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'An Imagist in Amber': Hart Crane's Early Publications and Greenwich Village

Abstract

Examining Hart Crane's engagements with his editors and magazine publishers enables a reappraisal of his poetry and its critical reception. This reassessment pioneers an author study through methodologies associated with periodical studies with a close focus on the early stages of Crane's career, highlighting developments that were prompted by his reading of contemporaneous experiments in 'post-Decadence' in Greenwich Village journals of the late-1910s. This article examines the influence on his poetry of their particular brand of 'post-Decadent' modernism by looking at the shift between Crane's imitative efforts in fin-de-siècle poetics with 'C33' (*Bruno's Weekly*) and 'Carmen de Boheme' (*Bruno's Bohemia*), to later publications 'Echoes' and 'Modern Craft' in *The Pagan* that showcased his 'yellow book sympathies' using Imagistic forms, revealing Crane to be an 'Imagist in amber' (in Genevieve Taggard's suggestive phrase). Crane distanced himself from Village journals in 1919, and this article posits that this move marked an aesthetic shift from the sincere experiments in 'post-Decadence' and Imagism that characterise his early verse to the cosmopolitan, 'machine age' aesthetic of his later work. Finally, this article demonstrates how patterns established in his immediate reception are reproduced in later criticism – and may even explain his relative critical neglect. For his contemporary reviewers, who set the tone of his reception, he never quite escaped his association with Greenwich Village post-Decadence.

'An Imagist in Amber': Hart Crane's Early Publications and Greenwich Village

> He proceeds from one mixed metaphor to another, image on image, and we almost allow him his way with us because he makes, together with a confusion of images, a perfect gaunt and stately music…His work is effect, not cause.
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> Genevieve Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber' review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), *The New York Herald Tribune* (29 May 1927), p. 4.

'Well I hope Kling will be able to sell out for the price of dinner', Crane remarked of *The Pagan* in a letter to Gorham Munson in January 1920. 'Most of all that he sells out, and rids his own arms, as well as the public's, of that fetid corpse. . . . The last issue is the worst ever, and I don't think there are lower levels to be reached.'[1] The contempt that Crane developed for Joseph Kling's 'Magazine for Eudaemonists' , doubtless piqued by Kling's recent rejection of his poem, 'To Portapovitch',[2] was tinged by Crane's antisemitism; Kling (like the first editor to publish Crane's poetry in *Bruno's Weekly*, Guido Bruno) was a Jewish immigrant.[3] Nevertheless, Crane's complete rejection of *The Pagan* is surprising, given that he appeared seventeen times in Kling's Greenwich Village magazine within three years.[4] This amounts to twenty percent of Crane's total publications over his sixteen-year career, from 1916 until his early death in 1932. Crane's *Pagan* publications included ten poems, critical prose, reviews and short editorial segments, and additional appearances in both the 1918 and 1919 *Pagan* anthologies.[5] While this high number of appearances is partially explained by the fact that Crane was able to exercise greater selectivity when

[1] Hart Crane to Gorham Munson, 28 January 1920, *O My Land, My Friends: The Selected Letters of Hart Crane*, ed. by Langdon Hammer and Brom Weber (New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1997), p. 31.

[2] Crane mentions Joseph Kling's rejection of 'To Portapovitch' in a letter to Carl Zigrosser, editor of *The Modern School*, Crane to Zigrosser, box 9, folder 346, Carl Zigrosser Papers, Kislak Center for Rare Books and Manuscripts, University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia). *The Modern School* published the poem as 'To Potapovitch [sic] (de la Ballet Russe)' in March 1919, 6.5, p. 80.

[3] Kling, who Crane referred to as 'the old Hebrew' in a letter to George B. Bryan on 23 April 1918, was a frequent target of Crane's antisemitism, *O My Land, My Friends*, p. 14.

[4] For further details on Crane's publishing history, see my forthcoming article in *Notes & Queries*, 'Knitting Needles and Poppycock': Hitherto Unknown Prose Pieces by Hart Crane and Bibliographic Clarifications', 66.2 (June 1919), page numbers tbc.

[5] Crane, 'Fear', *A Pagan Anthology,* ed. by Joseph Kling (New York: Pagan Publishing Company, 1918), p. 18; 'Forgetfulness', *A Second Pagan Anthology,* ed. by Joseph Kling (New York: Pagan, 1919), p. 17.

approaching prospective publishers later in his career, he did, at least initially, find that *The Pagan* represented his own aesthetic interests. He even helped to edit the journal from April 1918 to April 1919, where, alongside fellow assistant editor, Munson, his duties included writing reviews and editorial notes to poems. Although unpaid, the role furnished Crane with reviewer passes to the Village's theatres and the city's concert halls, as witnessed by his survey of local theatre in the April-May 1918 number.[6] *The Pagan*, with, as Munson described it, its 'yellow book sympathies', was instrumental in ensconcing Crane within the Village's cultural life, establishing his reputation as a young poet on the New York literary scene and exerting a significant influence on his poetic development.[7] Nevertheless, the fact that Crane chose not to include *The Pagan* poems in his first collection *White Buildings* (1926) is testament to the fact that he found them immature.

Reading Crane's first publications in their Greenwich Village contexts reveals how these early poems were in dialogue with a particular brand of post-Decadent poetry that assimilated influences from the fin-de-siècle and contemporaneous experiments in Imagism – an aesthetic active, to varying degrees, in the first journals in which he published, *Bruno's Weekly, Bruno's Bohemia*, and *The Pagan*. This article intervenes in discussions of, as Langdon Hammer puts it in his seminal 1993 study *Hart Crane and Allen Tate: Janus-Faced Modernism*, 'emergent and vestigial styles' that operate in Crane's poetry as 'opposing energies . . . contend[ing] and cooperat[ing], working to undo traditional authority and to reconstruct it in new forms'.[8] More recently, in *Hart Crane's Queer Modernist Aesthetic*, Niall Munro has convincingly established the contours of American Decadence as an important and formative strain in Crane's poetry, touching on the ways in which Crane 'blended Decadent and Imagist tendencies' , while Brian M. Reed has excavated the metrical echoes of Decadent poetry in Crane's work.[9] While in their respective biographies of Crane, *Voyager: A Life of Hart Crane* and *Hart Crane: A Biographical and Critical Study*, John Unterecker and Brom Weber give excellent overviews of Crane's publishing history, and Victoria Bazin has discussed Crane in relation to Marianne Moore's editorship of *The Dial* in 'Hysterical Virgins and Little Magazines: Marianne Moore's Editorship for *The Dial*', no existent study of Crane has offered a detailed, sustained examination of his relationships with journals, or the effect of these

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[6] John Unterecker, *Voyager: A Life of Hart Crane* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1969), p. 108; Crane, 'Tragi-Comique', *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), 54-56.

[7] Gorham Munson, *The Awakening Twenties: A Memoir History of a Literary Period* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1985), p. 72.

[8] Langdon Hammer, *Hart Crane and Allen Tate: Janus-Faced Modernism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 233, note 2; p. ix. The first useful quotation is adopted from Hammer's brief sketch of the aesthetic of another of Crane's early magazine publishers, the New Orleans-based *Double Dealer*, a '"Janus-faced" enterprise, mixing emergent and vestigial styles in instructive ways.' It was through the *Double Dealer* that Crane first corresponded with Allen Tate, after their poems, 'Black Tambourine' (Crane) and 'Euthanasia' (Tate) were published alongside each other, as Unterecker discusses in *Voyager*, pp. 239-40.

[9] Niall Munro, *Hart Crane's Queer Modernist Aesthetic* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2015), pp. 16-40; Brian M. Reed, *Hart Crane: After His Lights* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2006), pp. 27-30 (p. 35).

relationships on the development of his poetry and his reception.[10] Building on work by these critics on the formative stages of Crane's poetic development, this article shows the importance of Crane's relationships with periodicals in the shaping of his poetry, and how his publishing context sheds light on the convergence of fin-de-siècle and Imagist influences in his work.

Reading Crane's poetry within its original periodical contexts involves paying close attention to what D. F. McKenzie describes as 'processes of transmission, including production and reception'.[11] This article does not treat periodicals as the incidental repository of an artistic work, or by contrast treat the literature published within the journal as incidental to the historical or sociological study of the journal or group of journals in question. My methodology entails an integrated approach to periodical studies that fruitfully marries the examination of, as Jerome McGann puts it, 'bibliographic as well as linguistic codes'.[12] This article conducts a detailed analysis of the dynamic literary field centred in 1910s Greenwich Village, an approach that draws on Eric B. White's account of the relationship between geographic and textual place in *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes: Little Magazines and Localist Modernism*.[13]

In the early 1920s, Crane's interests shifted decisively from the fin-de-siècle tropes of poems such as 'Echoes' and 'The Hive' (discussed later in this article) published in *The Pagan* to the post-symbolist, Surrealist-informed 'logic of metaphor', Crane's idiosyncratic theory of poetics, and his use of 'machinery', 'planes', 'cinemas' and 'streetcars' in the later poetry. Crane's career with *The Pagan* was formative in the young poet's development, and an analysis of his relationship with this journal is crucial to understanding the rapid shifts in his poetic style in the late 1910s. Unpicking these varied strands of influence illuminates Crane's rationale for excluding early poems published in *The Pagan* and *The Bruno's* from *White Buildings* which, by 1926, he deemed juvenilia. *The Pagan* allowed him a public forum for his early poetry, but also ensured his association with a particular 'post-Decadent' aesthetic throughout his short career, the Greenwich Village 'aura' – to borrow George Bornstein's evocative concept describing the irreducible situatedness of a text within its 'original sites of incarnation'.[14]

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[10] Unterecker, *Voyager*; Brom Weber, *Hart Crane: A Biographical and Critical Study* (New York: Russel & Russell, 1970); Victoria Bazin, 'Hysterical Virgins and Little Magazines: Marianne Moore's Editorship for *The Dial*', *The Journal of Modern Periodical Studies*, 4.1 (2013), 55-75.

[11] D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 12-13.

[12] Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 57.

[13] Eric B. White *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes: Little Magazines and Localist Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013). See also Cristianne Miller's remarkable analysis of the 'modernist response to the Jewish diaspora' in 'Tongues "loosened in the melting pot": The Poets of *Others* and the Lower East Side', *Modernism/Modernity*, 14.3 (September 2007), 455-476 (p. 462), and Victoria Kingham indispensable study of *The Pagan* in 'Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity', PhD thesis (De Montfort University, 2009).

[14] George Bornstein, *Material Modernism: The Politics of the Page* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 7.

Experiments in Decadence: *Bruno's Weekly* and *Bruno's Bohemia*

Before *The Pagan*, Crane briefly found *Bruno's Weekly* a congenial organ for his poetry. As he would later tell an interviewer, in 1916 he had submitted to *Bruno's Weekly* two pieces of 'adolescent juvenilia', 'C33' and 'Carmen de Boheme', in a 'white hot fury'.[15] He regretted this impulsive decision, particularly after Bruno, who lacked the usual mores of periodical publishing, printed 'Carmen', two years after its submission, in a new journal, *Bruno's Bohemia*, 'devoted to Life, Love, Letters'.[16] Tellingly, Bruno credits the poem to 'Harold H. Crane', a pen-name Crane discarded early in 1917, adopting instead 'Hart', his mother's maiden name.[17]

Bruno, the 'Barnum' and marketeer of Greenwich Village bohemia, published an array of short lived, cheaply-produced magazines from his 'garret on Washington Square'.[18] As Stephen Rogers has noted, Bruno's journals were given 'impetus' by 'the spirit of Decadence' fashionable in the Village.[19] The Village's brand of modernism, expressed in journals such as the *Bruno's*, *The Pagan*, *The Quill,* and *Rogue*, was built around 'form[s] of cultural exchange' with London and Paris of the 1890s.[20] *Bruno's Weekly* included 106 references to Oscar Wilde and sixteen drawings by Aubrey Beardsley in its run between July 1915 and December 1916.[21] Openly queer publications such as London's *The Link* and Chicago's *Friendship and Freedom* (both published in the 1920s) were supressed, with their editors jailed. In such a repressive climate, Bruno's repeated nods to Wilde appear to work as a coded advertisement of a sexually liberal, even queer aesthetic, all the while avoiding the gaze of the censor – something Bruno was keenly aware of after his publication of Alfred Kreymborg's *Edna, The Girl of the Street* resulted in a brief prison sentence for publishing 'obscene material'.[22] Through *Bruno's Weekly*, Crane was exposed to excerpts from Frank Harris's biography of Wilde, Wilde's own unpublished letters, his essay 'Impressions of America', and his sonnet in vindication of freedom, 'Quantum Mutata'. Crane's poem 'C33' appeared in a feature called 'Oscar Wilde: Poems in His Praise', which significantly also carried a poem by Alfred

[15] Interview with Crane quoted in Unterecker, *Voyager*, p. 107.
[16] Crane states in this interview that these poems were submitted together in 1916, as Weber notes in *Hart Crane*, p. 34.
[17] Advert for *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), back pages.
[18] Rogers, 'Village Voices', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines,* II, ed. by Andrew Thacker and Peter Brooker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 445-464 (p. 445); 'Frontispiece to Greenwich Village', *Greenwich Village*, 2.1 (23 June 1915).
[19] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 446.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Data collected from Princeton's Blue Mountain Project <http://bluemountain.princeton.edu> accessed 29.04.18; Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 459.
[22] Kling discusses Bruno's imprisonment in 'Why Complain', *The Pagan*, 1.10 (February 1917), p. 42, under a pseudonym 'Ben S.'. Kingham identifies this as Kling's pseudonym in 'Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity', p. 163.

Douglas.[23] Elsewhere, Bruno reprinted translations of Charles Baudelaire's 'The Stranger' (L'Étranger') and the 'The Window' ('Les Fenêtres'), an autograph manuscript of G. K. Chesterton's 'A Song of Gifts to God', aired discussions on Arthur Symons's literary criticism, and printed frivolous articles such as 'The Importance of Neckties: The History of the Cravat', taken from an 1829 manual.[24] Despite these preoccupations, the *Bruno's* were not aesthetically reactionary when it came to contemporaneous literature. Rather, Bruno's journals were, as Rogers puts it, 'transitional': nineteeth-century reprints appeared alongside new poetry and prose – in both traditional and experimental forms – as well as a range of works in translation, and reviews of European periodicals. This 'cross cultural', cosmopolitan, and assimilative approach enabled 'emerging modernist writers' to 'find an outlet for their work.'[25]

Writing in his memoir of the period, Malcolm Cowley described 'the Greenwich Village idea' as underwritten by the dual currents of 'radicalism' and 'bohemia'. That is, a combination of 'socialism, anarchism, syndicalism, free verse—all these creeds were lumped together by the public, and all were physically dangerous to practice.'[26] *Bruno's Weekly* and *The Pagan* (which was based at the New York Socialist Party headquarters[27]) reflect this 'lumping together' in their editorial practices, a style Munson described as somewhat chaotic, adding that 'whatever policy *The Pagan* had was only Kling's personal taste'. *The Pagan* was particularly interested in nineteenth-century literature, and Munson commented that Kling 'liked the Russian realists of 1900, the Yiddish humourists of the Café Royal, and the Continental and English aesthetes of the Yellow Book period.'[28] 'In the Village', wrote Cowley, 'we read Conrad. We read Wilde and Shaw'.[29] The *Bruno's*, meanwhile, were marked by a continual interest in Decadent literature, but tempered by contributions from Bruno's 'poeta laureatus of Greenwich Village', Alfred Kreymborg, the Imagist Richard Aldington, war poetry from (among others) H. Thompson Rich and George A. C. Keller (also associated with Imagism), and an early poem by Marianne Moore, 'Holes bored in a workbag

[23] Frank Harris, 'Oscar Wilde', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.1 (17 June 1916), 780-781; Wilde, 'Hitherto Unpublished Letters by Oscar Wilde', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.11 (11 March 1916), 543-44; Wilde, 'Quantum Mutata', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.18 (29 April 1916), 655; Wilde, 'Impressions of America', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.21 (20 May 1916), 724-26; Harold Hart Crone [sic], 'C33', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.15 (23 September 1916), 1008; Harold Hart Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), 2; Alfred Douglas 'To Oscar Wilde', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.15 (23 September 1916), 1009.

[24] Charles Baudelaire, 'The Stranger', *Bruno's Weekly*, 1.13 (14 October 1915), 115; Baudelaire, 'The Window', *Bruno's Weekly*, 1.13 (14 October 1915), 26; G. K. Chesterton, 'A Song of Gifts to God', [MS reproduction], *Bruno's Weekly*, 9.2 (26 February 1916), 503; H. Le Blanc, 'The Importance of Neckties: The History of the Cravat', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.11 (11 March 1916), 3; H. Le Blanc, *The Art of Tying the Cravat: Demonstrated in Sixteen Lessons Including Thirty Two Different Styles Forming A Pocket Manuel* (New York: D. A. Forbes, 1829).

[25] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 446.

[26] Cowley, *Exile's Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1994), p. 66.

[27] Weber, *Hart Crane*, p. 13.

[28] Munson, *The Awakening Twenties*, pp. 75-77.

[29] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 20.

by the scissors'.[30] Another of Bruno's journals, *Greenwich Village*, included poems from H. D. and F. S. Flint alongside Aldington's explanatory piece 'The Imagists: Written for *Greenwich Village*'.[31] Comprehensive reviews of contemporary journals appeared in *Bruno's Weekly* covering literary and radical political magazines based in the US and Europe, including *Others*, *In Which*, *The Minaret*, *The Little Review*, *Poetry*, *The Egoist*, *Expression*, *Der Sturm*, *The Phoenix*, and regular mocking appraisals of *Contemporary Verse*. *Contemporary Verse* was, as Munro has also discussed, the 'intellectual slum' to which Ezra Pound derisively suggested Crane might send his poetry, asserting that his contributions would complement its 'consummate milk pudding milieu'.[32] In addition, Bruno published Djuna Barnes's *Book of Repulsive Women* and several important Imagist texts in his 15¢ chapbook series, including Aldington's *The Imagists*, Kreymborg's *Mushrooms*, *To My Mother* and *Edna, the Girl of the Street* which got Bruno, 'in-dutch [with] the Comstock gang again', in the words of a wry report from within the pages of *The Pagan*).[33]

Bruno's marketing of Greenwich Village bohemia extended to using his magazines as vehicles to advertise paid tours of his 'garret' where visitors could watch 'bohemian' painters at work, while space was dedicated to adverts for studio spaces for rent and publishing ventures, such as Egmont Arens's 'Handbook of Bohemia', *The Little Book of Greenwich Village* (also advertised in *The Pagan*) which documented the cultural activities of the quarter, and Bruno's own *Adventures in American Bookshops*, and *Fragments from Greenwich Village*, a collection of his contributions to another of his magazines, *Greenwich Village*.[34] Bruno, Eric B. White comments, 'identified his target market' as 'thousands of people . . . who are getting acquainted with our metropolis from the top of the bus.'[35] *Greenwich Village* sold this atmosphere by highlighting its sexually liberal ethos on its frontispiece:

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[30] Bruno, 'Books and Magazines of the Week', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.2 (15 July 1915), 66; Richard Aldington, 'A Poem', *Bruno's Weekly*, 9.2 (26 February 1915), 514; Marianne Moore, 'Holes Bored in a Workbag by the Scissors', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.17 (7 October 1916), 1137.

[31] Aldington, 'The Imagists', *Greenwich Village*, 2.2 (15 July 1915), 54-57; H. D. 'Huntress', *Greenwich Village*, 2.2 (15 July 1915), 57; Aldington, 'Two Poems', 'Easter', *Greenwich Village*, 2.2 (15 July 1915), 58; F. S. Flint, 'Springs', *Greenwich Village*, 2.2 (15 July 1915), 59.

[32] Bruno, 'Books and Magazines of the Week', *Bruno's Weekly*, 1.22 (18 December 1915), 298-99 and 1.15 (30 October 1916), 162; Munro, *Hart Crane's Queer Modernist Aesthetic*, p. 35; Pound to Crane, n.d., c. 1918, folder 310, box 8, Crane Collection American Literature Collection, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University (New Haven).

[33] Djuna Barnes, *The Book of Repulsive Women: 8 Rhythms and 5 Drawings* (New York: Bruno's Chap Books 1915); Aldington, *The Imagists* (New York: Bruno's Chapbooks Special Series, January 1915); Kreymborg, *Mushrooms: 16 Rhythms* (New York: Bruno's Chapbooks, 1915); Kreymborg, *To My Mother: Ten Rhythms* (New York: Bruno's Chapbooks, 1915); Kling as 'Ben S', 'Why Complain', p. 42.

[34] Egmont Arens, *Little Book of Greenwich Village* (New York: Washington Square Book Shop, 1918); Bruno, *Adventures in American Bookshops, Antique Stores and Auction Rooms* (Detroit: The Douglas Book Shop, 1922); Bruno, *Fragments from Greenwich Village* (New York: Guido Bruno, 1921).

[35] White, and Bruno as quoted in Eric B. White *Transatlantic Avant-Gardes: Little Magazines and Localist Modernism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), p. 23.

> GREENWICH VILLAGE! Refuge of saints condemned to life in the crude hard realistic world, your playground of sensation – thirsty women with a yellow streak and of men that mistake the desire to sow wild oats for artistic inclination.[36]

As George Chauncey has explored, Greenwich Village's emergence as a gay centre was inextricably linked to broader progressive impulses in its bohemian community, its tolerance for 'nonconformity (or "eccentricity")' as well as 'cheap rents and cheap restaurants'.[37] Crane, who was at that time beginning to become aware of his homosexuality, appears to have been drawn to the sexual liberalism and freedom that Bruno's magazines advertised, in stark contrast to, it seemed to the young Crane, the Midwest of his childhood – 'Cleveland is a hellish place', he wrote.[38] He seems to have been particularly attracted to Bruno's tacit support of Wilde, indicated through the near-weekly attention his magazines paid to the writer. This attraction is underlined by Crane's submission of 'C33' to *Bruno's Weekly*, a poem which takes its title from Wilde's cell number at Reading Gaol, which Wilde adopted as his own nom-de-plume in the first publication of *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* in 1898.[39]

As Rogers notes, the 'conscious notion of bohemianism, popularized by Puccini's opera', *La Bohème*, created a 'taste for bohemian style among the bourgeoisie' and Bruno (born Curt Joseph Kisch near Prague to a German-speaking Jewish family)[40] provided a 'simulacrum of Continental European Bohemia.'[41] Bruno's publishing ventures earned him a reputation as a 'sleazy . . . untalented hanger on', 'a petty and disreputable profiteer in poetry and publishing', [42] underlined by Djuna Barnes's profoundly anti-semitic portrayal of the editor in the character Felix Volkbein in her 1936 novel, *Nightwood*.[43] Bruno was similarly attacked on 23 January, 1916 in 'one of Mr Munsey's Sunday paper[s]' for being a charlatan with 'a taste for bohemianism'.[44] As well as a distinct undertone of antisemitism, such views propound the false assumption that Bruno's acumen in the literary marketplace somehow prohibited his ability to publish high quality content.

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[36] Bruno, 'Frontispiece to Greenwich Village', *Greenwich Village*, 2.1 (23 June 1915).
[37] George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Makings of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), pp. 227-270 (p. 229).
[38] Crane to Yvor Winters, 27 January 1927, *O My Land, My Friends*, pp. 313-316 (p. 315).
[39] Oscar Wilde as 'C.3.3.', *The Ballad of Reading Gaol* (London: Leonard Smithers, 1898).
[40] Aside from his own self-mythologising fragmentary memoirs, there is little available information on Kling, aside from Arnold I. Kisch's *The Romantic Ghost of Greenwich Village: Guido Bruno in His Garret* (Peter Land, 1976). Bruno's own memoirs include *Adventures in American Bookshops, Antique Stores and Auction Rooms* (Detroit: The Douglas Book Shop, 1922) and 'Les Confidences: Being the Confessions of a Self-Made American', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.18 (19 April 1916), 647-53.
[41] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 450.
[42] Andrew Field quoted in Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 446; Christine Stansell, quoted in Brooker and Thacker, 'Introduction: Greenwich Village', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines,* II, pp. 439-444 (p. 441).
[43] Djuna Barnes, *Nightwood* (New Directions: New York, 2006). See Lara Trabowitz's complex account of antisemitism in *Nightwood* in 'In search of "the Jew" in Djuna Barnes's *Nightwood*: Jewishness, Antisemitism, Structure, and Style', *Modern Fiction Studies*, 51.2 (Summer 2005), 311-34.
[44] Bruno, *Fragments from Greenwich Village*, p. 28.

This is erroneous, particularly in light of Bruno's discovery of Crane, and his championing of early work by Moore, Munson, Cowley, Barnes, and Aldington.

Crane had been exposed to Greenwich Village bohemia via these journals which were sold at Laukhuff's bookstore in Cleveland, Ohio, while he was still living with his parents shortly before their divorce.[45] In sending 'C33' and 'Carmen' to *Bruno's Weekly,* he correctly supposed that Bruno would be sympathetic to their aesthetic. Bruno's decision to publish these poems highlights his dual interest in fin-de-siècle and contemporary experiments in poetry. At the same time, their recontextualisation within Bruno's journals throws into relief their straightforward, naïve quality, with some of their content derivative of accepted styles recognizable to the magazines' readers. As Weber has noted, Crane may have been prompted to write 'C33' after reading an article serialised in the *Bruno's Weekly* in January and February 1916, 'The Story of Oscar Wilde's Life and Experience in Reading Gaol' by "His Warder"'.[46] Bruno appears to have recognized the deriviative qualities of 'C33' and 'Carmen de Boheme', choosing to insert the poems within prose features on Village culture rather than publishing them as discrete contributions, as was his usual practice.
As Deborah Longworth has noted, a 'post-Decadent' aesthetic was popular in the Village. Rather than imitation of Decadence and aestheticism, this essentially involved 'parodic appropriation', and advertised a 'smart sophistication that spoke young and modern New York as much as it did fin-de-siècle/fin du globe of 1890s London'.[47]Crane's early poetry was by no means 'parodic', in contrast to later poems such as 'The Wine Menagerie' (which I discuss elsewhere in this article), a poem written in 1925 that deftly stitches together sincere and playful allusions to Baudelaire's 'Envirez-Vous' and *Les Paradises Artificiels* to create a text that sits somewhere between homage and pastiche. Hardly articulating 'young and modern New York', 'C33' appeared as a simple homage in the 'Oscar Wilde: Poems in his Praise' feature, while 'Carmen de Boheme' punctuated a double-page feature by the editor titled 'Bohemia Over Here; Bohemia Over There', on the relationship between war-time Prague, 'the ancient city of bohemian Kings', and New York's 'quartier Latin', Greenwich Village.[48]

'C33' appeared, its author misspelled as 'Harold H. Crone', alongside four other poems: 'Ode to Oscar Wilde', 'Oscar Wilde', 'Impressions of Oscar Wilde' and 'To Oscar Wilde'.[49]

[45] Unterecker, *Voyager*, pp. 46-51.
[46] Weber, *Hart Crane*, p. 34; Anonymous, 'The Story of Oscar Wilde's Life and Experience in Reading Gaol', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.4 (22 January 1916), 400-01.
[47] Deborah Longworth, 'The Avant-Garde in the Village: *Rogue*', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, II, p. 468.
[48] Bruno, 'Bohemia Over There', *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), 1; 'Bohemia Over Here', *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), 2.
[49] William Salisbury, John W. Draper, Hart Crane, Jubal Agmenon and Allan Norton, 'Oscar Wilde: Poems in His Praise', *Bruno's Weekly*, 3.15 (23 September 1916), 1008.

Although Crane's poem is fairly straightforward in its emulation of Decadent ideas, and while Crane does not quite clinch the 'parodic' attitude identified by Longworth as popular in these Village journals, the poem is more agnostic about Wilde as a literary influence than its placement in this feature suggests. 'C33''s periodical context as a 'poem in praise' of Wilde effaces a reading that places it in dialogue with its influences. Despite Bruno's relatively enlightened attitude towards Wilde's homosexuality, printing 'C33' in this context as a simple 'homage' to Wilde buries the anxieties Crane expresses in the poem relating to his own sexuality.[50] 'He' becomes a cipher for the young poet in his meditation on Wilde's incarceration ('penitence, must needs bring pain') and, as Niall Munro has put it in *Hart Crane's Queer Modernist Aesthetic,* the poem's title becomes 'a badge of male homosexual suffering, connecting Wilde and certain of Crane's readers.'[51] 'C33' makes several direct references to Wilde's *Salomé:*

> He has woven rose-vines
> About the empty heart of night,
> And vented his long mellowed wines
> Of dreaming on the desert white
> With searing sophistry.
> And he tented with far thruths [sic] he would form
> The transient bosoms from the thorny tree.
>
> O Materna! to enrich thy gold head
> And wavering shoulders with a new light shed
>
> From penitence, must needs bring pain,
> And with it song of minor, broken strain.
> But you who hear the lamp whisper thru night
> Can trace paths tear-wet, and forget all blight.[52]

Crane's poem echoes Wilde's distinctly scriptural imagery, drawing particularly on Wilde's use of *The Song of Songs* and *Salomé*'s orientalist tropes. 'C33' recalls a number of descriptions from *Salomé*, such as Wilde's descriptions of 'roses in the garden', Jokanaan's 'mouth…redder than roses', 'my garland of roses', 'stains of blood are as lovely as rose petals', 'the vine-trees of Edom', 'What wine is that, the wine of God? From what vineyards is it gathered', 'get thee to the desert', 'from the

[50] Mariani believes that Crane's first homosexual affair was late in 1919. See *The Broken Tower: A Life of Hart Crane* (New York: Norton, 2000), pp. 60-61.
[51] Munro, *Hart Crane's Queer Modernist Aesthetic*, p. 26.
[52] Crane, 'C33', p. 1008, ll. 1-13.

desert where he fed on locusts and wild honey'.[53] Crane's lamp that whispers 'thru night' along with the poem's 'rose-vines' suggest an allusion to Beardsley's drawing 'The Mysterious Rose Garden', printed in the January 1895 number of *The Yellow Book*, depicting the Annunciation. The nude Mary and clothed Gabriel stand against a trellis of roses, with the angel holding a lamp which looms into the foreground.[54] 'Wine' is central to the Decadent imagery of *Salomé*, and Crane may have had this in mind with the phrase 'vented his long mellowed wines', which, while being a literal description of airing wine before it is drunk, also signifies breathing or speaking and recalls Salomé to Jokanaan: 'Thy voice is wine to me'.[55] Crane also suggests Wilde's 'bitter self contempt', which had been a dominant aspect of his 'Experience in Reading Gaol' article. In Crane's poem, the 'transient' imaginings of Wilde in his cell become a 'thorny tree', and the poem, at thirteen lines, takes the form of a frustrated sonnet, the love poem par excellence.[56]In the pejorative phrase 'searing sophistry', Crane frustrates a straightforward emulation of Wilde. 'The transient bosoms form the thorny tree' is deliberately difficult to annunciate; the sentence's over-patterning forces it into stutters, tripping over fricatives with the phonic similarities between 'form' and 'thorn', and the repeated 'th' of 'the thorny'. Here Crane gently parodies Wilde's own patterning in *Salomé*, built around similar sonic features: 'a crown of thorns which they have placed on thy forehead'.[57] Crane's line is also metrically complex: near iambic pentameter, with 'transient' a dactyl uncomfortably positioned after the initial first unstressed syllable ('The'), upsetting the anticipated rhythm. In the following stanza, 'head' and 'shed' are forced into an awkward, but obvious, rhyme with the syntax twisted to accommodate the rhyme: 'with a new light shed'.[58] Through this accumulation of these awkward formal details, Crane burlesques Wilde's mannerist style; 'C33' is less of a 'poem in praise' than its placement in this feature might suggest.

The publication of 'Carmen de Boheme' in *Bruno*'s *Bohemia* further illuminates Crane's debts to Bruno's magazines in the formative stages of his poetic development, while also drawing attention to the aesthetic concerns of the journal. Crane's use of Georges Bizet's 1875 opera, *Carmen*, is analogous to the way that, as Rogers notes, tropes from Puccini's *La Bohème* were absorbed into Greenwich Village literary culture as cultural touchstones—there was, for instance, a local tea room named after the opera.[59] Crane's poem sits between ekphrasis and a sketch of a social gathering, presumably in the Village. The poem's voice is cast as that of an onlooker: it gives

[53] Wilde, *Salomé*, (London: John Lane, 1907), pp. 21, 22, 50, 50, 22, 44, 20, 7.
[54] Aubrey Beardsley, 'The Mysterious Rose Garden', *The Yellow Book*, 4 (1895), 14.
[55] Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 20.
[56] Unsigned, 'The Story of Oscar Wilde's Life and Experience in Reading Gaol', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.4 (22 January 1916), 400-01 (p. 400).
[57] Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 22.
[58] Crane, 'C33', p. 1008, ll. 8-9.
[59] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 486.

us both a description of the opera-goers and their surroundings encoded according to contemporary tastes, while also containing moments from Bizet, such as the gypsy wagon 'wiggling' away in the last stanza:

> Finale leaves in silence to replume
> Bent wings, and Carmen with her flaunts through the gloom
> Of whispering tapestry, brown with old fringe: —
> The winers leave too, and the small lamps twinge.
>
> Morning and through the foggy city gate
> A gypsy wagon wiggles, striving straight
> And some dream still of Carmen's mystic face, —
> Yellow, pallid, like ancient lace.[60]

The cultural markers of *Carmen* and the Greenwich Village party scene become blurred, in a way that mirrors the magpie-like cultural borrowing of the Village's 'bohemia', a practice neatly illustrated by Bruno's magazines.

In 'Carmen de Boheme' the young Crane self-consciously constructs a fashionably bohemian gathering at the opera, with details drawn from articles in Bruno's magazines that romanticised the Village's literary and social scene. Such self-mythlogising articles and reviews included 'Greenwich Village: the Romance of one Night', 'In Our Village: Djuna's Exhibit' (which described 'the American Beardsley's' exhibition 'on the walls of Bruno's garret', where Bruno also held poetry readings), and 'Greenwich Village in Modern Fiction', a serial feature which emphasised the Village as a literary centre.[61] As Bruno writes in 'Bohemia Everywhere':

> The public in general seems to think that this term [bohemia] applies to every man who wears long hair and a flowing black necktie, indulges in the absorption of alcoholic liquids, smokes cigarettes and has rather lax views about the relations between men and women, and then, in his leisure hours, he perhaps paints or writes poetry.[62]

Crane, writing in Cleveland, casts the poem's narrator as an observer of this Village crowd in its opening lines:

> Sinuously winding through the room
> On smokey tongues of sweetened cigarettes, —

[60] Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2, ll. 21-28.
[61] Bruno, 'Greenwich Village: The Romance of One Night', 1.13 (14 October 1915), 127; Bruno, 'In Our Village: Djuna's Exhibit', 1.14 (21 October 1915), 142-43; Bruno, 'Greenwich Village in Modern Fiction', 1.16 (6 November 1916), 169; Avertisement for Poetry Reading, *Greenwich Village*, 2.1 (23 June 1915), 41.
[62] Bruno, 'Bohemia Everywhere', *Bruno's Bohemia*, 1.1 (March 1918), 3.

Plaintive yet proud the cello tones resume

The andante of smooth hopes and lost regrets.[63]

The 'absinthe sipping women' with their 'sweetened cigarettes', 'yellow […] lace', 'bright peacocks' and 'wine hot lips' gesture towards the codes of Greenwich Village 'bohemia' advertised in Bruno's article published alongside the poem.[64]

With the music of *Carmen* 'sinously winding through the room', the of 'vestigial and emergent' poetic styles of 'Carmen de Boheme' seem to recall T. S. Eliot's 'Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock' (he once described a 'gallon of sherry' as 'smooth as Prufrock'), published in Harriet Monroe's Chicago-based *Poetry* magazine in June 1915.[65] The particular details of Crane's poem, however, once again, borrow from tropes associated with Wilde and Beardsley: 'Bright peacocks drink[ing] from flame pots' recalls the 'white peacocks' from *Salomé* and Beardsley's cover design for the play, and the accompanying illustration, *A Peacock Skirt*.[66] In his description of Carmen, Crane seems to allude to a poem from Wilde published in *Bruno's Weekly* in April 1916, 'La Mer', which contains Gothic descriptions of 'yellow' and 'ravelled lace'. Carmen appears in the final lines of Crane's poem with cadaverous 'yellow' skin like 'ancient lace'.[67] Carmen's death at the hands of the jealous José in Bizet's opera is alluded to in stanzas 4-5 in Crane's poem with the 'sweep, —a shattering', and '[d]isquieting', 'barbarous fantasy', 'the pulse in the ears' and the final pun on 'Morning'.[68] The overall effect of this multitude of collaged allusions is disorienting, with Crane not yet in control of the associative and allusive forms that characterise his later works. In both 'C33' and 'Carmen', Crane appears to be situating himself as an apprentice to a carefully selected group of poets, reworkings tropes from Greenwich Village journals and fragments of fin-de-siècle poetry.

The importance of this initial, imitative stage is made manifest in 'The Wine Menagerie', a 1925 poem which knowingly presents a profusion of collaged images borrowed from Baudelaire, and expemplifies Crane's 'logic of metaphor'.

Crane outlined the concept of the 'logic of metaphor' in a 1925 essay (only published posthumously), 'General Aims and Theories', but he first used this phrase publicly in a 1926 letter to Harriet Monroe after she requested a gloss of the 'champion mixed metaphors' in 'At Melville's

[63] Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2, ll. 1-4, 28.
[64] Ibid., l. 4
[65] Crane to Munson, 12 October 1922, *The Letters of Hart Crane 1916-1932*, ed. by Brom Weber (New York: Hermitage House, 1952), p. 102; T. S. Eliot, 'The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock', *Poetry*, 6.3 (June 1915), pp. 130-35 (p. 130), ll. 16-17.
[66] Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2, l. 5; Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 58; Beardsley, *The Peacock Skirt*, in Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 2.
[67] Wilde, 'La Mer', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.14 (1 April 1916), 3, ll. 11-12.
[68] Crane, 'Carmen de Boheme', p. 2, ll. 10-28.

Tomb', a poem Crane had submitted to *Poetry*.[69] Crane's 'logic' relies on juxtaposed images and metonymy (Crane called it his 'condensed metaphorical habit'), a resistance to paraphrase in favour of a paratactic approach:

> I may very possibly be more interested in the so called illogical impingements of the connotations of words on the consciousness (and their combinations and interplay in metaphor on this basis) than I am interested in the preservation of their logically rigid significations at the cost of limiting my subject matter and perceptions involved in the poem[70]

As Weber has discussed, this poetic theory drew on I. A. Richards's essay 'A Background for Contemporary Poetry', published in *The Criterion* in July 1925.[71] Well aware that he was entering into a larger debate within periodical networks, Crane added to Monroe: 'this argument over the dynamics of metaphor promises as active a future as has been envinced in the past.'[72]

Crane's collaged metaphors and his use of allusion are both underpinned by an interest in different types of fragment forms; both the 'logic of metaphor' and allusive fragments work through processes of association, either gesturing towards 'connotations connotations of words on the consciousness' or the text original text from which the allusive fragment has been taken. 'The Wine Menagerie' marries this associative use of metaphor with complex use of allusion, but directed to a different end than Crane's early apprentice poetry. The poem interrogates its own sources, Baudelaire's 'Envirez-Vous' and *Les Paradises Artificiels*, redirecting an overbearing influence into pastiche. In 'The Wine Menagerie', Crane moves from one associative—and metonymic—description to the other. For instance, 'the forceps of the smile that takes her', which describes the flirting poet forcing a bartender to smile, morphs into the serpent's 'skin' as a 'facsimile of time'.[73] Crane's interest in these collaged forms stemmed from the Imagist preference for the juxtaposition of, to borrow Pound's phrase, individual 'instance[s] of time'. This Imagist imperative became an increasingly important feature of Crane's later poetry, exemplified in a line from the 1926 poem 'Passage': 'And had I walked | The dozen particular decimals of time?'[74] Later poems such as 'The Wine Menagerie' build on the ways in which Crane interweaves fin-de-siècle allusions in his early poetry, but rather than imitation or emulation, Crane is in control of his

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[69] Crane and Harriet Monroe, 'A Discussion with Hart Crane', *Poetry*, 29.1 (October 1926), 34-41; Crane, 'General Aims and Theories', *The Complete Poems and Selected Letters of Hart Crane*, ed. by Langdon Hammer (New York: Library of America, 2006), pp. 160-164.
[70] Crane and Monroe, p. 36.
[71] Weber, *Hart Crane*, p. 272; I. A. Richards, 'A Background for Contemporary Poetry', *The Criterion*, 3.12 (July 1925), 511-528.
[72] Crane and Monroe, p. 36.
[73] Crane, 'The Wine Menagerie', *Complete Poems*, pp. 23-24 (p. 23), l. 11.
[74] Ezra Pound, 'A Few Don'ts by an Imagiste', *Poetry*, 1.6 (March 1913), 200-06; Crane, 'Passage', *The Calendar of Modern Letters*, 3.1 (July 1926), 106-07 (p. 106), l. 25.

material in this later work. In 'Carmen de Boheme', while he is still testing these assimilative techniques, the juxtaposition of metaphor characteristic of his later work is present only embryonically. Assessing Crane's early poems within their original periodical context in Bruno's journals shows the extent to which they were composed of reworkings from Greenwich Village 'bohemian' tropes and fragments of fin-de-siècle poetry. His later poetry, then, demonstrates the consolidation and mastery of techniques that Crane first experimented with in Greenwich Village journals.

The Pagan: Imagism, Symbolism and assimilation

While Crane's appearances in Bruno's journals were the result of one impulsive submission, *The Pagan* provided Crane with a platform for honing his assimilative poetic style from 1916 to 1919, and published his first reviews. The magazine's editor Kling wrote in 1917 that he wanted to 'print good stories, poems, plays, drawings etc.' with the aim, common to Village publications, to keep at bay the 'repressive social and religious codes' that he deemed 'destructive to happiness'.[75] Kling's magazine had a small print run of 500, according to Munson, and his editing approach was consistently non-programmatic, without clear affiliation to any particular group.[76]However, as Kingham has shown, the journal was politically radical, with editorials 'cynically' contrasting 'the fashionable socialism of New York's "Bohemia"' with 'the working life of the Jewish east-side immigrant.'[77] Like most Village journals, *The Pagan* took a firm anti-war stance after April 1917 and closely followed trade union politics and the activities of the Wobblies, the nickname of the international labour union, the Industrial Workers of the World, founded in Chicago in 1905.[78] Its tastes in the visual arts predominantly reflected those of the 1913 Armory Show.[79] This 'International Exhibition of Modern Art' aimed to showcase, for the first time, 'the works of the European Moderns' alongside those of U.S. artists.[80] Written contributions to *The Pagan*, as Crane's poems demonstrate, are marked by their mixture of fin-de-siècle and contemporary influences. Kling had a distinctive sense of American modernism as a cosmopolitan and assimilative venture, and this is clear in his editing of the journal. These aspects became important for the editors of

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[75] Kling, 'In Answer to Numerous Questions', *The Pagan*, 2.5 (September 1917), front pages.
[76] In *The Awakening Twenties*, Munson notes that Kling 'claimed' to have a circulation of 2,000 in 1918, but he is highly skeptical of this figure and suggests 500 (the same number as *Secession*), p. 75.
[77] Kingham, 'Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity', p. 35.
[78] Kling, 'Paroles d'un Blesse', *The Pagan*, 1. 7-8 (November-December 1916), 44.
[79] Artists who had visual artwork printed in *The Pagan* who also appeared at the Armory Show: Henri Matisse, Edvard Munch, Rodin, George Bellows, Fernand Léger, A. Walkovitz, John Sloan, Paul Signac, Marguerite Zorach, George Luks.
[80] Arthur B. Davies, 'The Statement', *Documents of the 1913 Armory Show: The Electrifying Moment of Modern Art's American Debut* (Tuscon, AZ: Hol Art Books, 2009), pp. 1-2 (p. 1).

the 'exile' magazines (Cowley's term for literary journals founded in Europe and edited by U.S. writers in the early 1920s),[81] and were formative for the young Crane. He even appears to have borrowed titles of poems that first appeared in *The Pagan*, such as 'Ave Maria' (by Kling) and 'Lachrimae Christi' (by Louise G Cann), and 'The Idiot' (by Eugene Jolas).[82]

The Pagan's title firmly rooted its outlook in the ideas of Greenwich Village 'bohemia'. As Cowley notes, one of the fashionable Village 'doctrines' was a nebulous concept of 'paganism' where 'the body is a temple in which there is nothing unclean, a shrine to be adorned for the ritual of love.'[83] In the Village, *The Masses*, 'a monthly magazine devoted to the interests of the working people', held 'Pagan Rout' balls to finance their publication, while a local restaurant, Strunsky's, advertised its 'Pagan' atmosphere.[84] These concepts were, at least in part, borrowed from Europe, and Kling's title was, presumably, also a reference to William Sharpe's Sussex-based 1892 *Pagan Review*.[85] London literary tastes in the early 1910s had emphasised, as in John Middleton Murry's *Rhythm*, for instance, a 'vitalist philosophy', drawing on Henri Bergson's philosophy, and the 'generative force of nature'.[86] Similarly, Vivien Locke Ellis's *The Open Window* aimed to express 'the faun spirit, instinctive, unselfconscious'.[87]

In contrast to Bruno's journals, *The Pagan*'s interest in the fin-de-siècle was more overtly tempered by contemporary concerns as the magazine sought to define a distinctly American poetic mode (an aim that appealed to Crane throughout his career), that nonetheless reflected multi-lingual New York, where, for instance, 'Manhattan's Lower East Side, two blocks away' from *The Pagan* offices, was home to '350,000 first and second generation Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe.'[88] Information on Kling is scarce but, like Bruno, it seems that Kling had emigrated to New York. His autobiographical poetic sequence 'Une Vie', suggests that he spent his childhood in Russia.[89]

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[81] The 'exile' journals are also marked by their interest in 'machine age' literature and their close attention to European avant-gardes, particularly Dada and proto-surrealism. See Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 97.
[82] Kling, 'Ave Maria', *The Pagan,* 4. 4-5 (August-September 1921), 30; Louise G. Cann, 'Lachrimae Christi', *The Pagan*, 4.6 (October 1919), 36-37; Eugene Jolas, 'The Idiot', *The Pagan,* 4.1 (May 1919), 53; Crane's poems using these titles: 'Ave Maria', *The American Caravan: A Yearbook of American Literature*, 1 (September 1927), pp. 804-806; 'Lachrymae Christi', *The Fugitive*, 4.4 (December 1925), pp. 102-03; 'The Idiot' appeared in Jolas's own magazine, *transition:* 'El Idiota', *transition*, 1.9 (December 1927), p. 135.
[83] Cowley, *Exile's Return*, p. 60.
[84] Frontispiece, *The Masses*, 1.1 (January 1911); Advert, *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), back pages.
[85] *The Pagan Review*, 1.1 (September 1892).
[86] See Brooker, 'Harmony, Discord and Difference', in *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, I, ed. by Andrew Thacker and Peter Brooker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 314–338.
[87] Dominic Hibberd, 'The New Poetry, Georgians and Others', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, I, pp. 176-198 (p. 177).
[88] Kingham, 'Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity', p. 185.
[89] Kling, 'Childhood-April-Russia' in 'Une Vie', *The Pagan*, 1.5 (September 1916), 7-18 (p. 7).

Like Bruno's journals, *The Pagan* 'inhabit[ed] two worlds, America and old Europe'.[90] Tellingly, in his letter to Kling, published in the October 1916 number, Crane connects the 'new and distinct' presence of *The Pagan* in the 'American Renaissance of literature and art' to the journal's interest in 'the exoticism and richness of Wildes' [sic] poems.'[91] Kling's scope went well beyond 1890s London. While Bruno took pains to review European periodicals, Kling also included a large proportion of works in translation, often, as Kingham notes, translating himself.[92] References to 'old Europe' appeared more subtly than in Bruno's publications: a review of Mimi Aguglia's Italian-language performance of *Salomé* in New York shows a cosmopolitan understanding of American modernism. Kling knowingly quotes lines that were also key to Beardsley's illustrations for the 1894 English edition by Elkin and Matthews and John Lane, and quotes the Italian from Aguglia's performance: 'Voglio baciare la tua bocca| Iokanaan' ('I will kiss your mouth| Jokanaan'), enjoying the layers of translation from Wilde's original French to the Italian, in his own Anglophone journal.[93] Such allusions to the fin-de-siècle were assimilated with contributions from young, experimental poets such as Louis Zukofsky, Cowley, Munson, Eugene Jolas, Edward Nagle, and a slightly older generation, including Theodore Dreiser, Maxwell Bodenheim, and many Europeans: Knut Hamsun, Padraic Colum (Crane's friend), Virgil Geddes, and Fyodor Sologub, and grandees from 'old Europe' including Octave Mirbeau, Gabriele D'Annunzio, and Arthur Schnitzler.

The Pagan's wide-ranging interests were an asset for the young poet experimenting with different voices, and the journal's assimilative aesthetic is well illustrated by Crane's contributions. A quick concordance using an anthology of nineteenth-century poetry is instructive when assessing Crane's use of stock fin-de-siècle tropes in *The Pagan* poems. A comparison with Lisa Rodensky's anthology, *Decadent Poetry from Wilde to Naidu,* reveals the extent of Crane's reliance on these images.[94] The anthology contains numerous examples of fin-de-siècle images that Crane uses in his early poetry, including 34 of the moon, 47 of 'lips', 11 of 'honey', 42 of 'rose', and 6 of 'jewelled', while 'jade', 'gild', 'crimson', 'opal', 'fragile', 'marble', 'dance', 'flare' all make frequent appearances. Crane's use of these tropes results in a tension between his attempts to use pared down Imagist forms, and his use of tropes that had become synonymous with Decadent and fin-de-siècle poetry.

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[90] Rogers, 'Village Voices', p. 464.
[91] Crane 'To *The Pagan*', *The Pagan*, 1.6 (October 1916), 43; Kingham, 'Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity', pp. 159-163.
[92] Kingham, 'Commerce, Little Magazines, and Modernity', p. 160. Kling advertises that he produced his own translations in an advert for his first *Pagan Anthology* , see 'Announcement No.1', *The Pagan*, 2.10 (February 1918), back pages.
[93] Kling as 'Ben S', 'To My Brother Connoisseurs', *The Pagan*, 1.2 (June 1916), 32-35 (p. 35); Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 25.
[94] *Decadent Poetry from Wilde to Naidu,* ed. by Lisa Rodensky (London: Penguin, 2006).

As Helen Carr has deftly explored in her book *Verse Revolutionaries: Ezra Pound, H.D., and the Imagists*, Imagism was 'a disparate stormy group' that yet had 'many continuities':

> The imagists, those 'verse revolutionaries' as Aldington dubbed them, sometimes portrayed themselves as sweeping away the debris of a moribund system and effecting a clean break with their predecessors. Yet for all their attacks on Victorianism they did not so much repudiate the past as create a new story about the traditions they had inherited.[95]

In contrast to the received history of Imagism—itself a product of its proponents' own propaganda and mythmaking—the magazines in which the varied poetic experiments of this diverse group appeared highlight the extent to which, rather than a total rupture with earlier poetic tradition, Imagism coalesced modern trends with those of the fin-de-siècle. The assimilative aesthetic of the Village journals seems to have had a profound effect on the way Crane viewed poetic tradition. In 1923 Crane wrote to Munson: 'God DAMN this constant nostalgia for something always "new". This disdain for anything with the trace of the past in it!!'[96] Crane, following the examples of the 'post-Decadent' poetry in *Bruno's Weekly* and *The Pagan*, did not attempt to disguise his poetic inheritances: he flaunted them, sometimes in tension with one another, as in his descriptions in 'Cape Hatteras', a section from *The Bridge* which depicts a dogfight in which the skies are 'poetic citadels repeating to the stars', marked by the 'nasal whine' of the aeroplanes.[97] This blurring of machine-age violence and courtly Victoriana displays the links between Decadence and modernism analysed by David Weir, whereby the former's combination of 'antiquarianism and antinaturalism' is seen as a forerunner of modernism's 'dehumanising hyperculturalism'.[98]

In the poem 'October-November' Crane combines a desire to portray 'instances in time' with a contradictory interest in, as Jean Moréas writes in the 1886 'Symbolist Manifesto', 'depicting not the thing but the effect it produces'.[99] Genevieve Taggard acutely pinpoints this fruitful tension in her review of Crane's first collection, *White Buildings*, in which, paraphrasing Moréas, she notes that Crane, the 'imagist in amber', builds his poems on a 'confusion of images', and that his work is 'effect, not cause' – that is to say, Crane is more interested in (as he wrote in 1925) 'the emotional dynamics' of the poem, and the reader's unpicking of the 'associational meanings'.[100]

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[95] Helen Carr, *The Verse Revolutionaries: Ezra Pound, H. D., and the Imagists* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2009), p. 3.
[96] Crane to Munson, 5 January 1923, *O My Land, My Friends*, pp. 115-118 (p. 117).
[97] Crane, 'Cape Hatteras' from *The Bridge*, *Complete Poems*, pp. 77-84 (p. 77), l. 12 (p. 78), l. 63.
[98] David Weir, *Decadence and the Making of Modernism* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995) p. 16.
[99] Jean Moréas, 'The Symbolist Manifesto', *Manifesto: A Century of Isms*, ed. and trans. by Mary Ann Caws (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), pp. 50-51.
[100] Taggard, 'An Imagist in Amber', p. 4; Crane, 'General Aims and Theories', p. 162

'October-November' is almost a fabric of quotations from Mallarmé, despite its simple, Imagistic premise, detailing changes in light throughout the day:

Indian-summer-sun
With crimson feathers whips away the mists,
Dives through the filter of trellises
And gilds the silver on the blotched arbor seats.

Now gold and purple scintillate
On trees that seem dancing
In delirium;
Then the moon
In a mad orange flare
Floods the grape hung night.[101]

In this poem, Crane seems to have borrowed several descriptions from Mallarmé, such as: 'so when I have sucked the gleam of grape-flesh', 'Among the dead leaves, at times when the forest flows| with gold and ashen tints', 'silvery mist glazing the willows', 'lashing the crimson space of naked gold', and 'memory laden […] streams of purple redolence', all of which are all recalled in 'October-November'.[102] Crane's poem is particularly in dialogue with Mallarmé's *Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard* (*A Dice Throw At Any Time Never Will Destroy Chance*), which contains an image of a 'solitary lost' and 'falling…feather' ('plume solitaire éperdue') that 'on the invisible brow / scintillates' ('au front invisible / scintille'), in 'delirium' ('délire').[103] Crane's borrowings are somewhat jarring. The use of 'scintillate' falls too easily into its alternative, figurative meaning ('Of a person, or his or her writing, speech . . . to be brilliant; to shine, to sparkle') anthropomorphizing the 'dancing . . . trees'; this is underlined by 'delirium', obscuring the simplicity of Crane's subject.[104]

Crane's ostensibly simple study of changing light is confused by his 'filter' of mixed metaphors. Light 'dives' bird-like with 'crimson feathers', somehow transfigures and acquires the ability to 'gild' the 'blotched' (presumably mossy) 'arbor-seats' with 'silver'. Meanwhile, the 'moon' in its 'mad orange flare' cannot help but echo Laforgue's 'pierrots lunaire', or his acidic barbs

[101] Given that these are near cognates ('scintille'; 'délire'), whether Crane may have encountered the text in English or French is unimportant. 'October-November', *The Pagan*, 1.7-8 (November-December 1916), p. 4, ll. 1-10.
[102] Stéphane Mallarmé, 'L'Après Midi d'un Faune' ('A Faun in the Afternoon'), *Collected Poems and Other Verse*, trans. by E. H. and A. M. Blackmore (Oxford World Classics: Oxford, 2008), pp. 38-46 (p. 43), ll. 57, 59, 99-100 'Le Nénuphar blanc' ('The White Water Lily'), ibid., p. 113; 'Hérodiade' ('Herodias'), ibid., pp. 193-197 (p. 193), l. 3; 'Les Fenêtres' ('The Windows'), ibid., pp. 12-13, ll. 17-20.
[103] Mallarmé, *Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hazard*, *Collected Poems,* pp. 139-183, ll. 108-34. I have followed Blackmore's translation, but substituted 'shimmers' for the cognate for 'scintille', 'scintillate'.
[104] 'scintillate', *OED Online.* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/172727?redirectedFrom=scintillate> [last accessed 13.09.18].

directed at poet 'dandies of the moon', which Crane also refers to 'flesh of moons' in 'Modern Craft' (published in *The Pagan* in January 1918) and 'moons of spring' in 'Legende' (published in *The Modernist* in November 1919).[105]

In 'October-November', as in 'C33' and 'Carmen de Boheme', Crane's formal experiments still dictate the detail of his chosen metaphors. After the strict iambs of line two, the rhythm drops into an arrangement based on the sibilant qualities of words and phrases that are used, a little clumsily, to reflect the 'silver' and 'whip[ping]' of the light. 'Scintillate' and 'delirium' are chosen for the surface quality of their fluttering sound – as well as their allusions to Mallarmé. Rhythmically, this arrangement recalls Moréas's principle of 'ordered disorder'; 'scintillate' and 'delirium' are overly decorative in contrast to the aural simplicity of the iambic 'Now gold and purple' and 'On trees that seem' elsewhere in the stanza.[106] The 'seems' here is also important in tracing the development of Crane's verse, from favouring simile to confident metaphors: though the sun '*has*' these feather-like qualities, the trees just '*seem'* to dance. Likewise, in 'Forgetfulness' (*The Pagan*, August-September 1918) Crane writes: 'Forgetfulness is *like* a song...is *like* a bird'.[107] In *The Pagan* poems there is little of the sustained, confident, and often surreal metonymy of later texts, developed out of his attention to contemporary French experiments. While there are glimpses of the associative mode of the 'logic' in the 'dawn's broken arc' in 'Postscript' (*The Pagan*, April-May 1918), which suggests the gradual, curved line of the watery rise of the winter sun,[108] there is not yet the densely packed, self-consciously disorientating metaphors of his later poems.

Crane's *Pagan* poems were written at the height of the popularity of the Imagist aesthetic. The journals that Crane was reading carefully, including *Others*, *The Modern School*, *The Little Review* and *Poetry,* were at this time centres of Imagism. For its February 1914 number, *Glebe* published *Des Imagistes*, edited by Ezra Pound and published by Alfred and Charles Boni from their famous bookshop on Washington Square.[109] This publishing move assuredly tied the Imagist movement to Greenwich Village, and foreshadowed the aesthetic sensibilities of Boni & Liveright's list in the 1920s.[110] This was reflected in Bruno's journals, which showed a sustained interest in, as the editor put it, 'Imagism and Ezra Poundism'.[111] *The Pagan*'s contents, by contrast, highlight the ways in which these ideas were debated through creative criticism. While publishing a variety of

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[105] Crane, 'Modern Craft', *The Pagan*, 2.9 (January 1918), 37, l. 1; Crane, 'Legende', *The Modernist*, 1.1 (November 1919), 28, l. 8.
[106] Moréas, 'The Symbolist Manifesto', *Manifesto,* p. 51.
[107] Crane, 'Forgetfulness', *The Pagan*, 3.4 (August-September 1918), 15.
[108] Crane, 'Postscript', *The Pagan*, 2.12-3.1 (April-May 1918), 20, l. 4
[109] Brooker and Thacker, 'Introduction', *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines*, II, p. 75 in footnote 49.
[110] *The Glebe: Des Imagistes-An Anthology*, ed. by Ezra Pound (New York: Albert and Charles Boni, 1914).
[111] Bruno, 'In Our Village: Spring and Poets', *Bruno's Weekly*, 2.14 (1 April 1916), 593-94. Aldington, for instance, was mentioned/appeared 20 times in *Bruno's Weekly.* Data gathered using the Blue Mountain Project.

experiments in Imagism, *The Pagan* also often featured poetry that interrogated the advertised tenets of the Imagists, as outlined variously in prose by Pound, Flint and Aldington. These poems questioned ideas associated with Imagism through facetious comment and parody, and through poems that assimilated Imagist and 'post-decadent' tendencies.

Testament to his unpartisan editing policy, Kling published Imagistic poems alongside criticism of its tenets and advocates, such as 'To the Author of Lustra' which admonishes 'Ezra / You idle roamer in classical banalities'.[112] Elsewhere, Winthrop Parkhurst's 'Vers Libre' which included the line 'each kiss a bad poem / Without rhyme or reason', mocked Pound's imperative that poets detail 'instance[s] of time' in free verse.[113] Alongside 'Vers Libre' was a prose piece that made a similar comment on the 'cardinal points' of Imagism, and referenced Pound's 'credo' in his 'A Few Don'ts by an Imagiste': 'The credo exhausted my breath already.'[114] 'Flimagism', by John R. McCarthy in the Summer 1920 number parodies the pared-down Imagist aesthetic:

> Beans
> Beans
> And a little pork
> Done to a good hard brown.
>
> Beans
> *Hell* –
> How is a good free-poet
> To sing without beans?[115]

McCarthy's bathetic reduction of Imagism to stylistic redundancy (one stranded word per bare line) and domestic mudanities provides a mordant retort to Aldington's claim in *Greenwich Village* in July 1915 that Imagist techniques offered the 'ideal of style . . . for our time', and traditional models seen as 'often totally unsuited to the matter treated.'[116]

Pound's split from Imagism, explained in a letter to Harriet Monroe in January 1915, reveals the extent to which its aesthetic principles had become the orthodoxy of the avant-garde. Pound wrote that 'Imagism' had become 'Amygism' (a joke aimed at Amy Lowell's supposed overexposure in literary journals) and the popularity of the form had, as Pound wrote, resulted in

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[112] Max Light Sonin, 'To the Author of Lustra', *The Pagan*, 3.6 (October 1918), 22, ll. 1-2.
[113] Winthrop Parkhurst, 'Vers Libre', *The Pagan*, 4.6 (October 1919), 11, l. 19.
[114] C. Kay Scott, 'Imagists', in 'Amazon Forests', *The Pagan*, 4.6 (October 1919), 12–17 (p. 15).
[115] John R. McCarthy, 'Flimagism III', *The Pagan,* 5. 3-4-5 (Summer 1920), 20, ll. 1-5-12.
[116] Richard Aldington, 'The Imagists', *Greenwich Village*, 2.2. (15 July 1915), 54-57 (p. 54).

'a democratic beer garden'.[117] Elitist as his comments seem, they illustrate how widespread this poetic style had become in certain quarters. *The Pagan* printed a large proportion of work in this Imagist vein, such as Kling's own 'Une Vie', from September 1916—the number Crane compliments in his letter printed in the journal:

> Childhood—April—Russia
> How can skies
> Be so blue,
> And sunlight
> So golden?
> Cloud-drifts
> So white—
> And state-roads so muddy?[118]

Crane, as the *Pagan* poems attest, was not immune to these influences, and the sparser impulse of the Imagist form tempered the 'superfluous' tendencies of his early verse. As well as Taggard's rich phrase 'an imagist in amber', Antonio Marichalar commented in *Revista de Occidente* that Crane 'was, before now, an Imagist poet', collaging images into a kind of 'patio'.[119]

Crane's opening lines in 'October-November' recalls Kling's 'Une Vie', complete with hyphens, but he cannot resist swapping the trochees for a lively dactylic metre. Crane begins with the subject of his poem, the 'sun', in the fashion common to Imagism, whereby the article is removed. This was unusual for Crane, and asserts his attempt to write in an Imagist mode. In contrast, his other *Pagan* poems open: 'Up', 'The anxious', 'Though' (twice), 'Sinuously', 'Vault'.[120] This same impulse to emulate characteristics of Imagist poerty directs his subject, observing light patterns over 'instances of time', and his use of purely descriptive lines, such as 'Then the moon', and the swift move in time-frame at the beginning of the second stanza with 'Now'.[121] Yet, Crane's affinities with the previous generation of poets dominate the poem, and the two conflicting strands of influence clash. Crane's 'external analogies' are hardly going, to borrow from Pound's 'Don'ts' and F. S. Flint's 'Imagisme', 'in fear of abstractions' and are at odds with central Imagist premises of the 'direct treatment of the thing'.[122] Crane's poem contains 'superfluous' images that are not

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[117] Pound to Monroe, c. January 1915, *The Selected Letters of Ezra Pound 1907-1941*, ed. by D. D. Paige (New York: New Directions, 1971), p. 48.
[118] Kling, 'Childhood-April-Russia' in 'Une Vie', p. 7, ll. 1-8.
[119] Antonio Marichalar, 'La estética de retroceso y la poesía de Hart Crane', review of Crane, *White Buildings* (1926), *Revista de Occidente,* 5.47 (February 1927), 260-263 (trans. by Camilla Sutherland).
[120] Crane, 'The Hive', *The Pagan*, 1.11 (March 1917), 36, l. 1; 'Annunciations', *The Pagan*, 1.12-2.1 (April-May 1917), 11, l. 1; 'Modern Craft', 37, l. 1; 'Postscript', 20, l. 1; 'Carmen de Boheme', 2, l. 1; 'To Potapovitch [sic] (de la Ballet Russe)', *The Modern School*, 6.5 (March 1919), 80, l. 1.
[121] Crane, 'October-November', p. 4, l. 1
[122] Pound, 'A Few Don'ts', p. 201; F. S. Flint, 'Imagisme', *Poetry*, 1.6 (March 1913), 198-200 (p. 200).

'contributing to the presentation': 'delirium', 'scintillate' and 'dance' all indicating the same movement.[123] It is hardly surprising, then, that in 1917 Pound, who was then the foreign editor at Margaret Anderson's *Little Review*, wrote to Crane following Anderson's acceptance of 'In Shadow', registering his distaste for Crane's poetry: 'Lover of Beauty is all very egg; there is perhaps better egg, but you haven't yet the ghost of a sitting hen or an incubator about you.'[124]

The assimilation of Imagist and fin-de-siècle forms, apparently so distasteful to Pound, in Crane's early verse must be considered alongside Kling's editorial practices. Kling's own 'The Theatre' begins with a description of 'A naked bosomed female| On a stage', and the 'flush of feeling' of her audience, but slips into:

Men and women
(Upright citizens)
Laugh……[125]

where the lines are stripped of detail and 'ornament'.[126] Monnie Laib's 'Twilight' from December 1917 contains Symbolist informed tropes similar to 'October-November', even down to the palette, but also displays a comparable affinity with Imagist forms:

The last tinted rays
In the west
Are fading, dying…
Threads of purple

Threads of gold
Quiver through the air…[127]

Clearly, Crane was working within a particular model of fashionable 'post-Decadent' verse that assimilated these two modes. In 'Echoes', published in *The Pagan* in October 1917, Crane again employs Wildean tropes. The poem opens with rain upon the glass, describing changing colours under the 'sunlight', and its eventual evaporation:

Slivers of rain upon the pane,
Jade-green with sunlight, melt and flow.
Upward again: —they leave no stain
Of all the storm an hour ago.[128]

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[123] Pound, 'A Few Don'ts', p. 200.
[124] Pound to Crane, n.d., c. 1918; Unterecker, *Voyager*, p. 89.
[125] Kling, 'The Theatre', *The Pagan,* 1.1 (May 1916), 3, ll. 1-16.
[126] Pound, 'A Few Don'ts', p. 202.
[127] Monnie Laib, 'Twilight', *The Pagan*, 2.6 (December 1917), 11.
[128] Crane, Crane, 'Echoes', *The Pagan*, 2.5 (October-November 1917), 39, ll. 1-4.

The poem echoes a contribution to *The Pagan* by Ovro'om Raisin in the July 1916 number:

> Like tristful tears
> The raindrops trickle down
> The window-pane,
> Tracing symbols fraught
> With melancholy meaning….?
>
> 'The streets are wet
> And your boots are torn,'[129]

While Raisin's poem seems to have been Crane's starting point (and, like Raisin, he mixes the abstract 'tristful' with description, 'The streets are wet'), 'Echoes' still seems rooted in Decadent imagery, with 'fragile', 'cool roses', and eyes as 'opal pools' (recalling a number of descriptions from Wilde, e.g., eyes as 'opals that burn always') and the poem cleaves conservatively to rhyming couplets.[130] Despite Crane's attempts to pare back his language, these images are still cast in abstractions. For instance, the 'arms' as 'circles of roses', or the dried rivulets become the 'stain' of the 'storm'.[131]

'The Hive', published in *The Pagan* in March 1917, shows Crane starting to move beyond imitation. Rather, he self-consciously dramatises his frustration with his inability to discipline the associations of his chosen subject at this point in his career. The poem reads:

> Up the chasm-walls of my bleeding heart
> Humanity pecks, claws, sobs and climbs;
> Up the inside, and over every part
> Of the hive of the world that is my heart.
>
> And of all the sowing, and all the tear-tendering,
> And reaping, have mercy and love issued forth.
> Mercy, white milk, and honey, gold love—
> And I watch, and say, 'These the anguish are worth.'[132]

Crane is not naïve about the hackneyed nature of that fourth line where the poet is fashioned as the 'vates', the interpreter, or prophet, interpreting the 'world'. In later poems he uses these clichéd motifs knowingly (fashioning himself as the 'famished kitten' on a step in New York in

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[129] Ovro'om Raisin, 'Tamud-Student's Monody', *The Pagan*, 1.3 (July 1916), 41.
[130] Ibid., ll. 9-10; Wilde, *Salomé*, p. 74.
[131] Ibid., ll. 1-4, 9-10.
[132] Crane, 'The Hive', p. 36.

'Chaplinesque'), without the need for the kind of declarative defensiveness of the last phrase: "'These the anguish are worth.'"[133] Here, Crane is concerned with the dangers of cliché in adopting a prophetic voice, which becomes a dominant pose in the opening poem of *The Bridge,* 'To Brooklyn Bridge', an effort to 'lend a myth to God.'[134]

In 'The Hive' the geometry of the honeycomb metaphor also reflects his increasingly self-conscious interest in his associative, complex form marrying aspects of the fin-de-siècle to Imagism. He plays on the dual meaning of 'humanity' as humankind/society and benevolence/empathy, concepts that, again, are bifurcated throughout the poem, ending on the uncertain, but empathetic note of the poet's 'anguish' at placing himself as an interlocutor for 'the hive of the world.' At the start of the poem, the cells of the honeycomb are filled with these individual qualities of 'humanity' struggling for air, or the polyvocal struggle of thought. This idea of the poet as vessel is consistently undermined by an implication of self-interest ('tear-tendering', 'reaping') as the poet elicits ('issue[s] forth'), with deliberate irony, an anxious discussion of formal properties from this traditional conception of the poet as 'vates'. Kling's editorial decisions heighten these implications; The Hive' is followed by Routledge Curry's 'Veni, Vidi, Vici', where a woman saves a child from traffic: 'I saw / Another woman / Snatch a curly headed bit / Of humanity.'[135] The young child in the poem is somehow synecdochic: a part of this whole, 'humanity'. It is an idiomatic trope, and a saccharine image. Crane, by contrast, puts pressure on the hackneyed associations of the word, meticulously dividing it into the component parts ('mercy', 'heart', 'love', 'anguish'), which form the geometry of the hive. He emphasises the noun's dual meaning as a way of articulating his own unease. Despite the complexity of the internal metaphors, the metaphor of the 'heart', punning, as Crane frequently did, on his own name (Hart/heart), remains tired. It is, somewhat perversely, precisely the inability to control these layered associations – his frustrations in struggling towards poetic maturity emphasised in his pun – that seems to have pushed Crane to his accomplished later experiments with an associative form.

These concerns with form are literalised in the quoted final phrase of 'The Hive'. In 'Modern Craft' from the January 1918 number of *The Pagan*, Crane is working in a similar mode. Crane is declarative, but, crucially, as well as the somewhat tired borrowings of nineteenth-century tropes, as Thomas Yingling puts it, Crane 'make[s] sexuality rather than its sublimation central to his text', growing increasingly confident in his developing associative form:[136]

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[133] Crane, 'Chaplinesque', *Gargoyle*, 1.6 (December 1921), 24, l. 6.
[134] Crane, 'To Brooklyn Bridge', *Complete Poems*, pp. 43-44 (p. 44), l. 44.
[135] Routledge Curry, 'Veni, Vidi, Vici', *The Pagan*, 1.11 (March 1917), 37.
[136] Thomas E. Yingling, *Hart Crane and the Homosexual Text: New Thresholds, New Anatomies* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1990), p. 244.

Though I have touched her flesh of moons,
Still she sits gestureless and mute,
Drowning cool pearls in alcohol.
O blameless shyness; —innocence dissolute!

She hazards jet; wears tiger-lillies; —
And bolts herself within a jewelled belt.
Too many palms have grazed her shoulders:
Surely she must have felt.

Ophelia had such eyes; but she
Even, sank in love and choked with flowers.
This burns and is not burnt…. My modern love were
Charred at a stake in younger times than ours.[137]

As with 'Echoes', there is a glimmer of Crane's new style here in the striking metaphors, with 'She hazards jet' ('jet' meaning both the gems on her belt and her 'fashion', 'style', 'mode': she dresses quickly, as if observed) and 'bolts herself' firmly and chastely 'within her jewelled belt', guarding against those 'Too many palms' that have 'grazed her shoulders'. The rhythms are roughened, eschewing a clear metre. Line openings shift between stressed and unstressed first feet; the first line is iambic, while the second is broken into three uneven feet, with 'Still' as an isolated stressed syllable creating a pause at the start of the line.

'Modern Craft' is a poem about inaction in various forms as Crane comments on his own work, vainly 'search[ing] for a modern muse', as Yingling has suggested.[138] Light is shed on 'Modern Craft' through its resonances with another of Crane's *Pagan* poems, 'The Bathers', published in the December 1917 number. In 'The Bathers' 'Still she sits gestureless and mute' refers to Venus and her unnamed companion, with its similarly static, Pygmalion-esque 'ivory women by a milky sea', and the awkward, heavily aphoristic description of Venus in the last lines: 'She came in such still water, and so nursed / In silence, beauty blessed and beauty cursed.'[139] The nudity of the first line of 'Modern Craft' also feels forced; 'flesh of moons' is obvious, even vulgar, draining the description of any erotic charge as Crane seems to reach for Laforgue, of whom, significantly in terms of Crane's use of 'emergent and vestigial styles', he wrote in 1922 that his 'affection' was 'none the less genuine for being led to him through Pound and T. S. Eliot than it

[137] Crane, 'Modern Craft', p. 37.
[138] Yingling, *Hart Crane and the Homosexual Text*, p. 243, note 4.
[139] Crane, 'The Bathers', *The Pagan*, 2.8 (December 1917), 19.

would have been through Baudelaire.'[140] Indeed, Crane produced a translation of 'Locutions des Pierrots', which was published in the May 1922 number of *The Double Dealer*.[141] In 'Modern Craft' Crane seems to have in mind Laforgue's line 'Dans ce halo de chair en harmonies lactées!...' ('In that halo of flesh where milk harmonies well!...').[142] In 'Postscript' Crane's concerns about his 'gestureless and mute' poetry are once again figured as 'marble':

> Though now but marble are the marble urns,
> Though fountains droop in waning light, and pain
> Glitters on the edges of wet ferns,
> I should not dare to let you in again.[143]

He alludes in frustration to Keats's 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', lamenting his ability to bring his own 'marble men and maidens' (Keats's phrase) to life: they are, he repeats, 'but marble…the marble urns'.[144]

In both 'Postscript' and 'Modern Craft', Crane's concerns with his poetic ability become intertwined with anxiety about his sexuality, apparent in 'I should not dare to let you in again', and in the final line of 'Modern Craft' which Yingling reads literally as 'a line whose power of surprise derives from its frankness and from its break with the earlier subjects of the poem' in a 'feeble protest about the burning of homosexuals in a former historical period.'[145] I would suggest that, given the poems links to 'Postscript', Crane is also suggesting the 'burn' of unfulfilled desire, which finds a corollary, even a metaphor, in his poetic goals, here "crafting" the modern love poem – a link Crane would make throughout his career. It wasn't until the mid-1920s that he began sustained experimentation with the associative mode of his 'logic of metaphor' as a coded way of representing his homosexual relationships in a censorious society. In 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen', first published as a whole in 1924 after Crane had given serious thought to ideas that would form his associative poetic, he offers an attempt at a solution:

> *There is a world dimensional for*
> *Those untwisted by a love of things irreconcilable.*[146]

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[140] Crane to Allen Tate, 16 May 1922, *O My Land, My Friends*, pp. 85-86 (p. 85).
[141] Crane, 'Locutions des Pierrots', *The Double Dealer*, 3.17 (May 1922), 261.
[142] Jules Laforgue, 'Ève, sans Trêve', ('Eve No Reprieve'), *The Complete Poems*, trans. by Peter Dale (London: Anvil Press Poetry, 2004), pp. 366-37, l. 12.
[143] Crane, 'Postscript', p. 20.
[144] Keats, 'Ode on a Grecian Urn', *The Complete Poems*, ed. by John Barnard (Oxford: Oxford World Classics, 1988), pp. 344-346 (p. 345), l. 42.
[145] Crane, 'Modern Craft', p. 37, ll. 11-12; Yingling, *Hart Crane and the Homosexual Text*, p. 113.
[146] Crane, 'Discussion', pp. 34-41; 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen', *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1923-1924), 1-4 (p. 1), ll. 16-18 [italics in original]. Between 1922 and 1926, Crane's poem was published in three versions due to a mixture of miscommunication and editing interventions when the full version appeared in *White Buildings* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926). The first publication was with Part II, 'The Springs of Guilty Song' in *Broom*, 4.2 (January 2923), 131-

Though melancholic, here there is less of the 'anguish' of 'The Hive' and 'Modern Craft'. The 'logic', in his later poetry, provided Crane with this means of 'reconciling' his poetry with his male subjects using this associative model.

The Pagan as a 'training school' and cosmopolitan modernism

In *The Awakening Twenties*, Munson remembers *The Pagan* acting as a 'training school' for the young editors of the 'exile' journals of the 1920s.[147] The significance of *The Pagan* was, for Munson, negligible in terms of the ultimate trajectory of Crane's career, but apparently formative for the development of his poetry. Munson adds that it was Kling's 'insensitivity to the new writers of *The Little Review*' that led to Crane's eventual disenchantment with the journal. While this oversimplifies Crane's complex affiliations during these years, Munson's overall point rings true: Crane's increasing interest in avant-garde experiments led to his disenchantment with *The Pagan* as the 'post-Decadent' aesthetic of the Village began to lose its appeal. Crane started looking for new publishing outlets. Initially he sent work to New York's *The Modernist* and the New Jersey-based *Modern School,* before looking to journals with broader readerships outside of New York City and its environs. In the early 1920s Crane appeared in New Orleans's *Double Dealer*, Vanderbilt's *The Fugitive, The Dial*, and, after 1922, the 'exile' magazines, and other journals in their networks: *Gargoyle, Secession, Broom, 1924, S4N,* and, later in the decade, *transition.*

As contributions to *The Pagan* attest, Kling was paying close attention to literary developments in Europe. However, although Imagism, post-symbolist and, later, Dadaist poetic forms were highlighted by *The Pagan*, they were treated with caution. Kling's editing practices show a suspicion of arbitrary formal experimentation, and he made this stance clear through parodies of calligrammes in editorial segments. As early as 1915 in Stieglitz's *291*, New York journals had been publishing calligrammatic poems influenced by the European literary avant-garde, with, for instance, J. B. Kerfoot's 'Bunch of Keys' where the text is arranged to visually represent the subject.[148] Perhaps responding as much to the offerings in *291* as those in European publications, in July 1918, in a number that featured Crane both as an editor and contributor, Kling's 'As It Seems' appeared: an ode to waffles and syrup with the text shaped into a phallus.[149] As early as September 1916, a calligrammatic experiment appeared in *The Pagan* by 'Ben S.' (Kling's

32. The second version, with Part II missing and typographical errors, appeared in *Secession*, 1.6 (September 1923), 1-4. A corrected version with all three parts was published in *Secession*, 1.7 (Winter 1923-1924), 1-4.

147 Munson, *The Awakening Twenties*, p. 76.

148 J. B. Kerfoot, 'A Bunch of Keys', *291*, 1.3 (May 1915), back cover.

149 Kling, 'As It Seems', *The Pagan*, 3.3 (July 1918), 35.

pseudonym), where banal adjectives for Kling at ages 'Twenty' and 'Thirty-Two' are pointlessly grouped into two columns.[150] As these parodies show, Kling believed that form must elucidate content, and the simple visual reflection of the subject was in his view a gimmick. He was more sympathetic to the aims of 'machine age' poetry – what Dickran Tashjian terms 'skyscraper primitivism' (a pejorative active in contemporaneous reviews), the aesthetic of 'those American painters and poets who were affected by Dada's fascination with the machine and who in turn celebrated modern American technology.'[151] City-scape poems, more in the vein of Carl Sandburg than the overtly Dadaist experiments of *Broom* and *Secession*, were a frequent presence in *The Pagan*, but Crane did not fully experiment with these ideas until he became involved with the 'exile' journals, though he does mention 'ragtime and dances' and 'city, your axles need not the oil of song' in 'Porphyro in Akron' (*The Double Dealer*, August-September 1921) and 'the fury of the street' in 'Chaplinesque' (*Gargoyle*, December 1921).[152]

Despite the irreverence of the calligrammes published in *The Pagan*, its attention to these forms enables Crane's interest in post-symbolist literature to be pinpointed earlier than his reading of Apollinaire (which Unterecker dates from 1919).[153] Crane and Munson (the latter went on to found and edit *Secession*) met at Kling's office and shared his views on form.

As well as introducing Crane and Munson to Dadaism (and possibly fashioning their cautious approach), Kling's presentation of American poetry as a cosmopolitan venture seems to have been a key feature of *The Pagan* as a 'training ground'. Crucial to Kling's cosmopolitan understanding of the poetic 'renascent period' was his own apparently Russian background and his Greenwich Village location. The social makeup of the Greenwich Village area – not just the literary tourists drawn to the self-mythologized Village – was crucial to Kling's editing of the magazine, informing his conception of modern literature. In contrast to primarily monoglot mainstream journals, Kling reflects the sizable German, Polish, Italian and Russian-speaking population of his New York.[154] Kling invariably used these translated texts to open their respective numbers, framing the pieces that followed. Translations appeared from French (including Verlaine), Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Norwegian, Chinese, German, Turkish, Yiddish, Danish, Swedish, Spanish, Italian, Japanese and 'Indian Poems From the Sioux', the latter reflecting

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[150] Kling as 'Ben S', 'Twenty', *The Pagan*, 1.5 (September 1916), 37.
[151] The term 'machine age' was used as early as 1915 in Paul L. Haviland, 'We are Living in the Age of the Machine', 291, 1.7-8 (September 1915), 1. Munson uses the phrase in 'Skyscraper Primitives', *The Guardian*, 1.5 (March 1925), 164-78; Dickran Tashjian, *Skyscraper Primitives: Dada and the American Avant-Garder, 1910-1925* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1975), p. ix.
[152] Crane, 'Porphyro in Akron', *The Double Dealer*, 2.8-9 (August-September 1921), 53, ll. 38, 19; 'Chaplinesque', p. 24, l. 7.
[153] Unterecker, *Voyager*, p. 146.
[154] Ira Rosenwaike, *Population History of New York City* (Syracuse University Press, 1972), p. 93 and p. 95.

something of a dubious vogue in these contemporary magazines – and one Crane would also appropriate for 'Powhatan's Daughter'.[155]Polyglotism was a social and political issue that Kling foregrounded in his magazine, calling to mind Randolph Bourne's famous essay in *The Atlantic Monthly*, 'Trans-national America', in which Bourne celebrates the transnational make-up of America, its polyvocality, and in which he calls for a 'spiritual welding' of the 'young intelligentsia'.[156]

As in the *Salomé* review, Kling left words and fragments deliberately untranslated. In a number that showcases Jewish literature he published his own 'In Re Judea et Al' (as 'Nichel') and plays with the word 'Americanism':

> Americanism! Americanism!
> Americanism! Americanism!
> Americani….[157]

This chanting results in 'Americanism!' being truncated in its final iteration to 'Americani' in a 'polyglot discordance', to borrow Cristianne Miller's useful phrase.[158] 'Americanism, 'a word, phrase, or other use of language characteristic of, peculiar to, or originating from the United States', is transformed from a singular collective into the Italian masculine plural noun for 'Americans'.[159] Kling's subtle point here is that the modern American idiom is, ideally, plural and polyglot. Similarly, Kling's own 'Pedagoguesesque' (a poem from 'Une Vie') perhaps pre-empts Crane's 'Chaplinesque', creating a pun that sits between English and French (suggesting 'Pedagogues que').[160] Kling's playful use of cognates and words that sit between translations may have also influenced the young Eugene Jolas, later the founding editor of *transition*, whose theory 'Revolution of the Word' operates similarly. Jolas's poetry advocates a kind of literary Esperanto, as he writes in 'Rodeur': 'I mute in rain wind crow darkling | Nowhere stop you walkst in fir | Haende tasten apportez-moi du vin'. [161] Kling's clear focus on works in translation, and deliberate non-translation, of phrases in his editorials is testament to his conviction that an American modernism or 'a

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[155] For instance, Fyodor Sologub, 'The White Dog', *The Pagan*, 1.2 (June 1916), 3-9; Octave Mirbeau, 'The Pocketbook', *The Pagan*, 4.1 (August 1916), 10-31; Gabriele D'Annunzio, 'Francesca da Rimini', *The Pagan,* 1.7-8 (November-December 1916), 3-30; 'The Hero', *The Pagan*, 3.2 (March 1919), 12-15; Anton Chekhov, 'Dushitka', *The Pagan*, 5.2 (September 1917), 3-11; Knut Hamsun, 'The Conqueror', *The Pagan*, 1.3 (July 1916), 3-10; W. Perzynski, 'The Murder', *The Pagan*, 1.6 (October 1916), 3-6; Ovro'om Raisin, 'Silent Footsteps', *The Pagan*, 1.6 (October 1916), 25–27. On this dubious vogue, see Alice Corbin Henderson, 'Poetry of the North American Indian', review of *The Path on the Rainbow: An Anthology of Songs and Chants from the Indians of North America*, ed. by George W. Cronyn (1918), *Poetry,* 12.1 (April 1919), 41-47.

[156] Randolph S. Bourne, 'Trans-National America', *The Atlantic Monthly*, 118.1 (July 1916), 86–97.

[157] Kling, 'In Re Judea et al', *The Pagan*, 1.3 (July 1916), 43-44 (p. 43).

[158] Miller, 'Tongues "loosened in the melting pot"', p. 462.

[159] 'Americanism', *OED Online* <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/6345?redirectedFrom=Americanism> accessed 13.09.18.

[160] Kling, 'Pedagoguesque' 'Une Vie', pp. 17-18.

[161] Eugene Jolas as 'Theo Rutra', 'Rodeur', *transition*, 1 (1927), 44-45 (p. 144), ll. 2-4.

renascent period in American poetry' (the famous phrase from the first editorial of James Oppenheim, Waldo Frank and Van Wyck Brooks's *Seven Arts*) must be multi-lingual.[162] As Cristianne Miller has explored, similar impulses informed the editorial practices of the magazine *Others*, whereby contributors can be seen to 'celebrate a linguistic and cultural mixing echoing the popular idiom of America as a melting pot and affiliated with the figure of the immigrant.'[163] Kling's richly-polyglot magazine exposed Crane to the European avant-garde, and provided a 'training ground' for future editors of magazines in which Crane published such as Munson, Josephson, and Jolas that was crucial in providing Crane with an exemplary model of poetic practice, in which assimilation and juxtaposition were key.

Conclusion: Disenchantment

In February 1919, Crane wrote to Carl Zigrosser, then editor of *The Modern School*, 'A Monthly Magazine Devoted to Libertarian Ideas In Education', chasing up the publication of his poem 'To Portapovitch'. As far as Crane was concerned, the publication of 'To Portapovitch' in *The Modern School* was merely opportunistic, marking his attempts to distance himself from his mainstay until 1919, *The Pagan*, and Kling's 'mysterious aesthetic touchstones', and to find a publisher for that poem, which Kling had rejected, as too had *The Little Review* and *The Liberator*.[164] While irritated by the sting of Kling's rejection, it became necessary for Crane to expand his publishing networks beyond the Village. It was not, though, until the editors and contributors who had found a 'training ground' at *The Pagan* began to found journals in the early 1920s that Crane would find receptive and sympathetic outlets for his poetry, with *Broom* and *Secession*.

In the late 1910s, Crane was wrestling with how fin-de-siècle elements could be incorporated into his verse. In the early 1920s, by contrast, he was attempting to tackle the new influences of the 'machine age' – as is clear in 'Porphyro in Akron' and 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen'. His early experiments, in 'Carmen de Boheme' and 'C33' for example, were highly imitative, while his initial attempts to engage with 'machine age' poetry were laced with irony. In 'Faustus and Helen', skyscrapers are 'metallic paradise[s]', and the poem vaults from 'asphalt' to 'clouds'.[165]

Nevertheless, Crane never quite managed to struggle free from critical opprobrium rooted in his early juvenilia in Village magazine circles, as in Yvor Winters's famous assessment in

[162] James Oppenheim, Waldo Frank and Van Wyck Brooks, 'Editorial', *The Seven Arts*, 1.1 (November 1916), 52–57.
[163] Miller, 'Tongues "loosened in the melting pot"', p. 456.
[164] Crane to Zigrosser, c. late January 1919.
[165] Crane, 'Porphyro in Akron', p. 53, ll. 25-26; 'For the Marriage of Faustus and Helen', p. 3, l. 24, p. 1, l. 9.

Primitivism and Decadence: A Study of American Experimental Poetry, which includes the unpalatable equation of Crane's homosexuality with a general 'Decadence' of character and lack of discipline that reveals itself in his poetry.[166] Given the necessary interest of 'the logic of metaphor' in intertextual allusion – as well as the individual associative qualities of words and phrases – analysing Crane's formative use of 'borrowing' and allusion in the late 1910s is crucial to unpicking the genealogy of the 'logic', a form based on collage principles, as it developed in the mid-1920s. Crane integrated this collage-like principle into the microstructures of his later poetry, utilising this technique of juxtaposition so that isolated metaphors are made up of minute, juxtaposed images, that use surreal combinations to create the overall impression of the object in question.

In conclusion, Crane's poetic development cannot be considered without a comprehensive, detailed analysis of his periodical contexts, his exposure to and experimentation with new techniques and forms, transnational literatures, his engagement in aesthetic debates, testing work in public forums, and in which he built a network of literary contacts. This form of analysis sheds light on how his aesthetic shifted decisively from the fin-de-siècle, post-Decadent poetry of his early work to his Surrealist-informed 'logic of metaphor' and the 'machine age' qualities of his later poetry.

[166] Yvor Winters, *In Defense of Reason: Primitivism and Decadence, a Study of American Experimental Poetry* (Denver, CO: Alan Swallow, 1947), p. 590.