

combatting racism with art

charles s. johnson and the harlem renaissance

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Until the appearance of Patrick Gilpin's essay, "Charles S. Johnson: Entrepreneur of the Harlem Renaissance,"¹ the important role of Johnson as a cultivator of the Harlem Renaissance was described in a paragraph or two by historians and literary critics. In his recent analysis of the Renaissance as a cultural movement encompassing all the arts, Nathan Irvin Huggins merely cites Johnson as editor of *Opportunity* and then comments on the role of *Opportunity* in the Renaissance, ". . . even more than the others [*Crisis*; *The Messenger*], *Opportunity* believed its motto—'Not Alms but Opportunity'—to apply to the arts. It sponsored a literary contest in the 1920s that became a major generating force in the renaissance."²

Describing Johnson's entrepreneurial activities such as the Civic Club dinner of May 21, 1924, which brought "together the black literati and the white publishers," and the *Opportunity* contests, Professor Gilpin argues persuasively that it was "in reporting and promoting black culture in the United States and the world at large that Johnson and *Opportunity* found their forte."³ He reveals also Johnson's concern with "placing the New Movement into historical and sociological perspective." This observation leads to provocative suggestions of the importance Johnson ascribed to "the serious development of a body of literature about Negroes" for blacks as an "ethnic group"; and to literature as "a great liaison between races."⁴ But Gilpin never develops the sociological and historical implications of these observations for Johnson's role as entrepreneur of the Renaissance. This essay proposes to fill the gap by analyzing how Johnson expected the revelation of black artistic talent to be a liaison between the races, as well as to affect the self-image of blacks as an ethnic group.

A major source of racial antagonism in America, Johnson believed, was the misunderstanding and ignorance of the two races about one

another.⁵ Johnson's opinion was shared by Alain Locke, who wrote in 1925,

It does not follow that if the Negro were better known, he would be better liked or better treated. But mutual understanding is basic for any subsequent cooperation and adjustment. The effort toward this will at least have the effect of remedying in large part what has been the most unsatisfactory feature of our present stage of race relationships in America, namely the fact that the more intelligent and representative elements of the two race groups have at so many points got quite out of touch with one another.⁶

Johnson spent much of his life as a sociologist, first with the National Urban League and later at Fisk University, engaging in sociological studies that exposed the conditions of black life in America. As his friend Edwin Embree wrote, his role was one of interpreting "colored people to whites and white people to Negroes, Southerners to Northerners, rustics to city dweller, analyzing people's problems so that they can understand themselves."⁷

But interpreting the races to one another meant more than exposing the inferior social and economic conditions to which blacks were condemned by white discrimination and prejudice. As important for altering race relations was emphasis upon black achievements. "There are facts of Negro progress as well as handicaps that should be known not only for the stimulation which comes from recognition," Johnson wrote, "but as an antidote to a disposition not infrequently encountered to disparage unjustly the capacities and aspirations of this group."⁸

The Harlem Renaissance provided just the opportunity for blacks to reveal their capacities as artists. Gilpin suggested, but never developed, Johnson's conception of the Renaissance as a tool for altering racial patterns when he wrote, "Johnson's motivation in beginning the *Opportunity* contests appears to be that of a skilled, shrewd and pragmatic entrepreneur who saw a flourishing of black culture as but another road for combatting white racism while aiding black people."⁹

In September, 1927, Johnson himself described the *Opportunity* contests as a way to stimulate "not merely an interest in Negro life and in the work of the artists of the race, but work of a character which stands firmly and without apology along with that of any other race."¹⁰ Artistic work that equalled the quality of any other race would surely undermine white arguments of innate black inferiority. Johnson assumed, of course, that whites would react to evidence of black artistic talent as an argument for racial equality. This assumption, Huggins notes, was widespread among black intellectuals in the 1920's: "Inequities due to race might best be removed when reasonable men saw that black men were thinkers, strivers, doers, and were cultured, like themselves. Harlem intellectuals, with their progressive assumptions, saw themselves as the ones most likely to make this demonstration."¹¹

Johnson feared, of course, that the use of art to combat racism would fail because whites were predisposed to ignore black achievements. Occasionally this frustration turned to cynicism. Referring to *Ebony and Topaz*, a collection of black art, fiction, poetry and essays he edited, Johnson chided, "It is not improbable that some of our white readers will arch their brows or perhaps knit them soberly at some point before the end. But this is a response not infrequently met with outside the pages of books. There is always an escape of a sort, however, in ignoring that which contradicts one's sense, even though it were the better wisdom to give heed."¹² In a less cryptic moment Johnson told a friend what he hoped white reaction would be to evidence of black talent: "The best use of the volume is in its presentation to some white person who needs a succinct, face value presentation of Negro competence. . . ."¹³

Equally in need of "a succinct, face value presentation of Negro competence" were blacks themselves. Johnson was among the earliest sociologists to emphasize the psychological toll discrimination and segregation had taken on blacks and to combat the behavioral adjustments the race made to survive and function in American society.¹⁴ He fought the resulting sense of inferiority so many of his race had lived with because he knew that until blacks conceived of themselves as equals with other races they could not begin to relate, and so be treated, as equals. Charles V. Hamilton, in his 1968 essay analyzing the meaning of Black Power, described well the change Johnson sought in the self-conception of many blacks: "The black man must change his demeaning conception of himself, he must develop a sense of pride and self-respect. Then, if integration comes, it will deal with people who are psychologically and mentally healthy, with people who have a sense of their history and of themselves as whole human beings."¹⁵

Johnson sought to alter the self-image of many blacks not with demands or accusations that would further alienate the races, but with ideas and programs that were achievable within the racial atmosphere of the 1920's. He remained constantly aware of the social milieu in which he was seeking to reorient race relations. Publishing *Opportunity* magazine, he wrote in 1928, was one way to encourage Negroes to think more objectively about their role in the race problem, as well as "to effect an emancipation from their sensitiveness about meaningless symbols, and . . . [to] inculcate a disposition to see enough of interest and beauty in their own lives to rid themselves of the inferior feeling of being a Negro."¹⁶

Who better than black artists themselves could capture the "interest and beauty" of black lives that could emancipate much of the race from feelings of inferiority. Here, then, is the framework for understanding how the Harlem Renaissance became for Johnson a means to change the self-image of many blacks and, in the end, to alter race relations. Evidence of black talent equal to that of other races could be an important step in the direction of race pride. Nathan Huggins describes the effect of black literary publications in *The Messenger*, *Liberator*, *Crisis* and

Opportunity in just this way: "The tone and the self-assurance of these magazines were the important thing. They gave a sense of importance to blacks who read them. They gave answers that always had failed the porter, the barber, the maid, the teacher, the handyman. They were the Negro's voice against the insult that America gave him."¹⁷

But to succeed as artists and, consequently, as uplifters of the race's image, Johnson argued, blacks must use their own experiences as the basis for their creativity. They had to free themselves from the hold white cultural values exercised upon their art, just as white artists had found it imperative to reject European standards as the arbiter of their work:

It was the dull lack of some idealism . . . that held America in a suspended cultural animation until it sought freedom thru self-criticism and its own native sources of beauty. In the same manner, American Negroes, born into a culture which they did not wholly share, have responded falsely to the dominant patterns. Their expression has been, to borrow a term which Lewis Mumford employs in referring to Americans in relation to Europe, 'sickly and derivative, a mere echo of old notes.' There has been the same self-deception of 'boasting and vain imagination[,] the same indifference to the spiritual refinement of the beautiful, the same dull seeking of an average level, and the same mystifying sense of an imponderable shortcoming which led inevitably to inferior feeling and apology. The form of expression merely has been different.¹⁸

The lives of black men and women were replete with deeds and words worthy of being captured in poetry and story, in music and portrait. Survival itself, while trapped in the snares of slavery and Jim Crow, could provide inspiration for creativity. "There is a thrilling magnificence and grandeur," Johnson wrote, ". . . in the thread of unconquerable life thru two centuries of pain."¹⁹ The folk life of the race included untapped sources for creative inspiration. "The vast sources of this field for American literature," Johnson reminded aspiring black artists, "cannot be escaped. . . . There is here a life full of strong colors, of passions, deep and fierce, of struggle, disillusion—the whole gamut of life free from the wrapping of intricate sophistication."²⁰

So important was the black artists' use of black experiences to Johnson that he described their utilization of folk material as "a new emancipation." Gone was the "sensitiveness" that only a decade before denied the existence "of any but educated Negroes" and opposed Negro dialect, folk songs or anything that "revived the memory of slavery." Black artists were now sensitive "to the hidden beauties" of the black experience and expressed "a frank joy and pride in it."²¹

The emancipation of black artists was the means for a "new freedom" for the entire race. Addressing a graduating class of black students in 1928, Johnson argued, ". . . that the *road to a new freedom for us* lies in

the discovery of the surrounding beauties of our lives and environment, and in the recognition that beauty itself is a mark of the highest expression of the human spirit.”²² Black artists of the Renaissance were capturing the beauty of black lives. In their work blacks could discover countless reasons for pride in their race. Simultaneously white men and women could experience the revelation of a long suppressed race with artistic talent, a history and culture equal to that of other races.

Johnson’s race relations philosophy dictated, however, that racial pride be not a tool for further racial separation or for a Garveyite dream of African glory, but a lever for achieving equality in American society. His sense of realism convinced him that there was no value in pursuing a separatist course. Blacks were a distinct minority segment of American life and institutions. Those institutions were givens in their environment. The racial injustices of American society would not be eliminated by seeking to create another society, but by altering the racial habits of functioning institutions through such tools as research and education, negotiation and persuasion, confidence and achievement within the race itself.²³

Equality within American society did not mean the loss of racial identification or “becoming a black Anglo Saxon,” as Gilpin phrased it. Indeed, a careful reading of Johnson’s published and unpublished writings conveys his conception of black Americans as a separate ethnic group within American society—an ethnic group that could contribute to, as well as draw upon, the society’s cultural mainstream.²⁴

The poems, essays and art that Johnson published as editor of *Opportunity*, as well as of *Ebony and Topaz*, reflected clearly this “conception of black Americans as a separate ethnic group within American society” that could both contribute to and draw upon that society’s cultural mainstream. The poem of Waring Cuney spoke of the beauty of the brown body:

She does not know
Her beauty
She thinks her brown body
Has no glory.
If she could dance
Naked,
Under palm trees
And see her image in the river
She would know.
But there are no palm trees
On the street
And dish water gives back no images.²⁵

While Helene Johnson’s *Sonnet To A Negro in Harlem* expressed disdain for the white man’s values:

You are disdainful and magnificent—
Your perfect body and your pompous gait,

Your dark eyes flashing sullenly with hate,
 Small wonder that you are incompetent
 To imitate those whom you so despise—
 Your shoulders towering high above the throne,
 Your head thrown back in rich, barbaric song,
 Palm trees and mangoes stretched before your eyes.
 Let others toil and sweat for labor's sake
 And wring from grasping hands their need of gold.
 Why urge ahead your supercilious feet?
 Scorn will efface each footprint that you make.
 I love your laughter arrogant and bold
 You are too splendid for this city street.²⁶

A similar theme was struck at the conclusion of Edna Worthley Underwood's marvelous short story, "La Perla Negra":

She [La Perla Negra] had gone back to the wild undisciplined life of her race. She must have different things. She must have the healed dance under the stars—at night—and the fight that followed. She must feel hunger, discomfort and weariness. She must feel upon her faultless, grey-marble shoulders, the overseer's lash. She must burn up her youth, her beauty in a frenzy of feverish life; in toil, in the brittle dawn, by the edge of the cane field. She must have the fierce things of her blood.

Not yet was the white man's life, with its weakening trivialities, for her.

She had escaped from that consuming disease we call civilization.²⁷

Frank Horne's poem in the December, 1925, issue of *Opportunity*, "On Seeing Two Brown Boys in a Catholic Church," compares vividly the fate that awaits these boys with that of Christ—a fate decreed by the white man's civilization in which they live:

And Gethsemane
 You shall know full well
 Gethsemane . . .

 And in this you will exceed God
 For on this earth
 You shall know Hell—

Readers of *Ebony and Topaz* were exposed to the achievements of "Juan Latino, Magister Latinus,"²⁸ as well as to "Four drawings for Mulattoes" by Richard Bruce and the paintings of Sebastian Gomez, known as "Mulatto de Murillo."²⁹ Johnson published in *Ebony and Topaz* a short piece on "Gullah" by Julia Peterkin in which she underscored the unique contributions blacks who spoke this language were making to American culture: "And this language which is not easily understood except by a trained ear, is not only beautiful, but its whimsical words and phrases, its quaint similes and shrewd sayings are undoubtedly a permanent enrichment of American language and literature."³⁰

The conception of the Renaissance as a tool for fostering black cultural autonomy, which could then contribute to the nation's cultural life, has been seriously questioned by Huggins. Rather than contributing to the national culture as a distinct ethnic group, he argues, "black men and American culture have been one—such a seamless web that it is impossible to calibrate the Negro within it or to ravel him from it."³¹ These divergent views underscore differing conceptions of the relationship between blacks and the remainder of American society, not the benefit of historical perspective allowed by the passage of decades. Johnson himself reflected on the meaning of the Renaissance in the mid-1950's and spoke again in terms of a distinct "self conscious and race conscious" movement that "could be incorporated into the cultural bloodstream of the nation."³²

If black artists were to contribute to the nation's "cultural bloodstream" and simultaneously make art a liaison between the races, they would have to produce works equal in quality to those produced by artists of other races. Being the best Negro author in a particular genre benefited neither the artist nor the race. "As Negro writers come into their estate it is expected that what they produce shall approach the standards set by the accepted writers of the country."³³ Not only would failure to meet accepted standards of quality perpetuate the widely held opinion that blacks were innately inferior, but it would also threaten interest in what black authors wrote. Furthermore, the possibility existed that authors with a polished style but little information might usurp the audience interested in literature about the black experience. Therefore, Johnson told *Opportunity* contest entrants, ". . . the cult of competence must be courted assiduously. We must write to be known; we must write well to be heard at all."³⁴

And when black men wrote so well that their excellence achieved recognition in literary anthologies, Johnson applauded the achievement as more than an individual accomplishment: ". . . to the glory of their skill, it speaks for Negroes."³⁵ This articulation of the significance of individual success for an entire race underscores the importance of the Harlem Renaissance for Johnson's race relations philosophy—for surely this display of artistic skill called into question traditional white attitudes about blacks, as well as the image blacks had of their own race.

During the past decade several scholars have questioned the meaning of the Harlem Renaissance for black independence and/or equality. As noted, Nathan Huggins rejects the Renaissance as an expression of black cultural autonomy. The autonomous ethnic culture Johnson and others saw expressed in the Renaissance had little independent ballast to support it. Huggins concedes that blacks did achieve a maturity of racial conceptualization and an appreciation of folk roots and culture which permitted partial emancipation from the "embarrassment of past conditions" as a result of the Renaissance. But these achievements led to a "naive faith in the possibility of creating an ethnic culture." When, in

fact, black artists were unable to free themselves from emulation of white values.³⁶

In his study of *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* Gilbert Osofsky questioned the sincerity of whites who seemed genuinely attracted to black art—individuals to whom the meaning of black creativity for race relations should have been most obvious. The attraction of the New Negro and the Renaissance, Osofsky contends, was the challenge they represented to traditional American values. That generation of Americans who discovered “newness” all around it—New Humanism, New Criticism, New Masses, New Poetry and so on—“also found a ‘New Negro’; and the concept became a cultural weapon: ‘Another Bombshell Fired into the Heart of Bourgeois Culture.’”³⁷

The traditional view of the Negro as Sambo did not change, Osofsky argued. Instead new characteristics were attributed to him that made him exciting. He was “expressive,” “primitive,” “exotic,” possessing an “innate gayety of soul.” Such characteristics were captivating when compared with the puritanical and repressed culture of white America. Still, the black man remained a toy with which the players would tire. What remained with a degraded, suppressed race.³⁸

Charles Johnson was not unaware of the artificiality which attached itself to what he considered to be a genuine cultural expression of black life and experiences. He was sensitive to the shallowness which could overtake an artistic movement such as the Renaissance once it appeared to have captivated public attention. Concerned that the Renaissance was moving in that direction he wrote in 1927,

The public has recently given a sudden ear to the submerged voices of dark Americans; hearing has brought a measure of interest and this interest, in characteristic American fashion has catapulted itself into something very much like a fad.³⁹

In a March, 1926, *Opportunity* editorial he had enumerated the dangers to the legitimacy of the Renaissance: the “shortsighted exploiters of sentiment”; the “immediate and prematurely triumphant ones who think that Negro writers have fully arrived”; and the “superficial ones, inebriated with praise and admission to the company of writers, who are establishing by acceptance, a double standard of competence as a substitute for the normal rewards of study and practice, and in many instances, lack talent.” Unless the exploiters of public interest were curbed, Johnson feared the Renaissance would indeed be a fad “to be discarded in a few seasons” instead of a “sound wholesome expression of [artistic] growth.”⁴⁰

The Renaissance was shattered by the Depression, Huggins believes, “because of naive assumptions about the centrality of culture, unrelated to economic and social realities.” Black intellectuals “were comrades in this innocence with many white intellectuals of the time.”⁴¹ By the time

the Depression ended the Renaissance, Charles Johnson had joined the faculty of Fisk University. One must conclude, however, that his role as one of the “entrepreneurs” of the Renaissance was not grounded upon “naive assumptions about the centrality of culture, unrelated to economic and social realities.” His encouragement of black cultural achievements through art assumed only that blacks were a distinct ethnic group which had a unique contribution to make to the nation’s cultural mainstream.

Even if the assumption of ethnic distinctiveness is questionable, there is no doubt of his awareness of the economic and social realities of the society in which black artists labored. Johnson’s entrepreneurial activities reveal a clear understanding of which groups and individuals controlled opportunities in the arts and of their past attitudes about black artists.

And if blacks were unable to emancipate themselves from the values of white society, as Johnson occasionally felt they had or were doing, he was realistic enough to see in the Renaissance a tool for altering the black self-image. His most unrealistic social goal for the movement was that it might affect white attitudes toward the black race. It was an unrealistic goal not because only a relatively few whites knew of black art, but because whites were not prepared to grant blacks the same distribution of talent and mediocrity that characterizes other races. No rational proof would convince whites that the black race included individuals with abilities and capabilities equal to those of individuals from other races.

Charles Johnson did not stand alone in his interpretation of the meaning of the Renaissance for his race, as well as for interracial relations. His contemporary, and another significant entrepreneur of the movement, Alain Locke wrote, too, of “emancipation” from “a warped social perspective” and of the emergence of “a new group psychology.” That “new group psychology” was characterized by a “more positive self-respect and self-reliance,” “a repudiation of the double standard of judgment with its special philanthropic allowances” and a “desire for objective and scientific appraisal; and finally the rise from social disillusionment to race pride. . . .”⁴²

The social element, so dominant in the art of the Renaissance, was an expression of that emancipation, “an idiom of experience, a sort of added enriching adventure and discipline, airing subtler overtones to life, making it more beautiful and interesting, even if more poignantly so.”⁴³ Just as did Johnson, Locke interpreted the use of the social element as artistically significant for its contribution to the cultural mainstream: “The new motive, then, in being racial is to be so purely for the sake of art. Nowhere is this more apparent, or more justified than in the increasing tendency to evolve from the racial substance something technically distinctive, something that as an idiom of style may become a contribution to the general resources of Art.”⁴⁴

By the mid-1920’s, W. E. B. DuBois was challenging Locke’s assertion

that black art and literature drew upon social experience “purely for the sake of art.” Reviewing *The New Negro* in the *Crisis* DuBois wrote,

Mr. Locke has newly been seized with the idea that Beauty rather than Propaganda should be the object of Negro art and literature. His book proves the falseness of this thesis. This is a book filled and bursting with propaganda but it is propaganda for the most part beautifully and painstakingly done.

. . .if Mr. Locke's thesis is insisted on too much it is going to turn the Negro renaissance into decadence. It is the fight for Life and Liberty that is giving birth to Negro literature and art today and when, turning from this fight or ignoring it, the young Negro tries to do pretty things or things that catch the passing fancy of the really unimportant critics and publishers about him, he will find that he has killed the soul of Beauty in his Art.⁴⁵

While Johnson shared DuBois' view that black art and literature should be used in the fight for life and liberty, “used” in the sense of “proving” to both races that blacks could create works of art qualitatively as significant as those of other races, he agreed with Locke that beauty must be one of the objectives, even of art with social themes. In fact, only a few months prior to his review of Locke's book, DuBois committed the support of the *Crisis* to the cause of Black writers in the following terms: “We shall stress Beauty—all Beauty, but especially the beauty of Negro life and character; its music, its dancing, its drawing and painting and the new birth of its literature.”⁴⁶

Art became propaganda for DuBois because he judged the creations of both black and white authors inaccurate portrayals of black life. Whites wanted to hear only about the “dregs” of black life, and black authors responded because only that way could they get manuscripts accepted by white publishers. Art as propaganda would be committed to beauty, but beauty defined *only* by standards of Truth (“the highest handmaiden of imagination, . . . the one great vehicle of universal understanding”) and Goodness (“the goodness in all its aspects of justice, honor and right”). Thus an artist searching for beauty must use criteria of truth and justice, which in DuBois' terms make art a form of propaganda.⁴⁷

Using such criteria, DuBois found little to praise in the works of either black or white authors. He condemned Van Vechten's *Nigger Heaven* as “an insult to the hospitality of black folk”; McKay's *Home to Harlem* as an effort “to paint drunkenness, fighting, lascivious sexual promiscuity and other absence of restraint” without a “well-conceived plot”; and Arno Bontemps' *God Sends Sunday* as the tandem volume to *Home to Harlem*. Praise was reserved for works such as Langston Hughes' “Sorry for a Banjo” and Countee Cullen's “Ballad of the Brown Girl.”⁴⁸

By the late 1920's DuBois did not share the concern of Johnson and Locke that black artists, while drawing upon themes from the life of the

race, become part of, and contribute to, the nation's cultural mainstream. In fact, Francis Broderick argued, DuBois was seeking to direct the efforts of black artists toward only one end:

. . . and all DuBois's platitudes about truth, beauty, and right could not conceal his insistence that Negro artists refuse to submit to the 'passing fancy of the really unimportant critics and publishers' and that they use their talent in the direct service of the race. Down that road lay cultural separation.⁴⁹

Charles Johnson was aware of the irrationality of white racism that led men like DuBois to advocate separatism. As a teacher and scholar he spent much of his life combatting racism through sociological studies and education, but he avoided disillusion with this approach to race relations by resisting the temptation to expect racism to evaporate in the face of persuasive arguments. For example, his hope that white racial attitudes might be affected by evidence of black talent was tempered by his awareness that, as he wrote in *Ebony and Topaz*, "There is always an escape of a sort . . . in ignoring that which contradicts one's sense, even though it were the better wisdom to give heed."⁵⁰ Johnson's perceptions of the races reflected the insights of the sociologist and the humanist. The failure of the Renaissance to affect white racism, as he hoped, is not a blot upon his understanding of American race relations but upon white America's self-perception and understanding of other men and races.

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footnotes

1. Patrick Gilpin, "Charles S. Johnson: Entrepreneur of the Harlem Renaissance," in Arna Bontemps, ed., *The Harlem Renaissance Remembered* (New York, 1972), 215-246.

2. Nathan I. Huggins, *Harlem Renaissance* (New York, 1971), 29.

3. Gilpin, 223.

4. *Ibid.*, 238.

5. See, for example, "Public Opinion and the Negro," *Opportunity*, 1 (October, 1923), 201-206.

6. Alain Locke, "The New Negro," in Alain Locke, ed., *The New Negro* (New York, 1968 edition), 8, 9.

7. Edwin Embree, *Thirteen Against the Odds* (Port Washington, New York, 1968), 55.

8. "Why We Are," *Opportunity*, 5 (September, 1927), 254.

9. Gilpin, 226.

10. "The Opportunity Contest," *Opportunity*, 5 (September, 1927), 254.

11. Huggins, 5.

12. "Introduction," Charles S. Johnson, ed., *Ebony and Topaz; a collectanea* (New York, 1927), 11.

13. Letter, Charles S. Johnson to Jesse O. Thomas, December 10, 1927, National Urban League papers, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

14. See "Public Opinion and the Negro," 204-206; and S. P. Fullinwider, *The Mind and Mood of Black America* (Homewood, 1969), 107-115.

15. Charles V. Hamilton, "An Advocate of Black Power Defines It," *New York Times Magazine* (April 14, 1968), 79.

16. "The Rise of the Negro Magazine," *Journal of Negro History*, 13 (1928), 19.

17. Huggins, 30.

18. "An Address to the Graduating Classes of Virginia Union University and Hartshorn College" (June 6, 1928), Fisk University Library, Johnson papers, 9-10.

19. *Ibid.*, 11.

20. "Introduction," 12-13.

21. *Ibid.*, 12.
22. "An Address . . ." My underlining. See also "Out of the Shadow," *Opportunity*, 3 (May, 1925), 131; "On Writing About Negroes," *Opportunity*, 3 (August, 1925), 227-228.
23. See, for example, "The Social Philosophy of Booker T. Washington," *Opportunity*, 6 (April, 1928), 102-105.
24. Gilpin, 237-238.
25. Waring Cuney, "No Images," *Opportunity*, 4 (June, 1926), 180.
26. Helene Johnson, "Sonnet To A Negro in Harlem," *Ebony and Topaz* (New York, 1927), 148.
27. Edna Worthley Underwood, "La Perla Negra," *Ibid.*, 62.
28. Arthur Schomburg, "Juan Latino, Magister Latinus," *Ibid.*, 69.
29. *Ibid.*, 73-75.
30. Julia Peterkin, "Gullah," *Ibid.*, 35.
31. Huggins, 309.
32. "The Negro Renaissance and Its Significance," Johnson papers, 8.
33. "To the Contestants," *Opportunity*, 4 (January, 1926), 6.
34. *Ibid.*
35. "Stories and Poetry of 1926," *Opportunity*, 5 (January, 1927), 5.
36. Huggins, 304, 307.
37. Gilbert Osofsky, *Harlem: The Making of a Ghetto* (New York, 1968 edition), 183-184.
38. *Ibid.*, 184.
39. "Some Perils of the Renaissance," *Opportunity*, 5 (March, 1927), 68.
40. "A Note on the New Literary Movement," *Opportunity*, 4 (March, 1926), 80.
41. Huggins, 303.
42. *The New Negro*, 10-11.
43. *Ibid.*, 48.
44. *Ibid.*, 51.
45. W. E. B. DuBois, "Our Book Shelf," *Crisis*, 31 (January, 1926), 141.
46. DuBois, "Art," *Ibid.*, 30 (May, 1925), 8.
47. DuBois, "Criteria of Negro Art," *Ibid.*, 32 (October, 1926), 296.
48. Francis L. Broderick, *W. E. B. DuBois: Negro Leader in a Time of Crisis* (Stanford, 1959), 158-159.
49. *Ibid.*, 160.
50. *Ebony and Topaz*, 11.