Barrowby, Boys' Books, and How to Make Literature

ABSTRACT: In what is commonly understood to be an autobiographical note, Fernando Pessoa wrote, "Those books which are called boys' books and deal with exciting experiences I cared little for." In fact, as a young adolescent in Durban, Fernando not only read a lot of "boys' books," he also tried to write one of his own: *Os Rapazes de Barrowby* (The Boys of Barrowby) lifted its title, the names of some characters, and various structural details from *The Barrowboy Boys*, serialized in a British magazine for boys in 1903. Pessoa completely changed the story, however, and partly subverted the genre.

KEYWORDS: boys' books, Barrowby, story papers, dime novels, *O Palrador*, Durban

Fernando Pessoa's first sustained run of creative writing occurred during the yearlong holiday he spent in Portugal when he was thirteen and fourteen years old.[1] Between March and September 1902, he produced over fifteen poems,[2] most of which were included in several homemade newspapers, *O Palrador* (The Tattler) and *A Palavra* (The Word), whose neatly handwritten columns also presented stories, anecdotes, charades, real news, and invented news. All Pessoa's poems and other writings were in Portuguese—remarkably good Portuguese, when we consider that his schooling in Durban during the previous five and a half years had been in English. The various issues of the 1902 newspapers have been reproduced, partially transcribed, and discussed by Teresa Rita Lopes,[3] Darlene Sadlier,[4] and others. I will merely mention here that *O Palrador* was the more complex of the two journalistic enterprises. It entailed a large team of fictitiously named contributors and included the names of equally fictitious editors and staff writers on its masthead.

Before his trip to Portugal, Pessoa had written at least one poem in English, "Separated from Thee,"[5] and after returning to Durban, in October 1902, he continued to write in English—almost exclusively. Anglophone preheteronyms[6] such as David Merrick, Sidney Parkinson Stool, and Charles Robert Anon emerged in 1903. On July 11, 1903, in the *Natal Mercury*, Pessoa published his

first English poem, "The Miner's Song," attributed to Karl P. Effield, a preheteronym supposedly born in Boston.[7] And then, out of the blue, in that same month of July, he revived *O Palrador*, which continued to be a strictly Portuguese production, though it now resembled a magazine more than a newspaper. The masthead, in fact, advertised it as a "periódico mensal" (monthly periodical).[8] Exactly one year had passed since the last issue, made in Lisbon and dated July 5, 1902, and almost everything about the new series was different. Some of the names on the masthead remained, but their titles and duties had changed. Dr. Pancracio, literary editor of the last 1902 issue, became the pseudonym of a new staff member, Francisco Páu, responsible for the humor section. Pad Zé, formerly the pseudonym of Pedro da Silva Salles, was now the pen name of Roberto Kóla, in charge of riddles. There were nine other editors and subeditors, one handling a sports section and another a short story section. The elaborate editorial scaffold was probably conceived with future issues in mind, but these never materialized. Volume 1, Issue 1 of the new *O Palrador* was the only issue. And Pessoa wrote virtually nothing else in Portuguese until he returned to Lisbon for good, in 1905.

The Durban issue of *O Palrador* appears to be the only example of Portuguese creative writing produced by Pessoa during the years he spent in South Africa. But upon inspection, it turns out to be a conceptually English production. An introductory editor's page, signed by Silva Salles, announces the first installments of *Quatro romances interessantíssimos* (*Four Fascinating Novels*), a series of "pequenos contos militares" (military short stories), and other articles "de bastante interesse" (of considerable interest).[9] No articles and no army tales were written, and only two of the four promised serial novels commenced "publication." The most interesting one, *Os Rapazes de Barrowby*, subtitled *Crónica Humorística* (*Humorous Story*) and signed by Adolph Moscow, is about the amusing but also violent interaction of students at a boys' boarding school in an English town called Barrowby. The first chapter, to which I will return, describes the village and the school named after it. The second and last chapter of the installment narrates the rude reception that three veteran students give to several new arrivals. The story has been the object of differing critical treatments, and I will summarize some of the resulting observations and interpretations before presenting hypotheses and conclusions from my own research.

Hubert Dudley Jennings, who revealed the existence of the Durban *O Palrador*,[10] initially reported that the Barrowby School, although fictionally situated

in England, exactly fit the description of Durban High School (DHS), where Pessoa studied from 1899 to 1901 and again in 1904.[11] Jennings subsequently backed off on that assertion, admitting that Pessoa had changed some details and added an astronomical observatory,[12] but he continued to view *Os Rapazes de Barrowby* as an autobiographical transposition. According to his reading, the Barrowby headmaster was a composite of the headmaster of DHS and the director of the Commercial School (where Pessoa studied in 1903), while the abuse endured by Zacharias, a new Barrowby student who is Jewish, was a caricature of what Fernando himself had endured.[13] The *Barrowby* narrator explains, for his ideal Portuguese reader, several particulars of English boys' schools, including the use of boxing as the only respectable form of fighting among students. Though the tradition of *fagging*—whereby younger schoolboys act as servants (*fags*) for the older boys—is not explained, it is illustrated by the authoritarian attitude of the older students toward Zacharias and other newcomers. Pessoa's knowledge and possible firsthand experience of fagging, as revealed by his story, led Yara Frateschi Vieira to propose it as a seed for sadomasochistic scenes in poems such as Álvaro de Campos's *Ode marítima* (*Maritime Ode*).[14]

Jennings also called attention to Pessoa's ostensibly Dickensian humor,[15] a point focused and expanded on by António Sabler, who argued that the juvenile writer's love of *The Pickwick Papers* inspired the comic descriptions of his *Barrowby* characters.[16] Sabler also found puns at work in some of the students' names, such as Godfrey Slater ("god free is later") and Donald Dowson ("Donald [wi] dow son"). In the latter name, Sabler posited a linguistic projection of Pessoa's status as the son of a mother who became a widow when he was five years old.[17]

In a chapter tracing the development of Pessoa's interest in physiognomy, phrenology, and other sciences "of the minute" grouped under "microsophy" (a Pessoan coinage), Jerónimo Pizarro offers *Barrowby* as the first example of a literary text in which the young writer mentions and exploits physiognomy.[18] Adolph Moscow, the fictitious author of *Barrowby*, refers directly to Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801), the pioneering promoter of physiognomy in modern times, in order to justify reading the personalities of the Barrowby schoolboys in their facial features. Blue eyes, for instance, are said to indicate forthrightness.[19] Moscow does not associate Zacharias's large, stork-like nose with any personality trait, but Pizarro stresses the fact that Pessoa would become especially interested in the physiognomic importance of the nose. Because Pessoa's partly Jewish heritage was detectable in the shape of his own nose (so one of his

Jewish friends told him in 1913), Pizarro allows for a possible autobiographical connection between Zacharias's less than warm welcome by veteran Barrowby students and Fernando's own reception at Durban High School.[20]

Aníbal Frias, after reviewing and critiquing the contributions of the four scholars just named, remarks on the insufficient attention paid to what he considers the central theme: "un rituel de *praxe* entre collégiens" (a ritual of praxis among students).[21] Praxis encompasses initiation and other student rituals practiced at Portuguese institutions of higher learning, particularly at the University of Coimbra.[22] Frias's discussion of *Barrowby* is contained in an article on the relationship of Pessoa to Coimbra, but its relevance, as far as I can tell, is tangential. There is a slight connection between Coimbra and *O Palrador*, because Pad Zé (a corruption of "Padre José")—one of the names on the masthead, as previously noted—was the nickname of Alberto Costa (1877–1908), a law student at the University of Coimbra who became famous for his bohemian extravagance and quick wit. He would publish a best-selling book about his university days in 1905 and become a militant republican, but he had founded a satirical student magazine, *Revista do Civil*, as early as 1899 and achieved some notoriety by the time Pessoa founded *O Palrador* in Lisbon. The Durban issue of *O Palrador* had a "Director Artístico" (artistic director) whose name, Alberto Rey da Costa, may have been derived from the real name of the Pad Zé from Coimbra. There is no substantive link, however, between Coimbra and *Os Rapazes de Barrowby*. According to its fictional setting and to the explicit indications of Adolph Moscow, *Barrowby* is a story of social behaviors among English high school students. And Frias confirms this, pointing out that the atmosphere, rituals, and hierarchical relations are those of a British public school ("public" insofar as they are open to whoever can pay the tuition and fees). He suggests that Barrowby could be a hybrid name combining Harrow and Rugby, two prominent public schools.[23] He notes as well that the term *newbie* (a "new boy" at a public school) might be encoded in the novel's title, if we translate it into English: *The Boys of Barrowby*.[24]

Frias provides a thorough account of how all the *Barrowby* banter, name calling, and acts of violence fit into the institution of fagging as practiced at British public schools. He does not speculate on where Pessoa obtained his information—whether through reading or through direct experience—or on what motivated him to mold it into a story. If, as Jennings asserts, the experience was largely autobiographical, then that would explain both the source of Pessoa's knowledge

and his motivation for converting it into literature. The problem is that DHS, back in those days, was a far cry from a British boys' boarding school such as the one described by Moscow. Only a quarter of the DHS students were boarders; the system of organizing the boys into various "houses" was introduced only in 1902 (one year after Pessoa left the school for Portugal); and testimonies from the period suggest there was not yet any formalized hierarchical division of students, much less any tradition of fagging or ritualized bullying.[25]

The Durban *O Palrador* defined itself as a magazine rather than a newspaper, but what sort of magazine did it aim to be? Its format and planned contents—which included military short stories as well as serialized novels such as *Os Rapazes de Barrowby*—reminded me specifically of the "story papers" or boys' magazines that became popular in Victorian Great Britain, spread to the United States and elsewhere, and endured until the 1960s. Further, *Os Rapazes de Barrowby* struck me as a Pessoan take on a typical boys' adventure story from the period. It occurred to me that it might actually be a doctored translation from the English, particularly because *The Boys of Barrowby* is a likely sounding title, as Frias noticed. On the Internet I quickly discovered a novel with that same title, published serially in forty-seven issues of *The Boys' Friend* magazine, beginning in April of 1903. Because it took a month for British publications to reach Durban, Pessoa could have read no more than ten installments (the eleventh was published on June 20) when he began writing his own Portuguese version for *O Palrador*. But how much of *The Boys of Barrowby*, beyond its title, did Pessoa steal? None of the forty-seven issues of *The Boys' Friend* where it was serialized is consultable online, but I managed to obtain a reproduction of the complete novel, published in 1908 as Volume 50 of *The Boys' Friend Library*.[26]

Os Rapazes de Barrowby is not a translation or even a remake of the original *The Boys of Barrowby*, which was signed by Sidney Drew, a pseudonym of Edgar Joyce Murray. Pessoa preserved the story's title, its setting, the division of Barrowby School into two rival houses, and the names of certain characters, along with a few of their salient traits, but he radically altered its plot and literary style. Donald and Richard Dowson, students and identical twins in Drew's novel, feature in Pessoa's as Donald and Ricardo Dowson. A classmate named George Honey becomes Mel, but this is only a nickname, which Moscow explains by noting that the boy has a sweet tooth. Moscow gives Mel's real name as Henry Ford. (This was a rather precocious nod at the carmaker, who had founded the Ford Motor Company just one month earlier, in June of 1903, and who did not come

out with the Model T until 1908. Pessoa would write about and repeatedly allude to Ford in his adult writings.) Another school chum is called Slater in both stories, but Pessoa endows him with a first name, Godfrey, and a nickname: Gyp. A Chinese student christened Ching-Lung by Drew is inversely called Lung-Hi in Portuguese. He is a Chinese prince in both stories but holds center stage in *The Boys of Barrowby*, which is subtitled *The Story of Ching Lung's Schooldays*. Adult names are also translated. A teacher named Mr. Flint becomes Senhor Pedra, and the screw in Drew's Admiral Screwhamer is evoked in Pessoa's Almirante Saca-rolhas (Admiral Corkscrew).

The Boys of Barrowby is full of student pranks and scuffles, with some mention of fags and fagging, but with no scenes of incoming students being subjected to hazing; quite the contrary. Drew's story opens with the arrival of Ching-Lung, whose social acceptance and integration among his schoolmates is instantaneous. (He is, after all, a prince.) *Os Rapazes de Barrowby* is a different story. The second chapter is specifically about the harassment that Mel (Henry Ford), Lung-Hi, and Gyp (Slater) mete out to the large-nosed Jewish boy, whose full name is Zacharias Phumtumpum, and to another youngster named Ralph Tig. Both boys are newcomers to the school and newcomers to the fictional cast of characters, with no corresponding prototypes in the British Ur-story. Zacharias is intimidated but not roughed up, except for a single, ritual punch in the nose; and Ralph, refusing to be intimidated, fights Gyp and gets the better of him. It is possible that Fernando, timid and not at all athletic, was teased by other students at DHS, and perhaps knocked around by older boys, in which case Ralph may have served as a vehicle for him to get at least some literary revenge. But it seems doubtful that Fernando identified with Zacharias, who is portrayed as a ridiculous specimen of a racist Jewish stereotype. The boy is covered with phony jewelry: three fake diamond and gold rings, a gold-painted tie clasp decorated with a fake emerald, and a fake silver pocket watch.[27] If autobiography is at work here, then it is almost surely by way of denial, with Pessoa establishing a distance between his own, considerably diluted Jewishness (ancestors on his father's side) and the unflattering caricature he draws of a "real" Jew.

Whether Pessoa was actually a victim of intimidation and hazing—and there is no concrete evidence to that effect—he would have known about the practices at schools like Harrow and Rugby precisely through his readings of other serialized novels for boys. School life, in this juvenile genre, was naturally one of the major themes. And Pessoa, from early on, had the habit of schooling his read-

ers. He used his story, as Frias has pointed out, to expound on some of the traditions of British public schools.

Pessoa also used his reinvented *Barrowby* to convey, or perhaps to show off, his newly acquired awareness of physiognomy. Pizarro is surely right to reckon that this story contains Pessoa's first reference to this technique for discovering personality. In a small memo book from his Durban years, Pessoa noted the selling price of Lavater's *Essays in Physiognomy* at Adams & Co., a Durban bookstore that still exists.[28] That was probably in late 1903 or 1904—judging by other notations on the same folio (including a list of characters for the story "The Case of the Science Master" and a signature for Charles Robert Anon)—but perhaps he had leafed through *Essays* in mid-1903, right before launching into his serial novel. Pessoa-qua-Moscow mentions not only Lavater but also a second physiognomist, an Englishman named Kisch (1821–1843), who is himself a fiction. Not only that, but the nonexistent Kisch gets a much more detailed footnote than Lavater.[29] Jorge Luis Borges would no doubt have approved.

The first chapter of Pessoa's serial novel, which has received less critical attention than the second, is just as entertaining and stylistically more characteristic. Pessoa, or Adolph Moscow, takes up several pages lamenting how much time and eyesight he has lost poring over atlases, maps, and books in an unsuccessful effort to discover the exact whereabouts of the "célebre aldeia de Barrowby" (well-known village of Barrowby).[30] Not that it really matters, finally, for Moscow is completely indifferent to "se a povoação de Barrowby se tivesse achado situada na Europa, ou na Ásia, ou na África, ou na América, ou na Oceânia, ou nas profundidades caóticas do inferno dantesco" (whether the village of Barrowby is located in Europe, in Asia, in Africa, in America, in Oceania, or in the chaotic depths of Dante's inferno).[31] For the sake of the story, he arbitrarily supposes that Barrowby is an English village not far from Brighton, being served by a port town "ao qual chamaremos Lynmouth" (that we will call Lynmouth).[32] Contrary to what that "chamaremos" (we will call) suggests, Lynmouth indeed exists on the coast a little west of Brighton. Moscow invents a location for a town about which he knows only the name (Barrowby), and he *pretends* to invent the name and location of a town about which he knows both things (Lynmouth). It's as if Pessoa were already rehearsing his poetics of *fingimento* (feigning), whereby even unquestionable reality is feigned or pretended.

The narrator's disdain of geographical detail is not surprising, given the scant attention Pessoa paid to the factual particulars of the many destinations

he imaginatively visited, but Pessoa must have undertaken at least some of the humorously described research to try to locate Barrowby. Without a good gazetteer at his disposal, he failed to find the village, which is in Lincolnshire County, near Nottingham, and he apparently concluded that Sidney Drew had dreamed up the place name. And he may have concluded correctly. Or, more probably, Drew had heard the name but, like Pessoa, didn't worry too much about exactly where it was. Drew situates Barrowby near two invented towns called Fapnell and Zetfield,[33] and states, in the opening scene, that several Barrowby schoolboys "could hear the musical whisper of the River Barrow as it glided towards the sea."[34] There is a River Barrow in Ireland, but none in England, and no river glides by the real village of Barrowby, which is far from the sea. Curiously, Pessoa would commit his own Barrow error many years later, when he wrote a five-sonnet sequence titled "Barrow-on-Furness" and signed by Álvaro de Campos, who is supposedly gazing at the Furness River while giving poetic expression to his existential anguish. In fact, no such river exists. Furness is a peninsula, and the correct name of the town is Barrow-in-Furness.[35]

In the same way that Pessoa, particularly as a developing writer, often used someone else's poem as his starting point to produce a very different and, with luck, superior poetic composition,[36] he took a preexisting serial novel and gutted it. He retained the title, some names, and a few structural props; but he shifted the perspective, changed the tone, added a quasi-philosophical preamble (if it has no other reality, "a aldeia de Barrowby existirá, pelo menos, nesta crónica" [the village of Barrowby will exist at least in this story], Moscow assures us[37]), delineated the characters with the aid of physiognomy, and inserted learned footnotes about this dubious science and other matters. A simple story relying on slapstick humor acquires, in Pessoa's transformation, an erudite narrator with vaguely sociological as well as philosophical pretensions. It is a largely tongue-in-cheek performance, however, written to entertain, and in the end it even resorts to a classic gag, with Gyp taking a calamitous slide on a banana peel.

Various scholars, as noted earlier, have looked at *Os Rapazes de Barrowby* from contrasting points of view, affording us a critical picture of reasonable complexity. I hope to have elucidated a few points as well, but we may all be at risk of overinterpreting. Pessoa, after all, was going for laughs, and he probably had a specific audience in mind: his immediate family. After "The Miner's Song" was printed in early July 1903, it is likely that Pessoa's parents, while enthusiastically

congratulating him, also encouraged him to keep up his creative writing in Portuguese, perhaps reminding him of the mock newspapers he had created in Lisbon (*O Palrador*) and the Azores (*A Palavra*). Whatever it was that prompted Fernando to produce another issue of *O Palrador*, he must have shown it to his parents and siblings, for he used several blank pages in the middle of the in-progress periodical to keep score for a parlor game in which they all participated. Called "Derby," the game mimicked the Durban July Handicap, held on the first Saturday of that month. The July Handicap was and is South Africa's premier horse race. "Derby," played with dice, was Fernando's invention.[38] The family members were assigned different-colored horses, mounted by jockeys with names such as Clumsy Dick, Yreka Jim, and Tom Wallis.[39] The last of these names belongs to the protagonist of *Tom Wallis: A Tale of the South Seas*, a boys' adventure book published by Louis Becke in 1900. Yreka Jim is the protagonist of *Yreka Jim: The Gold-Gatherer*, *Yreka Jim of Yuba Dam*, and several other serialized boys' books.

In an autobiographical text probably written in 1907, Pessoa wrote (in English), "The earliest literary food of my childhood was in the numerous novels of mystery and of horrible adventure. Those books which are called boys' books and deal with exciting experiences I cared little for. With a healthy and natural life I was out of sympathy. My craving was not for the probable, but for the incredible, not even for the impossible by degree, but for the impossible by nature." Pessoa went on to say that he recognized in himself from an early age "an inborn tendency to mystification, to artistic lying."[40] This confessed tendency was acted on in the same text, because the writer falsely claims to have been uninterested in boys' books. In fact, Sidney Drew's *The Boys of Barrowby* fits squarely in the genre, and allusions to characters such as Yreka Jim and Tom Wallis suggest that he read many other similar works, both in book form and in juvenile periodicals such as *The Boys' Friend*. There is no evidence that Pessoa preferred novels "of horrible adventure." And wasn't his favorite novel, *The Pickwick Papers*, a kind of boys' book for grown-ups?

The other serial novel partially written for *O Palrador* is titled *Os Milhões dum doido* (*A Madman's Millions*) and signed by Marvell Kisch (a descendant of Kisch, the fictitious physiognomist?). The first and only chapter produced describes a snowy night in an aristocratic neighborhood of London, where two wealthy women—one older, one younger—exit their mansion to enter a fancy coach, at which point they are accosted by a beggar, with a baby in her arms, whom they

haughtily rebuff. Jennings senses the influence of *Bleak House* in this sad wintry scene,[41] but to me, the story reads suspiciously like a Portuguese translation of the opening pages of yet another English boys' book, or possibly a girls' book. In *Os Rapazes de Barrowby*, we can feel that Pessoa's Portuguese is occasionally contaminated by English syntax;[42] in *Os Milhões* we find entire sentences directly imported from English: for instance, "Eles discutiam a advisibilidade de ter bife com cebolas para a ceia"[43] (They were discussing the advisability of having steak and onions for supper). It is conceivable that Pessoa was mocking the "lofty" tone found in a certain register of English speech, but it was unlike him to portray narrative scenes with so much carefully coordinated physical detail.

The third and fourth novels promised by the editor in *O Palrador*'s prefatory note to readers—*Em Dias de Perigo* (*In Days of Danger*) by Gabriel Keene, and *A Luta Aérea* (*The Aerial Fight*) by Sableton Kay—may also have been inspired by British (or American) models, a supposition bolstered by the English-sounding names of their unreal authors. Despite a certain appetite for the literature of story papers and dime novels (to be succeeded, in his adult years, by crime novels), Pessoa had no interest in or talent for writing effective but commonplace descriptions of rich nobles in their well-cushioned coaches and poor people shivering in the cold on snowy winter nights. His inclination, conspicuous in his spin-off of *The Barrowby Boys*—and in keeping with the thesis of "adverse," or subverted, genres recently advanced by K. David Jackson—was to transgress the traditional rules and expectations of storytelling.

Fernando had no qualms about filching a few ideas, characters, and even entire sentences from British serial novels, but an aesthetic if not ethical scruple seems to have prevented him from signing his own name to the stories that resulted from his borrowings. Though they were written in Portuguese, he preferred to attribute their authorship to fictive Englishmen such as Adolph Moscow and Marvell Kisch. (The two first names are English, and a few Durbanites were surnamed Kisch, as I discovered by consulting *The Natal Alamanac, Directory and Yearly Register* for 1897 through 1905.) It was as if counterfeit authorship served, paradoxically, as a seal of authenticity for the writing itself, with Pessoa acting as the translator of what Moscow and Kisch purportedly authored. However much he reworked or reinvented them, Pessoa's serialized novels belonged to an Anglo-American genre, a fact he apparently wished to emphasize. And perhaps he did not want his own name to be associated with the tradition of boys'

books—a tradition he seemed to disdain in the aforecited autobiographical text written just four years later, in 1907.

Whatever their inspiration, Moscow and Kisch are atypical of Pessoa's pseudoauthors. Even though Moscow has a definite narrative posture that affects the tone and framing of his story, it is perhaps better not to count him or Kisch as heteronyms, preheteronyms, or fictitious personalities.[44] They were one-offs, without biographical substance, whose narrative existence began and ended with their respective stories.

NOTES

1. Pessoa arrived at Durban, South Africa, in February of 1896 with his mother, who had recently married Portugal's consul to that city. It was there that Pessoa lived and studied until July of 1901, when he embarked with his new family—which included children by the second marriage—for an extended holiday in Portugal, where they arrived in August. He returned to Durban on his own, a few months after the rest of the family, in October of 1902, and stayed there until August of 1905, when he made his final, month-long voyage back to Lisbon, where he enrolled in the Curso Superior de Letras. He completed his studies at Durban High School (Form VI) in December of 1904. See Alexandrino E. Severino, *Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul* (Lisbon: D. Quixote, 1983) and Jennings, *Os dois exílios: Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul* (Oporto: Centro de Estudos Pessoanos & Fundação Eng.º António de Almeida, 1984) for detailed information on Pessoa's Durban years.

2. Eighteen poems from this period—all written in Portuguese—can be found in Pessoa, *Obra essencial de Fernando Pessoa*, Vol. 2, ed. R. Zenith (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2006), 455–68, but it might make more sense to classify one of them, "Enigma," as a rhymed riddle rather than a bonafide poem. Two additional poems in Portuguese, written almost certainly in 1902, were transcribed and published by Jerónimo Pizarro in Fernando Pessoa, *Cadernos*, Vol. I (Lisbon: INCM, 2009), 108–9.

3. Teresa Rita Lopes, *Pessoa por conhecer* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1990), Vol. I, 89–96 ; Vol. II, 130–55.

4. Darlene J. Sadlier, *An Introduction to Fernando Pessoa: Modernism and the Paradoxes of Authorship* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998), 9–26.

5. "Separated from thee" was the first poem written in Pessoa's own hand, on May 12, 1901 (BNP/E3,16A–48; Pessoa, *Obra poética* 1960, 621). This same date has repeatedly and erroneously been attributed to the poem "Anamnesis," which belongs to *The Mad Fiddler* and was written on August 29, 1915.

6. *Preheteronyms* is a scholarly coinage for referring to literary personae invented by Pessoa before the emergence of his full-fledged heteronyms, in 1914.

7. See the "Tábua de heterónimos e outros autores fictícios," in Pessoa, *Teoria da heteronímia* (Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2012), 39–110, for a chronological account of Pessoa's fictional authors and a description of their works. Pessoa, *Eu sou uma antologia: 136 autores fictícios* (Lisbon: Tinta-da-China, 2013) provides an account with additional information, additional names, and samples of their literary texts. A transcription of "The Miner's Song" was published in R. Zenith, "Karl P. Effield: O pré-heterónimo de Boston," *LER*, Feb. 2011 (Lisbon), 39, and a facsimile of the original newspaper publication in R. Zenith and J. Vieira, *Fotobiografia de Fernando Pessoa* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2011), 65. The poem can also be found in Pessoa, *Eu sou uma antologia: 136 autores fictícios*, 114–15.

8. BNP/E3, 144R–1; Fernando Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, ed. Jerónimo Pizarro (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2009), 69.

9. BNP/E3, 144R–1^{v}; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 69–70.

10. According to António Sabler, "The Man Who Liked Dickens," *Persona* 9 (Oct. 1983, Oporto), 47, an article by Jennings that appeared in *O Século*, Aug. 31, 1968 (Lisbon) is virtually identical to the one he published a year later in *Colóquio Artes e Letras* (Jennings, 1969). I consulted only the latter.

11. Hubert Dudley Jennings, "Alguns aspectos da vida de Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul," *Colóquio Artes e Letras* 52 (Feb. 1969, Lisbon), 65.

12. Jennings, *Os dois exílios: Fernando Pessoa na África do Sul* (Oporto: Centro de Estudos Pessoanos & Fundação Eng.º António de Almeida, 1984), 82.

13. Ibid., 83–84.

14. Yara Frateschi Vieira, *Sob o ramo da bétula: Fernando Pessoa e o erotismo Vitoriano* (Campinas: UNICAMP, 1989), 23–24.

15. Jennings, *Os dois exílios*, 80–81.

16. Sabler, "The Man Who Liked Dickens," 47–48.

17. Ibid., 48.

18. Jerónimo Pizarro, *Fernando Pessoa: Entre génio e loucura* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional–Casa da Moeda, 2007), 17–23.

19. BNP/E3, 144R–6; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 74.

20. Pizarro, 21–23.

21. Aníbal Frias, "Pessoa à Coimbra et Coimbra dans Pessoa," *Biblos: Revista da Faculdade de Letras, Universidade de Coimbra*, Vol. 7 (2009), 372.

22. Founded in 1290 in Lisbon, the university moved to Coimbra in 1308. Portugal's other universities, most founded only in the twentieth century, are less steeped in tradition.

23. Frias, 373.

24. Ibid.

25. See E. A. Belcher and G. C. Collins, *The Durban High School Record 1866–1906* (Durban: John Singleton, 1906), 56–58.

26. Information on the story's serialization can be found at http://www.philsp.com/homeville/fmi/s1129.htm and http://www.philsp.com/homeville/fmi/t508.htm. Information for the complete novel is at http://www.friardale.co.uk/BFL/Series%201/BFL_Series1.htm. Professor Vincent Barletta kindly obtained and sent me a reproduction of the work, which is included in Stanford University's dime novel and story paper collection.

27. BNP/E3, 144R–7; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I (2009), 75.

28. BNP/E3, $27^{9}D^{2}$–26^{v}. The bookstore is located at 341 West Street, Durban.

29. BNP/E3, 144R–6^{r}; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 74.

30. BNP/E3, 144R–2; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 70.

31. BNP/E3, 144R–3; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 71.

32. BNP/E3, 144R–3^{v}; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 72.

33. Sidney Drew, *The Boys of Barrowby* (London: Amalgamated Press, 1908), 3–4.

34. Ibid., 2.

35. The original manuscript of the Campos sonnets has been lost, and it is quite possible that Pessoa's posthumous publishers (*Poesias de Álvaro de Campos*, Lisbon: Ática, 1944) misread "in-Furness" or miscorrected it to "on-Furness." Indeed, "Barrow-in-Furness" is correctly spelled on a surviving publication plan drawn up by Pessoa (BNP/E3, 87–95a) as well as in an open letter (with replies to a literary survey) signed by Álvaro de Campos—who refers to the time he spent in Barrow-in-Furness—and published in *A Informação*, a Lisbon newspaper, in 1926. But the geographical mistake remains. However Pessoa spelled the name of the town, references in the sonnets indicate that he believed Furness to be a river that flowed past it. See also George Monteiro, *Fernando Pessoa and Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Literature* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2000), 33–35.

36. In 1902, for instance, he wrote the sonnet "Antígona," whose title was inspired by a letter of Shelley, and whose verses were a kind of "correction" of Elizabeth Barrett Browning's sonnet "How do I love thee? Let me count the ways." See Zenith, "A Sonnet from the English—Fernando Pessoa: 'Antígona'" (2013), 169–75.

37. BNP/E3, 144R–3^{v}; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 72.

38. Jennings, *Os dois exílios*, 114–15.

39. BNP/E3, 144R–10^{v}; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 79.

40. BNP/E3, 20–10; Pessoa, *Páginas íntimas e de auto-interpretação*, eds. Georg Rudolf Lind and Jacinto do Prado Coelho (Lisbon: Ática, 1966), 11–12. It is possible that the cited passage is autobiographical of Alexander Search rather than of Pessoa. Although the passage is not exactly signed by Search, his signature appears more than once in a corner of the manuscript, suggesting that Pessoa—who often practiced his heteronymic signatures in the margins of his texts—was in Search mode, or mood. Search's personality traits, though based on Pessoa's, were fewer in number and more sharply defined, more

accentuated. On October 2, 1907, Search signs a pact with the devil (BNP/E3, 20–93; Pessoa, *Páginas íntimas*, 10), something Pessoa would surely not do in his own name, and one could argue that it was he—not Pessoa himself—who claimed to be attracted to mystery and horror in literature.

41. Jennings, *Os dois exílios*, 80.

42. Sabler, "The Man Who Liked Dickens," 47–48.

43. BNP/E3, 144R–13; Pessoa, *Cadernos*, I, 82.

44. In a text datable to some time after 1923 and probably intended for a preface to his heteronymic works, Pessoa used the term "personalidades fictícias" to signify the imaginary playmates and alter egos he began inventing already as a child (BNP/E3, 20–74; Pessoa, *Teoria da heteronímia* [Lisbon: Assírio & Alvim, 2012], 231).

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