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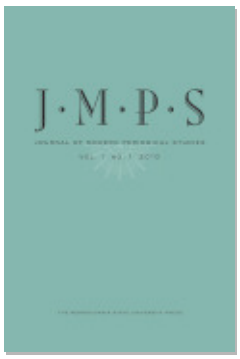
Suzanne W. Churchill
Drew Brookie
Hall Carey



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YOUTH CULTURE IN *THE CRISIS* AND *FIRE!!*

Suzanne W. Churchill,
with
Drew Brookie, Hall Carey, Cameron Hardesty,
Joel Hewett, Nakia Long, Amy Trainor, and Christian Williams
Davidson College

As a professor at a small liberal arts college, I spend much of my time surrounded by seventeen- to twenty-one-year-olds. It's energizing to be immersed in a lively youth culture, but it can also be exasperating. Two persistent frustrations I face teaching undergraduates are:

1. Reading student papers that are boring and predictable. Even the brightest students can produce dull papers—it's an inherent weakness of the genre. After a decade of teaching modern poetry, I've read so many three-page papers on "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock" that I now forbid students from writing on Eliot's beloved poem. "For I have known them all already, known them all:—"[1]
2. Reading student papers that are so elegant, so intelligent, I wish I'd written them myself. Their fresh perspectives and insights seem capable of making modernist scholarship new. If only we had the time and means to develop their papers into full-fledged articles . . .

To address these frustrations, I conducted an experiment in collaborative research, based on a model developed by my colleague in the history department.[2] I created a new, upper-level seminar on modernist magazines in which students worked together to research and write article-length papers on topics of their choice. I facilitated and advised, promising that,

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should their final papers merit it, I would revise, develop, and pursue publication of their research. Their papers exceeded my expectations: the topics were more ambitious, the research more extensive, and the writing better than typical undergraduate work. My students not only provided fresh perspectives on modernism, but also chose topics that pushed me into unfamiliar territory: one intrepid group wrote about youth culture in the Harlem Renaissance magazines *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* I, in turn, pushed their argument in a new direction, examining how Africa served as an imaginative resource that united these seemingly oppositional magazines in their effort to forge a vibrant African American youth culture. What follows is the result of our collaboration.

THE CRISIS AND *FIRE!!*: ADVERSARIES OR ALLIES IN THE NEW NEGRO YOUTH MOVEMENT?

The Crisis and *Fire!!* are two influential magazines of the Harlem Renaissance, but here their resemblance appears to end. Founded in 1910, the prestigious *Crisis* will soon celebrate its centennial, while *Fire!!* flared up in 1926 in a single inflammatory issue. *The Crisis* is "first and foremost a newspaper"—"A Record of the Darker Races," while *Fire!!* is a fly-by-night little magazine "Devoted to Younger Negro Artists."[3] Whereas *The Crisis* was edited by W. E. B. Du Bois and backed by the NAACP, *Fire!!* was instigated by Wallace Thurman and a band of struggling artists. Boasting a striking Africanist cover and unflinching depictions of African American life, *Fire!!* promoted itself as a youthful rebellion against a stodgy patriarch; its foreword declares: "FIRE!! . . . flaming, burning, searing . . . to boil the sluggish blood."[4] The magazine dared to print a portrait of a prostitute, a tale of an interracial affair, a play about poisonous jealousy among women of color, and a bisexual love story—all works that presumably would have little chance of appearing within the dignified pages of *The Crisis*. Langston Hughes recalls in his autobiography that "None of the Negro intellectuals would have anything to do with *Fire*. DuBois in the *Crisis* roasted it. The Negro press called it all sorts of bad names."[5] Scholarship has reinforced the opposition between the two magazines. Robert Hemenway describes *Fire!!* as "a child's adolescent revolt against his parents," and Anne Elizabeth Carroll argues that *Fire!!* sought to "create a space where African American writers and artists could present images that were dramatically different from the images included in the *Crisis*." George Hutchinson extends *Fire!!*'s oppositional

stance to the entire periodical establishment, calling *Fire!!* a "declaration[] of independence from the established black periodicals as much as from the white magazines. . . ."[6]

This legend, like all enduring myths, exaggerates the facts. A few conservative critics did object to *Fire!!*—Benjamin Brawley warned that, "if Uncle Sam ever finds out about it, it will be debarred from the mails," and another reviewer wrote, "I have just tossed the first issue of Fire—into the fire, and watched the cackling flames leap and snarl as though they were trying to swallow some repulsive dose."[7] But in fact, *Opportunity* lavished the "brave and beautiful" magazine with praise, and Du Bois greeted the new arrival in *The Crisis* with a nod of approval, reprinting Edward Silvera's poem "Jungle Taste," and commenting: "We acknowledge the receipt of the first number of *Fire!!* 'devoted to Younger Negro Artists.' It is strikingly illustrated by Aaron Douglas and is a beautiful piece of printing. It is issued quarterly at One Dollar a copy. We bespeak it for wide support."[8] Some scholars interpret Du Bois's "bland" response as a tacit condemnation of the youthful uprising—the old guard's effort to deny "*Fire!!* editors the ultimate triumph of their public anger."[9] Maintaining that Du Bois "privately . . . felt only contempt for the magazine," Carroll cites journalist Fred Blair's account of his awkward encounter with the angry Du Bois: "I was so indiscreet as to mention Thurman and *Fire!!* the first thing out of the box when I went to see Du Bois. It hurt his feelings so much that he would hardly talk to me."[10] But this evidence is hearsay. Du Bois's silence may indeed have reflected his ire at *Fire!!,* but given the work he had published in *The Crisis*, he may have been less offended by the journal's transgressive content than by its insinuation that his own magazine was not sufficiently supportive of "the younger artists."

As Russ Castronovo argues, Du Bois has been unfairly maligned as enforcing artistic standards that were "old-fashioned, constrained by a party line of culture that slighted black vernacular expression in order to demand, as Darwin Tucker puts it, a single 'standard for all blacks—at least for all cultivated blacks,'" when in fact, his aesthetic criteria were not as restrictively programmatic as has been charged.[11] The aesthetic theory that he developed as editor of *The Crisis* did not insist on a fixed ideal of art or "party line" of racial uplift and advancement, but instead called for a "confrontational aesthetics" of political engagement.[12] He published a variety of conflicting perspectives and arguments, including those that clashed with his own. In his "Criteria for Negro Art," the essay in which he famously asserted that "all Art is propaganda," he also charged young artists to defy the constraints of propriety: "We are bound by all sorts of customs that have

come down as second-hand soul clothes of white patrons. We are ashamed of sex and we lower our eyes when people will talk of it. . . . Our worst side has been so shamelessly emphasized that we are denying we have or ever had a worst side. In all sorts of ways we are hemmed in and our new young artists have got to fight their way to freedom."[13]

Castronovo draws a distinction between Du Bois's progressive aesthetic theory and his antiquated artistic tastes, which Castronovo concedes were prudish and "finicky."[14] Arnold Rampersad concurs: "It is probably true of Du Bois as a literary editor working with fledgling writers that, as [Arna] Bontemps remarked, 'he leaned toward the tidy, the well-mannered, the Victorian—literary works in which the Negro put his best foot forward, so to speak.'"[15] Yet though Du Bois would likely have drawn the line at Richard Bruce Nugent's bisexual love story, under his editorial reign in the 1920s *The Crisis* became increasingly open to youthful experimentation, publishing and promoting the work of many young artists, including several of *Fire!!*'s contributors.

The legendary opposition between *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* obscures a deeper affinity between the two magazines: the shared prospect of forming a "New Negro" youth culture. Despite differences in layout and content, both *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* are saturated with discourses on youth. *Fire!!* proclaimed its devotion to "the younger Negro artists" as if it was a new cause, but *The Crisis* had been paying a great deal of attention to youth for more than a decade by featuring fashionable young African Americans on its covers, organizing contests and offering prizes for new artists and writers, publishing the prize-winning entries, and issuing an annual "Education Number." Admittedly, much of this attention was laudatory and affirmative, featuring college graduates in full regalia and young professionals on the rise. But, as we shall see, in the early 1920s, *The Crisis*'s youth program loosened up considerably, becoming more modern and progressive, a trend it continued after *Fire!!* erupted on the scene. Thus, in its resistance to *The Crisis*'s program for educated, high-achieving African American youth, *Fire!!* staged a form of artistic rebellion that was less a direct challenge to *The Crisis* than a contribution to a larger, ongoing project of constructing a vibrant African American youth culture.

This investment in youth culture puts *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* in league not only with each other but also with other predominantly white magazines and with the broader culture of modernity. Because of their commitment to promoting countercultural ideas, modernist little magazines were widely associated with youthful rebellion, a connection Alaine Locke recognizes in

his 1927 review of *Fire!!*: "The bold, arresting red and black of its jacket is not accidental—this is left-wing literary modernism with deliberate intent: the Little Review, This Quarter, and the Quill are obvious artistic cousins. Indeed one's first impression is that *Fire!!* is more characteristic as an exhibit of unifying affinities in the psychology of contemporary youth than of any differentiating traits of a new Negro literary school."[16] What Locke does not acknowledge, however, is that the fascination with "the psychology of contemporary youth" is a "unifying affinity" that also ties the so-called "left-wing" journals to the mass-market magazines of the mainstream. As Mark Morrisson has shown, youth was increasingly marketed across trans-Atlantic print culture of the 1920's. "As the concept of adolescence spread widely through popular discourse, the burgeoning commodity culture helped to solidify the importance of 'youth' in America by commercializing it, and . . . by turning the rhetoric of youthful spontaneity, experiment, exuberance, and ardor into a rhetoric of consumption."[17] According to Morrisson, the "cult of youth" was intent on "setting the freedoms of youth in public against constraining and authoritarian domesticity," but this tension was as much a marketing tool as a historical reality.[18] Like the predominantly white magazines discussed by Morrisson, *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* used the concept of youth as a marketable commodity to gain readers. Whereas *The Crisis* primarily marketed youthful beauty and success, *Fire!!* emphasized freedom and transgression. Yet youth as an ideal, whether decked in graduation robes or more scantily clad, appealed to all audiences and ages, and both *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* recognized its selling potential.

In its effort to invigorate the cult of youth, *Fire!!* may be understood not as an adolescent rebellion against a stern and rigid patriarch but as a bold and energetic contribution to the youthful New Negro print culture that *The Crisis* helped to legitimate. This essay will compare work published in each magazine to evince their common interest in modern youth culture and, more specifically, to show how both magazines appropriated ancient Africa and Egypt to fashion a modern, youthful "look" for the New Negro. Whereas Arnold Rampersad views *Fire!!* as a sign that, "organizationally and philosophically, the Harlem Renaissance had outgrown *The Crisis*," we contend that *The Crisis* grew as the Harlem Renaissance flourished, modernizing itself by embracing an increasingly progressive, Africanist youth culture.[19] Rather than suppressing the younger artists who founded *Fire!!*, *The Crisis* helped pave their way, giving them voice and impetus to express themselves in the burgeoning print culture of modernity.

"THIS PRIMITIVE THING": ILLUSTRATING THE NEW NEGRO YOUTH IN AN ANCIENT AFRICAN SETTING

With the development of halftone printing in the late nineteenth century, illustration became an important way for magazines to market a modern image.[20] As a genre poised between advertising and high art, illustration was a particularly effective tool for selling new ideas about African American identity, while also asserting cultural status by showcasing the New Negro aesthetic. *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* turned to the same young artist to illustrate their connection to modern youth culture: Aaron Douglas. Douglas's primitivist designs seemed to embody the power and promise of a new generation of African Americans—a potential both magazines wanted to draw upon. Primitivism had been embraced by white modernists, not only because it offered a bold new "look," but also because "primitive" Africa conjured stereotypes of uninhibited expressiveness, childlike simplicity, and primal sexual fertility—energies that promised to revitalize an enervated European culture. According to Caroline Goeser, Douglas was ambivalent about "this primitive thing" when he moved to Harlem in 1925 at the age of nineteen, but was pushed to experiment by his teacher, German artist Weinold Reiss, and his mentor, Alaine Locke.[21] In adopting the modern style, however, Douglas endowed it with greater power and ambiguity in order to subvert stereotypical conflations of black identity with pre-civilized savagery. As Goeser demonstrates in her groundbreaking study, *Picturing the New Negro*, Douglas "developed a new American primitivism, which became his multifaceted strategy to complicate the ways in which Euro-Americans had codified such categories as civilization to exclude black America."[22] By blending ancient African and Egyptian iconography, Douglas at once tapped the primal energies associated with Africa and asserted a connection to the advanced civilization of Egypt, signaling both vitality and sophistication. The distinctive style of this young Harlem arrival was immediately recognized as exciting, bold, and modern, or as Douglas put it, a "heaven-sent answer to some deeply felt need for this kind of visual imagery."[23] Alain Locke featured one of Douglas's illustrations in the "Negro Youth Speaks" chapter of *The New Negro*, and both *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* capitalized on the power of his designs.

Douglas's cover design for *Fire!!* has been celebrated as radically innovative expression of the New Negro aesthetic. Although the design is indeed brilliant and arresting, it is not "dramatically different from images included in *The Crisis*,"[24] which had already called upon Douglas to

illustrate its own creative initiatives. Du Bois first commissioned Douglas for the drawing *Invincible Music: The Spirit of Africa*, which appeared in the February 1926 *Crisis* (see Figure 1). As Amy Helene Kirschke points out, the illustration was "not accompanied by any text relating to the work or illustrating any article."[25] It was, however, accompanied by the caption, "Drawn for The Crisis by Aaron Douglas," suggesting that what the image illustrated was the magazine's spiritual connection both to ancient Africa and to Douglas's youthful, modern style. The drawing depicts a drummer in a natural setting, surrounded by sharp, spear-like plants and wedge-shaped trees or sunbeams, with wavy lines undulating across the corner of the composition. "While the wavy parallel gray bands in the upper right corner allude to the meandering river, or perhaps smoke from a nearby fire," Goeser observes, "at the same time they seem to visualize the sound waves of the music itself."[26] These waves, evoking both river and music, also call to mind Langston Hughes's powerful debut poem, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," which was published in *The Crisis* in 1921. Hughes's free verse poem rhythmically accumulates a series of geographical references to form a continuous lineage from Biblical origins, to ancient Africa and Egypt, to Antebellum America, and to the consciousness of the modern poet:

> I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.
> I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.
> I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.
> I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln
> went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy
> bosom turn all golden in the sunset.
>
> I've known rivers:
> Ancient, dusky rivers.
>
> My soul has grown deep like the rivers.[27]

In this poem and in subsequent illustrations by Douglas, the river becomes an iconic image, a veritable *Crisis* trademark, symbolizing the "deep," fertile heritage and youthful vigor of the New Negro.

Du Bois next commissioned Douglas to design the *Krigwa Players Poster* to promote his new little theater group, and in this illustration, the trademark river icon dominates the bottom third of the composition (see Figure 2). The image appeared in *The Crisis* only six months before the

FIG. 1 Aaron Douglas, *Invincible Music: The Spirit of Africa, The Crisis* 31 (February 1926): 169.

release of *Fire!!*, with its striking cover design by Douglas (see Figure 3). As Goeser observes, the two illustrations have obvious similarities: a blend of African and Egyptian iconography, an embrace of primitivism, abstract geometric patterns, a mask-like face, and a hoop earring. In both illustrations, Douglas develops "a hybrid representation of African types as sharing generic tribal and ancient Egyptian features. . . . [In the *Krigwa Players Poster*], Douglas pictured a pastiche of visual symbols that tells the reader to see black American origins quickly as both tribal African and ancient Egyptian."[28] For example, the mask-like face of the figure recalls tribal African masks, but the head is depicted in "a profile flat view," a style that Douglas said he "got . . . from the Egyptians."[29]

Although Goeser acknowledges the striking similarity between the two illustrations, she privileges the *Fire!!* cover as a more radical work than the *Krigwa* poster, thus reinforcing the mythic opposition between the vanguard *Fire!!* and the conservative *Crisis*. According to Goeser, Douglas's

FIG. 2 Aaron Douglas, *Krigwa Players Poster*, *The Crisis* 32 (May 1926): 19.

FIG. 3 Aaron Douglas, cover design, *Fire!!*

Fire!! cover asserts a more powerful connection between ancient African and modern African American cultures. "In his bold black cover design on red paper for the radical little magazine *Fire!!*, Douglas more closely fused the tribal and ancient Egyptian aspects of Africa"; the black form of the mask-like African head plays against the red form of the Egyptian sphinx, and the "visual interplay sets the head and sphinx in a relationship of symbiosis."[30] The *Fire!!* cover "interlocks" the concepts of Egypt and Africa, Goeser argues, establishing the linkage "more emphatically" than the *Krigwa Players Poster*, where the cultures meet face-to-face.[31] Whereas the *Krigwa* poster is a pastiche that mixes distinct cultural forms, the *Fire!!* cover may be better understood as a palimpsest that animates the past in a vibrant, unstable present. The *Krigwa* poster presents a more static composition than the *Fire!!* cover, which forces the viewer's eye to oscillate between seeing the mask and seeing the sphinx. But the difference between the two illustrations is not so much one of kind, but degree. Both illustrations appropriate ancient Egypt and tribal Africa in a primitivist design in order

to assert a youthful New Negro aesthetic—an aesthetic embraced in both *The Crisis* and *Fire!!*

According to Kirschke, Du Bois's sponsorship enabled Douglas to become a self-supporting artist. Du Bois not only commissioned Douglas's illustrations for *The Crisis* but also hired him to work in the magazine's mailroom.[32] But while *The Crisis* gave Douglas the artistic license, publishing space, and financial means to develop his distinctive primitivist style, Kirschke contends that Du Bois's patronage, initially welcome, soon came to feel patronizing and controlling. Du Bois tried "to tie Douglas more closely to the *Crisis*" by signing him on as art editor in 1927.[33] Though the position entailed few responsibilities, Douglas resigned the post after four months, perhaps because he felt fettered by the official association with the magazine. Nevertheless, he remained on good terms with Du Bois, who, despite his purportedly "aloof and condescending" demeanor and "dictator" ways, nevertheless "played a crucial role in enabling Douglas to become the most significant visual artist of the Harlem Renaissance."[34] While *The Crisis* proffered Douglas the stamp of a serious young artist, *Fire!!* gave him a significantly sexier imprimatur. After *Fire!!* made its mark, *The Crisis* sought to capitalize on its youthful sex appeal by reasserting its connection to Douglas. Thus, both magazines played "crucial roles" not only in Douglas's success but also in the development and promotion of New Negro youth culture through illustration. Together, the magazines helped formulate a visual equation between the New Negro and ancient Africa and publicize Douglas's primitivist style as the signature "look" of modern, African American youth.

BEATING THE TOM-TOM: FREE VERSE, ANCIENT AFRICA, AND NEW NEGRO YOUTH

Both *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* also used poetry to reflect and shape modern African American youth culture. Free verse was the hallmark of the modernist movement, symbolically aligned with free speech, free love, and free-spirited rebellion against literary and moral conventions—attitudes and behaviors also associated with modern, emancipated youth.[35] Although free verse became the rage in modernist little magazines in the early teens, it did not catch on in African American periodicals until the 1920s, perhaps because many African American poets felt a need to demonstrate their mastery of traditional forms in order to combat racist

stereotypes about Negro artlessness. Throughout the 1910s, nearly all of the poems published in *The Crisis* were sonnets and other traditional rhymed, metered forms. But *Fire!!* turned its back on white audiences and literary conventions and asserted the independence of it own youthful New Negro aesthetic, as Aaron Douglas explained: "I am writing to give you a more detailed account of our project and of ourselves. We are all under thirty. We have no get-rich quick complexes. We espouse no new theories of racial advancement, socially, economically or politically. . . . We are primarily and intensely devoted to art. We believe that the Negro is fundamentally, essentially different from their Nordic neighbors. We are proud of that difference. We believe these differences to be greater spiritual endowment, greater sensitivity, greater power for artistic expression and appreciation."[36] *Fire!!* offered a generous, eight-page spread of poetry in order to demonstrate the "greater sensitivity" of eight young African American poets, who displayed their "power for artistic expression" in a wide variety of forms, ranging from an intricately structured sonnet by Countee Cullen to free verse poems by Edward Silvera and Langston Hughes. The title of the poetry section—"Flame from the Dark Tower"—aggressively challenged the supremacy of the Ivory Tower, implying that the poems would be more youthful, exuberant, and inflammatory than anything issued from more venerable institutions, including *The Crisis*. But though some *Fire!!* contributors took greater liberties than they were willing or able to risk in *The Crisis*, overall the poems were not radically different from works published previously in the elder magazine.

Silvera's contribution to *Fire!!*, "Jungle Taste," uses free verse and irregular rhyme to showcase a youthful New Negro aesthetic derived from tribal songs and "jungle beauty."[37] Although Africa is never explicitly mentioned, it is conjured through generic primitivist associations:

> There is a coarseness
> In the songs of black men
> Coarse as the songs
> Of the sea.
> There is a weird strangeness
> In the songs of black men
> Which sounds not strange
> To me.

The speaker's claim that the "coarse" songs sound "not strange" at once evokes and denies the exoticism of a new musical and linguistic form. The second stanza ties the new primitivist aesthetic to the "jungle beauty" of black women:

> There is a beauty
> In the faces of black women,
> Jungle beauty
> And mystery.
> Dark, hidden beauty
> In the faces of black women
> Which only black men
> See.

This stanza translates the strange way of *singing* introduced in the first stanza into a mysterious way of *seeing* the black female face. This way of seeing is distinctly non-white, since "only black men / See" the hidden beauty. Although the poem's imagery roots the new ways of singing and seeing in the African past, its use of the present tense implies the presence of ancient Africa in the youthful New Negro aesthetic.

These ideas and associations may have seemed daring in the pages of *Fire!!*, but they were not new to *The Crisis*, where they had already been explored by Langston Hughes. In the August 1922 Education Number, Hughes published "Danse Africaine," a poem that, like Silvera's poem, ties the new artistic quickening to an ancient African rhythm:

> The low beating of the tom-toms,
> The low beating of the tom-toms
> Slow . . . . . slow
> Low . . . . . slow—
> Stirs your blood.
> Dance!
> A night-veiled girl whirls softly
> Into a circle of light,
> Whirls softly . . . . slowly,
> Like a wisp of smoke around the fire—
> And the tom-toms beat,
> And the tom-toms beat,

And the low beating of the tom-toms
Stirs your blood.[38]

Hughes and Silvera's poems are strikingly similar in their spare, slender lines and use of rhyme to emphasize individual words. Both use sound and visual techniques to manipulate an irregular rhythm. Both poems also use the tropes of the African jungle and a dark, mysterious female figure to suggest a new fire in the blood of African American men—a modern, youthful rhythm and vision.

Despite their similarities, however, Silvera's contribution to *Fire!!* is more conventional in content and form than Hughes's contribution to *The Crisis*. Whereas "Jungle Taste" presents vague, disembodied "faces of black women," "Danse Africaine" offers the more tangible, erotically suggestive image of a "night-veiled girl" who "whirls softly" around the smoky fire. Silvera relies on conventional rhymes and poeticisms (sea, beauty, mystery, see), while Hughes concentrates sound by repeating single syllable words (low, low, slow, slow, low, low) and echoing long "o" vowel sounds (smoke, blood). He counterpoints the dense, listless effect with the staccato injunction to "Dance!" and with the steady, persistent beat of the "tom-toms." Although both poems celebrate a New Negro aesthetic, "Jungle Taste" merely *describes* this aesthetic, while "Danse Africaine" actually *enacts* it. Silvera claims understanding for the speaker alone (the music "sounds not strange / to me") and restricts the new vision to African American men ("only black men / See"), while Hughes attempts to arouse a new set of responses in all readers—as he puts it, he "stirs your blood." Thus the "Danse Africaine" performed in the purportedly conservative *Crisis* is more incendiary and provocative than the "Jungle Taste" proffered by *Fire!!*

Admittedly, Silvera's contributions to *Fire!!* are not as conservative as the two poems he published in *The Crisis* the very same month, which address the generic themes of "Happiness" and "Death."[39] "Happiness" is a conventional love ballad, composed of stock phrases and predictable rhymes:

I went in quest of happiness
    Upon a golden mountain
But she was in the plain below
    Beside the public fountain.

The only hint of a modern, New Negro aesthetic comes in the final stanza when, after searching "the great white way," the speaker finds his beloved

"on a lowly farm, / A milkmaid, tawny, gay." But aside from its rejection of the "white way" in favor of a "tawny" beauty, the poem adheres to all of the conventions of traditional English ballads. Silvera's companion poem, "Death," makes a gentle foray into dialect ("my heart ain't gonna knock no more") and rhythmic irregularity, but thematically affirms the conventional opposition between the pain of life and the release of the hereafter.

Like Silvera, Countee Cullen composed a more inflammatory poem for *Fire!!* than anything he had dared to publish in *The Crisis*. Du Bois's paternalistic patronage seems to have kept Cullen on the straight and narrow, in both poetic and romantic pursuits. (Their professional association grew increasingly personal, culminating in Cullen's marriage to Du Bois's only daughter in 1928, which ended when Cullen admitted his attraction to men.)[40] Cullen's debut poem in *The Crisis*, "Dad," is a paean from a young man to his father who, though "his ways are circumspect and bound / With trite simplicities," proves to be a font of wisdom and a role model. Though the youthful speaker "must quaff Life's crazy wine," he knows that someday, after sowing his wild oats, he will "turn like dad, and like him win / The peace of a snug arm-chair."[41] Containing youthful rebellion snugly in the arms of a traditional bourgeois patriarch and safely within the bounds of conventional diction, rhyme, and meter, the sentimental lyric offers a distinct contrast to Cullen's contribution to *Fire!!*, "From the Dark Tower." This taut, intricate sonnet displays his signature ability to utilize the highly structured form to harness rage, but just barely. It embraces a bold new aesthetic of blackness ("The night whose sable breast relieves the stark, / White stars is no less lovely being dark") and ominously hints of an imminent uprising against white oppression ("We shall not always plant while others reap / The golden increment of the bursting fruit").[42] The forceful enjambments enact the tension between violent, turbulent passions and the conventional poetic and social orders that scarcely contain them.

If Silvera and Cullen felt constrained by Du Bois's editorial rule, Langston Hughes appears to have been much less inhibited. His contributions to *Fire!!* are only negligibly more transgressive and innovative than the poems he published in *The Crisis*. His *Fire!!* poems, "Elevator Boy" and "Railroad Avenue," are thematically bold in their portrayals of working class African Americans who have little hope of advancement. In treating these themes, Hughes fulfills the vanguard magazine's purpose, as articulated retrospectively by editor Wallace Thurman: "*Fire!!* . . . was experimental.

It was not interested in sociological problems or propaganda. It was purely artistic in intent and conception. Its contributors went to the proletariat rather than to the bourgeoisie for characters and material. They were interested in people who still retained some individual race qualities and who were not totally white American in every respect save color of skin."[43] In "Elevator Boy," Hughes goes "to the proletariat," presenting the perspective of a working class man who is "goin' up an' down, / Up an' down" all day long, but clearly getting nowhere; his only option: "Guess I'll quit now"—a cessation that coincides with the end of the poem, ironically linking the elevator boy's fate to the poet's own cultural constraints. "Railroad Avenue" provides a glimpse of a neighborhood of "fish joints," "pool rooms," and an abandoned boxcar left "in the middle of the block." Although laughter erupts, it is a dark, sardonic laughter because "Railroad Avenue" is a dead-end street.

Hughes's *Fire!!* poems are bright, bitter, and revealing portrayals of the realities faced by African Americans, yet he had already explored similarly bleak, working class themes in *The Crisis*, in such poems as "Monotony," in which "Today like yesterday" mirrors "Tomorrow like today," obviating any possibility of progress; "Song to a Negro Washerwoman," whose arms remain stuck "elbow-deep in white suds"; and "Minstrel Man," whose mouth "wide with laughter" disguises his "inner cry."[44] Hughes published dozens of poems in *The Crisis*, appearing almost monthly between 1921 and 1926 and even, in December 1925, enjoying the luxury of a two-page spread that included a short biography, photograph, and six poems. The tone of many of Hughes's *Crisis* poems, which often praise resilience and affirm the beauty of their subject matter, is arguably more affirmative than his *Fire!!* fare. But his *Crisis* poems become progressively more bold in their formal experimentation and their exploration of dark, troubling themes, so that his compositions for *Fire!!* seem not like radical departures from, but continuations of the earlier work.

The Crisis gave aspiring young poets like Hughes the opportunity to represent down-trodden, working class folk, and the freedom to experiment with free verse, African themes, and primitivist aesthetics. Indeed, many of the first free verse experiments in *The Crisis*, including Hughes's, addressed African themes, as if the exotic subject matter gave poets license to abandon the formal conventions of Anglo-American poetry and experiment with more "primitive" rhythms and forms. Although Hughes was instrumental in shifting the tides of poetry in *The Crisis* toward free verse

in the early twenties, Fenton Johnson and Mary Effie Lee preceded him in experimenting with unregulated forms and adopting African tropes.

Published in *The Crisis* in 1918, Johnson's lyrical prose sketches, "War Profiles," evoke the pride and patriotism of the African American regiments by asserting their Ethiopian heritage, rather than their American citizenship: "the boys of Ethiopia, khaki clad, are bidding farewell" while "we men and women of Ethiopia are waving handkerchiefs and moistening our cheeks with tear drops."[45] As the final profile makes clear, the Great War being waged is a fight against global colonial oppression: "'Ethiopia is in pain, Israel is bleeding, Poland is no more, India is weary of the strange gods that infest her groves,'" says God, promising that "'Freedom shall prevail.'" His prophecy is, of course, presaged by the free form that prevails in the "War Profiles" themselves. Johnson's profiles aren't quite poems, however, but rather, rhythmic oratory. The first free verse poem to appear in *The Crisis*, Mary Effie Lee's "Morning Light (The Dew-drier)," also turns to Africa, providing a prose introduction to help acclimate readers to its exotic setting: "It is a custom in some parts of Africa for travelers into the jungles to send before them in the early morning little African boys called 'Dew-driers' to brush with their bodies the dew from the high grasses and be, perhaps, the first to meet the leopard or hyena's challenge—and so open the road." The poem exalts the dew-drier as a figure of the New Negro youth, an avant-garde hero who leads other travelers "toward a new day dawn":

> Behold the little black boy, a naked black boy,
> Sweeping aside with his slight frame
> Night's pregnant tears,
> And making a morning path to the light
> For the tropic traveler![46]

Lee's literally and figuratively ground-breaking poem establishes an equation between free verse, African themes, and New Negro youth culture, an association that would "grow deeper" two years later in *The Crisis*, when Hughes debuted "The Negro Speaks of Rivers."[47]

By publishing experimental works by Johnston, Lee, and Hughes, *The Crisis* laid the groundwork for the more explosive *Fire!!* to galvanize the New Negro poetry scene. Even poets such as Cullen and Silvera, whose work was more conventional in *The Crisis*, first established themselves as poets in the elder magazine, where they received strong (and occasionally

strong-armed) support and encouragement from Du Bois and gained access to a large audience of readers. For all these poets, as for Aaron Douglas, the elder magazine conferred status, empowering them to experiment more freely in *Fire!!* Here again, both magazines worked in concert to forge links between New Negro youth culture, free verse, and African aesthetics, and to foster the development of a distinctly modern, youthful poetic idiom that continued to thrive in *The Crisis* after the flames of the rebellious single-issue journal died out.

FASHIONING THE NEW NEGRO WOMAN IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN AND AFRICAN GARB

As we have seen in Silvera's "Jungle Taste" and Hughes's "Danse Africaine," in both *The Crisis* and *Fire!!*, the female figure served as a key site for molding ideas about New Negro youth. Her prominent appearance in these journals is another tie between them and modern periodicals of the era, both little and large. In magazines as diverse as *The Little Review*, *The New Yorker,* and *The Saturday Evening Post*, the "modern woman is a recurring, emblematic figure for modernism, whether as its producer, potential conquest, or consumer. Each magazine defines its identity through a different type of modern woman."[48] The *Crisis* and *Fire!!* are no exception to this rule: each utilizes images of young black women to assert a distinctive "New Negro" identity.

Here again, *Fire!!* sought to be bold and inflammatory, giving first billing to two works that represent young, highly sexualized women. As Van Notten observes, "the thematic choices of [these works] indicate that sexual taboo functioned as the leading image of their rebellion."[49] Richard Bruce Nugent's illustration of a naked African woman appears on the first page of the magazine, across from Wallace Thurman's Harlem tale, "Cordelia the Crude" (see Figure 4). "While Nugent's image stood alone as a separate, full-page work of art," Goeser argues, "it nonetheless commented on Thurman's scandalous but poignant story of a young Harlem girl . . . whose promiscuous sexual encounters led to a life of prostitution."[50] The naked, curvaceous, loosely leaning woman in Nugent's drawing operates as an illustration of Cordelia's own primitive, wanton sexuality. "Sixteen years old" and "matronly mature," Cordelia has the same combination of modesty and voluptuousness as the female figure in the illustration, who tilts

(a)

FIRE!!

DEVOTED TO YOUNGER NEGRO ARTISTS

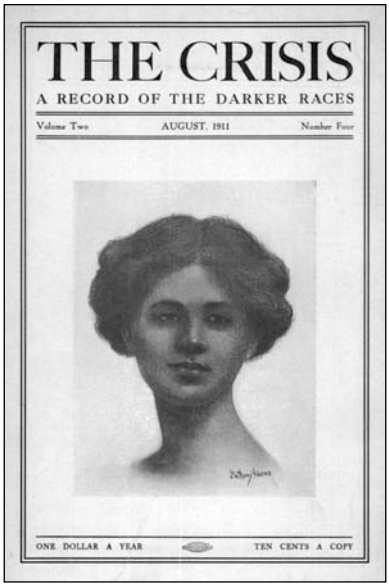
Cordelia the Crude

(b)

FIG. 4 (a) Richard Bruce Nugent, *Drawing*, and (b) Wallace Thurman, *Cordelia the Crude, Fire!!*: 4–5.

her head shyly and crosses her legs, even as she exposes her ample breasts and curved belly in a full-frontal pose.[51] Goeser's analysis of the illustration and text once again reinforces the opposition between *Fire!!* and *The Crisis*: "The image and the story coalesced to shock . . . at the outset of the publication, purposely rejecting the somber themes of racial uplift and social reform that animated *Crisis* and *Opportunity*."[52]

Certainly Cordelia the Crude and her African sister slouch in bold contrast to the wistful, pretty, virginal "Crisis Maid" who is ubiquitous on the covers of *The Crisis* throughout the teens and twenties. Drawn by artist John Henry Adams, she makes her debut on the cover of the August 1911 issue, and by 1913, becomes the trademark for "Crisis Maid" products (see Figure 5). Although used to market everything from books to face powder, the Crisis Maid is especially prominent on the covers of the annual Education Numbers—the issues most geared toward youth, which typically feature rows of college graduates in full regalia. When the Crisis Maid appears on these covers, she sells the idea that education and enlightenment can be attained without sacrificing purity, beauty, or even fashion sense (note her cunning bob and pearls in Figure 6). But the Crisis Maid does not remain pure and virginal for long: the forces of modernity endow her with increasingly audacious sexuality. By 1916—a full decade before



(a)

(b)

FIG. 5 Crisis Maids as seen in (a) John Henry Adams, *Drawing, The Crisis* 2 (August 1911), cover; (b) "Why Not You?" advertisement, *The Crisis* 5 (January 13), back cover.

Fire!! appeared in 1926—the Crisis Maid appears less wistful and more willful, her sexual prowess signaled in her knowing smile and the tiger skin she leans on (see Figure 7). A year later, she boasts the same flirtatious smile but wears a tantalizing Orientalist costume that combines an Arab headdress with a Japanese-style kimono (see Figure 8). In the 1920s, the Crisis Maid assumes a variety of African and Egyptian guises, which convey both her modern style and her increasingly emboldened sexuality. In 1921, she appears as a sphinx-like Egyptian queen; though statuesque, her curves are clearly delineated through the draping veils (see Figure 9). The description of this image, included in the table of contents, symbolically associates the young, female, African figure with modern science and politics, as well as with a primal, timeless source of mystical wisdom and power: "Figure of Africa typifying 'Science' in the Palais Mondial, Brussels, where the second Pan African Congress was held. The inscription reads: 'I am the one that was, that is, and that shall be. No mortal may unveil my face." In June 1924, in a drawing by Laura Wheeler entitled "Africa in America," the Crisis Maid takes the form of a naked African vessel, her voluptuous body revealed beneath a transparent veil. Just as her body echoes the shape

(a)

FIG. 6 Crisis Maids on the covers of the annual Education Numbers as seen in (a) "Portrait of Eva R. Marshall," *The Crisis* 20 (July 1920); (b) "Sadie Tanner Mossell, PhD, University of Pennsylvania," *The Crisis* 22 (July 1921); (c) "Photograph of a Master of Arts, University of California," *The Crisis* 24 (August 1922); (d) "Clarissa Mae Scott, Phi Beta Kappa, Wellesley," *The Crisis* 26 (July 1923); (e) "A Master of Arts, University of California," *The Crisis* 28 (July 1924); (f) "A Bachelor of Music from Oberlin," *The Crisis* 32 (August 1926).


The CRISIS
Tenth Education Number
JULY, 1921
FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

(b)


The CRISIS
Harvard University
Department of Social Ethic
HARVARD COLLEGE
TRANSFERRED FROM
LIBRARY OF THE
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL
JUL 26 1927
AUGUST. 1922
FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

(c)


TWELFTH ANNUAL EDUCATION NUMBER
The CRISIS
JULY, 1923
FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

(d)


EDUCATION NUMBER
The CRISIS
Vol. 28—No. 3
JULY, 1924
Whole No. 165
ONE DOLLAR AND A HALF A YEAR
FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

(e)

(f)

FIG. 7 Crisis Maid as seen in "Photograph from life. 'The Elocutionist,'" *The Crisis* 12 (May 1916), cover.

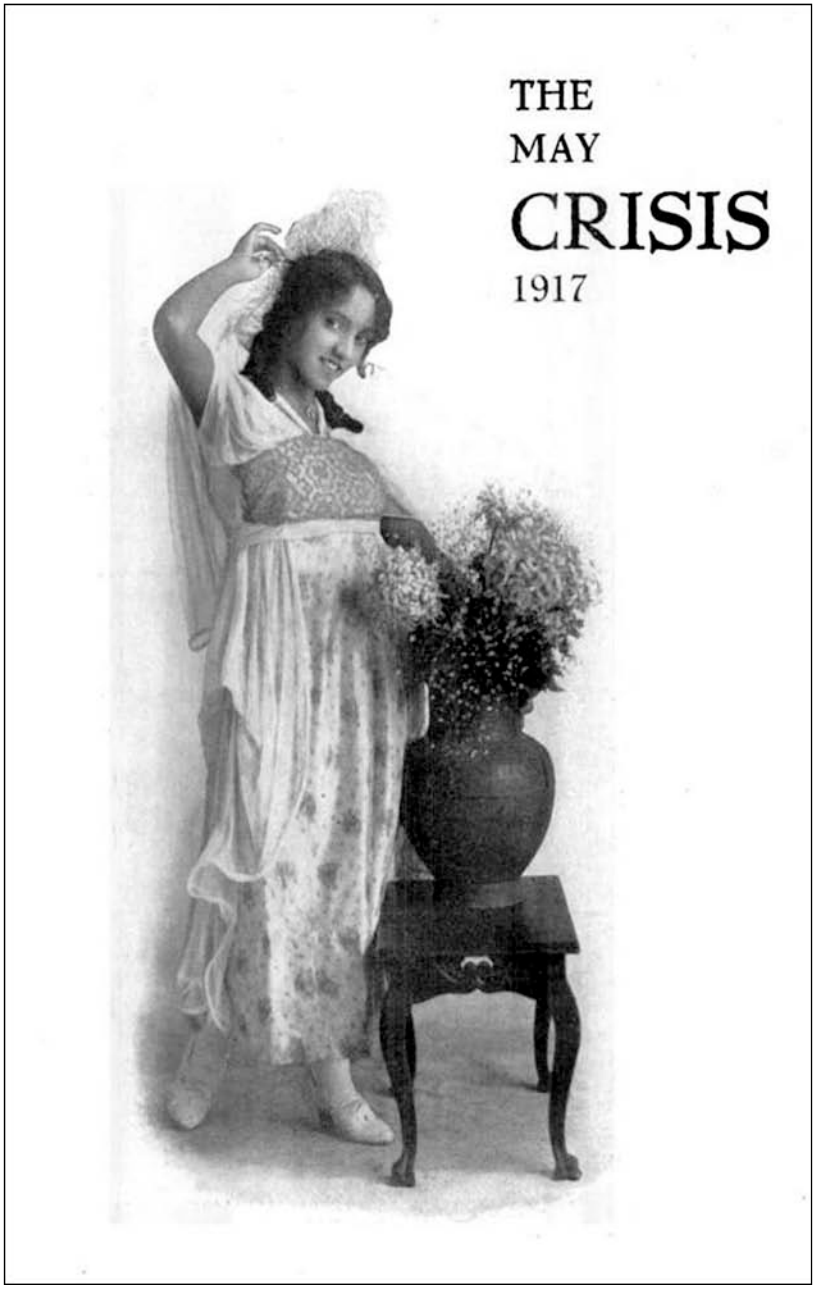


FIG. 8 Crisis Maid as seen in "Posed by Miss Anita Thompson," *The Crisis* 14 (May 1917), cover.

FIG. 9 Crisis Maid as seen in "Figure of Africa typifying 'Science' in the Palais Mondial, Brussels, where the second Pan African Congress was held. The inscription reads: 'I am the one that was, that is, and that shall be. No mortal may unveil my face,'" *The Crisis* 23 (November 1921), cover.

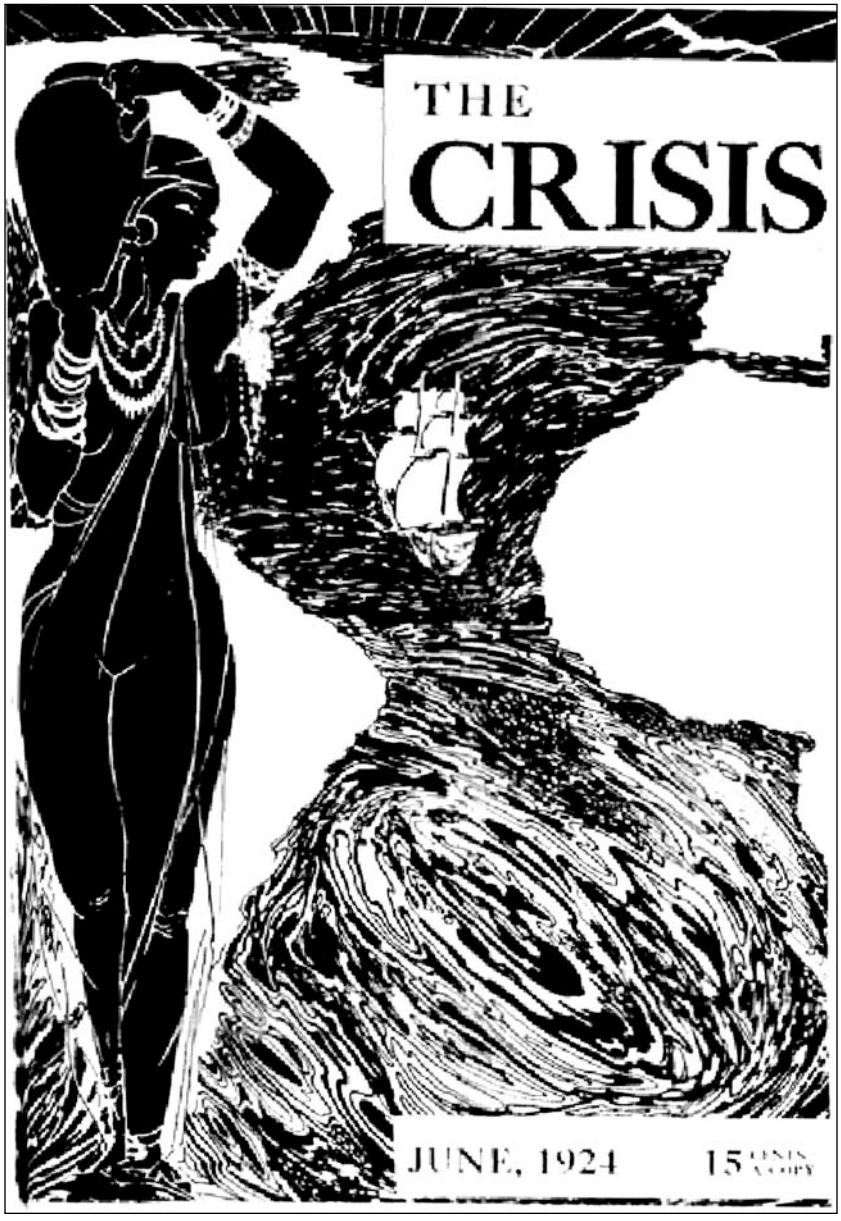


FIG. 10 Crisis Maid as seen in Laura Wheeler, *Africa in America*, *The Crisis* 28 (June 1924), cover.

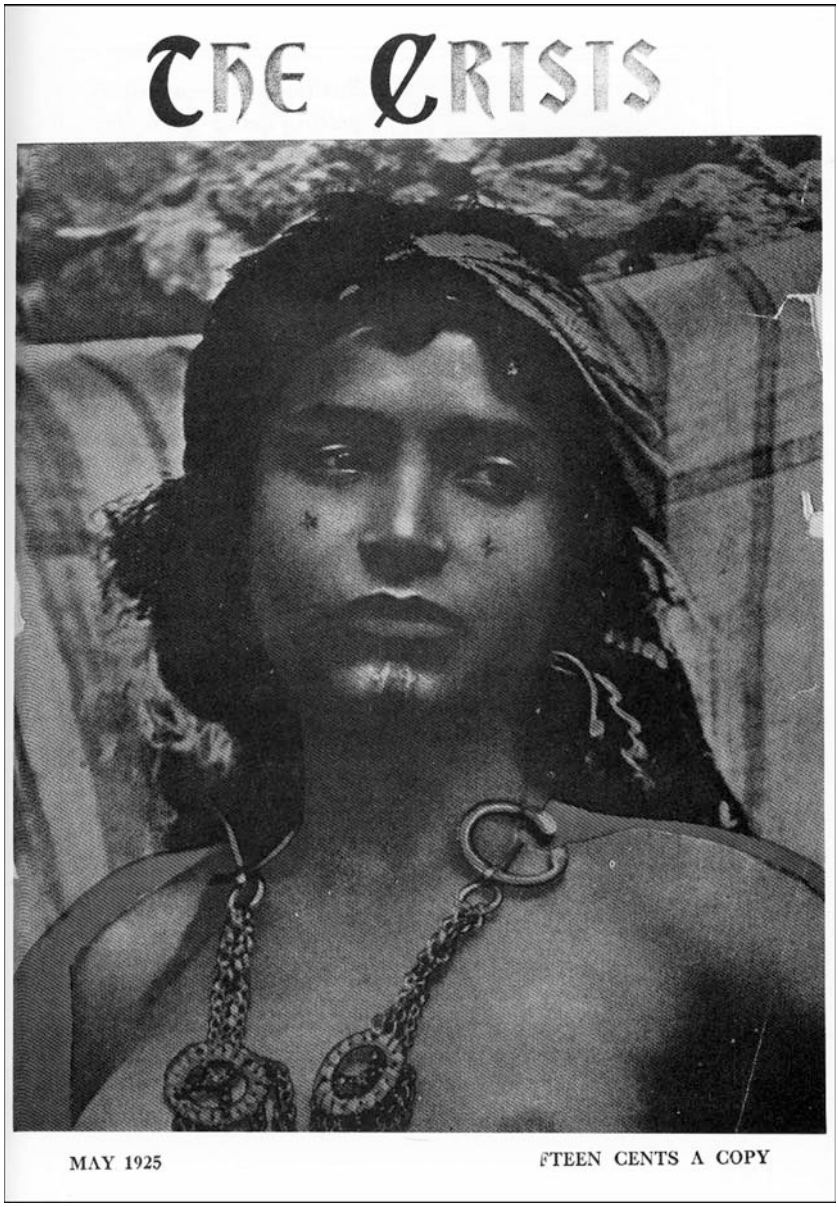


FIG. 11 Crisis Maid as seen in *A Moorish Maid, The Crisis* (May 1925), cover.

of the urn she carries, so the rings of her bracelets and necklaces match the currents of the sea that swirls around her, suggesting her essential link to primal waters (see Figure 10). The small ship in the middle of this sea suggests that the middle passage has been reversed in order to recover the sexual fecundity of this African maiden. Becoming yet still more daring, in May 1925, she appears as a "Moorish Maid"—a proud, pouty, bare-breasted North African woman, whose nipple peaks into the frame, intimating her maidenhood and providing erotic titillation for readers (see Figure 11).

Perhaps her boldest incarnation is on the January 1927 cover in an illustration entitled "A North African Head," where she appears open-mouthed, bare-shouldered, and sporting an African-style headdress (see Figure 12). She smiles, reveals her teeth, and makes direct eye contact, both expressing and arousing sexual appetites. Appearing two months after the publication of *Fire!!*, this blatantly erotic incarnation of the Crisis Maid suggests that the rebel journal did not so much shock and offend *The Crisis* as prod the magazine to more aggressively modernize and sexualize the image of African American youth they had been cultivating for a decade. As in illustration and poetry, modernizing meant adopting stock iconography, tropes, and robes of ancient Africa and Egypt. By August 1927, the year after *Fire!!*, even the Crisis Maid of the education issue—that laudatory preserve of youthful purity and idealism—appears attired in an Egyptian headdress, see-through skirt, and barefoot sandals, a costume that signals she has assumed a modern, progressive New Negro outlook (see Figure 13).

Although *Fire!!* may have stepped further in its transgressive portrayals of female sexuality, *The Crisis* presented a range of modern female ideals, drew heavily upon African and Egyptian iconography, and offered provocative displays of female sexuality. *The Crisis* also did not shy away from the taboo topic of prostitution: Cordelia the Crude made her first appearance in *The Crisis* in August 1923, in Langston Hughes's poem, "Young Prostitute":

> Her dark brown face
> Is like a withered flower
> On a broken stem.
> Those kinds come cheap in Harlem,
> So they say.[53]

The imagistic lyric suggests that this prostitute is a well-known figure in Harlem, handed along as readily as gossip. "Young Prostitute" is not alone in her depravity; she is part of a selection of nine poems by Hughes, which

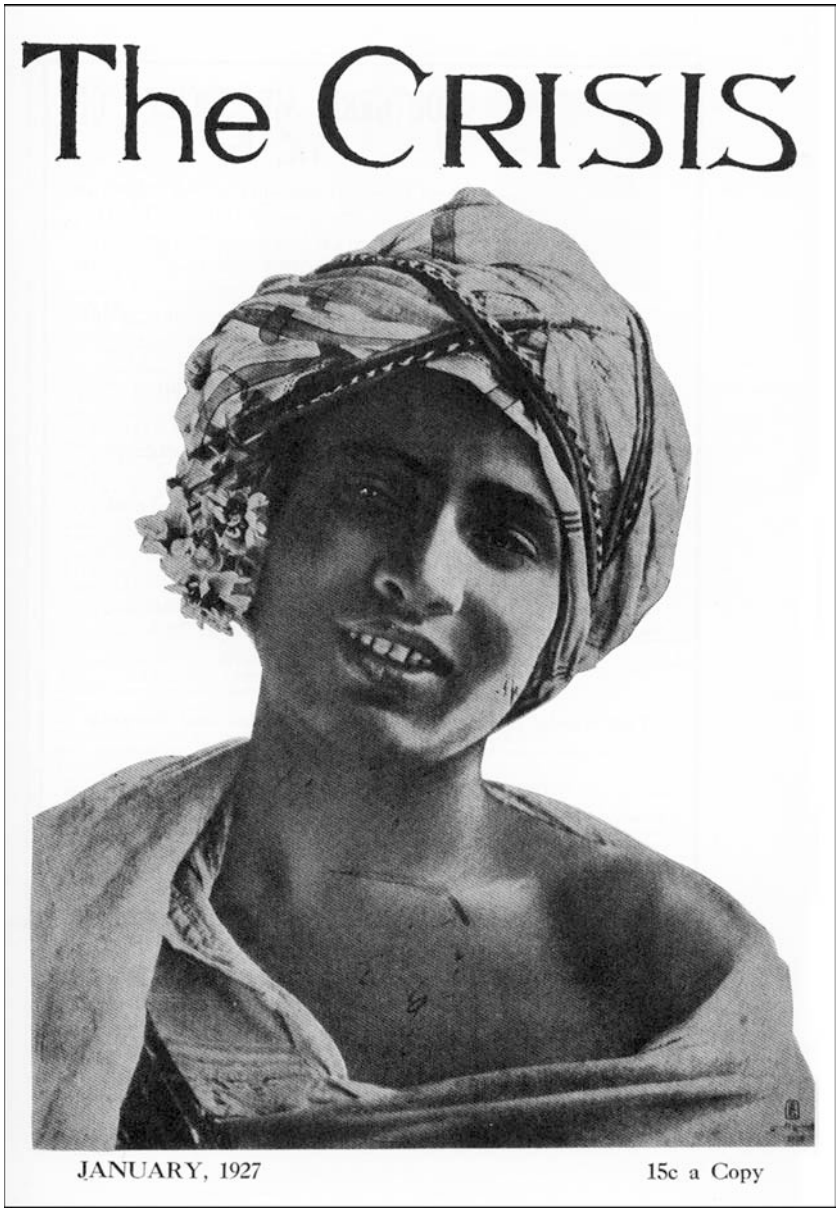


FIG. 12 Crisis Maid as seen in *A North African Head, The Crisis* 33 (January 1927), cover.

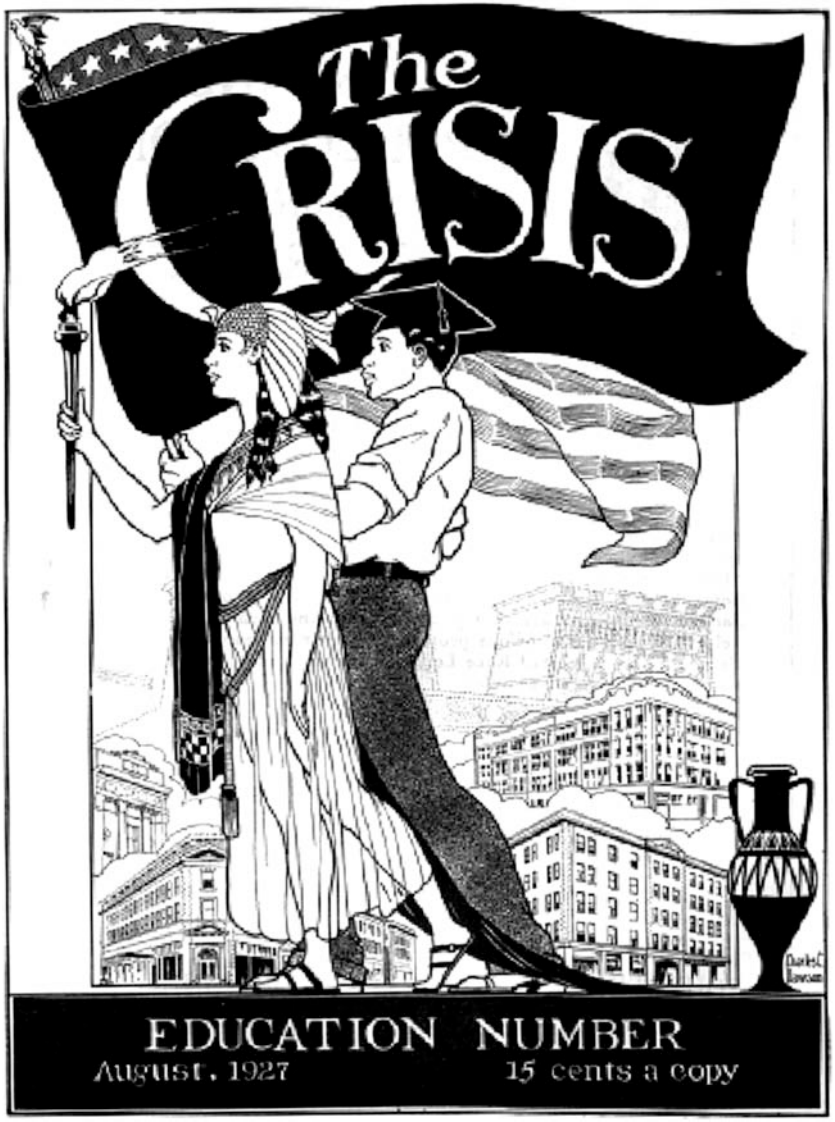


FIG. 13 Crisis Maid as seen in Charles C. Dawson, *Drawing with Five Great Negro Buildings, The Crisis* (August 1927), cover.

include several other risqué portrayals of young women of questionable moral standards. In "Jazzonia," "a dancing girl whose eyes are bold / Lifts high a dress of silken gold." "Young Singer" portrays another tempting young female entertainer, "One who sings *'chansons vulgaires'* / In a Harlem cellar / Where the jazz band plays / From dark to dawn." Like Cordelia, this singer has descended into the underbelly of Harlem nightlife, and in her primitive simplicity, she does "not understand" her powerful sexual allure. "The Last Feast of Belshazzar" depicts an exotic Orientalist scene in which the "jeweled entrails of pomegranate [bleeding] on the marble floor" symbolize the violation of the "jewel-heart of a virgin"; meanwhile, "The laughter of a drunken lord hid the sob of a silken whore." Although inclusion of foreign words written in a "strange hand" distances the scene from contemporary African American life, the poem's proximity to "Three Poems of Harlem," "Jazzonia," and "Young Singer" suggests a kinship between the glittering decadence of ancient Babylon and the alluring debauchery of modern Harlem. The publication of these poems in *The Crisis* indicates that Du Bois had loosened his standards for youthful self-expression well before *Fire!!* attempted to ignite a storm of controversy.

YOUTH CULTURE GROWS UP

As this evidence suggests, *Fire!!* was less a direct challenge to *The Crisis* than a bold articulation within a broader youth movement that was itself in the process of developing and maturing. Though *The Crisis* may have begun in 1910 as a journal that addressed "the problem of the twentieth century" through nineteenth-century standards and tastes, within a decade, it had developed into a much more progressive, modern magazine.[54] This development is evident in its evolving attitudes toward youth. In the early teens, *The Crisis* emphasized duty, uplift, and moral propriety, values exemplified in Kelly Miller's 1913 "Oath of Afro-American Youth," which begins: "I will never bring disgrace upon my race by any unworthy deed or dishonorable act: I will live a clean, decent, manly life: and ever respect and defend the virtue and honor of womanhood."[55] A decade later, the youthful tone had changed considerably, as reflected in Countee Cullen's 1923 speech, "The League of Youth," which was delivered at Town Hall, New York, and printed in the August 1923 issue of *The Crisis:* "Youth the world over is undergoing a spiritual and an intellectual awakening, is looking with new eyes at old customs, and is finding for them interpretations which its

parents passed over. Youth is everywhere mapping out a programme for itself. . . ."[56] Cullen, Hughes, Douglas, and other aspiring young artists began "mapping out" their aesthetic programme in *The Crisis*, and they continued to chart new terrain in *Fire!!* and beyond, using the resources of a thriving African American periodical press to launch, promote, and advance the New Negro cult of youth.

Literary histories have overlooked the common ground between *The Crisis* and *Fire!!*, preferring instead to perpetuate the legend of their mutual antagonism. This legend replays the same narrative that has dominated histories of predominantly white little magazines: despite being a radical, outspoken advocate of African American rights at a time when lynching and other forms of discrimination were at their peak in America, *The Crisis* is cast in the role of the middlebrow, mass-market magazine, which insists on mindless conformity to a capitalist consumer culture, while *Fire!!* is celebrated as the daring upstart little magazine, which defies convention and promotes radical individualism. But just as recent studies of modernist periodicals have challenged the much-vaunted opposition between the little and mass-market periodicals, so should we view with skepticism the purported hostility between *The Crisis* and *Fire!!*[57] Alan Golding calls for a similar re-framing of the legendary opposition between the radical *Little Review* and the canon-forming *Dial*, inviting us to view the two magazines "as complements rather than as rivals" and to consider "the shaping of taste by modernist magazines [as] a collective project, not a matter of the atomized influence of single publications." Just as *The Dial* and *The Little Review* "needed each other to accomplish their cultural work" of shaping the American poetry canon, *The Crisis* and *Fire!!* needed one another to carry out their project of forming an African American youth culture.[58] Indeed, the ephemeral *Fire!!* needed the long-lasting *Crisis* to sustain this project. *Fire!!*'s short lifespan, like that of so many modernist little magazines, suggests that avant-garde radicalism is not sustaining on its own, but is most effective as a prod within a larger, more established and durable periodical culture. Thus the little magazine should be understood not as a challenge or threat to the larger periodical culture of modernity but as a vital part of it. The David vs. Goliath myth of the young upstart defeating an oppressive giant creates a false dichotomy between *The Crisis* and *Fire!!*, which were radical in their resistance to the dominant white culture, progressive in their advocacy of young African American artists, and crucial to the development and promotion of New Negro youth culture.

NOTES

1. T. S. Eliot, "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," in *T. S. Eliot: The Complete Poems and Plays, 1909–1950* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1980), 5.
2. John Wertheimer, "The Collaborative Research Seminar," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 4 (2002), http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/jah/88.4/wertheimer.html. I describe this seminar in more detail in "Modernist Periodicals and Pedagogy: An Experiment in Collaboration," in *Transatlantic Print Culture, 1880–1940: Emerging Media, Emerging Modernisms*, ed. Ann Ardis and Patrick Collier (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008).
3. For the first few years of its run, the cover of *The Crisis* included the subtitle, "A Record of the Darker Races." W. E. B. Du Bois's inaugural editorial declared, "It will first and foremost be a newspaper: it will record important happenings and movements in the world which bear on the great problem of inter-racial relations, and especially those which affect the Negro-American." *The Crisis* 1 (November 1910): 10. The subtitle, "Devoted to Younger Negro Artists," appeared on the cover of *Fire!!*
4. Foreword, *Fire!!* 1 (November 1926; reprint, Metuchen: Fire Press, 1982): 1. All subsequent references to *Fire!!* are to this reprint of this issue, the only issue ever published, and will therefore be cited simply as *Fire!!*
5. Langston Hughes, *The Big Sea: An Autobiography* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1979), 237.
6. Robert E. Hemenway, *Zora Neale Hurston: A Literary Biography* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997), 49; Anne Elizabeth Carroll, *Word, Image, and the New Negro: Representation and Identity in the Harlem Renaissance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 191; George Hutchinson, *The Harlem Renaissance in Black and White* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), 129.
7. Benjamin Brawley, "The Negro Literary Renaissance," *The Southern Workman* 56 (April 1927): 183; anonymous reviewer quoted by Wallace Thurman, "Negro Artists and the Negro," *New Republic* 52 (August 31, 1927): 37; Langston Hughes identifies the reviewer as Rean Graves, writing for the *Baltimore Afro-American*, in *Big Sea*, 237.
8. "The Dark Tower," *Opportunity* 5 (January 1927): 25; "The Looking Glass," *The Crisis* 33 (January 1927): 158.
9. Carroll, 195; Eleanore van Notten, *Wallace Thurman's Harlem Renaissance* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994), 151.
10. Carroll, 196; see also Van Notten, 151.
11. Russ Castronovo, "Beauty Along the Color Line: Lynching, Aesthetics and the *Crisis*," *PMLA* 121 (October 2006): 1444.
12. Castronovo, 1443.
13. W. E. B. Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," *The Crisis* 32 (October 1926): 296, 297.
14. Castronovo, 1448.
15. Arnold Rampersad, *The Art and Imagination of W. E. B. Du Bois* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 187–88.
16. Alaine Locke, "Fire: A Negro Magazine," *Survey* 58 (August 15–September 15, 1927): 564.
17. Mark S. Morrisson, "Youth in Public: The *Little Review* and Commercial Culture in Chicago," in *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences, and Reception, 1905–1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2000), 137–38.
18. Morrisson, 134.
19. Rampersad, 194.
20. Theodore Peterson, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1964), 7.
21. Caroline Goeser, *Picturing the New Negro: Harlem Renaissance Print Culture and Modern Black Identity* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2007), 22–23.
22. Goeser, 25.
23. Aaron Douglas, quoted by Amy Helene Kirschke, *Aaron Douglas: Art, Race, and the Harlem Renaissance* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995), 68.
24. Carroll, 191.
25. Kirschke, 76.
26. Goeser, 30.

27. Langston Hughes, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," *The Crisis* 22 (June 1921): 71. Permission to reprint granted by Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House along with the Estate of Langston Hughes.
28. Goeser, 29–30.
29. Douglas, quoted by Kirschke, 77.
30. Goeser, 30.
31. Goeser, 30.
32. Kirschke, 66.
33. Kirschke, 69.
34. Kirschke, 67, 70.
35. See Suzanne W. Churchill, *The Little Magazine* Others *and the Renovation of Modern American Poetry* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2006), 5–7.
36. Douglas, quoted by Kirschke, 78.
37. Edward Silvera, "Jungle Taste," *Fire!!:* 18.
38. Hughes, "Danse Africaine," *The Crisis* 24 (August 1922): 167. Permission to reprint granted by Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random House along with the Estate of Langston Hughes.
39. Silvera, "Two Poems," *The Crisis* 33 (November 1926): 12.
40. Gerald Early, "About Countee Cullen's Life and Career," in *The Oxford Companion to African American Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997); online, in *Modern American Poetry: An Online Journal and Multimedia Companion to* Anthology of Modern American Poetry, ed. Cary Nelson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/a_f/cullen/life.htm.
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42. Cullen, "From the Dark Tower," *Fire!!:* 16.
43. Wallace Thurman, "Negro Artists and the Negro," *New Republic* 52 (August 31, 1927): 37.
44. Langston Hughes, "Monotony," *The Crisis* 26 (May 1923): 35; "A Song to a Negro Washwoman," *The Crisis* 29 (January 1925): 115; "Minstrel Man," *The Crisis* 31 (December 1925): 66–67.
45. Fenton Johnson, "War Profiles," *The Crisis* 16 (June 1918): 65. The following year, Johnson's prose poems crossed the color line, appearing in several issues of *Others: A Magazine of the New Verse*.
46. Mary Effie Lee, "Morning Light (The Dew-drier)," *The Crisis* 17 (November 1918): 17.
47. Hughes, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers," 71.
48. Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible, "Modernism in Magazines," *Oxford Handbook of Modernisms*, ed. Peter Brooker, Andrzej Gasiorek, Deborah Parsons, and Andrew Thacker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, forthcoming 2010).
49. Van Notten, 138.
50. Goeser, 90.
51. Wallace Thurman, "Cordelia the Crude," *Fire!!:* 5.
52. Goeser, 90.
53. Langston Hughes, "Poems," *The Crisis* 26 (August 1923): 162. The full-page spread includes "Three Poems of Harlem" ("Cabaret," "Young Prostitute," and "Prayer Meeting"), "Poem," "Shadows," "Jazzonia," "Young Singer," "The Last Feast of Belshazzar," and "Winter Moon." Permission to reprint granted by Alfred A. Knopf, a division of Random house along with the Estate of Langston Hughes.
54. W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Terri Hume Oliver (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), 5.
55. Kelly Miller, "An Oath of Afro-American Youth," *The Crisis* 6 (June 1913): 92.
56. Countee P. Cullen, "The League of Youth," *The Crisis* 26 (August 1923): 167.
57. In addition to Morrisson's *The Public Face of Modernism* and Ardis and Collier's *Transatlantic Print Culture*, see Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible, eds., *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007) as well as Kevin J. H. Dettmar and Stephen Watt, eds., *Marketing Modernism: Self-promotion, Canonization, and Rereading* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996) and Lawrence S. Rainey, *Institutions of Modernism: Literary Elites and Public Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), two works that were instrumental in instigating this paradigm shift.
58. Alan Golding, "*The Dial*, *The Little Review*, and the Dialogics of Modernism," *Little Magazines and Modernism: New Approaches*, ed. Suzanne W. Churchill and Adam McKible (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2007), 70, 68.