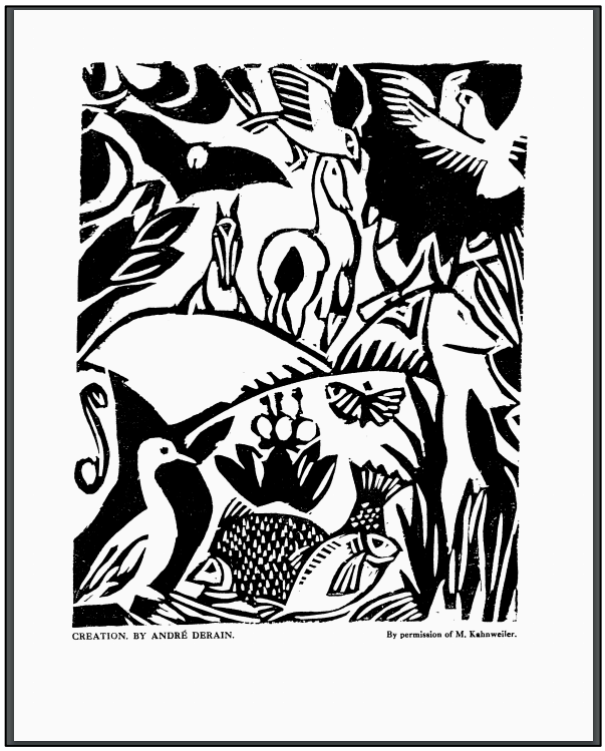


Fig. 7: André Derain's 'Creation', published in *Rhythm*'s third issue (p. 28), the first issue to feature advertisements. Notably, *Rhythm*'s unique advertisements would share some of the qualities of Derain's woodcut, including its impactful juxtaposition of black and white and its simplified figures. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.

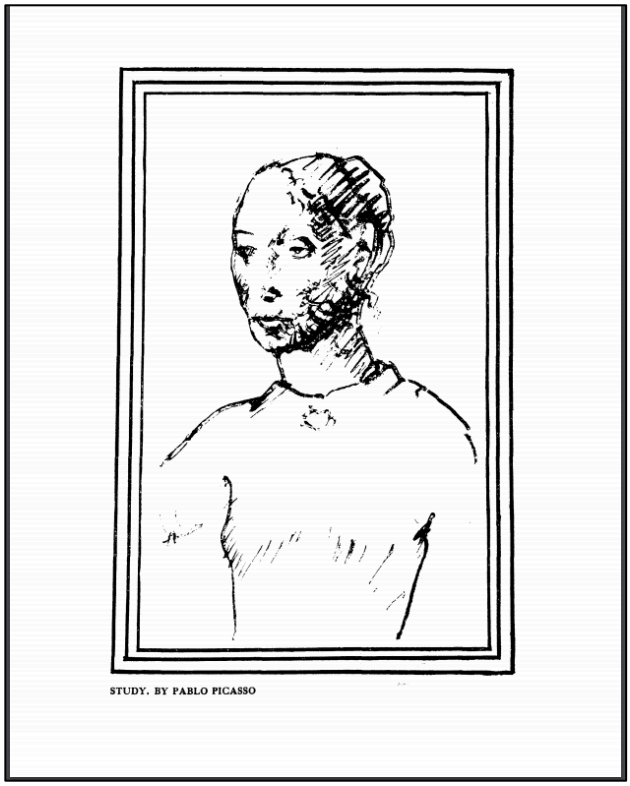


Fig. 8: Picasso's 'Study' in Issue 3 of *Rhythm*, p. 35. It is likely that Murry deliberately published certain contributions directly after Picasso's work to emphasise their importance. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.

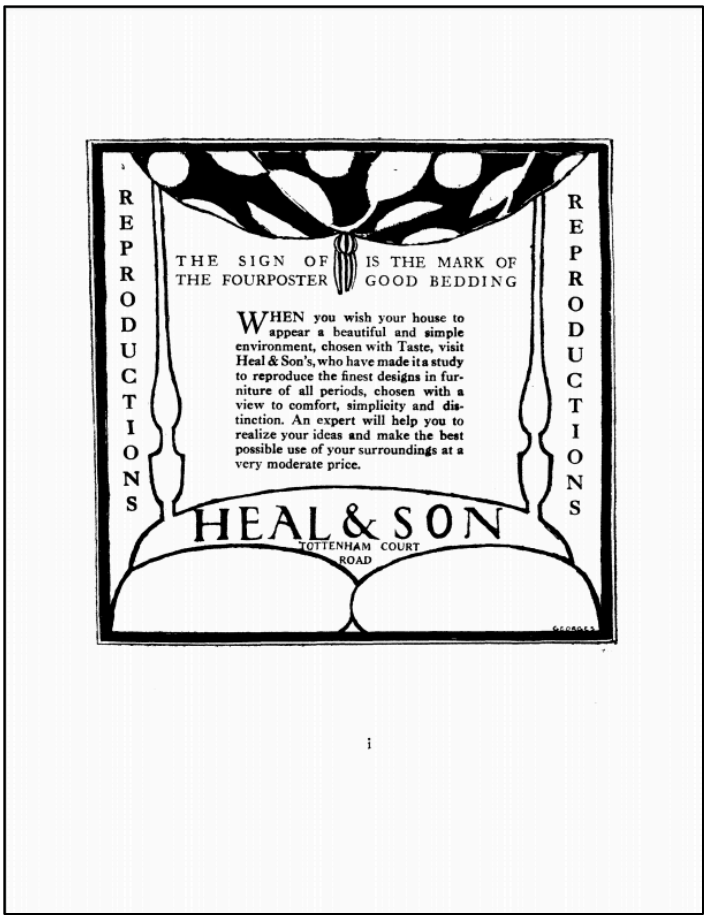


Fig. 9: A Georges Banks Heal & Son advertisement in *Rhythm* 2.5. The imaginative view of a four-poster bed and the white space surrounding it give the impression of luxury to both the shop being advertised and the magazine in which the advertisement appears. From the *Modernist Journals Project.*

Fig. 10: Heal's advertisement in *Golf Illustrated*, 28 May 1909, p. iv. Notice the pencilled date at the top of the page (28.V.9). Heal's kept published advertisements on file marked with the date they were published and the periodical in which they appeared. Photo taken by the author. From the V&A archives at Blythe House.

Fig. 11: An almost identical Heal's advertisement (see Fig. 10) for cottage furniture from *Rhythm* in 1912. This advertisement was obviously based on the image that appeared in *Golf Illustrated*, but has been altered to fit *Rhythm*'s artistic style. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.

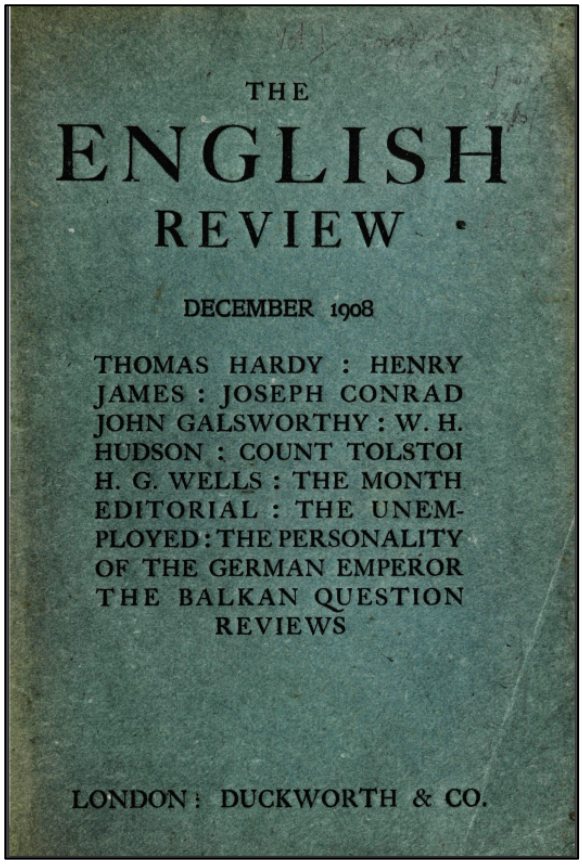
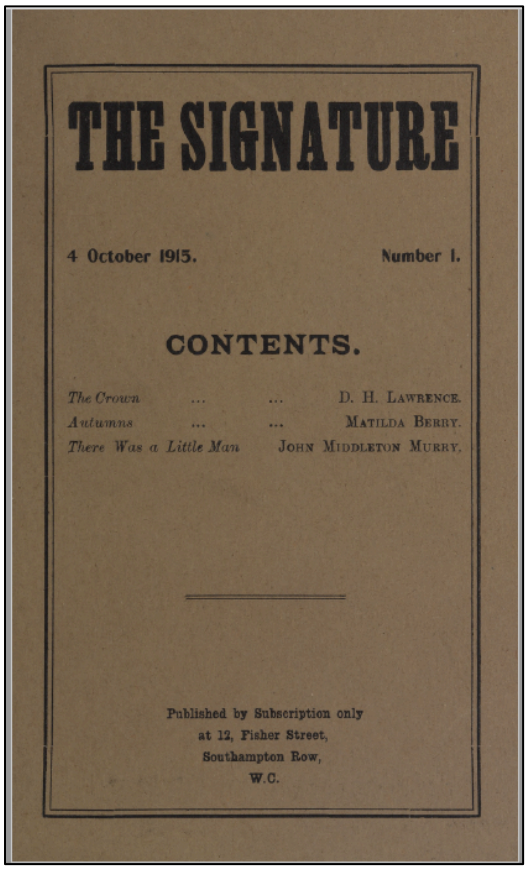


Fig. 12: The first issue of the *English Review* (1908). The *Blue Review*'s similarly image-less, text-heavy cover (see Fig. 4) marks it out as being a different sort of periodical from *Rhythm*, but its distinctive blue cover retains the connection between the two magazines. From the *Modernist Journals Project*.



THE SIGNATURE

4 October 1915. Number 1.

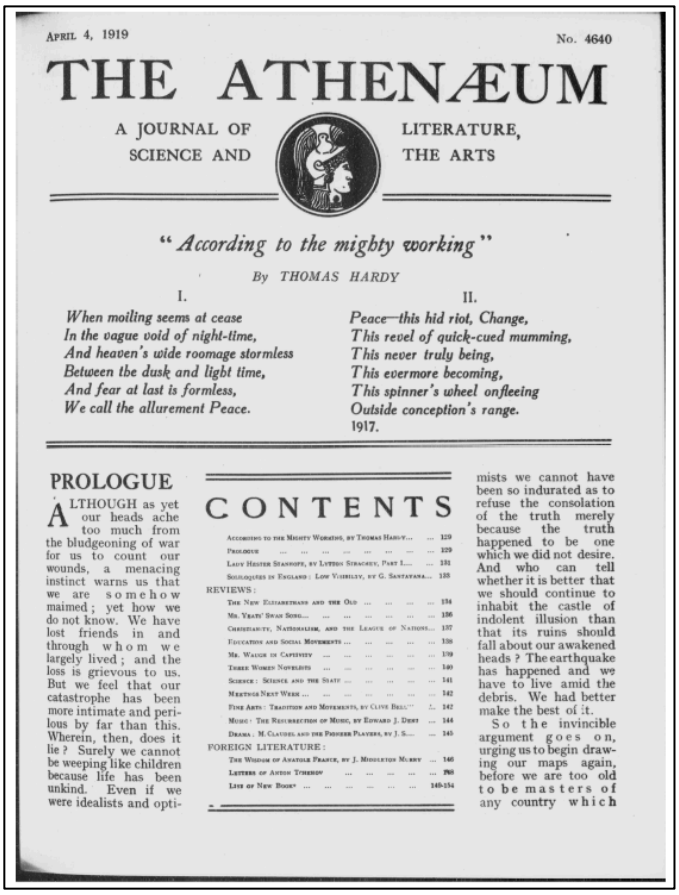
CONTENTS.

The Crown	... ...	D. H. Lawrence.
Autumns	... ...	Matilda Berry.
There Was a Little Man		John Middleton Murry.

Published by Subscription only
at 12, Fisher Street,
Southampton Row,
W.C.

Fig. 13: The first issue of the *Signature*, the subscription-only magazine contributed to exclusively by Lawrence, Mansfield (as Matilda Berry), and Murry. From the *Blue Mountain Project*.

Fig. 14: Murry's first issue of the *Athenaeum*, showing Thomas Hardy's poem and the first page of Murry's introductory editorial. From the *ProQuest* online database.



APRIL 4, 1919 No. 4640

THE ATHENÆUM

A JOURNAL OF SCIENCE AND LITERATURE, THE ARTS

"According to the mighty working"

By THOMAS HARDY

I.

When moiling seems at cease
In the vague void of night-time,
And heaven's wide roomage stormless
Between the dusk and light time,
And fear at last is formless,
We call the allurement Peace.

II.

Peace—this hid riot, Change,
This revel of quick-cued mumming,
This never truly being,
This evermore becoming,
This spinner's wheel onfleeing
Outside conception's range.

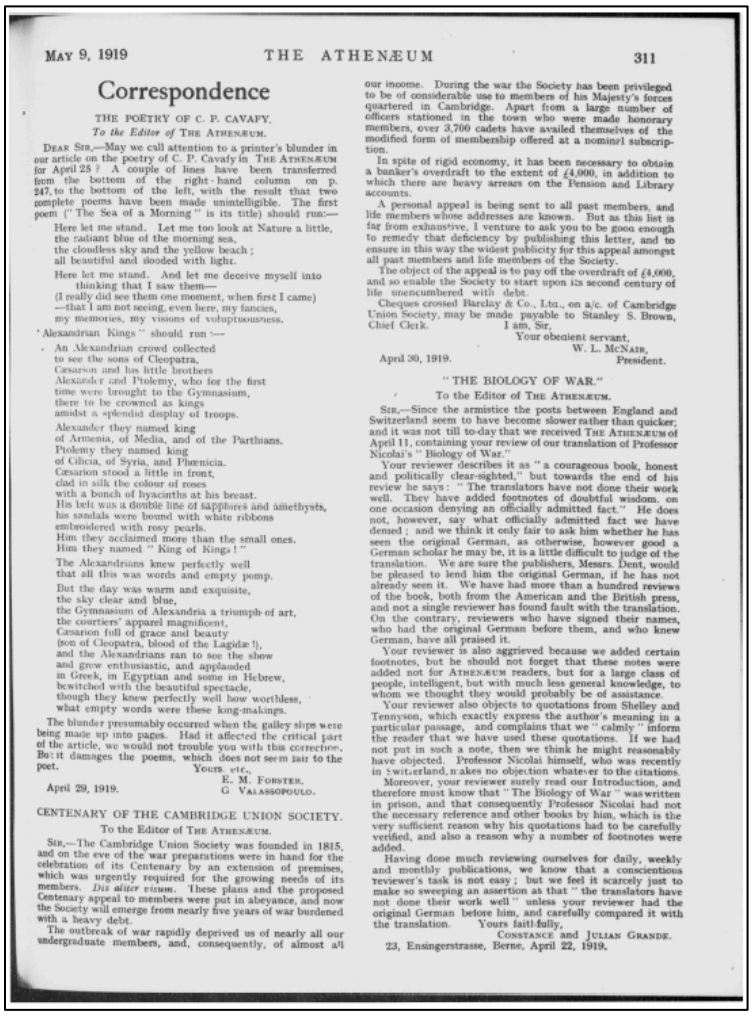
1917.

PROLOGUE

ALTHOUGH as yet our heads ache too much from the bludgeoning of war for us to count our wounds, a menacing instinct warns us that we are somehow maimed; yet how we do not know. We have lost friends in and through whom we largely lived; and the loss is grievous to us. But we feel that our catastrophe has been more intimate and perilous by far than this. Wherein, then, does it lie? Surely we cannot be weeping like children because life has been unkind. Even if we were idealists and optimists we cannot have been so indurated as to refuse the consolation of the truth merely because the truth happened to be one which we did not desire. And who can tell whether it is better that we should continue to inhabit the castle of indolent illusion than that its ruins should fall about our awakened heads? The earthquake has happened and we have to live amid the debris. We had better make the best of it.

So the invincible argument goes on, urging us to begin drawing our maps again, before we are too old to be masters of any country which

CONTENTS



MAY 9, 1919 THE ATHENÆUM 311

Correspondence

THE POETRY OF C. P. CAVAFY.

To the Editor of THE ATHENÆUM.

DEAR SIR,—May we call attention to a printer's blunder in our article on the poetry of C. P. Cavafy in THE ATHENÆUM for April 25? A couple of lines have been transferred from the bottom of the right-hand column on p. 247, to the bottom of the left, with the result that two complete poems have been made unintelligible. The first poem ("The Sea of a Morning" is its title) should run:—

Here let me stand. Let me too look at Nature a little,
the radiant blue of the morning sea,
the cloudless sky and the yellow beach;
all beautiful and flooded with light.

Here let me stand. And let me deceive myself into
thinking that I saw them—
(I really did see them one moment, when first I came)
—that I am not seeing, even here, my fancies,
my memories, my visions of voluptuousness.

"Alexandrian Kings" should run:—

An Alexandrian crowd collected
to see the sons of Cleopatra,
Cæsarion and his little brothers
Alexander and Ptolemy, who for the first
time were brought to the Gymnasium,
there to be crowned as kings
amidst a splendid display of troops.

Alexander they named king
of Armenia, of Media, and of the Parthians.
Ptolemy they named king
of Cilicia, of Syria, and Phœnicia.
Cæsarion stood a little in front,
clad in silk the colour of roses
with a bunch of hyacinths at his breast.
His belt was a double line of sapphires and amethysts,
his sandals were bound with white ribbons
embroidered with rosy pearls.
Him they acclaimed more than the small ones.
Him they named "King of Kings!"

The Alexandrians knew perfectly well
that all this was words and empty pomp.

But the day was warm and exquisite,
the sky clear and blue,
the Gymnasium of Alexandria a triumph of art,
the courtiers' apparel magnificent,
Cæsarion full of grace and beauty
(son of Cleopatra, blood of the Lagidæ!),
and the Alexandrians ran to see the show
and grew enthusiastic, and applauded
in Greek, in Egyptian and some in Hebrew,
bewitched with the beautiful spectacle,
though they knew perfectly well how worthless,
what empty words were these king-makings.

The blunder presumably occurred when the galley slips were being made up into pages. Had it affected the critical part of the article, we would not trouble you with this correction. But it damages the poems, which does not seem fair to the poet.

Yours etc.,
E. M. FORSTER.
G. VALASSOPOULO.

April 29, 1919.

CENTENARY OF THE CAMBRIDGE UNION SOCIETY.

To the Editor of THE ATHENÆUM.

SIR,—The Cambridge Union Society was founded in 1815, and on the eve of the war preparations were in hand for the celebration of its Centenary by an extension of premises, which was urgently required for the growing needs of its members. *Dis aliter visum.* These plans and the proposed Centenary appeal to members were put in abeyance, and now the Society will emerge from nearly five years of war burdened with a heavy debt.

The outbreak of war rapidly deprived us of nearly all our undergraduate members, and, consequently, of almost all our income. During the war the Society has been privileged to be of considerable use to members of his Majesty's forces quartered in Cambridge. Apart from a large number of officers stationed in the town who were made honorary members, over 3,700 cadets have availed themselves of the modified form of membership offered at a nominal subscription.

In spite of rigid economy, it has been necessary to obtain a banker's overdraft to the extent of £4,000, in addition to which there are heavy arrears on the Pension and Library accounts.

A personal appeal is being sent to all past members, and life members whose addresses are known. But as this list is far from exhaustive, I venture to ask you to be good enough to remedy that deficiency by publishing this letter, and to ensure in this way the widest publicity for this appeal amongst all past members and life members of the Society.

The object of the appeal is to pay off the overdraft of £4,000, and so enable the Society to start upon its second century of life unencumbered with debt.

Cheques crossed Barclay & Co., Ltd., on a/c. of Cambridge Union Society, may be made payable to Stanley S. Brown, Chief Clerk.

I am, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
W. L. MCNAIR,
President.

April 30, 1919.

"THE BIOLOGY OF WAR."

To the Editor of THE ATHENÆUM.

SIR,—Since the armistice the posts between England and Switzerland seem to have become slower rather than quicker; and it was not till to-day that we received THE ATHENÆUM of April 11, containing your review of our translation of Professor Nicolai's "Biology of War."

Your reviewer describes it as "a courageous book, honest and politically clear-sighted," but towards the end of his review he says: "The translators have not done their work well. They have added footnotes of doubtful wisdom, on one occasion denying an officially admitted fact." He does not, however, say what officially admitted fact we have denied; and we think it only fair to ask him whether he has seen the original German, as otherwise, however good a German scholar he may be, it is a little difficult to judge of the translation. We are sure the publishers, Messrs. Dent, would be pleased to lend him the original German, if he has not already seen it. We have had more than a hundred reviews of the book, both from the American and the British press, and not a single reviewer has found fault with the translation. On the contrary, reviewers who have signed their names, who had the original German before them, and who knew German, have all praised it.

Your reviewer is also aggrieved because we added certain footnotes, but he should not forget that these notes were added not for ATHENÆUM readers, but for a large class of people, intelligent, but with much less general knowledge, to whom we thought they would probably be of assistance.

Your reviewer also objects to quotations from Shelley and Tennyson, which exactly express the author's meaning in a particular passage, and complains that we "calmly" inform the reader that we have used these quotations. If we had not put in such a note, then we think he might reasonably have objected. Professor Nicolai himself, who was recently in Switzerland, makes no objection whatever to the citations.

Moreover, your reviewer surely read our Introduction, and therefore must know that "The Biology of War" was written in prison, and that consequently Professor Nicolai had not the necessary reference and other books by him, which is the very sufficient reason why his quotations had to be carefully verified, and also a reason why a number of footnotes were added.

Having done much reviewing ourselves for daily, weekly and monthly publications, we know that a conscientious reviewer's task is not easy; but we feel it scarcely just to make so sweeping an assertion as that "the translators have not done their work well" unless your reviewer had the original German before him, and carefully compared it with the translation.

Yours faithfully,
CONSTANCE and JULIAN GRANDE.

23, Ensingerstrasse, Berne, April 22, 1919.

Fig. 15: The *Athenaeum*'s first 'Correspondence' section, featuring a letter from E. M. Forster. Murry introduced this segment of the review to engage his audiences and attract new readers. From the *ProQuest* online database.

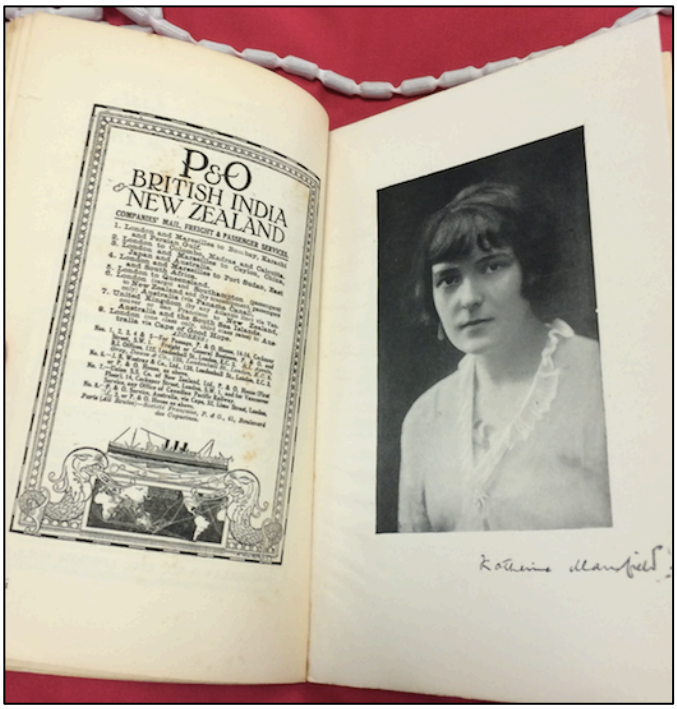


Fig. 16: The *Adelphi*'s first issue, which featured Mansfield's photograph. Her work would be printed in the magazine for years. Photo taken by the author. From the University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections.

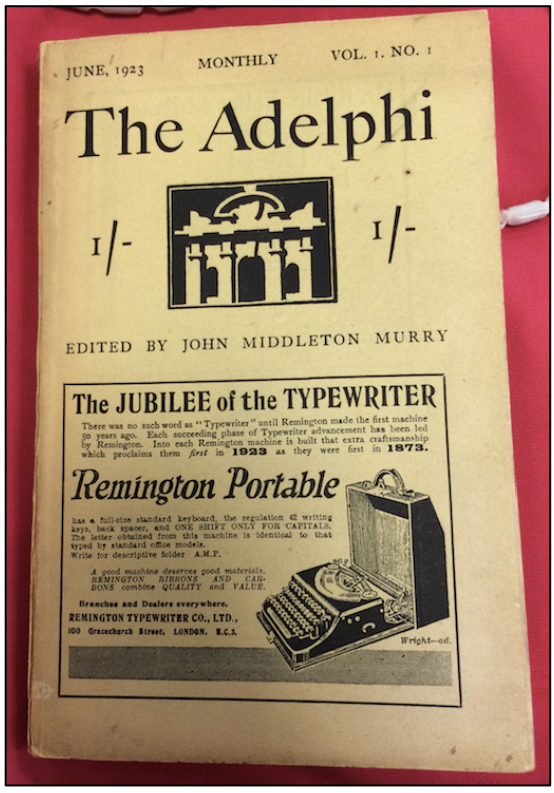
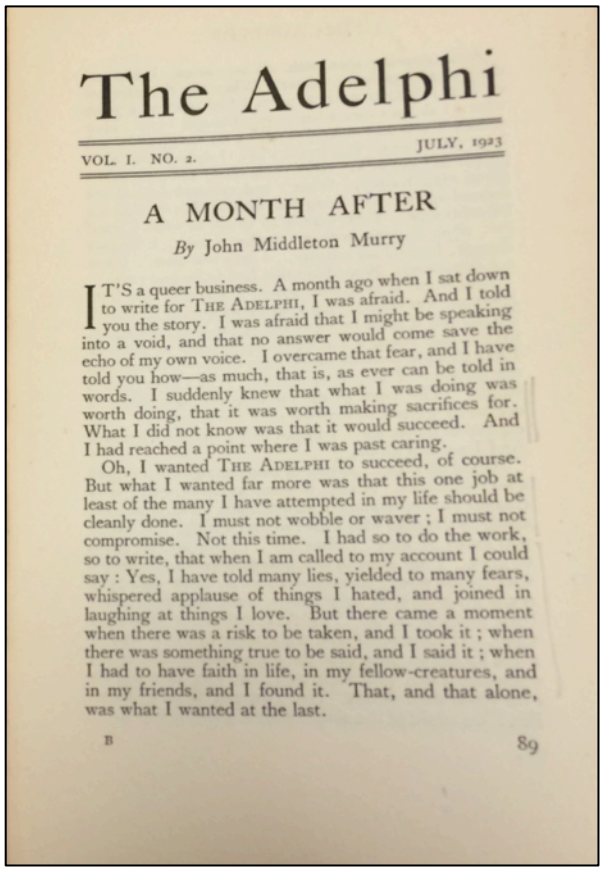


Fig. 17: The *Adelphi*'s yellow front cover, complete with an advertisement for a Remington Portable typewriter. Photo taken by the author. From the University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections.

Fig. 18: Murry's second *Adelphi* editorial, signed with his name rather than his title 'The Editor'. He published most of his editorials under his own name, indicating his commitment to engaging with his readers as an equal, not as a judgmental editor. Photo taken by the author. From the University of Nottingham Manuscripts and Special Collections.



The Adelphi

VOL. I. NO. 2. JULY, 1923

A MONTH AFTER

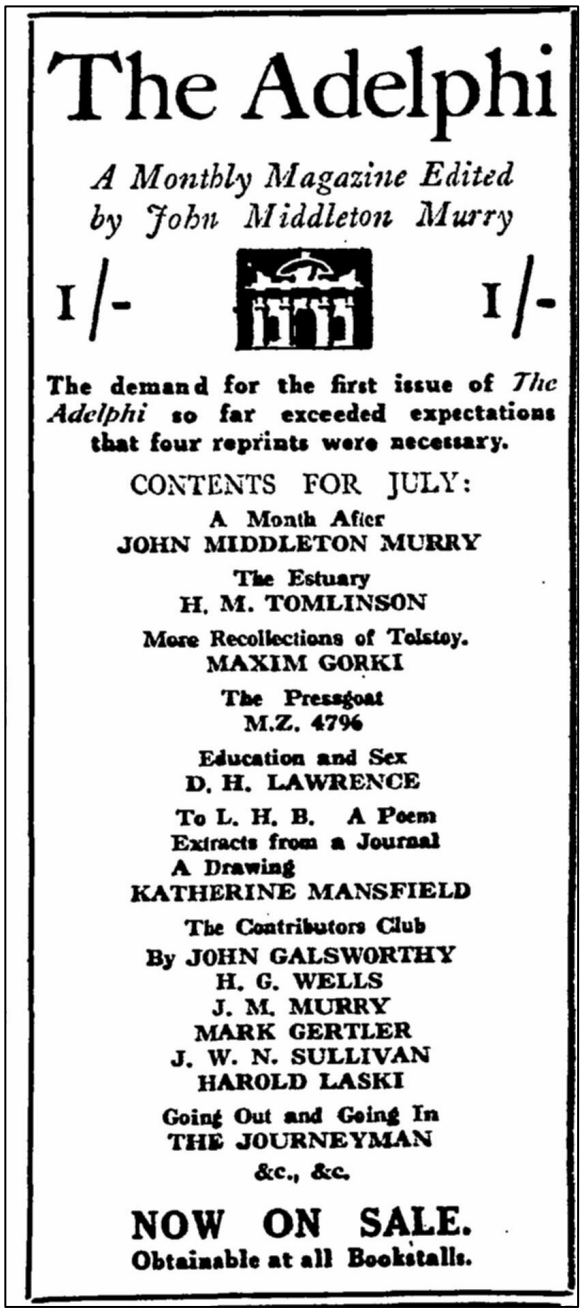
By John Middleton Murry

IT'S a queer business. A month ago when I sat down to write for THE ADELPHI, I was afraid. And I told you the story. I was afraid that I might be speaking into a void, and that no answer would come save the echo of my own voice. I overcame that fear, and I have told you how—as much, that is, as ever can be told in words. I suddenly knew that what I was doing was worth doing, that it was worth making sacrifices for. What I did not know was that it would succeed. And I had reached a point where I was past caring.

Oh, I wanted THE ADELPHI to succeed, of course. But what I wanted far more was that this one job at least of the many I have attempted in my life should be cleanly done. I must not wobble or waver ; I must not compromise. Not this time. I had so to do the work, so to write, that when I am called to my account I could say : Yes, I have told many lies, yielded to many fears, whispered applause of things I hated, and joined in laughing at things I love. But there came a moment when there was a risk to be taken, and I took it ; when there was something true to be said, and I said it ; when I had to have faith in life, in my fellow-creatures, and in my friends, and I found it. That, and that alone, was what I wanted at the last.

B 89

Fig. 19: An advertisement for the *Adelphi* in the *TLS*, 28 June 1923. From the *TLS* online archive, Gale Sources.



The Adelphi

A Monthly Magazine Edited by John Middleton Murry

I/- I/-

The demand for the first issue of *The Adelphi* so far exceeded expectations that four reprints were necessary.

CONTENTS FOR JULY:

A Month After
JOHN MIDDLETON MURRY

The Estuary
H. M. TOMLINSON

More Recollections of Tolstoy.
MAXIM GORKI

The Pressgoat
M.Z. 4796

Education and Sex
D. H. LAWRENCE

To L. H. B. A Poem
Extracts from a Journal
A Drawing
KATHERINE MANSFIELD

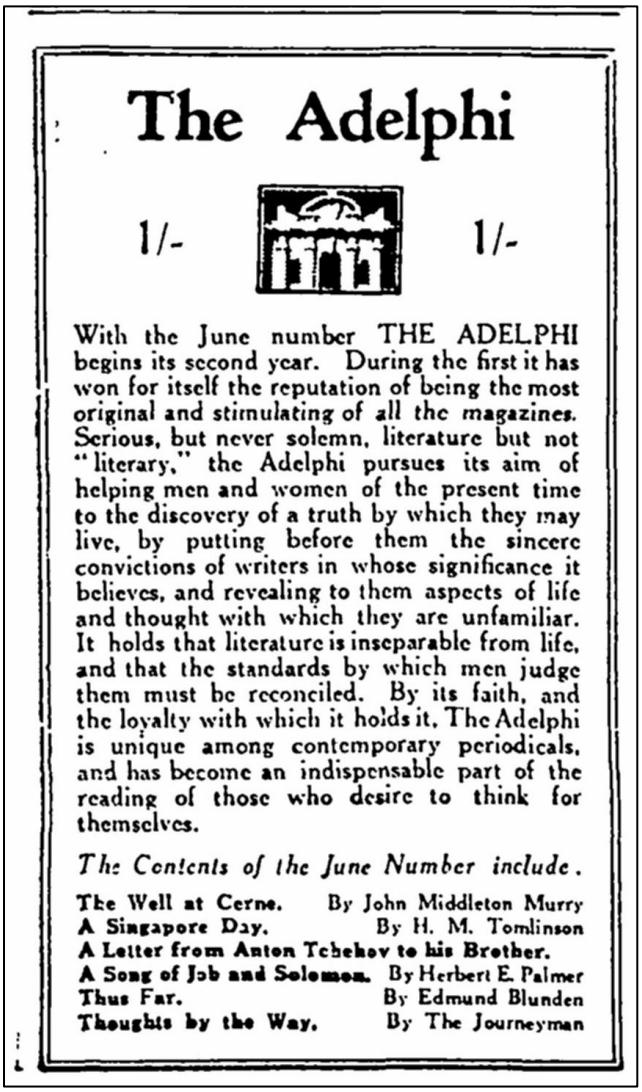
The Contributors Club
By JOHN GALSWORTHY
H. G. WELLS
J. M. MURRY
MARK GERTLER
J. W. N. SULLIVAN
HAROLD LASKI

Going Out and Going In
THE JOURNEYMAN

&c., &c.

NOW ON SALE.
Obtainable at all Bookstalls.

Fig. 20: An advertisement for the *Adelphi* in 29 May 1924's *TLS*, one year on from the advertisement shown in Fig. 19. From the *TLS* online archive, Gale Sources.



The Adelphi

1/- 1/-

With the June number THE ADELPHI begins its second year. During the first it has won for itself the reputation of being the most original and stimulating of all the magazines. Serious, but never solemn, literature but not "literary," the Adelphi pursues its aim of helping men and women of the present time to the discovery of a truth by which they may live, by putting before them the sincere convictions of writers in whose significance it believes, and revealing to them aspects of life and thought with which they are unfamiliar. It holds that literature is inseparable from life, and that the standards by which men judge them must be reconciled. By its faith, and the loyalty with which it holds it, The Adelphi is unique among contemporary periodicals, and has become an indispensable part of the reading of those who desire to think for themselves.

The Contents of the June Number include.

The Well at Cerne. By John Middleton Murry
A Singapore Day. By H. M. Tomlinson
A Letter from Anton Tchehov to his Brother.
A Song of Job and Solomon. By Herbert E. Palmer
Thus Far. By Edmund Blunden
Thoughts by the Way. By The Journeyman

Fig. 21: The front page of the *TLS*, 28 August 1924, with an *Adelphi* advertisement in the bottom-left corner. See Fig. 22 for a close-up of the advertisement. From the *TLS* online archive, Gale Sources.

The Times
LITERARY SUPPLEMENT.

No. 1,180. (Twenty-Third Year.) LONDON, THURSDAY, AUGUST 28, 1924. [Registered as a Newspaper.] PRICE 3d.

CONTENTS.

GEORGE BORROW.

"Brother," said Mr. Petulengro, "I was just now looking in your face, which exhibited the very look of a person conscious of the possession of property; there was nothing hungry or sneaking in it. Pay the reckoning, brother." So might it be said of the fortunate owner of this magnificent edition,* and happy may he be to pay the reckoning. The volumes are dignified in appearance, light to handle, and pleasant to read. And Borrow himself, who, whatever he might say of gentility and of the meanness of the author's trade ("What a contemptible trade is the author's compared with that of the jockey"), had a very just sense both of his own importance and of the value of appearances, would have realized in seeing them that a worthy tribute had been paid to his achievement.

Naturally most of the matter contained in this edition is old, and well known to every Borrovian, and indeed to every reader. But a surprising number of pages are given to work either previously unpublished or published in a form which is practically inaccessible. Very little which is known or suspected to be Borrow's is omitted. Mr. Shorter does not reproduce the "Celebrated Trials" of 1825, accepting Dr. Knapp's verdict that Borrow "wrote nothing [of that book], not even the Introductions, which are brimful of the ideas and style of his antipathetic chief and patron." Lovers of Lavengro may sorrow, but must approve. Again, though in this case Mr. Shorter rejects Dr. Knapp's view, he excludes the "Memoirs of Vidocq" of 1829; but, on the plea that Borrow "may have written the 'sequel,' signed 'M. T. B.,' and this is at any rate so brief that it can do no harm to include it" (an argument analogous to that of the maidservant in "Mr. Midshipman Easy"), he prints this fragment. The "Letters of George Borrow to the British and Foreign Bible Society," already published, and Mr. Shorter's own "very large collection of Borrow's letters," are also omitted. No one will complain of the omission of the letters to the Society; the portion most worthy of preservation live on in more glorious form in "The Bible in Spain." But the suggestion that another very large number of letters remains unpublished whets the appetite and yet gives no promise of allaying it. It would be pleasant to infer that Mr. Shorter reserves them for a future publication. Indeed, three volumes and the reservation which preceded them might well be, and ought to be, the prelude to a definitive life of Borrow. Each book or collection of writings is here preceded by a short bibliographical note from the hand of the editor. And the debt due to Professor Herbert Wright, of the University College of Bangor, in the preparation of "Wild Wales" is duly acknowledged. But these notes are tantalizing in their brevity and suggestiveness. There is much more to be told and the time is ripe. Borrow has been dead for forty-three years. He has come into the full fruition of fame, and requires a memorial supplementary to these delightful volumes. True it is that nothing will shake our sense of gratitude to Dr. Knapp. He laid the foundations once and for all. His work was amazing in its patience and thoroughness; and his judgment was at once reverent and sane. But, in the first place, Dr. Knapp wrote twenty-five years ago; and the discoveries made since 1909 need collation. In the second, Dr. Knapp is among the most tiresome of writers. Having given a great part of his life to the study of his subject, he had become infected with some of the worst of Borrow's tricks and mannerisms of style. His arrangement is confusing, and his actual composition, both in gross and in detail, rivals that of his master, in its apostrophes and its irrelevances, without any of his master's vision or magic. He laid the foundations, and that at a time when he had first to clear the ground, choked and encumbered with legend and misunderstanding. It is time now for others to enter into the fruit of his labours.

The most important matter here first presented, or first made available for the general reader, falls into three main divisions. First are the "Songs of Scandinavia," which, with other verses and translations, either hitherto unpublished or published only for the few, fill three of the sixteen volumes. Second, a volume of writings complementary to "Wild Wales," consisting either of cancelled passages from that book or of separate writings connected closely with it. Third, a collection of miscellaneous tales and diaries, filling two volumes, having their respective origins at periods separated widely over the whole of Borrow's literary life.

As might be expected, these writings differ greatly in value and in quality. The Songs of Scandinavia were to have been, in the opinion of their author, one of his chief titles to fame. Their present editor expresses the view that there is in this extraordinary collection much that was well worth preserving in volume form. Sympathy is naturally evoked by Borrow's ambitious hope and by Mr. Shorter's piety. And it is therefore painful to record a cordial agreement with Murray's refusal to burden his presses with these verses. Ballads are very dangerous gear; and for their handling are needed not only infinite tact and judgment, but also heaven-sent moments. But when to the initial difficulty of the task there are added the perils incident to the craft of the translator, only he can come off with credit who, endowed with the magic touch of a Scott, happens on a lode of unusually precious ore. For all Borrow's linguistic knowledge and all his literary gift, he had neither a musical ear nor a sharp critical faculty. How much of this verse is original and how much real translation we have no means of discovering. But he was not a natural singer. We can test his "turn for these things" when we have before us his rendering of well-known and immortal verse, such as the Fifth Canto of the "Inferno." It is reasonably faithful, but eminently dull and uninspired. It leaves us uncertain how much of the dullness of the ballads is inherent in the originals and how much due to the translator. Whichever be the truth, the result is such couplets as:—

Fair Ingeborg gained, because bride she had been,
One of the King's knights of handsome mien,

or again:—

Now gallant Child Stig has overcome his distress,
He sleeps in the arm of a lovely princess.

With which may be compared:—

And when she grew up she was given in marriage
To a first-class Earl, who keeps his carriage.)

The earliest of the miscellaneous pieces are the "Tales of the Wild and Wonderful," published in 1825 without author's name, and attributed with confidence to Borrow both by Mr. Walter Jerrold, the discoverer of the volume, and by Mr. Shorter. In the same year, also without the author's or translator's name, appeared "Faustus," "translated from the German." Mr. Shorter regards these two publications as representing the "Life of Joseph Nell the Famous Traveller," the book which furnished Lavengro with the money for his expedition to the North and has furnished his commentators with inexhaustible food for controversy. It is easy to understand how these books, and especially "Faustus," must have shocked the contemporary reviewers. They are, however, not only interesting in their history but, though they have the defects of their qualities—horrors from Wardour-street, and gloom from what used to be called "transpontine melodrama"—they are not without vigour. In particular "The Yellow Dwarf," which Borrow himself described as "an olla podrida of odds and ends, a snip of the garment of every fairy tale written since the days of King Arthur," has both action and humour. The chief remaining pieces in these two volumes are "The Turkish Jester" (Cogia Xauf Eddin Effendi), which, though it provides an occasional half-chuckle-of-a laugh, leaves the reader wondering at the elementary character of the humour of nations other than his own; very dreary translations of what appear to be very dreary originals—"The Sleeping Bard," by Elis Wyn, and "The Death of Rahier," by Johannes Ewald; the very characteristic "Expedition to the Isle of Man in the Year 1853"; and "A Tour in Scotland," reproduced from a manuscript notebook.

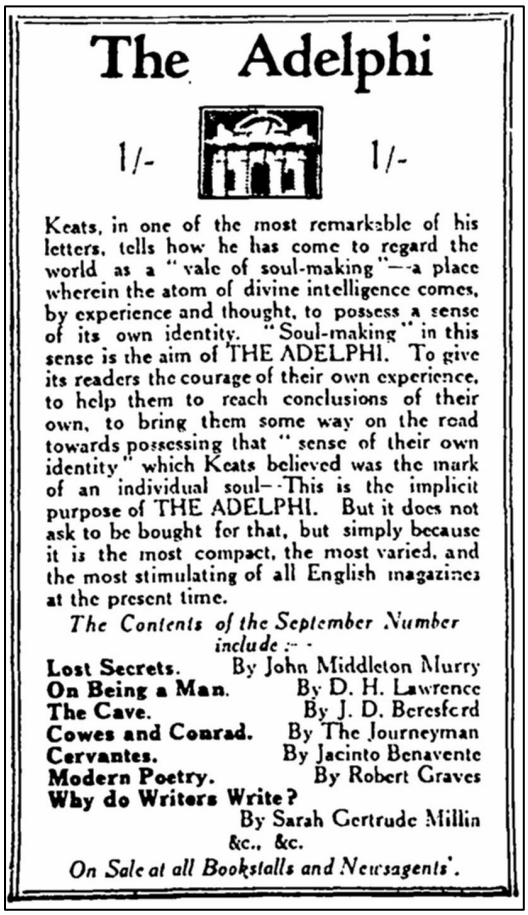
If, however, the writings already noticed deserve preservation, in the main, rather as curiosities than for their intrinsic merit, the pieces published with "Wild Wales" are a substantial and valuable addition to Borrow's literary remains. They stand for themselves, without any adventitious aid from novelty or mere bibliographical interest. Under the spell of reflection Borrow might produce whimsical magic, or he might write like poor Poll. Under the influence of some of his numerous hatreds he can be as tedious and as exasperating as if his serious work in life were theological or political controversy. These studies in Welsh history prove that, given a theme in which he could take pleasure, he was capable of the highest flights in prose. He shows here his mastery of strong, simple, direct, and rapid narrative. Once suddenly, in the midst of what is ostensibly an account of Welsh Bards, he finds an opportunity of unearthing to his besetting sin, and for many pages declines into a eulogy of Henry VIII, which would be irritating in its perversity were it not that the humour overcomes the invective in the extravagances of its own statement. But let anyone read the story of the Battle of Mortimer's Cross, or of the tergiversations of Ryce Ap Thomas before Bosworth, or of the Battle of the Spurs: he will be more puzzled than ever as to the place to be allotted to Borrow in the great lineage of the writers of English prose, and more than ever inclined to allot a very high place indeed.

This is the great problem. Borrow stands in the following of those writers who have the peculiar property of inspiring love, a love which blinds their admirers to their defects, and even, in some sort, to their excellences. And, since we may be bold to say that we love, so we may also be bold to acknowledge the faults of our idol. Consider how we find him in the eyes of his most fervent admirers—violent and, to be frank, something of a hore in his hatreds, and yet under some suspicion on the one hand that they have a mean origin and on the other that he has his tongue in his cheek: ready to take offence at the merest trifle: over-emphatic in praise as in blame: apt to "get swamped," as Ford observed, "in that damnable slough—fine writing": boastful sometimes and overvaluing his philological attainments (the least valuable part of his literary make-up): the least accurate of writers, so that, even in the foreign tongues on which he prided himself, he cannot spell correctly or stick to one version of a proper name: incapable of seeing a historical fact except through the medium of distorted prejudice—how comes it that such a one should have made more sweet for us life, night and day, the sun, moon and stars, and the wind on the heath? Why do we thrill with him as he goes down before the terrible fist of the Flaming Tinman, or grow tender, when he, for once, is restrained, over the idyll, "wild with all regret," of Isopel Berners; or even shed a tear in fancy over that unmitigated scoundrel Thurtell, who, seen through his eyes, seems to throw off the sordid and emerge as an ill-fated hero of romance!

In the first place there is the categorical fact, explaining nothing, that the story which he tells, like that of Murtagh, "whether true or not, was infinitely diverting." Then, next, if we are to appraise his contribution to the wealth of the English-speaking peoples, we must consider the circumstances in which he conceived and made it. The giants of the Romantic school in England were gone or going. The genius of the time had swept the movement "out of England into France, out of France into Spain (where it seems to have turned from literature to the absurdities of bullfighting), and then he whips it back again." Sir Walter Scott, it is true, was in the full vigour of his popularity during Borrow's formative years, but his best work was done; he died seven years after the great journey to the North, Byron had died the year before, Borrow set out on that expedition; and we know also to what curious moralizings Byron's funeral moved Borrow, what incongruous parallels rose to his mind: "mighty Milton," "witty and ingenious Butler," "starving Otway." "They have left a fame behind them which shall never die, whilst this birdling—a time will come when he will be out of fashion and forgotten." And yet: "Lords, squires, and cockneys may pass away, but a time will scarcely come when 'Childe Harold' and

* The Works of George Borrow. Edited, with many hitherto unpublished manuscript, by Clement Shorter. Norwich Edition. Sixteen Volumes. (Constable. £12 12s. net.)

Fig. 22: A close-up of the *Adelphi* advertisement in 28 August 1924's *TLS* (Fig. 21). From the *TLS* online archive, Gale Sources.



The Adelphi

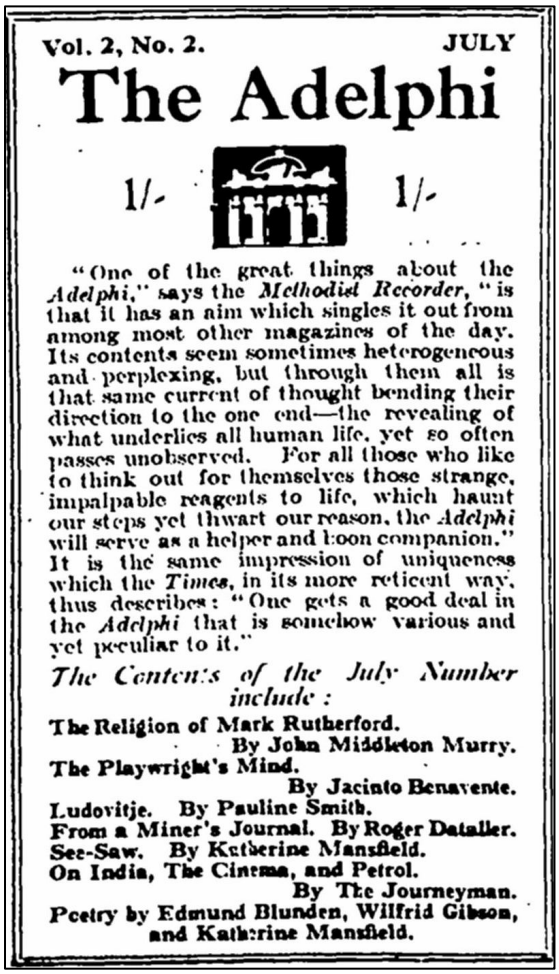
1/- 1/-

Keats, in one of the most remarkable of his letters, tells how he has come to regard the world as a "vale of soul-making"—a place wherein the atom of divine intelligence comes, by experience and thought, to possess a sense of its own identity. "Soul-making" in this sense is the aim of THE ADELPHI. To give its readers the courage of their own experience, to help them to reach conclusions of their own, to bring them some way on the road towards possessing that "sense of their own identity" which Keats believed was the mark of an individual soul—This is the implicit purpose of THE ADELPHI. But it does not ask to be bought for that, but simply because it is the most compact, the most varied, and the most stimulating of all English magazines at the present time.

The Contents of the September Number include :—

Lost Secrets. By John Middleton Murry
On Being a Man. By D. H. Lawrence
The Cave. By J. D. Beresford
Cowes and Conrad. By The Journeyman
Cervantes. By Jacinto Benavente
Modern Poetry. By Robert Graves
Why do Writers Write? By Sarah Gertrude Millin
&c., &c.

On Sale at all Bookstalls and Newsagents'.



Vol. 2, No. 2. JULY

The Adelphi

1/- 1/-

"One of the great things about the *Adelphi*," says the *Methodist Recorder*, "is that it has an aim which singles it out from among most other magazines of the day. Its contents seem sometimes heterogeneous and perplexing, but through them all is that same current of thought bending their direction to the one end—the revealing of what underlies all human life, yet so often passes unobserved. For all those who like to think out for themselves those strange, impalpable reagents to life, which haunt our steps yet thwart our reason, the *Adelphi* will serve as a helper and boon companion." It is the same impression of uniqueness which the *Times*, in its more reticent way, thus describes: "One gets a good deal in the *Adelphi* that is somehow various and yet peculiar to it."

The Contents of the July Number include:

The Religion of Mark Rutherford.
By John Middleton Murry.
The Playwright's Mind.
By Jacinto Benavente.
Ludovitje. By Pauline Smith.
From a Miner's Journal. By Roger Dataller.
See-Saw. By Katherine Mansfield.
On India, The Cinema, and Petrol.
By The Journeyman.
Poetry by Edmund Blunden, Wilfrid Gibson, and Katherine Mansfield.

Fig. 23: Advertisement for the *Adelphi* in the *TLS*, 26 June 1924. This advertisement offers praise for the *Adelphi* from the *Methodist Recorder*. From the *TLS* online archive, Gale Sources.

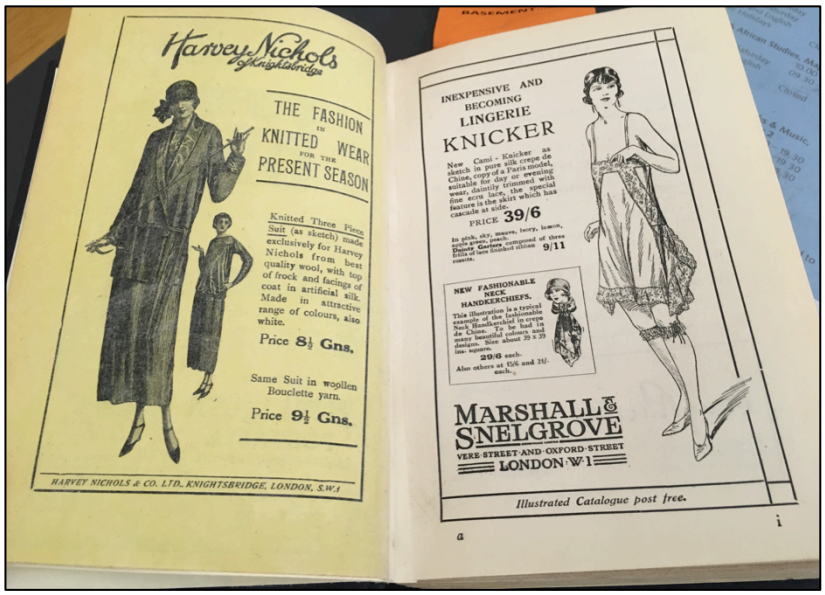


Fig. 24: Two advertising pages in the first issue of the *Adelphi*'s second volume (June 1924). These two advertisements suggest that the magazine had a large female readership. Photo taken by the author. From the British Library collections.

Fig. 25: Murry in 1931. Photo by Lafayette. From the National Portrait Gallery.