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Stephen Crane, Journalist: A Prismatic Career in the Gilded Age

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STEPHEN CRANE, JOURNALIST: A PRISMATIC CAREER
IN THE GILDED AGE



A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Faculty
Central Washington State College

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Education

by
Donna M. Hughes
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INTRODUCTION

Between 1891 and 1900 Stephen Crane wrote a place for himself in American literature. Poet, novelist, playwright, short story writer, journalist--his creative output was prodigious. Although he died when he was twenty-eight, Crane's writings fill more than twelve volumes. Eighty-six sketches and tales, five novels, one play, three books of verse and over one hundred and twenty-eight newspaper articles are credited to Crane from the ten years that encompass his writing life (138:xii). Much of his fame is based on the American classic, The Red Badge of Courage; but he is recognized also for Maggie, the first naturalistic novel in American literature; "The Open Boat," an excellent short story based on experience, and which employs symbolism and sentence structure exemplifying the rise and fall of the waves which menace the ten-foot craft; three books of poetry termed "imagist impressionism" twenty years before the "imagist" poets; a Cuban war dispatch, "Red Badge of Courage Was His Wig-Wag Flag," which is one of the best written pieces of journalism to come out of a much publicized war, and "The Blue Hotel," which foreshadows Hemingway at his best. Crane's work still commands a great deal of interpretation and criticism. Crane is a paradoxical figure since he was a product of his time, yet some of his work

is a harbinger of modern literature. Some of his work is unquestionably related to what was being written at the time. Jimmie Trescott is a counterpart of Twain's Tom Sawyer and Tarkington's Penrod (80:Vol.5,xi); the Sullivan County Sketches are kin to the style of Kipling, Poe, and Bierce (12:41); the wry observations, stilted phrases and hyperbole of the early tales and articles echo Josh Billings, Artemus Ward, and Petroleum V. Nasby (132:19). Despite all of these parallels, among the avant-garde writers of the 1890's, Crane most clearly prefigures twentieth-century literature. Using two modes of creation, imagined experience and actual experience, Crane created The Red Badge of Courage and "The Open Boat," which are credited with beginning two main technical movements in modern fiction--realism and symbolism (138:vii). These accomplishments point up the importance of Crane the writer in American literature.

Crane is a worthy subject for study because of the diverse writers who acknowledge his literary worth and their dependence on his accomplishments. Mencken, Hemingway, Dos Passos, Sandburg, Amy Lowell, Dreiser, and Willa Cather compose part of the listing (93:v). Crane also invites study because of the range of estimation of his work.¹ Crane

¹Stallman (138:vii) places Crane "among the half-dozen major artists . . . in the nineteenth century--not

causes speculation because of the bizarre tales which surround his legendary figure² and because of "meteoric" development of his style as a writer.³ Crane typifies the American writer of the past and present. American society in the late nineteenth century had begun to acquire characteristics which set it apart from its European origins; modern American literature is a search for a new literary idiom which would correspond with and reflect these changes. Crane exemplifies this search for a new style, a new technique, and a new subject.⁴ Crane's work is a literature of

in the first rank with Hawthorne and Melville and Henry James but . . . in the second rank with Poe and Howells and Twain." Gibson (93:xv) terms him "a naturalist whose sense of form and proportion and of intense human loyalties allies him with the best of his contemporaries and their successors in the twentieth century." Eric Solomon (14:323) writes "In spite of the abundance of war novels produced by two world conflicts, The Red Badge of Courage is still the masterwork of war fiction. . . . it has rarely been approached in scope or intensity since it was first published in 1895." Another critic, M. Solomon places the Civil War novel in "the great tradition of classic literature, from the Book of Job and the Oresteia to Hamlet and Egmont" (14:281).

²Cady (17:Ch.1)^{Crane} compares to Chatterton and states "He blazed intensely, even scandalously, on the public scene."

³"From his very first sketches it becomes evident that here is the rarest of artistic phenomena--a literary prodigy" (104:7). He "sprang into life fully armed," said Howells.

⁴From the time the American society began, it possessed some special characteristics that separated it from

rebellion and a search for a national vernacular. The amount of research being done on his work and the vast areas which are left open for examination, make Crane of continuing interest.⁵

The speculation, re-examination, and interest in Crane has varied a great deal in the years since his death. His popularity in the 1900's fell as rapidly as it had risen in the nineties. He seemed doomed to literary obscurity until the twenties when a collection of some of his

European societies, but it demanded even more originality than in its new people and places in literature. Irving, Cooper, Hawthorne treated local folklore, frontier life, and religion, and later Poe and Whitman strove for a new, distinctly American poetry. Generally these efforts were individual and short-lived. Mark Twain, more than any other man, made American literature strictly American. One reason can be found in Paine's comment, "In spite of the immediate success of his book (Innocents Abroad)--a success the like of which had scarcely been known in America--Mark Twain held himself to be, not a literary man, but a journalist" (112:162). His stories and tales were written originally for newspaper publication. His use of vernacular speech in The Adventures of Tom Sawyer is the first time a great author had written as Americans actually spoke. The search for the vernacular continued in Crane's work and can still be found even in a modern like Eudora Welty.

⁵One critic feels that Crane critics have oversimplified while Crane is "more complex, less categorizable than presented." Furthermore "He has been neglected as athlete, sportsman, and outdoorsman; as an intellectual of his age; as aspiring gentleman and moralist; and even . . . as an existentialist saint for all time. . . . And interpretations of his work have been tyrannized by unitary views of the man and mind" (17:8).

short stories was made by Starrett in Men, Women and Boats in 1921. Thomas Beer's biography followed in 1923. A factor which dampened enthusiasm and interest in Crane was the scarcity of his published writing. Consequently, he increased in popularity in the twenties when the twelve volumes of his Work were published in 1925-27. Interest in his work lagged again in the thirties and heightened during the forties. Williams and Starrett aided in 1948 with their Stephen Crane: A Bibliography. John Berryman's Stephen Crane corrects and adds to Beer's picture of the man. A small but important group of letters followed in 1954, Stephen Crane's Love Letters to Nellie Crouse. The little-known Sullivan County Sketches became available to the public in 1949 when Schoberlin published the ten early sketches, seven of which had never appeared in book form. Linson's My Stephen Crane, published in 1958, throws light on a previously dim period, the years between Crane's Syracuse University days and his sudden fame in 1895 with the publication of The Red Badge of Courage. Since 1945 there have been approximately twenty-five significant critiques of The Red Badge of Courage, including a casebook edited by Lettis and others. One of the latest additions to an understanding of Crane is Stallman and Gilkes' Stephen Crane: Letters in 1960.

His position may be secure but his importance is still being debated. Controversy has raged concerning his

character, his attitude, and his worth, since Crane lived by the Emersonian admonition "Congratulate yourself if you have done something strange and extravagant and broken the monotony of a decorous age." Crane shocked Victorian America of the nineties. His early fame was partially based on the sensationalism of his writing and on that of his alleged life. The shocking, sordid subject matter of Maggie, written in a style that was terse, blunt, and vernacular; the "affectation of style" and the "blare of his word trumpets" in The Red Badge of Courage and The Little Regiment (17:132); the dark pessimism of George's Mother; and the blasphemy of The Black Riders, all contributed to make Crane an infamous figure in American letters. Whether or not the infamy is justified is another question; Crane was by turns accused of preferring the lower elements of society, taking dope, excessive drinking, and leading a generally dissipated life. Some, especially Beer, Linson, Noxon, and Gordon are adamant in their statement of Crane's "innocence" (17:48-49). Stallman, Gilkes, Zara, and Hilliard are convinced of his "guilt," while Berryman and Hoffman consider Crane a "special case" (17:49). This contradiction is caused by the cloud that obscures Crane's life since much of the information is contradictory, "undocumentable hearsay or long delayed reminiscence" (17:7). Another pastime which delights critics is the discussion of whether or not Crane was written out.

Howells felt that Maggie was superior to The Red Badge of Courage but that Crane's poetry was a waste of Crane's time (137:102). Garland (14:123-24) felt that Crane was "too brilliant, too fickle, too erratic to last." He wrote "The weakness of such highly individual work lies in its success by surprise. The words which astonish, the phrases which excite wonder and admiration come eventually to seem tricky. They lose force with repetition. . . ." Concurring are some critics who feel that a great part of his later work was second rate when compared to his early achievements. They feel that the artist had been replaced by the journalist, and they cite Active Service, The O'Ruddy, and Great Battles of the World (138:xii). Another rates his Whilomville Stories of his last year as "matchless stories about children (102:28). Honig (104:12) feels that even Crane's second-grade stories are redeemable, "one must consider him in totality, overlooking nothing. . . . Crane must be read at every level of quality." The scarcity of work at "every level of quality" presents a problem. Indeed, much debate is held over what is the best of Crane's work.⁶ It seems necessary then to examine all of his available work if one is to evaluate adequately Crane's

⁶Cady (17:97) states that the canon has been determined by consensus for the last ten years and "criticism has more reflected than affected its determination."

place in American literature. Part of the disagreement concerning his worth, and the misunderstanding involving the development of his style, may be a result of this failure to read everything--including his early free lance sketches, his slum novels, his war dispatches, and his short stories.⁷

Critics have spent a great deal of time trying to find sources for Crane's work and have concluded by establishing parallels in subjects, incidents, and even wording since they cannot document their conjectures. The Sullivan County Sketches are called "Kipling" in manner (17:101); others consider "Poe is their master" (12:41). Most critics give little attention to Crane's stated source for Maggie--"honest" vision (14:151). In the Book Buyer in 1896, L'Assomoir is the stated source for Maggie, although Beer said that there was no evidence that Crane had read Zola. Cargill (19:85-86) firmly states "There is no question whatsoever about Crane's inspiration for the book; it (Maggie)

⁷Crane's work is difficult to locate. Few libraries have the Work, which is itself incomplete since much of his work only came to light after the Berryman biography was published; the Letters which Stallman and Gilkes edited have only been available since 1960; the journalism has never been collected and other than an occasional short article, most of Crane's newspaper work is not available except by photostats. Russell and Russell, Inc. have re-issued Crane's Work this year. Although the new volumes will allow libraries to obtain copies of Crane's writing, there has been no change since its first publication in 1925-27 by Alfred A. Knopf.

is wholly the product of reading Zola's L'Assomoir. He further considers Tolstoy's War and Peace, Zola's La Debacle, and possibly Bierce's short story, "One Officer, One Man," the source for The Red Badge of Courage. Wyndham disagreed with this view and states that Crane composed "a picture that challenges comparison" he concludes that his "picture of war is more complete than Tolstoi's, more true than Zola's. . . ." (109:93). Since the publication of The Red Badge of Courage, numerous "sources" or parallels have been delineated in magazines and books. It was prompted by Hinman's Corporal Si Klegg and His "Pards" (14:141-142), Century's Battles and Leaders (10:98), Harper's History (14:149), Bierce's Bits of Autobiography and In the Midst of Life (12:79). Inspirations include drawings by Winslow Homer and photographs by Brady (14:162). Little time has been spent charting the possible development in Crane's writing which would account for his success. Few critics consider the literary tenets which one can glean from Crane's letters or comments. Although Gibson (88:ix) describes Crane as "the kind of intensely imaginative person on whom no experience is lost," only rarely does a reader find a critic who considers that Crane's brilliance and insight may have sprung from imagination and personal experience. This failure to read and consider all the

work and material about a man tends to distort a writer's development as well as his worth.

A thorough examination of most of his fiction and a large amount of his journalism shows that Crane's early newspaper work and fiction are intimately related, stylistically, and further, that although the publication of The Red Badge of Courage created a popular demand for Crane to continue to write with the same flamboyance he had displayed in both modes, the success of his Civil War novel created conditions that enabled him to develop a clear separation of and a steady improvement in both forms of writing up to the time of his death.

There is little or no indication that most Crane critics have considered his journalism as significant in Crane's development. Yet it is noteworthy that most American writers have a journalistic experience in their background. Freneau, Franklin, Poe, Whitman, James, Bierce, Twain, Frederic, Lewis, Sinclair, and Hemingway began as newspapermen. A great deal has been done to illustrate how this apprenticeship can shape and develop a writer. Fenton's The Apprenticeship of Ernest Hemingway, a recent publication, has gone to great lengths to show the relationships that exist between Hemingway the newsman and Hemingway the prose writer (90:vii). This type of

study is lacking in Crane scholarship, yet Crane's development can be studied best in two major areas--journalism and fiction. It should be remembered that Crane the journalistic reporter and feature writer is also Crane the imaginative fiction writer. Therefore, the two types of work cannot be clearly separated. Crane's early fiction appeared in contemporary newspapers and conformed to newspaper and Sunday supplement tastes. It is only when Crane began to write for the Journal and World that he made any consistent attempt to document his stories. Most of his free lance work was imaginative feature writing, not news. His earliest fiction was first published in Sunday supplements. Some of his fiction was written after an article dealing with the same incident had appeared in the newspaper, "The Open Boat" and "War Memories" to be specific. To gain a proper perspective of Crane's development it then becomes necessary to view both facets of his writing. When his fiction is considered separately, it only partially reveals his attitudes, ideas, and style; taken as a whole, the works complete and illuminate each other, especially when one uses letters and biographical material to supplement the study. The fiction and the journalism have parallel development and both are affected by the newspaper climate of the time.

Too little attention has been paid to the newspaper apprenticeship which helped establish Crane as a writer. Critics deal mainly with his fiction and this is responsible for the Minerva view of Crane. The themes, attitudes, and style which Crane uses are all discernible in his early Tribune sketches; employing similar themes, qualities and structures, the early sketches foreshadow later fictional development. Schoberlin mentions and illustrates this experimentation briefly in the preface to the Sullivan County Sketches (132:1-20). Berryman uses an occasional quote from the newspaper work of Crane, but his biography is not foot-noted or documented very completely since he was primarily interested in writing a narrative to clear up Beer's "grand inaccuracy, expurgation, and distortion" (12:xiv). The only scholar to deal with Crane's journalism in detail is Thomas A. Gullason. He uses Crane's father's sermons and library to show some possible sources for Crane's style and attitudes. He believes that Crane "broke away from his psychological tensions" evidenced in his three early novels and "gained greater insights into the nature of man and the world at large." Gullason believes that subject matter saved Crane's position in literature. But Gullason, too, ignores the elements of stylistic development in Crane. He is content to say that Crane's later works--Active Service and The O'Ruddy--make Crane a "probing, maturing, significant artist" (97:Ch:iv).

Crane's significance does not need to be justified on the basis of subject matter or of experiments in different style. Crane's journalism improved; from a "clever" self-conscious cub he developed into a reporter who could criticize the government for its inadequacies and bungling in Cuba. He became a man who had confidence enough to laud bravery in the Private Nolans who make up the ranks of the armed forces, and who had the ability to compose some of the best dispatches in the Spanish-American War. Not only did his news writing improve; he developed from a self-conscious grotesque writer of startling images into one who could control his material and his style. "The Monster" is not a new approach to writing; it is the controlled writing of a man who has experimented and developed all of his qualities and abilities.

Crane's development and increased refinement in journalism and fiction are divided into three major periods which roughly correspond with his employment by different newspapers. This division in journalism is based on his Herald and Tribune work, his employment by the New York Press and Bachelier's Syndicate, and his war dispatches that grew out of his work for Pulitzer and Hearst. Crane's fiction is divided into three stages also. The earliest period includes the work which precedes and ends with The Red Badge of Courage--the Sullivan County Sketches, Maggie, George's

Mother--all of which were written from imagination or observation. The second period fiction culminates with "The Open Boat," a story written following the experience depicted; experience recorded or translated into symbols is exemplified in "The Men in the Storm" and "Horses--One Dash!" two representative pieces of the period. "The Monster," "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," "The Blue Hotel," and "The Upturned Face" are representative selections of the third period. Combining the experience which society have afforded him with his mastery of words and sensations, Crane produced these masterpieces in his last years. The early immature efforts evidenced in The Red Badge of Courage and its companion pieces follow the Tribune apprenticeship but are prior to the time of his employment by the Press. The perfection of "The Open Boat" had its experimental beginnings in the features for the Press and Bachelier's Syndicate; moreover, the experience which inspired the symbolic tale was first used in a news story. The third period of fiction followed the war in Greece, but the best fiction was written before Crane went to the Spanish-American War. Indeed, a characteristic of the journalism is outright censure of the government and forces that cause human suffering; conversely, Crane exemplified these human tendencies in fiction without direct statement. The same social conscience that prompted the writing of Maggie and urged Crane

to seek the answer to the questions of the universe, now forced him to deal with the problems directly. The comradeship at sea and the hours spent in introspection pushed him to denounce the world as he saw it. With all his intensity and preciseness of style, he still managed to remain aloof, never putting the "answers" in words. He saw mankind beaten, abused, and almost broken, but he never succumbed. There is no distinct separation between the fiction and the journalism. His experiences are incorporated in the war reportage; his fiction employs imaginative experience--his observations and attitudes are embodied in created characters and situations.

The divisions that I have made for this paper have chronological justification also, since there is a time lapse between the journalism and the fiction of the three periods. Further, there are major shifts in the subject matter of the three periods although some themes are always present--again there are distinctions between the journalistic phases and the fictional phases. There are three explicit stages of stylistic development evidenced in a better journalistic style as well as a more controlled, refined fictional style in each of the periods. There is a recognized change in his attitude toward his writing, which can be seen in Crane's letters to his friends; this change of attitude also justifies the division that I have made. A

limitation which complicates the preciseness desired is the fact that much of Crane's work was published some time after its creation. Crane did not always deal with an incident immediately after its occurrence. For instance, he wrote some Civil War stories out West and westerns when he had returned to the East or even much later when he was at Brede. For this reason a story or article is considered in the period when it was created rather than when it was published.

Crane was invariably confused on dates of composition and misplaced his work frequently; these facts have led to a great amount of conjecture by critics as to dates and incidents in Crane's life. This paper places work where most critics think it belongs on the basis of the latest evidence or where its chronology can be justified by the stylistic elements being discussed. A factor which further complicates the study is the difficulty in securing the journalistic selections. Only a few articles are available in book form, so the study involved securing photostats of the articles from the New York Public Library, the Library of Congress, and the Wisconsin Historical Society. Some of Crane's journalism is unsigned and critics disagree on the authorship of a few articles. Again the study includes only the work which most authorities agree is Crane's.

CHAPTER I

THE CRIMSON BLOTCH: THE TRIBUNE YEARS

The Red Badge of Courage was serialized in the Philadelphia Press in December of 1894, but it was October of 1895 before it was available in a book-length version. It caused some stir in American circles, but it was not until it had been acclaimed in the British journals and the British press that it became famous in the United States. Its explosive reception in London "swept back across the Atlantic and there was nothing they could talk of in New York and its hinterlands but this book"(14:226-227). It joined the bestseller ranks in March and April of 1896 in sixteen American cities, and went through fourteen printings in that year (137:x). Crane was famous at twenty-five for a novel he had written from his imagination.

It is no chance action that Crane chose to write about war, particularly a "civil war." Neither is it surprising that his novel, which began as a newspaper pot-boiler, should be the literary landmark that it is. From the time he marched buttons up and down in little regiments until he attended military academy, Crane read, dreamed of, and listened to tales of war (12:13). While the inspiration for a war novel was prompted early by an ancestor worship which was furthered by family interest, contact

with books about the Civil War, a teacher at college who talked about specific battles, and a brother who was an expert on strategy, the literary craft and accomplishment of The Red Badge of Courage can be viewed in rudimentary form in all of Crane's early writing. Crane's life and Crane's writing prior to the serialization of the novel in 1894 seem to be one long preparation for its high achievement. The theme, structure, imagery, irony, characterization, attitudes, and point of view of The Red Badge of Courage can be discerned and only clearly understood by examining Crane's early fiction and journalism.

It is the purpose of this chapter to show: that Maggie, America's first naturalistic novel, is an ancestor of The Red Badge of Courage in method and style; that Tribune articles employ the singularities of style, method and attitudes of The Red Badge of Courage and also link Maggie to the Sullivan County Sketches in style, characterization and imagery; that the Sullivan County Sketches are more closely related to the structure of The Red Badge of Courage than is Maggie, employing color, imagery, and animism in techniques that closely resemble those used in the Civil War novel; that The Red Badge of Courage is a product of the experimentation of all the early writing and an outgrowth of a subject he had been reworking and refining since he began writing, although it, too, is

immature when compared to Crane's later accomplishments; that George's Mother belongs to this period because it, too, is a "war" story set in the Bowery, which uses the early techniques of Crane's fiction, and furthermore it continues the psychological pattern which links the characters of Maggie Johnson, Henry Fleming, George Kelcey, and Stephen Crane.

Since The Red Badge of Courage is recognized by most critics as the greatest accomplishment of this writing period, and by some, as the greatest accomplishment of Crane's life, this section will first establish the major characteristics of the Crane style as they appear in The Red Badge of Courage; then it will examine the earliest patterns set in Crane's work and discuss the transitional stages that led to the construction of this most important example of his early works. This section will also establish the features which seem most significant in studying Crane's later fictional and journalistic work; just as the early work of this period is indicative of the work to come, so this first period is clearly related to Crane's latest work.

The Red Badge of Courage began as a pot-boiler and developed into a tour de force. Annoyed at the accounts of veterans who "spouted" eternally about who did what, and where what skirmish occurred, Crane hurled himself into the task of telling how war "felt" (110:37). The Civil War was

a story well on its way to being hackneyed, for magazines and newspapers had been exploiting the topic since the war began. The novel employed some writing techniques used commonly at the time and that Crane had used in his journalism and earlier fiction, but the novel established a tradition for handling war novels because Crane combined these techniques in a unique way (14:208). The end product was one of magnificent scope and emotional impact.

The emotional impact is due in part to the realistic treatment given the subject. The young recruit's uncertainty, his dismay at being a part of something he neither understood nor liked, his physical sensations, his mental lapse during battle, all are combined in a way that made veterans disbelieve that the author was only twenty-four and that he was not himself a campaigner at the time of its creation. They found it hard to believe that he had not experienced any war. Crane may have read Tolstoy and Zola; he had seen magazine and newspaper treatments of the subject; he had heard veterans talk about their part in the war, but his "truthful" psychological treatment of the standard war theme grew from his experience on the football field and from his imagination, not from direct experience in military campaigns (137:158). Crane first viewed war in Greece in 1897, but he wrote and published The Red Badge of Courage in 1894, three years before having the experience of war.

The main character in the novel is an ordinary, insignificant, uneducated, immature farmboy, whose name is not introduced until the book is well underway. However, most of the other characters are also nameless or their names are insignificant in the novel's structure. This failure to name or to emphasize a character's name tends to make a figure universal. Crane depersonalizes the image of the individual throughout The Red Badge of Courage; Henry "became not a man but a member . . . welded into a common personality which was dominated by a single desire." Henry Fleming is any person in any situation where a man is inexperienced and where he is therefore an unknown quantity. Henry, the youth, is not important as a person; neither is the battle important in the book since it is not chiefly a narrative of a war. It is a study of a man facing death and the unknown. Henry spends hours trying to prove "mathematically" that he won't run when confronted with possible death in battle; finally, he decides he'll just have to watch his legs and see what they do. Duped by the romantic tradition and a Homeric view of life as well as of war, the youth is caught between the conflict of ideals and realities. He enlists because "almost everyday the newspapers printed accounts of a decisive victory," but once in the army, "He was in a moving box . . . he had never wished to come to war . . . had not enlisted of his free will." He

is confronted constantly with the problem of reconciling how things are and how he thinks they should be. When Henry left for war, he wanted a speech embroidered with sentiment and a suggestion to come home with his shield or on it; instead his mother is concerned with socks, a shirt, and his favorite jam, and her parting comment is "You watch out, Henry, an' take good care of yerself." The first encounter with war, too, was disappointing, since instead of engaging in tremendous clashes of swords, the army sits in camp and waits.

Henry is a contradiction. His conversation is churlish and naturalistic in detail, but his inner turmoil and probing introspection ~~are~~ that of a sensitive man. Henry is a man who deserts in the face of danger, and a man who is deserted by all that has sustained him. The book progresses by psychological stages as Henry searches for a new code to live by and the "answer" to the "Question" which can only be found in death. Twice in the novel, Henry stares at the dead in "the impulse of the living to try to read in dead eyes the answer to the Question."

The Red Badge of Courage is a criticism of the romantic tradition. Henry's betrayal is accomplished through his romantic background. He goes to war expecting "Homeric" feats and "a Greek-like struggle," but he sits in his tent waiting and worrying while outside "he could hear, low,

serene sentences. 'I'll bid five.' 'Make it six.' 'Seven.' 'Seven goes!'" He is constantly having his imaginative bubble pricked by reality. When he thinks that his group has fought admirably, he overhears a conversation in which an officer compares the regiment to mule drivers. Superb strategy visualized by Henry becomes an order for cigars. Using stilted romantic exposition, Crane displayed the hollowness and artificiality of the romantic tradition as an approach to life's problems. This idealistic outlook of the nineties was nurtured in the sentimental philosophy exemplified in the melodramas of the time, while the man on the street in the Bowery spoke in terse, idiomatic terms and lived in a confused unheroic life. This contrast between the ideal and the real is accentuated by lengthy passages of exposition in the novel. "He lay down in the grass. The blades pressed tenderly against his cheek. . . . The liquid stillness of the night enveloping him. . . . There was a caress in the soft winds. . . ." While the thoughts are high-flown and lovely, the dialogue and actions of the men are mechanical responses; their actions are not controlled by moral judgment or choice. Inanimate objects contrast with the depersonalized men; guns are "surly" creatures "dragged" away with "creakings and grumblings." The imagery is a peculiar blend of figures from the contemporary scene-- "It was as if he had hit his fingers with a tack hammer at

home," "He was grimy and dripping like a laborer in a foundry," "They must be machines of steel"--and the dragons, demons, serpents, and imps which are remnants of the Gothic romance and idealistic philosophy of the time fill his short novel.

The poetic passages of vivid color and frequent sense impressions compose a setting that is grandiose and flamboyant, "A burning roar filled his ears," "gray and red dissolved into a moblike body of men who galloped like wild horses," "Tents sprang up like strange plants. Camp fires, like red, peculiar blossoms, dotted the night." The horrible spectacle of war is described with a painter's eye for color and detail and a poet's ear for sound. The novel gets its impressionistic labels from that quality of Crane's writing that makes the unusual become the expected. The Red Badge of Courage suggests the ephemeral qualities of life since each of the parts is a tiny fragment, an exquisite miniature that is linked illogically to another as it came from Crane's mind. The imagery must become more vivid. The strange adjectives must become more grotesque if they are to continue to impress and startle. It is this quality of The Red Badge of Courage which prompted a critic to say Crane could not go on forever in this same style (14:121-22). Using a mass of description and detail, Crane presents several well delineated pictures of how war was and how war

felt, but after the reader has time to think about The Red Badge of Courage he sees that what he saw was not real. He has been overcome by the stylistic devices of a skilled craftsman, and instead of the real war he has seen war as Henry saw it, "His busy mind had drawn for him large pictures extravagant in color, lurid with breathless deeds." This sweeping grandeur is what has earned the book the title of tour de force.

The war world is not the real world, it is the world that Fleming sees, and it is the reader who is duped.¹ Everything is sharp, alive, nervous, and peculiarly lovely in Fleming's world. The guns are "savage chiefs" at "a grim pow wow." The army is "a vast blue demonstration." The forest is an eerie chapel for the dead. Everything is something that it is not. Crane's unusual ability with words makes it logical that colors be translated into sound and inanimate objects become alive. One picture postcard impression after another provides a tableau or panoramic view of nature and war. They are connected by their strength of feeling rather than by logical transitions.

¹Oddly enough it was Harold Frederic who first stated--without knowing Crane--that the novel's author had never seen war. While the Saturday Review and other critical publications assumed Crane was a veteran, Frederic knew better. He had studied on the spot reporting of war as well as imaginative work and there was "literally no comparison" (109:107).

Crane's imagery gives a quality of unreality to a novel that is frequently termed realistic, nor does Crane use the realist's point of view in the novel. Crane is both inside and outside of Fleming's mind. At times, the action is seen through the eyes of the hero, and it is viewed subjectively and transformed into symbols and moods that influence and determine his actions. Henry's mental state is objectified in a recurrent object, the flag, which by turns quivers and twists in agony when Henry is afraid and then unfurls and snaps in the breeze with resolution when Henry is confident and advancing. While Henry fights he views his mechanical behavior with a kind of confused bewilderment. His legs control him, he is forced to act as they react. Sometimes he is a puppet pulled by invisible strings; he neither understands the orders given him by his officers nor fully understands the battle action that follows. Henry views his sensations with a curious detachment. He watches his legs and we watch Henry. This dual approach of Crane's is condemned by some critics, since playing God one moment and the naive observer the next, is a trick. It is the trick, however, of a skillful craftsman, not a beginning writer, and it is well handled in The Red Badge of Courage.

Contradiction and apparent paradoxes punctuate and dominate The Red Badge of Courage. Besides the passages

that alternate between poetic exposition and terse dialogue, Crane's comparisons alternate from romantic demons and supernatural animals of the past to Christian religious images and machine images of the contemporary scene. The enemy changes from a tobacco chewing rustic, not too unlike Henry, to a fire-breathing dragon or a wounded animal that thrashes about on the battlefield with convulsions, shudders, and anguished cries.² Henry's legs are responsible for his behavior on the battlefield, but then he tries to rationalize his desertion in battle. Another time Henry becomes "a knight" immediately after he has fought like "a pagan." The "loud soldier" is another contradiction; he is transformed from a loud, brash individual into a humble, unpretentious man after one battle. Unobserved in one battle, Wilson accomplishes what Henry does not manage in the novel after pages of struggling. Further, there is a contradiction in nature. By turns, she is hostile and soothing, aggressive and indifferent. Her involvement is noninvolvement; nature is emphasized only as Fleming interprets her reactions, illustrated

²The imagery used in descriptions of Henry's regiment eventually reaches this same intensity. The new recruit straight from the farm is viewed as "a pestered animal, a well-meaning cow worried by dogs," "a proverbial chicken," "a rabbit," "lamblike." The group is described in much the same way. "They must be machines of steel" and once veterans "They could all develop teeth and claws." After fighting is over "They were become men again."

by her cheerful repose no matter what is going on in battle. At times the army seems to fight nature: "This advance upon Nature was too calm . . . he did not relish the landscape. It threatened him," and the new recruits fire into the trees before they ever see the other army. At other times, Nature comforts Henry and offers a place to hide. The sun, Nature's most consistent representative because of its repeated use, shines blithely on the scene, indifferent to man's struggles. The sun's indifference is particularly emphasized in the six chapters that close by focusing attention on the sun.³ Paradox is thus visible in the attitudes that go from despair to hope, in observations which vary from dream to fact, and in illusions pin-pricked by reality.

Related as it is to the attitudes developed by contradiction and paradox, irony plays a major part in the novel. Verbal irony is incorporated through Crane's use of overstatement and understatement. "Once a certain tall soldier developed virtues and went resolutely to wash a shirt." It takes neither "virtues" nor resolution to wash a dirty shirt. The "reliable friend" had been told a tale by "a truthful cavalryman" who had been told by "his trustworthy brother" and all were passing along a rumor. Structural irony is visible

³Each of the chapters that ends in a note of emotional tension is "climaxed by an unusual or portentous image referring to the appearance of the sun and the sky" (109:168).

when Henry becomes a hero through cowardice; he runs and receives "the red badge of courage" when he is hit with a rifle butt, after he gets in another coward's way. The act of courage becomes as empty and meaningless as the rest of the romantic philosophy which nurtured Henry. He is exposed and ridiculed when he achieves the glorified position of hero through lying, retreat, cowardice, confusion, pride, animosity, berserk fury, and blind chance.

Crane's first novel is not unlike The Red Badge of Courage; it employs similar techniques and stylistic devices that are well used in The Red Badge of Courage but which have their inception in that first novel. When Maggie: A Girl of the Streets was first written, Crane was only nineteen and his experience in the Bowery was limited.⁴ This naturalistic novel, which deals with the effects of environment on the innocent, was written mainly from imagination just as The Red Badge of Courage was. Although Crane had explored the Bowery and spent hours as a spectator, most of his experience with "Bowery jays" and streetwalkers took place after the story was written. His writing process thus parallels that which he used in the construction of The Red

⁴He spent some time in the railroad station and in the police courts when he should have been in class at Syracuse, but he did not walk the streets or stand in soup lines until he was older.

Badge of Courage, since, although Crane had read about war and had heard about war from the veterans, he'd never seen war or visited its site until after the war novel was completed. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that all of Maggie derived from imagination since one characteristic of the novel is its realistic dialect, and this faithful transcription of the language would require experience with the spoken language.⁵

The "realness" of Maggie varies with the judgment of the critic. A contemporary says the girl grew from Crane's talks with a chambermaid who cleaned Crane's quarters (138:3-4). Berryman suggests that Crane wrote out the "unconscious aggressions" he had toward his mother, while Stallman discredits the idea since Crane's mother died preceding the second draft and not the first draft of Maggie.⁶

⁵Berryman (12:34) suggests that an article in the Herald on January 4, 1892, entitled "Youse Want 'Petey,' Youse Do" may be an article by Crane since it is about a "blokje wat's called 'Petey'" the same name as Maggie's boyfriend and the language resembles that developed in the Bowery novel.

⁶There is some controversy about the date of the novel's beginning, as there is with most of Crane's work. Berryman (12:32) believes that Maggie was written just before Christmas in 1891. Stallman states that the draft written "in two days before Christmas" was the second draft and not the first. He cites as proof Willis Johnson's statement that he saw the manuscript in the "summer of 1891." This earlier date is verified by Peaslee, Vosburgh, McHarg and Noxon who state that Crane was working on it in

But not all biographical references can be dismissed as readily as Stallman would have them. Maggie Johnson, Henry Fleming, and George Kelcey are all left fatherless from an early age, much as Stephen Crane was himself. These characters are projections of Crane. He frequently wrote himself "into" his stories and his journalism.⁷ Maggie and George, for example, are unable to find solace or help in the religion of their environment; Crane, a minister's son, rejected the religion of his parents and wrote verse that is considered blasphemous by some readers whose pieties parallel those which Crane was rejecting in the verse.⁸

early 1891 while he lived at the Delta Upsilon house (138:5). Because of the numerous accounts of various people who state there was a manuscript before December of 1891 and Crane's usual confusion about dates of events, I am using the earlier date as the beginning of Maggie.

⁷Crane frequently used a character as a projection of himself. He was "the quiet man" in the Sullivan County Sketches, "the youthful stranger with the blond and innocent hair" in a Bachelor dispatch, he was Richardson in "Horses--One Dash!" and was both "the 'Frisco Kid'" and "the New York Kid" in "The Five White Mice." Although the pattern was established early, Crane wrote himself into most of his work.

⁸Hoffman discusses at length Crane's religious revolt, particularly in The Black Riders, his first collection of verse. After Maggie and George's Mother, Crane became less and less naturalistic. "Eventually he was able to allow heroes some self-determined action. The earliest poems are more of a rejection of his mother's God of Vengeance" than his father's God of Love." One example is XIX. A god in wrath/Was beating a man:/ He cuffed him loudly/
With thunderous blows/ That rang and rolled over the earth./

The characters were all living or had lived in an area that Crane was familiar with. Both Crane and his characters are of the same age. Considered together, these parallels make it seem possible that Maggie, George, and Henry may be Crane's directly writing out his own story and from his own feelings of guilt for rejecting the religion and tradition of his time.

There are essential differences between the figures of Henry Fleming and Maggie, however. Maggie is not the universal figure that Fleming is. She is too innocent, too passive and too pitiful. Jimmie, Maggie's brother, is a more believable character. Maggie is seduced by society rather than her bartender boyfriend since she never understands or recognizes the forces that degrade and destroy her, while Henry is always vaguely aware of the hollowness and bombast of his former ideas. Henry knows he has been duped. Maggie never suspects. Reared in an environment in which fighting is wrong only because a fighter might tear his clothes, Maggie never sees the world as it is. Knocked around physically by her family, she clings to the first figure she sees. Maggie is unable to view anything objectively since she, too, has been nurtured on the romantic

All people came running./ The people cried,/ "Ah, what a wicked man!"/ And--/ "Ah, what a redoubtable god!" (103: 43-99).

tradition--as Henry Fleming and Stephen Crane had been. Her thoughts and visions of Pete, the bartender-tough, reflect her roseate view.

He was a knight.

Pete's aristocratic person looked as if it might soil.

Maggie perceived that here was the ideal man. Her dim thoughts were often searching for far-away lands where the little hills sing together in the morning. Under the trees of her dream gardens there had always walked a lover.

Pete is that "lover" and the "far-away lands" are the burlesque, the theater, and the barroom entertainment. The "golden glitter" of the places where Pete takes her during the "courtship" seem more real than the life around her. In this sense Maggie is "not fit to survive in the world of animal drives or true human passions" (92:76). Maggie is a character out of a contemporary melodrama filled with orphans, seductions, and cruel parents.

But Maggie is not a contemporary melodrama because it does not employ the typical writing style. In Maggie, Crane began to experiment with characterization that is accomplished by an adjective or two. Most of the major characters in The Red Badge of Courage are drawn by a short phrase or one word which figures, in brief, his outstanding feature--"the youth," "the loud soldier," "the tall soldier," "the tattered soldier." In Maggie, this condensation is not accomplished, although Crane attempts it by calling the

prostitute Nell, "the woman of brilliance and audacity"; her escort is "the mere boy"; Jimmie and Pete are both characterized by "the chronic sneer of an ideal manhood." Incidental characters leave vivid impressions when Crane simplifies them to "a moustache, a chrysanthemum, and a look of ennui," or to "a ragged being with shifting, blood-shot eyes and grimy hands." This compression, this tendency to focus on an outstanding feature of a character is a trademark of Crane's work. Not well-read and not a disciple of formal writing, Crane did not feel obligated to follow established traditions in literature. He did not strive for photographic realism, instead he selected the "salient" feature of a character, presented it and through repetition he convinced the reader that that is the important feature.

Another difference between the novels stands out in the employment of color. Maggie is not the multi-colored canvas of The Red Badge of Courage. The color in Maggie is limited mainly to grays, blacks, yellows, and reds. In Maggie, colors exist as conventional decoration; The Red Badge of Courage employs color to reflect Henry's subjective reactions, and color becomes a necessary part in the novel's construction. Henry saw war as "crimson blotches on the pages of the past," and he directly visualizes war as pageantry which he is a part of; Crane through profuse

use of color gives a background that is as colorful in its presentation as war was in Henry's imagination. In fact, to Henry, war has the shape of color. But in Maggie there is neither "a crimson roar" nor the threat of a "red badge." Maggie suggests the colors that are to follow, however, for red and yellow, two formidable colors in The Red Badge of Courage, are generally used in connection with the main combatant, Maggie's mother.

The rough yellow of her face and neck flared suddenly crimson.

The fervent red of her face turned almost to purple.

Her bare red arms were thrown out above her head in an attitude of exhaustion, something, mayhap, like that of a sated villain.

The color in the novel has a limited significance aside from its decorative qualities: a red nose, veins in the face, and the yellow associated with jaundice aggravated by drinking, show that Maggie's mother is a drunkard.

Although color is not as profuse or as vivid in Maggie, already there are "flame-colored fists," "lurid altercation," and "various shades of yellow discontent," which develop into more skillfully employed figures in The Red Badge of Courage where color is inseparable from the hero's perception: "yellow fog lay wallowing on the tree-tops," "shaking in black rage," and "the vast blue demonstration." Thus the color in Maggie is startling and too

obvious while in The Red Badge of Courage the frequency with which the same color appears in a similar situation and its symbolical usage make it an integral part of the romantic exposition.

A subject such as innocence seduced and destroyed runs the risk of being either maudlin or sentimental; the tradition of Crane's age called for such treatment.⁹ Maggie

⁹Beer (9:vi) discusses the pruderies in literature pointing out that it was a "daring writer in the nineties . . . brazen enough to commit to paper a cryptic 'w----,' when he spoke of a whore. Certainly Kipling could write about "horizontal women and locomotor ataxia," but no American should (9:153). A best seller of the decade was Trilby, serialized in 1893 in Harper's and published in 1895. Although the book held some "agnosticism, an unhappy ending and some harlotry to boot," American women clamored after the book, wore scarfpins of Trilby's foot in silver and gold, and everything was named after DuMaurier's "marsh-mallow goddess" (9:28-29). By examining Trilby, a reader can see why Crane's Maggie did not meet popular tastes.

A modern teller of tales, most widely (and most justly) popular, tells us of heroes and heroines who, like Lord Byron's corsair, were linked with one virtue and a thousand crimes. And so dexterously does he weave his story that the young person may read it and learn nothing but good.

My poor heroine was the converse of these engaging criminals; she had all the virtues but one; but the virtue she lacked . . . was of such a kind that I have found it impossible so to tell her history as to make it quite fit and proper reading for the ubiquitous young person so dear to us all.

. . . whatever my other literary shortcomings might be, I at least had never penned a line which a pure-minded young British mother might not read aloud to her

never becomes either, because the point of view employed in the novel as well as Crane's attitude toward his subject save it from those complaints. The point of view is a combination of the omniscient author and the subjective view of Maggie. The reader sees Pete as a dandy caricatured by Crane:

His hair was curled down over his forehead in an oiled bang. His pugged nose seemed to revolt from contact with a bristling moustache of short, wire-like hairs. His blue double-breasted coat, edged with black braid, was buttoned close to a red puff tie, and his patent leather shoes looked like weapons.

and at the same time the reader sees Maggie's rose-colored view. This duality of vision saves Crane from moralizing or even from value judgments, even though the evidence is obviously stacked by Crane. Jimmie also exemplifies this combination. He has slept with and then abandoned a lady or two, but at the same time he has the capacity to say "wonderingly and quite reverently, 'Deh moon looks like hell, don't it?'"

little blue-eyed babe as it lies sucking its little bottle in its little bassinet (87:51-52).

The novel continues for four more paragraphs discussing the "highly improper languages [Latin and Greek] deservedly dead." To protect the "young person" who might pry into the pages "when her mother is looking another way" Du-Maurier finally reveals the virtue lacking in Trilby--in Latin. "Quia multum Amavit!" It is little wonder that Gilder, who was running a magazine to meet popular tastes, thought that Maggie was too "cruel" (137:13).

This double view produces much of the irony that pervades the book. The "very little boy" who is defending the "honour of Rum Alley" is the first example of Crane's irony. There is no "honour" in Rum Alley where doorways give up babies "to the street and the gutter," and mothers scream their daughters out of the house and then wonder why they leave, where a brother resents a sister's seduction and then searches his mind for a friend of his who might have a sister. There is irony in the clergy's appearance in the novel; they neither understand the slum world nor strive to do anything other than point out that its citizens are damned, a fact of which they are probably aware--lacking food enough, education, or even a "way out." The novel begins and ends in irony. After helping drive Maggie into the streets, Mary Johnson holds her dead daughter's baby shoes in her hand and with tears scalding her face, she "forgives her."

Maggie is not of the length of The Red Badge of Courage, but it does show similarities of construction. Maggie's degradation is telescoped into a few pages. Through the use of vivid pictures of Maggie on the street soliciting, Crane makes her progression downward through society until only the river is left, seem as if it is one long trip on the street. Each man who rejects Maggie is seen as morally

more degenerate. She herself begins as a flower that "blossomed in a mud puddle," she ends in the river.

Yet Crane does not delineate in detail the transitions that occur as she becomes less and less a flower. Instead he uses miniatures that are hooked together only by the appearance of a different Maggie each time. At the end of the novel her name is "Mary," which links her to her mother, and as she approaches the river she is simply "the girl." She is not left with even a proper noun because she really is not the same girl any more.

The Red Badge of Courage on the other hand, expands experience, at the same time that Crane retains the technique of linking vivid episodes together largely by mood alone. The battle takes only two days; the flash-back and Henry's mental probing fill in the rest of the background and exposition. There are few transitions. The Red Badge of Courage is carried along with the fury of passion and turbulent emotions. The lurid scenes are connected by the repetition of similar and consistent imagery and color. Crane is not an ordinary realist in this sense. His vivid scenes do not incorporate the use of accurate physical description of man or nature. He chose only those materials that furthered the mood he wished to establish. His better work becomes more sparse and selective as he refines this tendency.

All of the types of imagery of The Red Badge of Courage are visible in the slum novel, although they are not as well handled in the latter. Crane mixes his animal metaphors with his ship similes, some sections becoming grotesque and absurd in the process. The slum scene with Jimmie, Billie, and Pete in the fight illustrates this strange mixture.

He (Jimmie) snarled like a wild animal. . . . The glare of a panther came into Pete's eyes. . . . They bristled like three roosters. . . . In a small, tossing group, the three men edged for positions like frigates contemplating battle . . . the bravery of bulldogs sat upon the faces of the men . . . with the quickness of a cat . . . fighting with the face of a sacrificial priest.

Although the postures of the figures are animated, the writing is immature, uncontrolled, and when compared to The Red Badge of Courage it is not as metaphorically adept. The enemy in the Civil War novel is consistently a supernatural force or a demon about to devour the army. The new recruits fresh from the farm are domestic animals in metaphor and simile. They become machines and monsters by the time that they are seasoned soldiers. The scriptural allusions are more plentiful in Maggie, and all of them are of a negative sort, perhaps an indication of the degree to which Crane had rejected religion at this point. The characters who have Biblical significance or reference are infamous in Maggie. The gnarled old woman from the tenement "could don at will an expression of great virtue" and she had a "collection

of 'God Bless yeh's' pitched in assorted keys of fervency." The mission church housed a man who "composed his sermon of 'you's'" and his hearers answered his "You are damned" with "Where's our soup?"--showing how poor communications were. The congregation confused the speaker with Christ when the sermon was over. A holy man "saved his respectability by a vigorous side-step" when Maggie accosted him since he could not "risk it to save a soul."¹⁰ The conventional and unrealistic religion is replaced by and contrasted with the monsters, demons, gamins, and machines which are in a sense a combination of the old and the new religions.

A combination of supernatural demons and scriptural allusions is a contradiction, representing two opposites--Christian religion and demonolatry. Contradiction or counter-expectation is a trait of Crane's work. As early as Maggie, Crane was experimenting with the contradictory effect which is so important in his later work in, for example, the oxymoronic figure from "The Open Boat"--"cold comfortable seawater." His odd phrasing and involved sentences cause the reader to stop and reread since Crane's comments are frequently both arresting and ambiguous.

¹⁰Linson records a touch of irony in Crane's life. Crane had sent several copies of Maggie to "some preachers who were maniacs for reform--not a word from one of 'em" (110:23)

During that time his sneer became chronic. He studied human nature in the gutter, and found it no worse than he thought he had reason to believe it.

Again he wondered vaguely if some of the women of his acquaintance had brothers. Nevertheless, his mind did not for an instant confuse himself with those brothers nor his sister with theirs.

Part of this tendency toward ambiguity may be the self-conscious cleverness of a beginning writer since Crane later abandoned and repudiated the "clever school." The contradictory effect may be an example of a young writer in revolt against conventions of the established traditions. Eventually the contradictory effect is refined into ambiguity which broadens and deepens his fiction.

Crane's early writing is sometimes characterized by strange adjectives which combine the shock of the impossible, the incongruous, and the general inversion of ideas. Sometimes the word combinations in Maggie are the product of a nineteen-year-old writer, sometimes the product of a writer who wanted to break away from the staleness of tradition and to see new truths--which required a new language.

She stopped in a career from a seething stove. . . .

She dragged him to an unholy sink

An old faded quilt of faded red-and-green grandeur

. . . said wonderingly and quite reverently, "Deh moon looks like hell, don't it?"

An odour of grasping, begrimed hands and munching mouths pervaded all.

These qualities of Crane's writings appear in The Red Badge of Courage, but by that time his colors are more vivid because the scope of the story calls for intense color, while Maggie's tone is best drawn in grays. Crane translated the sounds and smells into color and made them palpable. He was not limited to the conventional idea that colors are seen not heard; he wished to tell how war "felt" and what better way than through using all the sensations. Henry is one vast nerve ending, while Maggie is devoid of feeling.

For all of the detail and welter of color and pictures in Crane's writing, he avoids being specific. Maggie is an unpleasant picture of some previously unstated truths; Crane does not offer a cure; no hope is suggested. Time after time Crane will make a comparison and then with one word, qualify the entire statement so the reader does not know what attitude is reflected.

As the last distressing sentiment of the piece was brought forth, it was greeted by the kind of applause which rings as sincere.

Unmistakable bad men evinced an apparently sincere admiration for virtue.

Viewing it, they hugged themselves in ecstatic pity of their imagined or real condition.

"Sure, Mike," responded his companion in tones of conviction.

This quality of not being specific disappears in his later work unless it is a part of the irony.

The style Crane uses in Maggie is basically the same as the style used in The Red Badge of Courage. One's subject is civil war and the other's is The Civil War. The characters in the earlier work are types, depersonalized and driven by animal instinct. The conversation, by its grim repetitive vacuity, echoes the language of the street. Colors are a minor part of the slum novel being neither as widely used nor as complex in their usage, they are seldom used symbolically as in the war novel. Point of view in Maggie allows the reader to see the force of environment without moralizing by Crane, and the reader is never allowed behind the scenes; point of view in The Red Badge of Courage adds breadth and depth since the reader is both inside and outside Fleming. Imagery is basically the same in both novels, but the mixed metaphors in Maggie show the imagery to be more elementary and less well handled. Contradictory effects, odd phrasing, and strange adjectives are discernible in both books.

After Crane wrote the Civil War novel in 1894, he went to historical battlefields to study the terrain; in 1897 he went to Greece and Cuba to test his real sensations against the imaginary ones he had drawn in The Red Badge of Courage three years earlier. This pattern of first writing and then testing was established with Maggie, since the earliest draft was in 1891 although it was not completed

until 1893. Even as late as 1897, Crane was still visiting the Tenderloin and the "row" in Jacksonville to see prostitutes and perhaps to "test" his vision of Maggie. Crane wrote about the civil war in the Bowery and then he went to the Bowery with his preconceived ideas of what he would see. Crane worked and reworked his conception of indifferent nature, man's struggling role and man's inadequacies. He put himself into positions similar to those of his fictional characters, who bear startling relationships to himself, and then he "watched his legs" to see how they would react.

Crane became a New York reporter in 1891. He had abandoned school and formal education for experience. While others were in classes he preferred the railroad station and the police courts. "Hully gee." The Bowery was the most interesting place around (12:29). Crane preferred life in the streets to life in the classroom and a newspaper hack had to be in the street.¹¹ Part of the Crane apprenticeship which accounts for the achievement of

¹¹Once when Crane returned from a Bowery ramble with a black eye he had acquired when he got in the way of a bottle being hurled across the room, Miss Trent was shocked and demanded that Crane not go near the place again. They quarreled. Crane's explanation was that not only was the place interesting, but also he intended to write a book about it someday--a sincere one which no one else had yet done (12:29).

The Red Badge of Courage can be understood by viewing his journalism of this first period.

When Crane became a free lance reporter for the New York Tribune in the nineties, this ultra-conservative paper was written "in terms calculated to keep alight the fires of true Republicanism in the reader's breast" and its "partizanship was not confined to the editorial page." The Tribune's news policy had been modernized since the Civil War, and "human interest" stories were included in its pages; interviews were written in a more interpretive fashion; the straight factual style of reporting was relaxed enough to allow a little humor to slip into stories (4:218). However, even with the modernization of the Tribune's writing policy, Crane's career in journalism seemed ill-fated from the first. As long as he wrote under the auspices of Townley, his experienced brother who was termed the "sea-shore fiend" because of his interest in shore news, Crane's work included long lists of names with flat statements about incidents and visits.

A subscription hop was given at Buckingham last Saturday evening.

Robert Dun Douglass, of Orange, is a guest at the Avon Inn.

A. Dumas Watkins, of the biological department of Princeton College, has been spending a few weeks here.

Miss Eleanor T. Morrison, of Plainfield, is a guest at the Sylvan Lodge. She is one of the cleverest of Mme. Albert's pupils in Delsarte expression (59:4).

But as soon as he was off on his own career and without supervision, he "neglected names, addresses, political affiliations, the amenities of journalism" and he wrote about what appealed to him and how it struck him (12:33). When a newspaper is interested in fanning the flames of Republicanism, it does not keep a reporter who criticizes Asbury Park's manufacturers even in ironic tones. Neither does it allow an interviewee to be described as a "rural soup tureen," and editors were kept busy crossing out Crane's peculiar sense of humor and wry observations that appeared in his reporting (12:33).

Not all of Crane's early journalism was unacceptable; some of it pleased the celebrities being interviewed and amused the Tribune's readers.¹² Although written on conventional newspaper topics, the journalism is readily identifiable through the characteristic Crane wording and imagery. The great bulk of it deals with the vacationers on the coast,

¹²An early interview of Hamlin Garland in the summer of 1888 or 1889, when Crane was working for Townley Crane, began a friendship which was long and profitable for Crane. Pleased with the report of his lecture, Garland judged the article "The Local Novelists" as "exceedingly well done." It was this two week acquaintanceship that prompted Crane to send Garland a copy of that yellow-colored book, Maggie, a year or two later. Garland sent the book to William Dean Howells and Crane became their protege (14:118).

but there is an article that deals with the Bowery, directly linking the early fiction and late fiction of the period.

Images of war and civil war, Crane's undisputed predominant theme, appear in several news articles prior to The Red Badge of Courage and Maggie, Crane began writing Maggie before he went to the Tribune and he was revising Maggie during his employment and after. It is not too surprising that he used a theme that he had employed previously, since he saw the Bowery as a world at war and the slum novel was in the back of his mind at the time of his Tribune employment.

"Travels in New York," although not representative of the journalism of the early period, is one of the best links between the fiction of Maggie, the Sullivan County Sketches, and The Red Badge of Courage. Two vans are moving down a narrow street. The tone is established through the fierceness of "the red driver" who furiously blew a whistle "till an imaginative person could see slivers flying from it," who "slapped the horse's lines," then "pounded on his red dash board," until the red light "quakes." He "pounded his red dash board till the metal was dented in and the car-hook was bent." The "green driver" who is following him becomes enraged. It is only then that the red van loses a wheel and blocks the street. For no apparent reason both drivers are furious as soon as they appear. Previously enraged, the men now shout and swear at each other. The war is the same

war being waged in Maggie. Not content to just gaze passively, the on-lookers are at war also.

As she stepped up on the sidewalk a barber from a ten-cent shop said "Ah! there!" and she answered "smarty!" with withering scorn and went down a side street.

The men who plan the repair verbally fight each other and threaten to fight on-lookers physically, "Go lose yourself with the nut," and "Git out, 'fore we t'row you out." Another on-looker chews gum with "an earnest, almost fierce, motion of the jaw." The van men searched the street for a lost nut, while "elevated trains thundered overhead and made the street tremble." A horse kicks the front of the van. A truck load of scrap iron knocks against the partially repaired van and it falls again. A fight is imminent, but a policeman "made the truckman give over his warlike movement" and the crowd is then disgusted with the policeman. Strife pervades the entire sketch. Men, women, children, animals, machines, and the law are in the fray. Nothing happens to warrant the discord. The violence that is exhibited had been under the surface waiting to emerge since the hostility was present before the wheel fell off, and the wheel has no direct bearing on the on-lookers, anyway. Man is antagonistic and warlike toward man, animal toward man, man toward animal, man toward his own law; potentially, violence is everywhere. Crane saw and reported in the newspaper the

social world as a world at war. This is the same world as in the slum novels, and the battles in The Red Badge of Courage are specialized extensions of that view.

The article written about the Bowery need not have been dependent on the war imagery; another comparison could have been substituted without impairing the construction of the article. It need not have been used precisely the military and warlike comparisons it did. The particular language resulted from Crane's deliberately chosen view of the Bowery, and the language either consciously or unconsciously is the result of an interest in war that dated from childhood, and from Crane's attitude toward the city as "one that destroys and does not create." Here is the violence of the news event translated into fiction in Maggie:

He became a truck driver. . . . He invaded the turmoil and tumble of the downtown streets, and learned to breathe maledictory defiance at the police, who occasionally used to climb up, drag him from his perch, and punch him . . . he entered terrifically into the quarrel that was raging to and fro among the drivers on their high seats, and sometimes roared oaths and violently got himself arrested.

Jimmie is harassed by policemen and other drivers and even pedestrians. His truck goes by the same restaurants and taverns as those that appear in the news account. Another comparable feature is Pete's incoherent repetitive monologue when he describes his prowess, and his encounter with another jay in the Bowery:

"I met a chump deh odder day way up in deh city," he said. "I was goin' teh see a frien' of mine. When I was a-crossin' deh street deh chump runned plumped inteh me, and den he turns aroun' an' says, 'Yer insolent' ruffin!' he says, like dat. 'Oh gee!' I says 'oh gee! git off d' eart'!' I says like dat. See? 'Git off d' eart'!' like dat. Den deh blokier he got wild. He says I was a contempt'ble scoun'el, er somethin' like dat, an' he says I was doom' teh everlastin' pe'dition, er somethin' like dat. 'Gee!' I says, 'gee! Yer joshin' me,' I says. 'Yer joshin' me.' An' den I slugged 'im. See?"

Crane relies very little on such flavorful dialect, which is so difficult to read. The van drivers engage in one conversation which resembles Pete's comments particularly in the inane flavor that arises from repetition.

"The nut is off," said the captain of the wrecked van. "Yes," said the first mate, "the nut is off." "Hah," said the captain of the other van, "the nut is off." "Yer right," said his first mate, "the nut is off." The driver of the red car came up, hot and irritated.

But he had regained his reason. "The nut is off," he said. The drivers of the green and of the blue car came along. "The nut," they said in chorus, "is off." In the relatively short space of nine sentences, Crane manages to say in many ways that the nut is off. The statement is not a new one since that is why the wheel came off in the first place. The incident reflects the confusion of the situation as each man echoes the obvious. The fact that one person says it before his assistant is not particularly significant except that it is the Pete monologue with many parts and participants. The passage is absurd rather than monotonous since

the sentence construction changes each time. The realistic and ironic verbal vacuity of Maggie is echoed in the newspaper article for purposes of humor. It adds flavor to the article, and it presents the confusion of the men who are just standing around.

Another point of comparison is the lack of names in the van article. The first "w" of journalism is who, but Crane avoids names and calls his van drivers "the red driver," "the green driver," or "the blue driver." Crane suggested this development in Maggie when he labeled some characters "the mere boy" or "a forlorn woman." Crane employs a striking example of characterization in a few words in the van article. While the searchers swear "polite but profane expressions," they are observed by "a strange man, an unknown man and an outsider" who swears harder than any of them and whose trousers are held up by a trunk-strap. The "trunk-strap man" is periodically cursed off the street, but he appears again and again in the short article, and Crane uses the trunk-strap label in different forms each time the man staggers out of one store and into another. On one trip from the restaurant to the liquor store, he almost steps on a little boy carrying a pitcher of beer "so big that he had to set it down and rest every half block." The beer carrying boy is faintly reminiscent of Jimmie, Maggie's brother. This combination of characters from Maggie and characterization

close to The Red Badge of Courage in its simplicity and pared quality show both a reworking of material and an improvement in stylistic devices, which led to greater accomplishment.

The characterization in his news article is pared, but the action is frequently drawn out to great lengths. The search for the missing bolt is interminable, and Crane skillfully shows this elongated incident using repetition and description, only slightly altering the details. In contrast to the short, concise sentences of The Red Badge of Courage, several sentences are long and involved. Below is an example of one sentence which is typical of the long ones that appear in the van article.

The van gave a mighty lurch and then swayed and rolled and rocked and stopped; the red driver applied his break with a jerk and his horses turned out to keep from being crushed between car and van; the other drivers applied their brakes with a jerk and their horses turned out; the two cliff-dwelling men on the shelf half-way up the front of the stranded van began to shout loudly to their brother cliff-dwellers on the forward van; a girl, six years old, with a pail of beer crossed under the red car horses' neck; a boy, eight years old, mounted the red car with the sporting extras of the evening papers; a girl, ten years old, went in front of the van horses with two pails of beer, an unclassified boy poked his finger in the black grease in the hub of the right-hand hind van wheel and began to print his name on the red landscape on the van's side; a boy with a little head and big ears examined the white rings on the martingales of the van leaders with a view of stealing them in the confusion; a sixteen-year-old girl without any hat and with a roll of half-finished vest crossed the front platform of the green car.

Nowhere in Crane's fiction will a reader find a sentence to match those available in his journalism of the first period. There are several explanations that account for this fact. The humor, particularly that of the tall tale variety, visible in the early newspaper work, would not suit the purposes of the naturalistic novel. Crane was a taker-outer not a putter-inner; in revising his work for later publication he invariably removed; he did not add to or supplement (93:iii-iv). His novels had a single purpose and his methods were directed toward that end. The humor that exists in the novels is there for furthering characterization or for pointing up incongruity, but it is not there solely for entertainment as such. This is not to say that there is no place for humor in any of Crane's writing because his irony and situations are amusing, but his fictional humor is not the obviously robust, burlesque humor that was acceptable in the journalism of the time.¹³ Crane was ever an experimenter,

¹³Mark Twain, Bret Harte, and Ambrose Bierce were frequent contributors to newspaper humor. Crane's contact with the newsroom and the newspaper would have undoubtedly exposed him to their popular style. Many comments by these humorists were used whenever the papers needed to fill a space. Not everyone approved of their wide usage. Stedman (126:31) criticized,

The whole country, owing to contagion of our American newspaper "exchange" system, is flooded, deluged, swamped, beneath a muddy tide of slang, vulgarity,

and although he used journalism to test his writing skills, his journalism is not a simple reworking of his fiction nor vice versa. In the case of Maggie and the journalism, both journalism and fiction developed simultaneously even though Maggie was begun first.

Another point of comparison between the journalism and fiction of the period lies in their use of similar imagery. Ship imagery that appears in both the novels previously discussed is echoed by the verbs used to describe the movements of the vans, they "pitch," "toss," "rock," "roll," and "plunge" down the street. The van men talk "as if Jim were up at the sharp end of the mainmast" and act as if "the leader was on the deck." Similarly, some one rings a bell "like a demon." The demonic religion, too, is echoed when someone whoops "harder than the worst personal devil encountered by the sternest of Scotch Presbyterians."

Not only is the imagery similar, the peculiar combination of contradictory words, a major Crane characteristic, is visible in "officiously profane," "impossible landscape," "a man inside wearing a diamond like an arch-light," and "language was plain and scandalous."

inartistic [sic] bathers, impertinence, and buffoonery that is not wit.

No staid critic could halt the wave of popularity, and more writers adopted or adapted their styles.

When his special wording, imagery, and characterization are added to his ability to make a major situation out of an incident, Crane's journalism comprises whimsical reading. He wandered the Bowery and he wrote about what inspired him. There are stories about Crane's making trips to the bars and soup kitchens just to watch. Once he sported a black eye that he received when he got in the way during a brawl; later on in Cuba his curiosity annoyed Richard Harding Davis and army officers when he stood up and exposed himself, with the explanation that he wanted to see better and what can you see while you are on your belly (108:202).

The news articles are whimsical in their approach and subject matter. The humor that is only suggested in the van article is much more obvious in his seashore columns. In this respect the van article is more closely related to the early fiction or to the second stage journalism than it is to the early journalism.¹⁴ To gain a proper perspective of the early journalism, it is necessary to examine the articles that seem more typical of the time. While they

¹⁴Crane considered some of his Bowery sketches and his studies of the Tenderloin some of his best work. He had plans to incorporate the sketches into a series to be called Midnight Sketches (137:135).

are not as close to the fiction in subject matter as the articles I have discussed, they do have the irony, the "cleverness" and some of the other techniques that he used in later work.

One technique and one attitude more than any others stand out in the articles. Crane might have developed into a humorous writer if the humor he used early were really nothing but "funny." The tendency toward funniness took two forms--he was familiar with Bierce, Twain, Harte, and other newspaper humorists and he quickly developed a facility with words much like theirs, but the subjects he wrote about were injustices and religious incongruities--hardly funny topics.¹⁵ Crane's humor began as a tendency toward smart hyperbole; it developed into verbosity (evidenced in the van article), and it ranges from burlesque to mimicry and from exaggeration to understatement and then to irony. It is impossible to read the newspaper articles without being aware of the grim irony which pervaded Maggie and was to pervade The Red Badge of Courage.

A rebel early and late, Crane manifests his revolt in the thread of irony that is woven through all of his work. Revolt couched in irony is not the reaction of a

¹⁵Not all of the humor in Bierce's writing is necessarily funny either. He earned the title of "Bitter Bierce" because of his attitude. Some of his ghoulish short stories place him in the "graveyard school" of writing.

truly detached observer; rather it is an intellectual outlet for emotional discontent. Further, what Crane chooses to view ironically is helpful to understanding the man. Although his irony is subjective in origin, it does not meddle with facts and adjust their interrelationships to provide contrasts. He simply points up the matter, indicates the incongruities, and delineates the situation. Crane's attitudes toward government, gods, God, and lesser authorities can be examined through the subjects and situations he chose to discuss ironically in the newspapers. In Maggie he views "the honour of Rum Alley" and most of its citizens ironically. He does not point up a solution; indeed the pathos of the situation is in the fact there is no solution. "See? Yeh've eeder got t'g on d'toif er go t' work!" Maggie did not have a choice but neither did the others. "Self-indulgent, brutal, self-pitying, none of these people can help each other." (12:60). The Red Badge of Courage handles the theme of courage ironically, and the main character is written with ironic contradictions. One of the most memorable characters in Crane's newspaper lineup is the owner of the resort on the Board Walk, who is found in an article called "On the Board Walk."

He likes to edit signs and have them tacked up around. There is probably no man in the world that can beat "Founder" Bradley in writing signs. His work has an air of philosophic thought about it which is very

taking to any one of a literary turn of mind. He usually starts off with an abstract truth, an axiom, not foreign not irrelevant, but bearing somewhat upon a hidden meaning in the sign . . . "Keep off the grass," or something of this sort. . . . He may devote four lines to telling the public what happened in 1869 and draw from that a one-line lesson as to what they may not do at that moment (58:Part II,22).

One wonders how close Crane could come to libel in the newspaper. He finishes his rather caustic commentary on "Founder Bradley" with a comment that puts Bradley's real estate in a position comparable to that owned by God.

"Founder" Bradley has lots of sport with his ocean front and boardwalk. It amuses him and he likes it. It warms his heart to see the thousands of people trampling over his boards, helter-skeltering in his sand and diving into that ocean of the Lord's which is adjacent to the beach of James A. Bradley (58: Part II,22).

Another characteristic of Crane's humor, one that is reflected as irony in much of his fiction, is his irreverent attitude toward authority, God, and things held sacred by the genteel nineties. Using exaggeration, he amuses the reader with his observations about people in the resort towns. Each of the following selections is about a different personage.

Of course the frankfurter man is prevalent. He is too ordinary to need more than mere mention. With his series of quick motions, consisting of the grab at the roll, the stab at the sausage and the deft little dab of mustard, he appears at all hours (48:24).

There is a sleight-of-hand Italian, with a courageous mustache and a clever nose . . . so the mustache takes a vain curve and the exhibition continues (48:24).

He, or she, wore orange stockings, with a bunch of muscle in the calf. The rest of his, or her apparel was a chromatic delirium of red, black, green, pink, blue, yellow, purple, white, and other shades and colors not known. . . . The grin of the successful midnight assassin and the smile of the coquette were commingled upon it (48:24).

Her ball dress is evidently cut lower in the neck than her bathing suit, which makes her look like a doll with a bronze head on a porcelain body (58:Part II,22).

These descriptions exemplify two major characteristics of Crane's writing and characterization in fiction. He can and does in a few words typify the outstanding feature of a character, and thus he manages to caricature most of the people he writes about.

A detailed description of all of the other characteristics of the Crane style is not necessary. It suffices to say that rudimentary Crane imagery appears in the earliest articles; "the pickets or skirmishers" that die like "explosions of toy torpedoes" need only to be humanized and moved to the city scene to belong in Crane's fiction (103:146-147). The newspaper article which contains this imagery is one of Crane's earliest newspaper articles "Great Bugs in Onondaga," written in 1891. Crane did not just see non-military people and things as part of some vast war. When he wrote The Red Badge of Courage, he did not use these typical war terms, instead he compared the soldiers to children, babes, and working men who were a part of the

civilian world he had been observing. When he wrote of civilians he used military comparisons and he reversed the process when he wrote of soldiers.

He was grimy and dripping like a laborer in a foundry.

He coaxed in schoolmistress fashion, as to a congregation of boys with primers.

For a moment he felt in the face of his great trial like a babe, and the flesh over his heart seemed very thin.

Each of these examples is from The Red Badge of Courage, but they illustrate that Crane used his previous experience in the civilian world and observations of his nieces and nephews in his comparisons. The man on the street became a part of his fiction just as the psychology of the football field became the psychology of the battlefield. In newspaper writing he drew upon all of these same areas. In a sports article of a later period, Crane reported a football story in warlike terms. The irony of paragraphs which deal with authority echoes the revolt of his fiction and poetry. Conflict and endless strife are present in all of Crane's work. The individual's clash with his social group, the battle between ideals and reality, the religious dilemma and Biblical wording all indicate that Crane was refining, reworking, and controlling his style and subject which would become The Red Badge of Courage.

Another step toward the accomplishment that is The Red Badge of Courage was the writing of the Sullivan County

Sketches. Every summer between 1891 and 1896 was spent tramping the woods around Port Jervis. Although most of the sketches are short, anti-climatic, and have the form of a joke, they involve the combat and civil strife of Maggie (which was now in second draft form), and they herald the antagonism of nature which is exemplified in the undergrowth that harasses Henry Fleming in The Red Badge of Courage. The sketches are described in such terms as "fantasy, impressionism, or grotesque." Fantasy because the figures are unreal, the hermit laugh was "either the chatter of a banshee in a storm or the rattle of pebbles in a tin box," and the hermit is called by the four men "A vampire," "A ghoul," "A Druid before the sacrifice," and "The shade of an Aztec witch doctor." Impressionism is evidenced in "Unseen animals scrambled and flopped among the weeds and sticks. Weird features masqueraded awfully in robes of shadow" and "The little man saw swirling fur over his gun barrel. . . . The splash of red, now dim, threw a faint, timid beam of a kindred shade on the snow." "They were experiments in form and style. But the method finally evolved through the writing of these tales became basic for everything Crane was to produce thereafter" (132:20). The sketches reverse the pattern of writing established in Maggie since Crane had been making these trips with his

chronies both before and after the stories were created.¹⁶

The method that evolved had been in a formative stage before. Crane's use of color here closely resembles his usage in the van article, which was published before the Sullivan County Sketches. The characters are not named although they have real life counterparts; instead of names, they are called by the sobriquets "the little man," "the quiet man," and "the pudgy man." In the earliest drafts of Maggie, the characters do not have names or real life counterparts. Mary Johnson, Maggie, Pete, and Jimmie began as abstractions. The animism of Maggie is present in "a tall, gaunt relic of a pine that stood like a yellow warrior," "the sun had sunk down . . . and was peering at them like the face of an angry man over a hedge," and "a mass of angry, red coals glowered and hated the world." Though the color is now neither the decorative color of the van article nor the colors of Maggie, there are 139 adjectives denoting color in the Sullivan County Sketches used to establish mood and suggest vivid pictures, which make it closer to The Red Badge of Courage than any of the works that have gone before,

¹⁶Crane enjoyed several trips to Sullivan County during the summers of his short life. In May of 1892, he left Will and Cornelia Crane's; accompanied by Louis Senger and his brother and Frederic Lawrence, Crane spent several days in the wilderness. Back at Lakeview, he wrote the Sullivan County Sketches before he went to work with Townley at the coast (12:37).

closer because the color cannot be removed without disrupting the tone. Greater in number as well as in shades and variety, they dominate the sketches (132:15).

The individual began to curse in deep maudlin tones.

He ended a red oration with a roar.

"He's a sperrit," said the slate-colored man in a voice of somber hue.

In the sketches, the battle imagery is more excessive than it was in Maggie, for in Maggie the military language has more justification than it does in the sketches. Violence between strangers in a city can be justified more readily than can the seething atmosphere between "the friends" in the forest. Not all of the fighting is between the friends, however. The battles in the sketches are between nature and man, animal and man, man and woman, and even Nature is at odds with something.

Under their hands the clammy floor seemed alive and writhing. When the little man endeavored to stand erect the ceiling forced him down. Knobs and points came out and punched him.

The little man crouched in a distant corner. The bear advanced, creeping, his blood burning, his hair erect, his jowls dripping.

"Villain!" shrieked the giantess. The little man felt the winding fingers crush the flesh and bone of his arm. The giantess began to roar like a dragon. She bent over and braced herself. Then her iron arms forced the little man to his knees.

He could see nothing at first save the pine trees, engaged in a furious combat, tossing back and forth and struggling.

Besides the imagery that is standard in the early Crane work by this time, the Sullivan County Sketches introduce a new theme. Death, and ghostly images appear for the first time in the sketches.

A ghost like mist came and hung upon the waters. The pond became a graveyard. The gray tree trunks and dark logs turned to monuments and crypts. Fireflies were wisp-light dancing over graves, and then, taking regular shapes, appeared like brass nails in crude caskets.

This kind of imagery is far more sustained than it had been in the early slum novel which he was writing at the same time. When Crane began writing the Civil War novel he used the monster, dragon, and demon images almost consistently in the book.

The central character is "the little man" whose major characteristic is egotism. Some of his acts^{are} prompted by this egotism. Yet he seldom acts directly, being acted upon by circumstances, natural events, or chance--as Maggie and Henry are victims of some plan they do not comprehend. "The little man" is a victim of circumstances in the fly-paper episode; he just happens to be the next stranger the "giantess" sees after her children have eaten the gooey stuff. Delirium tremens save him in "Octopush"; no amount of cursing, threats, or talk move the guide from his stump until it becomes "alive." He is saved in the cave because he doesn't have money to call the hermit's hand in the poker game. "The tall man" and "the quiet man" are

"superfluous baggage" in the sketches because Crane "had not yet learned to condense." They are present in the sketches but they play no important part (132:18).

Scriptural imagery which was present in Maggie and later in The Red Badge of Courage is present in a different form in the Sullivan County Sketches. The Bible training, which was such an important part of Crane's family background, takes a strange form. The wording and sentence structure carry pseudo-religious tones that blend with the mysterious poker games and delirium tremens.

"Cursed be fate and her children and her children's children! We are everlastingly lost! "It will rain forty days and forty nights"

In the beginning, the baffled waters had retreated into a forest.

Crane's minister father might have been a little shocked if he had known the effect his sermons and training had had on his son. Crane must have been conscious of the Old Testament referant and of the irreverent subject matter.

Taken separately, the sketches are grim humorous pictures of "the little man" under stress. In construction they use the same method as Maggie and The Red Badge of Courage. They exemplify Crane's purpose in writing and they are the first published examples.¹⁷ The sketches

¹⁷". . . a novel to my mind, should be a succession of . . . clear, strong, sharply-outlined pictures which pass

are a series of pictures that follow the activities and adventures of four men haunting the woods. They could readily be put together to form a short novel, not unlike The Red Badge of Courage in its construction. The same mood is sustained in all, the imagery is consistent, and the episodes illustrate "the little man's" reaction to fear and the unknown.

The Tribune accepted some of the sketches and published them in the summer of 1892.¹⁸ The stories marked the beginning of Crane's fiction in published form and the end, at least for a time, of his newspaper career. Crane had worked all summer for the paper but one day when his brother Townley was fishing, the event to be written up in the column was the American Day parade by the New Jersey councils of the Junior Order of United American Mechanics. Crane, using the theme of social and economic injustices that he was then working out in Maggie, wrote with a frankly bitter, ironic, and stark style that was not acceptable

before the reader like a panorama, leaving each its definite impression."

¹⁸"Four Men in a Cave," "The Octopush," "A Ghoul's Accountant," "The Black Dog," and "Killing His Bear" were published in the Tribune beginning on July 3, 1892, and on succeeding Sundays. "A Tent in Agony" was published in The Cosmopolitan Magazine for December and was the first article Crane had published in the big monthlies.

to a conservative Republican newspaper. He termed the men "the most awkward, ungainly, uncut and uncarved procession that ever raised clouds of dust on sun-beaten streets." Labor, too, was insulted; it did not understand that Crane was characterizing the union men, and that he was criticizing the forces that subjugated the "spraddle-legged men of the middle class." The real object of Crane's irony is Asbury Park that "creates nothing. It does not make; it merely amuses. . . ." The "bona fide Asbury parker is a man to whom a dollar, when held close to his eye, often shuts out any impression . . . that other people possess rights," and the "Asbury Parkers" were "vaguely amused" by the parade of ill-clothed, bent workmen (60:22). Most of the readers were puzzled since irony was not an ordinary treatment of a subject in the papers of the time. Labor protested, not understanding that Crane was in sympathy with the bent workmen, and Crane was fired.

The termination of his Tribune career was not altogether a loss. He had found a job that allowed him a certain amount of freedom and he was able to do that which he enjoyed--write. Without a job, Crane now had the time he needed to finish the final draft of Maggie; he had time to browse through magazines and dabble in pot-boilers for possible newspaper publication. He had time to further work out the slum and social problems which confronted him in

New York. But after Maggie was conceived, polished, and published, Crane was not able to shake the slum world from his mind. He decided to deal with a single situation, rather than the whole problem as in Maggie, in a short novel called George's Mother.

George's Mother was begun in 1893 and completed late in 1894 after The Red Badge of Courage. It reuses the tenement area of Maggie and some of the specific characters. Maggie even lives upstairs and from time to time passes George Kelcey in the hallway. Pete asks George directions to the Johnson apartment. Billie Blue offers to fight George on one occasion.¹⁹ But, the plot line in the new novel involves a reversal. Maggie is driven to destruction by her mother and circumstances; while it is George who is responsible for the destruction in the second slum novel, and Mrs. Kelcey as the mother is as innocent and naive as Maggie, the daughter, had been.

Mrs. Kelcey and George are as dreamy and sentimental as Henry and Maggie. She sees her drunken irresolute son as

¹⁹George's Mother is one of the first examples of fictional reworkings or additions to something that Crane had finished. This practice of returning to old themes became almost habitual with Crane. Henry Fleming appears in the Whilomville Stories and is killed in a barn fire in "The Veteran," a story written long after The Red Badge of Courage. Tommie, Maggie's little brother is brought back to life in some short sketches written in the second period. "The Monster" uses the Trescotts who are also important in the Whilomville series.

"a white and looming king among men"; while George dreams "of the indefinite woman and the fragrance of roses that comes from her hair."

In compensation for failure to find his dream girl and in an attempt to lose his mother, George turns to drink. Drink, which causes George to lose his perspective and then his job, is a dominant theme in the novel.

In the distance an enormous brewery towered over the other buildings. . . . The little old woman looked at the brewery. It vaguely interested her, for a moment, as a stupendous affair, a machine of mighty strength.

Drinking and the brewery are a "mighty strength." They become George's religion and the "smiling saloon" is his chapel. Only under the influence of alcohol can George find the friends he needs, escape the mother who has sacrificed for him, and feel as important and as "capable of heroisms" as his mother dreams he is. Mrs. Kelcey is an active member of the church, but her first idol is George. The conflict that arises because of this incongruity--George worships drink and Mrs. Kelcey worships^a conventional God--is furthered by the emphasis on time that is so important in the novel. George lives for the moment, and Crane takes care to point this out constantly; he does not remember "the night before" long after "the next morning." The taste of a "wooden spoon" being sucked on fades as readily as the "iron clamp" headache. Mrs. Kelcey is interested in

"eternity," not the moment,^{as} evidenced by her frequent glances at the clock. George, too, observes the clock and time but he is invariably late or interested in the next moment. Her spare time is spent in the church while George is at a tavern.

Although there is repetition of style and subject matter, George's Mother has never been as widely read or discussed as either Maggie or The Red Badge of Courage. But George's Mother is extremely significant for this paper because so many biographical parallels exist between Stephen and George as well as between Mrs. Crane and Mrs. Kelcey.

George like Stephen is the last of several children, some of whom have names that are Crane's brothers' names-- Fred, John, Willie, and Tom. George, like Crane, was fatherless at an early age. Both Crane and his fictional counterpart are failures; neither meets the standards established by his father. Crane's father was a minister who was widely respected for his goodness, gentility, and exemplary actions; George's mother is admonished to "Bring him up to be the man his father was." But George develops all the qualities which his father did not have; he drank, cursed, smoked, played cards, and frequented sidewalks when fights were a common occurrence. Similarly, Crane spent hours in saloons; he played poker, smoked continuously, cursed vigorously and walked the streets with degenerates of all kinds. George and

Crane are unable to win a lady's attention.²⁰ Neither held a job for long. Each was loved idolatrously by his mother.

The real mother, Mrs. Crane, and the fictional mother, Mrs. Kelcey, have more in common than an all encompassing love. Mrs. Kelcey was an active member of her church and of the W.C.T.U. and lectured around the countryside as did Crane's mother. Even their religious faith has commonality. Mrs. Crane expressed fear that her last child might be "slipping from grace," and she worried about "eternal damnation" (12:14). Mrs. Kelcey's faith similarly emphasized the damnation. The one time George attended church with her the "speech had no effect on Kelcey, excepting to prove to him again that he was damned." It is an old uncle of Mrs. Kelcey's who wrote "God bless the boy!" and instructed her on George's upbringing; Mrs. Crane had a family background filled with uncles. The Reverend George

²⁰Crane fell disastrously in love with Miss Helen Trent, an older woman, in 1891. He had met her at Avon and followed her to New York to continue the acquaintance. Shocked by a black eye he had accidentally received from a hurled bottle in a Bowery saloon, she admonished him to stay out of the Bowery. When Crane became obviously serious about her, Miss Trent refused to see him. Soon after that she told him of her coming marriage. "He gasped, putting his hands to his face and left" (12:30). His next love was as unsuccessful; her name was Lily Brandon Munroe and she was unhappily married to someone else. This love, too, was largely one-sided. In a letter of March, 1894, Crane wrote ". . . you are to me the only woman in life. I am doomed, I suppose, to a lonely existence of futile dreams. . . . Good bye, beloved" (137:33).

Peck was termed "a father of ministers," having left two sons, two nephews, and one daughter in the ministry (103:55-56). Mrs. Kelcey is associated with the clock in fiction even though her eyes were on eternity. She worries about the next minute when it is George who should be worrying. Time is running out for George but he does not think about it. Crane's mother is associated with time and eternity in Crane's mind. Crane metaphorically described her in this connection "She spoke as slowly as a big clock ticks"(12:13).

Mrs. Kelcey pampers and worries about George; she hovers over her last born, protecting him from sin and ill-health. Mrs. Crane favored Stephen because he was "unexpected and frail and final" (12:9). This care does not become too protective. Mrs. Kelcey sees George as heroic and she wants him to be a knight. Mrs. Crane encouraged bravery in Stephen. Once she held him on a horse and made him ride when he was only three or four and terrified (12:9).²¹ Mrs. Kelcey is as direct a counterpart of Mrs. Crane as George is of Stephen.

²¹Berryman (12:9,321) discusses how Mrs. Crane held Stephen on a white horse which he remembered as a "savag beast." At the age of four he had recurrent, terrifying dreams of black riders "charging up at him from the surf." Berryman discusses the horse at length as a sex symbol since it is a symbol that reappears frequently in Crane's writing.

The biographical similarities evidenced in all three novels illustrate Crane's increasing awareness of himself as his main character. The main figures are all fatherless, about Crane's age, and nurtured in the same religious environment. Maggie, Crane's first mask, is innocent, a helpless victim of her surroundings, who has no choice and for whom there is no escape. Driven to sin by her mother, Maggie has no recourse but to destroy herself. Henry, the second mask, constitutes a transitional figure. He goes to war because of newspaper stories and a desire to be part of the pageantry. He abandons his mother and his family responsibilities. Not a free agent either, Henry is swept along with the regiment, advancing when they advance, fleeing when they run, carried along either way with movements and orders he never understands. He "sins" knowingly by abandoning his mother, his regiment, and "the tattered soldier." When Henry "atones" and returns, only Henry knows of his "transgressions." Henry is partially responsible and thus partially guilty. The second mask is a male figure who is therefore closer to Crane's personal figure. George more closely represents Crane than either Maggie or Henry. George's background and actions more directly parallel Crane's guilt and Crane's actions. He lies, drinks, loses his job, and fails to meet any family expectation. Because the similarities exist--fatherlessness, religious training,

parental conflict, age, and guilt for failure to meet expectations--and because they become more pronounced with each novel, I believe Crane wrote out his family situation and his own guilt. In so doing he was able to assess his behavior, to confess his inadequacies and failure, and he was thus able to partially free himself.

But just as George's Mother provided mental freedom, The Red Badge of Courage provided physical and financial freedom that allowed him money enough to eat regularly without charity from his family and friends and it gave him the opportunity to test the truth of his war novel. The Red Badge of Courage established Crane in American literature. Syndicates and magazine editors as well as publishers clamored after his work. He now had the name that would take him to the West, to any war and to a country that would appreciate him.

But fame did not bring satisfaction. He thought he could do better than any of his first three novels, and he still felt obligated to test their validity in vision. His "cometlike" rise to fame made his personal life public knowledge. The vindictive Tribune which had not forgiven or forgotten the J.O.U.A.M. parade story kept his name and his picaresque adventure before the public constantly.²² He

²²Frequently Crane's name was associated with women of dubious reputation. Doris Watts, a woman of many aliases,

was now compelled to live up to his reputation whether he wanted to or not. The yellow papers of the nineties exploited his fame and his name; Crane's life was no longer his own. Crane was accused of drinking, debauching, taking dope, whoring, and most other forms of degenerate living. He haunted the Bowery, he frequented taverns; he knew and wrote about dope and prostitutes. By having his name associated with disreputable places and people, he courted notoriety. Crane never disputed the gossip. As an adolescent in Asbury Park, he rebelled against the moralism of his family and community; as an adult in New York he continued the rebellious pattern of his youth. When Hearst and Pulitzer hired him as correspondent in 1897, they hired the infamy as well as the man. The big "I" in his news stories was prompted by and required by his name in the by-lines and the headlines.

Crane burned out the rest of his life searching "for the right woman; the right way of life, endurable relations with his celebrity. . . ." (17:45). Added to his desire for truth, his struggle to control his art, and his

apparently blackmailed Crane. In any case, she received various "loans" from him over a period of time. After Doris Watts came Dora Clark, a twenty year old with a police record. The Times and World thought her a victim of a corrupt police force. Crane met her when she stopped to talk to a girl he was escorting. The police charged her with soliciting, and all three were taken to court. It seems possible that the episode was a Journal stunt because the stories were generally anti-police. The Tribune used the story in a way that smeared Crane's personally (17:49-50).

quest for the right vehicle for his ideas, Crane's load was not light in 1896 when The Red Badge of Courage caused an explosion in England's literary circles and swept back across the ocean to the United States.

The Red Badge of Courage was Crane's working out of the "crimson blotches on the pages of the past." But he was unable to rid himself of it. Its fame over-shadowed his life, and all his writing after it was eclipsed by its acclaim. The Red Badge of Courage forced him into two wars and dominated his life. Its immature and uncontrolled style obscured by its sheer force, even in part for Crane and certainly for his contemporary readers as well as for us, his more important achievements that were to follow.

CHAPTER II

A BLUE FUTURE: THE BACHELLER SYNDICATE AND THE WEST, 1894-1897

Crane was just twenty-five when he boarded the Commodore on New Year's Day in 1897. With seven hundred dollars, Bacheller's correspondent had signed on the filibustering tug running guns and ammunition to Cuba and had planned to send stories to the syndicate, but the episode looked strangely like a publicity stunt. Filibustering was a lucrative business--besides providing adventure, an outlet for over-zealous patriots and material for newspapers. Ships laden with arms sailed to Cuba with amazing frequency and uncertain security.¹ The day ^{the} Commodore left

¹These trips were not without danger. The Virginus filibustering off the coast in Jamaica in October of 1873 was captured by a Spanish gunboat. Despite a crew and passenger list of Anglo-Saxon names, Captain Fry, an American citizen, with fifty-two others were lined up and shot as pirates before a British man-of-war intervened (119:14-15). Although this grim incident was well remembered even as late as 1895, filibustering was still in progress. In August a ship was detained and its officers tried under neutrality statutes. Their acquittal and "the spirit in which the case was conducted--the temper of the press and the public, the address of the counsel, the wild hurrahs in the court and on the streets . . . an acquittal would equally have followed much stronger evidence (119:33). Many cases followed in the next three years until the war. The cases prompted some caution, but even by 1897 when Crane sailed as a correspondent under the disguise of signing on as part of the crew, the public applauded the adventures and the accounts were widely read.

port on her "secret mission," the New York Press announced in headlines her cargo and her destination (17:54). After becoming stuck in the mud twice on her way to sea, the tug finally got underway. When only two days out, the Commodore developed a leak. Disorganization or sabotage may have accounted for the water that flooded her engine room; her pumps quit working, and the tug sank at dawn on January 2.

"Stephen Crane's Own Story" made the front page of the New York Press, January 7. It told in clear narrative style about the Commodore's sinking; it lauded the bravery of Captain Edward Murphy and William Higgins; and it minimized Crane's part in the terrifying drama. The news story did not elaborate on the hours spent in a ten-foot dinghy, but it promised that more was to come of the episode.

The history of life in an open boat for thirty hours would no doubt be instructive for the young, but none is to be told here and now (138:265).

Crane was already planning to turn the experience into a story which would allow more than a factual accounting of the experience. Seldom altering the facts or sequence of events, Crane then wrote "The Open Boat, A Tale Intended to Be After the Fact: Being the Experience of Four Men From the Sunk Steamer Commodore." The differences between the newspaper account and the fictional account are tremendous. They are the differences that separate Crane from the ranks

of hack writers. The entire event is filled with significance. Each fact has been "charged with meaning" and patterned into an over-all plan. Details are converted into symbols and "their sequence forms a designed whole possessing a life of its own" (138:210-211). Crane wrote a nearly perfect short story, one which established his reputation as a symbolic artist.

"The Open Boat" was sold to Scribner's Magazine by Irwin Bacheller for three hundred dollars. It appeared in June of 1897 and a year later in The Open Boat and Other Stories. Admired by Crane's friends particularly, "The Open Boat" was evaluated by H. G. Wells (145:666) as "beyond all question, the crown of all his work." Joseph Conrad said "the deep and simple humanity of its presentation seems somehow to illustrate the essentials of life itself, like a symbolic tale." The story has been widely anthologized since its first appearance, and editors have prefaced the story with comments about its biographical significance since Crane had spent hours on the open sea and since he was a correspondent. His name was first linked with the "naturalism" of Zola and the "realism" of Howells and Garland. Yet the story is not great because of its strict adherence to the facts; indeed there are indications that Crane did not present all of the facts. To commit the biographical fallacy and assume that Crane is

the correspondent of the story ignores a major part of the tale. The grim naturalism of the correspondent opposes the heroic figure of the oiler. If the actuality of the story and its biographical significance are emphasized, the oiler's death and the ambiguity of the ending lose their importance. It is through this expression of hope that fate and an indifferent universe can best be met by battling, even though man is puny and doomed, that "The Open Boat" rises above mere factual reporting and becomes instead a symbolic tale with moral implications.

"The Open Boat" is the second major writing accomplishment of Crane's life. But again the theme, structure, style and attitude were manifested before "The Open Boat" was begun. In this way Crane's second writing period is similar to his first--he practiced his irony, style, and themes in features for Bachelier's Syndicate as he had done in the Tribune articles of the first period. Yet there are certain factors which distinguish this period from the first. Crane had established his reputation by writing the Civil War novel, and the public demanded that he continue and better his work. Employment during his second period meant that regular newspaper features outnumbered his fictional work and left him little time for polishing the fiction he began. Lastly, Crane's best fictional works in his second period--"Men in the Storm," "Horses--One Dash!" and "The

"Open Boat" reversed his established method of writing since all were written following the experience which they describe.

There is no sharp break between Stephen Crane's writing periods which this thesis delineates, because some of the writing was not finished immediately after it was begun. Even if the work was finished, locating a publisher sometimes took months. This fact results in some overlap in the periods.² After Crane was fired by the Tribune, he finished two slum novels and The Red Badge of Courage, but at the same time, he was trying to sell some short pieces which he had written during the winter of 1892 and the spring of 1893. The "baby sketches," together with "The Face of Youth," and "The Reluctant Voyager" are all products of this period. Although Crane wrote steadily, he could not find a market for his work. Furthermore, editors did not forget the JUCOAM parade story and the embarrassment it had caused the Tribune, and even with Howells and Garland as literary sponsors, it was April 22, 1894, before Crane was

²For instance, George's Mother was begun in 1893, finished in 1894, but it was not published until 1896. Another book which causes some confusion is Last Words. Although it was published posthumously in 1902, it does not contain many "last words." Edited by Cora Crane, it includes several of Crane's earlier stories including "The Reluctant Voyager" that has a first printing date of February 11 and 18, 1900, and was written in 1893; and "The Face of Youth," written during this same year.

able to sell anything to a newspaper.³ When the break came, it was through Garland, who helped get Crane a commission from the Wilson Newspaper Syndicate.⁴ They printed on

³Berryman erroneously states that "no periodical publication of Crane's is reported indeed for this whole year, 1893" (12:67). Contra Berryman's assertion in Stephen Crane, a story entitled "Why did the Young Clerk Swear" is listed in Williams and Starrett's bibliography. Published in Truth, on March 18, 1893, it is printed again in Last Words. There is a strong possibility that other stories were published, too, since in the Columbia University Libraries publication, there are thirteen published writings of Crane which are not listed in the Williams and Starrett and some are not dated (8:57).

⁴Garland's interest in Crane probably stemmed from something besides just enthusiasm for a new writer. In the late eighties and nineties Garland is described as "a radical in literature and politics" (1:69). After a trip to the West, he expressed bitterness and indignation with the social structure that allowed the conditions he had observed. "Why have these stern facts never been put into our literature as they have been used in Russia and in England? Why has this land no storytellers like those who have made Massachusetts and New Hampshire illustrious" (1:71). Garland began to write about this unheralded land, and from 1889 until his death he published selections in Harper's Weekly, American, Arena and other well known publications. When he met Crane in 1891, Garland was impressed with Crane's accuracy. Later when Crane sent a copy of Maggie, Garland encouraged him and forwarded his slum novel to Howells, who had sponsored Garland when he first began to write. Garland's friendship with B. O. Flower, the editor of the Arena, helped Crane establish himself again. The Arena in the 1890's was one of the few publications that encouraged "young radical writers" (1:76). The slums of time were growing worse as the century drew to a close; Arena's editor himself wrote a series of editorials and articles showing how people were "victimized by social conditions or adverse fate" (1:77). In November, 1891, Flower wrote an article called, "Cancer Spots in Metropolitan Life."

On one night last February, one hundred and twenty-four destitute homeless men begged for shelter in the cells;

April 22, 1894, the flop house story, "An Experiment in Misery," which Garland had encouraged him to write (138:8). The New York Press commissioned him to do a series of Bowery articles which are of concern if we are to understand the second period of Crane's development.

The two articles which he produced for the Press are "An Experiment in Misery," a journalistic piece, and "The Men in the Storm," a fictional piece. There is not

of this number sixty-eight were native born Americans. The station was so crowded, that in one cell, eight by nine and a half feet, fourteen men passed the night, some standing a part of the night, while others lay packed like sardines. . . . An old man, cold, homeless, destitute, not knowing where to lay his head, was seen to take a shovel and deliberately break a window. . . . He was taken care of after he had broken the law. There is something radically wrong with social conditions which compel men who find every avenue from exposure and starvation closed, to become law-breakers in order to live (1:77).

Two factors which especially added to the misery in the slum areas were the low theaters and music halls, and the saloons--"the black plague of nineteenth century life," according to Flower--and the debate was waged in several contemporary newspapers and magazines. Crane's observation of the slums made him a likely writer for the climate of the time. The Bowery did not appeal to Garland. When the Arena editor wanted some first-hand accounts, Garland suggested Crane. There are many parallels in the Crane biography which are reminiscent of Garland's struggle for success. Just as Howells helped Garland, Garland with Howells' assistance helped Crane. Loaning money, introducing him, encouraging him when necessary, Garland was instrumental in many areas of Crane's achievement.

much to distinguish either article stylistically from the first period, but the two selections are characteristic of the second period in that Crane experienced both incidents before he wrote them. For the first time Crane went out and sought the experience before he described it. Crane stood in the breadline dressed as those bums were dressed; Crane slept in the flop house and shivered with its occupants. Just as writing from imagination typifies the first period, writing after the experience is the most prominent fictional method of Crane's second period. "The Men in the Storm" began Crane's new procedure; the same practice continues with "Horses--One Dash!" in the middle of the period; "The Open Boat" written in 1897 uses the same method and ends the period.

Neither "The Men in the Storm" nor "Horses--One Dash!" is recognized as a great story. They are like most of the fiction and journalism produced during the second period--second rate. His fiction used the subjects he had found earlier. It developed traces of the traditional sentimental handling; one story has a heroic rescue of three Southern soldiers by a belle and another suggests love at first sight between a spunky southern maid and a northern soldier. His stories use the style he had established in The Red Badge of Courage but the effort is not sustained or improved. His journalism, too, is generally

mediocre. His work in the New York Press consists of desultory free lance features, unusual neither in subject nor style. When Crane traveled for Bachelier, he began a series of articles that are padded, aimless, and seldom other than hack writing. During this second period, Crane was in danger of becoming just another journalist. He dabbled in dramatic criticism; he wrote about the silver exchange in Mexico, he used common southwestern folk themes. His Mexican articles do not show any real grasp of the customs or people; belabored sarcasm overcame his pungent irony; a scraggly mesquite or two decorate his descriptions, but he could have added those small bits of scenery to his work without traveling to the West since Twain, Harte, and Wister were available for easy reference. His materials ramble without focus. Back in New York, he returned to the slums for material since he was familiar with the area and there was a ready market for material on that colorful backdrop.

There is no dispute about the bulk of mediocre work-- in both The Little Regiment and comparable fiction pieces as well as the free lance journalism and syndicated features-- which fills most of the second period. Crane did return to the setting of Maggie, and he wrote articles and stories enlarging upon the subject. None of the pieces equal his first portrait in notoriety or length. However, meeting the public tastes and the publishers' requirements, they

did sell. The selections would generally pass on to oblivion were it not for Crane's change in attitude toward the material. Maggie was written in 1892 to show "that environment is a tremendous thing in the world and frequently shapes lives regardless" (137:14). With the experience provided by long cold winter nights in 1893-94 in the Bowery and closer contact with the slum's citizens, Crane's sympathy and understanding changed to "the root of Bowery life is a sort of cowardice . . . a lack of ambition or to willingly be knocked flat and accept the licking" (137:133). If he was "wrong" about the characters of the slum novel, maybe he was "wrong" in his other attitudes. With the presentation of "truth" as his guiding principle and objective, experience rather than imagination should be relied upon.⁵

Experience accompanied, and perhaps prompted, a new attitude toward his material. This best distinguishes Crane's second period. His journalism changed from casual undocumented features to travelogue reportage. His better fiction was inspired by some incident in his life, not based on imagination and reading as was his earlier fiction.

⁵"I always want to be unmistakable. . . . My chiefest desire was to write plainly and unmistakably, so that all men (and some women) might read and understand" (12:99).

His imaginative earlier fiction in some way seemed to solve part of his mental turmoil. By writing out his own story--with its progression from innocent Maggie to bewildered Henry and finally guilty George--Crane partially seemed to purge himself of the inner tensions and conflicts toward his family and religion. By admitting that he, under the George mask, was guilty and responsible (who knows of what exactly?), Crane was then free to deal with larger themes and, literally as well as figuratively, leave the scene of his "crime."

But there was no war on. Just where to go would have presented a problem to a young man thirsting for experience and an opportunity to test his vision of war. Crane needed to find something to replace the idols he had shattered when he dashed off those "lines" denying God. He needed to find some justification of an explanation for the social injustices he had discovered in New York and New Jersey. He needed to find a way to cope with Man's predicament as he saw it.

The closest thing to a war was the West in 1894. Crane lived during the time when the West still boasted of men who were men. From the time of Greeley's admonition to "Go west, young man" and even before then when the mythical woods were populated with Cooper's characters, the

frontier had held a rawness that would test a man. Crane's revered Garland had talked about the West and in 1894 Garland wrote to Crane telling him of an impending trip (138:36). In the letter Garland asked about the Civil War novel which McClure's had been considering for some time. Crane wrote back in dismay,

McClure was a Beast about the war-novel and that has been the thing that put me in one of the ditches. He kept it for six months until I was near mad. Oh, yes, he was going to use it, but--Finally I took it to Bacheller's. They used it in January in a shortened form (138:41).

Although Bacheller's Syndicate was still in a formative stage, they did buy The Red Badge of Courage. Pleased with Crane's promise, Bacheller suggested a western trip which Crane had dreamed of. Crane's employment by Bacheller began in the fall of 1894. Mutually satisfactory, the friendship was a warm one until Crane lost the Bacheller gold when the Commodore sank; Bacheller did not have more to spare, so Crane went over to Hearst and the promise of a hot war in Greece. That was a full year later. In January of 1895, Crane looked to the West and its citizens as a place to find a new philosophy, a new way of life, and the answer to the questions that plagued him about the meaning of the universe. Crane found men to admire in Nebraska in the winter of 1895; he found a new code--one which he did not entirely understand.⁶ For the first time in his

⁶In Nebraska one evening, Crane tried to stop a

fiction, man was able to depend for help and salvation upon something other than himself alone. Crane's fictional characters also found that they could sometimes meet the test of courage. The Crane mask does not disappear, but it takes a new form. Crane's first middle aged hero, Richardson, in "Horses--One Dash!" experiences in fiction what Crane experienced in life and both stand up admirably. Crane's "Kids" are similar to him even though their escapades do not parallel Crane's. The New York Kid resembles Crane because of his common background, the San Francisco Kid conjures up pictures of the "cowboy" Crane with his new spurs, his "brick side-walk" tan, and his Smith and Wesson revolver (137:86). Both are of Crane's physical description and age. The fraternity, which Henry Fleming never joins because he is only vaguely aware of its existence toward the end of The Red Badge of Courage, admits the correspondent in "The Open Boat." The Crane behind the mask has come a long way since Henry Fleming skulked behind the lines of battle. It is not by accident, fate, or battle-sleep that the correspondent becomes a part of the brotherhood. Where the three earlier masks have been

fight because a big man was beating a small man. Crane "offended a local custom" and was "cursed . . . fully" and fined. "I was a damned nuisance with my Eastern scruples. . . ." (12:99).

denied admission--Maggie because she was a blossom in a mud-
puddle and therefore not a part of her environment, Henry
because the initiation falls short since he acts by acci-
dent rather than conscious intention, and George because
he is neither worthy or interested in belonging to that
club--the next mask, the correspondent, actively partici-
pates in the ordeal and shows himself worthy. "The Open
Boat" is Crane's written affirmation of the desire to be-
long, his first indication that there is a possibility,
the statement that membership is a necessity for survival
as well as dignity, and the establishment of the rules for
joining. Crane's second period journalism and fiction com-
bine in a way that prove Crane was moving toward that affir-
mation from the time he began to participate actively in
the life he had been content just to view before. This
participation and the subsequent new view of himself and
the world make possible the achievement of "The Open Boat."

To begin with, it is strange that Crane subtitled
his story "A Tale Intended to be after the Fact" since
there are innumerable discrepancies to refute its accuracy.
The correspondent plays an insignificant part in the action
of the story, but in reality the real correspondent was a
much lauded hero in the action on the Commodore. The testi-
mony of the cook who occupied the same boat disputes Crane's
fictional words.

That newspaper feller was a nervy man. . . . He didn't seem to know what fear was. He was down on the ship's papers as an able seaman at \$20 a month. When we started out he insisted upon doing a seaman's work, and he did it well, too . . . he never quailed when he came on deck and saw the foaming and raging billows and knew that the vessel was sinking . . . when the boats were launched he was the last one, except Captain Murphy, to get in, and his nerve greatly encouraged all hands (138:245-246).

Further evidence that the story is not wholly true is found later in the same account that states there were five, not four, men in the boat. Crane probably suppressed this fifth member to minimize his own importance in the incident. The cook stated in the interview that Crane "really saved one of the sailors, as the man could not swim a stroke, and Crane had to keep him up by the aid of an oar." Facts were not of primary importance to Crane; he wanted to tell how it felt. Crane as a hero or the correspondent saving a life, would detract from the over-all design of the story. Minimizing his part in the event may be Crane's way of acknowledging to himself that he was a potential hero under some circumstances. He wanted the truth of the experience and he put down most of the facts, too. Crane's desire to write how it felt is recorded in a conversation overheard when he was reading the tale to the captain shortly after the rescue

Listen, Ed, I want to have this right, from your point of view. How does it sound so far?--

--You've got it, Steve--said the other man.--That is just how it happened, and how we felt. Read me some more of it.--(138:210).

Feelings of desperation and overwhelming fear pervade the story, just as Crane planned to write it. The movement of the boat as it meets each wave that sweeps upon the men, establishes the threat of the sea, even as Henry was threatened by battle. Every movement in the boat, every thought and action of each man is determined by Nature in the form of the sea. The men are of one mind, but the mind which is most thoroughly scrutinized is the correspondent's. Their helplessness is exemplified by that "thin little oar, and it seemed often ready to snap"; the four men had not "slept anytime worth mentioning for two days and two nights" and "in the excitement of clambering about the deck of a foundering ship they had also forgotten to eat heartily." The "waifs" are at the mercy of nature, which appears ferociously hostile. The savageness of nature calms when the sea is quiet, but even without the barbarous waves the "whiroo of a dark fin" and the "ominous slash of the wind," the men are reminded that they are intruders on the ocean.

The four men in the boat are as individualized and distinct as any Crane characters that have been written, but they are not caricatured or telescoped by a clever phrase. They are labeled by their occupations, and they become distinctive through their actions and conversation, both of which reinforce the name label. The injured captain

commands the small craft. When the other three are overconfidently discussing the "show," he laughs "in a way that expressed humor, contempt, tragedy, all in one," and then he is quick to add "soothing his children, 'we'll get ashore all right.'" Stoical, and serene, the captain "could never command a more ready and swiftly obedient crew than the motley three of the dinghy." The cook in his occupation of bailing, which is not far removed from his real occupation, was "deep in other scenes." His mind was on pie, ham sandwiches and at one time he looked almost "stove-like" clad in a "clumsy cork contrivance." Glibly optimistic, the cook contrasts greatly with Billie, the oiler. With quiet competence and dogmatic common sense, the oiler keeps things moving smoothly as a good oiler should. When the cook and correspondent rattle aimlessly in conversation, Billie punctuates their conversation with "We're not there yet." Each time there are directions given, it is Billie who responds to the command. Even though both the correspondent and oiler row, it is the oiler who is at the oars when a new direction is given or a decision is made. The captain's commands illustrate the numerous directions which Billie responds to.

"Keep'er a little more south, Billie," said he.

"Swing her head a little more north, Billie."

". . . shall I take her to sea again, Captain?"

"Yes, go ahead!" said the captain.

This oiler, by a series of quick miracles and fast and steady oarsmanship, turned the boat in the middle of the surf and took her safely to sea again.

"All right, Billie" said the captain "Back her in."

Just as it is Billie who obeys directions and guides the boat, so also it is he who suggests that they cannot make it in the rough surf, they decide to stay off shore all night. It is Billie who takes the boat in the next morning, and it is he who issues the warning and last words of advice for their safety.

"Now, boys, the next one will do for us sure," said the oiler. "Mind to jump clear of the boat."

It is the oiler's death that gives the last directions in the story. He is the most heroic man in the boat; he is the youngest and the most able. His drowning is the final irony. Despite his exemplary action and his solicitous concern for the other men in the boat, Billie dies. The indifferent universe which the correspondent has just discovered does not even recognize this Promethean performance. The oiler's death is not a complete loss because it is through his example that the correspondent finds salvation and hope through the brotherhood of man. Under Billie's influence, the correspondent has rowed his share. Although the swim in the surf is just a temporary reprieve from "the different and sinister hospitality of the grave," the

correspondent discovers that brotherhood compensates for hunger and loss of sleep, and that companionship provides some of the best experience in life. The hours in the dinghy and the death of the oiler allow the survivors to now be "interpreters."

The events are seen, reported, and interpreted by the correspondent. The other occupants are distinct personalities, but the newsman comes the closest to being a stereotype. With the cynical assurance accorded newsmen, the correspondent "wondered why he was there." At first he knows all of the answers.

"Houses of refuge don't have crews," said the correspondent. "As I understand it they are only places where clothes and grub are stored for the benefit of shipwrecked people. They don't carry crews."

It would seem that the correspondent knew more about the sea than the professional sailors. It is the worldly-wise correspondent who has cigars enough for the men to smoke when a cigar is perhaps the last thing they need. It is the bitter and experienced correspondent who felt "that he was the one man afloat on all the ocean." It is the hardened newsman who feels that it was "an abominable injustice to drown a man who had worked so hard, so hard." The correspondent learns the futility of self-love. All four men can survive only as each does his part whether it be in bailing, rowing, or giving directions. The cynical

correspondent comes to know that the "best experience of his life is the object lesson of humility and self-sacrifice, that in a cold and indifferent cosmos, illusions of friendly or hostile Nature notwithstanding, the best values are realized in humble human performance" (22:199).

It would be difficult to describe the subtle brotherhood of men that was here established on the seas . . . there was this comradeship, that the correspondent, for instance, who had been taught to be cynical of men, knew even at the time was the best experience of his life.

The correspondent changes from a cynical hack to a perceptive individual, who feels that he is able to act now as a translator because he has met the test of courage and has been equal to what is demanded. Since he is initiated into the brotherhood at sea, he is now part of the fraternity on the land.

"The Open Boat" is an initiation story. Although the correspondent is experienced, worldly, dogmatic, he joins the brotherhood of man and develops a new attitude toward nature. Just as Fleming had struggled toward manhood, the correspondent struggles toward a recognition that he is part of mankind and can only exist as he accepts the responsibilities which accompany being a part of that brotherhood. During the time in the open boat, the correspondent realizes that the tensions that he sees between nature and man are erroneously perceived. Nature is not hostile, she is flatly indifferent. It is when he comes to

this new realization that he then "can be an interpreter." Every man must face a universe that is unaware of his existence. Each man is doomed from the beginning. A sympathy for other strugglers and the courage to battle even though defeat is the only outcome then becomes the solution. Billie's death points up nature's indifference and the injustice of the universe, but it is because of his death that the correspondent willingly accepts initiation. The men in the boat have met the test of courage--for the time being. It is a temporary reprieve, however. Even as they stand on the beach, warmed by the "welcome of the land," the surf looks placid and lovely in the moonlight, but the sea is the same sea and just under its surface lies the same treachery as before.

Just as the sea is representative of an indifferent but potentially dangerous nature, the "tower standing with its back to the plight of ants," symbolizes Nature's indifference as well as Man's. The ocean does not care if they drown, and the only creation of man visible to them seems equally insouciant. Just as the correspondent had previously been unconcerned about "A soldier of the Legion," who lay dying in Algiers, some unknown builders who erected that light house lack interest in the four men at sea. Although most of Crane's work is nonsymbolic, "The Open Boat" employs the facts and description of an incident with such

clarity and preciseness that the symbols cannot be separated from the meaning of the story. Without adding details, decoration, or moralizing comment, Crane uses the objects, action, and people of an actual experience to tell his tale. The "thin little oar" illustrates how slim their chance of survival is. The captain swears at the ominous bird that tries to light on his head, but he can not "knock it away" as he might wish to because of rocking the boat. Their plight is made more desperate by the fact they can only tell the color of the sky by the changing color of the sea. Their complete isolation from land is reinforced by the figures of speech.

The craft pranced and reared and plunged like an animal. As each wave came, and she rose for it, she seemed like a horse making at a fence outrageously high.

The crest of each of these waves was a hill. . . .

The brown mats of seaweed that appeared from time to time were like islands, bits of earth.

Gulls are compared to "a covey of prairie chickens a thousand miles inland"; meanwhile the light house "precisely like the point of a pin" comes into view. The comparisons sustain and develop the fearful solitude. Symbols are strengthened by their repetition and minor variations. The dominant animal imagery which pervades so much of Crane's writing is never as well used. The farm animal comparisons emphasize the men's predicament because the sea is barren

of land and land animals, and the metaphors point up man's inadequacies in even viewing the ocean. Lacking the adaptability to live on water, man can only compare it to what he knows.

Many a man ought to have a bathtub larger than the boat which here rode upon the sea.

The seat in this boat was not unlike a seat upon a bucking bronco. . . . The craft pranced and reared and plunged like an animal.

. . . patches of brown seaweed that rolled over the waves with a movement like carpets on a line in a gale.

These comparisons point up man's frailties. The battle for life is more intense because man is out of his element.

Just as the imagery of "The Open Boat" is similar in subject to that imagery used in The Red Badge of Courage, so is the poetic usage of language an important part. Even as the words sound like the thing they represent--"the boat bounced," "the craft plopped," and "the spray slashed"--so do the sentences move as the boat moved through the water.

The horizon narrowed and widened, and dipped and rose.

These waves were most wrongfully and barbarously abrupt and tall, and each froth-top was a problem in small-boat navigation.

Then, after scornfully bumping a crest, she would slide and race and splash down a long incline, and arrive bobbing and nodding in front of the next menace.

There was a terrible grace in the movement of the waves, and they came in silence, save for the snarling of the crests.

Just as the individual "s" sounds hiss the threat, the

"whiroo" of the shark's black fin forces home the horror of the episode. The very repetition of the words furthers the hopelessness of the act represented by the words.

In the meantime the oiler and the correspondent rowed. And also they rowed. They sat together in the same seat, and each rowed an oar. Then the oiler took both oars; then the correspondent took both oars; then the oiler; then the correspondent. They rowed and they rowed.

"If I am going to be drowned--if I am going to be drowned--if I am going to be drowned, why, in the name of the seven mad gods who rule the sea, was I allowed to come thus far and contemplate sand and trees?"

The situation and the powerful use of poetic language would easily push the story into melodramatic pathos if it were not for that quality of ironic commentary which Crane intersperses.

Viewed from a balcony, the whole thing would doubtless have been weirdly picturesque.

Shipwrecks are apropos of nothing. If men could only train for them and have them occur when the men had reached pink condition, there would be less drowning at sea.

The irony even affords the reader a chance to smile when the correspondent indulges in some rather obvious self-pity, "'Just you drown me, now, and then hear what I call you!'" The irony is enforced when the correspondent discovers that there are no temples or rocks to throw at temples. Anger and threats are futile.

The ironic introspection is complemented by the dialogue of the story. Conversation provides a description

of the action on shore, making the reader wait just as eagerly as the occupants in the boat.

"What's he doing now?"

"He's standing still again. He's looking, I think.-- There he goes again--toward the house.--Now he's stopped again."

"Is he waving at us?"

"No, not now; he was, though."

"Look! There comes another man!"

"He's running."

Through the terse, tense commentary about the men on the land, Crane packs more feeling of desperation and urgency into a shorter space than any American writer before Hemingway. Indeed, the brevity enables Crane to charge the story with emotion without over-use of any writing device.

Just as the correspondent feels that it is a horrible injustice to see the land again and then be unable to go ashore, the reader is disturbed by the heroic oiler's death. The youngest, most deserving man on the boat dies without making the land although he was seen right after the boat capsized "ahead in the race. He was swimming strongly and rapidly." Only a minor victory is allotted the men since part of "the land's welcome . . . could only be the different and sinister hospitality of the grave."

The ambiguity of the story's close leaves some question about the men's lasting change. Perhaps change was a temporary conversion since the correspondent's first action on shore is that of one "schooled in the minor formulae"

and his first words are an inadequate "Thanks, old man." The self-promised change and the recently discovered sympathy for the almost forgotten "soldier of the Legion" may disappear when the correspondent's feet are on solid dry ground. Even if the change is lasting, mending "his conduct and his words" and being "better and brighter during an introduction or at tea" seem grossly inadequate. The ambiguity somehow seems more consistent for Crane than an unqualified affirmation. In Maggie, Crane wrote of how it seemed or what it might have looked like or perhaps this was the way, but he refused to be positive. Henry moves from self-delusion to "apparent" understanding, and then he retracks his steps. By the end of the battle, another battle--of critics--has ensued. In revising The Red Badge of Courage, Crane made Henry's conversion more vague, less specific. By the last page, Henry "beheld (and his eyes have played tricks on him before) that he was tiny but not inconsequent to the sun." Even the sun is slightly obscured by "hosts of leaden rain clouds" by the last line. What experience did for Crane, as the correspondent in the open boat, was to prove to him that for at least this once he could meet the challenge. There is no assurance that he can meet it again.

Whether the change that occurs during the ordeal in "The Open Boat" is temporary self-delusion or whether

it insures that the correspondent will profit from Billie's death, the tale is an optimistic addition to Crane's writing. Maggie held no hope and she drowned in "the deathly black hue of the river." Henry saw the possibilities in "a golden ray of sun." The correspondent not only sees a chance but he participates in that "subtle brotherhood of men that was established on the seas." With nature uncarving and ^{with} no bricks to throw at temples that do not exist man's only comfort is his companionship with other men and the hope that they will respond as the correspondent does now.

That hope did not mature in Crane as it did in his counter-part in the boat. His concern for his fellowmen is evidenced in the slum articles. Long before the Commodore sank and he had spent the thirty-six hours in that small open boat, Crane was moving toward an affirmation. From the time that he began to participate rather than observe, he moved steadily toward that affirmation. His progress can be charted by examining his writing that ^{the} second period produced before "The Open Boat."

The second period which this thesis delineates began with the publication of "An Experiment in Misery," on April 22, 1894, although the article was written in March of 1893 at about the same time as "The Men in the Storm." The two selections are considered together here not only

because of their concurrent dates of creation but also because of the similarity of subject and their related method of writing. Both were written following experience. For "An Experiment in Misery" Crane slept in a flophouse. An experience in a soup line prompted the creation of "The Men in the Storm." Another reason for considering the selections together is the fact that the short story is more polished, more controlled and metaphorically more adept and consistent than its newspaper counter-part. The polished controlled fiction and the padded, sometimes excessive, metaphor of the newspaper feature that were written in haste becomes a dominant pattern in Crane's writing. That writing which he did under pressure almost consistently falls below his fictional standards. Most of his better writing was completed at his leisure, sometimes months after the experience which prompted the story. "Men in the Storm," and its journalistic counter-part, "An Experiment in Misery," exemplify the discrepancies in the two methods. The newspaper piece was printed originally in an artificial frame, contrived to present background and meaning which the story was too weak to do adequately. The extended metaphor of death loses its effectiveness because of its excesses and obviousness.

He collected their money, wrote some names on a register, and speedily was leading the two men along a gloom-shrouded corridor.

. . . a tall locker for clothes that stood near the head with the ominous air of a tombstone. . . .

To the youth it seemed that he and this corpse-like being were exchanging a prolonged stare, and that the other threatened with his eyes.

With the curious lockers standing all about like tombstones, there was a strange effect of a graveyard where bodies were merely flung.

Crane does nothing with the extended metaphor--it fades when the young man "glanced about and saw that daylight had made the room comparatively commonplace and uninteresting."

The reader is left with an uncertainty about whether the flophouse is really horrible or is simply ghastly at night in its unfamiliarity. Although the metaphor is extended and consistent, it comes to nothing. "The Men in the Storm" uses imagery far more expertly. An important participant in the story, Nature, takes the form of snow. It begins and ends the selection. It directs action, causes discomfort, maliciously searches the men out, and pursues them down the street. Nature has made the people exposed to her wrath "models of grim philosophy." Brutalized by nature, the men lash out at each other struggling, pushing, and huddling together outside the shelter. Just as the metaphors help relate the two selections to Crane's earlier style, the excesses that punctuated the first period writing are present. There are qualities that mar both of these selections, but they are efforts from the beginning

of a new style and a new method. Imperfect though they are, both stories indicate the direction which Crane was to take in the second period. The symbolic snow which swirls through the short story develops into the subtle symbolism of "The Open Boat" which is an integral part of the tale. The search for experience became a guiding principle in the second period of Crane's development.

No longer content to lounge on Linson's couch and thumb through magazines, Crane lived the life he wrote about. He used his experience and he tested his sensations before he put them on paper. In living the stories, Crane's attitude toward the Bowery and its huddling masses changed. From the naturalism of Maggie which shows Maggie as a victim of her environment, dominated and abandoned by her family and boyfriend, Crane moved toward the conception of the Bowery, as largely populated by what Cady (17:111) calls "conceited cowards" of whom Jimmie, Pete, and Mary are examples. Crane does not excuse them in the slum novel, Maggie. As Crane slept and fed in the Bowery, he saw fewer Maggies and more Jimmies, Petes, and Marys. In November of 1896, he explained clearly in a letter the philosophy he had been moving toward in 1893 when these stories were written.

I tried to make plain that the root of Bowery life is a sort of cowardice. Perhaps I mean the lack of

ambition or to willingly be knocked flat and accept the licking (137:133).

Even in the stories Crane makes a distinction between those who are professional loafers and those who have had bad luck.

Others always could be seen coming, a strange procession, some slouching along with the characteristic hopeless gait of professional strays, some coming with hesitating steps, wearing the air of men to whom this sort of thing was new.

Further exploration of Crane's attitude toward society is made possible by examining "An Experiment in Luxury" which followed "An Experiment in Misery" on April 29, 1894. Completely out of his element, Crane visited and wrote about a trip to a wealthy college friend's home.

Using the same type of contrived frame introduction which began the other article, Crane establishes the situation by having two friends discuss the impending visit. The older man talks about the advantages and disadvantages of wealth.

It is true that wealth does not release a man from many things from which he would gladly purchase release. Consequences cannot be bribed. I suppose that every man believes steadfastly that he has a private tragedy which makes him yearn for other existences.

The younger man who plans to visit his schoolmate defends the wealthy with ". . . he isn't a criminal because you say he is benefited by a condition which other men created." The introductory exposition concludes with the approach of

his wealthy friend and the hasty last words of the older man: "'I didn't say he was,' retorted the old friend. 'Nobody is responsible for anything. I wish to heaven somebody was, and then we could all jump on him. . . .'"

The college friends stroll to the rather stern looking home with the palatial interior. The visitor feels the footman and the matron of the house react similarly. Wealth, then, does not necessarily explain all attitudes. The lavish interior of the home calms the visitor, and he and his friend lounge until mealtime. In the lull he thinks to himself.

He was beginning to see a vast wonder in it that they two lay sleepily chatting with no more apparent responsibility than rabbits, when certainly there were men, equally fine perhaps, who were being blackened and mashed in the churning life of the lower places. And all this had merely happened; the great hand had guided them here and had guided others there. The eternal mystery of social condition exasperated him at this time. He wondered if incomprehensible justice were the sister of open wrong.

The introspection does not last long. The youth began to feel that perhaps he was a "better man than many." He lolled stretching "his legs like a man in a garden, and he thought that he belonged to the garden." He remembered times when he had heard little voices from the darkness; "he heard them now as an idle, half-smothered babble on the horizon edge." He rationalizes that "there should be a babble of pain on it. Thus it was written; it was a law," and

he decides "perhaps it was not as bad as those who babbled tried to tell." Just as Crane rejected the Bowery when he became successful and could escape its confinement, the young man rejects the suffering when he is comfortable. As dinner time approaches, the youth meets the rest of the family. The "demon" is the wealthy matron.

It was impossible that there could be any pleasure in living for her. Her features were as lined and creased with care and worryment as those of an apple woman.

The visitor decided after watching the relaxed, content owner, and the charming daughters that "Wealth in a certain sense is liberty." The rumor that riches bring happiness is discounted by the young man.

Theologians had for a long time told the poor man that riches did not bring happiness, and they had solmenly [sic] repeated this phrase until it had come to mean that misery was commensurate with dollars, that each wealthy man was inwardly a miserable wretch.

Crane disputes the established ideas that dollars do not necessarily bring unhappiness just as he disputes the idea that everyone on skid row has tried or wants to better himself.

Following "An Experiment in Luxury," the Press printed numerous features written by Crane. Articles appeared from the spring of 1894 until early January of 1895 when Crane became a special correspondent for Bachelier. As a free lance reporter, Crane submitted his articles as

he wrote them, but they were not necessarily accepted or printed in the order of their composition. For my purposes here it is not essential (or possible) to date them with accuracy according to composition since all of the articles are second-rate and most of them will not be discussed to any great extent.⁷ Their subjects include: a hobo who rides the rails to Omaha, a middle class family of five who go to the country for a visit,⁸ some art students who later reappear in The Third Violet,⁹ an ex-sheriff from Nevada, a

⁷The articles listed below are placed in order of their publication: "Experiment in Misery," April 22, 1894; "Experiment in Luxury," April 29, 1894; "Billie Atkins Went to Omaha," May 20, 1894; "Mr. Bink's Day Off," July 8, 1894; "Coney Island's Failing Days," October 14, 1894; "Great Grief's Holiday Dinner," and "In a Park Row Restaurant," October 28, 1894; "When Every One Is Panic Stricken," November 25, 1894; "Duel That Was Not Fought," December 9, 1894; "Lovely Jag in a Crowded Car," January 6, 1895, and "Pace of Youth," January 18-19, 1895.

⁸The Bink's family has three children whose names, ages, and actions coincide with the Johnson family--Tommie attempts to knock cherries out of the trees, he stole fruit in a short sketch; Margaret picks flowers and is the demure, behaved child just as Maggie is; Jimmie is the adventurer, he explores the countryside. None of the descriptions is an improvement and the middle-class Bink's children do not compare favorably with the Johnson's children.

⁹The students of "Great Grief's Holiday Dinner" are anemic and lifeless when placed beside either Hollanden, Hawker, or the Great Grief of The Third Violet.

drunk who encounters some icy sober women in a street car, and a whimsical couple who elope after only a few words and many longing glances. Crane made no attempt to document any incident. Some articles missed the mark but are important as they record Crane's attitude.¹⁰ He was free lancing and, having some reputation of success, he could write desultory articles as he wandered the town. The tone of the features is gayer than previously, and the pedestrian journalism continues throughout the entire period.

The articles are prosy with only an occasional new metaphor or wry observation to season them. In the first period Crane had dramatized the turmoil of the city never stating it directly. In a Press article he says directly, and consequently less effectively, "The sense of a city is battle" (54:Part IV,2). No character stands out in this

¹⁰In a Decoration Day article which the Press did not print, Crane pays tribute to the heroism of the men who fought in the Civil War. In striking contrast to the ironic treatment accorded it in the novel, Crane eulogizes heroism in "the brave, simple, quiet men who crowded upon the opposing bayonets of their country's enemies." He urges that the nation not wait to express its gratitude until the last is gone since "the chants and shouts will carry no warmth to dead hearts." Instead "Our obligation exists in the present, and it is fit that we leave not too much to future historians." Even as early as 1894 Crane lauded the foot soldiers who "have paid the price of patriotism . . . stars shot from guns would not hinder their devotion to the flag which they rescued from dust and oblivion" (39). When Crane finally witnessed battle, he was an avid supporter of the common soldier and campaigned against the muddling that caused them undue hardships and suffering.

group. The descriptions are less florid, watered-down versions of previous writing or they are undeveloped characterizations which he was mulling and testing for later fictional use.

One selection warrants more investigation than the others because it serves as a transition piece between the New York Press articles and the Philadelphia Press articles. Crane's conversation with an ex-sheriff from Nevada is a strange blending of his typical early period imagery and military wording and an almost wistful conversation about the West.

"Whenever I come into a place of this sort, I am reminded of the battle of Gettysburg" said the stranger in the Park Row Restaurant. "I come in here for the excitement. You know, when I was Sheriff, long ago, of one of the gayest counties of Nevada, I lived a life that was full of thrill. . . ."

Transforming the setting to a battle scene, Crane continues the article with descriptions of waiters who "dashed about the room as if a monster pursued them. . . . It was like the scattering and scampering of a lot of water bugs." Customers were served with speed and violence resembling "a personal assault," viands come "in a volley thumped down in haste." Dishes clattered "like the gallop of a thousand horses," and kitchen communications were delivered "like the cries of the officers of a regiment under attack." Even the cook resembles "a foundryman" who is "assailed by sharp

cries." The patrons of the restaurant become only a part of the war being waged when the spring doors "clash to and fro," the thunder of the streets can be heard and

. . . this great typical turmoil of car and cab, truck and mail van, wedging their way through an opposing army of the same kind and surrounded on all sides by the mobs of hurrying people.

Farther along in the article, Crane uses the common techniques of the Western tall tale. The ex-sheriff comments that "When consomme grows popular in these places all breweries will have to begin turning out soups." He remembers that when canned soup was introduced to the West, the boys found they couldn't get full of it and planned to lynch the owner of the store for selling inferior merchandise "but a drummer who happened to be in town explained to them that it was a temperance drink." With lucid detail the sheriff outlines a plan to speed service by having the waiters in the restaurant armed with repeating rifles that could shoot corn muffins, Irish stew, or anything else on the menu. With wry humor he mentions the disaster which might occur if "an important gentleman in a white waistcoat getting up to procure the bill of fare . . . by chance intercepting a Hamburger steak bound for a man down by the door." The disaster? Why the man by the door would refuse to pay for a steak that he had not received. The article concludes with a story about Jim Wilkinson, the ex-sheriff of Tin Can,

Nevada, who got drunk and wandered into the "business end of a bowling alley." He thought he was being shot at and in return "he killed three of the best bowlers in Tin Can." The article is significant because the story is largely from Crane's imagination, as are most of the Press articles; he makes no attempt to write so that the interview may seem real. Using the tongue-in-cheek, straight-faced comments of an imaginary ex-sheriff, Crane indulges in the obviously robust tall tale that he had attempted before in the Sullivan County Sketches. Instead of coming from the wilds of New Jersey, the masculine humor is now emanating from a Nevadan. The story is largely in the form used so successfully by Bret Harte, Mark Twain, and other journalists who had found it so popular--the tall tale with a straight-faced delivery.¹¹

"In a Park Row Restaurant" serves as a transition piece because it is the traditional western story set in a bustling New York background. Crane had always yearned to travel, but before 1895 he had had neither the time nor the

¹¹The narrative interview used by Crane closely parallels the narrative of Roughing It. "The Mark Twain whom we here meet is basically fictitious, an innocent tenderfoot, self-conscious and awkward, generous and highly gullible" (112:161). The sheriff is the most consistent and typical western character that Crane had produced so far. The incident, while not taken directly from any known source, is based on the traditional folklore method in tone, style, and subject.

money.¹² With his journalistic success came an offer from Bacheller's Syndicate. Crane could travel, see the West and write when and where he felt inspired. The only stipulation placed on his trip by Bacheller was that he eventually go to Mexico for a series of articles. He had talked about a trip there for some time--but then he was always planning a trip. In early 1894 he had begun talking to Bacheller, although the syndicate was still in its planning stage. By December 15, 1894, Crane wrote to an unknown recipient "Bacheller thinks I had best start for Nevada as soon as possible, maybe before Christmas, but I would like to be with the family, of course" (137:43).

He did spend Christmas with his family while he planned the publication of The Black Riders, saw that The Red Badge of Courage was serialized and made arrangements for a hard cover edition of the novel. Crane dallied in New York until January 28, 1895; then he was on his way west.

¹²"To a people publically committed to the frantic hustle of the American Way of life, the idea of quitting work, of simply walking out, suddenly and without explanation, of all responsibilities, has been a haunting one; in American literature, the idea can be traced from "Rip Van Winkle" to Walden, from Walt Whitman to Sherwood Anderson" (117:162-163). Crane suggests this same desire. He was always planning a trip--he was going to Europe, to the Yukon, to Cuba, but he seldom got beyond the planning stages.

Crane's trip west and his subsequent trips to Greece, England, and Cuba characterize him as the typical American writer predicted and described by de Tocqueville. His restlessness was the restlessness of American writers before and after him. If a man sought adventure in the nineties and there was no war on, the West was the obvious place to look. There was also the traditional romantic appeal.

Twain, Harte, Miller opened to view the wild regions and wilder society of early California and the Sierra Nevadas; Eggleston--pictured primitive settlements in Indiana, Cable told romances of Creoles and descendants of the Acadians on the Louisiana bayous (126:18).

Crane plunged into the West. Beer says that he wanted to see three things--the Mississippi, a cowboy ride and a blizzard of the plains (12:99). He did not have long to wait for the latter. His first article for the Philadelphia Press is entitled "Nebraskan's Bitter Fight for Life."

The article about the Nebraskan farmers incorporates many of the Crane writing characteristics. The theme is the hopeless, heart-breaking battle with Nature. A scorching sun, a dry wind, and a hard winter combine to burden the farmers.

From day to day it [the dry wind] raged like a pestilence. The leaves of corn and the trees turned yellow and sapless like leather. . . . The farmers, helpless, with no weapons against this terrible and inscrutable wrath of nature were spectators at the strangling of their hopes, their ambitions, all they could look to from their labor.

However, the battle between Nature and man is not the only fight. Part of the state that was not affected by the drought and cold demanded its "share" of the charity sent from the East. Unscrupulous groups planned to capitalize on the disaster. Men eager for an easy dollar and free coal fought Ludden, the secretary and manager of the commission appointed by the governor for the distribution of the goods.

Men resorted to all manner of tricks in order to seduce the commission into giving them supplies which they did not need. Also various unscrupulous persons received donations of provisions from the East and sold them to the people. . . . When the State Legislature appropriated \$150,000 to help the starving districts one or two counties in the east at once sent delegations to the capital to apply for a part of it.

Ludden wages the fight against the "thugs who wish to filch supplies" and the avaricious citizens who wish to profit from others' misery. The wording is consistent with the theme of man's struggle.

They summoned their strength for a long war with cold and hunger. . . . It was a supreme battle to which to look forward. It required the profound and dogged courage of the American people who have come into the West to carve farms, railroads, towns, cities, in the heart of a world fortified by enormous distance.

The article is "on-the-spot" reporting; for the first time Crane wrote news not imaginary feature material.

The temperature of the room which is the writer's bedroom is precisely one and a half degrees below zero.

The writer asked a farmer this morning: "How will your horses get through the Winter?"

By the time the story appeared in the paper, Crane was someplace else. Crane spent only a short time in Nebraska, so he was forced to use descriptions from his imagination. The "curled and scorched leaf" and the "yellow and tinderlike stalks" were created in Crane's mind, not viewed, since he visited Nebraska in February not the summer months. Crane's geographical descriptions are wordy space-fillers, just as the facts that fill the columns and add inches rather than interest.

Taking the years in groups of five the rainfall was at its lowest from 1885 to 1890, when the general average was 22.34 inches. The general average for 1891, 1892 and 1893 was 23.85 inches. But 1894 now enters the contest with a record of but 13.10.

Besides the statistics, Crane's use of overstatement is grotesque in its excessiveness.

Visitors to the country have looked from car windows to see the famine stricken bodies of the farmers lying in the fields and trod lightly in the streets of Omaha to keep from crushing the bodies of babes.

"Nebraskan's Bitter Fight for Life" is the first of the articles published from Crane's western trip. While it has nothing to contribute to Crane's writing reputation, it redeems itself because it tells us something about the man himself. Crane found something to admire about these men. They struggled on no matter what the odds or the price. Part of the tone of the article is intended to arouse reader sympathy; part of it is an appeal for charity. It should be

noted that Crane went west to find something to admire and the farmers did provide a startling contrast to professional Bowery drifters. For the first time in his published journalism or fiction, Crane eulogizes a portion of humanity that he has seen. He roundly condemns nature and the forces that bring suffering on the people as well as people, who seek to profit from the disaster at the expense of others. The quality necessary to arouse Crane's sympathy is that the men like these Nebraskan farmers struggle on no matter what the odds.

And upon these people there came the weight of the strange and unspeakable punishment of nature. They are a fearless folk, completely American.

In the meantime they depend upon their endurance, their capacity to help each other and their steadfast and unyielding courage.

While the poetic description of the drought, the dry statistics and the hyperbole may not appeal to the modern reader, it should be remembered that the article was printed in 1895, and that Crane was considered a successful journalist. What the story lacks in immediacy due to transportation and communication is compensated for by intensity. Examination of some reminiscences by Willa Cather, whom Crane met in Lincoln, Nebraska, provides a key to Crane's writing career and reputation.

While waiting for some money to catch up with him-- his only mailing addresses were newspaper offices along the

route--Crane sat on a window ledge and talked with Willa Cather, who was just beginning to write.

He declared that his imagination was hidebound. It was there, but it pulled hard. After he got a notion for a story, months passed before he could get any sort of personal contact with it, or feel any potency to handle it (137:50-51).

His candid remarks to this novice add a new light on his writing method. Maggie was not written in those two days before Christmas; The Red Badge of Courage was not written in ten days; those "lines" which were in his head "all in a little row" and "flowed from his pen," so Garland said, "like oil" did not just happen when he was offered a paper and an audience. The excellence in the Crane canon is not rush writing. Willa Cather was impressed by his statement that

The detail of a thing has to filter through my blood, and then it comes out like a native product, but it takes forever (137:51).

The time which his filtering required explains the difference between his hurried hack journalism for money and his long thought about polished fiction written to satisfy himself not just to sell.

The mediocre journalism which was written for the New York Press earlier and for the Philadelphia Press through the Bacheller trip is both hurried and commercial.¹³

¹³The articles which appeared in the Philadelphia Press, written while Crane was traveling for Bacheller are

It should be viewed with its method and purpose in mind. The only Bacheller journalism which we will examine in detail is that which tells us something about Crane the man or is unique in some aspect.

Crane's spirits soared as he continued his trip. In Hot Springs he reported that man exists in three states "He is about to take a bath--he is taking a bath--he has taken a bath" (52:Part V, 29). Enroute to Mexico, he wrote in a letter which reflects his light hearted spirits "A la mode whiskers on the citizens en masse, merci, of the vintage de 1721" (137:52). In a note to a runaway he had sent home, he jestingly wrote "better stay home and grow a mustache before you rush out into the red universe anymore" (137:54). Once in Mexico his mood continued to be light.

The donkey-- , who can describe that air so sage, so profoundly reflective, and yet so kind, so forgiving,

listed according to their date of printing, not necessarily their date of composition. "Nebraskans' Bitter Fight for Life," February 24, 1895; "Merry Throng at Hot Springs," March 3, 1895; "Grand Opera in New Orleans," March 24, 1895; "Mexican Sights and Street Scenes," May 19, 1895; "Free Silver Down in Mexico," June 30, 1895; "Ancient Capital of Montezuma," July 21, 1895; "Jags of Pulque Down in Mexico," August 11, 1895; "Mardi Gras Festival," February 16, 1896; "Caged With a Wild Man," April 19, 1896; "Hats, Shirts and Spurs in Mexico," October 18, 1896. I have eliminated two pieces of fiction from this list. "Gray Sleeve" while it was printed in the Press is part of The Little Regiment and "Horses--One Dash" will be considered in detail apart from this list. Another article, "Denies Mutilation of Bodies," was printed on June 26, 1898, and is part of Crane's war dispatches of a later period.

so unassuming. The countenance of a donkey expresses all manly virtues even as the sunlight expresses all colors (53:33).

Occasionally, in strolls about the streets, one is able to observe the final development of the English check. When a man sincerely sets out to have a suit of checked cloth it is astonishing to what an extent he can carry his passion. There are suits of this description here that in the vivid sun-light of the country, throw a checkered shadow upon the pavement (41:34).

The unusual word combinations which are so much a trademark of the Crane style--ironic reversals, statement, and deflation, banal and impossible, incongruity and general inversion of ideas--punctuate his articles.

A baby, brown as a water jar and of the shape of an alderman. . . . (23:32).

. . . a soldier in a uniform that fitted him like a bird cage

. . . the man with the ruffled beard was silently picking hieroglyphics out of his whiskers (52:Part V,29).

The electric light at the corner chooses its own time for illumination and takes occasional sputtering vacations (38:Part III,25).

. . . a speckless sky, ignorant of bird or cloud (23:32).

. . . the cactus began to grow with a greater courage (23:32).

The new brotherhood theme that had appeared in his story about the Nebraskans reappears in at least two more articles.

This street thoroughly understands geography, and its experience of men is great. The instructors have been New York swells, Texas cattlemen, Denver mining kings, Chicago businessmen and commercial travelers from the

universe. This profound education has destroyed its curiosity and created a sort of wide sympathy, not tender but tolerant (51:Part V,29).

A man has the right to rebel if he is not given a fair opportunity to be virtuous. Inversely, then, if he possesses this opportunity, he cannot rebel, he has no complaint. I am of the opinion that poverty of itself is no cause. It is something above and beyond. . . . Collis P. Huntington and William D. Rockefeller [sic]-- as virtuous as these gentlemen are, I would not say that their virtue is any ways superior to mine for instance. Their opportunities are no greater. They can give more in quantity but not relatively. We can each give all that we possess and there I am at once their equal (137:55).

This statement by Crane points out that he had undeniably changed his attitude toward mankind. When he viewed the men in the West he "fell in love with the straight out-and-out, sometimes-hideous, often-braggart westerners . . . the truer men . . . the atmosphere of the west which really is frank and honest and is bound to make eleven honest men for one pessimistic thief" (137:70).

The "cleverness" which Crane repudiated after completing the Sullivan County Sketches pops up in the rambling commentaries. Lacking content the articles depend upon style. Crane's facility with language helped cover his inadequacies.

Crane's Mexican articles show no real grasp of this new culture. His observations are limited to commentary about the exchange system where Americans get "gaudy script" in return for their "green bills," the amount of pulque it

takes "to floor the average citizen of the republic" and a listing of the articles of apparel worn by the Mexican on the street. Sympathy for the poorer Indians who populate the streets is totally lacking from the articles, and the Crane irony slips into belabored cynicism.

It is a great thing to hear the thump, thump, of the clubs and the howling natives, and to see the little legs of the donkey quiver and to see him roll his eyes. Finally, after they have hammered him out as flat as a drum head it flashes upon them suddenly that the burro cannot get up until they remove his lead (53:33).

Much of the work which grew out of the western experience could just as well have been written in New York. The lone mesquite bushes that decorate his landscapes are traditional vegetation which he could have written about without traveling. Two pieces of fiction which were finished out west-- "A Mystery of Heroism" and "A Gray Sleeve"--deal with the Civil War. The inspirations which he had received out west needed time to filter before he could include them in his fiction.¹⁴

Because the journalism written for Bachelier is not distinguished, it does not mean that the trip was wasted. Bachelier (137:299) remarked after Crane's death

¹⁴He used at least two incidents later in fiction, the dreadful blue hotel he saw at a junction and the bar-room fight. Both appear in "The Blue Hotel" which was not written until 1898.

that Crane "Wrote many delightful sketches of the country." Years later the impression had changed slightly, Bacheller wrote "I sent him to Mexico where he wrote many quaint and vivid sketches (137:323). Bacheller was satisfied, the stories were printed. Crane was not the first writer to support himself by writing hack stories. In some ways the trip probably helped extend his life. For the first time Crane was free to travel, to rest, to write without the press of time or the urgency for money. The journalism which supported him depended too much on mere fluency, but it also left him time for laconic letters to his friends. The freedom allowed time for introspection and for examination of the questions that plagued him. While the excursion gave Crane time to harbor his energies, it also explains the lack of vitality in the writing. By Crane's own admission a thing must be important to a man if it is to have strength.

It was during this period that I wrote The Red Badge of Courage. It was an effort born of pain--despair, almost; and I believe that this made it a better piece of literature than it otherwise would have been. It seems a pity that art should be a child of pain, and yet I think it is. Of course we have fine writers who are prosperous and content, but in my opinion their work would be greater if this were not so. It lacks the sting it would have if written under the spur of a great need (137:78-79).

The trip gave Crane a chance to get a tan, to regain his physical strength, and to mull his attitude toward civilization.

It is difficult to document each of the psychological changes that occurred in Crane's life; many evolved slowly rather than instantaneously. His evaluation of mankind underwent changes when he put himself in the Bowery drifter's place in 1894; it was altered again when he visited the stoic Nebraskans in 1895. Another radical change took place while Crane was out west. Crane and his guide, Miguel Iterbide, were staying all night in a village when Ramon Colorado and his bandits entered the place. Crane had planned to interview the desperado, but to be robbed was another thing. They were saved temporarily when several whores appeared in town and distracted the drunken bandits. After a long night and a fearful ride for safety, Crane was saved by a troop of rurales. The experience was straight out of the western tradition, and Crane wrote about the experience in "Horses--One Dash!"

It is possible to glean Crane's reaction to the experience by studying Richardson, the middle-aged fictional participant who is cast in Crane's role. Although Richardson is Crane's first mask who is not his own age, the resemblance in other respects is unmistakable. His "enormous silver spurs, his large and impressive revolver" reflect Crane's new attire acquired out west. Even his reaction to fear, arouses a memory of young Crane during the initiation at college.

To Richardson, whose nerves were tingling and twitching like live wires, and whose heart jolted inside him, this pause was a long horror; and for these men who could so frighten him there began to swell in him a fierce hatred--a hatred that made him long to be capable of fighting all of them. A 44-caliber revolver can make a hole large enough for little boys to shoot marbles through, and there was a certain fat Mexican, with a moustache like a snake who came extremely near to have eaten his last tamale merely because he frightened a man too much.

Further, Richardson is both a New Yorker and an able rider, as was Crane.

The real hero of the story is the "little insignificant rat-coloured beast" that Richardson rides. At first Richardson fears that the horse, which "whinnied with enthusiasm," was betraying him and he feels the same hate for it that "he would have felt for a dragon." As Richardson fumbles with the saddle, he wonders if "equine perversity" might cause the horse to "rebel and kick and be wicked." Once astride, "his horse made a mad jump forward," and Richardson "felt in his heart the first thrill of confidence." The little horse without apparent effort gallops with the speed of a frightened antelope. Slowed to a walk, Richardson's horse even "thrust over his soft nose and inquired into the black's condition."

Berryman (12:107-108) suggests that in the crisis, Crane found "that he was able to feel terror and act as if he did not feel terror and so survive." He further suggests that Crane's discovery improved his view of human nature.

For although self-reliance is what helped save Crane, reliance on a horse is a step beyond and "it was a step in the direction of the interhuman relation we shall find in his supreme achievement." While I agree with Berryman's interpretation here, I feel that Crane had been advancing toward this changed view during this entire period. Depending upon that horse is just another step. This is not the first time Crane had an "improved view of human nature." His admiration for the farmers, and his rejection of the Bowery appeared in print almost a year before "Horses--One Dash!" was published. He went west optimistically looking for men to admire. His dark pessimism and heavy irony partially worked itself out in that early writing period. With a fairly regular market for his writing and enough food to eat, Crane's attitude changed. When inspiration was lacking, he went out and sought a subject about which to write. The blithe articles and stories which were created in 1895 attest to the state of Crane's mind. His cheerful letters to his friend Willis Hawkins further emphasize his improved view. While the West did not hold the charm and interest he had hoped for--he returned to New York long before he had to--it did further improve Crane's spirits.

Only one other Western story was written immediately following the trip, "A Man and Some Others." The other

Western pieces were written at Brede in 1898. Back in New York in May, he found himself in the spotlight. With "23,842 invitations to dinner" (137:63), a proposal for a Philistine dinner in his honor, interviews by critics and letters from admirers to answer, Crane still found time to write. He began The Third Violet; publishers clamored after his work; the Journal sought a number of articles dealing with the sordid sections of New York, and McClure's planned a group of stories based on major battles of the Civil War.

The long sought-after fame brought with it unforeseen problems. Crane found himself forced into a mold determined during that period when he was immature. With most of his problems out of the way, Crane wanted to change scenes, to explore new subjects and to control that style. The Journal hired him to write a series of sensational articles about the notorious Tenderloin, but Crane had rejected its denizens and no longer needed the protective coloration it provided. McClure insisted that Crane write more Civil War stories since his name was linked to the War and that was what the reading public demanded. Although The Red Badge of Courage had only employed the strife as a backdrop while Crane struggled with his own tension, the same war had to be rewritten in the same style only better. But, Crane had changed from his imaginative writing; and since the War could^{not} be re-enacted for him to experience, he

had to settle for trips to the prescribed battlefields and research on the Civil War. Visits to battlefields ten-years old are hardly substitutes for physical experience, Crane complained to a friend

I am writing a story--"The Little Regiment" for McClure. It is awfully hard. I have invented the sum of my invention in regard to war and this story keeps me in eternal despair (13:72).

and again

I am engaged in rowing with people who wish me to write more war-stories. Hang all war-stories (137:111).

In still another letter he stated more emphatically that The Little Regiment "is positively my last thing dealing with battles" (137:117). Always in need of money and never wielding a commercial pen with enthusiasm, Crane wrote to John Phillips of the Phillips-and-McClure syndicate

Your project it seemed to me would require a great deal of study and a great deal of time. I would be required to give up many of my plans for this winter and this I am reluctant to do. . . . if you send me the name of the battle you wish me to tackle I will try to do some reading on it (137:83-84).

Although Crane visited Virginia in January of 1896 and planned to write about Fredericksburg, the finished collection is one of imaginary war stories.

The Little Regiment did not satisfy Crane or his critics. Even The Third Violet, which Crane finished in December of 1896, did not give him any security, he wrote to Willis Hawkins, "I am not sure that it is any good."

The crux of the matter seemed to rest with ^{the} wide acclaim given The Red Badge of Courage.

People may just as well discover now that the high dramatic key of The Red Badge cannot be sustained. . . . I don't think The Red Badge to be any great shakes but then the very theme of it gives it an intensity that a writer cant [sic] reach every day. . . . If my health and my balance remains to me, I think I will be capable of doing work that will dwarf both books (137:107).

The inability to break away from his early subjects and style must have caused Crane endless suffering. He reused some settings; further, he developed characters that he had created before, but Crane did not willingly continue in the same style. It is this quality in Crane that has earned for him the titles of naturalist, realist, impressionist, symbolist, and imagist. Crane was each of these by turns, with his own variations. He did not write another novel after Maggie that used environment as a determinant of fate. But Crane was not satisfied with it either, he had plans to rewrite (137:110).¹⁵ The Red Badge of Courage was not repeated by Crane, he was never completely satisfied with it

¹⁵"An Ominous Baby," "An Experiment in Misery," and "The Men in the Storm" are generally classified as "proletarian" (1:79). Credited with this quality more from the subject and their publication in the social reform magazines than from Crane's intent, Crane could never be called a socialist. He quipped once that he "was a socialist for two weeks but when a couple of socialists assured me I had no right to think differently from any other socialist and then quarrelled with each other about what socialism meant, I ran away" (10:359).

and planned to go back to it and cut and revise. There are other men in other battles that Crane added to his creations, but none is the fine psychological study that he achieved so early. George's Mother is Crane's most pessimistic novel of the slums. The mother's voice searching for another wayward son at the end of the novel emphasizes that nothing can be done. The whole process is circular and unavoidable since the slums are in the shadow of the brewery-- and man being weak soul ^{that} he is, is in a spiritual void. Crane's novel in the second period, The Third Violet, is his attempt to use his experiences with the artists and students and create a story imitating William Dean Howells (17:146). Howells, however, had thirty years of experience behind him while Crane had less than six solid years. Crane had neither the maturity nor the perspective that Howells had acquired. The sketches of Stanley, Wrinkle, Great Grief, Splutter are poignant, but the novel is divided into halves which never convincingly meet or contrast. Essentially autobiographical, The Third Violet is a different kind of novel-- the environment does not influence the characters, it does not probe the artist's mind--it is another experiment in style.

In attempting to break away from his usual routine, Crane wrote some dramatic criticism for Bachelier, but it met with little success. Crane considered doing a play with

Clyde Fitch (137:125). He wrote a letter mentioning a possible trip to Arizona to learn about the Apache scalp dance for a project he had in mind (137:97-98). He talked about a trip to London (137:111). He traveled to Washington, D.C., "about a book on political society (137:124). Most of his plans came to nothing.

His previous years came to fruition; that year, 1896, should have brought him more content since it proved to be his most successful year in terms of publications. The Little Regiment was published in July by McClures. Maggie had been reissued in June by Appleton's. Heinemann published The Red Badge of Courage and Maggie in England. Edward Arnold put George's Mother on the bookshelves in both the United States and England. The Third Violet was serialized and would come out in book form in 1897. The Black Riders appeared in England. These books should have encouraged an author just twenty-four.

The problem again stemmed from that Civil War novel. In 1896, he "remembered thinking The Red Badge a pretty good thing" when he first wrote it, but as for it or "any other books" he had not "the slightest knowledge of being able to write them" (137:99-100). The fact that the "damned Red Badge" was having such a nice sale did not provide solace (137:65). Even the long sought success seemed empty.

. . . I suppose I ought to be satisfied, but somehow I am not as happy as I was in the uncertain, happy-go-lucky newspaper days. I used to dream continually of success then. Now that I have achieved it in some measure it seems like mere flimsy paper (137:79).

His hopes for that "GREAT book" which was going to be written in ten years did not yet find itself in words (137:121).

Instead he wrote more Bowery sketches--articles about Sing Sing and death row, interviews with Minetta Lane's killers and gun molls, stories about dope and the Tenderloin. Because of his fame and alleged infamy, the Journal assigned him sensational subjects which would combine with the public's view and sell papers.¹⁶

¹⁶With increased literacy in the United States, improved methods of transportation and communication, as well as mechanical advancement, the newspaper became a profitable business. The race for readers was on. Joseph Pulitzer purchased the obscure St. Louis Post Dispatch in 1878. Although not the founder of "yellow journalism"--the New York Times had smashed the Tweed Ring in 1870-71 assisted by Harper's Weekly (120:382-384)--Pulitzer did go out systematically and find evil to bring before the readers. His methods were observed by a young millionaire described as "perverse, brilliant, nihilistic" (148:12). William Randolph Hearst had been interested in newspaper for years; while at Harvard serving as business manager of the Lampoon, he told the staff of the Boston Globe, "Say, fellows, do you know who's running the best paper in the country? It's a man named Pulitzer. . . . I have been studying his methods and I think I have caught on to what he is trying to do" (148:14-15). Pulitzer bought the New York World in 1884, by the end of the decade the World "was altogether the most reckless, the most sensational, and the most widely discussed newspaper in New York" (106:403-413). Willie Hearst began his newspaper career with a paper given him by his father, the San Francisco Examiner. With expert help--the best money could buy--Hearst more than doubled the Examiner's

The search for the thrilling--which Hearst and his editors demanded--was different from Crane's desire for the truth of an experience.¹⁷ The new system of experience and then creation got him into trouble. Crane aroused the ire of the police department by defending two chorus girls charged with soliciting. Although the incident bore all

circulation in six years. S. S. Chamberlain, former Bennett and Pulitzer employee showed him how to get readers and Hearst furnished the money. By 1895, Hearst was discontented with just the Examiner, so he bought the Journal. Yellow journalism took giant strides when Pulitzer and Hearst began to compete. A friend once remarked to Mrs. Hearst, Willie's mother, that she had heard the new venture with the Journal was "losing a million dollars a year." Mrs. Hearst's reply was classic, at that rate her son could hold out thirty years more (88:420). New York journalism "made the high drama of life a cheap melodrame, and it twisted the facts . . . to produce sales for the howling newsboys" (88:415-16). Instead of furnishing leadership as responsible newspapers had done in the past, "it offered a palliative of sin, sex, and violence" (88:416). The Journal hired many of the literary-lights besides Crane. Julian Ralph, Richard Harding Davis, Ambrose Bierce, Arthur McEwen, Winifred Black, Dorothy Dix, Alan Dale, Alfred Henry Lewis, Mark Twain, Edgar Saltus, and James Creelman comprise only part of the list. Hearst offered more money, more audience than any other publication. The only stipulation for continued employment was that a Hearst employee went where told, looked for the sensational or picturesque fact, and wrote to inspire the "Gee-whiz" emotion.

¹⁷Journalistic historian, Bleyer (13:357-64) cited these headlines from 1896 as proof of the Journal's distortion for sensation's sake: "Real American Monsters and Dragons"--over a story of an archaeological fossil discovery; "Henry James' New Novel of Immorality and Crime"--prefaced the publication of The Other House; "One Mad Blow Kills Child," "Why Young Girls Kill Themselves," and numerous equally tantalizing headlines promised startling contents to news stories.

the marks of the typical Hearst set up, the police made Crane's life so miserable (after it) that he never spent much time in New York after that.¹⁸ A clue to the appeal which the paper made is found in an editor's preface to one of Crane's Journal articles.

The novelist felt. . . . He must know more of that throng of unfortunates; he must study the police court victims in their haunts (142:96).

Readers began to equate Crane's name with dope, prostitutes and the life he had written about in his Bowery low-life series. He was blackmailed by a partially deranged drama critic, Amy Leslie, and he fled.¹⁹

¹⁸Hearst loved display and excitement. In the moments when the city room was quiet, Chamberlain would shout, "Get excited, damn it" (142:115). He developed a paper that dispatched trains to disasters with hordes of reporters; he had grizzlies captured and put in public parks; and he landed an armada of newsmen on the island of Cuba when war was still in the newspaper planning stages. The Journal's motto was "While Others Talk, the Journal acts" (142:106). Lacking news, the Journal created it. Julian Ralph wrote 3 pages on the marriage of Counsuelo Vanderbilt and the Duke of Marlborough--including details so intimate "it might have been written in the bride's diary" (142:106). Hearst wrote what the people wanted to read, "To hell with the upper classes. The Journal is for the people" (142:106). He sent his reporters out to find or cause news. The Crane incident seems in the same Hearst style.

¹⁹Cady (17:51) states that when the New York police put Crane on their "harassment list" they made him vulnerable to the "middle-aged, widowed, ex-actress, Amy Leslie." The truth of the incident is clouded. She claimed that she had loaned Crane \$800.00. Crane made some cash concessions to her through his friend, Willis Hawkins, but when she quarrelled with Hawkins he stopped sending her money. Some

His rescue came in a strange form. Bacheller gave him a belt of Spanish gold and instructions to go to the insurrection in Cuba. Although he had vowed that he would not write another thing about war, he left on another jaunt that promised more second-rate journalism and certainly more war. Before he could get to Cuba to report the rebellion for Bacheller, Crane and several other correspondents sat around Jacksonville for almost a month waiting for transportation to Cuba.²⁰

of his comments about her seem "solicitous of her mental balance," and later evidence indicates she was at least partially insane. Later when Crane was in England, she sued him making it impossible for him to receive money from his publisher.

²⁰Another Journal reporter, Richard Harding Davis, had been sent to Cuba along with Frederic Remington in December of 1896. With all his expenses paid plus \$3000 for a month's work, Davis found the war imminent but not quite ready to break. Always luckier than Crane, Davis made it to his destination on time, happened to be where the stories occurred and was viewed by "a thousand to whom that name meant the breath of romance and the spirit of adventure, to whom it was a symbol of youth and success, a token of friendship or disinterested kindness, a gage of chivalry" (86:1). Davis and Crane witnessed the same wars, knew the same people and wrote for the same public. The difference in their acceptance stemmed from their public relations. Davis was diplomat enough to change papers when Hearst used him. He had written a dispatch telling about how three Cuban girls were undressed and searched. Hearst was delighted and had Remington make a half-page drawing of a naked girl being "scrutinized by three mustached Spanish officers"--the original dispatch did not say that the girls were searched by police-women. The story made journalism history. A single edition of the Journal sold close to a million copies. When Pulitzer doubted the story and

He wrote a will (he provided for his saddle horse Peanuts); he sat in bars and drank with the longshoremen; he met Cora Taylor and lounged around her boardinghouse and night club--technically not a house of prostitution because the girls did not sleep there.

Perhaps Crane was checking his vision in Maggie; maybe Cora seemed to be the woman he sought; at any rate it was New Year's Day in 1897 before Crane boarded the tub Commodore. Only three and a half years remained for him, and as Cady puts it, "he was symbolically as well as actually, aboard the filibustering tug Commodore off the coast of Florida--sinking" (17:45).

The future was a labyrinth with no clear way out. Critics declared The Red Badge of Courage a supreme effort

interviewed the girl, the story back-fired. Davis revised the story for reprint in the World, denied even the ambiguous statement that the girls had been searched, and published a statement saying the Journal had lied not he (108:182-83). Even in Greece Davis got the stories while Crane had dysentery and a toothache (108:187-88). The men admired each other and Davis once wrote of Crane "If the best war correspondent is the one who 'sees more of the war . . . than do his rivals, and who is able to make the public see what he saw . . . Stephen Crane would seem to have distinctly won the first place among correspondents'" (108:202). While Crane is known best as a novelist, Davis was more of an observer and reporter. Beer's evaluation seems apt "One good reporter is worth ten hundred dull critics" (108:314).

and zenith of all war novels, then, demanded that he better his accomplishment. Publishers and editors dictated his subjects, and they chose only that which had ceased to interest Crane. Only that which was important to him could be written with satisfaction, but to earn a living Crane had to write what would sell. By his own statement we know that it took months for a subject to "filter," only he had to make the market now.

Speculation about his suicidal actions seems plausible when his relationships with the Tribune, the New York Police, Nellie Crouse, and Amy Leslie are considered. The energy he had stored while on that trip to the West helped save Crane's tortured body for three years more of stoical suffering. His alliance with Cora Taylor made those years more bearable.

When the tug went down, it buoyed up Crane's spirits. Through his heroic actions and their wide acclaim, Crane managed to wipe away some of the New York smudge on his reputation. The experience inspired "The Open Boat," which Conrad and Wells--critics who mattered to Crane--thought equalled or bettered "the damned Red Badge." Despite all of the physical unpleasantness that had accompanied those hours on the sea, he found that not only are there men who are courageous in the face of calamity, but he also discovered that he could be one of them. On that ocean

surrounded by waves "barbarously abrupt and tall," man can only master himself, show courage and resignation, and unite with other men.

When Crane returned to the United States, his life was still beset with the crimson blotch, but by then he had learned to accept his fame and notoriety. He moved about frequently, seldom staying in one place for more than a few weeks. He worked for both Pulitzer and Hearst, witnessing two wars. If he had a home after 1897, it was the remote Brede Place in Sussex, England, and he shared it with the ex-madame of a bawdy house.

The second period began and ended on a blue note. "The future? The future is blue with obligations--new trials--conflicts. It is a rare old wine the gods brewed for mortals. Flagons of despair--"

CHAPTER III

A YELLOW PRESS: THE PULITZER-HEARST YEARS AND WAR, 1897-1900

Crane encountered the most significant experiences of his life before 1897. He had found his vocation before he was twenty, but extreme poverty and subsequent cold and hunger kept security and satisfaction at a minimum. At least three intense romances had their impact before he was twenty-five. His travel throughout the United States gave him experiences which encouraged his early maturity. The Red Badge of Courage made him prominent in literary circles, and infamy followed close behind to balance the effect. He had faced death twice, once from a Mexican bandit and once from the open ocean. Although no one episode in his picaresque life was unique, the assemblage of incidents combined in a way that caused an early maturing of his style and literary attitudes.

When such a unique and powerful style as that evidenced in The Red Badge of Courage emerges in a youthful novelist, it is noteworthy. When such a distinctive stylist has written several pieces, there is a pattern established. Crane is no exception. Although he chose subjects concerned with social issues, Crane was interested in the moral or psychological aspects of a situation. The most imposing

theme is one of loneliness; the central character is either too innocent, too charitable, or too honest for the situation in which he finds himself. Frequently, the antagonist is representative of either a hostile or an indifferent world. Man's behavior under stress was of foremost interest to Crane. Inevitably there is a background of war, one that is imaginary or real, beginning or concluding, civil or Civil. His interest included a preoccupation with sensation. The imminence of death in one form or another provides the backdrop for most action since it is during a time of danger that there is a heightening of sensation.

With this interest and pattern established so obviously and so early, Crane's actions during the third period are not surprising. In mid-February, 1897, a new horizon presented itself in the form of a new job. William Randolph Hearst sent a representative to Florida to offer Crane a position as a foreign correspondent.

The offer had significance beyond any ordinary and superfluous connotations of acceptance and recognition. It afforded him a chance to get out of the United States. Crane's attempt to get to Cuba where trouble was simmering failed when the Commodore sank in January. For a time he waited impatiently in Jacksonville where he worked on a scheme for getting to the coming war. By mid-February when the job offer came, he had grown tired of wading through

the swamps off the coast of Florida avoiding the "darned U.S. Navy" (12:166-167). He could not get to Cuba without some assistance, and his former employer, Bacheller, did not have any more money to finance a newsman in Cuba. Impatient always with delays, Crane was ferreted out by a Journal representative and asked to go to the Balkan disturbance--a Greco-Turkish insurrection threatened to bring a hot war--as a regularly paid foreign correspondent.¹ The offer promised^a move upward in his career as a journalist. His newspaper dossier, if not his reputation in the United States, was more professional; he covered a real war for the prominent New York Journal. No longer was he to be paid by the column-inch or freelance article. The trip was not without other advantages. The new job allowed him a visit to Europe; it provided funds for a few months of serious writing; it introduced him to other newspaper greats, particularly Richard Harding Davis.² More important than any

¹Hearst sent James Creelman, a newspaper propagandist, to Europe "as a sort of roving commissioner" (148: 110). He interviewed King George of Greece and had the monarch send a cable to the Journal. By the time the insurrection was a full-scaled war, Hearst and his reading public had chosen sides.

²Richard Harding Davis was a new breed of newsman in America. His name was synonymous with adventure, courage, and glamour. Striking similarities between Crane and Davis make the comparable features of interest. Davis published his first book at 19, but it was family financed and purchased. He, too, was fired from his first job, but it

of the foregoing, the assignment demanded constant writing, tested his imaginative "vision," enlarged his experience, and matured his style and attitude.

A welter of events and confusion give Crane's last three years their dominant characteristic. He went from Jacksonville to New York and then to Greece via England. After the Greek war was finished, he expatriated himself in England until the sinking of the Maine. Then, he sailed for Cuba. From there he went to the Porto Rican struggle and then back to Havana. After a brief time in Havana where he finished a novel and several short stories, he went to New York. His reception in New York enforced his feelings of estrangement in the United States so he left for England.

was because of his strange practice of writing with his gloves on. He worked for several newspapers as had Crane. In 1892, he made a trip west. He did a series of travel articles while he traveled in England, and then he went to South America. He went to Russia for Harper's and the Journal; he was viciously attacked by the Tribune when a picture of him at court emphasized Davis more than the dignitaries of Russia. A number of differences--some of them already evident--make the men dissimilar in various aspects. Davis was a tall, athletic figure with a number of college successes behind him, "A public-relations man could not have improved on the technique he mastered as a college student" (108:84). His writing as well as his life was filled with sensation. Hearst depended to a large part on Davis for the material to stir up a war in Cuba, "Without Davis Hearst would have had trouble whipping up a war" (108:192). Davis succeeded at almost everything he tried while Crane seemed to fail. In spite of the wide differences, they seemed to admire each other from the time they first met on March 31, 1897.

Several short trips to Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and France filled his yearning to travel but not completely. He planned a trip to the Klondike, the Sudan, Texas, and Transvaal. As his strength failed, he planned even more but he traveled less. Finally, he was rushed to a health resort in Germany where he died.

The unreal, detached, kaleidoscopic events of his life parallel his characters and settings. His stories are set in Mexico, Greece, Cuba, and in the imaginary Whilomville and Rostina, these echoing both his trips and imaginary flights. His prose has a nervous pace and tension which reflect his movements, his expatriation, and his experience. Crane's personal estrangement from the United States echoes in the gulf that separates his fictional characters from society.

But these were his most mature years, and from 1897 until 1900 his writing was a combination of new experiences as well as old. The "filtering" process which Crane had candidly spoken of to Willa Cather was a continual process. Some of his work, for example, "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," was based on his concept of the American West, which he had viewed in 1895. At least one selection, "The Monster," is a reworking of the earlier theme found in Maggie. "Death and the Child" echoes The Red Badge of Courage in characterization, theme, and imagery. Every character has a close

resemblance to an earlier creation. It is as if Crane were completing a circle in his work. His ideas are redefined in his work of his last three years.

This is not to say that nothing new developed in Crane's last years. Although his dominant subject was still war, Crane had experienced real war in Greece and had reported it in the yellow Journal and the Westminster Gazette before he wrote any fiction in 1897. His dispatches evidence observation of death and suffering. As a result of his observation, a change of attitude followed Crane's war experience. He no longer handled his fictional soldiers ironically; besides his detached observation, Crane wrote with obvious involvement. He denounced the forces which caused war. For the first time, he wrote a personal narrative using the pronoun "I."³ The bravado, cowardice, and glorious pageantry of his early fiction were replaced by an objective commentary on the common foot soldier who was neither heroic nor craven. These new views appeared in his

³Contemporary reactions to the personal narratives are evidenced in periodical quotes, "Our Correspondents in the East, K-PL-NG, D*V-S, and CR-N-;" and "my favorite color, red . . . huge yellow oaths . . . a pale green rumble . . . red and brown and green ants . . . A short Greek by his side looked blue for a minute, and then at a remark from the youth he changed color" (12:175-176). Even while other newspapers disparaged the "conceit" of these foreign correspondents, they were read.

newspaper dispatches long before they were put into his fiction.

Crane placed his ideas in the newspaper before he put them in fiction throughout his lifetime. His experiments in style and point-of-view were always of newspaper origin. This pattern holds true for Crane's work in 1897 just as it did when the method was established in 1891. For a time Crane even felt obligated to experience directly the sensation which he wished to portray. His newspaper work impressed the importance of seeing, experiencing and only then writing. In 1897, he still felt compelled to experience before he wrote; but by 1900, he ^{had} turned back to his imagination as a source for fiction. "I get a little tired of saying, Is this true?" (12:247). He completed a circle in his themes and in his method. By 1897 after he had tested his intuition in The Red Badge of Courage, he returned to his imagination as a source book.

When Crane was hired by Hearst as a regularly employed writer, the breach between journalism and fiction became pronounced. Before, he had been forced to publish his fiction in the newspaper either in the Sunday supplements or as imaginative features in the regular paper. But no fiction appears in the Journal, Westminster Gazette, or World after 1897. Syndicates and magazine publishers used everything he could produce, and his market was more than

adequate. Even his journalism improved; no longer did he have to write mere features or travelogue commentary to be used at an editor's whim. As a correspondent, he received instructions to report his impressions, his experiences, and his reactions. The new job as a correspondent in Greece helped Crane's writing by providing an opportunity for steady income, constant writing, enlarging his background, and replenishing his mental storehouse. All of these contributed in a way that makes Crane's fiction a more obvious outgrowth of his journalism and his experience as a newsman.

In spite of the opportunities afforded by the covering Greco-Turkish War which began in April and ended in May of 1897, Crane did not produce any notable journalism during the month long conflict. The writing was seldom selective; events were uncertain; detachment seemed to pervade the dispatches despite the personal narrative form. His news stories were as chaotic as the war he reported, moving quickly from subject to subject. But out of the conglomerate form of the dispatches of the Greco-Turkish War sprang the short stories which followed Crane's return to England. Uncertain but constantly shifting scenes later became startling impressionistic stories. The factual content of the news transferred into fiction. Selected events worked toward a single effect which Crane strove for, since the event became the focal point, contrived cleverness and odd

phrasing lost their previous emphasis. Just as Crane had found a beginning of a writing method in his experimental features for the Tribune in 1891, he experimented with a more factual presentation in the Journal in 1897 and then moved his successes into his third period short stories.

Had the war been longer perhaps Crane would have had time to adjust to the rigorous life of a correspondent in a foreign land. The hectic war did not allow time for adjustment. Crane was suffering from tuberculosis, further complicated by malaria, while in Greece. His stomach and intestine were sensitive, and the quinine he took wracked his system. But he wrote several dispatches during that month which appeared in the Journal as well as syndicated columns. Although the Greco-Turkish fiasco lasted only one month, it was well attended--by the press. Julian Ralph, John Bass, Frank Bouillon, Edward Abbott, Landon Perry, James Creelman, and Stephen Crane represented the Journal. When the war was over, the side that Hearst had championed had lost. Yet, the war was not a complete financial loss to Hearst since it boosted the Journal's circulation. Hearst's correspondents had furnished exclusive material of a quality that Hearst was able to sell nation-wide. Their pioneering efforts in foreign news allowed Hearst to lay the foundation for his huge news and feature service which eventually blanketed the world (148:110). Crane's writing

and Crane's name did its share in increasing Hearst's network of news coverage.

Crane's first dispatch sent from Greece was dated April 30, 1897. The accompanying headline, "Stephen Crane Says Greeks Cannot Be Curbed," set the tone for all eight of his Greek dispatches.⁴ Crane, not the Greeks, was the big interest arouser. Crane's views, attitudes, and actions were demanded by the public as well as by his publisher. With his name in the headline and the byline, and with his personal reactions in print, Crane ceased to be the silent observer. Not only were his stories printed, his every action came under public scrutiny. His dispatches, written in haste, are made to cohere only through the "I" of the personal narrative. The "I" was a contrived method used widely at the turn of the century. Placing the newsman in the limelight helped to supplement the news which was static. The basic coverage was the same--this battle was won or lost, there were so many people killed--but, what the newspaper publishers sought was not news as much as the personal impressions of personalities. The reader wanted

⁴Crane's dispatches from Greece are: "Stephen Crane Says Greeks Cannot Be Curbed," April 30, 1897; "Stephen Crane at Velestino," May 11, 1897; "The Blue Badge of Cowardice," May 12, 1897; "Stephen Crane and Julian Ralph Tell of War's Horrors and Turkey's Bold Plan," May 23, 1897; "Greeks Waiting at Thermopylae," May 24, 1897; "The Dogs of War," May 30, 1897; "Battle in Greece," June 13, 1897; "My Talk With Soldiers Six," June 20, 1897.

to be kept informed at all times so a vast amount of coverage was travel description, anecdotes of camp life, incidents on marches, and comments on local customs made up a large portion of the news. Trivia was the rule rather than an exception. Since most newspapers had access to basic news--either through the cables or each other--to get ahead in the game, it was necessary to create news.⁵ The most obvious method to achieve this end was stunt journalism. Reporters did the unusual, the unnecessary, the unique. Hearst was more interested in Crane's name and his personal impressions than he was in news of factual origin.

Since the characteristics of and requirements of his job were new, and the war short, Crane had little time to become oriented to the new writing method and situation.

⁵When Hearst first went into the business, it was rumored that he held his presses until Pulitzer's World was out. Then using the columns of the World, he turned out the Journal. There was a ditty composed to accompany the World's appearance: "Sound the cymbal, beat the drum. The World is here, the news has come!" When the war began, the World did not have the wire service which the Journal depended upon. In the routine escapades, the Journal planted a fictitious name among the Spanish casualties, Replipe W. Thenuz. When the World included the name in its columns, Hearst joyfully pointed out that the first name and middle initial was spelled backward, and the surname was a phonetic spelling. The planted name when transposed and deciphered announced "We pilfer the news." Not to be outdone, the World retaliated with a name in its columns, Lister A. Raah. When the name appeared in the Journal, the World announced that Lister A. Raah was an anagram for "Hearst a liar" (120:538).

For this reason, his journalism is not particularly distinguished even when the subject is war. Nondescript reporting is fairly typical of his work as it is with most newsmen. Most reporting deserves the oblivion into which reportage falls. There are no established standards for journalism since it must change to meet "the shifting currents of public feeling, and to the shades of taste in a given society or age" (114:245). Today's journalism, as we know it with the important information first, did not come into existence until after 1900. News stories built to a climax before that with the most important thing saved until last. For this reason, it is difficult to judge Crane's journalism by today's standards. His writing conformed to the tastes of the nineties and by so doing it was published.

Perversely, the main criticisms leveled at his dispatches are aimed at the qualities which are present in most of the contemporary news dispatches. He was termed conceited because he recorded his personal reaction, and because Hearst's printers put his name in the headlines. Sometimes even his own words are used to condemn his ability as a newsman.

I know now that I am an imbecile of rank. If nobody shoots me and I get back alive through those Indians in London I will stay home until there is a nice war in Mexico where it does not matter what you talk so long as you can curse immoderately. Willie Hearst has made a bad bargain (12:173).

One thing that refutes even Crane's own evaluation is the

fact that he worked for Hearst on three separate occasions. He did a series on the Bowery in New York in 1896; he covered the Greco-Turkish war; later, he wrote about the Cuban and Porto Rican struggles. No word of condemnation came from either Hearst or Hearst's editors. Only Don Carlos Seitz spoke against Crane as a correspondent, and his complaint will be discussed later.

Crane's stories were cabled with regularity and were used. With the constant demand for news, pressured writing was required. Something had to go to press if it had to be made up. Crane never used his personal life as subject for dispatches and he never resorted to sensational subjects. Perhaps that accounts for the chaotic dispatches. His dispatches are detached observation; it is as if he were standing on a balcony above the fighting giving a running commentary. In the midst of a section telling of an ignominious retreat by the Greek army, he inserted a description of a seaport town.

Volo is a beautiful town, a Summer resort in time of peace for wealthy Greeks. The houses are gay with awnings and the situation high on the mountain side overlooking the harbor is charming (26:3).

The insertion contrasts with the previously described "Wrathful, sullen, fierce" Greek forces. Exposition includes condemnation for the warring parties and a bitter indictment against a neutral English Red Cross ship, commanded by "a

particular and splendid ass, the surgeon in charge." When thousands were being evacuated and suffering from the "lack of just the aid she could have given," the ship left the harbor light because its commander had "some rules--God knows what they were--and he was the kind of fool to whom a rule is a holy thing."⁷ The articles continue with the flat statement that Crane had seen the body of a Greek officer "who had fallen wounded into Turkish hands."

His body was headless when I saw it, and I do not consider the Turks as wooly lambs. I think the haste of the people (those in retreat) rather natural.

A view of the real thing probably changed his earlier attitude toward dead men. Before he had written of them as if they were "dumped out upon the ground from the sky." Death and impending death are included in his Greek dispatches, but the enemy is no longer a demon. Instead, the threat is the Turkish army. And the imaginary but threatening "Greek-like" struggles have become the down to earth possibility that "the big ridge back of Domokos will be drenched in blood . . . the ridge is ideal for a defending army." And instead of glorious plans conceived in The Red Badge of Courage, Crane made the unemotional statement that "It will be a sight worth seeing when the Turkish waves roll up against it."

⁷Crane promised himself the "pleasure of writing of him later on," but to my knowledge he never completed the projected task.

Out of the disjointed account of the Greek Army's retreat, the flight from Volo, and the description of its evacuators, a new attitude asserts itself. Already visible in the passages of flat statement, Crane's dispatch portrays soldiers who "accept their reverses with fine impassivity, and will fight well if provisions hold out and ammunition lasts." The "peasant women are noncommittal, patient" suffering in curious silence, "while the babies wail on all sides." Crane states that "This is war--but it is another picture from what we got at the front." It is another picture than the one he had given even earlier in fiction. Before, war had been a vast colorful canvas, but now the color has changed to plain shades on a flat surface. The suffering which Crane saw made war no longer awesome.

Crane maintains his emotional equilibrium by flat commentary and ironic comment. In an article of May 23, "Stephen Crand and Julian Ralph Tell of War's Horrors and Turkey's Bold Plan," Crane revises further his younger and less experienced view of war. The scene described is a gruesome one.

Near the hatch where I can see him is a man shot through the mouth. The bullet passed through both cheeks. He is asleep with his head pillowed on the bosom of a dead comrade. He had been awake for days, doubtless, marching on bread and water, to be finally wounded at Domokos and taken aboard this steamer. He is too weary to mind either his wound or his awful pillow (69:35).

Crane describes the situation on board the dreadful freighter

ironically. He calls the incident "cheerful circumstances" when it is impossible to tell the living from the dead. More irony appears even further on in the article when the ship unloads its cargo of dead, Crane wrote about the callousness of the people on the street within view of the terrible freighter. They were shouting "'Hurrah! Hurrah! for war'" and while the celebration on shore continued, "a seemingly endless procession of stretchers proceeded from the ship, the still figures upon them." The article ends with a detailed picture of a soldier turned away from the hospital ship because the interpreter considered him too well to go on the boat carrying the wounded. When the correspondent went on shore to locate the stoical soldier, he found that the soldier "was ill with fever, was shot through the calf of the leg and his knees were raw from kneeling in the trenches." Crane's terse comment reflects his newly acquired bitter outlook.

There is more of this sort of thing in war than glory and heroic death, flags, banners, shouting and victory (69:35).

When Crane returned to civilian life, he announced that he had found his earlier picture of war to have been "all right." But his actions and his later prose deny his words.

Despite the general detachment of Crane's narrative, there are occasionally sentences which show his anguish for the suffering, pity for the people, and disgust for the

crown prince, and some other authorities.

The men cursed the faint-heartedness of the Prince who will rule them, and the officers turned away because in their hearts was the same bitterness that doubled the weight of the soldier's equipment (26:3).

The refugees generally seemed dazed. The old women particularly, uprooted from the spot they had lived so long kept their red eyes turned toward the shore as they sat on their rough bundles of clothes and blankets (69:35).

Their fiercest fighting has been rewarded, not with victory, but with orders to retreat. They have had a fierce, outnumbering enemy before them and a rear fire from the vacillating Crown Prince. They have had a campaign that has made officers cry like hysterical women with weariness and disappointment; they have been marched uselessly day and night, have starved and suffered and lost, and yet they are stout hearted and anxious for another fight (40:10).

Contrasting sharply with his disgust for the "craven" Crown Prince is admiration for the soldiers, none of whom "admits the possibility of losing Thermopylae" or the war. It is this concern for the ordinary soldier that caused Williams (146:115-116) to say that Crane "had an Ernie Pyle-like interest in the common soldier."

There was still another side of Crane's dispatches which should be presented. War was not the only thing he wrote about. He found material in everyday occurrences. "The Dogs of War" follows his other dispatches generally. Crane's name is in the two-inch headline: The Red Badge of Courage is mentioned in a subhead. A big picture of a puppy adorns the center of the page which is used almost exclusively

for the feature story.⁸ The initial setting is given through the pup's eyes, or at least what he would have seen if he had looked.

If the pup had studied the vast green plain at his right he would have seen black lines and lines still fainter than black and these lines were all Turks. . . . Moreover, there was sometimes a curious singing of great insects. But of all these things the pup did not care (31:18).

Then, the pup is described in detail. From his physical appearance which was that of a "little pup, not larger than a kitten . . . fat and fairly smothered in long white wool, marked here and there with black," to his mental state, which had "every indifference of a fat pup," Crane gives the pup charm and personality rarely found in a sketch.

Although he was no larger than a cake of soap, he had something elephantine in his movements.

Once a cavalryman with orders galloped past him . . . and a hoof of the gray charger missed him by little, but

⁸The article written by John Bass (7:35) suggested that this story was to come even though the story by Bass was written a week earlier.

As the last mountain gun was loaded on the mules Stephen Crane quietly walked down the hill. The Turkish artillery had drawn nearer, and amid the singing bullets and smashing shells the novelist stopped, pictured up a fat waddling puppy and immediately christened it Veles-tino, the Journal dog (7:35).

Frequently, newspaper stories had a distinct interrelation. The reader bought the next issue of the paper to continue the adventure which a correspondent had been about to embark upon. A personality gave continuing reader interest. Crane began his story at precisely the place where Bass had left it.

he didn't care for that either. He was busy with a geological survey.

The Journal dog whose "appearance on the street causes popular demonstration" became as well known in America as he was in Greece. Feature stories about animals held a great amount of reader appeal which Hearst used frequently. Crane had always been interested in dogs and the puppy held an appeal for him in real life as it did for the reader in print. The feature story shows that Crane was aware of demands of both his readers and his employer.

Besides his new awareness of demands, the article shows that Crane was also aware of traditional techniques used by foreign correspondents. "The Dogs of War" employs a personal servant. A native servant was a standard character in most foreign correspondent's work. Mathews (114: 252-253) delineates the general purpose of the menial as a "literary foil." Generally shiftless, perverse, shrewd and always comic, the native servant builds his correspondent creator to great heights by his adventures. The contrasts between the correspondent and native allowed the writer to emphasize his own attitude, bravery, and delicacy. According to Mathews, the servant was the comic relief in the "drama of the correspondent." Crane's use of the boy servant was different. Crane was not interested in telling of his personal encounters, so he did not use the boy for contrast.

The boy in the dispatch serves the same purpose as the real boy did whom Crane used as a model. The major point for comparison here is that Crane was aware of a servant as a "literary foil." He used the stereotyped servant in his fiction rather than in his newspaper work.⁹ This is consistent with his methods. Newspaper work presented models to observe, read, and imitate. But it also allowed him to take a method and adapt it to suit his own needs, materials, and objectives.

Crane's feature, despite its popularity with the public, points up a weak spot in his writing. The important event at Velestino was the final decisive battle in the war, not the finding of a fat, waddling puppy. Crane missed the final battle. For this reason, he is accused of being a poor newsman. Williams (146:116) rightfully charges that "When the Greeks and Turks finally met in decisive battles, Crane was usually elsewhere," What Williams did not know or did not say is that when Crane was elsewhere, so were five experienced reporters, including the stars Julian

⁹Crane used a servant as comic relief and as contrast in at least two works following his use of the servant in the dispatch. Active Service, the novel based on Crane's Greek experience, has a humorous dragoon who gets the main character Coleman in a muddle on several occasions. In contrast to the cowardly dragoon, Coleman is young, handsome, and clear-sighted. The O'Ruddy, a satiric romance, employs a lower-class ruffian as a foil for the O'Ruddy's adventures. The servants in both novels clearly serve the purpose which servants in other newsmen's dispatches served.

Ralph and James Creelman. No one expected the major fight at Velestino. Richard Harding Davis and John Bass covered the battle, but their scoop was not the result of superior newsmanship. They had stayed behind in Velestino to sleep and were awakened by gunfire. Crane is partially exonerated from the charge of being a poor newsman when all the facts are in. A novice correspondent cannot be expected to know more than experienced newsmen. Had the war lasted longer it is probable that Crane would have adjusted to the new type of writing. Several things besides the newness of the situation impeded his progress. He had an intestinal ailment that the Greek food complicated. He did not know the language, and his disgust and his disgust and helpless feelings because of his shortcomings re-echo in Active Service.¹⁰ But many of the other correspondents did not know the language, either, and it scarcely seems important to have done so if Crane were to record his impressions of the panorama of war.

But, there was little time to adjust because the war came to an abrupt end on May 20, 1897. Crane had been joined by that time by Cora Taylor, the woman he had met in Jacksonville, and they lingered in Athens for a time. It was early

¹⁰At one point, Coleman "convinced himself anew that talking through an interpreter to the minds of other men was as satisfactory as looking at a landscape through a stained-glass window."

June before he left Greece. Accompanied by newsman Sylvester Scovel, two Greek servants, the pup Velestino, and by Cora and her duenna, Mrs. Ruedy, Crane returned to England rather than the United States.

Stephen and Cora established a home at Ravensbrook in the village of Oxted, Surrey. His self-imposed expatriation and his war reporting did not hurt his skill as a writer. Once settled in England, in rapid succession he finished "The Monster" in September of 1897, "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" in October, "Death and the Child" in November and "The Blue Hotel" in February of 1898. At least three of these have an excellence which establishes Crane in the main stream of short story development.

The short story began as an American invention and has continued to be an American specialty.¹¹ Its beginning antedates Crane's writing by sixty years; therefore he was not a pioneer in the short story's beginning as he was in naturalism and realism. Instead he is important because he directed the short story's later development toward naturalistic and realistic attitudes and techniques. His work "entitled him to honor not only as one of the few masters of

¹¹ Stegner (139:9) states that in 125 years since the beginning of the short story, only six exceptions contradict the rule. He lists Kipling, Conrad, Joyce, O'Connor, Mansfield, and Lawrence as great practitioners, but only Lawrence is a "bona fide Englishman."

the short story but as the first of moderns" (139:20). He became the most proficient short story writer of the nineties.

If he did not himself at once influence the course of the short story, he reflected a change in temper and tone and technique that was already in the air in the 1890's . . . to become the characteristic modern tone (139:22).

The entire period at the close of the century tended toward what Edgar Allan Poe had foreseen in the 1830's.

I perceived that the whole energetic, busy spirit of the age tended wholly to magazine literature--to the curt, the terse, the well-timed and readily diffused, in preference to the old forms of verbose and ponderous and inaccessible (126:356).

Poe published "Metzengerstein," America's first significant short story in 1832. It was the first work of prose fiction to strive for a single effect. Hawthorne contributed a type of short story that depended upon "possibilities for character development and analysis of motives, for attention to atmosphere, setting and theme" (139:15). Since then the form has been sharpened, subtilized, improved, and intensified. Crane contributed much toward concentration of the form when he wrote "The Open Boat," a story whose actual setting does not go beyond the gunwales, the time is only the length of time at sea, and the action is continuous from its first line to its last. But his contribution did not end there. When he began to write short stories again after he had left Greece and its war, his penetrating psychology and symbolism continued to make him an impressive writer to the moderns.

The changes that occurred in his fiction when Crane began to write in 1897 are related to the changes in his newspaper work. The style is less garish; most of the nouns paired with peculiar adjectives and colors have disappeared. But the alternations of moods, the vivid sense impressions, and the metaphor-studded prose identifies it as a more mature and controlled Crane work. The seemingly accidental emblems of some earlier prose become skillfully interwoven symbolism that is vital to the meaning of his short stories. The uncertain but constant shifting of scenes which characterized his Greek dispatches became a meaningful and carefully selected series of scenes in fiction. He had observed and recorded indiscriminately in his dispatches, but his fictional scenes have implicit direction. Previously Crane had been unable to control his urge to be clever. But the factual content of news dispatches found its way into his fiction. Crane's dispatches were cabled across the Atlantic and only unadorned prose was desired. Most cleverness not eliminated by the cable was removed by his copyreaders, and Crane found that by recording selected actions he could achieve a single effect rather than a series of unrelated images which distorted and destroyed the mood he hoped to create. Crane's dispatches and fiction, both, employ condensed thought, curt dialogue, staccato movement, and singleness of purpose and impression. All of the stories are as

compact as a news story using little exposition. The reader is plunged immediately into the story and is carried along by its swift action. Little commentary interrupts the narrative and dialogue.

Another quality that journalism and particularly the Greek writing experience contributed, was more rapid wringing. Before he had written for deadlines, Crane had labored for months before he was able to refine his fiction to the proper degree of finesse. Pressure to meet deadlines forced creation when there was nothing to write about, and the distractions and general chaos of the battle field made Crane more adaptable. Sometimes it had taken him months to begin a story, but in England in 1897 he began and finished in rapid succession "The Monster," "Death and the Child," "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," and "The Blue Hotel." Never before had he been as productive or as skilled.

The first significant story of the period is "The Monster." In this story the reader confronts the Crane that saw society, rebelled, grew angry, and wrote that he might change it. Each facet of the story has its reflection in an earlier period. It follows the episodic structure of Maggie and The Red Badge of Courage. The characterization employs the technique which had always before made Crane a great simplifier. The symbolism of the sea story, "The Open Boat," showed Crane how a careful selection of images which

weaved and interweaved throughout a story can have more impact than random selection. "The Monster" uses the events of an ordinary town and nondescript detail to tell a tale far more profound than would be expected with such common ingredients. "The Monster" does not preach, it exemplifies. Its theme is the same as some previous themes, but the story is sharper and more poignant in its presentation. It is Crane's most emphatic statement that moral behavior will not insure safety or acceptance in a world filled with malice, cowardice, and self-interest.

The incidents of the story are few. Henry Johnson, the Trescott's Negro servant, has rushed into a burning building to save Jimmie, Dr. Trescott's small son. His heroic act almost ends in the flaming chemical lab where he and the child lie helpless and unconscious. Both are pulled to safety, but the Negro has been so badly burned, particularly on his face, that he is not expected to live.¹² The

¹²Fire held some kind of fascination for Crane since it appears again and again in his fiction. His first major use of it was in a feature for the Press, "When Everyone is Panic Stricken" (77:6). The impressionistic feature begins as a narrator moves down a shadowy side street, west of Sixth Avenue in New York. Suddenly there is a "muffled cry," and the sound of shattering glass. "A policeman, huge and panting, ran past us with glitter of buttons and shield in the darkness." Dull gray smoke surrounds a tenement and then a fire like "the ravings of a red beast in a cage" engulfs the structure. Sometimes the firemen appear "like black beetles against the red and yellow expanses of flames." The "lashing, carousing, leaping, straining" flames are as

doctor works over him in a vain attempt to save the man who had saved his son. The doctor succeeds in saving his life, but Henry lives on as a faceless, demented but harmless human. The rest of the story continues as the intellectual, moral, and emotional exploration of the town's reactions to heroic Henry, now called simply "the monster," and to his savior, Dr. Trescott.

animated as the flames that destroy Old Henry Fleming's barn in "The Veteran." Fleming goes into the barn "where the stifling smoke swirled with the air-currents, and where could be heard in its fulness the terrible chorus of the flames, laden with tones of hate and death." When he has made the final trip into the barn to save the colts, "a great funnel of smoke swarmed toward the sky," and the "smoke was tinted rose-hue from the flames." "Manacle," termed a "persecution fantasy" by Berryman (12:256) was written during Crane's middle period but not published until 1900. It describes man's helplessness in a combat with the fire of nature. Left with his hands tied behind him with "real rope" and "real manacles" on his ankles, the actor tries to flee the burning theatre by hopping up the stairs while the flames lick at his heels. The fire in "The Monster" is more dreadful and more colorful than all the other flames in Crane's fiction. "An orange-colored flame leaped like a panther at the lavender trousers," and again it is a "delicate, trembling sapphire shape like a fairy lady." Berryman has discussed the psychological implications of the fire in "The Monster." Among other things, he sees one "coral" flame as the name "Cora" in a "displaced and disguised" form (12:323). He mentions the fire in "The Veteran," but he does not take the other fires into account. What the fire symbolism meant to Crane is hard to tell. Like so many other recurrent themes, ideas, and characters in Crane's writing, it seems to me that all of the fires prior to "The Monster" are immature experiments when compared to the fire in this third period story.

Several threads in the story relate to Crane's ideas from earlier periods. "The Monster" is a return to the implied protest evidenced in Maggie. But Crane had learned something in the five years that separate Maggie and "The Monster." His immature efforts in Maggie illustrated a concern and an interest in the social forces that could so easily destroy a human being. But then, he was not adept at handling the theme. The style was too garish and the words too shocking for public taste. Maggie failed because it was too brutal, too truthful and too advanced for Victorian taste. "The Monster," too, shocked the reading public, many considered it a horror story. The shock contained within the story is not shock at its subject, or wording as it had been in Maggie because there is nothing sensational in the wording. Newspaper copyreaders, who had cut his profuse adjective, adverbs, and curse words, taught Crane that simplicity was preferable to ornamentation. Simplicity best describes the portrayal of the town and the monster. Crane did not dwell on the horrible disfigurement of the Negro, instead, he said plainly, "He had no face." Crane added more force to his writing when he presented plain facts. All of his revisions tended toward this journalistic cutting. By 1898 when Crane returned to the theme of protest, he did not depend upon either descriptive adjectives or unusual characters. Narrowness and conformity of

small-town life and maliciousness of gossip direct the course of action in "The Monster." Not fate or God, but human actions dictate the course of events. The style of objective, realistic, and unadorned.¹³

Crane's experience in Greece and his stay in "the Row" at Jacksonville taught him that there were more common people in the world than unusual people and that there were more hunger, suffering, and uneventful waits than "glory, and heroic death, flags, banners, shouting, and victory." With this discovery, Crane's desire for the "truth of the experience" caused his fictional characters to become ordinary individuals with human drives and frailties. Doctor Trescott, for example, is driven by his deeply felt moral obligation to save his son's rescuer. His subsequent actions are neither heroic nor particularly well thought out; he does what he feels he must, but his reasons, although real and clearcut in his own mind, cannot be put into words.

Dr. Trescott does his duty as a skillful practitioner, as he sees he must. He is a staunch idealist who acts out

¹³It would seem that Gilder's reaction and his subsequent rejection of Maggie for its excessive "Gawd's" and its indelicacy in choosing a prostitute as a heroine had taught Crane a lesson. In a 1896 revision, Crane removed many of the objectionable words. His lesson did not help "The Monster" in its reception. Gilder turned it away with the comment, "We couldn't publish that thing with half the expectant mothers in America on our subscription list! (1: 329). This time Gilder was shocked more by the theme than by the words that told it or the characters that were contained in it.

his conscious duty to his fellowmen. Human decency is hard to put into words, and when Trescott must defend his humane action, his words are an inadequate "I--it is a matter of--well--" and his actions are called "a blunder of virtue." Ironically, the doctor, whose duty it is to cure people, can do nothing to help the narrowness, hypocrisy, complacency, ignorance, and moral cowardice of the town.

Irony dominates much of the story. Clad in his lavender trousers and straw hat with a bright silk band, "Henry" is a modern phoenix. With this bright purple plumage, he is the butt of humor in the town, which does not recognize his human beauty under his colorful trappings. The small town tries to destroy the loveliness of human spirit through its petty social code. He is consumed by flames and reborn out of the "black mass in the middle of Trescott's property," but both Henry and his creator, the doctor, are shunned by society. And, ironically, the doctor cannot solve the riddle of the phoenix in words. His explanation is stammered and incomplete. The judge, whose occupation should make him an exponent of justice and right, is more concerned with the "ivory head" on his cane than he is in saving Henry's black face or the doctor's reputation. He sits in judgment and ironically decides "that poor fellow ought to die." Another of the upright citizens is John Twelve, whose very name suggests fullness and quantity; he

calls on Trescott to convince him he should reject Henry and send him away. In an ironic detail the reader learns that the man is "worth \$400,000 and reported to be worth over a million"--he is worth less than half what people in town think. Despite the discrepancy of what Twelve is worth and what people think he is worth, he is the jury. He offers Trescott an out. There is a place that Trescott can send Henry so the monster will not bother the town; and at the same time, Trescott can be assured that Henry will receive care. Trescott's quiet rejection brings down the complete estrangement which has been threatened throughout the story.

Estrangement in the form of social ostracism permeates the story. Even the story's form contributes. Its episodic structure is composed of at least twenty-four scenes or sections^{each} depicting some form of rejection. The first scene begins with the doctor's denial of the child who has just broken a flower. Jimmy Trescott is banished from the front yard and is forced to seek company elsewhere. The next scene depicts the Negro and Jimmy united against the world since they shut out everything while they work on the buggy in the stable. Another rejection theme continues into Reifsnnyder's barbership society. The citizens of the barber-shop set the Negro apart when they jeer at his clothes. Children are forced out of the group when mothers refuse them permission to go to the fire when everybody else is

going. The entire town ostracizes the doctor, the child, the wife, and the Negro. Each scene with its diverse, clear character delineation, and explicit detail forms another ring in the concentric circles that comprise the story's structure. But all incidental ostracism unites for one imposing theme. The Trescott family and house are in the first ring. Each subsequent circle radiates from that primary ring. Doctor Trescott began the pattern when he sent his son from "the front yard society" to the lower society of the stable. Just as during the fire, "all roads led to Dr. Trescott's," all the envy, hatred, and malice that cause the ostracism lead back to Doctor Trescott.

The forces that destroy Trescott are present in the fire which threatens his son. Henry rushed into the fire and bundles up the sleeping child. The Negro cannot get out of the burning house by the stairs he entered. When he is about to give up hope of escape, he remembers some back stairs that lead down to the doctor's laboratory. Once he has made it to the laboratory with his precious bundle, he succumbs to the smoke. He falls and rolls over so that his face is exposed. The flames which curl and twist and writhe before they pour the burning chemicals into "the upturned face" even while the air seems to be "alive with envy, hatred, and malice" are the same flames that sear the doctor and destroy his face and his family, for it is these qualities--

envy, hatred, and malice--that are personified in several of the town's leading citizens.

The characters, incidents, and wording seem artless at first glance. But, the symbolism involved becomes more skillful and more powerful when Crane's craft is examined carefully because the symbolism is neither obvious nor contrived. For example, it is the "brakeman on the railway"--whose job it is to stop--who rushes into the fire and pulls "the thing" out of the fire. It is Bainbridge, a railway engineer, who first says outright, "he should have let him die. . . ." and the man directs not only a train but also the train of events that follow. The barber Reifsnyder, whose profession is composed of keeping up appearances, tries half-heartedly to defend the doctor's decision from the town's condemnation, but he ends by musing, "'I wonder how it feels to be without any face?'" Even the doctor's character has depth added by its subtle symbolic presentation. He is the determining body in the "tide" of the story, and he "was the moon to both Jimmie and Henry." When he was mad; at his son, "Jimmie became the victim of an eclipse," and "Henry personally conducted the moon" when Trescott went on professional calls in his buddy. It is "the moon" in the town's eyes that is responsible for the lunacy of Henry's existence as a monster.

The conclusion of the story is as ambiguous as any

Crane had written. Several questions are implied but never answered. The black and the white repudiate Henry. His girl friend and his best friend refuse him friendship and consideration when he is demented. Williams, his Negro friend, finally turns him out because his wife cannot have her lady friends in to tea when they have a monster in the house. The social ceremony which centers around the tea--while seemingly an innocent pastime--is the final savage blow from a civilized society. Mrs. Trescott is shunned at her weekly tea party. Little hope can be found in those fifteen empty tea cups and the plates of uncut tea-cake, that the doctor counts. Empty cups are the only tangible measure of the doctor's moral action.

Crane was no optimist. His ideas expressed in the story of Trescott are grim and dark. His dark view was a part of his temperament that derived partially from his experience. He did not find much hope, whether life is based on a vindictive God's natural law or on the whim of chance action. Crane never clearly spelled out his philosophy because his short stories do not supply a direct statement. His Greek dispatches are much more explicit. For example, Crane espoused the Greek cause but the Turks won. When a Greek officer stated that the Turks would pay for all the suffering they had caused, Crane commented with bitterness, "nobody pays for these things" (26:3). This editorial com-

ment shows directly that Crane did not believe that wrongs were redressed; the short story exemplifies the rule and cruelty of unjust forces in the world. "The Monster" does not end on a cheerful note because Crane saw no hope in the world in 1897 when he wrote the story.

His theme changed in the creation of his next short story. He moved his setting from the imaginary Whilomville to the Far West. Crane's Western is one of the most cheerful stories in his collection; in fact, he seems to be poking fun at himself for his earlier seduction by the West. Just as "The Monster" is a return to his theme presented in Maggie, "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" further explores and explodes ideas which Crane had used in "Horses! One Dash!" and his earlier Western stories.

"The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" is the second short story of the period, and its subject, too, is man's estrangement from civilization. The civilization this time is another imaginary town that exists somewhere out west. The correct ceremony of the "esthete" East has been imposed on the raw West, with minor variations to suit the new locale. The story is Crane's fictional denial that the West held any panacea for the false East. Raw strength and hoodlum courage were the closest thing the West had to offer to an ideal which Crane sought throughout most of his lifetime. With his usual sharp vision and penetrating analysis of events--

heightened by the skepticism of his reporter's training-- Crane saw that the West, if not completely mythical, was at least on its way out. Civilization encroached on the "he-man" games, and one of the last of the big bad men, Scratchy Wilson, was as out of place as a dinosaur would be in Manhattan.

Written with all the flavor and ingredients of the popular Western, "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" is far different from the average Western. Yellow Sky could just as well have been Dodge, Deadwood, or Crane's own Tin Can. It has the necessary mesquit, cactus, saloon, Mexicans, dude, and well-armed bad man. At that point the comparison ends because what happens reverses all else. Fast guns and quick action do not fill the story, indeed, "nothing happens." But, everything happens because the West and all its raw life are doomed.

The town marshall, Jack Potter, is returning from San Antonio with his bride who is not pretty or very young. On the train to Yellow Sky, the bride and groom are the victims of some unstate humor which seems slightly risque. Meanwhile, Scratchy Wilson, the town's gunslinger, goes on a rampage. Yellow Sky closes its doors and bars its windows, and its occupants seek shelter because Jack Potter is not in town to maintain order. Everyone in town has an established role in "the saga of the West, and those who do not are

quickly given their cue by the other performers. Potter always "goes out and fights Scratchy" when the gun-slinger is on a tear. Up until this time both participants understand the rules of the game since obviously neither kills the other during the skirmishes. With both revolvers blazing, Scratchy fills the town with "terrible invitations" to come out and fight. But no one responds because that is Potter's role in the game. Potter has other problems at the moment; he has to somehow get his bride into town and then go break the news to Yellow Sky. He feels the part of the criminal at this point since acquiring a wife is out of character for a town marshall, particularly without the town's permission. He and his bride arrive in town and turn a corner to find Scratchy reloading. With lightening fast action, Scratchy dropped the unloaded gun and whipped out another. The impotent bridegroom can only state, "I ain't got a gun on me. You'll have to do all the shootin' yourself." This is not the way of the old West, and Scratchy can only repeat inanely, "If you ain't got a gun, why ain't you got a gun." When Potter indicates the new bride at his side, Scratchy utters in abject finality, "I s'pose it's all off now." The romance of the West is over.

Everything is the fault of the bride. The bride has "unmanned" Potter and their marriage is the end of innocence. What Crane had recognized on his Western sojourn was that

time was running out for the frontier. Geronimo and the Apaches were subdued by 1886; the last of the Sioux were on reservations by 1891; even the Dalton gang were awaiting trial in 1897. With the Indian Wars over for more than a decade, Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders had to go to Cuba to find a formidable challenge. But, Roosevelt published a four volume work called The Winning of the West from 1889 to 1896. His books and the muscle-man myth duped the public for a time, but not Crane. He saw the impending end, and in "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" he recorded the demise of the "cult of the strongman." Even while Crane saw the limits of the West, he ticked off the minutes of that time in "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky." Neither the man nor the woman are as young as they might be. His face was "reddened from many days in the wind and sun," and she was not "very young." Their concern with time and their arrival at Yellow Sky enforces the importance of Yellow Sky's waning days.

"We are due in Yellow Sky at 3:42," he said, looking tenderly into her eyes.

"It's seventeen minutes past twelve," she said, looking up at him with a kind of shy and clumsy coquetry.

But the hour of Yellow Sky--the hour of daylight--was approaching.

Even Scratchy Wilson recognizes the time limit which has been placed on his existence. "He was like a creature allowed a

glimpse of another world" and his reaction to the married couple is rejection. The game is over.

Scratchy Wilson's loneliness and estrangement from society illustrates one of the most ubiquitous of Crane's themes. It is not the courageous Marshall Jack Potter who has defeated Scratchy. Crane has juxtaposed recognized forces of the law and brute strength. "The drooping, drowning woman" at Potter's side has defeated both the marshall and the gunman. Everything is reversed. Potter disarms Scratchy because Potter does not have a gun. The code of the West suffers further when Mrs. Potter, the new bride who represents purity, defeats Scratchy, the old gunman who represents both strength and worldliness. The new bride, acquired without the town's knowledge or consent, has defeated Potter. She has somehow managed the marriage and made Potter feel a "traitor to the feelings of Yellow Sky." In one of his most delightful ironic reversals, Crane shows what uncontrolled innocence can do.

Crane has taken all the qualities of the frontier tale and through their presentation has denied the very existence of the frontier itself. Potter and Scratchy are the last remnants of that sturdy breed of men who battled their way through life while others cower under ~~the~~ the bar in the saloon, aptly called "the Weary Gentlemen saloon" in the story. Just as he had used the romantic imaginative

prose of The Red Badge of Courage to condemn the romantic tradition, Crane used the typical ingredients of the Western to level that myth.

As maudlin and melodramatic as the story sounds, Crane was right in his judgment when he said to his agent that the piece "is a daisy and don't let them talk funny about it" (137:145). Stallman upholds his estimation, "It is the single perfect bead on his string of Western tales" (138:266).

Crane put the final touches on "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" in October of 1897. He moved from the West to red war in his next story. "Death and the Child" was finished in November. The story exploits his recent experience in Greece, but by his own comment and general critical evaluation, the story does not attain the level of its companion pieces. "' wouldn't have done it if I was not broke" wrote Crane to his agent in December (137:157). The story has neither the force nor the impact of most of his short stories. In subject and setting it is closely related to his experience in Greece. The main character, Peza, is an Italian foreign correspondent whose father had been a Greek. Upon viewing the war-torn scene in which peasants are fleeing the battle zones, Peza casts off his role of newsman and seeks to join the fray. The story becomes a comedy of manners. Formal introductions, gracious bows, polite conversa-

tions dominate the theater of war. The officers who direct Peza to the front are hosts, and Peza is a stranger and a guest. The only natural acting character is a child left behind by his parents during a feverish retreat. Secure with "a pearl-colored cow" as his companion, the child is one with the landscape. Solitary, "engrossed in his own pursuits," he plays oblivious to the war in the immediate background. The war is unreal to both Peza and the child, but it is only the child who has the presence to ignore its existence. Driven to the front by his imagination, Peza flees for the same reason. Disheveled, bloodied, dust-covered, the cowardly Peza drags himself down to an abandoned house and is found by the child. "Are you a man?" queries the child. The story concludes with the craven correspondent's recognition that

. . . he confronted the primitive courage, the sovereign child, the brother of the mountains, the sky, and the sea, and he knew that the definition of his misery could be written on a wee grass blade.

More obviously prompted by his journalism experience than either "The Monster" or "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," the Greek story's importance is limited to the fact it is Crane's first fictional use of a war he had experienced. Surprisingly enough, the story's closest parallel is the imaginative first Civil War story, The Red Badge of Courage. Peza is deluded by tradition and heroism just as Henry was. Crane's description of red war includes a battleline that

"writhed at times in the agony of a sea creature on the sands," which recalls the demon imagery of Crane's Civil War novel. Peza's motives for joining the war are linked to "the pageants of carnage that marched through the dreams of his childhood" and even later it occurred to him that he had continued to battle "because of a previous time a certain man had smiled" just as Fleming's motives were based on dreams of glory and sentiment stirred by newspaper accounts.

The relationships which exist between the novel and the later short story are understandable when we realize that Crane went to war initially in order to test his previous vision of war. Always inclined to rewrite basic themes and reuse characters, Crane seems to have rewritten The Red Badge of Courage by changing the setting from a Civil War battlefield to Greece. Henry, a Northern soldier, is changed to Peza, a newspaper correspondent. "Death and the Child" is Crane's fictional affirmation that what he had imagined in his Civil War novel was "all right." By patterning the story after his earlier selection, Crane seems to be presenting the same general picture even though the Greek story was written from experience. But "Death and the Child" has neither the depth, the quality, nor the insight of the earlier success. Peza is comic while Henry is human. Point-of-view used ⁱⁿ the "Death and the Child" does not allow us to sympathize with

Peza's terror because we are detached. The Red Badge of Courage is longer and its length makes it possible for Crane to build intensity while "Death and the Child" is too brief to allow us to become involved in the story. Its scope and setting helps give a grandeur to the novel which cannot be accomplished in the shorter selection. The theme of the short story seems to hinge too much on the question of The Child. Although stylistically consistent and adept in its imagery, "Death and the Child" seems like a flat surface with images and color embroidered for decoration. The indifferent blue sky, the pensive landscape and virginal nature are too reminiscent of Crane's earlier work to be effective and still unobtrusive when reworked into this smaller effort. "Death and the Child" adds nothing to Crane's collection, it simply reuses what has been done more effectively earlier.

The spectre which appeared to insist that Crane write for the market rather than for his personal dictates is in some ways responsible for the failure of "Death and the Child." Frederic urged that Crane use his experience as a foreign correspondent. With his finances as confused as ever, Crane wrote to cash in on the market which had developed for war experiences. Finding the subject to public taste, Crane announced plans to write a novel on the same general subject immediately after he had completed "Death and the Child" (137:157).

But the novel had to wait while Crane finished a more important piece, "The Blue Hotel." Written in the early part of 1898, it had its inception in February of 1895 when Crane saw a hideous blue hotel while he was traveling out West for Bacheller. The fight that takes place in the story may be patterned after the bar room battle Crane had witnessed on the same trip. But the dramatic incident of "The Blue Hotel" and the characters are from imagination. The style and content of "Death and the Child" and "The Blue Hotel" vary greatly. "The Blue Hotel" excels because the story is from imagination not direct experience. With most of the violence contained under the surface, "The Blue Hotel" succeeds through what it does not say as much as through what it says directly.

The main character is one of Crane's most memorable. "The Swede" has the quixotic temperament and unrealness of surrealist art. He rushes headlong toward a violent end which he expects and deserves. The Swede more than any other Crane character portrays the complete isolate. He is by turns sneaky, impetuous, and jocose alternately during unpredictable fits of temperament. After a drink, the Swede goes into a manic phase and becomes as brash and obnoxious as he was timid before. The legends of the violent West have made him timid and insecure even though the town's occupants state firmly, "this ain't Wyoming, ner none of them places."

Crane employs a strange combination of natural action and chance action to explain the Swede's ruin. Every incident that leads up to the Swede's death is a reasonable act by reasonable men. It is not blind chance, but human error, thoughtlessness and an acceptable social code which give a step by step development of the Swede's downfall.

Each incident contributes to the Swede's death in the story. From the moment the "snow-crueted engine dragged its long string of freight cars and its one passenger coach to the station," the fear-crazed Swede tempts fate. The train is met by Scully, the proprietor of the town's main hotel, and he ushers the three men to his establishment. The hotel is a ghastly blue which seems to scream out a warning of something terrible to follow. But, Scully does not allow any resistance and the Swede, the cowboy, and the Easterner find themselves in the main room of the hotel. Every character acts of his own volition; each follows some kind of ethical judgment. The Swede's strange actions put him at odds with the other guests; he cringes and cowers while they look on in amazement. They play a game of cards, and a fight ensues. The Swede thrashes Johnny, the hotel proprietor's son; but, his actions before, during, and after the fight align the other men against him. He leaves the blue hotel, but first his wild words arouse the cowboy, who clenches his fists, but ethics forbid another fight. The

swirling snow directs his feet toward a saloon occupied by two merchants, the district attorney, and a gambler. It is the Swede's fortune to annoy the gambler. The Swede gets drunk, insults, and threatens to attack the professional gambler who is the most scrupulous gentleman in the story. Without malice or cunning or thought, the gambler stabs the Swede who falls "with a cry of supreme astonishment."

The Swede in reality has committed suicide. But at the same time, paradoxically, every other character has willfully participated in the murder. But they are typical people, following recognized standards of behavior. The humor, passion, and believable weaknesses of these people get them into a mess that only the Swede's death can solve. The outcome is beyond any human control. The hotelkeeper, Scully, aggressively brings the Swede to the hotel; he gives the man a drink which helps topple his evidently shaky reason; then he arranges the fight which drives the Swede to the saloon and death. The cowboy, "a board-thrasher," contributes by his actions, too, he creates tension in the card game and alienates the Swede further by shouting "Kill him!" during the fight. Neither is the quiet Easterner blameless; Mr. Blanc, does nothing even when he recognizes that Johnny has been cheating. Later the bartender sets the Swede up with a drink. Insane with drink and unaccustomed to the ways of the new society where he finds himself, the Swede blindly asks

for his murder. The bartender fails to warn the Swede of the error of his ways and by refusing to drink with the Swede, he forces the Swede to attack the gambler. The gambler, follows the stereotyped instincts of his trade with a quick knife.

The latent violence of life as Crane viewed it is never more forceful than in this short story. Death, murder, and horror permeate the story.

A gate-post like a still man with a blanched face stood aghast amid this profligate fury.

"The Swede sprang up with the celerity of a man escaping from a snake on the floor. "I don't want to fight!" he shouted.

The wind tore at the house, and some loose thing beat regularly against the clapboards like a spirit tapping.

This yellow effulgence (the small lamp) streaming upward, coloured only his prominent feature, and left his eyes, for instance, in mysterious shadow. He resembled a murderer.

The quality of sub-surface violence makes Crane's tone closer to Hemingway than to his own contemporaries. The plot becomes secondary and less complicated than other stories written during the nineties. An essential feature of "The Blue Hotel" is what Henry James called a "situation revealed." The process of writing turns into an act of knowing, or intellectual or moral or emotional exploration (139:15). The exploration in this case is far from pleasant. The reader, without knowing the obscure events which precipitated the Swede's behavior, feels that the Swede's death is not only fit but fore-ordained

and therefore unavoidable. The reader must somehow share the guilt for the murder of the Swede. The gambler's imprisonment is a social indictment since he alone suffers for society's crime. In fact, the social verdict is fraudulent since everyone helped to murder the Swede. The gambler just happened to finish the killing. The Swede's life was purchased for only three years of the gambler's life and no one felt any remorse for the injustice to either the Swede or the gambler. Conventional morality is as unjust and ineffective as the social code which Crane had written about previously.

Some critics have stated that Crane violated his own writing code because they feel the conclusion moralizes. As the Swede falls, his dead eyes focused on the cash register with its grim comment, "This registers the amount of your purchase." They feel that the cash register and the comment prior to that that man's existence was "to cling to a whirling, fire-smitten, ice-locked, disease-stricken, space-lost bulb," say directly how Crane felt about life. One of Crane's main tenets was never to say but to exemplify because "preaching" is fatal to writing. This interpretation then centers on the futility of the Swede's existence. But the conclusion disputes this interpretation. Crane moves ^{from} away the Swede's death to the "injured and rebellious" cowboy. Even the Easterner's accusation that "Every sin is the

result of a collaboration" does not contain the theme of the story. Instead, the theme hinges on the poor cowboy's foggy defence, "Well, I didn't do anythin', did I?" He had done nothing, as an individual. Neither had the gambler, the bartender, Scully, Johnny, nor anyone. He and every other character in the story is "a kind of an adverb." Some terrible force beyond man's comprehension caused the tragedy. The entire civilized social structure was responsible, but what hope can be found in that. Even the Easterner, who has attacked the cowboy, has missed the point of the episode.

It is impossible to tell what Crane's next story would have been if his creative spurt had not been interrupted by the sinking of the Maine. His stay in England and his fictional output were broken into by his work in Cuba as a correspondent during the Spanish-American War.¹⁴ With the

¹⁴An interesting commentary by Brisbane, Hearst's main editor, gives insight into the war, popular opinion, and Crane's ability as a journalist.

For weeks before the declaration every newspaper had felt that war might come. One at least was sure that would--hoped it would, and said so.

He went on to state that Creelman, Scovel, Bonsal, and Davis were there representing the press, but reporters were not enough to attract and to hold readers.

But not mere news alone will do today. First what happened? Second, how did it impress this or the other man with a name? Thus comes the problem: What names can you add to your news forces?

There are other good names and valuable men to please the great public. The World got Stephen Crane;

news of the war, Crane put aside his fiction and left for Cuba. Conrad described him as being white faced with excitement while scurrying around London trying to raise money to go to war--"Nothing could have held him back. He was ready to swim the ocean" (12:207). Unable to get an advance from his publishers, rejected by the Navy, he finally signed as a correspondent for the New York World.¹⁵

He had hardly had time to adjust to war when he was in Greece, but the war in Cuba promised to be a longer fight. He sent at least twenty dispatches to Pulitzer's World between April 27 and July 9, 1898 (12:217).¹⁶ Crane was not

the Herald RHD. . . .

Every "good name" was handed to an experienced reporter with instructions to see that the "name" saw something, that the "name" worked in a hurry, then the man was to "take what he writes (or draws) away from him and rush it home." Brisbane records further that "lo and behold" the celebrities "turned out to be natural-born reporters." Not only were they eager to get to the fighting lines but as "quick to get their work ready." Brisbane and Hearst considered Crane a real catch for the World. In fact, half-way through the war, Crane was hired by the Journal after he was fired by the World.

¹⁵Many war correspondent's found war irresistible. It was said that Crane's contemporary, John Bass, never missed a war "unless two wars were in progress simultaneously" (114:244). As another veteran correspondent put it, "Many times I have retired as a war correspondent--in fact after every war. . . . I could not escape unless I dug a hole for myself on an island and left no address behind" (114:243-4).

¹⁶The articles listed below are placed in order of their publication: "The Terrible Captain of the Captured Panama," April 28, 1898; "Sampson Inspects Harbor at Mariel," May 1, 1898; "Inaction Deteriorates the Key West Fleet,"

the most dependable correspondent, but he was accurate in his reporting. If his reports did not come in with regularity, they were at least truthful and undistorted. Some contain the obvious Crane touches which mark the dispatches immediately as Crane's writing. But others are so unadorned with description or metaphors that they become so ordinary that any hack could have turned them out.

Crane remarked once that playwrights should be sent to cover the first part of a war. When nothing was going on they could simply lower the curtain. But lowering the curtain was not possible and Crane had to supply the paper

May 6, 1898; "Stephen Crane's Pen Picture of C. H. Thrall," May 8, 1898; "With the Blockade on Cuban Coast," May 9, 1898; "Sayings of the Turret Jacks in Our Blockading Fleets," May 15, 1898; "Hayti and San Domingo Favor the U.S.," May 24, 1898; "Narrow Escape of Three Friends," May 29, 1898; "Roosevelt's Rough Rider Loss Due to a Gallant Blunder," June 26, 1898; "Red Badge of Courage Was His Wig-Wag Flag," July 1, 1898; "Artillery Duel Was Fiercely Fought on Both Sides," July 3, 1898; "Chased by a Big Spanish Man-O-War," July 3, 1898; "Crane Tells the Story of the Disembarkment," July 7, 1898; "Stephen Crane at the Front for the World," July 7, 1898; "Spanish Deserters Among the Refugees at El Caney," July 8, 1898; "Hunger Has Made Cubans Fatalists," July 12, 1898; "Stephen Crane's Vivid Story of the Battle of San Juan," July 14, 1898; "Night Attacks on the Marines and a Brave Rescue," July 16, 1898; "Captured Mausers for Volunteers," July 17, 1898; "Regulars Get No Glory," July 20, 1898. A short satire, "An Illusion in Red and White," was published May 20, 1900, in the Sunday supplement. The story is rather commonly found in collections of his short stories, and Honig (104: 12-13) considers it "a precursor" of modern crime stories--as "chilling" as anything from Poe or Bierce.

with dispatches on rather trivial incidents. The first sentence of his first World dispatch indirectly reiterates the problem of news gathering.

Propelled by the unmitigated efforts of some two hundred and fifty newspaper correspondents Key West furnishes a vast amount of news to the public (75:3).

Every man was forced to write for his newspaper whether there was anything happening or not. This dispatch was Crane's contribution. It contains some typical Crane touches. The captured ship holds a crew of "very dirty and most remarkaby [sic] diversified collection" of men who "proved that to be captured in war is to cause a most extraordinary demand on the linen supply." Beside the wry comments, Crane's concise descriptions of minor characters fill the story.

There were some ten officers in more or less soiled duck, smoking cigarettes with the air of men who found life intolerable. The chief engineer, who spoke English like a tourist with an English passport. . . . (75:3).

Another striking bit of characterization is of the captured captain himself. The dispatch is written around a simple incident which Crane chose to depict. The "terrible captain" of the captured Spanish ship puts on a brave front, but "this thundering, brass-bound captain" was afraid of the "inflammable populace." But "a collarless man," a marshal, offers to take him to the British Consul. The captured captain becomes outwardly cool and smokes calmly. To get to the launch which will take him ashore, the men must

walk on a pile of palmetto logs--logs which were "absolutely the things to betray a man in terror." Factually, the dispatch is accurate. But there is little fact contained in it. A Spanish captain and his ship are captured, taken to Key West, and the captain goes ashore. The comment, the irony, the description are all of Crane's choosing. Another man might have simply observed that the palmetto logs were slippery, but Crane chose to characterize the captain's legs and inner terror by the movement of the logs.

Most of his early dispatches are similar to this one, having little action and a great deal of editorial comment. Because there was not much going on, Crane wrote of a routine inspection by the flagship New York, "an imposing" sight with "five newspaper despatch boats pounding along in the rear" (64:3). The dispatch contains nothing of interest since there was nothing going on. It depends upon Crane's style rather than upon its content. Again he depended upon metaphor.

The boatswain of the New York has a voice like the watery snuffle of a swimming horse. It is delightfully terrible, and no ballad singer could hope for such an oration as he will have whenever he shouts "Man the port battery!" (64:3).

and cleverly worded observations

However, one of the gunboats had better eyesight, and upon seeing the New York bolted so abruptly that she dragged half the mud in the bay loose with her anchor (64:3).

Another dispatch records the fighting men's dismay and

uneasiness about the inaction (43:3). Still another story gives a minute description of C. H. Thrall, an American graduate of Yale and a manufacturer, who had been located in Havana (73:19). Although the reading public may have been interested in the man's whereabouts, there is nothing to distinguish the article today. Another example of flat prose reporting is the story "With the Blockade on Cuban Coast." The story records an ordinary run with "jack tars . . . asleep, writing, or working, or in some cases grouped to discuss in angry despair the improbability of an immediate fight." Another sailor "was sewing, scowling and with pursed lips, as attentive and serious over the task as a seamstress." Being stationed on a flagship which is patrolling a quiet zone does not afford much opportunity for news. Besides the number of soldiers who were becoming increasingly more unhappy and uneasy because of the quiet in the war zone, Crane put the problem into words.

It was a peaceful scene. In fact it was more peaceful than peace, since one's sights were adjusted for war (78:7).

The quiet did afford a chance for him to get acquainted with the men on board. He used their conversation in a dispatch during this same lull.

"Your captain? What the hell does he know about a ship? He ought to be the board of directors of a milk route!"

"He had, had he? Well, for real sailerin' I'd like to see that ex-faro-dealer of yours get up against him once!"

"Where's the Vizcaya? That's what I want to know. She came over here feelin' so brash, and had all them people in Havana cheerin' themselves to death. But where is she now? That's what I want to know" (64:33).

Excerpts of conversation are not the only source for dispatches.

Crane used a trip that he had made into Cape Haytien as a source for another story (42:4). He and several others spent a few hours ashore. After a few hours observation and an interview or two, Crane stated, "In short, then, we find the French and Germans invariably against us; the English and the natives almost invariably with us, the more clean and modern the people the more they favor us." While time hung heavy on the waiting forces, an occasional close call occurred because of frayed nerves; for instance, the World dispatch boat just missed being rammed when she did not answer a signal rapidly enough. Crane used the same incident twice, once in an article, "Narrow Escape of the Three Friends" and later in "War Memories," a section in Wounds in the Rain.

Eventually, there was some action and an occasional skirmish for the forces. In a short article, only three paragraphs in length, a battery's attack on Santiago City is reported. His prose is objective and straight forward. His sentences are clear cut and forceful, showing that when there was something to write about, he could write well. He describes the American soldiers who "threw their shrapnel

directly into the Spanish trenches" (24:2). Not all of Crane's World dispatches are flat and lifeless. There are several like the short one just mentioned. When real fighting began, Crane and other correspondents were close to the frontlines. On the day that "Teddie's Terrors" and "Wood's Weary Walkers" met their first action, Crane and two other men were not far behind. As the soldiers advanced, the correspondents raced after them. Under the Cuban sun which seemed "upon the point of crackling into a blaze," the correspondents met only "blankets, shelter-tents, coats and other impedimenta" that the soldiers had flung aside. Once abreast of the troops, Crane was aghast at the noise these courageous volunteers were making:

They would along this narrow winding path, babbling joyously, arguing, recounting, laughing, making more noise than a train going through a tunnel (70:6).

War-experienced Crane's fear for the foolhardy new recruits was justified. The officers commanding the green troops were unable to distinguish the enemy's gunfire from their own troops gunfire. Not only did the inexperienced troops attract the enemy's attention by their loud talking and maneuvers, but they failed to recognize the enemy when they were fired upon. *On hearing* "the familiar Mauser pop," the captain of the volunteers announced "that this distinct Mauser sound was our own Krag-Jorgensen. O misery!" The hand-picked regiment advanced slowly but confidently. Crane

vividly recorded some senseless fatalities:

They spread across some open ground--tall grass and palms--and there they began to fall, smothering and threshing down in the grass, marking man-shaped places among those luxuriant blades (70:6).

His description of the dead and dying is more forceful than the imaginary bundles that looked as if they had been dropped from the sky in The Red Badge of Courage. Crane's description of the dead is presented by attitudes in the grass in which they fell. He does not emphasize the bodies and the effect is heightened even more for this lack. It is as if as soon as a man is dead, he ceases to exist in any form.

There are touches of the distinctive Crane style in his dispatches. In the example below there is exaggeration, progress in simple sentences, and then the final impact accomplished by three one-syllable words.

Then the heroic rumor arose, soared, screamed above the bush. Everybody was wounded. Everybody was dead. There was nobody. Gradually there was somebody. There was the wounded, the important wounded. And the dead (70:6).

Crane's own bravery and unselfish acts are only partially recorded in the dispatch. A soldier brought him word of a wounded correspondent and Crane rushed to the wounded man's side. He found Edward Marshall, correspondent for the Journal, Pulitzer's rival paper. But Marshall was Crane's friend from his Tribune days also. With some other men's help, Crane had Marshall moved to a temporary military hospital.

This hospital was a spectacle of heroism. The doctors, gentle and calm, moved among the men without the common-senseless bullying of the ordinary ward. It was a sort of fraternal game. They were all in it, and of it, helping each other (70:6).

The "fraternal game" which Crane spoke of interested him during the entire war. Brotherhood, to him, was one of the few good effects of any war. During a time of stress, men turn naturally to each other for solace and encouragement.

Fraternity was the theme of all of Crane's actions during the war.

Crane spent his energies carrying water to thirsty men, dressing the wounds of the injured, sharing his own rations with less fortunate men. Brotherhood, rather than personal interest, directed his actions. When Crane found wounded Marshall on the battlefield, Marshall's main concern was in getting his story to the Journal. Crane saw that it was sent even before his own. But in his own dispatch, Crane mentioned Marshall only briefly and then modestly ignored the rest of the story. But the incident did not end there. Despite the fact that he had been up for several hours, Crane ran back down the mountain trail for help for Marshall. Although near exhaustion, he had then to turn around and retrace his steps so Marshall's rescuers could locate him.¹⁷

¹⁷An interesting note on Edward Marshall concerns his unusual life. While reporting the war with Spain, he

Crane was not interested in personal glory. While it is true that some journalists dramatized their own adventures, Crane wrote of history as he saw it being enacted.¹⁸ His story, which is told in narrative form, did not mean that he considered his part a central one. He was an eye witness and he wrote his impressions from what standpoint. He stressed courage, hard work, self-denial, loyalty, and endurance in his word portraits of the American soldiers and sailors. His dispatches served as a personal link between the reader at home and the men at the front. He shared the suffering and danger of the soldiers, and the camaraderie which resulted from the common perils made Crane take a personal pride in the army's accomplishments. The men's achievement meant a great deal to him and he felt the common soldier lacked a spokesman.

Crane made himself their spokesman. This accounts for the sometimes vicious commentary about the government's

received two bullet wounds. One injury led to the amputation of his leg. After the Spanish American War, he survived three train wrecks and two hotel fires. He was taken from a foundering lake steamer; on board the British Suxxes when it was torpedoed by the Germans in 1916, he clung to wreckage until help came because he could not swim. He died of natural causes years later in his own bed (120:439).

¹⁸Similar complaints were leveled at other newsmen. For instance, young Winston Spencer Churchill was accused of writing war news of the Boer War that "may be ranked rather as exposition of a remarkable personality than as a contribution to scientific history (16:152). His dispatches were a mixture of "brilliant military narrative and thrilling first-person adventure" (16:151).

bungling.

We cannot without cruel injustice send men using black powder into battle against men who use a fair grade of smokeless.

If they deployed a line of skirmishers to the left and opened fire the Spaniards were able not only to locate this line exactly but to estimate from the puffs of smoke how many men were engaged, in a word, the proceedings of the enemy were all shrouded in mystery, while the movements of the Americans were always hopelessly palpable.

In war anything is justified save killing your own men through laziness or gross stupidity (28:17).

Even while Crane was defending the common soldier, he did not use the obviously sensational style for which both the World and the Journal are famous. Crane pushed himself--living on coffee, cigarettes, alcohol and fruit--he carried water to fighting men, tended the wounded, and then rushed back miles behind the lines to file his stories. In contrast, Richard Harding Davis attached himself to Theodore Roosevelt, "God's gift to newspaper men" (86:149).¹⁹ With Teddy's Rough Riders, a collection of "club men, cowboys and athletes," Davis put the wild west group on the front page and from "that strategic position . . . they would never afterward be

¹⁹Meanwhile, Richard Harding Davis did just the opposite. "Every line he write in that cause (American intervention) was fuel to the flame the Hearst press was feeding so assiduously" (86:134). In Stressing Teddy Roosevelt's actions during the Cuban campaign, Davis more than any other single factor boosted Roosevelt up the ladder to the Presidential nomination (86:160). Davis was not interested in the dependable regular; they were so inadequately trained, miserably armed, equipped and rationed that they made dull news (86:149).

dislodged" (86:149). Further the stories sent by star reporter Davis included the qualities of a social page, a financial column, sports section, and a wild west show all rolled into one and all written under the guise of war reporting. Davis had an eye for political advancement and Crane looked at the moral and human implications of the war.²⁰ Davis championed most causes that were safe, lucrative, and popular. Crane commended bravery in the regulars and revealed boners by the elite, the government, and commanding officers. Although Crane's dispatches lack the jaundiced hue which is contained in much of the contemporary writing, it was not because he was inadequate as a writer.

Neither is it true that he was someplace else when the big battles were going on. For his actions with a Marine scouting party, he was commended in official dispatches by the Marine detachment's commanding officer. At still another time he slipped into Havana ahead of the official American occupation and posed as a tobacco agent while he gathered material for stories.

While some critics judge Crane as a poor journalist because he allegedly missed some battles, others criticize him for bravado and suicidal behavior. One of Crane's best

²⁰Mathews (114:248) terms Davis a "romantic crisis-chaser" who "made a fetish of playing up danger, especially the dangers" which he encountered personally.

written dispatches contained "the war's most famous image" (12:221). Crane wrote about the marine sergeant who stood on a high point silhouetted for enemy fire while he signalled the Dolphin where to shell. The marine was the target for twenty Mausers, but the brave man expressed emotion only once when his signal flag became tangled on a bush. What is evident only through the feeling of admiration expressed by Crane is the extreme danger involved.

But we came upon Mauser bullets in considerable numbers. They sang in the air until one thought that a good hand with a lacrosse stick could have bagged many. . . . And--mark you--a spruce young sergeant of marines, erect, his back to the showering bullets, solemnly and intently wigwagging to the distant Dolphin! (61:3).

To accurately assess a battle, a reporter has to be part of that battle, and Crane was. Still another time, Crane had to be forceably pushed to the ground by Davis because he was in such a dangerous position (12:223).²¹ Another wit-

²¹The episode that describes Crane and Davis is much talked about when someone wants to show that Crane was an exhibitionist or suicidal. But, there was something about the Spanish-American War that inspired correspondents to go to odd lengths for stories and excitement. Davis led an attack at Las Guasinas, and Creelman led a charge on a fort at El Caney (120:534). W. R. Hearst appeared in person on one occasion. Wearing a "be-ribboned straw hat on his head and a revolver at his belt," the Journal owner took down a story from his bleeding reporter and then galloped off on a horse to beat the World. Toward the end of the war, Hearst captured fifteen bedraggled Spanish sailors, turned them over to an American flagship, and dashed to deliver the story to the Journal readers (88:443-4). Downey (86:145) cites a contemporary report by a journalist to show the absurdity of the newsman. "The press strove to mask its lack

ness at a later battle on Guantanamo said of his actions, "Suddenly Crane, who was incapable^{of} bravado, let himself quietly over the redoubt, lighted a cigarette, stood for a few moments with his arms at his sides, while the bullets hissed past him into the mud, then as quietly climbed back over the redoubt and strolled away" (12:222). Although the witness said that Crane was so ill he looked as if he was sleepwalking, his calmness under fire in Greece indicates it was a natural action. Crane always seemed heedless of danger. His writing, actions and out-spoken convictions made him a successful correspondent for the World.

But, when Crane returned to the World office in July, he found himself fired. Don Carlos Seitz, business manager for the World, perpetuated incorrect information about Crane and his dispatches. He charged that Crane sent only one dispatch of any worth and that one got the paper into trouble because it accused the Seventy-first New York regiment of cowardice (134:241). Crane's authorship of the dispatch has been disputed; the story is considered a creation of Sylvester Scovel by most people. Seitz said that another dispatch, "Stephen Crane's Vivid Story of the Battle

of martial experience by dressing the part . . . boots and pith helmets and field glasses." The image established by Kipling determined the attire, "It is like a rehearsal for a military melodrama. . . . We are all acting parts for The Light That Failed."

of San Juan," was dull. But, this particular selection was viewed by Davis and numerous contemporaries as one of "the finest examples of descriptive writing of the war" (146:117). In any case, Seitz wrote his book, Joseph Pulitzer, at least twenty years after the incidents, and the time lapse may account for its inaccuracies. Crane's dismissal and Seitz's charges are shrouded with misinformation. But one thing is certain, "Crane was present at all the important engagements of the Santiago campaign and sent regular dispatches to the World" (146:119-120). His actions, too, were exemplary, and he "was officially commended to the Secretary of the Navy by the commanding officer of the Marine detachment, Captain G. F. Elliot" (146:117).

After he left the World, he went to Porto Rico for the Journal to report another insurrection. From August to November, he supplied the Journal with approximately twenty dispatches.²² For the most part the stories are similar to

²²When Crane left the World, his dispatches began in the Journal the next month. His work had begun for Hearst as early as September 26, 1896, when he wrote "Adventures of a Novelist." At least three other articles based on Crane's New York adventures followed that fall: "In the Tenderloin," November 1; "How Princeton Met Harvard at Cambridge," November 8; and "Yen-Nock Bill and His Sweetheart," November 29. In 1897, he reported from Greece. His employment this third time was for an extended period. Journal dispatches for the Spanish-American War number over twenty. They are listed below in order of their appearance: "Soldiers Burial That Made a Native Holiday," August 15, 1898; "Porto Rican Straddle," August 18, 1898; "Stephen Crane Sees

those that had gone before. Besides the writing he did on his syndicated column for the Journal, he worked on Active Service, his partially completed Greek war novel; he also revised some dispatches and made them part of his collection, Wounds in the Rain, which he began while he was reporting the battles in Cuba and Porto Rico. After things had quieted, he stayed behind when most reporters went home. He temporarily disappeared in Havana where he had gone to rest and write.

Crane stayed in Havana until late in November, then he went to New York. He remained there during the Christmas holiday and then sailed for England on December 31. Financial troubles and ill-health disrupted his last full year at

Free Cuba," August 28, 1898; "Stephen Crane Fears No Blanco," August 31, 1898; "Havana's Hate Dying Says Stephen Crane," September 3, 1898; "Stephen Crane's Views of Havana," September 7, 1898; "Grocer Blockade," September 23, 1898; "Memoirs of a Private," September 25, 1898; "Private's Story," September 26, 1898; "Stephen Crane Makes Observations in Cuba's Capital," October 2, 1898; "How They Leave Cuba," October 6, 1898; "Stephen Crane in Havana," October 9, 1898; "How They Court in Cuba," October 25, 1898; "Stephen Crane in Havana: Why Cuba Is By No Means a Knoldike," November 6, 1898; "'You Must!' 'We Can't!'" November 8, 1898; "Mr. Crane in Havana," November 9, 1898; "Spaniards Two," November 11, 1898; "In Havana As It Is Today," November 12, 1898; "Our Sad Need of Diplomats," November 17, 1898. Crane's employment continued into 1900. The later articles were: "Some Curious Lessons From the Transvaal," January 7, 1900; "Stephen Crane Says: The British Soldiers Are Not Familiar With the 'Business End' of Modern Rifles," February 14, 1900; "Talk of London," March 11, 1900; "Stephen Crane Says: Edwin Markham Is His First Choice for the American Academy," March 31, 1900.

Brede Place. Threatened by bankruptcy, he tried to write himself out of debt, but he never managed to get his finances straightened out.²³

The desperateness of his situation is recorded in letters to his agents. He always needed money immediately. Story after story was first promised and then written.²⁴ By

²³ Only a small portion of Crane's last period work is included in this last chapter. In general his work can be placed in three categories: war stories, childhood tales, and Western stories. I have selected pieces to discuss in detail from each of these classifications. "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" and "The Blue Hotel" are from the Western group; "The Monster" is part of the Whilomville tales; "The Upturned Face" is part of Wounds in the Rain/ Great Battles of the World is a collection of historical battle accounts and is not comparable to his fiction. The O'Ruddy can be taken "as a desperate attempt at leaving some money behind him, as an experiment in a school of writing to which he was alien by instinct, or as bosh" (11:xii). I am not considering it at all since "only a fourth of the book is really his" (11:xi). The novel, Active Service presents a problem. It was written by Crane during an interval which produced excellent short stories. It was written at the suggestion of Harold Frederic, who advised Crane to use "in some fashion" his correspondent experience (143:ix). But the novel fails for the same reasons The Third Violet did not succeed. Crane's women are notoriously wooden and unbelievable, and a successful love story is nonexistent in the Crane collection. All of the selections have some interest, either autobiographically or historically--for instance, Sturgeon, the Eclipse owner in Active Service, bears startling similarities to Hearst. But most of the selections do not contain the literary excellence of the short stories I have selected. Although several stories have isolated parts which are examples of good writing, it is impossible to include all of his work.

²⁴ In spite of his pressing need for money, Crane did not succumb completely to the popular market. Tillotson asked Crane to do some seasonal stories for Christmas. Although he could have found a ready market for such writing,

October of 1899, he had finished eleven Whilomville stories, but his letters were signed with initials because he did not have time to write out his name. Not many of these hurried creations have the excellence of his prior writing. He was so pressed for time that he occasionally forgot the name of a story or did not attach a story to its title. In one frantic letter in September of 1899 he wrote his agent:

I cannot express how worried I am over "Virtue in War" and "The Second Generation." I only remember writing one story and I would almost bet the two titles cover one story, we may be making a hideous blunder (137:232).

Despite all the pressure for money and the persistent cough which wracked his thin body, not all of his work shows a loss of vigor or a dimming of his intense perception.

Crane's prose style in 1898 and 1899 relates clearly to his training as a journalist. His stories were built around a single mood or impression, just as most of his dispatches write of one incident or encounter. His predilection for rainbow colors before 1894 narrows to one dominant hue which inforces one mood. His predisposition for metaphor is subdued by action--the main ingredient in a news story.

Before 1897 and his foreign correspondence, Crane's work had been laborious. After breaking away from features

Crane refused to do it (137:236). He even put off doing the collection of historical battles until his agent asked, "Why do you not do the battle articles for Lippincotts? (137:247).

and fillers, Crane wrote news dispatches^{a fact} which meant deadlines and subsequently his writing was pressured. It was only after Crane had been a foreign correspondent that he was able to sit down and turn out such masterpieces as "The Upturned Face," "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," "The Monster," and "The Blue Hotel." It was having to meet newspaper deadlines that forced him to control his creative powers and that then made possible the rapid creation of such literary excellence.

It is the condensed thought, the curt dialogue, the staccato movement, and the singleness of purpose and impressions which link the two types of writing rather than their subjects. One of the best examples of this relationship is "The Upturned Face," a wholly imaginary incident with fictitious characters which occurs at no particular time in a terrifying no man's land. "The Upturned Face" represents "Crane at his best" (137:241). The first known mention of the story was in January of 1899 immediately following Crane's return from New York. Its exact creation date is unknown, but it was finished by November 7, 1899, even though it did not appear in print until March, 1900 (137:241).

The finished tale is as compact as a news story. The events are recorded in a terse dialogue. An adjutant, Timothy Lean and two unnamed soldiers are caught between two

battle lines. With bullets spraying the ground around them, they stand and discuss the procedure for burying their dead friend Bill, whose chalk-blue face stares up at them. After all, "you can't, you know, leave your intimate friends rotting on the field." The adjutant and Lean must somehow get the body of their friend into a grave and be as civilized about it as possible. But the social code which they follow makes them desecrate the body which they wish to honor. There is an internal struggle evidenced in the stammering comments, in the controlled impulse to just pitch the dirt into the grave, and in the inadequacies displayed during the strange burial rites.

But in spite of all the established conventions, in fact, because of them, Timothy Lean and the adjutant are unable to grasp control of the situation. The thing to do is to get "old Bill" underground and as rapidly as possible. Bullets sing overhead while the soldiers who accompanied Lean and the adjutant follow Lean's order to "Dig here." War seems to be better organized than "life and death matters" such as burials. In the confusion and stress man must find something to sustain himself; sometimes a preoccupation with ceremony offers an escape from events that threaten. Lean does not seek any meaning in the universe or any explanation for life or death. He is more interested in getting old Bill underground, and his accomplishment is recorded in

the periodic "plop" that tells of the burial's progress. Man no longer seeks glorification in "Homeric feats"; instead, he is simply trying to live through the war and the events that threaten him. Somewhere between the semblance of social order and the chaotic universe which harasses him at every turn, man must find some suitable relationship to the cosmos.

Chaos seems the dominant impression which each action develops. The funeral meets no regular standards. The grave is dug with "entrenchment tools," and it was "a poor shallow thing." Reluctant "wooden" hands prepared the body for burial, and the "corpse" was "lifted, heaved, toppled, flopped into the grave." As if in denial of death, the adjutant demands a ceremony for their companion "while he can hear." The words consist of two incomplete sentences, and end with "mercy" echoed by the adjutant, and arouse "some violence of feeling" in Lean. The main characters feel more fear of the dead than of the Rostina sharpshooters who menace them with gun fire.

Besides the battlefield setting, the emphasis on ceremony, and typical Crane wording, the story contains controlled color. The main color is the blue face that stares up from the grave, and the dead face is the center of interest and terror for Lean. There are the usual

striking reversals--an officer is not in command of the situation, the dead menace the living--as well as pungent ironies. "The adjutant," whose position as well as his title should put him in charge of the situation, completely fails to be any help. The name "Lean" does not sound either firm or substantial, but all of the other characters in the story depend upon him for orders and actions. The dead man controls the situation by his very inaction. He is the center of attention before and after he is placed in the grave. Indeed, it is the feeling of brotherhood with the body that keeps the men from fleeing to safety. Lean, in a fierce piece of conversation, takes charge although he is outranked. The burial becomes "grisly business." It took "great fortitude" to lift the body, and both men were careful "that their fingers should not feel the corpse." Once the actual dirt begins to fill the grave, "Timothy Lean felt as if tons had been swiftly lifted from his forehead." And after one of the soldiers is able to escape because he is wounded, Lean must continue putting dirt in the grave. "For a space Lean worked frantically, like a man digging himself out of danger." The more dirt there is put between the two men and "old Bill" the more comfortable the two men feel.

"The Upturned Face" completes a cycle begun five years earlier in 1894 with the composition of The Red Badge

of Courage. Crane began his writing career with an amazing tour de force drawn from imagination; his intermediate years were spent in an exhaustive search for experience to prove that his imagined experience was "all right"; by 1899, he ^{had} returned to his imagination as a reliable source for writing. Despite the intervening years and some dramatic changes in style, both his novel and his short story bear striking resemblances. Rostina's sharpshooters and the rebel army exist for us only through rifle reports since the enemy has no form, substance, or personality. The enemy is obscured by smoke and haze in both stories to the point that they are as indistinct as the setting that engulfs them. The enemy is everywhere and at the same time it is nowhere. Man cannot know where the danger is because everything threatens him. Both settings are uncertain. The Spitzbergen battle is ^{written} straight from imagination as is the Civil War battle. Fleming and Lean seek salvation through ceremony because all else has abandoned them. Some tenuous fraternity keeps both men struggling to gain admittance or acceptance. But if Lean is related at all to the youth, he is a maturer relative. Fleming had reasons for going to war even if they were inadequate and romantic; Lean is at war with no justification for his presence, and the battle does not have any reason behind it either. While the youth sought some logical explanations to the Question

of death and the meaning of the universe, Lean's reaction to death is a curt "Bury him." Lean's solution does not indicate any comfort because until the chalk-blue face is covered, he reacts squeamishly. As each shovelful of dirt "plops" into the grave, Lean is another step closer to liberation from what old Bill represents--death and questions. Each shovelful puts him closer to comfort and security because Bill and Rostina's sharpshooters will no longer be able to menace him.

With the completion of "The Upturned Face," a mature Crane had returned to each of his more prominent early ideas and ^{had} redefined, rewritten, and improved upon his earlier creations. The social injustice evident in Maggie is reaffirmed in "The Monster," but "The Monster" depends upon ordinary people in a typical town and straightforward language for its impact while Maggie depends upon grotesque imagery, colorful language and shocking, sordid incidents and character--at least by Victorian standards in 1893. His two Western selections "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" and "The Blue Hotel" present a new and different picture of the West than Crane had shown before. "Horses--One Dash!" and "The Five White Mice" are portraits of raw and previously undiscovered and unexplored courage with a gun in 1895. By 1897, Crane returned to the West for a setting for two of his best stories. In "The Bride Comes to Yellow

Sky" he denies that a gun and raw courage can do anything. The West does not exist or it is at least on its way out of existence, and courage does not prove anything. A gun certainly does not secure Scratchy or Potter a place in society. "The Blue Hotel" exposes the universe as the maledictory place that Crane saw it. It denies that anything can save a man because there is no reasonable force that controls society. Only blind conformity to senseless and unjust social codes offers any solace.

Society's constrictive codes make each man an isolate. Since there is no answer for his isolation in religion or social codes, and no apparent meaning in the universe, each man must cling tenaciously to a fraternity provided by other men. Men without purpose, actions without reason provide a unity which gives some comfort. Disunity unifies because everything is meaningless; therefore, there is no reason to search for answers.

There is no evidence that Crane was written out. His discerning and individual vision was as penetrating in 1899 as it was in 1891 when he began writing. Very little escaped his intense perception. Even though his last months were filled with desperation, pain, and impending death, there is little loss of strength in his writing. A man should be judged by his best work, and some of Crane's best work was written during those last months.

When Crane died on June 5, 1900, he left behind a body of work which destined him to be a permanent and imposing figure in American literature. Maggie heralded the beginning of naturalism in the United States. The Red Badge of Courage established itself as a classic from its first appearance. His poetry showed amazing relationships to modern free verse, years before the other imagists wrote. "The Open Boat" perfected symbolistic art before other American symbolists began to write. His other short stories influenced moderns from their inception and are ranked with the best of the short story tradition. Such diversity and strength will continue to engage interest until Crane is accorded his rightful status in American letters.

His was a prismatic career in the Gilded Age.

In view of his short life and limited formal education, Crane had an amazing facility in several writing media. His genius was proven early when The Red Badge of Courage was published. Esteemed not only for his psychological treatment of men in battle, he was ^{also} a pioneer in naturalism, imagism and free verse, impressionism, symbolism and realism. Until the end of his career, he showed an ever increasing control of his latent ability which developed in two main forms, fiction and journalism. But, scant mention of his journalism has appeared in critical works concerning Crane's

writing. Despite their parallel development, Crane's journalism and fiction are seldom compared or even considered related.

The object of this study has been to discover Crane's indebtedness to his newspaper apprenticeship. The investigation has been concerned with all phases of Crane's life and art, but special emphasis has been placed on his newspaper experience.

The attempt was made first to show how The Red Badge of Courage developed from his writing for and association with the Tribune. Crane's employment was short-lived, but some effects of his newspaper work had already begun to show in his fiction. His humor in the Sullivan County Sketches was clearly imitative of prominent newspaper wits. As a roving cub reporter, his Bowery associations gave him a source for the language, imagery and characterization of Maggie. The newspaper provided an outlet for his resort news and features, it published his first fiction, and it trained him for later writing. His Tribune work, his sketches, and Maggie contain the rudiments of a style which had been developing unobserved until the publication of The Red Badge of Courage.

Next, by a detailed analysis of most of his freelancing for Bachelier in 1894, Crane's accomplishment and attitudes manifest in "The Open Boat" become a logical

outgrowth of his newspaper experience. Experience before creation became a necessary expedient. Newspapers continued to provide Crane's main outlet for his writing. His writing associates and models were mostly newsmen oriented in journalism. A tentative newspaper interview provided the experience that inspired "Horse--One Dash!" Later a newspaper assignment placed Crane on the ill-fated Commodore. A newspaper narrative and the first mention of a possible sea story to follow appeared in Crane's account of the ship's sinking. The experience and the news story developed into "The Open Boat."

Finally, several parallels between his foreign correspondence for the Journal and the World and his short stories link his journalism and his fiction. Using no exposition, few metaphors, and newspaper brevity, Crane wrote "The Monster," "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," "The Blue Hotel," and "The Upturned Face." His apprenticeship directed him toward journalistic conciseness, a reporter's skepticism of events which takes the form of irony, a search for sensation and experience, and a desire to get right to the point.

Although for Stephen Crane, newspaper work was only a means to an end--an opportunity to support himself by writing, a chance to travel and gain experience, an occasion to meet and to associate with other writers--it seems inevitable that one style would affect another. Therefore,

a study of one illuminates the other. Then, as well as now, Crane's newspaper apprenticeship went unnoticed while critics hailed him as a literary prodigy. But he did not do it entirely on his own. The influence exerted by his newspaper training is irrefutable.

Besides his personal accomplishment in fiction and newspaper work, Crane has gained recognition for beginning modern American literature. He opened new vistas for Hemingway, Dreiser, Dos Passos, and Cather--to mention only a few of his followers. But even Crane's fictional accomplishments were foreshadowed. He served a newspaper apprenticeship, and the influences exerted by his newspaper training is irrefutable.

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