





3 1293 10175 8468



## ABSTRACT

### STEPHEN CRANE AND THE DARWINIAN REVOLUTION

By

Allen North Smith

Stephen Crane wrote fiction for only a decade before his death in 1900 at the age of 28, yet his work passes through remarkable changes in style and philosophy. His early allegiance to the realism of Garland and Howells helped produce instead one of America's first naturalistic novels in Maggie. While still revising that novel for private publication, Crane already had embarked on the psychological study of war which made him famous. The Red Badge of Courage is itself a clearly divided book. Within its pages, the naturalistic situation and imagery wrestle with the unquenchable power of self reflection with which the author endows its hero. Unless he chooses to kill Henry Fleming, Crane cannot resolve the story without giving Henry at least an illusion of knowledge, something which few other naturalistic heroes in American literature ever receive. In the much debated final passages of the war novel, Crane applies his natural irony to the illusions of the universe in place of the hypocrisies of human nature and from this moment on Crane becomes the prophet of nihilism in American letters. The best of his later stories explore the realm of pure chance in the universe, fuse space and time and mind and matter into a

single concept of pure experience and make use of a flood of images drawn from the latest developments in science and technology to dramatize the contrast between the visible world of the senses and the barren underlying structure of the universe. Crane was the first major American writer to abandon the materialistic determinism which constituted the first wave of the Darwinian revolution and to adopt the relativistic and nihilistic outlook which constituted the second wave of this intellectual revolt near the turn of the century.



STEPHEN CRANE AND THE DARWINIAN REVOLUTION

By

Allen North Smith

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to  
Michigan State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of English, Program in American Studies

1974



659800

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	1
Chapter	
I. A WORLD BOILING WITH CHANGE . . . . .	6
II. WONDERS AND TERRORS OF SCIENCE . . . . .	39
III. THE IRON LAWS OF SOCIETY . . . . .	70
IV. THE QUEST FOR SELF KNOWLEDGE . . . . .	102
V. THE INDIFFERENT UNIVERSE . . . . .	128
CONCLUSION . . . . .	164
FOOTNOTES . . . . .	171
BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	196

## INTRODUCTION

No writer can escape the influence of the events and ideas which dominate his own culture. Together with his own personal experiences, they comprise the entire material content of any story which he chooses to tell. The works of Stephen Crane have been exhaustively analyzed by critics and scholars in recent years, and most of whatever will be known about his life has been gathered in Robert W. Stallman's authoritative biography published in 1968. Yet, biography at best is only a skeleton framework of a few incidents and thoughts which chance happens to record in the living stream of a human life, and even the closest reading of Crane's works leaves nagging questions unanswered because he often takes pains to disguise his meanings. Where did Crane get the idea for a naturalistic novel almost a decade before any other major American writer embraced this philosophy? After presenting his first heroine as a victim of natural and social forces of which she is entirely ignorant, why did he then turn almost immediately to his famous portrait of inner fear and courage in war? Was he sincere or ironic in suggesting that the young Civil War recruit had learned something from his experiences in battle? Was Crane basically a realist, a naturalist, an impressionist or a symbolic writer? Most importantly for a study of Crane and his culture, why do the best of his stories employ so many of the literary themes and techniques of 20th century American literature? This study

offers a partial explanation of these questions by reviewing Crane's principal works in light of some of the most compelling intellectual and cultural ideas which prevailed during the brief period in which he lived and wrote at the end of the 19th century.

During this period, the shocking theories of Charles Darwin made the western world an intellectual battleground. At first, the success of Darwinism in bringing all forms of life under one great principle of development seemed to promise the final triumph of scientific materialism. The empirical methods by which increasingly general laws of the physical universe had been discovered now might be applied to man himself and the societies which he had evolved. Many of the best thinkers of the day believed that "the complete determination of mental laws" was almost at hand.<sup>1</sup> In the wake of Darwin's success, a great wave of popularity arose for the deterministic theories of the British social philosopher Herbert Spencer, particularly in America which accorded him a hero's welcome during his tour here in 1882.<sup>2</sup> Spencer's sweeping synthesis of natural and cultural evolution became something of a bible for social Darwinists near the turn of the century and profoundly influenced the development of American literary naturalism.<sup>3</sup>

But Darwin's own theory of natural selection carried within it the hidden bomb of blind chance which eventually overthrew the simple faith in scientific materialism and social determinism. The idea of chance variation in heredity which was at the root of Darwin's theory was at first largely ignored in the furious theological debate generated by Darwinism, but one of the earliest American reviewers of



The Origin of Species saw the issue clearly. "Our author denies that the same physical antecedents are always followed by the same consequences," said Francis Bowen. "He affirms that irregular or unsuspected variations are perpetually interrupting the chain of orderly causation."<sup>4</sup> The success of such a doctrine threatened the very logic of knowledge itself and culminated in the final decade of the century in a rebellion against immutable principles in virtually every field of human activity. Classical standards of truth and beauty were undermined. Mathematical axioms were denied the status of a priori knowledge and subjected to the tests of empirical and historical analysis. A widespread revolt was mounted against the absolute principles of space and time handed down from Newton and Kant. The conflict between materialism and idealism which raged throughout the second half of the century was reconciled by a new pragmatic theory of knowledge which argued that neither mind nor matter was uppermost, but that both were mere abstractions from the only concrete reality of "pure experience."<sup>5</sup>

In the following analysis of Crane's principal works, I hope to show that he was one of the first major American fiction writers to sense and dramatize the ideas which constituted the second wave of the Darwinian revolution. While other writers like Norris, London and Dreiser continued to base their stories on a deterministic philosophy of man and nature long after Crane's death, Crane himself quickly perceived the hidden bomb of blind chance in the Darwinian formula. His early "realism" or deterministic social criticism soon gives way to a more subtle and vivid impressionism designed to mirror





the inner psychological states of his heroes through their subjective perceptions of surrounding nature. Through the power of his own imagery, Crane gradually welds together man and nature into his own imaginative version of "pure experience." In the best of his later stories, he consciously fuses mind and matter and space and time, explores the realm of subconscious precognition and symbolically portrays the universe as an endless, relativistic void filled with invisible forces which destroy man not by ironclad natural laws but rather through the uncaring malice of blind chance. In the face of this vision of utter chaos, Crane in some of his last stories offers a pragmatic formula of human endurance and grace hauntingly like the themes of Hemingway and Faulkner. The mainstream of American literature does not approach Crane's imaginative output until his own prophecy of man's inevitable lust for war has been fulfilled a generation later.

It is my contention, then, that Crane's strikingly modern themes and literary techniques arise from his acute perception of the most far reaching intellectual currents of his time. No effort is made here to prove that Crane read any particular work or that he gained certain facts or ideas from any particular acquaintance although his friendship with such men as William Dean Howells, Henry James and H. G. Wells undoubtedly contributed to his intellectual education. The first two chapters of this study are devoted to a general outline of the events and ideas of the period which appear relevant to Crane's work. The interpretation of his principal work which follows in the last three chapters is based on a reading of these stories in light

of these general ideas. It stands or falls, of course, on the evidence found in Crane's own words.

I would like to acknowledge here the aid of members of my doctoral committee: Dr. Victor Howard, chairman of the American Studies Program; Dr. William Callaghan, chairman of the Department of Philosophy; Dr. Paul Varg, professor of history, and Dr. Russel Nye, professor of English, who has generously given up valuable time from his own distinguished work in American cultural history to direct this dissertation.



## CHAPTER I

### A WORLD BOILING WITH CHANGE

When Stephen Crane arrived in New York City in the early 1890s to make his way as a professional writer, he became a witness to the 20th century in the making. He saw streets strangled with traffic and buildings soaring eight and ten stories in the air. He heard the rumble of steam driven elevated trains and the brittle rattle of cable cars. During the day, garish advertisements and brilliantly decorated shop windows offered a thousand products of the new industrial age, and at night the flickering gaslights of saloons and theaters already were beginning to be eclipsed by the blinding glare of Broadway's great white way.<sup>1</sup> The slums in which Crane went to live were teeming with the poor of the nation and the world speaking in a hundred different dialects, and the massive tenements which he shared with them were filled with the dark hallways and mysterious little doorways which imprinted themselves on his excited imagination. The New York newspapers which Crane read gathered the latest news from around the world in a matter of hours and printed shocking accounts of labor strife, crime and political corruption at home. The progressive magazines for which he soon was writing offered a strange mixture of social and political reforms, racial theories, prophecies of world wars, new scientific discoveries, reports of psychic phenomena and repeated calls for new roads to insure future progress.<sup>2</sup> When Crane

arrived in New York, the bicycle craze was in full sway, and shortly before he left to spend his final years in England, the horseless carriages made their triumphant appearance in a Decoration Day parade witnessed by thousands of awed spectators.<sup>3</sup> Crane became a man and a writer in a world boiling with change.

The most striking symbol of the modern age which he saw in New York was the disorderly web of telegraph and telephone wires which filled the sky above its streets.<sup>4</sup> Scores of articles in the leading magazines of the day cited the benefits of electricity as the most illustrious triumph of modern science. "Within one generation, this subtle force has conquered the world," proclaimed one writer in the Arena in 1891. He continued:

By means of electricity, the news of the world is brought to us at a moment's notice; by means of electricity, the voices of friends, with all their characteristic inflections, are carried to us over the space of thousands of miles; electricity floods the largest cities with a sea of light at any given moment; electricity, transformed into force, drives and propels cars loaded with freight or passengers.<sup>5</sup>

Yet, to many New Yorkers, "the poles and wires were hideous symbols of change they did not like."<sup>6</sup> Some writers discussed the physical dangers of electric power while others warned that the new energy source would only increase the economic concentration of power which marked the era. "Shall the miraculous lamp of Aladdin raise one or a few men to princely station, or shall it become the benefactor of all mankind?" asked the Arena in calling for nationalization of electric power.<sup>7</sup> More than 125 cities heeded the call between 1887 and 1893 by converting from privately owned to municipal electric power systems.<sup>8</sup>



Electricity was both the wonder and the terror of the age, and Crane reflects this obsession in many of his stories.

Whenever Crane walked through the streets and parks of New York City on sunny days, he was likely to encounter members of the growing army of photographers who were seen everywhere capturing the life of the city.<sup>9</sup> The introduction in the late 1880s of dry plate photography and hand held cameras capable of taking pictures instantaneously had transformed the medium from the studio art of a few well equipped professionals to an outdoor recreation enjoyed by thousands of amateurs.<sup>10</sup> Camera clubs were springing up in major cities throughout the country. "It is evident that the practice of photography soon will become universal," said F. C. Beach in an article on "Modern Amateur Photography" in 1888. "[It] will be as useful in a family as music, an excellent recorder for the tourist, artist, lecturer, historian and engineer. . . . It will elevate the public taste to a higher appreciation of the merits of artistic pictures."<sup>11</sup> Actually, the new amateurs, who came from all walks of life, were less likely to be aware of the rules of composition than their well educated and carefully trained predecessors, but "they were fascinated that a click of a shutter could capture a slice of life bustling with activity."<sup>12</sup>

While the amateurs were enjoying their sport, a new band of professional photographers also was combing the city for the kinds of pictures which would help sell newspapers and magazines. Editors of Joseph Pulitzer's New York World discovered in the mid '80s that generous use of illustrations "made the circulation go up like a





thermometer on a hot day."<sup>13</sup> Rival publications quickly embraced the principle. The new photo journalists, both free lancers and staff, were looking for colorful and dramatic pictures which would arouse strong human emotions, and they soon learned that one of the strongest stimulants of all was misery. Jacob Riis's series, "How the Other Half Lives," first published in the New York Sun in 1888, explored the subject in the tenements, sweatshops, almshouses and stale beer dives of the city, and initiated a long series of slum exposés in the newspapers and progressive magazines. Paradoxically, the powerful photos of Riis and other pioneer photo journalists could not be reproduced directly in the newspapers, which offered illustrations based on the photos instead.<sup>14</sup> But the value of the camera lay in providing graphic proof of the worst charges made by the social reformers.

In many different ways, photography reinforced the demands for realism in journalism, art and literature. Pictorial exposés like those of Riis compelled attention to the most pressing social problems of the time. The rising number of newspaper and magazine illustrations also produced the kind of readership excitement which reporters and fiction writers were forced to emulate in increasingly colorful and detailed descriptions of real life scenes. Painters and sculptors on both sides of the Atlantic were irresistibly influenced by the new science which revealed details of visual reality undetected by the naked eye. Making use of the new instantaneous cameras and his own invention of one of the first camera shutters, Eadweard Muybridge produced his celebrated Animal Locomotion in 1887 which he offered as "an atlas for the artist, a visual dictionary of human and animal

forms in action."<sup>15</sup> In Philadelphia, portrait artist Thomas Eakins borrowed and improved upon Muybridge's work<sup>16</sup> while in Paris, Aimé Morot, disclaiming the use of photographs, devised his own camera shutter in order to produce his vivid pictures of cavalry charges. According to an account of Morot's work offered in Harper's Magazine in 1890:

He avoids in the principal figures all intermediary elements of movement; he selects rather the beginning or the end. In the confused mass of a cavalry charge sweeping past, he will paint one horse completely, and the rest of the troop will be bits of horses, elements of movements, all the phases which scientific analysis gives; and this agglomeration of detail creates the illusion of a vision of rushing horsemen.<sup>17</sup>

Peter Henry Emerson, the principal spokesman for naturalistic photography, commented that "The influence of photography on painting . . . has been nothing short of marvelous as can be seen in the general improvement in the drawing of movement."<sup>18</sup>

Photography also made an important contribution to the impressionistic movement. Early experiments in color photography paralleled the experiments in color made by Monet and Seurat. Both were inspired by the theories of light and vision propounded by Helmholtz and Tyndall and other well known scientific figures.<sup>19</sup> The old studio photographers, like the classical painters, had carefully controlled their light and their subjects in striving for clear and sharp reproductions, but with the advent of the new equipment, photographers were able to join the movement outdoors into natural light and photograph subjects in their natural settings. After viewing a pioneer exhibit of impressionist paintings in England in 1889, George Davison shocked the traditional photographers by exhibiting a photograph of "The Onion



Field," deliberately blurred by a soft focus and rough surfaced paper.<sup>20</sup> Emerson took up the cause the same year with the publication of his widely acclaimed Naturalistic Photography, which burst on the worlds of art and photography "like a bombshell dropped in a tea party."<sup>21</sup> Emerson acknowledged the mutual debt of science and photography, but he insisted that the highest goal of photography should be to produce fine art and the goal of all visual arts "should be a translation of a scene as seen by the normal eye."<sup>22</sup> Emerson justified impressionist photography by arguing that the new physical and psychological experiments in vision proved that human perception always focused on a center of interest with less distinct impressions of outlying materials. Nothing in nature has sharp edges, he asserted. Although Emerson recanted his views in a pamphlet called "The Death of Naturalistic Photography" only a year later,<sup>23</sup> his original ideas exerted a permanent influence on photographers and artists and became an important expression of the strange love-hate relationship with science which was a hallmark of the impressionistic movement. In a curiously circular argument, he and his fellow impressionists held that artists should make use of the latest scientific principles to produce a faithful picture of nature which would be art rather than science. Emerson, in 1890, was one of the first to specifically express what the other impressionists merely sensed: that a true picture of nature involved the interaction of man and his environment rather than a set of iron laws which held man in its grip.

The improved photographic equipment quickly led to the first crude experiments in motion pictures. As early as 1878, readers of



the Scientific American were invited to cut out 18 drawings of a man walking and a horse running based on Muybridge's photos and paste them in a circular drum called a "zoetrope." When the drum was twirled rapidly, the pictures viewed through slits seemed to be moving. Two years later, Muybridge converted the zoetrope into a "zoogyroscope" and projected the moving images on a screen at the California Institute of Fine Arts.<sup>24</sup> These matters rested, except for the increasing popularity of lantern slides, until Thomas Edison produced a roll of transparent film which made it possible to actually take a continuous series of pictures of objects in motion. Being a practical man, he also invented a kinoscope viewer to show the films and aggressively marketed the new entertainment. The first kinoscope parlor opened in New York City in April, 1894, and by the end of the year the machines had been sent to Chicago, San Francisco, Paris and London. The moving pictures in a box were amusing, but other promoters quickly saw that projecting the pictures on a screen would offer more satisfactory entertainment to a far larger audience. Louis and Auguste Lumiere's Cinematographe created a sensation in Paris at the end of 1895 and by the end of 1896 a host of rival projectors were being used to screen films regularly in the principal cities of Europe and America.<sup>25</sup>

The revolutions from print to visual communications and from still to moving pictures profoundly influenced Crane's work. His early preoccupation with exploring the seamy side of New York undoubtedly was stimulated by the newspaper and magazine exposés which preceded his arrival in the city. His vivid impressionistic style and

obsession with color imagery probably owed more to the New York newspapers which he read than to the French impressionist novelists which he claimed he didn't. In several of his best stories written after 1895, Crane experiments with time flashback and stillness in motion, literary techniques which generally are associated with the development of motion pictures.

As an aspiring writer of short stories and color sketches, Crane presumably was a fairly close reader of the American magazines of his day, particularly of those which printed his early works. During his early years of struggle, W. D. Howells, long time editor of the Atlantic Monthly, and B. O. Flower, editor and publisher of the new Arena, were his closest allies. In April, 1893, Crane wrote to Lily Brandon Monroe:

The book [Maggie] has made me a powerful friend in W. D. Howells. B. O. Flower of the "Arena" has practically offered me the benefits of his publishing company for all that I may in the future write. Albert Shaw of the "Review of Reviews" wrote me congratulations this morning and tomorrow I dine with the editor of the "Forum."<sup>26</sup>

Howell printed Crane's first magazine story in Cosmopolitan while serving there as editor briefly in 1892. John D. Barry, editor of the Forum, subsequently became a good enough friend of Crane's to read his poetry before the Uncut Leaves Society in April, 1893. Corwin Linson reports seeing Crane reading the Century frequently during his visits to Linson's studio in 1893. Crane also submitted his work to the new McClure's Magazine during this period and a number of his poems and sketches went into Elbert Hubbard's Philistine. Other magazines mentioned repeatedly in Crane's letters include The

Bookman, Harper's Magazine and Harper's Weekly. Some, though not all, of these magazines offered important sources of issues and ideas for Crane's fiction. No attempt will be made here to prove that Crane read any particular issue or article, but the topics which are found with the greatest frequency within the publications with which Crane was most closely associated will be employed in sketching the cultural influences which are seen throughout his fiction.

The end of the century also saw the birth of a new form of journalism which irretrievably altered cultural values and helped to produce a mass society. Fueled by rapidly growing city populations and a massive increase in commercial advertising, daily newspapers in the United States grew in number from 387 to 2,326 between 1870 and 1900.<sup>27</sup> In the largest cities, the newspapers employed new high speed printing equipment, improved pictorial reproduction and a rich diet of sex, crime, scandal, comics and sports to build massive circulations.<sup>28</sup> With the aid of a growing world wide telegraph and cable network, the major papers combed the world for the most sensational stories of the day and presented them in a personal, but highly condensed, style under screaming streamer headlines. When an ample supply of such news could not be found, the most enterprising newspapers produced their own, beginning with the New York Herald's search for Dr. Livingstone in Africa in 1871 and culminating in William Randolph Hearst's personal promotion of the Spanish-American War.<sup>29</sup> A writer in the November, 1891, issue of the Atlantic Monthly responded to this assault on his emotions and senses by complaining:



The telegraph has put out of the field the chief fruit of culture in journalism which remained to our fathers, the cultivated correspondent's letter; the interviewer has vulgarized and turned into offense what once was the charm of personality. The morning paper read at breakfast or finished on the train to the city, has given the skimmings of the world's affairs, and letters and the arts, served to order by the most convenient member of the staff, are crowded in the space that can be spared for them.<sup>30</sup>

Crane was one of the first major American fiction writers whose life and works were profoundly influenced by the new journalism. From the very beginning of his career as a substitute summer correspondent at Asbury Park, N.J., to his final sojourns in Greece and Cuba, he sought both profit and fame as a writer primarily through journalistic media.<sup>31</sup> His earliest Sullivan County Sketches printed in the Philadelphia Press were typical "slice of life" features published for reader entertainment. His first novel, Maggie, was one of many exposés of New York slum life and prostitution which the newspapers and progressive magazines were publishing at the time even if the established book publishers weren't. The Red Badge of Courage helped satisfy widespread public curiosity about romantic Civil War exploits, and its episodic structure was designed, whether intentionally or not, for the newspaper serial publication which made Crane famous at the age of 24. Throughout his career, Crane was most prolific and most successful in writing short stories for the newspapers and magazines of his day. He wrote and traveled constantly for the new newspaper syndicates which offered the best market for a writer not respectable enough for the conservative literary magazines and book publishers, and when his fame finally compelled the attention of the latter, he

failed utterly in trying to create the full length romantic novels which they required.

Although Crane never mastered the art of straight news reporting, his style, nevertheless, bears the indelible marks of training in the news rooms of his day. Because newspaper space was now at a premium, every word had to say as much as possible. Because newspapers now were read by the masses, everything had to be told in the simplest and clearest language, and emphasis was placed on words and phrases which created the most vivid pictures in the mind. A striking lead was required to arrest the busy reader's attention and to sum up the significance of the whole story. The new art of headline writing taught writers the impact which could be gained from a few well chosen words and tempted them to seek sensational effects. Crane had no particular aptitude for gathering facts, but he had a natural talent for the vivid impressionistic writing spawned at least in part by the new journalism. All of his writing is marked by economy of phrasing, perfect clarity and strikingly vivid images. Time after time in his fiction, he labored to create brilliant opening sentences and passages.<sup>32</sup> On occasion, he skirted the paper thin boundary between brilliance and sensationalism, as in his famous phrase, "The red sun was pasted in the sky like a fierce wafer."<sup>33</sup>

The line between fiction and fact is particularly difficult to distinguish in Crane's work. His Sullivan County Sketches are thinly veiled, though highly embellished, personal experiences. "An Experiment in Misery" is nothing more in substance than a reporter's personal investigation of a flop house in New York, yet it contains



the same vivid imagery employed in his best fiction, including a description of the sleeping men which closely resembles that of the exhausted soldiers sleeping in the grove in The Red Badge of Courage. "In the Depths of a Coal Mine," written in the same period, was the product of a specific journalistic assignment, but it contains no names or places. Rather, it offers metaphorical description of the human condition equal in power to some of his great short stories. "An Ominous Baby" nominally is fiction, but it actually is a crude parable about the violent class conflict of the times in which Crane freely violates his own credo about "not preaching." "Death and the Child" is only slightly more structured than many of Crane's dispatches about the war in Greece. All fiction writers employ real experiences within the fabric of their imaginative creations, but it is significant that several of Crane's finest short stories are based on single events which he witnessed or participated in, and this may help explain why he was a master of the short story and a relative failure in constructing longer works of fiction. He was at all times more of an artist than a reporter, but, with the notable exception of The Red Badge of Courage, he apparently required a close proximity to physical experience to stimulate his greatest creative efforts.

All of Crane's most successful and enduring fiction is based on the violent and provocative issues of his day. Unlike the delicate descriptions of American social life of Howells and the subtle psychological portraits of Henry James, Crane chose to write about war, poverty, prostitution, racial fear, shipwrecks and wild west duels.



His characters are beaten, maimed, drowned, knifed and shot to death and driven to suicide. All of these subjects undoubtedly were stimulated by the sensational new journalism and chosen by the author with a sharp eye for their news value. Some critics and biographers have held that Crane was destroyed either by his economic dependence on the new journalism or by his own personal need to prove his courage in physical combat. But it also may be argued that he was the first of the new realists who realized that he had to give up the study and the drawing room in order to experience the true suffering and brutality which the new journalism was reporting daily. In this he precedes many other American writers whose style and themes are the product of their apprenticeships in the news room.

If Crane wanted to experience suffering and brutality at close hand, he had no trouble in finding it in the American society of his age. The last two decades of the century were marked by social strife unparalleled in American history. The magnificent development of the railroads, mines and industrial corporations following the Civil War coupled with a tidal wave of immigration and the gradual loss of open farmland created extremes in wealth and poverty previously unknown in America. These extremes were glaringly spotlighted by the newspapers which ran exposés of homeless children sleeping in the streets of New York hand in hand with accounts of the magnificent homes and sumptuous parties of the new society leaders. The new captains of industry justified their wealth and position by embracing the deterministic social and economic theories of Herbert Spencer and his followers, feting Spencer royally at New York's famous Delmonico

restaurant during his triumphant visit here in 1882.<sup>34</sup> Andrew Carnegie, one of Spencer's most ardent disciples, wrote in the North American Review in 1899 that "the contrast between the palace of the millionaire and the cottage of the laborer measures the change which has come with civilization,"<sup>35</sup> and William Graham Sumner became famous at Yale by insisting that every advance in civilization was the result of unfettered competition and that "the law of the survival of the fittest was not made by man and cannot be abrogated by man."<sup>36</sup>

But the American business leaders relied only on economic and political power rather than on inherited class distinctions, and their power and their theories, therefore, were quickly challenged by workers, farmers and intellectuals who denied the Darwinian analogy and demanded a new cooperative society which would spread the benefits of modern science and industry to all mankind. Lester Ward effectively countered the deterministic sociological theories of Spencer and Sumner by arguing that human evolution arose from, and depended upon, the abandonment of the struggle for existence.<sup>37</sup> Henry George electrified the nation by calling for the abandonment of all private land ownership through a confiscatory tax. His Progress and Poverty ran through more than 100 editions during the '80s and '90s and George narrowly missed election as mayor of New York in 1886.<sup>38</sup> Edward Bellamy captured the public imagination with his vision of a future communistic society in Looking Backward. His utopian theories, however, probably were less powerful than his bitter description of his own society which he compared to:





. . . a prodigious coach which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and sandy road. The driver was hunger, and permitted no lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow. Despite the difficulty of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers who never got down, even at the steepest ascents.<sup>39</sup>

While progressive and radical thinkers were debating the social Darwinists in print, millions of farmers and workingmen were taking their discontents into the streets. Recurrent financial panics and a constantly rising spiral of strikes and lockouts kept millions out of work during most of the 1880s and '90s.<sup>40</sup> The bloody warfare between workers, strikebreakers and police reached a peak with the killing of seven Chicago policemen in the Haymarket bombing in 1886, and the execution of four of the alleged terrorists in the following year gave the militant labor movement a rallying cry for the remainder of the century.<sup>41</sup> Farmers, laborers and small town businessmen joined forces to cast more than a million votes for third party candidates in the 1892 presidential election. The People's Party platform drafted in a sweaty convention hall in Omaha and telegraphed to the nation eloquently expressed the class struggle which held America in its grip during the hot summer of 1892. "The conditions which surround us best justify our cooperation," the preamble began:

We meet in the midst of a nation brought to the verge of moral, political and material ruin. Corruption dominates the ballot box, the Legislatures, the Congress, and touches even the ermine of the Bench. The people are demoralized; most of the States have been compelled to isolate the voters at the polling places to prevent universal intimidation or bribery. The newspapers are largely subsidized or muzzled, public opinion silenced, business prostrated, our homes covered with mortgages, labor impoverished, and the land concentrating in the hands of the capitalists. The urban

workmen are denied the right of organization for self-protection; imported pauperized labor beats down their wages; a hireling standing army, unrecognized by our laws, is established to shoot them down, and they are rapidly degenerating into European conditions. The fruits of the toil of millions are boldly stolen to build up colossal fortunes for a few, unprecedented in the history of mankind, and the possessors of these in turn despise the Republic and endanger liberty. From the same prolific womb of government injustice we breed the two great classes--tramps and millionaires.<sup>42</sup>

Where does Crane stand in this violent social spectrum? While the fires of class conflict were burning in Omaha, he was enjoying the seashore at Asbury Park, reportedly rewriting Maggie and working for brother Townley's news agency. Late that summer he ran afoul of his newspaper employers for mocking the dignified parade of the Junior Order of the United American Mechanics in behalf of the protective tariff advocated by Republican presidential candidate Benjamin Harrison. Crane's sketch printed August 21 in the New York Tribune strongly implies that the patriotic display of the mechanics was an ignorant betrayal of their own true class interests. He contrasted the stolid, ill-dressed, sun-beaten marchers with the throng of onlookers in summer gowns, lace parasols, tennis trousers, straw hats and "indifferent smiles," and commented, "The bonafide Asbury Parker is a man to whom a dollar, when held close to his eye, often shuts out any impression he may have had that other people possess rights." Crane and Townley apparently were discharged by the Tribune, although Willis Fletcher Johnson, their editor at the Tribune, claimed they were not. Crane later told Hamlin Garland, "I was so hot at the sight of those poor misshapen fools shouting for monopoly that I gave no thought to its effect upon my master [Whitelaw Reid]. I don't know

that it would have made much difference if I had. I wanted to say those things anyway."<sup>43</sup>

Throughout his career Crane displayed contempt for the greed and hypocrisy of respectable society and fascination with the plight of the poor. His apparent rebellion against his own respectable family and all traditional authority, his self-imposed privation while struggling to establish himself as a writer and his early allegiance to the realists against the conservative literary establishment all suggest that Crane was at home on the far left side of the political scene of his day. His first novel, Maggie, not only exposes New York slum conditions but clearly indicts the respectable society for creating the tenements and saloons in which the poor are forced to live and prostitute themselves. "An Ominous Baby," his first story published in B. O. Flower's progressive minded Arena, portrays the class struggle between haves and have-nots as an inherent part of the human condition by the simple expedient of having a tough slum baby steal a toy fire engine from a tender minded child born in better circumstances. The note of warning is clear here. The upper class baby's childish faith in property rights is no defense at all against the overpowering "trembling desire" of the slum child. Crane openly attacks the coal mine operators for their vicious use of child labor in his vivid report, "In the Depths of a Coal Mine," published in McClure's Magazine in August, 1894. His final passage, expunged from the published version by McClure's editors in deference to the business interests, clearly expresses Crane's outrage:



If all men who stand uselessly and for their own extraordinary profit between the miner and the consumer were annually doomed to a certain period of danger and darkness in the mines, they might at least comprehend the misery and bitterness of men who toil for existence at these hopelessly grim tasks.<sup>44</sup>

Crane's contempt for the dominant commercial interests of his society never abated. In "The Monster," written in 1897, he savagely parodies Whilomville's dominant white society by mirroring its petty greed and pompous customs in the imitative actions of the underlying black society. And a year later in his last great short story, "The Blue Hotel," Crane indicts the commercial avarice of the hotel keeper as being responsible for the Swede's death as the saloons are in driving Maggie to suicide.

Yet, if Crane was permanently alienated from the dominant classes in his society, it does not follow that he was a champion of the poor. In an 1896 letter to Catherine Harris often cited by critics and biographers, he wrote:

I do not think that much can be done with the Bowery as long as the [blurred] are in their present state of conceit. A person who thinks himself superior to the rest of us because he has no job and no pride and no clean clothes is as badly conceited as Lillian Russell. In a story of mine called "An Experiment in Misery" I tried to make plain that the root of Bowery life is a sort of cowardice. Perhaps I mean a lack of ambition or to willingly be knocked flat and accept a licking.<sup>45</sup>

It should be noted, however, that the purpose of the letter to Miss Harris was to reiterate Crane's doubt that Christian missions in the Bowery would do the poor any good, and in conclusion, he suggested sardonically that "The missions for children are another thing and if you will have Mr. Rockefeller give me a hundred streetcars and some money, I will load all the babes off to some pink world where cows can

lick their noses and they will never see their families any more."

In "An Experiment in Misery," published in 1894, Crane portrays the investigator's companion as a rudderless fellow with no thought for the future. And in "The Men in the Storm," published later the same year, he carefully distinguishes between the habitual Bowery dwellers and the "strong, healthy, clear skinned fellows, with the stamp of countenance which is not frequently seen upon seekers after charity." For this latter group, presumably forced to charity by particularly hard times, Crane seems to hold the greatest contempt:

They were men of undoubted patience, industry and temperance, who, at these times of ill-fortune are apt to wear a sudden and singular meekness, as if they saw the world's progress marching from them, and were trying to perceive where they had failed, what they had lacked, to be thus vanquished in the race.<sup>46</sup>

It may be that Crane simply was reporting what he saw, as he told Miss Harris with regard to his novel, Maggie, but it is difficult to escape the feeling that he also was unconsciously inciting the poor workingmen to riot. It is not the inherently weak or incompetent members of society here that he is accusing of cowardice, but rather the average workingman who meekly accepts his fate at the hands of the system.

Throughout his work, Crane wavers between heredity and environment as the root cause of poverty and social ills. In his often repeated inscription in copies of Maggie given to friends, he said that he was trying to show that "environment was a tremendous thing in this world and shapes things regardless."<sup>47</sup> And in this early work it is the forces of society as well as Maggie's inherent weakness

which causes her doom. Yet, as his work progresses, it is the basic instincts of greed and pride, shared by all men and controlling their institutions, which seem to Crane to be the root cause of human tragedies.

Crane never fully identified emotionally with any class. Nothing in his work suggests any definite political philosophy. He was the supreme individualist who sought knowledge for its own sake and never enlisted in any cause other than artistic truth. This may help explain his success as a writer as well as the bitter nihilism which was the product of his unsuccessful search for the true meaning of the universe.

Crane's attack on Bowery saloons and concert halls in Maggie and several of his short stories was part of the nationwide battle against the "rum power." The Prohibition Party, formed in 1872, grew steadily in power through the early 1890s and mounted its most vigorous campaign in the 1892 presidential election. The Arena was in the forefront of the battle. B. O. Flower editorialized that the saloon and the "disreputable concert hall" were the two greatest curses of metropolitan life<sup>48</sup> and he eagerly opened the pages of his magazine to a series of writers who attacked the distilleries and the saloon owners for exploiting the poor workingman to enrich their own pockets. "This county has just emerged from a terrible conflict with slavery, when now it is confronted in its political arena with another great moral evil in the form of drunkenness," exclaimed Henry Hartt, M.D., in 1890. "Drunkenness pervades all classes. The land is filled with its orgies, its pauperism, and its crimes."<sup>49</sup>

Like the old southern "slave power," the rum power was accused of being a principal cause of the political corruption of the era. Flower said "it is essentially a law-defying, crime-breeding and disorder-producing element."<sup>50</sup> Howard Crosby, one of the most prolific prohibitionist writers of the time, asked sarcastically, "Why not government by rum-sellers? Is not rum-selling a legitimate business? Are not businessmen well fitted to govern a city?"<sup>51</sup> Henry George tried to enlist the aid of the prohibitionists in his general campaign against political corruption. "Intemperance is a grave evil," he told the Arena readers. "But it is not the only evil. Political corruption is also a grave evil."<sup>52</sup> George said the elimination of political corruption would solve the problem of intemperance without direct prohibition, but Crosby demurred in a succeeding article. "There are two fallacies in this position. One is that any political tyranny is worse than moral death, and the other is the failure to see that the destruction of intemperance would necessarily destroy the Rum Power."<sup>53</sup> In "A Plea for the Prohibition Party," published a month before the 1892 presidential election, the Rev. E. E. Bartlett bid for broader support by linking drunkenness and unrestricted immigration as twin causes of urban poverty. "The majority of the nine hundred miles of saloons in the United States are kept by emigrants from the old world, most of whom cannot speak a word of English," he charged. "Yet so great is the desire for party supremacy that almost as soon as a male emigrant from any part of the old world reaches the place of his destination, he is made a voter by some zealous party worker, with



all his old-world habits and attachments still clinging to him." In his general indictment of the rum power, Bartlett concluded:

The luxuries enjoyed by the brewer, the distiller, and saloon-keeper, mean the joy-deserted homes, debased manhood, wan-faced childhood, heart-broken womanhood, pauperism, and all the crimes known to the decalogue. . . .

The Prohibition Party proposes to open a home market for the farmer and the manufacturer, by turning the enormous waste of brain and muscle through the liquor traffic into channels of productive labor.<sup>54</sup>

In spite of such broad appeals, the Prohibition Party received only 264,000 votes for its presidential candidate at the height of its power in 1892.<sup>55</sup> But in the small world which Crane recently had entered, the evil rum power was a burning issue to which he gave serious attention in his early fiction.

Gambling was another widely condemned form of intemperance. Anthony Comstock, secretary of the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, reported that the Methodist Ecumenical Council considered betting and gambling "as two great vices of the age" and he urged vigorous legislation to suppress them. Comstock linked gambling, intemperance and unclean publications together as corrupting public morals and insisted that "our courts of justice are, or ought to be, schools of public morals."<sup>56</sup> Another writer in the North American Review drew a thinly veiled analogy between "Gambling and Cheating in Ancient Rome" and his own society. He said that the ancient empire was threatened by the abolition of laws against gambling until Justinian restored these laws. He concluded, however, "that the subsiding of the passion for gambling, after Justinian's age, must be attributed less to his code of government than to the spreading of Christian principles."<sup>57</sup> A retired sea captain told the readers of

the same magazine that his job had been threatened when he inadvertently gave information about his ship's probable daily run to a professional gambler on board. He concluded that this gambling is permitted because the steamship owners wished to sell as much wine and liquor as possible. "Men who gamble drink, and largely too," he commented.<sup>58</sup>

The Arena, as usual, took a slightly different view. While agreeing that gambling was another reprehensible form of public immorality, Flower and his contributors concentrated their attack on a society which piously condemned small betting in card games and lotteries while openly encouraging the greatest betting parlor of all on Wall Street. In "A Paradise of Gamblers," Edgar Fawcett ridiculed the postmaster general for raiding the mail of the Louisiana Lottery and scathingly attacked the stupidity, vulgarity and cupidity of the typical Wall Street financier. His famous article is surely one of the great group character assassinations in American history. He said that he had painted it "faithfully in the oil of their own slippery speculations."<sup>59</sup> Citing Fawcett's article, Flower commented editorially that thousands of persons who had applauded the postmaster general's action against the lottery were amazed at press reports that the postmaster general had speculated heavily on Reading stock and was losing vast sums. "The lottery is a small evil indeed compared with the speculation shark, who gambles on the price of the very bread our wives and children eat and puts our daily bread in pawn to squeeze an added cent out of the palm of poverty." The viciousness of Wall Street speculations above all other forms of gambling is that they play

with "loaded dice," Flower charged. "There is no chance as far as they are concerned."<sup>60</sup>

Crane's views about drinking and gambling are confusing. The evils of drink are dramatized in both Maggie and George's Mother and alcohol is the catalyst in the Swede's violent death in the saloon in "The Blue Hotel." Crane's apparently sincere attack against the "rum power" didn't prevent him from seeking social life as well as story ideas in saloons throughout his career, although there is no record that he drank excessively. His attitude about gambling is equally blurry. Games of chance are a focus of action in many of his stories, starting with "Four Men in a Cave" and ending with the card game in "The Blue Hotel." Crane apparently shared with Fawcett and Flower the idea that the game of life was rigged, and the card games which his characters play often dramatize this idea. Yet, the higher symbolism of such games frequently is to dramatize the element of pure chance in the universe. In several short stories, the heroes either die or escape death through blind chance. Although Crane pays increasing attention to the element of pure chance in the universe as his stories progress, he consistently holds to the view that nature itself ultimately is rigged against man and that sooner or later in some unpredictable way man will lose the game of life. This is hardly an original view, but the power of many of Crane's later short stories derives from his curious dramatic mixing of fate and chance in the universe. The social issue about gambling with all its hypocrisy provided him with the material symbols of his vision and

his exploration of the nature of the universe produced the hidden ideas which lay behind the symbols.

The 1890s also marked the real beginning of the American sexual revolution. The roots of the revolution were economic. A growing army of women, and their children, was needed in factories and sweatshops. The new big city department stores employed hundreds of young women at scanty wages to sell their wares. Business offices once reserved almost exclusively for men now called upon women to operate their new typewriters and to perform other clerical tasks required by a more complex and ostentatious way of doing business. The same forces which created employment for women prevented a growing part of the male population from providing for them adequately in the home. Poverty was widespread among farmers and immigrants throughout the era, and periodic strikes and depressions added hundreds of thousands of American laborers to the pool of unemployed husbands and fathers. Reluctantly or eagerly, their wives and daughters went to work where they could and for wages which were often scandalous, but once they were there, the right to a political voice and to a little pleasure in life suddenly became paramount.

The resulting furor became a central theme in the art and social commentary of the decade. In Europe, Ibsen and Hardy leveled dramatic siege guns at the subjugation of women while Shaw was content to employ the sharply pointed arrows of his wit. In America the talent employed in the cause was thinner, but emotions ran just as high. "The woman movement is a world-wide fact," declared Lucinda B. Chandler in the Arena in 1891. Miss Chandler argued that the evolution

of brains, which is nature's method of human development, had permanently altered the relation of the sexes. "The woman who thinks has come, and the struggle no longer is one of muscle, nor can it ever again become so," she said:

The woman of the future no more can be remanded to the merely patient plodder in the kitchen and nursery, with no horizon but the cook-stove and the cradle illuminated by the weekly church service, than the lightning printing-press of to-day can be remade to the clumsy instrument of a century ago, or the electric light to the tallow dip.<sup>61</sup>

The Arena editorialized that "The era of woman has dawned, bearing the unmistakable prophecy of a far higher civilization, . . ." and called for women to fight for the right of suffrage "for those who wish to exercise it."<sup>62</sup> But the Forum took the position that women didn't need the vote because "women are not a class but a sex. What special interest of women can be named which is in danger of suffering at the hands of a legislature composed of their husbands, sons and brothers?"<sup>63</sup> In another Forum article called "The Ethics of Marriage," the author held that the moral tone of society depends on the chastity of women and their chastity in turn depended upon the absolute character of marriage. He quoted Balzac to the effect that "Nothing more conclusively proves the necessity of marriage than the instability of passion."<sup>64</sup> Still another Forum contributor called upon no less an authority than Herbert Spencer to prove that woman had developed before the advent of civilization a natural guile to protect herself from stronger males: "In order to please her brutal lord she had to disguise her natural sentiment and to return caresses for blows and smiles for discourtesy. . . . The craftier, the more guileful she was, the better were her chances for survival." The writer concluded that

"there is inherent in all women what may be called without any invidious inference, a yearning for the commonplace, the normal lot."<sup>65</sup>

An uglier element of the sexual revolution was the increasing visibility of an old social problem: prostitution. In 1894, B. O. Flower and the New York superintendent of police compared notes and estimated there were 40,000 prostitutes in that city alone.<sup>66</sup> It was widely believed that the employment of women in factories and sweatshops at starvation wages was responsible although one writer in a four part series on prostitution in the Arena concluded that only seven per cent of the prostitutes she interviewed had been working girls.<sup>67</sup> Edgar Fawcett ignored the survey in his 1891 article on "The Woes of the New York Working-Girl" in the same magazine. He charged that "The prices paid her are often a disgrace to her employers . . . who literally mount from mercantile obscurity to prominence on the bodies of herself and her dead or dying fellow-slaves." In a passage which closely anticipates the central theme of Crane's and Dreiser's early novels, Fawcett comments:

The more one observes the joyless lives of working-girls the more he wonders that so many of them should be jealous of their good names. In losing these they not only relinquish a possession about which no one, for the most part, cares much whether it be lost or kept, but they obtain material comforts which must fall on their jaded spirits like some magic mantle woven of starlight and sea-winds.<sup>68</sup>

In his closing passage, Fawcett addressed the New York clergy much as Crane was to have Maggie accost one of their number near the end of her life. "Ah, gentlemen of the clergy--and of the New York clergy in Particular--two hundred thousand wretched New York working-women need Your help far more than those noble scientific regenerators of the age

need your anathemas!"<sup>69</sup> Similarly outraged at the moral hypocrisy of society, Flower swung wildly in a long series of articles called "Wellsprings and Feeders of Immorality." "The lust for gold and the lust for flesh are the two wellsprings of present day misery, degradation and crime," he charged. In another, he demanded stricter age of consent laws to protect young girls from the "lust of moral lepers" who traffic in the innocence of childhood.<sup>70</sup>

Crane's response to the sexual revolution was as ambivalent as his reaction to the social struggle. In his personal life, he rebelled against both the religious teachings and social respectability of his family<sup>71</sup> and more or less openly engaged in illicit sexual activities with prostitutes. Yet, there is no hint that he ever made love with any respectable woman. He courted several girls of his own age as a youth, but his longest alliances were with older women, both respectable and not. Lily Brandon, one of the older women who was respectable, but married, said Crane was so prudish about the daring new bathing suits that she was never able to go swimming with him.<sup>72</sup> The treatment of women in his works raises even more questions about his sexual attitudes than the admittedly sketchy record of his own romances. Other than Maggie and the heroines of his ill-fated romantic novels, there are no major female characters in any of his fiction except mothers. Maggie herself is hardly a romantic figure. She is presented as a daughter and as a sister who is victimized by the loutish advances of a young street hoodlum. Her own desires are paper thin dreams for a little amusement and beauty rather than a serious romantic yearning for her love. The mothers are dominant figures in

both Maggie and George's Mother. The latter is presented sympathetically as an ignorant old woman unable to understand the frustrations of her son and ignorantly offering a religion he cannot use. Maggie's mother, on the other hand, is a wild beast who savagely drives her daughter to suicide by aping the conventions of respectable society. In several other works Crane repeats the same characterization of the savage earth mother. Often the mother's instinctive adherence to social customs threatens the lives of her children. When the mothers and women in general are not actively threatening their men folk, they are seen in the background carelessly pursuing their domestic duties while great tragedies are befalling their men folk. Crane in his fiction adopts the naturalistic creed that sex is one of the tools which nature creates to entrap the human animal while giving him another illusion of his humanity. Only in his poetry does Crane ever express a romantic vision and then only as a fleeting image within a world of utter despair.

Crane wrote Maggie and The Red Badge of Courage during a time when progressive thinkers clearly foresaw the possibility of world war. "Europe is again in a state, not of wars, but of rumors of war," proclaimed the Forum in the opening passage of its lead article in November, 1891.<sup>73</sup> Another article in the same issue reported that "In Europe today three million men, the physical flower of the Continent, have been drilling, marching and counter-marching, practicing at targets, learning the use of bayonet . . . ready at a sign to spring to arms and slay each other."<sup>74</sup> Another writer warned that "The existing antagonism between Germany and France constitutes to-day the chief



threat of a bloody war in Europe."<sup>75</sup> In the more radical and mystical Arena, an article by a physician called "The Coming Cataclysm of Europe and America," predicted in 1890 that the world wide class struggle soon would engulf both continents in a world war. According to the author's timetable, the war was to begin in Europe near the beginning of the 20th century, spread to this country 19 years later and end about 1916. In addition to his timetable, he offered this remarkable sketch of the war to come and its influence on 20th century life:

It will be a labor and capital war intermingled with a religious element of discord and with a mixture of the race question from the presence of a powerful negro element confronting the Caucasian negro-phobia. It will be a dreary triumph of the destructive elements, compelling a new departure for the future and a more thorough democracy. The Church as a power will be thoroughly shattered, for the power in this revolution has outgrown the old Bible. The fetters of the past will be shaken off--the marriage relation approximated to freedom, for the drift of the future is that way and beyond.<sup>76</sup>

The threat of war in Europe on an unprecedented scale stimulated a spirited debate in the same journals about America's own military preparations. The Forum asked, "Is our Military Training Adequate?" warning that the traditional principles of warfare may have become obsolete in the modern scientific age:

Slowly at first and latterly with a rush the principles of science have invaded every detail of the art of war and controlled the operation of its entire mechanism. . . . Woe to the people who invoke the power of the sword and fail to sharpen it, and trusting war fail to master it. If peace and its fruits are at the price of battle, then the law of battle must be learned.<sup>77</sup>

But Flower, the socialistic and pacifistic publisher of the Arena, was horrified at the rise of militarism in the United States. In an

article called "Fostering the Savage in the Young," he bitterly decried the military training of youth in the churches and schools of America. He lamented the elaborate and laudatory accounts of church fostered military companies in the daily newspapers of New York and other cities and attacked the religious leaders for departing from the fundamental teaching of their own accredited Leader. "The work of fostering the savage spirit in the minds of the young has not been confined to the churches," he continued. "The introduction of military training into the common schools of America marked the triumph of the military spirit of despotic Europe over the long cherished traditions of the [American] republic."<sup>78</sup> In this and other articles, Flower clearly linked the rise of American militarism to the development of American industrial capitalism and the corresponding corruption of its political system.

Much of Crane's fiction reflects this rising mood of militarism in American life. The savage struggle of the street urchins "for the honor of Rum Alley" in the opening passage of Maggie is the first expression of a constant theme in his works: that man inherently is doomed by his own conceit to a fatal struggle with his own kind. The same theme of man's fatal conceit is presented in its most successful form in the last of his great short stories, "The Blue Hotel." But of all his work, surely The Red Badge of Courage is the one devoted most directly to the cause of war, and the answer lies within the mind of the single soldier Crane employs to describe the universal human folly. Henry Fleming is driven to war through his own ignorant craving for glory. At first the author seems to indict society for duping his

young hero, but in the course of the novel it becomes increasingly clear that Henry is free to fool himself, and his final triumph in battle in his own mind is a prelude to more battles to be fought and more wars to come. The Red Badge of Courage is not a fictional history of a past war. It is a remarkable prophecy of the great wars which lie ahead for a young and overly proud nation reaching out to dominate the world.

The bitter class struggle at home, threats of new wars abroad and the seeming decline of all religious and moral values bred a deep pessimism at the end of the century. Henry George's theory that progress itself creates poverty captured the imagination of millions of Americans while his solution of a single tax on land enlisted the aid of only a few thousands. Bellamy's vision of the carriage being dragged slowly uphill by the masses of humanity while a few rode free was more powerful than any promise he made for the future in his utopian novel. Jacob Riis's picture of children starving in the alleys of New York was presented without any solution at all as was the daily chronicle of violence and corruption offered by the new mass circulation journalism. Constant reports of widespread prostitution dramatized the guilt which respectable society felt about the larger sexual revolution which was forcing its attention on the public conscience. The established church faced a double attack from science and from social reformers who attacked its general apathy in the face of human suffering. After nearly a century of relative isolation from European conflicts, Americans sensed their growing involvement in world affairs at a time when new machines and weapons

promised wars on an unprecedented scale. They moved toward world leadership in the '90s with a mixture of fear, greed and pride. Margaret Steward Sibley's "Fin-De-Siècle Vision," published in the Arena at the height of the depression in 1894, asked what the Man from Nazareth would see if he were to return to the world:

Should he see the toil-worn, old faces of children,  
Where the tireless spindle noiselessly hums,  
The baby-fingers gravely plucking the bastings,  
Or the nameless horrors of city slums?

Strange vision! The land is filled full with the harvest,  
Hungry men look for the morrow with dread;  
Our hearts swell with pride of our civilization -  
God! Hear that piteous crying for bread!<sup>79</sup>

Another poem called "Progress and Pain" concluded:

O God, have pity on thy world;  
For man through all these thousand years,  
Battling against grim want and fears  
Holding his banner still unfurled,  
Has won the victory in vain,  
Since progress means increase of pain.<sup>80</sup>

## CHAPTER II

### WONDERS AND TERRORS OF SCIENCE

The late 19th century was the golden age of science in western culture. Never before and never since has the power of science held such a grip on the public imagination. It was a period when the most extraordinary secrets of the universe were being revealed to a society already surrounded by the material fruits of the scientific method. "It seems almost incredible that a single century can have witnessed so much achievement," said John Fiske.<sup>1</sup> "It is as if we had sailed to the end of the ocean and landed on a new world of science," agreed Clarence King.<sup>2</sup> News about science was everywhere. The newspapers and magazines were filled with articles about evolution, electromagnetism, astronomy and the new psychology. The works of the greatest scientific figures of the day--Maxwell, Darwin, Helmholtz, Tyndall and Kirchhoff--were heavily advertised. The scientific lectures of Fiske and Thomas Huxley were widely attended and regularly covered by the press. The New York Times established a weekly column called "The Progress of Science."

A "new education" based on modern psychological principles and offering training in the experimental methods of science was challenging classical education in both Europe and America. Huxley said in Science and Culture that "the diffusion of thorough scientific education is an absolutely essential condition of industrial progress,"<sup>3</sup>

and that "neither the discipline nor the subject matter of classical education is of such direct value to the student of physical science as to justify the expenditure of valuable time upon either."<sup>4</sup> In

"The Education of the Future," Clarence King warned:

To choose between the old classical and the new technical training is simply to decide which side of a man's mind shall be developed and which carefully destroyed. Utility casts the preponderating vote, and in consequence scientific and technical education is expanding out of all proportion to the spread of the classics. . . .<sup>5</sup>

Science was viewed by many observers as the key to social as well as material progress. However different their goals, Herbert Spencer, Huxley, Lester Ward, William Graham Sumner and the young John Dewey all called for the application of scientific methods to cure social ills. Many writers noted the parallel development of science and democracy. Some simply saw the advance of material progress through science as a way of ending poverty<sup>6</sup> while others believed that technological breakthroughs like the telegraph and telephone would break the tyranny of monopolistic corporations.<sup>7</sup> In all of these ways, science seemed to be "the auspicious pledge of a yet higher, purer and happier civilization in ages yet to come."<sup>8</sup> The fledgling McClure's Magazine celebrated the new year in 1894 by gathering glowing forecasts of future progress from leading experts in the fields of science, education, religion and social reform. These luminaries predicted the advent of airships, television, electronic medical diagnosis, the complete determination of mental laws and the cessation of war and hunger.<sup>9</sup> A contributor to the North American Review promised that "No one can imagine the reach and



limit . . . of the application of the intellect to the problems of life today. The border-land of science still stretches on into the unknown."<sup>10</sup>

The spirit of scientific naturalism which pervaded the age rested on two theories and a method. The first theory stated that "the total quantity of all forces capable of work in the whole universe remains eternal and unchanged throughout all their changes."<sup>11</sup> This principle of the conservation of force formulated by Helmholtz, Joule, Kelvin and other physicists shortly before midcentury almost immediately was fused with the rapidly developing theory of biological evolution by the most famous synthesizer of the age, Herbert Spencer.<sup>12</sup> He held that the "persistence of force" predetermined all development from the origin of the universe to the evolution of life and the progress of increasingly complex forms of society.<sup>13</sup> Clarence King cited the theories of conservation of force and biological evolution as the two greatest intellectual achievements of the age on which all future progress would be based.<sup>14</sup> Then, he added: "Not even the world-wide scientific activity of the present is more remarkable than the strictly inductive cast of all research--law and principle, safely and faithfully reasoned and drawn from observation and experiment, patiently multiplied and repeated to the point of proof."<sup>15</sup> The essence of the naturalistic method was the abandonment of metaphysical speculation in all fields in favor of careful observation, measurements and experiments based on direct experiences in nature. This "revolt against formalism," stimulated by the success of scientific empiricism and dramatized by Darwin's own patient research became the



common denominator of every major progressive movement in the late 19th century.<sup>16</sup>

Within the century long development of scientific naturalism, there was a briefer period, like the eye of a storm, in which many scientists and philosophers came to believe that all natural and human activity could be explained solely in terms of matter in motion. This creed of scientific materialism developed rapidly after 1850 and reached a crest during Crane's lifetime. One of the most popular exponents of the doctrine was Ludwig Büchner, a German professor of medicine whose principal work, Force and Matter, ran through 15 editions in German and English. Taking his cue from the latest developments in molecular physics, Büchner began his thesis by insisting that force and matter were merely abstract names for two different aspects of the same natural phenomena. "No force without matter--no matter without force," he said. "One is no more possible and no more imaginable by itself than the other."<sup>17</sup> Applying the conservation of force principle to both force and matter, Büchner paints a picture of the universe as a closed system filled with atoms of matter moving in a constant flux relative to one another in accordance with immutable laws:

Never and nowhere has there been matter without motion, nor can there exist any. Motion in the universal space, mechanical motion of smaller masses in the individual spheres, molecular vibration as heat or as electrical or magnetic action, chemical decomposition and composition, organic life --each single atom of matter in the world is in one or other of these modes of action, or in many of them at the same time, at any given moment. All rest, all equilibrium, is but comparative. . . .<sup>18</sup>

According to Büchner all of these natural phenomena, including human nervous energy and thought, were different manifestations of the "inconceivably swift vibrating or wave-like motion of matter . . . in the infinitely rare light ether" which filled all space and penetrated all matter.<sup>19</sup> For Büchner and many other scientific materialists, the invisible light rays of the sun were the cause of all action in the universe and the key to all its mysteries.

The success of Darwinism did not create the naturalistic or materialistic beliefs but, like a thunderbolt, it placed man under their dominion. Descartes, Kepler, Galileo and Newton had laid the groundwork for a universal system of deterministic natural laws but until Darwin offered a plausible explanation for the natural evolution of life, man generally had been declared exempt from these laws, a privileged observer who owed his obedience directly to God.<sup>20</sup> The widespread acceptance of the theory of natural selection in the 1870s changed this conception of man abruptly. As Helmholtz noted, "Darwin's theory contains an essentially new creative thought. It shows how adaptability of structure in organisms can result from the blind rule of a law of nature without any intervention of intelligence."<sup>21</sup> From this he concluded that his own principle of the conservation of force must hold good for living organisms as well:

If then the law of conservation of force holds good also for the living body it follows that the chemical forces of the material employed in building up the body are in continuous action without intermission and without choice and their exact conformity to law never suffers a moment's interruption.<sup>22</sup>

Büchner's picture was even blacker. "Man does not stand outside or even above Nature, but wholly and thoroughly in her midst, and the great

and mischievous error that all Nature was created for his sake must be looked upon as exploded."<sup>23</sup> He and other materialists ruled out all possibility of innate ideas, mind or consciousness existing apart from the material body. "Nervous energy and electricity may be looked upon as the same thing," Büchner said, "and thinking itself has been experimentally proven to be a form of motion."<sup>24</sup> He insisted that intelligence is proportional to the physical density and firmness of the brain and pointed out that the brains of young children and the senile as well as those of inferior races all were softer than those of members of superior races in their prime.<sup>25</sup> Such a picture of mechanistic man obviously precluded any hope of immortality. "A soul without a body, or a spirit without physique, and a thought without substance, can no more be realized or exist than electricity, magnetism, undulations of heat, gravity, etc. can exist without those bodies . . . by which the phenomena designated by those names are produced."<sup>26</sup> In place of the hope for personal immortality or the continuation of the human race on earth, Büchner offered only the possibility of eternal cosmic evolution, in a passage which may not have bred as much optimism as intended:

Though our little earth with its inhabitants may perish, it by no means follows that the fate of the immeasurable and everlasting universe should likewise be sealed. Nay, at the very time when our own race dies away in cold and desolation, we have a right to assume that upon thousands of other spots in the universe the condition of things will have reached a culminating point from which a new race can take its departure, similar to ourselves in the fundamental principles of physical and intellectual development, and doomed, like ourselves, to eventual individual and collective extinction. Therefore, the destruction of our earth with everything on it does not seem to signify any more in the universe, than the death of one individual does on our own earth; and the

wave of life which passes over our earth is, as Proctor says so forcibly and so beautifully, but a gentle ripple on the sea of life within the solar systems, and the sea of life, again, is itself nothing more than an insignificant wave, in the ocean of the eternal life of the universe.<sup>27</sup>

The growing geological record confirmed the development of the earth and the evolution of life over an almost incomprehensible period of time. Beginning in 1831, twelve editions of Charles Lyell's Principles of Geology meticulously documented the tremendous age of the earth and argued that every effect in nature was the product of slow working material laws. Lyell's reluctant acceptance of the Darwinian hypothesis which flowed directly from his own work led him to publish the Antiquity of Man in 1863, a popular account of the development of mankind over millions of years. A series of dramatic discoveries of the early remains of man was climaxed in 1893 by the unearthing of the bones of so-called Java man, a species said to be midway between the anthropoid apes and man.<sup>28</sup> All of these widely publicized events exerted a strong influence on the mental horizons of 19th century men. As Fiske commented, "When once the truth of Lyell's conclusions began to be distinctly realized, their influence upon men's habits of thought and upon the drift of philosophic speculation was profound."<sup>29</sup>

During the same period, striking advances in astronomy extended the reign of materialism throughout the universe and literally unseated God from the heavens in the public mind. Throughout the century, increasingly powerful Fraunhofer telescope lenses had pushed back the boundaries of space until they seemed to disappear altogether. Büchner said at the beginning of his chapter on "The Heavens":

Every schoolboy knows to-day that the heaven is no blue vault suspended over the earth, with holes in it through which the fiery sphere of the universe gleams in the shape of stars and sun, but that, in looking at it we are gazing into an incom-  
 mensurable and almost empty space without beginning and without end, the vast desert of which is interrupted only by single stars or groups of stars, few in number and infinitely far between, and in which e.g. our own solar system, despite its gigantic extent, appears as a mere dot in the infinitude of space.<sup>30</sup>

The application of photography to astronomy made possible by the development of silver bromide plates around 1870 vastly improved the precision of astronomical measurements and also provided a sensational feature topic for the new photo journalism. Pictures made by the new state supported observatories began appearing in newspapers and magazines in the 1880s and '90s. Close-up photos of the moon made by the famous Lick Observatory and published in the Century in July, 1891, offered a vivid example of the infinitely gradual evolution of the universe. In the accompanying article, Edward Holden described the moon as a planet encased in ice and frozen in time, its presumed sub-freezing surface temperatures preventing even the normal slow rate of evolution caused by melting and freezing. "It is almost impossible to conceive the immense step between the paroxysmal activity of the volcanos which originally shaped its topography and the icy calm which now preserves its surface completely unchanged from century to century," he wrote.<sup>31</sup>

The most spectacular success of astronomy in the late 19th century was its reunion with physics and chemistry through the wonder of spectrum analysis. The discovery by Heidelberg physicist Gustav Kirchhoff in 1859 that the flames of different burning materials yielded different patterns of colored lines in a spectroscope made it

possible to explore the inner chemistry of the sun and the stars, a feat which Auguste Comte had declared forever beyond the province of science only 25 years earlier.<sup>32</sup> Ingenious applications of spectrum analysis by Kirchhoff and his followers also made it possible to measure the distances of the stars and their smallest movements and revealed that the inner chemistry of matter was the same throughout the universe.<sup>33</sup> At first, the rays of the sun yielded only black lines corresponding in pattern to the colored lines of different chemical elements, but the American physicist Charles Young viewing the solar eclipse of 1868 through a spectroscope reported that at the moment when the moon entirely covered the sun with only the surrounding gaseous vapors emitting light, a full range of colored lines appeared.<sup>34</sup> This confirmation of the identity of the sun's chemical structure with that of the earth set in motion a whole generation of research into the inner constitution of the sun and led eventually to the birth of the modern atomic age. According to Rudolph Thiel: "Atomic physics developed by leaps and bounds out of this sport. It is perhaps fair to say that atomic physics is entirely based on spectral lines."<sup>35</sup>

Reports of this new wonder filled the newspapers and magazines. Loren Eiseley, author of Darwin's Century, said that "For a time the new cosmology rivaled the Darwinian controversy in interest, and there can be no doubt that it promoted and stimulated willingness to accept Darwin."<sup>36</sup> In his review of the century's progress in science, John Fiske said that Kirchhoff's discovery made it possible to extend Newtonian laws throughout the universe.<sup>37</sup> Some of the popular accounts

were accurate, others were highly imaginative. An article called "The Wonderful New Star of 1892" in the Forum offered a detailed description of the identification of the new star by its color spectrum, but it also speculated ominously about the disappearance of the star and its reappearance as a full blown nebula some months later. "In other words," the author warned, "it had developed changes of light and heat, which if repeated in the case of our own sun, would mean a quick end of the human race and the utter annihilation of every vestige of animal and other life on earth."<sup>38</sup> A writer for the Arena in 1890 excitedly reported that the latest discoveries in astronomy and physics revealed two primary creative principles in nature, "Actien" and "Ether." According to his highly dramatic account, the sun and other stars throw off the force of Actien which travels invisibly through the dark and cold Ether of space:

A conflict ensues between Actien, the positive, and Ether, the negative principle, resulting in the birth and construction of atomic and molecular substances. . . . Electricity, magnetism and the gases are thus produced, followed by the more ponderable substance of cinderous, nebulous matter, which under restrictive influence, is sent floating into space, like the misty globules that form a cloud in our sky.<sup>39</sup>

The most far sighted thinkers of the late 19th century accepted the naturalistic view of man and nature formulated by science, but a growing number of them questioned the rigid determinism which seemed to flow from it. In one of the first American reviews of The Origin of Species, Francis Bowen clearly perceived the hidden bomb of blind chance which was an integral part of the theory of natural selection. "Our author denies that the same physical antecedents are

always followed by the same consequences," Bowen wrote. "He affirms that irregular or unsuspected variations are perpetually interrupting the chain of orderly causation."<sup>40</sup> In the fierce religious debate which followed the introduction of Darwinism, few others raised the issue of chance causation, but Charles Peirce began his now famous exposition of pragmatism in Popular Science Monthly in 1877 by pointing out that both Darwinism and the new kinetic theory of gases were based on the laws of statistical probability. "Darwin, while unable to say what the operation of variation and natural selection in every individual case will be, demonstrated in the long run they will adapt animals to their circumstances."<sup>41</sup> Probability became the basis of Peirce's pioneer work in the logic of scientific inquiry and chance became the building block of his later transcendental metaphysics of universal evolution.<sup>42</sup> Peirce's work was largely unknown during Crane's lifetime, but it was increasingly reflected in the popular lectures and articles of his good friend, William James. James, who freely acknowledged Peirce as the primary source of his own pragmatism, borrowed Peirce's logical arguments against determinism to support his own faith in human choice freely working within a universe filled with novel possibilities. In an address at the Harvard Divinity School in 1884, James passionately exclaimed that "Determinism, with its necessary carrion, and with no possible maggots to eat the latter up, violated my sense of morality through and through."<sup>43</sup> In the same talk, he offered a preview of his pragmatic philosophy. "I myself believe," he told his eager audience, "that all the magnificent achievements of mathematical and physical science--our doctrines of



evolution, of uniformity of law, and the rest--proceed from our indomitable desire to cast the world into a more rational shape in our minds than the shape into which it is thrown by the crude order of our experience."<sup>44</sup> In France, Emile Boutroux already had come to a similar conclusion. "The laws of nature have no absolute existence. . . . They are the image, artificially obtained and determined, of a model, that, in essence, is living and moveable."<sup>45</sup> Boutroux's son-in-law, Auguste Poincaré, asserted that all mathematical and scientific principles were based on evolving human experience rather than absolute laws of nature or the mind, and Henri Bergson, in his first work published in 1889, argued that man's inner consciousness of duration in time was a higher reality that superseded the abstract laws of deterministic science.<sup>46</sup> The philosophic defense of human free will coupled with increasing difficulties in reconciling classical mechanical principles with new developments within science itself challenged determinism and destroyed materialism as the century drew to a close. In his survey of modern French philosophy, J. Alexander Gunn commented, "Beginning with an overweening confidence in science and a belief in determinism and in a destined progress, the century closes with a complete reversal of these conceptions."<sup>47</sup>

The success of Darwinism in linking man to the great chain of natural evolution gave strong impetus to the development of the new experimental psychology in America. Shortly after publishing The Descent of Man in 1871, Darwin himself asked one of his most astute American reviewers, Chauncey Wright, to analyze how human reason might have evolved from animal instincts.<sup>48</sup> Wright responded a year later

with an article in the North American Review called "The Evolution of Self-Consciousness." He suggested that accidental growth in the power of "revived impressions" and the association of such impressions with outward signs might have aided the survival of certain species and have eventually planted "the germ of the distinctly human form of self-consciousness."<sup>49</sup> Wright, a strict empiricist, concluded that human reflection then is "not what most metaphysicians appear to regard it as--a fundamentally new faculty in man."<sup>50</sup> Wright's friend, William James, professor of physiology at Harvard and an early American visitor to Wilhelm Wundt's pioneer experimental psychology laboratory in Leipzig, enthusiastically told President Charles Eliot in 1875 that "a real science of man is being built up out of the theory of evolution and the facts of archaeology" and proposed a course in the new psychology.<sup>51</sup> During the next 15 years, James taught the subject to a small body of students, making use of his own homemade laboratory to conduct psychological experiments, and laboriously drew together all of the known facts about the new science for his massive Principles of Psychology finally published in 1890.

American interest in the new science of the mind reached a crest in the late '80s and early '90s. As late as 1885, James and G. Stanley Hall, one of his first students, were the only trained experimental psychologists in America, according to Frank M. Albrecht's excellent dissertation on "The New Psychology in America."<sup>52</sup> While James was becoming the best known American psychologist abroad, Hall was assuming leadership of the new movement at home. He established the first formal experimental psychology laboratory at Johns Hopkins

University in the mid '80s, founded the Journal of American Psychology in 1887 and was the principal organizer and first president of the American Psychological Association in 1892.<sup>53</sup> Stimulated by James and Hall, experimental psychology laboratories were formed at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Pennsylvania, the new Clark University, Columbia, Harvard, Cornell, Yale, Princeton and the University of Chicago between 1888 and 1893. The laboratories were equipped with apparatus to measure hearing, vision, muscular sensations and reaction times and with tests to measure human emotion, will and reasoning processes.<sup>54</sup> Through such means, it was widely believed, as the contributor to McClure's Magazine had pointed out, that the "complete determination of mental laws" would come in a short time.<sup>55</sup>

The development of the new psychology in America during the 1890s paralleled the general movement from determinism to indeterminism in the natural sciences. The pre-Darwinian pioneers in experimental psychology were wedded to the mechanical principles of the parent sciences of physics and physiology, and the German and British schools generally retained this approach until the end of the century.<sup>56</sup> But in America the particular interpretation which James and some of his colleagues placed on the theory of evolution led them gradually from a mechanical to a functional and organic view of mental development. When James began to write his Principles, he held firmly to the mechanistic view as in his famous description of habit: "An acquired habit from a physiological point of view is nothing but a new pathway of discharge formed in the brain by which certain incoming currents ever after tend to escape."<sup>57</sup> But as the work slowly

emerged in the 1880s and James began wrestling with the problems of perception and cognition and space and time, it became obvious to him that man was not just another chapter in physics.<sup>58</sup> By 1884, he had largely given up the old associationist psychology and was writing instead about "The Stream of Thought," in which he said, "No one ever had a simple sensation by itself. Consciousness, from our natal day, is of a teeming multiplicity of objects and relations, and what we call simple sensations are results of discriminative attention."<sup>59</sup> When James had begun his Principles in the late '70s, he was a physiologist interested in the new science of psychology; when he finished it in 1890, he was a psychologist caught in the grip of philosophical problems that science alone could not solve. Another philosophically minded psychologist, James Mark Baldwin, decried "That most vicious and Philistine attempt, in some quarters, to put science in the straight-jacket of barren observations,"<sup>60</sup> and the young John Dewey, who had written a decidedly metaphysical treatise on psychology in 1886, a decade later was criticizing the concept of discrete stimuli and responses as a "survivor of the old metaphysical dualism of subject and object" and proposing to study in its place purposive and coordinated human functions and goals.<sup>61</sup>

The closing years of the century also saw the dawn of modern theories of the subconscious. Several of the early scientific psychologists who believed in the continuity of all natural phenomena offered theories of the subconscious to fill in the gaps between conscious mental activities.<sup>62</sup> But a stronger impetus came from the need to devise practical treatments for mentally ill persons for whom none of

the physiological investigations seemed to promise much hope. The French "morbid school of psychology," initiated by Charcot and Ribot and culminating in the work of Pierre Janet, made extensive use of hypnotism to treat patients suffering from hysteria and "double personality" during the '80s and '90s.<sup>63</sup> Janet's early theories of subconscious behavior were made known to the American public in the early 1890s by James and Morton Prince, the first American psychologist to make an extensive study of abnormal behavior. In an article called "What Psychological Research Has Accomplished" in the Forum in 1892, James cited Janet as "the most brilliant French inquirer into the extra-consciousness." He described Janet's treatment of a young girl named Marcella who initially was suffering from "invincible apathy and inertia" and spells of violence. According to James's account, Janet's hypnotic suggestions caused the girl to experience a series of hallucinations which were, in fact, memories of forgotten experiences. "Each later hallucination that was peeled off, so to speak, by M. Janet gave an older one a chance to become more acute, until the whole regressive series was run through," James reported. "Her mind was thus gradually freed of a deposit of obsessions that had accumulated during five years."<sup>64</sup>

During this same period, the work of Sigmund Freud gradually was becoming known beyond his home city of Vienna. Freud's observation of Dr. Joseph Breuer's hypnotic treatments of the now famous Anna O. between 1880 and 1882 led him first to eagerly promote the use of hypnotism in psychotherapy, but his own treatment of a woman patient in 1892 led him at first to compel her to consciously recall

forgotten memories and then to recall them voluntarily through free association.<sup>65</sup> F. W. H. Myers, the first psychologist to analogize the conscious mind to the tip of an iceberg, reported Freud's new methods in London in April, 1893, at a meeting of the Society for Psychical Research<sup>66</sup> and James reviewed Freud and Breuer's report of their treatment of hysteria in the Psychological Review in 1894.<sup>67</sup> Freud's own account of psychoanalysis first appeared as a chapter in Studies of Hysteria, published in 1895, and the doctrine was introduced in France the following year.<sup>68</sup> Freud's first major work, The Interpretation of Dreams, was not published until 1900 and generally was ignored for several years after that, but the theories of the unconscious and the basic technique of psychoanalysis developed by Janet and Freud were products of the 1890s and began to exert an influence on the culture of that era, notably in the French symbolist movement, the philosophy of Henri Bergson and the "interior journeys" of Proust. The years between 1895 and 1900 also marked a period of spiritual illness for Henry James. His biographer, Leon Edel, notes that James attempted to exorcise his own spiritual demons by exploring the inner experiences of children in the stories such as "The Turn of the Screw" written during this period. During this period, according to Edel, "James was probing the same human experience--and in an analogously systematic if unconscious way--as Sigmund Freud, who was making his discoveries at this very moment in Vienna."<sup>69</sup> Given Myers's report to the Psychical Society in 1893 and William James's close ties with that body, it is probable that Henry James actually knew of Freud's work and certain that he was acquainted with the



psychology of the unconscious being formulated by Janet and his colleagues in France.

On all sides, the traditional common sense dualism of subject and object was being eroded by rival theories of philosophy which strove to emulate Darwin's fusion of man and nature. As already described, materialists like Büchner held that the boundary line between man and nature was nothing more than the interconnection of various systems of molecular action and that all ideas were merely the products of matter in motion. A strong wave of idealistic philosophies arose in the 1890s to combat this stark view. George Ladd, professor of philosophy at Yale, resolved what he called the "burning question" of mind and body by concluding that the dualistic structure of psychology and science as a whole "must undoubtedly be dissolved in some monistic solution."<sup>70</sup> He reasoned that since the human mind cannot be responsible for creating the individual body or nature at large the only possible explanation was "an Other and Absolute Mind." William DeWitt Hyde, president of Bowdoin College and a well known theologian, attacked materialism at its own front door by arguing that science proved everywhere a rational order in nature and that this order could only come from the mind. "Science bears witness to the twofold truth that the real is rational and the rational is real." Yet, science is only the skeleton of reality. "We must not confound these laws of science with the ultimate reality," he warned.<sup>71</sup> Even Charles Peirce, who early in his career had attacked metaphysical speculations, succumbed to the pressures of evolutionary science in the early 1890s and proposed a sweeping metaphysics in



which a purely spontaneous absolute mind gradually had hardened into regular patterns of habit and matter. "The one intelligible theory of the universe is that of an objective idealism, that matter is effete mind, inveterate habits becoming physical laws," he said.<sup>72</sup>

The respectable philosophic and religious theories of idealism were only a stone's throw away from the inundation of spiritualistic thought which marked the last decades of the century. In "The Higher Evolution of Man," Henry Wood promised:

A new light is breaking in upon mankind. Its dazzling rays are penetrating into the cold, dark caverns of gloom and pessimism, and transforming it into the abodes of warmth and brightness. The clear-cut outlines of divinity as engraven in humanity, long obscured by the deep shadows of materialism, now stand out with unmistakable sharpness.

He sharply distinguished between his own creed and traditional religion by noting that "A domestic and materialistic Christianity is giving place to one that is both spiritual and scientific."<sup>73</sup> J. M. Peebles said that the wonders of the telegraph, the telephone, the phonograph as well as mesmerism, clairvoyance and psychometry were responsible for the present rediscovery and propagation of spiritualism. "Premonition, hypnotism, telepathy, trance, vision, clairvoyance, psychometry and other varied spirit phenomena are all about us," he exclaimed. "Personally, I know that the dead are alive--I know that friends departed live and manifest themselves to us still," he said.<sup>74</sup> Even William James, the least fanatic of men, was perfectly willing to embrace the possibility of a universal mind. In a lecture delivered at Harvard in 1897 on "Human Immortality," he argued seriously that the brain may be the transmissive function for the soul which is part

of a universal mind or soul which occasionally shows glimpses of consciousness through extrasensory perception and other psychic phenomena.<sup>75</sup> F. C. S. Schiller, the English pragmatist who taught at Cornell, also defended this sort of transmission theory and argued in The Riddles of the Sphinx in 1891, "the unity of philosophy and the universe is vindicated by the discovery of fundamental Identity of Matter and Spirit, and by an ultimate reduction of the former to the latter."<sup>76</sup>

James's willingness to consider the possibility of an over-soul, so reminiscent of Ralph Waldo Emerson's principle of spiritual unity, and his active participation in the investigations pursued by the Society for Psychical Research, dramatizes the inherent connection between spiritualism and psychic research, a connection which many writers of the period noted.<sup>77</sup> Margaret Peeke said in the Arena that "we find the words psychic, spiritual, spirituality, spiritist standing for one and the same thing; and not one in a hundred can discriminate or define wherein one differs from another."<sup>78</sup> B. O. Flower, the editor of the magazine, used the terms spiritualism and psychical research interchangeably in his account of the general movement. He pointed out the phenomenal rise of spiritualism in the mid 19th century to combat the forces of scientific materialism and its gradual evolution into the systematic investigations of such bodies as the English Society for Psychical Research, the American Society and similar societies. "During the last decade of the 19th century," he said, "psychical phenomena were challenging the attention of many psychologists, physicists and other leading thinkers trained in

modern critical methods of research."<sup>79</sup> Flower's adulatory review of the rise of Mary Baker Eddy's Christian Science doctrine in the same history and his connection of all these movements with the drive for class justice casts doubt on his own allegiance to scientific principles of investigation, but there is no doubt that the distinguished scientists who joined in the movement for psychic research were determined to root out the metaphysics and the sham and make use of rigid empirical methods of research. Richard Hodgson, in his investigation of apparitions and haunted houses, commented, "In a field where so much is new and so much is continually being discovered, we must refrain from dogmatic generalizations. The theory of telepathy itself is eminently serviceable, simply because it asserts so little." Citing Darwin's laborious 22 years of research before publication of The Origin of Species, Hodgson said "what we especially need at the present time is not speculation so much as a larger accumulation of well authenticated experiences. In no branch of our research is this truer than for our investigations of haunted houses."<sup>80</sup> Alfred Russel Wallace, co-discoverer of the theory of evolution, spent much of his latter years studying the same field. In his article called "Are There Objective Apparitions?" he said, "We do not know whether the luminiferous ether is material, or whether electricity is material, but both are certainly objective." In like manner, he concluded, various classes of "phantasmal appearances from the 'doubles' of living persons to those apparitions which bring us news of our departed friends or are in some cases able to warn us of future events," are subject to objective scientific investigations regardless of their

materiality.<sup>81</sup> O. B. Frothingham said that the work of the Society for Psychical Research "gets continually farther from any spiritualistic conclusions, . . . it leaves aside questions of immortality and disembodiment."<sup>82</sup> Objective or not, an amazing array of prominent men joined in the hunt to verify psychic phenomena during the '90s. James and Hodgson were joined in their founding of the American Society by G. Stanley Hall, C. S. Minot, Asa Gray, Simon Newcomb, Josiah Royce and William Dean Howells and in England F. W. H. Myers, Sir William Crookes and J. J. Thomson were active in the English Society during the same period.<sup>83</sup> This brief, but serious, excursion into the "scientific underworld" and the related spiritualistic phenomena which surrounded it were spurred by the revolt against scientific materialism, the growing evidence that there was something, after all, going on beneath the realm of conscious thought and motivation.

What materialism, idealism and pragmatism all had in common was the denial of the traditional common sense dualism of subject and object. Although these movements overlapped in time, each may be seen as a successive response to the problems raised by the progress of biological and physical science. Scientific materialism expressed the simplest philosophic conclusion to be drawn from Darwinism and molecular physics; i.e.: that all sense impressions and ideas were products of the interaction of material forces. The idealists, spurred by this attack on reason and morality, simply turned the tables on the materialists by asserting that the increasing rational order which science had discovered in nature proved that matter must be a function of some absolute mind which ruled over all of nature.

Pragmatism in turn attacked both the deterministic materialism and the rational idealism by asserting that neither matter nor mind was uppermost, but rather that both were abstractions from the living stream of human experience which was the only concrete reality. In his presidential address to the American Psychological Association at Princeton in 1894, James dramatically asserted that "The thought-stuff and the thing-stuff are here indistinguishably the same in nature."<sup>84</sup> He argued as both Schiller and Bergson had in their earlier works that the dualism of subject and object is produced by the abstraction of concepts after the living experience has occurred in a unified way.

The revolt against absolute space and time was well advanced long before Einstein's theory of relativity was offered to resolve the impasse between mechanical principles and Maxwell's theories. In Paris beginning in the 1880s, Poincaré insisted that all mathematical principles, including the axioms of geometry, were conventions based on experience rather than a priori truths. He championed the new non-Euclidean geometries as equally acceptable to experience and proposed as his own theory of relativity that "the state of bodies and their mutual distances must be relative to a given instant of time rather than to an absolutely fixed spatial system."<sup>85</sup> In Vienna, the supremely skeptical Ernst Mach ridiculed Newton's attempt to prove the existence of absolute space by whirling a bucket filled with water around in the air. Because the water in the bucket at first remained still and only gradually assumed a concave appearance, Newton had concluded that it initially must have been at rest in some absolute medium of which space was composed. Mach retorted that



the experiment proved the existence of absolute space only if one assumed that the stars were fixed in the heavens. "Try to fix Newton's bucket and rotate the heaven of fixed stars and then prove the absence of centrifugal force," Mach said scathingly.<sup>86</sup> In America, James concluded from his own psychological investigations that space is "a special form of sensibility"<sup>87</sup> and that "Date in time corresponds to position in space. . . . The original experience of both space and time is always of something already given as a unit."<sup>88</sup> Another of the early pragmatists, F. C. S. Schiller, said in Riddles of the Sphinx, that "time depends on motion and motion on time." He pointed out that "if the motions on which our measurements of time depend were uniformly accelerated, the flow of time also would be accelerated in like proportion, and the events of a lifetime might be crowded into what would previously have been regarded as a few minutes." Schiller said that the ideas of infinite time and space were "convenient functions of science . . . for nothing infinite can be perceived." Schiller held that the inner sensibility of time or duration was a higher form of reality. "For the reality of time is involved in the reality of the world-process."<sup>89</sup> Schiller, who taught at Cornell from 1893 to 1897 before returning to Oxford, labored in relative obscurity during the early 1890s, but Henri Bergson's more eloquent expression of a similar philosophy of time attracted increasing attention in France throughout the decade. His first work, Time and Free Will, began from the same premise that time is a directly felt sense impression and that divisions into past, present and future are mere intellectual abstractions. He said that every

concrete perception in space is in reality a directly intuited experience in time and that all deterministic laws of science were based on a confusion of spatial extension with the intuition of time which is the only authentic human experience.<sup>90</sup> The new non-Euclidean geometries, the substitution of psychological experiments in perception for metaphysical speculations about the mind and the soul and, above all, the extension of universal space and time to an infinity which could only be understood abstractly, all combined to break down the historic conceptions of space and time as absolute and distinct from one another. Both scientists and philosophers moved in the late 19th century to replace this rigid dualism with relative conceptions of space and time as a means of solving problems within science itself as well as problems caused by science in the realm of the human spirit.

The unity of light and electromagnetic phenomena discovered by Maxwell and confirmed by Hertz suggested that the basic structure of the universe was a sea of waves. In the early 19th century, Fresnel and Young had resurrected the wave theory of light, overcoming Newton's objections with improved experimental methods.<sup>91</sup> During the same period, Faraday had demonstrated the existence of an electromagnetic force between two charged poles and suggested that they acted upon one another at a distance through "tubes of force."<sup>92</sup> Unhappy with this crude explanation, Maxwell, the dominant figure in 19th century physics, offered a mathematical field theory in which both light and electromagnetic waves traveled at approximately the same speed.<sup>93</sup> Hertz in 1887 began publishing his experimental proofs that such waves actually existed.<sup>94</sup> "This discovery was of transcendental



importance both for pure science and for its application to the service of man," J. J. Thomson recalled in his memoirs. "It aroused great interest throughout the world."<sup>95</sup> In America, one of the first accounts of Hertz's work appeared in the 1889 annual report of the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>96</sup> Popular Science Monthly published a full account of his life and work shortly after his death in 1894.<sup>97</sup> Scientists on both sides of the Atlantic vied with one another in the early '90s to construct devices to detect and produce the new "Hertzian waves."<sup>98</sup> The potential use of the new medium for communications was quickly perceived. Sir William Crookes said in the London Fortnightly Review in 1892, "Here is unfolded to us a new and astonishing world. . . . Here, then, is revealed the bewildering possibility of telegraphy without wires."<sup>99</sup> In 1896, Marconi startled British post office officials and all of London by transmitting a message through the air between the central post office and a nearby savings bank.<sup>100</sup> The popular accounts of invisible solar rays, the preoccupation with all things electrical and, finally, the prospect of music and voices traveling through the air on mysterious waves led people to believe, as Sir James Jeans later said, "we are beginning to suspect that we live in a universe of waves and nothing but waves."<sup>101</sup>

Roentgen's discovery in late 1895 of a mysterious ray which penetrated solid bodies and photographed skeletons beneath living flesh aroused even more intense public speculation and fear about the growing powers of modern science. News of the then obscure German physicist's eerie discovery appeared in newspapers and magazines throughout the world in January, 1896.<sup>102</sup> The London Daily Chronicle

reported that Roentgen had "discovered a light which for the purpose of photography will penetrate wood, flesh, cloth and most other organic substances." The Frankfurter Zeitung said in a story illustrated with striking photographs of X-rays that "The light rays from a Crookes tube penetrated dense objects as easily as sunlight penetrates a piece of glass." The first American report of X-rays appeared January 16 in the New York Times, and later that month the Nation told its readers that "the photograph of a man, whether clothed or naked, is merely a human skeleton with a watch or ring, if he happens to wear them." The news was accompanied by growing speculation that the advent of X-rays would banish personal privacy forever and advertisements of "X-ray proof underwear" appeared in competition with advertisements for "X-Ray opera glasses. American magazine writers debated whether X-rays would prove or disprove the existence of "a spiritual body within man" and a number of contributors were inspired to poetry as the one in Life Magazine which began:

She is so tall, so slender; and her bones -  
Those frail phosphates, those carbonates of lime -  
Are well produced by cathode rays sublime, . . .

Photography Magazine chimed in with:

The Roentgen Rays, the Roentgen Rays,  
What is this craze?  
The town's ablaze  
With the new phase  
of X-rays' ways.

One of the most authoritative accounts of Roentgen's discovery appeared as the lead article in McClure's Magazine in April, 1896, by H. J. W. Dam, a journalist and a member of the Royal Institution of Great Britain.<sup>103</sup> Based on a personal interview with Roentgen in his

laboratories and accompanied by X-ray pictures of a cigar case showing the dark shadows of cigars inside, the bones of a foot inside a shoe, etc., the article described the process of making an X-ray photograph in colorful detail:

The moment the current passed, the paper began to glow. A yellowish-green light spread all over its surface in clouds, waves, and flashes. The yellow-green luminescence, all the stranger and stronger in the darkness, trembled, wavered, and floated over the paper, in rhythm with the snapping of the discharge. Through the metal plate the paper, myself, and the tin box, the invisible rays were flying, with the effect strange, interesting and uncanny.<sup>104</sup>

Roentgen's success in producing a new ray from the phosphorescent gases in a Crookes' tube led almost immediately to the discovery of radioactivity and the birth of modern subatomic physics. In 1896, Antoine Becquerel reported from Paris that uranium salts placed either in light or total darkness emitted radiations upon a photographic plate which were stronger and more continuous than the phosphorescence given off by Roentgen's rays.<sup>105</sup> At the famous Cavendish Laboratories in England, J. J. Thomson studied the effects of the cathode rays and X-rays passing through various gases and decided that "atoms are not invisible, for negatively electrified particles can be torn from them by the action of electrical forces, impact of rapidly moving atoms, ultra violet light or heat." His conclusions that these "negative particles" were part of every atom of every element and that they were always of the same mass or charge was reported to the Royal Institution on April 29, 1897, and published in the Electrician the following month. A full account of his discovery of the electron was carried in the Philosophical Magazine in October of the same year.<sup>106</sup> At the end of 1898, Pierre and Marie Curie published their initial account of the

radiation emitted from pitchblende and began their arduous task of isolating the hidden element within the pitchblende which was its cause.<sup>107</sup> The years between 1896 and 1900 were extraordinarily fertile in the development of modern physics, particularly for the scientists at Cavendish Laboratories who published no less than 104 papers during this period.<sup>108</sup> Together with Roentgen, Becquerel and the Curies, Thomson and his colleagues were preparing the way for what Henry Adams called the "metaphysical bomb of radium" announced to the world by the Curies in 1902. The known structure of the universe was being revolutionized in the final years of the 19th century and a perceptive young writer living in London during this period and talking with such friends as Henry James and H. G. Wells could hardly have failed to know about it.

The advance of science bred a pervading climate of intellectual and moral relativism at the end of the century. Materialists like Büchner claimed that ideas were nothing more than matter in motion and that morality, therefore, "is not innate or implanted by a higher power in the mind."<sup>109</sup> He concluded that "the fountainhead of all good actions is not to be sought in the belief in God or in mortality . . . but in the conviction that it is the duty of the individual to act in the manner which is recognized and defined as good or useful in society."<sup>110</sup> The question of who would decide what was good for society was left unanswered. Huxley, the chief apostle of evolution and agnosticism, never tired of pointing out that no moral end can be discerned in the natural struggle for existence. "Viewed under the dry light of science, deer and wolf are alike admirable," he said.<sup>111</sup>

Noting that any cessation in the struggle for existence among men would lead to overpopulation, Huxley concluded:

And however shocking to the moral sense this eternal competition of man against man and of nation against nation may be; however revolting may be the accumulation of misery at the negative pole of society, in contrast with that of monstrous wealth at the positive pole; this state of things must abide, and grow worse. . . . It is the true riddle of the Sphinx.<sup>112</sup>

As the greatest century of scientific progress neared an end, many thoughtful observers pondered the meaning of its lessons. God had been displaced from nature. Man was revealed as a creature of blind instincts and dark desires, and the universe itself was described as a sea of vibrating waves in constant flux. Huxley was one of the first to foresee the impact which his materialistic philosophy would have on many of those who followed the progress of science. "The consciousness of this great truth weighs like a nightmare, I believe, on many of the best minds of these days," he said. "They watch what they conceive to be the progress of materialism, in such fear and powerless anger as a savage feels, when, during an eclipse, the great shadow creeps over the sun."<sup>113</sup> Huxley tried to rescue his listeners from this "materialistic slough" by promising further progress and enlightenment through future scientific advances, but the irony was that science in its quest for the ultimate truth had begun to move so far away from sensible reality and human values that it no longer could command the popular faith which it had stolen from religion. The artists and philosophers who had accepted the closely reasoned arguments of Darwinism and embraced the principle of scientific empiricism could no longer follow the scientists into the skeleton

world of symbols which had been erected by the end of the century. The most perceptive scientific observer of the age said he had tried to fathom Lyell's principle of uniformity, Darwin's theory of natural selection, the laws of statistical probability and, finally, "the metaphysical bomb of radium," and had finally concluded at the turn of the century that "Chaos was the law of nature; order the dream of man."<sup>114</sup> With these words, Henry Adams determined to "leave in silence," promising only that "Of all the travels made by man since the voyages of Dante, this new exploration along the shores of multiplicity and complexity promised to be the longest."<sup>115</sup>

## CHAPTER III

### THE IRON LAWS OF SOCIETY

The hidden meaning of much of Crane's fiction is based on the pervading cultural ideas discussed in the preceding chapters. Certain of these ideas remained constant throughout his work. Crane never wavers in his naturalistic belief that man is an animal struggling with others of his own kind for a place in an essentially hostile environment. Nearly all of his characters act according to the blind instincts of fear, greed and pride which Crane sees as dominant throughout the animal kingdom. He also holds to the idea that the universe is composed of invisible particles of force moving in a constant flux relative to one another and determining every visible action of both natural and human objects. The source of this universal energy is the invisible rays of the sun and the stars which, though colorless themselves, have the power of interacting with human sense perceptions and emotions to create various illusions of color and sound. In Crane's work, these illusions of the visible world occasionally are pierced by the higher reality of physical experience and, at moments of revelation, the uncaring malice of the universe is momentarily illuminated by the pure white light of the sun and the stars. The highest irony of all Crane's work is man's inborn incapacity to directly perceive until the moment of death the true nature of the universe revealed by modern science.

Within this general framework of scientific naturalism and materialism, Crane's work evolves dramatically in the single decade in which he wrote. His early Spencerian belief that man and society are rigidly controlled by ironclad deterministic laws quickly gives way to a preoccupation with the role of pure chance in the universe. With the exception of Maggie and George all his major heroes meet individual fates which turn on chance events working within the boundaries of necessity. This change in philosophy is accompanied by a change in literary perspective and style. In Maggie, Crane assumes the omniscient position of the typical naturalistic writer who educates his readers at the expense of an ignorant hero, but in his later stories, Crane as author increasingly identifies himself with his own heroes' search for knowledge. The "psychological exploration" of the human mind for which The Red Badge of Courage is often cited is in reality a metaphysical quest about the nature of the universe in which Crane himself fully participates. The growth of Crane's impressionistic style parallels this change of perspective. His early "creed of realism" in fact produced what we would now call a naturalistic novel filled with vivid, but literal, images of the forces of nature and society. But in the war novel and in the Bowery Sketches which he wrote immediately thereafter, Crane employs his imagery to mirror the inner mind of his heroes through their subjective impressions of the natural world. This fusion of mind and matter becomes increasingly sophisticated in the best of his later short stories. In the world of "The Open Boat," despair and hope rise and fall as naturally as the motion of the world itself, and all the normal rules of space and



time are suspended by fear. At the climactic moment when the boat overturns in the surf, the paper thin horizon between the inner and outer worlds is breached by the physical image of the cold water which symbolizes death, the only absolute in a world of relativity. Within this world of utter relativity in which man is helpless in the grip of both natural forces and pure chance, Crane for the first time introduces human faith as a factor in the total equation. Unlike characters in any other Crane story, the men in the boat face the void together and act decisively to improve their chances for life. Crane explores the mysterious world of subconscious motivation and precognition in "The Blue Hotel." Unlike the men in the open boat, the Swede knows from the moment he is introduced what his fate will be. All of his actions, stimulated by fear, are designed to bring about his own death in a negative application of James's pragmatic maxim that man can help determine his fate through his own beliefs. James offered his philosophy as an optimistic rebuttal to the growing pessimism of his age, but for Crane the same reasoning about the role of pure chance only deepens his natural pessimism. The interpretation of Crane's principal works which follows traces his bitter odyssey from naturalistic determinism to utter relativity and nihilism.

Although marked by Crane's unique style and imagination, Maggie clearly belongs to the naturalistic school of fiction which appears in America in the 1880s and continues in force for the next half century. Crane's announced intention in Maggie, which he began to write while attending Syracuse University in 1891, is "to show that the environment is a tremendous thing in this world and frequently shapes things

regardless."<sup>1</sup> The description of the tenements, taverns and street life of the slums in Maggie is extensive and realistic and the symbolism is literal. Jimmie's defense of the gravel hill in the opening scene represents the struggle for space and pride which Crane saw as inherent in human nature. The dialogue is intended to reproduce the actual dialogue of the slums as Crane conceived it. The plot is a mere device to show Maggie's fatal entrapment. Crane's irony here is directed at the human indifference to Maggie's fate, as in the case of the benevolent gentleman who "saves his respectability by a vigorous sidestep"<sup>2</sup> rather than brush his coattails on Maggie's sin or in the final reflections of Maggie's mother who forgives her after learning of her death.<sup>3</sup> Most importantly to the definition of a naturalistic novel, Maggie herself remains entirely ignorant of the forces which surround and destroy her. She is not a heroine at all, but a target for the crushing forces of the environment which it is the business of the novel to show.

As one of the first major naturalistic novels in America, Maggie clearly shows the roots of American naturalism in the popular conception of Darwinism at the time. In the opening scene, the howling urchins are competing for space just as all animal species must compete for space in order to survive, according to the Darwinian theory. The rocks which the children employ as weapons are the weapons of cave men, showing the link between animals and early man which Darwin's theory suggested. The passive observers of the battle represent the apparent calm of nature which masks the constant warfare beneath its surface and, more importantly, the total indifference of nature to the struggle for existence which is a hallmark of Darwin's theory and most of Crane's

later work. The gravel heap for which the children contend symbolizes the materialistic goals of an age reeling under the impact of both Darwinism and advancing technology.

According to Darwinian theory, the forces of the environment act to select certain individuals among each species for survival and propagation while sentencing others to death. The story of Maggie is nothing more than the literary application of this proposition to certain members of the human species. That environment is the focus of the novel is everywhere apparent. The first three chapters are devoted to showing the savagery of Maggie's early childhood environment. Maggie purposely is introduced immediately after the description of her tenement at the beginning of Chapter 2. She is described there simply as "a small, ragged girl" and no other physical description of her is ever offered except for the assertion that she is a "pretty girl" and Pete's admission that "I'm stuck on yer shape."<sup>4</sup> She is a blank page on which Crane intends to paint his savage picture of New York slum life. The most vivid picture which the reader gains of Maggie is produced by the heartbreaking contrast between her vague inner dream of beauty and the harsh slum dialect in which she is compelled to express it. Maggie is surrounded and eventually destroyed by the wild disorder of her own home, the teeming life of the slums and the iron laws of economics imposed on her class by the forces of higher society. Crane's famous line, "The girl, Maggie, blossomed in a mud puddle," illustrates his gift for uniting complex ideas in a single phrase.<sup>5</sup> It describes her present environment while also clearly alluding to the materialistic origins of all mankind and at the same time presents her

as a rare flower growing in the alien soil of the tenement district. The balance of the story is devoted to showing that this chance variation in her inheritance makes her unfit to survive in the environment of Rum Alley.

The structure of the novel is built around the relationships in Maggie's own family. Her mother, Mary, serves as a symbol of the source of life itself, a great earth mother who throws off heat and energy like the seething stove in their tiny apartment. Mary also is the engine of rage which personifies the slums and pounds her family into submission. In her personality, Crane has fused the forces of heredity and environment. Her natural vitality is corrupted by drink into frenzy and into an hypocritical sentimentality which for Crane is the worst sin of a society which refuses to acknowledge its true animalistic nature. In the first family fight, Mary defeats her husband's wish for household peace and drives him to the saloon. Jimmie, whose natural capacity for rage in defending the honor of Rum Alley matches that of his mother, makes a belated plea for justice when his now drunken father steals the old woman's beer, but he soon learns to clad himself in the armor required by his environment and eventually joins his mother in condemning Maggie. Maggie's love of flowers and her wistful desire for household order link her to her father's natural instincts symbolized by his pastoral symbol of peace, the applewood pipe. His defeat and subsequent early death and the death of the baby which Maggie had cared for place Maggie squarely in the hands of the war-like instincts of her mother and brother and foretell her own doom. Thus, Crane's application of the Darwinian theory of natural selection

to human psychology leads him to suggest a pre-Freudian analysis of oedipal relationships as well.

Commerce and religion are the principal means by which society creates and controls the slum environment which entraps Maggie. Throughout the story, members of the higher classes pass by the inhabitants of Rum Alley without making direct contact, but Crane makes their responsibility clear. The yellow bottles which fuel the rages of Maggie's mother and provide escape for her father lead directly to "the open mouth of the saloon [which] called seductively to passengers to enter and annihilate sorrow or create rage."<sup>6</sup> In the midst of the altar of liquor decanters and glasses behind the bar, Crane notes that a "nickelplated cash register occupied a position in the exact center of the general effect."<sup>7</sup> When Jimmie and his friend try to avenge Maggie at Pete's bar they discover the natural alliance which exists between the bartender and the policeman who represents society.

The iron laws of economics hold Maggie firmly in their grip. She finds employment in a factory which, ironically, makes collars and cuffs, symbols of the respectable classes. Like other members of her class, Maggie is entranced by the tawdry glitter of the beer hall entertainments and rejoices in the sentimental morality of the plays which teach that the poor and virtuous eventually triumph over the wealthy and wicked. But when she is driven from the wild disorder of her own home into Pete's arms, she is crucified by her own class for betraying the same Christian morality ordained by the respectable classes. Her mother in a truly disgusting display of drunken hypocrisy turns her out of her home amid a chorus of approval from the neighbors.



Just before embarking on her own career as a prostitute, Maggie desperately approaches the clergyman who saves his respectability with a vigorous sidestep just as Maggie had when she previously encountered the prostitutes in the tavern. Maggie's blind acceptance of the morality of her class prevents her from adapting to her new trade as successfully as Nell who easily displaces Pete's loyalty to Maggie by her superior decoration and commercial instincts. In a single swift scene, Crane sketches Maggie's rapidly declining value as a prostitute as she moves down the street from respectable businessmen, to farmers, to laborers, to creatures as ragged as herself and, finally, to her meeting with the fat man at the river.<sup>8</sup>

The mating of Maggie and Pete is as mindless as that of any other pair of animals. When Maggie first begins to attract notice from the young men in the neighborhood, her brother warns her, "Yeh've edder got teh go teh hel or go to work."<sup>9</sup> She tries work first but after meeting Pete and sensing his taste in women, she "began to see the bloom in her cheeks as valuable."<sup>10</sup> Maggie sees in Pete's apparent finery and in his apparent scorn for the "brass clothed power" of the upper classes the trappings and manner of a successful warrior in the constant conflict of life. At the end of Chapter 6, Pete rescues her from the wreckage of her cave-like apartment in which the fire has gone out leaving "remnants of a meal, ghastly, like dead flesh, in the corner." In the courtship which follows, Pete, "racking his brains for amusement," takes Maggie to a menagerie where they view "the spectacle of a very small monkey threatening to thrash a cageful"<sup>11</sup> and to a museum of ancient history where Pete moralizes over mummies

an

ro

wa

ex

o'

j-

pl

as

br

av

ap

de

Ma

go

at

ow

th

h

th

J

W

be

or

ag

of



and questions the use of collecting ancient artifacts in neatly ordered rows. Here, and in his mocking description of Pete as an ancient warrior, Crane joins other reform minded thinkers of his time in re-examining history in light of the Darwinian revolution for the purpose of showing the continued force of ancient customs and taboos in modern life. Pete, of course, proves to be a rather timid warrior whose pugnacious outlook quickly gives way to a concern for his position as bartender when threatened by Maggie's embarrassing demands and her brother's abortive effort to defend her honor. Despite Pete's initial avowal, "Say Maggie, I'm stuck on yer shape," neither he nor Maggie appear to be motivated by sexual desire itself as much as by sexual decoration, an important feature of Darwin's theory of sexual selection. Maggie initially is desired by Pete as an additional status symbol to go with his fine dress and position, but he quickly abandons her when attracted by the superior decorative arts of Nell.

Maggie ultimately loses her brief race for existence to her own brother. She and Jimmie and the baby, Tommie, all are victims of their mother's drunken wrath, but only Jimmie's natural rage enables him to adapt to the constant pounding of his environment. Throughout the novel the chapters are evenly divided to show the contrast in Jimmie's and Maggie's reactions to the same environmental influences. When Maggie complains that his fighting will cause them all to be beaten, he strikes her himself. While Maggie dreams of beauty and order, Jimmie is in the streets learning to "clad himself in armor" against the hypocrisy of religion and at the same time to steer clear of the overwhelming power of society represented by the fire engine

which "had been known to overturn streetcars."<sup>12</sup> Even his protest as a small child against his father's theft of the old woman's beer is carefully qualified by his interest in seeking refuge in her apartment from his mother's wrath. Jimmie begins as Pete's protégé, adopting his attitudes about life and society and pursuing the same interests. Later, he is confronted by the dilemma of defending one's own sister while ruining those of others. He resolves it by accepting the conventional double standards of society and joining his mother in disowning Maggie. "Radiant virtue sat upon his brow and his repelling hands expressed horror of contamination."<sup>13</sup> Jimmie's condemnation serves dramatically to seal Maggie's doom, but there is no more real choice in the matter than in her mother's instinctive condemnation because he has been trained from childhood to embrace hypocrisy as a defense against the environment. The old woman, "who could do at will an expression of great virtue" and who makes her living by begging and stealing under the guise of religion, is his guide.<sup>14</sup>

In accordance with the implications of the Darwinian revolution, Crane replaces the church's threat of everlasting damnation with his own conclusion that life is a hell on earth. Throughout the novel, he repeatedly applies supernatural labels to the human denizens of the slums and constantly employs "hell" as a swear word. Jimmie fights like "an insane demon" on the gravel heap and his attackers from Devil's Row are called "the true assassins."<sup>15</sup> In the first family fight, his father states the theme directly: "My home reg'lar livin' hell," and the theme is restated again and again.<sup>16</sup> At the end of his childhood, Jimmie concludes reverently, "Deh moon looks like hell,

don't it?"<sup>17</sup> Later, he mocks his own conclusion when he reports telling the passerby, "Go teh hel and get off deh eart'."<sup>18</sup> When Maggie is told by her mother, "Go teh hel and good riddance," the author tells the reader simply, "She went," signifying her submission to Pete's demands.<sup>19</sup> In the final scene, when the ladies agree that Maggie has gone "where her sins will be judged," Crane clearly implies that Maggie has in fact finally achieved her escape from the judgments which made her life a hell on earth.

In the same scene, Crane interlaces his bitter mockery of Christian morality with the mother's unwitting allusion to the true environmental causes of Maggie's death. Jimmie, now a full grown man, enters the apartment and announces his sister's death. The neighbors join the old woman, "whose vocabulary is derived from the mission churches" in a chorus begging the mother to forgive Maggie. Mary, "her good motherly face . . . wet with tears," over and over again repeats variations of the phrase, "I can remember when her feet were no bigger than a thumb and she wore worsted boots." She demands that Jimmie go get the corpse. "Go get yer sister and we'll put deh boots on her feets," she cries, and he replies, "Dey won't fit her now, yeh damn fool."<sup>20</sup> Mary, of course, long ago has put the boots to Maggie's feet, and nothing can be done about it now.

In Maggie, Crane appears to embrace the social Darwinist credo that wealth and poverty in society are a natural extension of the struggle for existence in nature. But, unlike some of the social Darwinist spokesmen of his age, he more logically implies that those who benefit most from the organized institutions of commerce and

religion are just as animalistic as those who survive on the edges of society. In fact, Maggie fails to survive in part because she is a throwback to human dreams. Her brother succeeds relatively speaking because he pursues his animal nature more consistently, and Pete, though a fool, obtains a position on the lower rungs of society by virtue of a certain native shrewdness also shared by his old girl friend, Nell. By implication, the owners of the saloons and beer halls and factories and the religious leaders who ignore Maggie while alive but plead for her forgiveness after death are still more shrewd. Instinct replaces reason in Crane's lexicon of survival skills. Blind will replaces purpose as a motive force. Materialism replaces beauty as a goal.

Although Crane portrays Maggie as the victim of mechanistic laws which govern society as well as nature, he also recognizes the principle of disorder implicit in the Darwinian formula. Maggie's mother is introduced as the life force reeling between the seething stove and the pan-covered table who anoints Jimmie's lacerated cheek with water from "an unholy sink."<sup>21</sup> Then, "She shrouded herself, puffing and snorting, in a cloud of steam at the stove," and produces a frying pan full of potatoes which she feeds to her animalistic children.<sup>22</sup> Mary is a natural force which makes their home a constant maelstrom of broken furniture, brutal beatings and wasted food. At one point, "She returned and stirred up the room until her children were bobbing about like bubbles."<sup>23</sup> When Maggie first notices Pete, she contemplates the dark, dust-stained walls of the apartment and the scant and crude furniture. "A clock, in a splintered and battered



oblong box of varnished wood, she suddenly regarded as an abomination. She noted that it ticked raspingly. The almost vanished flowers in the carpet-pattern, she conceived to be newly hideous." Maggie spends some of her week's pay for flowered cretonne and makes a lambrequin with infinite care and hangs it on the "slightly careening mantle over the stove" in a pathetic effort to beautify her home. Her mother smashes it along with the rest of the furniture, leaving Maggie to wait for Pete in the wreckage of her cave.<sup>24</sup> Crane here portrays the mother as both a naturalistic force which destroys Maggie's dream of natural order while also making her the principal spokesman later for the hypocritical conventional morality which he sees taking place in his own age.

Crane's first major work is dominated by the influence of Darwinism in his time. His portrait of slum life in Rum Alley is a faithful replica of the struggle for existence found throughout nature. Its inhabitants act through the same instincts of fear, greed and rage which govern all members of the animal kingdom. The forces of environment act to select certain members of society for survival while condemning others, like Maggie, to death. The iron laws of human nature and society which determine individual fates are as rigid as the natural laws which govern motion and reproduction.

Yet, in spite of the overwhelming determinism of his first novel, Crane clearly recognizes the principle of indeterminacy in the Darwinian formula. He pictures Maggie as a chance variation in the hereditary scene of things which blossoms briefly in Rum Alley before being destroyed by members of her own species. The principle of

disorder is uppermost in the character of Maggie's mother, who represents the forces of life itself. The timid clergyman who steps aside to save his respectability rather than to save a soul faces the same dilemma as the church itself in confronting the implications of the Darwinian revolution. "For how was he to know that there was a soul before him that needed saving?" the author asks.<sup>25</sup> The naturalistic artists who followed Crane's early path shared the same dilemma as the churchmen they attacked. How can one dispassionately explore the soulless society which modern science seems to prove when the artist's own soul passionately cries out against the injustice and suffering which such explorations everywhere reveal? While other naturalists struggled with this conflict of heart and mind, Crane in his later work took an even darker road which led him beyond the rigid laws of naturalism into the total chaos of nihilism.

Crane continues his attack on society in a number of his Bowery Sketches, but his zeal for reform gradually diminishes as his artistic powers grow. In the so-called "Tommie sketches," Crane "resurrects" Maggie's dead baby brother to act as the hero of three distinct lessons about the effects of poverty on the very young.<sup>26</sup> The style of these sketches, presumably written shortly after the completion of Maggie, is essentially the same as that of the novel, and the themes definitely are in the realm of social commentary. As previously indicated, Tommie reappears in "An Ominous Baby" as the militant champion of the poor who steals from a well to do baby what society has denied him as a birth-right. Attracted by a crimson and gold toy fire engine in the hands of

the pretty child in fine clothes, Tommie first asks courteously, "Say, le' me play with it?" The other child replies with the simple logic of his class, "No . . . it's mine." Tommie retorts with equal logic, "I want it," and with superior force wrests it from the other child's hands.<sup>27</sup> Here, Crane simply reverses the social Darwinist ethic to show that the ultimate power may lie in the hands of the poor, but rough, slum child and by implication with the growing population of his class. Neither reason nor ethics is displayed on either side of the encounter. Both children act instinctively in defense of their own class interests. The slum child's use of force is given precisely the same moral value as the middle class baby's appeal to property rights, and pure force triumphs. The social warning here is clear.

The second sketch in the series, cryptically called "A Great Mistake," has a different outcome.<sup>28</sup> Tommie covets "the mass joys of the world: represented by the red and orange fruit on a Italian street vendor's stand. "He was fascinated by the tranquillity of the vendor, the majesty of power and possession." The vendor is lulled to sleep by reading his daily newspaper, a sardonic comment on the role of journalism in the period, and the baby attempts to snatch his prize with "fingers bent, claw-like in the manner of a heart-shaking greed." But fate ordains that the vendor should awaken at that moment and catch Tommie barehanded. "He glared at the babe a fierce question." Crane employs here for the first time a phrase repeated again and again in his later stories. The mistake here ostensibly is Tommie's. He has challenged superior power and lost for the moment. But Crane probably also meant that the unappeased greed and stealth of the baby



were mistakes for which society ultimately would have to pay. By denying the slum child the simple fruits and joys of the world, society was laying up a store of misery and violence in the future.

"The Dark Brown Dog" is by far the best of the Tommie sketches, and the one least directly concerned with the social struggle. The child and the dog meet on the street and, despite the child's fierce blows, the dog's loyalty and good humor compel the child to take him home. The fierce father decides that the dog should remain in order to spite the rest of the family. The child continues to beat the dog, but the dog gives back only love and sympathy for the child's troubles. "He was too much of a dog to look to be a martyr or to plot revenge."<sup>29</sup> When the dog finally has won a place in the child's heart, the father one day becomes exceptionally drunk and with cheerful good humor pitches the dog "with great accuracy" out of the window of their fifth story tenement apartment. The child "burst into a long dirge-like cry, and toddled hastily out of the room. It took him a long time to reach the alley, because his size compelled him to go downstairs backward, one step at a time, and holding with both hands to the step above."<sup>30</sup> The reader is left to speculate about the thoughts which may have run through the baby's head on this long journey. By the time the child has reached the ground and seated himself by the body of his dark brown friend, he certainly has learned that loving and caring have no place in society. For Crane, the dog's natural behavior mirrored the child's natural capacity for human warmth, crushed by his human environment.

Crane continued to write his sketches and stories about New York street life after completing The Red Badge of Courage early in 1894, but his style, even in his journalistic accounts, becomes increasingly impressionistic and his themes no longer are concerned solely with the plight of the poor. "An Experiment in Misery" and "An Experiment in Luxury," published in the New York Press in April, 1894, were based on personal experiences which Crane sought for the purpose of writing journalistic exposés. Yet, the product in both cases was indecisive even from a reporter's point of view because Crane became caught up in his own imaginative visions without having any preconceived form for them. In both sketches, Crane describes his own role as observer by creating a fictional third-person, nameless youth who is performing the experiments in wealth and poverty, the same device he used in writing short stories based on his own true life experiences.

Like many of Crane's short stories, "An Experiment in Misery" begins with a lengthy description of a street scene in which nature and artificial light combine to create an impressionistic spectrum of ominous colors. "It was late at night, and a fine rain was swirling softly down, causing the pavements to glisten with hues of steel and blue and yellow in the rays of the innumerable lights."<sup>31</sup> In Maggie, the color impressions are literal and directed at the reader's emotions, but in this sketch, Crane uses the same imagery to mirror the inner psychological mood of his characters. For example, he writes in the opening passage that "The sifting rain saturated the old velvet collar of his overcoat, and as the wet cloth pressed against his neck, he

felt that there no longer could be pleasure in life."<sup>32</sup> Much of the imagery here is far fetched and the tension between the author's point of view and that of his make believe third-person hero frequently results in tortured constructions:

Through the mists of the cold and storming night, the cable cars went in silent procession, great affairs shining with red and brass, moving with formidable power, calm and irresistible, dangerous and gloomy, breaking silence only by the loud fierce cry of the gong. Two rivers of people swarmed along the sidewalks, spattered with black mud, which made each shoe leave a scar-like impression. Overhead, elevated trains with a shrill grinding of the wheels stopped at the station, which upon its leglike pillars seemed to resemble some monstrous kind of crab squatting over the street. The quick fat puffings of the engines could be heard. Down an alley there were somber curtains of purple and black, on which street lamps dully glittered like embroidered flowers.<sup>33</sup>

Despite the awkwardness and excessiveness of this and other passages, the germ of Crane's powerful impressionistic style is plainly evident in this sketch: the rivers of people swarming along the sidewalks, the scar-like impressions left by their footsteps, the combination of visual and sound imagery in the quick fat puffings of the engines and the eerie union of the pastoral imagery of the embroidered flowers with the flickering lights of the city street lamps.

Crane's experimental observer in poverty eventually meets a native of the slums whom the author introduces as "an assassin steeped in crimes performed awkwardly."<sup>34</sup> This description, a favorite Crane phrase for the poor, is both ironic and ambivalent. It suggests that the man is guilty of the crime of being poor and that respectable readers fear such persons as the potential assassins of their polite society. Crane pointedly contrasts this fearful image of the poor with his description of the character as a bumbling and good natured

beggar who for a small price offers to guide his new friend into the bowels of poverty. The subsequent experience which the observer undergoes in his overnight sojourn in the flop house is anything but funny. A man with "benevolent spectacles" collects their money and leads them into a dark and secret place filled with "unspeakable odors."<sup>35</sup> The youth enters an intensely gloomy room furnished with tall lockers which tower over him like tombstones or mummy cases and sees "on cots that thickly littered the floor the forms of men sprawled out, lying in death-like silence, or heaving and snoring with tremendous effort, like stabbed fish." He is forced to lie down on one of the slab-like leather covered cots, "as cold as melting snow."

And all through the room could be seen the tawny hues of naked flesh, limbs thrust into the darkness, projecting beyond the cots; upreared knees, arms hanging long and thin over the cot edges. For the most part they were statuesque, carven dead. With the curious lockers standing all about like tombstones, there was a strange effect of a graveyard where bodies were merely flung.<sup>36</sup>

This passage is almost the same as Crane's description of the dead men seemingly "dumped from the sky" onto the battlefield in The Red Badge of Courage. And the subsequent description of pale white light which finally announces dawn in the flop house and reveals the poor in their naked, natural splendor "standing massively as chiefs" is reminiscent of the dawn which reveals the grove in which the battle-weary men are sleeping "as a charnel house" in the war novel.<sup>37</sup> It is hardly surprising that Crane should borrow some of his best images from the war novel to describe his own fearful experience in the flop house, but it clearly illustrates that in both works he is moving rapidly away from "his little creed of realism" and is becoming increasingly

concerned with the experiences which promise to reveal the condition of man in the universe. Both the Civil War novel and the later and better Bowery Sketches are metaphysical explorations disguised as realistic descriptions of war and poverty.

"The Men in the Storm," considered by many critics the best of Crane's Bowery Sketches, clearly illustrates his gradual transition from a social reformer to an artist concerned with universal values. According to Stallman, this sketch was based on a street scene which Crane witnessed in February, 1894, although it was not published in the Arena until the following October. In contrast to the militancy of "An Ominous Baby," the poor here are portrayed as deeply passive creatures who wait in the snowstorm, "like statues of patience" for a charity kitchen to open.<sup>38</sup> Crane here makes no direct attack on the forces of society which he had indicated for participating in Maggie's death, and he comments only briefly on the "moral cowardice" of the poor. This sketch offers no clear message and little plot and yet its careful structure and well controlled impressionistic language mark it as a forerunner of the best short stories which Crane was to write several years later.

The snowstorm which Crane graphically describes is both a naturalistic and a psychic force. During the long winter's afternoon the blizzard drives the waiting men with whips, forcing them to huddle together "like sheep in a winter's gale." The snow falls on this huddled mass of humanity as if "they were unresisting grass of the fields," and from above it makes them appear like a "heap of snow covered merchandise."<sup>39</sup> When the charity kitchen finally opens, the

crowd strains and pushes "like a turbulent water forcing itself through one tiny outlet."<sup>40</sup> But these naturalistic images of brute force and passive determinism are accompanied in this sketch by a more subtle use of Crane's gift for impressionism. Almost all of his images of the storm are designed to explore the moods and sensibilities of the creatures caught within it. As so often in Crane's work, the opening line of the sketch signals this dominant interest. "The blizzard began to swirl great clouds of snow along the streets, sweeping it down from the roofs, and up from the pavements, until the faces of pedestrians tingled and burned as from a thousand needle-prickings."<sup>41</sup> The remainder of the opening passage describes the effect of this force on the crowd of humanity largely in mental terms. The pedestrians are made to stoop "like a race of aged people." The wagon drivers are "more cruel" because they are exposed to the elements while the streetcar drivers who are duty bound to face the storm are "models of a grim philosophy."<sup>42</sup>

In the second paragraph, the mood and perspective change abruptly. It begins, "All the clatter of the street was softened by the masses that lay upon the cobbles, until, even to one who looked from a window, it became important music, a melody of life made necessary to the ear by the dreariness of the pitiless beat and sweep of the storm." In contrast to the harsh physical images of the opening passage, the reader here sees and hears the music of the storm from behind the window which throws out "great beams of orange and yellow light upon the pavement." These beams are "infinitely cheerful," the author tells us, "yet in a way they accentuated the force and discomfort

of the storm, and gave a meaning to the pace of the people and the vehicles." He continues:

There was an absolute expression of hot dinners in the pace of the people. If one dared to speculate upon the destination of those who came trooping, he lost himself in a maze of social calculations; he might fling a handful of sand and attempt to follow the flight of each particular grain. But as to the suggestions of hot dinners, he was in firm lines of thought, for it was upon every hurrying face. It is a matter of tradition; it is from the tales of childhood. It comes forth with every storm.<sup>43</sup>

For Crane, the ultimate power of the snowstorm, and of all adverse elements in nature, is to make men blind to their common humanity. The entire sketch is built on a series of contrasting psychological viewpoints which are heightened by the crisis of the storm. The division of the general crowd of pedestrians fleeing to their homes and hot dinners in contrast to the poverty stricken men who must wait in the storm for food and shelter is, of course, an obvious dramatic device as is the contrast between the cheerful shop windows and the storm outside. But the pattern of contrasts runs much deeper and serves a philosophic as well as a dramatic purpose. In the opening passage, Crane carefully distinguishes between the middle class pedestrians who shelter their faces from the bite of the storm in the collars of their coats as they race for home and the wagon and streetcar drivers who must stand erect in the storm. Of the drivers, he distinguishes the former who is made cruel by his exposure from the latter who faces his trial stoically.

Among the poor and homeless, there also are at least two sorts, the "professional poor" who come to the charity kitchen in hard times because they no longer can afford the 10 cent price of their regular

slum lodgings and the "men of undoubted patience, industry and temperance" who are not often seekers after charity but presumably are brought to this level by the great depression of 1893-94.<sup>44</sup> "But they were all mixed in one mass so thoroughly that one could not have discerned the different elements but for the fact that the laboring men, for the most part, remained silent and impassive in the blizzard, their eyes fixed on the windows of the house, statues of patience." This crowd "swayed gently with a unanimous, rhythmical motion," marching in place to keep their feet from freezing, but they do not move forward together. Instead, "One could hear little combats of opinion." The men wrangle and debate among themselves whether the charity kitchen is about to open and repeatedly demand of one another, "Keep off me feet."<sup>45</sup> Just before the rumors begin, Crane notes pointedly, the windows from the building shine forth clearly, while "A street lamp on the curb struggled to illuminate, but it was reduced to impotent blindness by the swift gusts of sleet crusting its panes."<sup>46</sup> When the rumor is passed back that the doors can't be opened because the men in front are crushed against it, the men in the rear who are responsible irrationally blame those at the front: "Ah, git away f'm th' door!" "Git outa that!" "Throw 'em out!" "Kill 'em!"<sup>47</sup>

The crowd unites briefly at the appearance in his window of the fashionable dry goods merchant with the Prince of Wales beard. "He slowly stroked his moustache, . . . and looked down at the snow-encrusted mob. From below, there was denoted a supreme complacency in him. It seemed that the sight operated inversely, and enabled him to more clearly regard his own environment, delightful relatively."



The men in the storm drive him from the window with a torrent of genial abuse, "and the mob chuckled ferociously, like ogres who had just devoured something."<sup>48</sup>

When the doors finally open, the crowd of men, fearful that all will not get in, threaten to trample one another in the desperation, and a genial policeman is hard pressed to restore order. Those who arrive at the doorway are bathed in Crane's familiar red light at the entrance, but the effect here is to rob them of rage:

As they thus stood upon the threshold of their hopes, they looked suddenly content and complacent. The fire had passed from their eyes and the snarl had vanished from their lips. The very force of the crowd in the rear, which had previously vexed them, was regarded from another point of view, for it now made it inevitable that they should go through the little doors into the place that was cheery and warm with light.<sup>49</sup>

The sketch is complex and not altogether clear from a philosophical point of view, but it reflects several important advances in Crane's art. First, Crane's overt criticism of society has been subdued and hidden behind a veil of images and scenes which only indirectly reflect his meaning. At the same time, he has turned from a direct interest in the class struggle to an exploration of the basic elements of human nature which are responsible for it. Finally, and most importantly, he has begun to weld together the power of his impressionistic vision with a growing philosophy of nature. What differentiates "The Men in the Storm" from his earlier Bowery Sketches is that each image of the storm and of the flood of humanity in its grip is designed to reveal the hidden bond which links the human mind to the surrounding universe. There is nothing particularly profound about Crane's social or natural philosophy, even in the best of his works, although it goes deeper than

that of the other American naturalists, but the important thing for an artist is that his reasoning about life should gradually become fused with his craft and his vision.

When Crane and Corwin Linson visited a Pennsylvania coal mine in the summer of 1894 on assignment for McClure's magazine, the young author who only recently had completed the manuscript for The Red Badge of Courage must have felt that the images of his own fevered imagination suddenly had come to life. He saw ominous coal "breakers" squatting on the hillsides and in the valleys belching smoke like the cannon in his war novel. A company guide led his party along paths of black coal dust to another secret doorway, the slimy, moss grown, dripping granite walls of the old mine shaft. Within the mine, the headlamps of the miners cast flickering shades of colored light against the surrounding black walls, and at the bottom of the shaft, Crane discovered a perfect naturalistic symbol of human blindness in the slave like mules who lived out their lives in the "limitless night of the mine."<sup>50</sup>

On the surface, Crane's account of his visit, "In the Depths of a Coal Mine," published in McClure's in October, 1894, is simply an exposé of the inhuman working conditions of the miners. He describes the blighting of the landscape by the mining operations, the notorious practice of employing "spanking age" children as slate pickers, the pitifully low wages of the miners and the constant dangers which they face from cave-ins, gas and "miner's asthma." In the final passage of the article, deleted before publication, Crane bitterly indicts the coal operators for callously exploiting the miners. But beneath this

journalistic account, Crane has carefully constructed one of his most subtle and imaginative works of art in which social injustice is no more than a corollary of the endless war between man and nature.

Crane begins by painting a vivid naturalistic picture of men caught in the grip of insatiable industrial machines. The breakers are "eating of the sunshine, the grass, the green leaves. The smoke from their nostrils has ravaged the air of coolness and fragrance."<sup>51</sup>

As Crane's party approaches one of the mines:

A "breaker" loomed above us, a huge and towering frame of blackened wood. It ended in a little curious peck, and upon its sides there was a profusion of windows appearing at strange and unexpected points. Through occasional doors one could see the flash of whirring machinery. Men with wondrously blackened faces and garments came forth from it. The sole glitter upon their persons was at their hats, where the little tin lamps were carried.<sup>52</sup>

Mules and cars appear like toys on the giant waste heaps that rise in the center of each of the mining sites and a web of railroad tracks connects the mines to a distant town on the horizon. At the very top of the breaker the men dump the coal into chutes and great teeth on revolving cylinders chew and sort the coal into "classified fragments." "The dust lay inches deep on every motionless thing, and clouds of it made the air dark as from a violent tempest. A mighty gnashing sound filled the ears. With terrible appetite this huge and hideous monster sat impeturbably munching coal, brinding its mammoth jaws with un-earthly and monotonous uproar."<sup>53</sup>

In the center of this maelstrom, in a room whose floor is tilted at a 45 degree angle, the little slate pickers sit sorting coal. Crane describes these children as "a terrifically dirty band" of black imps filled with ignorant pride and vain glory. "They resembled the

New York gamins in some ways," he writes, "but they laughed more, and when they laughed their faces were a wonder and a terror. They had an air of supreme independence, and seemed proud of their kind of villainy." Crane mocks their ambitions to become door-boys and later mule-boys and then laborers and helpers. "Finally, when they have grown to be great big men, they may become miners, real miners, and go down and get 'squeezed,' or perhaps escape to a shattered old man's estate with a mere 'miner's asthma.'" <sup>54</sup>

The first dialogue between the workers in the mine dramatizes the cheapness of life there and offers a subtle comment on the "struggle for existence" theory of the social Darwinists. Accompanied by the company guide, Crane and Linson suddenly come upon two miners crouching at their work, their eyeballs and teeth shining phosphorescently in the glare of the lamps "like two grinning skulls in the blackness." One of the workers asks the company guide when he is going to "measure up" the mine and says half jokingly, "Yeh wanta hurry up, . . . I don't wanta git killed." The guide replies that he has forgotten his measuring tape and says easily, "Oh, I'll be down on Monday." The brief scene ends with the author's comment that "one had to look closely to understand that they were not about to spring at each other's throats. The vague illumination created all the effect of the snarling of two wolves." <sup>55</sup> Crane here appears to be gently ridiculing the struggle for existence theory often cited to justify business practices of the day. Rather than a savage struggle, this "clash" between labor and management is marked by indifference to the miners' fate on the part of the management representative and passive, even good humored, acquiescence by the workers.

The mules which toil year after year in the mines closely resemble the workers themselves. Crane finds them in dungeon like stables at the bottom of the mine shaft "placidly arranged in solid rows." Like the eyes of the miners previously encountered, their eyes shine like huge lenses in the glow of the miner's lamps. "They resembled enormous rats." The mules who have been to the surface fear the darkness, but they are tricked into working by a boy who walks ahead of them with a light. "Afraid of the darkness, they would follow." One of the mules is named "Molly Maguire" in honor of the secret labor rebellion which swept the Pennsylvania mine fields in the 1870s. The mule, "indifferent to the demands of art," constantly moves when Linson tried to sketch her, but the miners good humoredly grab her tail, head and legs and squash her rebellion. However, one of the other mules who had "spent some delirious months on the surface after years of labor in the mine" simply refuses to return in spite of the plans and conventions held by the men to budge him. "No cudgellings could induce him," Crane comments, and adds, "The celebrated quality of obstinacy in him won him liberty to gambol clumsily about on the surface."<sup>56</sup> Once again Crane seems to be mounting a thinly veiled attack on the timidity and cowardice of the workers for suffering their fate without rebellion.

However, the social struggle is no more than a secondary theme in this complex sketch. The main purpose of Crane's account of his journey "to the center of the earth" is to strip away the illusions of the visible world and to reveal the universe as an endless, relativistic void. This is signaled in the initial plunge of the elevator

down the mine shaft. The men march aboard the plain wooden platform of the mine elevator armed with little lights "feeble and gasping in the daylight." Instantaneously the landscape which had been framed by the doorposts of the shed disappears and the men are dropping with "extraordinary swiftness" straight into the earth. "It was a plunge, a fall." In the total blackness the men lose all sense of fixed relationships:

The dead black walls slid swiftly by. They were a swirling dark chaos on which the mind tried vainly to locate some coherent thing, some intelligible spot. One could only hold fast to the iron bars and listen to the roar of this implacable descent. When the faculty of balance is lost, the mind becomes a confusion. The will fought a great battle to comprehend something during this fall, but one might as well has [sic] been tumbling among the stars. The only thing was to wait revelation.

It was a journey that held a threat of endlessness.<sup>57</sup>

At the bottom of the shaft the miners' lamps cast red and orange shades on the walls and illuminate little points of coal which shine like diamonds, an obvious reference to exploration of the stars through spectrum analysis.<sup>58</sup> The infernal din of machinery in the mine creates a constant vibration which makes the very walls of this universe tremble until they seem about to break apart. All sense of time, direction and distance is lost and the visitors are amazed at the vast distances between different points in the blackness of the mine. "We were impelled to admire the guide because he knew all the tangled passages."<sup>59</sup>

The ultimate law in Crane's vision of this relativistic universe is nature's indifference to man's fate. Crane concludes from all that he has seen in the mine that the miners are "grimly in the van" of the endless war between man and nature. "They have carried the war into

places where nature has the strength of a million giants. Sometimes their enemy becomes exasperated and snuffs out ten, twenty, thirty lives. Usually she remains calm, and takes one at a time with method and precision. She need not hurry. She possesses eternity."<sup>60</sup> The dangers in the mine are for Crane analogous to the dangers which all men face on the surface of the earth at the bottom of the universe. "There is an insidious, silent enemy in the gas. If the huge fanwheel on the top of the earth should stop for a brief period, there is certain death."<sup>61</sup>

All of the appearances on the surface of the earth are illusions of men's souls. The mules held captive at the bottom of the mine see nature more truly than man himself. "Upon the surface there had been the march of the seasons; the white splendor of snows had changed again and again to the glories of green springs. Four times had the earth been ablaze with the decorations of brilliant autumns." But to the mules who had remained in these dungeons, "daylight, if one could get a view up the shaft, would appear a tiny circle, a silver star aglow in a sable sky."<sup>62</sup> At the beginning of the sketch the coal black breakers reach up toward "a sky of imperial blue, incredibly far away from the sombre land." And when Crane's party is returning to the surface he notes that "Far above us in the engine-room, the engineer sat with his hand on a lever and his eyes on the little model of the shaft wherein a miniature elevator was making the ascent even as our elevator was making it. Down one of those tremendous holes," he says, "one thinks naturally of the engineer."<sup>63</sup> Crane ends the sketch with a vision of the landscape similar to that of the final passages of

The Red Badge of Courage: "The high sun was afloat in a splendor of spotless blue. The distant hills were arrayed in purple and stood like monarchs. A glory of gold was upon the near-by earth. The cool fresh air was wine." But this illusion of the visible world cannot negate the "sinister struggle far below," which Crane reveals:<sup>64</sup>

"Great and mystically dreadful is the earth from a mine's depth. Man is in the implacable grasp of nature. It has only to tighten slightly, and he is crushed like a bug. His loudest shriek of agony would be as impotent as his final moan to bring help from that fair land that lies, like Heaven, over his head."<sup>65</sup>

In those works written between 1891 and 1894 which are specifically concerned with the poor and with the social struggle in the American society at that time, Crane holds fast to the classic naturalistic conception of man as a blind victim of the overwhelming forces of society and nature. The men in the storm and the coal mine are as ignorant and helpless as his first heroine, Maggie. They talk but they do not actually think. They act in accordance with the presence or absence of pain. They constantly misjudge the causes of their own plight. In contrast to the public view of the poor as fearsome and dangerous radicals, Crane soon perceives that they generally are toothless. He expresses thinly veiled impatience with the good natured passivity of the gentle poor and scorn for the false bluster of the hoodlums. His social irony is allotted equally among the poor and the rich.

But his own powers of expression are in direct conflict with his early social philosophy. His vision of a street scene in a blizzard



or of the dark passageways of a tenement flophouse or coal mine is incurably surrealistic. He cannot describe such a scene as realistically as other naturalistic writers could, nor, on the other hand, is he ever content with employing the heavy handed artificial symbols of many naturalistic writers to dramatize a preconceived philosophy. The tension between Crane's artistic vision and the materialistic philosophy which he embraced as a youth helps define the development of his later works. He never abandons this philosophy, but his own acutely self-conscious relationship with the world compels him to join his later heroes in a constant search for knowledge. The result is an extraordinary, though vain, attempt to discover the meaning of the universe through the power of his own imagery. In order to trace this development, it is necessary to move back in time and consider the earliest works in which Crane pits man directly against nature.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE QUEST FOR SELF-KNOWLEDGE

Nothing better reveals the ambivalence of Crane's early literary development than his almost simultaneous composition of the early drafts of Maggie and a series of strange sketches based on his summer experiences in the woods of Sullivan County, New York. According to Stallman, Crane's fraternity brothers at Syracuse said that he wrote the first draft of Maggie there in the spring of 1891 after reading Madame Bovary,<sup>1</sup> and Crane himself boasts in a letter to a boyhood friend that he wrote or rewrote the novel in two days before Christmas of that year.<sup>2</sup> He rewrote it again in the spring of 1892 after showing it to Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the Century. During the same period, Crane was spending part of his summers in Port Jervis, N. Y., and he and his friends went hunting in the 3,500 acre tract which his brother, Judge William Howe Crane, had acquired for legal services to the Hartwood Club.<sup>3</sup> New York Tribune editor Willis Fletcher Johnson recalled that Crane showed him the first two Sullivan County Sketches in July, 1891,<sup>4</sup> but none apparently appeared in the Tribune until the following February.<sup>5</sup> The sketches have all the earmarks of talltale hunting sketches, but their themes and imagery are so closely correlated with Crane's later work that they repay close study.

All of these sketches match the natural world represented by the ponds and woods of Sullivan County against the inner world of

fear and courage which lives in the hearts and minds of the four anonymous heroes who represent humanity. Each of the stories involves a literal exploration or hunt and a metaphorical search for truth and meaning. In the sketches, Crane for the first time begins to divide his irony between human nature and the universe itself. As in many of his later short stories, Crane offers a striking symbolic statement in the opening lines of his Sketches which sets forth the nature of the quest or conflict to come. Crane later said he wrote the Sketches when he was "clever," but he was willing to have them published as a collection after the successful publication of The Red Badge of Courage.<sup>16</sup> They obviously represent the early development of a personal philosophy which he sets forth more fully in his poetry.

One of the earliest Sullivan County Sketches, "Four Men in a Cave," begins with the line, "The moon rested for a moment on the top of a tall pine on a hill," and with the premise that "The little man was determined to explore a cave, because its black mouth gaped at him."<sup>7</sup> He and his three companions explore the dark labyrinth of passages within the cave and ultimately come upon "an infinitely sallow man" standing in front of a "great, gray stone, cut squarely like an altar." He commands, "It's your ante," and requires them to play a ghostly hand of cards.<sup>8</sup> Although Crane offers a tongue in cheek natural explanation for the recluse, he has introduced here the themes of dark passageways of knowledge and chance which govern much of his later work.

Crane casts the same four men into a swamp of Darwinian naturalism in "The Octopush," but they eventually turn on their nocturnal

guide when he becomes the victim of his own illusions. The sketch, which Crane also called "The Fishermen," begins, "Four men once upon a time went into the wilderness seeking for pickerel," an ancient fish, and "proceeded to a pond which is different from all other sheets of water in the world, excepting the remaining ponds in Sullivan County."<sup>9</sup> There they encounter "a creature with a voice from the tomb," who insists on becoming their guide. Later as the sun goes down, this "individual" separates the four men from the "common stump" on which they all are resting and "redistributes them, each to his personal stump." Later, as the shadows of dusk "mingle in combat" with the red flare of the campfire and nocturnal creatures scramble and flop in the weeds and sticks, the four men realize that they are "separated from humanity by impassable gulfs." Suddenly, the little man shrieks that "All creeping things were inside his stump," but their escape is blocked by the surrounding black waters in which there were things which wriggled. Just as suddenly, the drunken guide who has led them to this naturalistic morass himself leaps up and exclaims, "Stump turned into Octopush. I was settin' on his mouth." At this point, the little man regains his courage, kicks the guide, and they all row ashore together.

In "A Ghoul's Accountant," Crane immortalizes the power of commercialism. He begins with the cryptic observation that "In a wilderness sunlight is noise. Darkness is a great, tremendous silence."<sup>10</sup> Again, he pits the red flames of the dying campfire, "which glowered and hated the world" against the surrounding darkness of the unknown world. A ghoul appears, "His skin was fiercely red, his whiskers infinitely

black." He threatens the man with a three-pronged pickerel spear and forces the little man to accompany him to a little house where he is required to calculate the price of 35 bushels of "pertaters" at 64½ cents a bushel while a wild, gray man looks on. The latter, evidently the loser in the deal, then kicks the little man out of the door. In this sketch the overriding commercialism of the age coupled with Darwinian naturalism replaces religious belief in immortality.

Crane dramatizes the fear of the unknown in "The Black Dog."<sup>11</sup> The four men are again wandering in the woods, "everlastingly lost," when they meet a slate-colored man who tells them that his friend is sick "ter death." He superstitiously predicts that his friend won't die until the black dog comes. When the song of the spectral dog finally is heard, "a strange, unnatural wail burdened with the weight of death," the men rush outside and find a perfectly natural dog eating beef-tea. When they return to the cottage, they find the old man dead. "Without," Crane concludes, "the specter was wagging his tail." Despite the natural explanation of this and other nocturnal adventures in the Sketches, the irony is not aimed at human frailties. The death of the old man clearly expresses that fear reigns supreme in the human heart and the final image of the dog wagging his tail is an early symbol of the "uncaring malice" of the universe which fully justifies man's fears.

In "Killing His Bear," Crane for one of the first times weds his recurring themes of fear and love.<sup>12</sup> Despite overwhelming fear, the little man stalks and kills the bear. "When the rifle cracked, it shook his soul to a profound depth. Creation rocked and the bear

stumbled." In exultation, the little man walks up to the bear through the blood soaked snow and kicks its ribs. "Upon his face was the smile of a lover."

The little man tests himself against the bear again in "A Tent in Agony."<sup>13</sup> Crane returns to the theme of the quest for self-knowledge in the opening line: "Four men once came to a west place in the roadless forest to fish." The little man is left alone in the roadless forest while his three companions go for supplies. "There's only one of you--the devil make a twin," they say in parting malediction. The bear appears and chases the little man into the tent where they confront each other nose to nose. The little man crawls out of the tent, and the bear brings "a chaos of canvas about his head." "Now the little man became the witness of a mighty scene. The tent began to flounder. It took flopping strides in the direction of the lake. Marvelous sounds came from within--rips and tears, and great groans and pants." The three men return just in time to see the "canvas avalanche" sweep past them. When they interrogate the little man sitting calmly by the campfire he remarks, "There's only one of me--and the devil made a twin."

Once again, the little man is "sweating and swearing his way through an intricate forest" in "An Explosion of Seven Babies" when he encounters a brown giantess who attacks him without apparent reason.<sup>14</sup> Her seven babies watch "like a Roman populace ready to signify the little man's death by rubbing their stomachs." The pudgy man sits upon a wall and views the fray in amazement, and finally "performs the feat of his life" by falling off the wall and accidentally

saving the little man by diverting the savage mother's attention. Later, they encounter the cause of their near fatal encounter: a salesman selling "Smither's Eternal Fly Annihilating Paper," which has made the mother's dear babies sick.

The image of the tent of agony returns in a new form in "The Mesmeric Mountain."<sup>15</sup> This time the little man cannot resist exploring "an irregular black opening in the green wall of forest." "I wonder where the devil it goes to," he thinks and steps through the green portals, "shutting out live things." He battles the "ignorant bushes." As he walks on, the sun sinks in red silence and "a leaping pickerel off on the water created a silver circle that was lost in black shadows." Suddenly he cries, "There's eyes in this mountain! I feel 'em! Eyes!" The mountain was approaching. As he feels the heel of the mountain about to crush his head, he fights back with pebbles. In a moment, he has defeated the mountain and reached the top. "The mountain was motionless."

"The Holler Tree," offers a new set of symbols for the Darwinian theme introduced in "The Octopush."<sup>16</sup> In the later story, the little man accidentally stumbles against the pudgy man and almost breaks the basket of eggs he is carrying. They run upon a "tall, gaunt relic of a pine that stood like a yellow warrior still opposing an aged form to blows in storm-battles." The little man says, "I bet it's got lots of nests in it. . . . Yes, I bet it's a cornerstone with an almanac in it and a census report and a certified list of the pew-holders." The little man climbs up the tree to prove his point. He sits atop the tree and reports that there is nothing to climb down with. He slides

down the inside of the tree and becomes trapped. The little man eventually topples the tree down upon his companion and wriggles out. "There's your eggs--under the tree," he remarks and strides away like "a proud grenadier."

Crane's most overt fictional account of the Darwinian struggle for existence is found in "The Snake," a story similar in style and setting to the Sullivan County Sketches, but not published until August, 1896, in Pocket Magazine.<sup>17</sup> It begins with the same description of a path wending its way through tangled bushes and ends with the hero pompously proclaiming his victory over nature, but there is no metaphorical quest here. It is a simple and brutal tale of the life and death struggle of two ancient enemies. The man is strolling along the path in a decidedly pastoral setting with his dog walking "tranquilly meditative" at his master's heels when they hear the snake's rattle. Both react with precisely the same instinctive fear and hatred:

Like the fingers of a sudden death, this sound seemed to touch the man at the nape of the neck, at the top of the spine, and change him, as swift as thought, to a statue of listening horror, surprise, rage. The dog, too--the same icy hand was laid upon him, and he stood crouched and quivering, his jaw dropping, the froth of terror upon his lips, the light of hatred in his eyes.

Without thought, the man's "unguided" fingers reach for a stick of adequate weight and length, and he and the snake confront one another: "In the man's eyes were hatred and fear. In the snake's eyes were hatred and fear. These enemies maneuvered, each preparing to kill. It was to be a battle without mercy. Neither knew of mercy for such a situation. In the man was all the wild strength of his ancestors, of his race, of his kind." In the battle that follows, the snake's



agility is no match for the superior strength and reach of the man with his weapon:

The stick swung unerringly again, and the snake, mutilated, torn, whirled himself into the last coil.

And now the man went sheer raving mad from the emotions of his forefathers and from his own. He came to close quarters. He gripped the stick with his two hands and made it speed like a flail. The snake, tumbling in the anguish of final despair, fought, bit, flung itself upon this stick which was taking its life.

With hands still trembling from the encounter, the man hoists the dead snake on his stick, and turning to his dog with a grin of victory, says, "Well, Rover, . . . we'll carry Mr. Snake home to show the girls."

Crane's vivid description of man's bestial reversion to nature is accompanied by scathing comments about his pretensions to knowledge and morality. He attacks the church by noting that in "the formation of devices, hideous and horrible, Nature reached her supreme point in the making of the snake, so that priests who really paint hell well will fill it with snakes instead of fire." The snake's natural gallantry in battle compares favorably with the man's boastful pride in a victory won solely through superior strength and reach. "The snake's attack was despairing," Crane writes near the climax of the struggle, "but it was nevertheless impetuous, gallant, ferocious, of the same quality as the charge of the lone chief when the walls of white faces close upon him in the mountains." Crane here couples sincere praise for the natural courage of the snake with a sarcastic reference to the lone Indian chief which ridicules man's romantic notions about

the nobility of courage while also recalling the racial genocide practiced by the white man on the Indians during the 19th century.\*

Whether Crane wrote "The Snake" as an early Sullivan County Sketch or, as Stallman suggests, after himself killing a snake in the summer of 1894,<sup>18</sup> this story shows the young author's preoccupation with the lessons of the Darwinian revolution. It also shows the link, and the difference, between the two different strands of his early writing. The story clearly is intended to show that man is an animal subject to all of the predetermined instincts of every other species in nature, including fear and loathing and rage. At the same time, it offers an answer to the essential question raised in the other Sullivan County Sketches: How can man acquire knowledge? The metaphorical sketches all show man setting off to hunt down the meaning of life and his own nature, and many of them end with the illusory triumph of their heroes. But here in presenting man as identical with the snake in his blind rage and fear, he notes that "the snake had no knowledge of paths; he had no wit to slink noiselessly into the bushes." Obviously, the man shares the snake's ignorance because he senselessly does battle with the snake for the sake of pride, and false pride is highest in Crane's catalogue of human sins.

Except for "The Snake" and the powerful ending of "The Black Dog," the Sullivan County Sketches generally are considered ineffective, but they are a rich source for those seeking the origins of Crane's

---

\*The reference to Indians here suggests that Crane may have had the same issue in mind in his repeated references to the poor as "poor Indians" in the Bowery Sketches.

later style and philosophy. In these Sketches he begins to weld together the images and the ideas which mark the best works of his final years. Here too is the beginning of a preoccupation with epistemological questions which leads to his ultimate judgment of a nihilistic universe.

Crane returns to a naturalistic theme in writing The Red Badge of Courage in 1893, but his artistic vision no longer is purely naturalistic. His hero, Henry Fleming, is trapped within "the moving box" of his regiment, enclosed by "iron laws of tradition and law on four sides."<sup>19</sup> The ensuing battle "is like the grinding of an immense and terrible machine," and Henry in battle is "not a man but a member. . . . he could not flee no more than a little finger can commit a revolution from a hand."<sup>20</sup> Yet, unlike the typically ignorant naturalistic hero, Henry himself is aware of these and other vivid impressions he receives in the course of his experiences. From the moment he crawls into his tent "to be alone with some new thoughts that lately had come to him," all of the battle scenes and interludes in camp are viewed through his eyes.<sup>21</sup> The brilliant imagery of The Red Badge of Courage is not designed simply to show the hero's entrapment in his environment, but rather to mirror his intense inner reflections. Although Henry's ultimate conclusions about the nature of the universe are painfully at variance with those of the author, he is permitted to think and puzzle out his experiences in a manner permitted no other naturalistic hero, including Crane's own Maggie. Thus, most critics see Crane's most famous novel as a psychological drama although many critics fail to note the inherent conflict between this literary mode

and the naturalistic mode which educates the reader at the hero's expense. There is still another dimension in the war novel. Its power is based neither on the drama of human entrapment nor on penetrating psychological insights. Rather, it symbolically offers a new metaphysics of human existence which the author appears to have worked out in the course of writing the story.

Crane suddenly achieves great power in writing The Red Badge of Courage by applying the surrealistic imagery which he began to develop in the Sullivan County Sketches to the realistic theme of warfare. The brilliant opening passage of the war novel employs the same fogs, muddy roads and shadowy rivers which abound in the Sketches to describe the opposing army camps, and "the red, eyelike gleam of hostile camp-fires set in the low brows of distant hills" which climaxes the passage is a realistic application of the central image which terrorizes the little man in "The Mesmeric Mountain."<sup>22</sup> The rutted and muddy roads which stand for passageways to knowledge and lead to unknown fates in the lexicon of imagery created in the Sketches become the scenes of epic marches and wild retreats in The Red Badge of Courage. Thickets and tangled forests stand for the epistemological maze in both works. The spectral dog which symbolizes the fear of the unknown in one of the Sketches becomes the infinitely more powerful spectral soldier whose eyes stare fixedly into the unknown in the war novel.

The initial introduction of the characters in The Red Badge of Courage also is drawn directly from the Sketches. Crane's eventual decision to identify the main characters in the war novel primarily by physical characteristics such as "the tall man," "the loud man" and

"the youth" or "young recruit" enlarges their representation of humanity in the same manner as the use of the "little man" and the "pudgy man" in the Sketches. The initial argument among the soldiers in the Civil War camp is carried on with the same ignorance, pomposity and eagerness to dispute which marks the opening dialogues in the Sketches and introduces the same theme of truth seeking.

Like the Sullivan County Sketches, The Red Badge of Courage is both a psychological test and an epistemological quest. After receiving a fill of discussions concerning marches and attacks, Henry goes to his hut and "crawls through an intricate hole that served it as a door. He wished to be alone with some new thoughts that had lately come to him."<sup>23</sup> The dark forest openings and tortuous passages through which the Sullivan County heroes pass to seek knowledge become the "intricate little hole" through which Henry crawls to seek knowledge about himself in The Red Badge of Courage. The shadowy enclosed caves and cabins and tents in which the Sullivan heroes test their courage become first the glowing tent in which Henry seeks truth and later the eerie "chapel of the boughs" and "hall of the forest" in which he momentarily discovers it.

The central conflict in The Red Badge of Courage is not man against man, but man against the universe, and the central question is not the nature of man's fear and courage, but the nature of the universe itself. The metaphysical nature of Henry's quest is signaled by his initial impression that "They were in an eternal camp."<sup>24</sup> After the last casual human contact between the sentries of the opposing armies, the enemy never again appears in the novel except on the horizon or

hidden among the trees or as "skirmishers continually melting into the scene."<sup>25</sup> Henry feels that the landscape itself continually threatens him. "A house standing placidly in distant fields had to him an ominous look," and "The shadows of the woods were formidable. He was certain that in this vista there lurked fierce eyed hosts."<sup>26</sup> What Henry does see and feel at close quarters is the product of an unknown but apparently supernatural agency: ghastly forms of the dead men who seemed to have been "dumped out upon the ground from the sky"<sup>27</sup> and the invulnerable dead man which forced its way among the moving troops whose tawny beard the wind moves "as if a hand were stroking it."<sup>28</sup> All this creates in Henry's mind "the impulse of the living to try to read in the dead eyes the answer to the Question."<sup>29</sup> Henry's vision of the threatening, but incomprehensible universe culminates in the famous image, "The red sun was pasted in the sky like a [fierce] wafer" at the end of Jim Conklin's race with death.<sup>30</sup>

The color dichotomy of red and black introduced in several of the Sullivan County Sketches is expanded in The Red Badge of Courage. The essential conflict between the red fire of man's violent will and the blackness of the unknown universe remains in the center of the scheme, but Crane adds a whole spectrum of related hues in the war novel. The green earth is turned brown by man's violent warfare. The white sunlight filters through the tent which shelters Henry's thoughts and becomes "the yellow light thrown upon the color of his ambitions."<sup>31</sup> The uniforms of Henry's massed regiment become "the blue demonstration" which encases him in man's organized customs and traditions.<sup>32</sup> In certain moments of revelation, such as Henry's visit to the chapel of

the boughs, all of the colors of Crane's universe are brought together in a single vision:

At length he reached a place where the high, arching boughs made a chapel. He softly pushed the green doors aside and entered. Pine needles were a gentle brown carpet. There was a religious half light.

Near the threshold he stopped, horror-stricken at the sight of a thing.

He was being looked at by a dead man who was seated with his back against a columnlike tree. The corpse was dressed in a uniform that once had been blue, but was now faded to a melancholy shade of green. The eyes, staring at the youth, had changed to the dull hue to be seen on the side of a dead fish. The mouth was open. Its red had changed to an appalling yellow. Over the gray skin of the face ran little ants. One was trundling some sort of a bundle along the upper lip.<sup>33</sup>

Here, mankind is the victim and mother nature is revealed as the ultimate aggressor. The blue of man's organized society has returned after death to a melancholy shade of green, the color of natural decay. The red mouth of man's fiery self-expression has changed to an appalling yellow, the color produced by the universal white light of the sun in combination with man's futile ambitions. The entire spectrum of colors in the passage is the stained glass of nature's chapel which mocks the universal lessons of religion. The gray of the corpse's face is the color of the void, the median point between the black and white which bound Crane's nihilistic universe and surround the futile red life force at its center.

To this universe of color, Crane adds the vivid imagery for which The Red Badge of Courage is justly famous. Throughout the novel, the descriptions of battle are mingled with descriptions of nature until nature itself seems at war. Before Henry enters the

chapel of the boughs, the sounds of musketry and cannon grow faint, giving way to the rhythmical noise of insects which "seemed to be gnashing their teeth in unison."<sup>34</sup> In the next battle, the wind and the smoke of gunfire combine to become "the swirling battle phantoms stuffing their smoke robes down his parched throat."<sup>35</sup> In the first wild retreat of Henry's regiment, "the sight of this stampede seemed to be able to drag sticks and stones and men from the ground"<sup>36</sup> and when the enemy opens fire from the woods, Crane says, "the forest made a tremendous objection."<sup>37</sup>

Crane constantly combines the impressions of different senses in the same description. He writes of the "crimson roar of battle," of the trees beginning "to sing a hymn of twilight" and of the "new silence" of Henry's wound. The sights and sounds and smells of battle become so fused in Henry's mind that his whole odyssey seems to become a single universal sensory experience.

But the ultimate experience in Crane's image-filled universe is physical: choking smoke, dripping blood, bullets "buffing into men," the soldier whose knee joint is shattered by a ball and who clings to a tree pleading for aid all develop in Henry "the acute exasperation of a pestered animal."<sup>38</sup> The final image of war is an orderly sergeant who is shot through the cheeks, "his jaw hanging down, disclosing in the wide cavern of his mouth a pulsing mass of blood and teeth."<sup>39</sup> The moments of truth in the novel always are symbolized by physical images: the invulnerable dead man forcing his way through the line of marchers, the ants crawling across the face of the corpse in the chapel of the boughs, the convulsive death



struggles of Jim Conklin, and Henry's own wound, "his little red badge of courage."<sup>40</sup>

The physical revelation of the universal void is symbolized in Crane's work by the removal or tearing away of the thin coverings which shelter mankind. The soles of the shoes of the invulnerable dead man who forces a way for himself through the ranks of marchers are "worn to the thinness of writing paper, and from a great rent in one the dead foot projected piteously. And it was as if fate had betrayed the soldier. In death it exposed to his enemies that poverty which in life he had perhaps concealed from his friends."<sup>41</sup> Later, when Jim Conklin finally has fallen, the "flap of his blue jacket fell away from the body" and Henry sees that "the side looked as if it had been chewed by wolves."<sup>42</sup>

Neither Henry Fleming's fate nor his final interpretation of the universe is predetermined, but rather depends on chance. After the grim and truthful visions he sees in the chapel of the boughs and in the field with his dying friend, Jim Conklin, Henry believes that his cowardice inevitably will be found out. The tattered man tells him, "Ye'd better take care of yer hurt. . . . It might be inside mostly, and them plays thunder." The tattered man's chance persistency made him feel that he could not keep his crime concealed in his bosom.<sup>43</sup> In a long passage omitted from the published version of what was to have been Chapter VIII and later became the crucial Chapter XII, Crane has Henry deliver a long soliloquy in which he senses that he is part of a universal materialistic order and rationalizes that the materialistic laws of nature justify his flight to save himself:

Nature has provided her creations with various defenses and ways to escape that they might fight or flee, and she had limited dangers in powers of attack and pursuit, that the things might resist or hide with a security proportionate to their strength and wisdom. It was all the same old philosophy. He could not omit a small grunt of satisfaction as he saw with what brilliance he had reasoned it all out.<sup>44</sup>

Crane may have chosen to omit this passage either because it offered a too literal account of the war between materialism and chaos which permeates The Red Badge of Courage or because it no longer fit Henry's state of mind after the visions cited above. In any event, it clearly indicts the philosophy of materialism as one of Henry Fleming's series of illusions.

In the published version of Chapter XII, a new battle commences immediately and Henry "forgets that he was engaged in combatting the universe. He threw aside his mental pamphlets on the philosophy of the retreated and rules for the guidance of the damned."<sup>45</sup> He lost concern for himself, in the midst of a swirling mass of humanity fleeing down the road of life, Henry tries to ask one of his own soldiers a question and the man turns on him and strikes him on the head with a rifle. In Chapter XIII, Henry is found and nursed by his friends who mistake the rifle blow for an honorable wound in battle and Henry falls asleep in the glow of peace and glory.

"When the youth awoke, it seemed to him that he had been asleep for a thousand years, and he felt sure that he opened his eyes upon an unexpected world." He looks around and sees rows and groups of wounded and battle weary men sprawled under the trees:

His disordered mind interpreted the hall of the forest as a charnel place. He believed for an instant that he was in the house of the dead, and he did not dare to move lest these

corpses start up, squalling and squawking. In a second, however, he achieved his proper mind. He swore a complicated oath at himself. He saw that this somber picture was not a fact of the present, but a mere prophecy.<sup>46</sup>

This is Henry's final vision of the author's truth. From this moment on in the novel, Henry follows one illusion after another and his illusions are matched by his growing success. His own sense of well being causes him to interpret his formerly boastful friend's compassion as wisdom. "Apparently the other had now climbed a peak of wisdom from which he could perceive himself as a very wee thing."<sup>47</sup> In the next battle, Henry in renewed terror grabs the regimental flag as a symbol of invulnerability and in a blind panic leads the charge. In the final battle, Henry, still carrying his own emblem, finally comes to grip with a mirror image of himself, the enemy flag bearer, and captures the enemy's flag in a superbly ironic climax to the young recruit's test in battle.

Irony, always one of Crane's most potent literary weapons, is aimed at two different targets in The Red Badge of Courage. On the one hand, it is directed at the human customs and human nature which drive man to war as exemplified in Henry's own quest for glory and the final injunction of his mother that "If so be a time comes when yeh have to be kilt or do a mean thing--why, Henry, don't think of anything 'cept what's right."<sup>48</sup> This savage moralism delivered while peeling potatoes echoes the ruthless maternalism of the brown giantess in the potato patch in "An Explosion of Seven Babies."

The second, and deeper, irony of The Red Badge of Courage is Henry Fleming's constant quest to understand the universe and his ultimate misconception of it in the final passages of the novel.

Henry has moved in the course of the story from a simple desire to prove his courage in mankind's ultimate testing ground of war to a clear vision of the materialistic natural forces which predetermine man's fate. Having observed these laws of nature in operation and justifying his own actions in their terms and succeeding thereby, Henry in his final reflections "was thus fraternizing again with nature." Like other materialistic philosophers with a theological bent, Henry puts the sin he has observed at a distance and "even saw in it quaint uses."<sup>49</sup> With the same false humility he displays immediately after awakening from his blow on the head, Henry at the end of the story "found that he could look back upon the brass and bombast of his earlier gospels and see them truly":<sup>50</sup>

He was emerged from his struggles, with a large sympathy for the machinery of the universe. With his new eyes, he could see that the secret and open blows which were being dealt about the world with such heavenly lavishness were in truth blessings.<sup>51</sup>

Here, in the final passage of his war novel, is a clear indictment of the social Darwinist rationale. Crane attached three different endings to this passage, each one raising the irony to a higher pitch. The first ending simply reiterates Henry's feeling that the "world was made for him though many discovered it to be made of oaths and walking sticks." The second ending offers a vivid contrast between Henry's previous image of himself as a pestered animal, "blistered and sweating in the heat and pain of war," and his present pastoral vision of tranquil skies, fresh meadows and cool brooks. According to Crane's new found philosophy, neither of these visions is correct. Henry is not merely an animal proceeding toward a predetermined fate, nor is

nature an existence of soft and eternal peace. The third and final ending of the war novel offers a veiled but powerful image of the truth as Crane had come to see it in writing his most famous novel: "Over the river a golden ray of sun came through the hosts of leaden rain clouds."<sup>52</sup> The leaden rain clouds, of course, are the color of the void coupled with an image of the iron weight of battle which climaxes this physical imagery of the novel. And the word "hosts" suggests a reincarnation of the phantoms which swirl around Henry in battle.

But the ultimate irony of the final passage is the reappearance of the sun as a vision of hope. The sun appears again and again in the course of Henry's experiences, and he interprets it in accordance with his understanding at those moments. At the outset, the white sunlight beats down on his thin shelter and throws yellow light on the color of his ambitions. After the first battle, Henry sees the pure blue sky and the sun-gleamings on the trees and fields and wonders that "Nature had gone on so tranquilly in the midst of so much devilment."<sup>53</sup> After the revelation of Jim Conklin's wound, Henry sees more truly that "The red sun was pasted in the sky like a [fierce] wafer."<sup>54</sup> When Henry himself is wounded and awakens from a long sleep, the first rays of sunlight at dawn paint the skins of the other exhausted soldiers in corpse-like hues, and Henry prophetically interprets the hall of the forest as "a charnel place."<sup>55</sup> At this moment in the novel, when Henry for the last time sees clearly the meaning of life and death, Crane offers the same vision of the sunlight as Melville had when he wrote that "Nature absolutely paints



like a harlot, whose allurements cover nothing but the charnel house within."<sup>56</sup> At this moment, Crane, like Melville, employs the white sunlight as the supreme symbol of universal evil. The sunlight turns yellow when mixed with the color of Henry's ambitions and red when mixed with his wild desire for revenge, but in itself it is white, the color which truly reveals the uncaring malice of the universe.<sup>57</sup>

In the course of writing The Red Badge of Courage, Crane has treated and discarded the philosophy of materialism. He has tested the idea of human courage and found it of only transitory importance. He has attacked religion and society and found they are not the real enemies of man. Perhaps led by the force of his own imagery, he has made nature itself the indifferently vindictive force which dooms man to a meaningless existence and thus discovered the nihilistic philosophy which marks the best of his later works.

The development of Crane's nihilism is revealed most directly in the remarkable poetry he wrote intermittently throughout his career. The Black Riders and Other Lines, written during the same period as the war novel, was his own favorite work. It "is the more ambitious effort," he said. "In it I aim to give my ideas of life as a whole, . . . and the latter [The Red Badge of Courage] is a mere episode, . . ."<sup>58</sup>

Both the style and the philosophy of The Black Riders baffled most readers at the time. Parodist Carolyn Wells wrote, "His language amazes/ He writes in blue blazes/ And his verses are really insane."<sup>59</sup> The rhythm of the verses is irregular and the rhymes are non-existent. Even more puzzling from the modern reader's viewpoint, the poetry is largely barren of the vivid imagery which is intrinsic in most of

Crane's prose. Perhaps Crane used poetry as a means of directly expressing the ideas which he purposely concealed behind the rich tapestry of his prose.

At first glance, Crane's poems seem to resemble those of Emily Dickinson. Howells introduced her relatively unknown work to Crane in the early 1890s.<sup>60</sup> Both Dickinson and Crane deal almost exclusively with metaphysical questions in their poems. Both employ short, tightly compressed verses. But the resemblance is superficial. Dickinson mastered the values of irregular rhythms and rhymes long before Crane was born, and Crane, though he may have imitated her techniques, never mastered them at all. Dickinson's poems are infinitely subtle, but always simple and always clear. Crane's frequently are complex and abstruse, and when their meaning is known, it is anything but subtle. Dickinson is always at home in the natural world, while Crane's revolt against nature reaches its climax in his poems. Yet, in the best of his verses, Crane's artistic vision transcends his limitations as a poet and rivals that of Emily Dickinson herself.

The central theme of all of Crane's poetry is the identification of evil with the nihilistic universe. Paradoxically, the idea that evil is simply the nothingness of the universe is presented through both passive and actively malignant images. The opening line of The Black Riders, "Black riders came from the sea,"<sup>61</sup> employs Crane's favorite color for the universe to present a blank image charging out of the void. In a later collection of poems, War Is Kind and Other Lines, Crane writes that "The sea was dead gray walls/ Superlative in vacancy/ Upon which nevertheless at fateful time/ Was written the



hatefulness of nature."<sup>62</sup> The desert is another favorite symbol of universal emptiness. In the third verse of The Black Riders, a creature, naked and bestial in the desert, feeds upon his own bitter heart.<sup>63</sup> The image of the jagged peaks of a moving mountain on the horizon which Crane introduced in "The Mesmeric Mountain," appears again in one of the earliest verses written for The Black Riders:

On the horizon the peaks assembled;  
And as I looked,  
The march of the mountains began,  
As they marched, they sang  
"Ay! we come! we come!"<sup>64</sup>

One of three Crane poems discovered in Jacksonville, Fla., long after his death powerfully draws together the image of jagged peaks moving against the horizon with the image of vacant space:

A man adrift on a slim spar  
A horizon smaller than the rim of a bottle  
Tented waves rearing lashed dark points. . . .

As the man's pale hand slides from the polished spar the poem ends with a favorite Crane image of vacant, enclosed space:

The puff of a coat imprisoning air  
A face kissing the water-death  
A weary slow sway of a lost hand  
And the sea, the moving sea, the sea  
God is cold.<sup>65</sup>

In the nihilistic universe of Crane's poetry, nothing can be truly known. In The Black Riders he writes:

Yes, I have a thousand tongues  
And nine and ninety-nine lie  
Though I strive to use the one  
It will make no melody at my will  
But is dead in my mouth.<sup>66</sup>

In another verse:

There was one who sought a new road  
He went into direful thickets

And ultimately he died thus, alone  
But they said he had courage.<sup>67</sup>

A learned man who claims to know the way in another verse at last cries,  
"I am lost."<sup>68</sup> When a seer holds open the book of wisdom, the poet  
looks and exclaims, "Strange that I should have grown so suddenly  
blind."<sup>69</sup>

In keeping with this nihilistic theory of knowledge, Crane  
vigorously attacks the faith in natural design and portrays a world  
of utter disorder:

Once there came a man  
Who said:  
"Range me all men of the world in rows."  
And instantly  
There was terrific clamor among the people  
Against being ranged in rows.  
There was a loud quarrel, world-wide.  
It endured for ages;  
And blood was shed  
By those who would not stand in rows,  
And by those who pined to stand in rows.  
Eventually, the man went to death, weeping.  
And those who stayed in bloody scuffle  
Knew not the great simplicity.<sup>70</sup>

In the following verse, the "ship of the world" which God has fashioned  
with meticulous care slips "rudderless down the ways" when God looks  
the other way to correct a wrong:

So that, forever rudderless, it went upon the seas  
Going ridiculous voyages.  
Making quaint progress,  
Turning as with serious purpose  
Before stupid winds.  
And there were many in the sky  
Who laughed at this thing.<sup>71</sup>

In another verse, a poet returns from the land of farther suns and sees  
"a reptile swarming place . . . shrouded above in black impenetrable-  
ness." God tells the poet, "Spirit, this is a world, this was your

home."<sup>72</sup> In one of the most famous verses of The Black Riders, Crane sardonically parodies the death of tradition. A youth in glittering apparel is offered a meaningful death at the hands of an assassin attired in the grab of old days. "Sir," the youth replies, "I am enchanted believe me, To die, thus, in this medieval fashion, According to the best legends; . . ."<sup>73</sup>

If evil is the true nothingness of the universe in Crane's philosophy, then sin results from man's pretense of knowledge. In the opening verse of The Black Riders, the "ride of sin" in the final line follows man's futile conflict with the uncaring malice of the universe. Two verses later, the naked, bestial man eats his own bitter heart. In Verse 9, the poet looks down from a high place at a group of devils and is saluted as a "comrade, brother."<sup>74</sup> Crane attacks both moral and intellectual hypocrisy throughout his poetry. The newspaper is derided as "the wisdom of the age."<sup>75</sup> In "Charity, thou are a lie,"<sup>76</sup> and "Best little blade of grass,"<sup>77</sup> Crane contemptuously exposes man's moral pretensions. In another verse, Crane poses the power of human love against the abstract idea of justice. A stern spirit ordains that no flowers can be placed on the grave of a wicked man despite a maiden's entreaties. "If the spirit was just," the poet concludes, "why did the maid weep?"<sup>78</sup> Finally, in Verse 33, the poet shows his human wares to a stranger on the road, and each one is judged a sin. "But I have none other," the poet exclaims. "Poor soul," the stranger replies.<sup>79</sup>

Isolated within the endless void of human experience, Crane finds the fleeing hope of beauty in the human heart. "She is none so fair as she is in my heart," he writes.<sup>80</sup> "Since she is here, in a

place of blackness, here I stay."<sup>81</sup> Crane describes the loveliness of a woman as an oasis of infinite beauty surrounded on both sides by "mile upon mile of snow, ice and burning sand."<sup>82</sup> In Verse 10, he offers a vision of love in the midst of chaos hauntingly like that of Hemingway in A Farewell to Arms three decades later:

Should the wide world roll away,  
Leaving black terror,  
Limitless night,  
Nor God, nor man, nor place to stand  
Would be to me essential,  
If thou and thy white arms were there,  
And the fall to doom a long way.<sup>83</sup>

And in one of the last verses of The Black Riders, "A woman's arms tried to shield the head of a sleeping man from the jaws of the final beast."<sup>84</sup>

Crane announces that "God is dead" in one of the last verses of The Black Riders, but his renunciation of all religious and philosophic faith is seen more clearly in another of the last verses in which the striking power of his artistic vision shows through his obvious limitations as a poet:

If I should cast off this tattered coat,  
And go free into the mighty sky;  
If I should find nothing there  
But a vast blue,  
Echoless, ignorant,--  
What then?<sup>85</sup>

Here Crane awesomely captures the loss of faith which was the heritage of the Darwinian revolution in the late 19th century. The first two lines of the verse superbly recreate mankind's exultant dream of discovering a higher order and purpose beyond the futility of mortal existence and the final lines awkwardly but powerfully express the robbery from mankind of all hope in a transcendent being or idea.

1

## CHAPTER V

### THE INDIFFERENT UNIVERSE

The publication of The Black Riders in 1895 is a convenient place to mark a turning point in Crane's career. All of his prior work seems to involve a search on the part of the author for a philosophy of existence. Maggie and the Sullivan County Sketches are experiments in different directions. The Red Badge of Courage is a brilliant but indecisive novel. None of Crane's early work shows the mastery of theme and form which he achieves in the best of his short stories written between 1897 and 1900.

The element of pure chance which helps determine Henry Fleming's fate in The Red Badge of Courage becomes an increasingly important theme in Crane's later stories. He draws on his own love of poker to satirize the wild business speculations of his era in "A Poker Game."<sup>1</sup> This brief story, written about 1896, pits young Bobbie Cinch of Chicago, heir to a 22 million dollar fortune gained principally by his father's famous corner on bay rum, against old Henry Spuytendyvil, "who owns all the real estate in New York." Both men fill straight flushes in the same hand, an event rarer than "berries on a juniper tree." The real estate tycoon's flush is one card higher. With "a contemptuous smile" and "a sinister and relentless light in his eyes," he bets modestly to hook his young opponent, but Bobbie, "as generous

as sunshine," merely calls him, saying in gentlemanly fashion, "I can't play a sure thing against you." The actor who has watched this drama unfold draws the moral, "Bob, my boy . . . you're as no gambler, but you're a mighty good fellow, and if you hadn't been, you would be losing a good many dollars this minute."

"A Tale of Mere Chance," published in the English Illustrated Magazine in March, 1896, is one of Crane's few essays into pure fantasy.<sup>2</sup> Its silliness suggests one of Crane's very early pieces, but none of his other early stories deals with the elements of chance and time and psychic guilt as this story does. Stallman says it is "an outright imitation of Edgar Allen Poe."<sup>3</sup> The first person narrator of the story enters a drawing room and kills a man he believes has stolen his girl friend. The shot apparently stops "an old tall clock" which had "placidly ticked its speech of time" and the blood from the victim splatters the white tiles on the floor. This chance suspension of time in the drawing room ultimately leads to the apprehension of the murderer who in his own imagination has been pursued to the ends of the earth by the bloody tiles.

A game of chance determines life and death in "The Five White Mice," one of the stories based on Crane's visit to Mexico in 1895. The "New York Kid," a likely counterpart to Crane himself, loses a barroom dice game after calling on the "five white mice of chance" to "let me come in--into the house of chance."<sup>4</sup> As a penalty he must take the winners to the Mexican circus. He refuses to welsh on his bet despite his friends' entreaties to come with them for the evening and thereby avoids becoming drunk with them. Later, he meets his now

drunken friends, the Frisco Kid and Benson, on the street and they encounter three Mexican desperadoes in a dark alley. Unmindful of the danger, Benson responds affirmatively to the Mexicans' invitation to fight, and the six men face each other, five of them with their hands on their pistols, just like the dice on the barroom table. The New York Kid suddenly realizes he can probably win the gun duel singlehandedly against all three Mexicans if he acts without hesitation. "It was a new game." And here the verse about the five white mice of chance runs through his mind again. "At the supreme moment, the revolver came forth as if it were greased, and it arose like a feather." At this decisive action, the "beautiful array of Mexicans was suddenly disorganized," revealing the same fears which had beset the Kid only a moment before, and peace is restored by mutual consent.<sup>5</sup>

Crane also reveals in this story his familiarity with a number of cultural ideas which were being popularized at the time. The heart of the story consists of a full two-page description of the New York Kid's stream of consciousness as he faces the imminent threat of death. Images from his past life are interwoven with thoughts about the future mourning of his family as he tries to calculate the present probabilities of life and death. "These views were perfectly stereopticon," Crane says, "flashing in and away from this thought with inconceivable rapidity, until, after all, they were simply one quick, dismal impression."<sup>6</sup> The Kid also experiences definite powers of telepathy and precognition in this crisis. Staring at one of the Mexicans, "He actually watched the progress of the man's thought toward the point where a knife would be wrenched from its sheath."<sup>7</sup> At the moment of



truth, "he suddenly knew that it was possible to draw his own revolver, and, by a swift maneuver face down all three Mexicans. If he was quick enough he would probably be victor. If any hitch occurred in the draw he would undoubtedly be dead with his friends."<sup>8</sup> Here then is a pragmatic test of faith in which the hero is forced to make a "living decision" and by making it decisively can and does influence the outcome. Crane, in this story apparently written after his arrival in England in 1897, highlights the role of pure chance in determining individual fates and offers his own pragmatic formula for meeting the test.

A clear line of thought and imagery runs from Crane's early work to "The Open Boat," which he wrote in 1897 following his real life shipwreck off the coast of Florida. Once again, Crane applies images and ideas from his own mind to a realistic theme with startling impact. He chooses four men to represent humanity and places them at sea in a 10-foot dinghy. Their initial argument about the difference between a life-saving station and a house of refuge introduces the inquiry which is to be made about man's place in the universe. Only when the men learn that the lighthouse is not, in fact, a life-saving station do they realize that the indifference of nature rather than that of man is their implacable enemy.

Many of the images with which Crane symbolizes the indifferent void also are borrowed from previous works. The "jagged waves which seemed to thrust up in points like jagged rocks" above the horizon of the little boat echo the imagery of "The Mesmeric Mountain" and "The March of the Mountains."<sup>9</sup> "The thin little oar" by which the men

attempt to maintain direction in the grip of great natural forces and the overcoat which they employ as a sail are both drawn from Crane's poetry.<sup>10</sup> The slate-colored waves with their ominous white crests are a symbol of the colorless void, and both the sea itself and the desert in Algiers which takes its place in the correspondent's dream are images of the wasteland in Crane's poetry. The little boat buried within the mountainous seas is another little hole in which Crane's heroes seek answers to the great question. The giant white wind tower on the shoreline, standing with its back to the plight of ants, is another version of the fanwheel in the towering coal breaker which controls life and death in the mines.<sup>11</sup>

Having arrived at a firm conception of the human predicament in his previous works, Crane in "The Open Boat" constructs his symbolic universe with a sure hand. It is a barren place, filled with ungovernable and unfathomable forces of nature. He places the four men who represent humanity on the sea of life in a precariously balanced dinghy and offers them the hope of safety in a mirage-like coast line while blinding them to the vast sky from which these forces emanate. The little craft is driven to and fro by the vector forces of wind and tide until at one point, "A changed tide tried to force them southward, but wind and wave said northward. Far ahead, where coast-line, sea and sky formed their mighty angle, there were little dots which seemed to indicate a city on the shore."<sup>12</sup> Mankind here is revealed as a mere dot on the face of a geometrical plane.

Crane sets his universe in motion with the precision of a master clock maker. In The Red Badge of Courage, Crane developed the

technique of alternating intense periods of motion and rest with corresponding periods of human fear and courage, but the effect is episodic, a means of sustaining suspense and extending the experience of the young recruit. In "The Open Boat," the same patterns are fused with the natural motion of the universe itself. The rise and fall of the dinghy on the great sea corresponds with the pattern of hope and fear of its occupants. In moments of exultation, they ride the little boat up and down the sea of the waves, like a bucking broncho. In moments of despair, they feel buried within a cave formed by the same waves. The great wind which creates the terrifying waves also is, by chance, driving them toward shore, but to make the paradox of human existence complete, it at the same time creates the wild surf which blocks their safety.

In the more subtle world which Crane has created in his own mind since writing Maggie, man no longer is imprisoned only by the forces of nature. He is held in even closer bondage by the fears and necessities which these forces erect in his own mind. As the story of the open boat begins, these inner forces require that the men glance level at the sea which surrounds them. The horizon of their perspective is the gunwale of the boat itself. Even when the dinghy reaches the crest of a wave, they are unable to appreciate the panorama of the "shining and wind-riven" open sea. The narrow two-dimensional quality of this human perspective is hauntingly underscored by the author's sudden interjection: "Viewed from a balcony, the whole world doubtless would have been weirdly picturesque."<sup>13</sup> Psychologically, then, the

men are not merely lost on the open sea, but buried within the mountainous sea of their own fear.

The course of the open boat is determined by necessity, but necessity itself is governed by pure chance. Chance has placed the four men in communion with one another in the open boat. The fierce wind which holds them in its grip is, by chance, driving their boat to shore, and their first optimistic approach to land is celebrated ominously by the chance discovery of four dry cigars and three dry matches.<sup>14</sup> Also by chance, as the author informs the readers, the men approach shore at least 20 miles from the nearest life saving station. Their ignorance of this fact causes them to bitterly assail human indifference to their plight. The same wind which drives them to shore also creates the wild surf in which the men must gamble their lives. Maddened by this play of chance forces, the correspondent begins to ask, "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."<sup>15</sup> The four men finally are forced to play their hands in the race for life through the surf, and the gods of chance choose the strongest and most skillful of them all for death. Within the framework of necessity, chance operates decisively to determine individual fates.

In contrast to the almost uncontrollable profusion of colors in The Red Badge of Courage, the universe of "The Open Boat" is deeply muted. The opening line, "None of them knew the color of the sky," superbly combines Crane's image of the colorless void with his idea of man's narrow perspective and begins to unite his physical and

psychological themes. The world of the men in the open boat is mostly gray. The waves which surround them are "slate-colored save for the tops which were foamy white."<sup>16</sup> Out of this gray world, the lighthouse emerges as "an upright shadow against the sky" which "had almost assumed color," and the land appears. "From a black line it became a line of black and a line of white--trees and sand."<sup>17</sup> After their hopes of any early rescue are dashed, the men watch the eerie scene in which the dusk swallows up the parade of humanity on the shore. "The man waving a coat blended gradually into the gloom and it swallowed in the same manner the omnibus and the group of people."<sup>18</sup>

In the world of "The Open Boat," all color is an illusion of men's souls. The true universe is a colorless void. On the first morning, as the sun swings up into the sky, the men observe the water around their boat change "from slate to emerald green streaked with amber lights, and the foam was like tumbling snow." Crane notes that the process of breaking day was unknown to them. "They were aware only of this effect upon the color of the waves. . . ."<sup>19</sup> On the following morning when they prepare for the final plunge into the surf, the morning dawns with "a sky of pure blue, and the sunlight flamed on the tips of the waves."<sup>20</sup> In both cases, the men are blind to the clear white light of the sun and see only its reflection on the color of their ambitions. But the clear vision which is denied to the men during daylight is revealed to the correspondent during the long night at sea. The tall gray waves become black and the only remaining features of the universe are the receding golden light of the lighthouse in the south and a new pure bluish light in the north on which

they set their course. During the night, the correspondent thinking himself the one man afloat on all the oceans witnesses "a gleaming trail of phosphorescence, like a blue flame . . . furrowed on the black waters. It might have been made by a monstrous knife."<sup>21</sup> In his vigil with the circling shark, he experiences the utter loneliness of human existence which man discovers when he realizes the indifference of nature to his needs. "A high, cold star on a winter's night is the word she says to him,"<sup>22</sup> Crane later remarks as his thoughts come together with those of the correspondent. Man senses the passive indifference of the universe in the gray world of his ordinary senses, but the true malignancy of this indifference to the human spirit is seen in moments of revelation as a colorless void, so pure and cold that it strikes the senses as a bluish gleam.

The thin boundary between the inner world of the mind and the outer world of matter is breached by the great seas which engulf the open boat. The little craft is an extension of the human spirit of the occupants. All of the human fears and virtues which the correspondent shares with his companions are confined within the tiny space he shares with them. The gunwale six inches above the water line is the horizon of their consciousness, the sole barrier between their human purpose and its threatened extinction in the meaningless natural world which surrounds them. Every time the little boat loses direction or goes off course in the great waves, the sea water drenches the men. It soaks and numbs them. They lie in the water at the bottom of the boat. They sleep and dream in it. It begins to permeate their conscious and unconscious thoughts. Finally, the water seems to

warm them, but they rouse themselves to one more effort. At the end of the voyage, the foamy white water of the surf turns the horizontal boundary line of the gunwale perpendicular and water pours in over the fingers of the correspondent on the gunwale. "And when the water entered at that place he swiftly withdrew his fingers as if he objected to wetting them." In the water a moment later, he is appalled by its coldness. "The coldness of the water was sad, it was tragic. This fact was somehow mixed and confused with his opinion of his own situation, so that it seemed almost a proper reason for tears. The water was cold."<sup>23</sup> The true coldness of the water which enters the correspondent's mind at the moment that the sea swallows the open boat is almost the only physical imagery in "The Open Boat." As always in Crane's work it marks the beginning of a truthful experience. Immersed in the water, unrelieved by the warmth of his companions, the correspondent enters the stream of life where only a miracle can save him.

Space and time are subjective in the universe of "The Open Boat." Distances expand or contract according to the needs and desires of human observers. When the story begins, the men in the boat can see no farther than the tops of the mountainous waves which surround them, but later they see the lighthouse on the horizon as small as the point of a pin. "It took an anxious eye to find a lighthouse so tiny," Crane comments.<sup>24</sup> On the open sea, time and distance are measured by one another. The approach of the boat to the coast line is measured by the apparent rise of the land from the sea. The oncoming night at sea is measured by the fading shadows of

the human figures on the beach. During this long night, the course of the boat is determined by the two points of light which comprise "the furniture of the world." At the same time, Crane notes with gentle irony that "the distances were so magnificent in the dinghy that the rower was enabled to keep his feet warm by thrusting them under his companions."<sup>25</sup> When at last the men are tumbled into the wild surf, the correspondent loses all sense of space and time. In a dreamlike state, he paddles leisurely toward the apparently immovable shore. He is frozen in time and space.

Matter and motion are relative in "The Open Boat." Throughout the story the men in the boat are constantly in motion in a universe of endless waves. The coast line which they yearn to reach appears as the only still point in this world of flux. The illusory quality of this perception is signaled in the opening chapter by the brown mats of seaweed which appear on the surface of the open sea, like islands or like bits of earth. "They were traveling, apparently, neither one way nor the other. They were, to all intents, stationary. They informed the men that it was making progress slowly toward the land."<sup>26</sup> A moment later, the lighthouse appears as a "small still thing on the horizon." As the men approach, the land appears slowly to rise from the sea, but after their hopes of reaching shore before nightfall fade, the "remote beach seemed lower than the sea."<sup>27</sup> The apparent solidity of the land is an illusion which rises and falls with the hopes of the human observers. In the final race for life through the surf, the four men are all in motion relative to one another as they move toward the apparently immovable shore. When





the correspondent is caught in the hidden current and in fear of drowning, he sees the shore before him like "a bit of scenery on a stage."<sup>28</sup> The safety of solid land is a mirage which men yearn for in a world of constant motion. By 1897, Crane has discovered that all rigidity is an illusion and all reality is flux.

In such a world, infinite delicacy is required to maintain one's balance. The central theme of "The Open Boat" is the precarious position of humanity on the sea of life. This requires the captain to withhold his anger and revulsion when the sinister gull attempts to light on his head. He brushes it away gently because "anything resembling an emphatic gesture would have capsized this freighted boat."<sup>29</sup> Throughout the ordeal, the brotherhood of the oiler and the correspondent in willingly spelling one another at the oars is interwoven with the delicacy with which they exchange places in the frail craft.

The four men in the open boat maintain their direction in a disordered world through human skill and endurance. The "frail little oars" of their craft are powerless to overcome the forces of nature. Every ounce of skill and energy which the men possess is required just to avoid swamping the boat and to maintain the best course which the winds and tides permit. The task of rowing at first prevents the oarsmen from viewing the goal toward which they labor, but the oiler magically turns the boat around when it threatens to swamp during their first attempt to land. Later, this wizard of the oars squarely faces his fate and backs his friends to safety while giving up his own life.

Everywhere in "The Open Boat" there is a quality of gentle grace. Gone is the savage irony with which Crane exposed the indifference of the universe in previous works. "There was a terrible grace in the move of the waves, as they came in silence."<sup>30</sup> The tall wind tower symbolizes "the serenity of nature amid the struggles of the individual."<sup>31</sup> The gentle rhythm of the story, the absence of harsh color contrasts and the limited use of physical imagery all contribute to the pastoral quality of the sea story in contrast to the violent conflicts of The Red Badge of Courage. Unconsciously, the men in the open boat respond to the deadly grace of nature with as much human grace as they can muster. As silently as the waves themselves, the men establish "the subtle brotherhood of man."<sup>32</sup> The correspondent pictures the crew huddled together in the boat as "the babes of the sea."<sup>33</sup> By the time they enter the surf, the men no longer are afraid. They are protected by the bonds of human endurance and brotherhood which they have forged in response to the elements.

This faith produces a miracle of grace in the surf. When the correspondent responds to the captain's call to "come to the boat," he is saved. "A large wave caught him and flung him with ease over the boat and far beyond it. It struck him even then as an event in gymnastics and a true miracle of the sea."<sup>34</sup> Through this miracle, the correspondent at last touches land. At the same moment, the image of the life saver appears, "naked as a tree in winter; but a halo was about his head, and he shone like a saint."<sup>35</sup> This image is a miraculous embodiment of human grace coupled with the utter frailty and barrenness of "a tree naked in winter." A moment later

the men are on the beach surrounded by a wealth of human implements--blankets, clothes and flasks and women with coffee pots--but the warm and generous welcome of the land is belied by the still and dripping shape for whom the land's welcome could only be the "different and sinister quality of the grave."<sup>36</sup> The final image of the white waves "pacing to and fro in the moonlight" instantly recreates the terror experienced by the correspondent in his vigil with the shark. The lesson of which the men will be interpreters is that the shore with all its human warmth is no more than a house of refuge in a terrifying state of nature.

The full force of Crane's nihilism probably was not felt by most of his readers until he applied it directly to the American way of life in the first of his stories about Whilomville society. "The Monster" was completed in September, 1897, but because of its outrageous material remained unpublished for almost a year despite ready acceptance of Crane's other stories during this period. In "The Open Boat," Crane expresses his nihilistic philosophy by stripping the universe down to its bare skeleton, but in "The Monster" he dramatizes the same philosophy more violently by painting the symbol of a faceless black man across a richly detailed portrait of American town life at the turn of the century. Crane's choice of this particular symbol probably was influenced by his admiration for Joseph Conrad's novelette, The Nigger of the Narcissus, which was being serialized in England while Crane was writing "The Monster" there. Like Conrad's tale, Crane's story is far more than a plea for brotherhood between blacks and whites. It is, in fact, a complex treatment of the revolution in science and morals taking place at the end of the century.

The central theme of "The Monster" is the loss of moral innocence in the machine age. As always, Crane announces his purpose obliquely in the opening passage. Dr. Trescott is innocently executing the sweet new blades of grass which make up the smooth face of his lawn when his small son, Jim, playing train and running late, rounds a corner and destroys a flower in the garden. Jim's innocent shame is matched by the perfect certainty of his father's kindly moral judgment that he shouldn't play train anymore that day. Afterwards, Jim retreats to the stable where his pal, Henry Johnson, is washing the family horse and buggy. "In regard to almost everything in life they seemed to have minds almost precisely alike," Crane tells us, and adds, "on all points of conduct as related to the doctor, who was the moon, they were in complete but unexpressed understanding."<sup>37</sup> Both Jim and Henry, then, are children who worship Dr. Trescott as blindly as savages worship the moon. Henry also serves as a priest to this moon god, personally conducting him on splendid pastoral journeys through the countryside. Sometimes, Henry chooses to suffer for Jim's sins. At other times, he preaches the doctor's creed, pointing out all of Jimmie's abominations, but "Jimmie did not discover that this was odious in his comrade."<sup>38</sup> Rather, Jim is visibly moved by the sprinkling water which flies from the wheel revolving on the tree and overcome with reverence when Henry explains "with unction" each detail of the business of the stable.<sup>39</sup> Later, Henry dons his finery for the evening "like a priest arraying himself for some parade of the church."<sup>40</sup>

Outside Dr. Trescott's garden, Whilomville is caught in the grip of modern science and technology. The ever present shimmering

blue of the electric street lamps make their first appearance in the evening when Henry Johnson dons the garb of a civilized gentleman and goes to pay a call on his girl friend. As he journeys downtown on the main street, the crowd waiting for the evening mail is bathed in the orange glare of the shop windows. The electric streetcars pass by, "the motor singing like a cageful of grasshoppers, and its gong clanging forth great warnings." Social gradations have been lost in the mobs of young men gathered at the street corner, and when Henry Johnson passes by, a member of one of the profane groups "telegraphed news" of his extraordinary arrival.<sup>41</sup> Later, "the great hoarse roar of a factory whistle," which announces the fire, explodes the crowd of indolent and cynical young men "like a snowball disrupted by dynamite" and sends the black crowd of humanity "pouring after the machine" with which they intend to fight the blaze.<sup>42</sup>

Crane links the human instincts of greed and pride to the rigidly ordered numerical systems which govern society. The outbreak of the fire is signaled by the factory whistle which blows twice to indicate its location in the second district of the town. The men and boys militantly rally behind the different numbered fire companies which compete in fighting the blaze. "They were divided into parties over the worth of different companies, and supported their creeds with no small violence."<sup>43</sup> The regular peal of the church bells accompanies them into battle. The pride in numbers applies to commercial as well as military exploits. Alek Williams' fear of the monster is overcome by a raise in his weekly room and board from \$5 to \$6. Later, it is John Twelve, the grocer who is worth \$400,000, who leads the delegation

which urges Dr. Trescott to send the monster away. The final image of the 15 empty tea cups on Mrs. Trescott's table sums up the emptiness of a society which lives by numbers.

Crane employs the relativity of time and space as an increasingly sophisticated literary technique in "The Monster." The story proceeds sequentially in both time and space from Jim's accident in the garden through Henry's first visit to Bella Farragut's, although the point of view briefly changes to the townspeople's when Henry passes the barber shop. Crane then returns without any of his principal characters to a second description of the townspeople at the band concert in order to describe their militant reaction to the fire alarm. The rush of humanity to the fire is climaxed by the mother's judgment to her son that it may be too late to go to the fire. "It's half past nine now," she says repeatedly.<sup>44</sup> At this point, the story moves backward in time to describe the outbreak of the fire unwitnessed by any human observer. By this means, Crane suggests that its cause is rooted in the past and in forces beyond human control. Henry's rescue attempt takes place in a timeless, still moment within the dark house. At the moment he is disfigured in the laboratory, the flow of time and humanity begins again outside the house with the phrase, "Suddenly all roads led to Dr. Trescott's."<sup>45</sup> The story moves back in time again briefly to underscore the irony of Dr. Trescott's last tranquil moments of scientific pride before he hears the fire siren, then leaps forward an indefinite period to render Judge Hagenthorpe's judgment of his actions. The remainder of the tale features a series of vignettes chronicling the sudden appearance of the monster at different

locations in the town. Together, they create the impression of a pervasive force moving beyond the limits of time and space within the imagination of the townspeople. The disjunctive organization of "The Monster," unified around the fire rather than in the normal sequence of time and space, is strikingly like that of William Faulkner's Light in August, written more than three decades later. Like Faulkner, Crane employs the technique here to show the effects of group consciousness and to bring out the historical metaphor of the work.

The fire at Dr. Trescott's house first is portrayed as a radical revolution against sacred American principles. The traditional Queen Anne shape of the home has faded against the black evening sky when the first wisp of smoke comes out of a window and drifts quietly into the branches of a cherry tree. Soon its companions are pouring into the fruit-laden branches. "It was no more to be noted than if a troop of dim and silent gray monkeys had been climbing a grapevine into the clouds." Within the still quiet house, the fire imps are imagined to be "calling and calling, clan joining clan, gathering to the colors." Suddenly, the window brightens as if stained with blood and a moment later, the red window tinkles and crashes to the ground. "This outbreak had been well planned, as if by professional revolutionists." In the hall a lick of flame cuts the cord that supports the "Signing of the Declaration" and it falls to the floor "with the sound of a bomb."<sup>46</sup> The news of the fire is telegraphed by the fire box and the subsequent fire bell in the night calls the crowd into action, interrupting the leader of the band who was about to order the "first triumphant clang of a military march." But the man who



already has responded with "fabulous speed" to the call of the colors is the man in the lavender trousers with the crumpled straw hat in his hands, a mocking black image of the patriotic white American culture.<sup>47</sup>

The true cause of this revolution soon is revealed as the demonic power of modern science. Henry attempts to find his way through the smoky upper hallways of the house, another version of Crane's epistemological maze, but the walls of these corridors of knowledge threaten to burst into flames under his hands. He finds Jim in a smokeless room, only faintly illuminated by a beautiful rosy light. In this sanctuary of innocence, the boy sits on his bed "his lips apart, his eyes wide, while upon the little white robed figure played caressingly the light from the fire."<sup>48</sup> Henry has given up hope and is prepared to submit to the fire with slave-like submission when he suddenly remembers a little private staircase leading to the laboratory which the doctor has fitted up to perform "experiments which came in the way of his study and interest."<sup>49</sup> As his knowledge of the laboratory returns, Henry's confusion and apathy are replaced by growing certainty and fear. Odors of envy, hatred and malice assail Henry as he approaches the laboratory, and as he enters the burning chemicals appear as a garden of burning flowers. "Flames of violet, crimson, green, blue, orange and purple were blooming everywhere." One blaze is precisely the hue of a delicate coral. Another mass "lay merely in phosphorescent inaction." An orange colored flame leaps like a panther at his lavender trousers, and a sapphire shaped fairy lady, swifter than eagles, catches him with her talons and drives him to the

floor. Suddenly, a glass breaks and a "ruby-red, snake-like thing poured its thick length out upon the top of the old desk . . . and flowed directly down into Johnson's upturned face."<sup>50</sup> No more perfect synthesis of the terrors of Darwinian naturalism and experimental science can be found anywhere in American literature.

After the fire, Dr. Trescott and Judge Hagenthorpe meet like two gods to discuss who is responsible for this horrible mutation and what should be done. The old judge with the cane argues that according to the laws of nature the creature should be dead and charges that the doctor's "questionable charity" will be responsible for creating a monster. "He will be your creation, you understand. He is purely your creation. Nature has very evidently given him up. He is dead." To this, the doctor replies in sudden fury, "He will be what you like, Judge," and the judge acknowledges his role as the eyes of society by saying, "Trescott, Trescott! Don't I know."<sup>51</sup> The debate between the doctor's old fashioned morality and the judge's advocacy of the "survival of the fittest" creed ends in mutual confusion, but Crane already has indicted the judge's materialistic viewpoint by noting at the outset of the scene that "the judge had successfully dissembled for more than a quarter of a century, only risking the truth at the times when his cane was lost."<sup>52</sup> This god-like debate later is carried on at the human level in the barber shop. The practical minded engineer says that the doctor should have let the creature die, but the barber, who like the doctor shaves the smooth face of Whilomville society, calls the engineer a "flint-hearted fish." The engineer charges the barber with hypocrisy. "You're kicking because if losing faces became

popular, you'd have to go out of business," to which the barber ironically replies, "I don't think it will become so popular."<sup>53</sup>

The chemicals which destroy Henry Johnson's human identity strip away the human mask of Whilomville society, and the burning eye which remains reflects the Darwinian heritage which its black and white communities share in common. The patrons of Reifsnyder's barber shop first question Henry's identity as they look out from the "yellow glamor" of the shop through a window made watery in appearance by the shimmering glare of the electric street lamps. The author notes that "the people without resembled the inhabitants of a great aquarium that here had a square pane in it. Presently, into this frame swam the graceful form of Henry Johnson."<sup>54</sup> Reifsnyder says that the sartorially perfect black man could not be Henry Johnson, but the customer in the first chair convinces the barber by telling him that he gave Henry the lavender trousers he now is wearing. A moment later, as Henry approaches Bella Farragut's house, this young lady "dashed around the corner of the house, galloping like a horse,"<sup>55</sup> and Henry and the Farragut family, ignoring their humble surroundings, "bowed and smiled and ignored and imitated until a late hour, and if they had been the occupants of the most gorgeous salon in the world they could not have been more like three monkeys." While they ape white society, Henry's face "showed like a reflector as he bowed and bowed."<sup>56</sup>

After the fire, the newspaper officially announces the death of Henry Johnson, but the town boys who temporarily link his name with sainthood ominously chant, "Nigger, nigger never die, black face and shiny eye."<sup>57</sup> Henry himself indicates the animal nature which

has survived the destruction of his human identity when he babbles, "Alek Williams don' know a hoss! 'Deed he don't. He don' know a hoss from a pig."<sup>58</sup> Later, when the monster is on his gentle rampage, the white boys goaded by the girls at the children's tea party pile out of the house in a manner similar to Alek Williams' four dogs. Bella Farragut is reduced to a blubbering and crawling beast by the renewed attentions of her suitor, and the enormous respectability of her mother is encouraged to scale a high fence. Alek's own fear of the monster and concern for his family are overcome by commercial greed, but Dr. Trescott's failure to heed the warning of John Twelve, the grocer, later places Mrs. Trescott in precisely the same social position as Mrs. Williams. By stripping away the human appearance of Henry Johnson, Crane not only makes the inhabitants of Whilomville behave like the animals they are, but, even more monstrosly, he shows that Darwinian naturalism makes the black and white communities mirror images of one another. No wonder the friendly police chief finally suggests on behalf of society that Dr. Trescott cover his creation with a veil.

Dr. Trescott turns away from his orderly world when he takes responsibility for the monster and plunges into a world of moral chaos. Determined to care for his son's benefactor in spite of the judge's warning, the doctor wraps the creature in an old fashioned ulster and departs for Alek Williams' house. Along the way, the monster seems to have lost all sense of time and babbles, "These buggy wheels sure don' look like I wash them yesterday, Docteh." As the horse and buggy approaches Alek's house, the buggy wheels which revolved so smoothly

during the religious rites conducted by Henry in the doctor's stable begin to bump often on out-cropping boulders. When they arrive at the house, the doctor is confronted by "a dark sea of grass" in contrast to the smooth lawn of his own yard. A man appears "on a beach of yellow light" shining from a window of the house and "plunges into the surf" when the doctor says, "Come down here and show me where to drive." Alek grabs the horse and asks prophetically, "Will she stand, Docteh?" and the doctor replies optimistically, "She'll stand all right."<sup>59</sup> But when the hostler escapes, Alek gallops across the field toward town calling wildly for Dr. Trescott, whom the author imagines to be "poised in the contemplative sky over the running Negro."<sup>60</sup> Dr. Trescott's well intentioned effort to do the right thing is reminiscent of the god who looks the other way to correct a wrong and lets the ship of the world "slip rudderless down the ways."

The overthrow of Dr. Trescott's world of moral certainty is paralleled by his son's loss of innocence. Throughout the story, the children of Whilomville are active exponents of the pride and hypocrisy of their elders in contrast to Jim's gentle innocence in his father's garden. But when the doctor is forced to care for the monster in his own house, Jim "seemed to reap all the joys of the owner and exhibitor of one of the world's marvels."<sup>61</sup> He accepts the dares of his baby class companions and leads the way in teasing the now veiled monster sitting peacefully in front of the stable. Dr. Trescott discovers the enormity of his loss when he realizes that Jim is responding to a dare. Crane leaves the doctor's attempted explanation to the boy hanging in mid-air in mute recognition of the futility of rationalizing natural instincts.

In "The Monster," Crane succeeds better in posing the problem of moral chaos in the modern world than he does in describing its effects. The opening chapters through Johnson's defacement in the laboratory are subtle and compelling. As other critics have noted, the account of the monster's terrorizing the community is by comparison bland and fragmented. The comic irony with which Crane treats the encounters between the monster and the townspeople is out of place after the terrifying mutilation scene. His attempts to personify the blind "pig-like" force of public opinion in the lengthy description of Martha Goodwin is a wonderful character sketch which has no inherent relationship to the other action of the story. It is merely a philosophical summing up, a sin of which Crane often is guilty. In his last two great western stories, Crane masters comic irony and finally achieves the synthesis between the forces of nature and human nature which has been the goal of his art throughout his career.

Crane employs the relativity of time and space and matter and motion more distinctly to set forth a historical theme in "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky." The town of Yellow Sky lies at the apex of the angle formed by the Rio Grand River and the railroad track which transports all of the appurtenances of civilization from the east.<sup>62</sup> As the story opens, the town marshal and his bride are engaged in a race against time with Scratchy Wilson, the "last of the old gang that used to hang out along the river."<sup>63</sup> For the first time, Crane employs the technique of a divided story line, first introducing the already married couple, then going back 21 minutes in time to Scratchy Wilson's anticipated attack at the saloon. The irony, of course, is

that the marshal already has arrived in Yellow Sky with his new bride before Scratchy begins his last shooting spree. Scratchy's dream is foredoomed.

Rather than simply describing the advance of eastern civilization to the west, Crane pictures the overwhelming attraction of this civilization as a great vacuum cleaner sucking up the last vestiges of primitivism in the west. In the opening passage of the story, "The great Pullman was whirling onward with such dignity of motion that a glance from the window seemed to prove that the plains of Texas were pouring eastward. Vast flats of green grass, dull-hued spaces of mesquite and cactus, little groups of frame houses, woods of light and tender trees, all were sweeping into the east, sweeping over the horizon, a precipice."<sup>64</sup> And when we arrive in Yellow Sky, it is apparent that it already has been firmly civilized with its artificial grass plots and the bar securely armored against Scratchy's attacks.

The delicacy which Crane began to develop in "The Open Boat" emerges as the marvelously comic treatment of humanity in "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky." Jack Potter is a natural man encased in the vestments of civilization. "From time to time he looked down respectfully at his attire, like a man waiting in a barber's shop."<sup>65</sup> His unpretty wife from the "east" (San Antonio) continually twists her head to regard her puff sleeves, very stiff, straight and high. Both are the embarrassed but happy victims of civilized customs and frills. Their flight from civilization ironically places them on a collision course with Scratchy Wilson. Scratchy is inhuman, a ghost, a myth, a figment of his own and other imaginations, but Crane treats him with





love. All that remains of the wild west in this story is that part of Scratchy's mind which surfaces from his memories of the "old gang from the river" during his bi-monthly drunken sprees. Scratchy is dressed in a maroon shirt made by some New York East Side garment maker and he wears boots with red tops and gilded imprints "of the kind beloved in winter by little sledding boys on the hillsides of New England."<sup>66</sup> Yet, Crane considers Scratchy's childlike dream of epic importance. Scratchy stalks the silent streets of Yellow Sky enraged and befuddled that there is no offer to fight. All of the doors of civilization are shut against him, and his ferocious challenges ring against the walls of silence. "It was as if the surrounding stillness formed the arch of a tomb over him."<sup>67</sup> At the end of the story, the simple child of the earlier plains picks up his starboard revolver and goes away, his feet making "funnel shaped tracks in the heavy sand." The final image of Scratchy's comic sorrow reveals his true identity as a mere ghost of the old west.<sup>68</sup>

The western myth comically embodied in Scratchy Wilson becomes an object of terror in the mind of the Swede in "The Blue Hotel." The shaky, quick-eyed Swede who arrives with other guests at the garish hotel on the Nebraskas plains soon reveals that he is terrified by his new companions. The hotel keeper tries to convince him of the advanced civilization of Fort Romper first by announcing the forthcoming plan for "illictric [sic] streetcars," then by showing the eminent respectability of his own family and finally by plying him with drink. Meanwhile, the silent Easterner whose background is similar to that of the Swede correctly interprets Swede's fears to Johnnie and the cowboy:

"It seems to me this man has been reading dime-novels, and he thinks he's right in the middle of it--the shootin' and stabbin' and all."<sup>69</sup> Unfortunately, the quiet man doesn't look like an Easterner and doesn't announce it so the Swede takes him for one of the desperadoes. In "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," tragedy is averted by Wilson's sudden acknowledgement of the passing myth of the old west. In "The Blue Hotel," the failure to acknowledge the same myth in the mind of the Swede leads to sudden tragedy as Crane returns to the nihilism of all his major works.

Once again in "The Blue Hotel," Crane immortalizes the power of commercialism. Scully, the hotel keeper, has chosen the strategic location and garish display of his business in order to command humanity to his presence. On the day the story begins, he performs the marvel of catching the three men whose coming together results indirectly in the Swede's death. At first, Scully appears as a greedy Santa Claus whose boisterous hospitality is merely a tool of his trade. But the room to which Scully leads his guests "seemed to be merely a proper temple for an enormous stove, which, in the centre, was humming with a God-like violence."<sup>70</sup> Scully then anoints the cowboy and the Easterner with the coldest water in the world. They "burnished themselves fiery red with this water, until it seemed to be some kind of metal polish."<sup>71</sup> When the Swede attempts to leave the hotel, Scully follows him upstairs carrying a small yellow lamp and momentarily appears as the "infinitely sallow man" of "The Ghouls' accountant." "The yellow effulgence, streaming upward, colored only his prominent features, and left his eyes, for instance, in a mysterious shadow. He

resembled a murderer."<sup>72</sup> Scully first appeals to the Swede's reason, then demonstrates his own impeccable respectability and, finally, unrolls a yellow-brown bottle of whisky from the ominous coat which he has taken from beneath the bed. The Swede hysterically puts the rim of the bottle to his mouth and drinks. Scully later breaks into a strange language of tongues in justifying his act to his son. "I keep a hotel. . . . A guest under my roof has sacred privileges. . . . Not one word shall he hear that would prejudice him in favor of going away."<sup>73</sup> Scully, then, is the high priest of his commercial temple who prepares his guest for sacrifice as Crane renews his attack on the deadly interwoven hypocrisy of business and religion.

To the greed and hypocrisy which govern society, Crane adds the deadly sin of individual pride as the catalyst to the tragedy. The cowboy is a "board whacker" who "took tricks with a glowing air of prowess and pride that sent thrills of indignation into the hearts of his opponents."<sup>74</sup> Stimulated by the intense contest, Johnnie takes the lead in baiting the miserable Swede, refusing to understand his fears despite the Easterner's explanation and setting his own pugnaciousness against his father's interest in keeping his guest. After taking courage from Scully's bottle, the Swede dominates the feast. He adopts the cowboy's practice of board whacking and in a drunken rage accuses Johnnie of cheating. Scully's greed finally gives way to his more ancient Celtic lust for battle, and he ordains that the Swede and Johnnie should fight. The hulking Swede eventually overpowers the youth and leaves the hotel without paying, exclaiming to the proprietor, "I guess if it was anyway at all, you'd owe me

something."<sup>75</sup> When he reaches the saloon, he demands that the customers there drink with him, saying, "By gawd, I've whipped a man tonight and I want to celebrate."<sup>76</sup> Their indifference to his triumph drives him to frenzy and he lays hands on his second small opponent of the evening with different results.

Human instincts are the determining forces in "The Blue Hotel," but pure chance works within the limits of these forces to determine individual fates. Fear, greed and pride replace the winds and tides of "The Open Boat" in determining the course of action. The Swede's preconceived fear of the old west sets the plot in motion. Scully's benevolent avarice holds the Swede in the grip of his fate, and the vicious pride of the board-whacking cowboy which infects them all and causes Johnnie to pointlessly cheat in a friendly game of cards causes the battle which sends Swede tacking across the face of the storm to meet his fate. Each of the characters is compelled to act in accordance with his nature. Yet, Crane takes pains to show that the Swede's fate is finally determined by blind chance working within the limits of blind will. Chance, of course, brings the three strangers together and confines them within the tiny space of the blue hotel. The game of chance which the Swede joins after learning it "wore many names" is a favorite Crane image for the game of life dating back to the "ghostly hand of cards" played in "Four Men in a Cave." The intensity of the game in the blue hotel stimulates the Swede's growing fears until he suddenly exclaims, "I suppose there have been a good many men killed in this room,"<sup>77</sup> and sets in motion the chain of events which eventually drives him to the saloon in town. There, chance

takes over again. He encounters the four townspeople playing cards and in his drunken triumph, "he stalked over to the table and by chance laid his hand upon the shoulder of the square gambler."<sup>78</sup> This chance meeting determines both the Swede's fate and that of the gambler himself.

The universe of "The Blue Hotel" is as starkly barren and relativistic as that of "The Open Boat." In the western story, the three human passengers emerge from the railroad line to confront a single fixed point on the snowy plain, the gaudily painted blue hotel. The plot action takes place entirely within this fixed point, principally around a minute four-sided card table, until the moment when Johnnie and the Swede emerge from their shelter to do battle in the storm. Clouds of snowflakes swept up from the ground by the frantic winds are "streaming southward with the speed of bullets" into the black abyss.<sup>79</sup> The snow covered land was "blue with the sheen of an unearthly satin, and the only other light in the universe is one jewel-like light which shone from the black shadow of the incredibly distant railway station."<sup>80</sup> The fight takes place in a tiny V-shaped patch of snow encrusted grass on the lee side of the hotel which shelters them from the universal snowdrifts piled on its windward side. To the observers, the encounter in the darkness was "such a perplexing motion of flying arms that it presented no more detail than would a swiftly revolving wheel. Occasionally, a face, as if illumined by a flash of light, would shine out, ghastly and marked with pink spots."<sup>81</sup> After his victory, the Swede leaves the hotel and "tacks across the face of the storm" towards the indomitable red

light of the saloon." In the best thematic statement of his career, Crane notes that the Swede "might have been in a deserted village" and describes the universe as a "whirling, fire-smote, ice-locked, disease-stricken, space-lost globe."<sup>82</sup>

The blizzard which swirls around the blue hotel is a psychic storm. The hotel itself is a symbol of the idea in the Swede's mind. In the opening passage of the story, the pale blue color of the hotel is compared with that on the legs of a kind of heron which fixes the bird's position against any background. From the moment the action begins with Scully's imprisonment of the three guests, the reader gradually becomes aware that the Swede is the silent observer of all that takes place. He furtively makes estimates of each man in the room. At the dinner table, he first remarks that the western communities can be very dangerous and, like the heron, "straightened his legs out under the table, tilted his head, and laughed again, loudly."<sup>83</sup> When the blizzard begins in Chapter 2, "two little windows presented views of a turmoiling sea of snow,"<sup>84</sup> and the Swede, standing near the window, shows signs of an inexplicable excitement. Later, as his fears climb toward hysteria, he backs into a corner of the room. "In his eyes was the dying swan look. Through the windows could be seen the snow turning blue in the shadow of the dusk." The wind tears at the house and "some loose thing beat regularly against the clapboards like a spirit tapping."<sup>85</sup> At this moment, a door opens and Scully enters to take the Swede on the fatal trip upstairs. To the Swede, the windows of the hotel are the windows of his mind. and the storm which swirls around the hotel is the madness which swirls around the

fixed idea in his mind. Soon, he is screaming and howling like the blue hotel itself.

The Swede in the growing madness of his fear instinctively perceives the true madness of the universe and foretells his own fate. In the beginning, he announces prophetically, "Yes, I'm crazy, but I know one thing, . . . I won't get out of here alive."<sup>86</sup> A moment later he announces his intention to leave the hotel in a manner which corrects his earlier prediction. "Yes, of course, I am crazy," he says again, "but I know one thing, I will go away. I will leave this house."<sup>87</sup> The traveled Easterner perceives the Swede's fear, "he thinks he's right in the middle of hell."<sup>88</sup> Ironically, the Swede's fixed idea about the western myth enables him to reach a correct judgment about the universe itself. When the Swede is about to drink from Scully's bottle, he sees into the future and casts "a look of horror upon Scully." "Drink," the old man commands affectionately, and "The Swede laughed wildly. He grabbed the bottle, put it to his mouth, and as his lips curled absurdly around the opening and his throat worked, he kept his glance burning with hatred upon the old man's face."<sup>89</sup> The Swede's fear not only enables him to perceive the future, but actually helps cause it to happen.

A madman can be the epic hero of a mad universe. In the beginning, the Swede appears as a pathetic greenhorn tormented by the western myths of dime novels. Throughout the story he gains stature in spite of the human flaw of pride which leads to his death. After accepting his fate at the hands of the high priest Scully, the Swede reappears downstairs and dominates the bacchanal feast which follows.

"He seemed to have grown suddenly taller. He gazed, brutally disdainful, at every face."<sup>90</sup> This time he himself insists on playing the game of life and adopts the cowboy's practice of board whacking. In utter moral outrage, he utters the fatal words, "You are cheating," and gazing with the hot, steely eyes of a warrior, he vows to fight, "to show you what kind of man I am."<sup>91</sup> In the midst of the elements preparing to fight, the Swede is portrayed as "pale, motionless, terrible" and Johnnie as "brutish, yet heroic."<sup>92</sup> When Johnnie has fallen, the Easterner sees the Swede leaning against a "wind-waved tree," his savage and flame-lit eyes roaming from man to man. "There was a splendor of isolation in his situation at this time which the Easterner felt once when, lifting his eyes from the man on the ground, he beheld that mysterious lonely figure waiting."<sup>93</sup> When the Swede leaves the hotel and enters the storm again, "his face, fresh from the pounding of Johnnie's fists, felt more pleasure than pain from the wind and the driving snow," and when he reaches the saloon, he tells the bartender, "This isn't too bad weather. It's good enough for me." The Swede in his growing madness has acclimated himself to the madness of the universe. Consciously, he remains a fearful and ignorant man, disgustingly transformed into a blustering bully by his chance success in battle, but unconsciously he achieves the triumph which all literary heroes seek in behalf of their readers: knowledge and kinship with the true nature of the universe. Without such success, the Swede could not serve as the hero of Crane's greatest tragedy.

The occupants of the blue hotel and the saloon betray the Swede's humanity by refusing to acknowledge his terrified state of



mind. Both Johnnie and the cowboy profess utter bewilderment when the Swede first expresses his fear. He then appeals to the silent Easterner whose unacknowledged background enables him to understand the Swede's viewpoint, but the little man after "prolonged and cautious reflection" replies impassively, "I don't understand you."<sup>94</sup> Later, Scully, who sympathizes with his hysterical guest for reasons of his own, addresses the Easterner for the first time by name, "Mr. Blanc, what has these boys been doin'?", and the man with the ominous title reflects again. "I didn't see anything wrong at all," he said at last slowly.<sup>95</sup> While the Swede is upstairs with the hotel keeper, Johnnie and the cowboy argue over the Swede's identity and the cowboy decides that he's some kind of Dutchman. The Easterner then correctly interprets the Swede's fear of the western myth. Scully confirms this view and the cowboy acknowledges that the Easterner was right, but is angered by the drunken bravado with which the Swede now has covered his fear. When the Swede charges Johnnie with cheating, the Easterner vainly tries to prevent the fight without taking sides. The Easterner assumes the role of observer during the battle. "This confused mingling was eternal to his sense, which was concentrated in a longing for the end, the priceless end."<sup>96</sup> When the Swede staggers into the saloon, the bartender and the four men playing cards shield their curiosity at the appearance of the stranger, and when they learn of his victory over their fellow townsman, "they encased themselves in reserve."<sup>97</sup> Enraged by their indifference to his glory, the Swede by chance lays his hand on the shoulder of the square gambler and wrathfully demands that he drink with him, and the gambler replies in behalf of humanity, "My friend, I don't know you."<sup>98</sup>

The forces of human nature and universal chance which together determine the Swede's fate are superbly synthesized in the character of his assassin, the square gambler. The gambler is in appearance indistinguishable from the respectable business and professional men of the town who admire his skill in preying on reckless and senile farmers. His family life is impeccable. Unlike Scully, he is quiet and deferential in pursuing his trade. Unlike Johnnie, who cheats pointlessly at cards, the gambler is square, a man who plays by the rules of life in earning his way. Unlike the Swede, he is fearless. The fundamental thing to remember about the square gambler, Crane takes pains to point out, is that "in all matters that occur eternally and commonly between man and man, this thieving card player was so generous, so just, so moral, that, in a contest, he would have put to flight the consciences of nine-tenths of the citizens of Romper."<sup>99</sup> The Swede, who has survived the gross avarice and brutality of the occupants of the blue hotel is felled by his chance meeting with the gambler who represents an infinitely more refined adaptation to human society. When the Swede in his frenzy grabs the gambler by the throat, the gambler's code instantly strips away the veneer of civilization and reveals the deadly forces inherent in human nature. Unlike the interminable fight in the snow, which now seems childish, the Swede's encounter with the gambler is swift and final.

In "The Blue Hotel," Crane weds the psychological and metaphysical themes which have run as separate threads through all his previous work. For the first time, the human instincts of fear, greed and pride are thoroughly interwoven with the forces of blind chance in a perfect

symbolic expression of Darwinian naturalism. The barren, relativistic universe no longer is distinguishable from the tormented world of the hero's own fear-stricken mind. His madness is synonymous with universal madness. Human indifference and universal indifference, two perennial and distinct targets in Crane's works are, as directed toward the Swede, one and the same phenomenon in "The Blue Hotel." The Swede's rage within the raging storm explains that the conceit of man is the very engine of life, and the gambler's swift action pierces this "citadel of virtue, wisdom and power . . . as easily as if it had been a melon."<sup>100</sup> The cash register which shows the amount of the Swede's purchase in life before his lifeless eyes brilliantly dramatizes that the power of commercialism is an outgrowth of nature itself and that all human beliefs and institutions are inevitably destroyed as part of the negative entropy of nature itself. That the square gambler is a victim of his own act of assassination is the final irony of the uncaring malice of a universe which knows no heroes and no villains.

## CONCLUSION

Certain themes, images and literary techniques form a consistent pattern in Crane's work. From the beginning he was bent on discovering the forces which govern society and determine individual fate. Human fear, greed and pride are motivating forces in nearly all his stories, and religion, commercialism and motherhood are constantly indicted as the interwoven hypocrisies formed by these human instincts. With the exception of Maggie, Crane's heroes perpetually are engaged in a search for knowledge of themselves and the universe. They usually pass through little holes or passageways into small enclosed spaces which provide a thin shelter from the elements. Time after time they undergo physical experiences or suffer little wounds prior to moments of revelation. Throughout his works, Crane employs a generally consistent color scheme in which colors represent various psychological values and colorless shades symbolize the universal void. He repeatedly uses horizons of different dimensions as symbols of limited human perspective and the blind rush of crowds down streets and roads to dramatize human ignorance. Both vast barren places and intimate hollow spaces become images of the empty universe. Most of Crane's stories begin with a metaphorical description of a physical scene followed by a dialogue which introduces the principal characters and the nature of their inquiry. The plots proceed in a series of episodes featuring both ironic contrasts in human emotions and ironic parallels in behavior of dissimilar characters

or groups. All of Crane's work is clearly identified by the wonderful imagery which was his natural gift and the irony which was both a talent and a curse.

The evolution of Crane's thought and art is even more remarkable than its continuity. His initial attack against society quickly gives way to a psychological study of human nature and later to a metaphysical quest about the nature of the universe. His creed of realism soon is transformed by his own natural talents into a brilliant impressionism. His preconceived determinism in Maggie is replaced by a growing preoccupation with the role of pure chance. Within the pages of The Red Badge of Courage Henry Fleming first is the victim and later the champion of materialism as the author appears to move in the course of the novel from a naturalistic to a nihilistic philosophy. At the end, Crane ridicules his hero's new found materialistic creed and portrays the universe as "a charnel place." He explicitly confirms his nihilism and continues his attack on materialism in The Black Riders and other poems. In his sea story, Crane takes full command of his artistic gifts and at the same moment dramatizes his own perception of the fundamental intellectual revolution of his time. He constructs a relativistic universe in constant flux, welds together the forces of determinism and pure chance and crosses over the ancient boundary between mind and matter. His perception of the psychological subjectivity of space and time leads to bold experiments in the structure of his later short stories. Both "The Monster" and "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" move backward in time to underscore their historical themes and both make abrupt transitions in space to

dramatize underlying relationships among different characters and groups.

Crane introduces many of the themes and techniques which dominate American literature after World War I. His imaginative recapitulation of the young Civil War recruit's fear and pride in battle is a harsh indictment of the psychological causes of war and an early experiment in the stream of consciousness technique. The physical imagery which Crane employs as a touchstone of reality in a world of illusion becomes an integral part of Hemingway's craft more than two decades later. In the story of the faceless black man who has lost all human identity, Crane seems to reach forward in time to trace modern anxiety back to its roots in the overthrow of natural design in the Darwinian revolution. The flow of the west back into the east in "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" is hauntingly like the east-west theme summed up in the famous final line of The Great Gatsby: "So we beat on, boats against the current, borne back ceaselessly into the past." Both the fire which mutilates Henry Johnson and Scratchy Wilson's futile race against time introduce the idea that the present already is in the past, a dominant theme in Faulkner's fiction. The Swede's unconscious omniscience in contrast with his overt fear and arrogance is a pre-Freudian exploration of subconscious motivation. The grace and endurance with which the men in the open boat respond to the overwhelming universe is an early formulation of Hemingway's code of conduct in a nihilistic universe.

The question remains: Why was Crane so like the writers of the 1920s and so unlike his own contemporaries? The answer lies in

part in his response to two great questions raised by the Darwinian revolution. First, how could human reason have evolved from animal instincts? Crane like other naturalistic writers answered this negatively by showing in his fiction that man ultimately was governed by animal instincts rather than reason. The second question was how could man hope to obtain knowledge in a universe governed by chance rather than laws. This was the question which led a few scientists and philosophers to demand an end to all absolute concepts, to challenge Kantian space and time and to propose a new theory of knowledge in which truth at best was only a probability and at least an article of faith. Crane joined the revolution long before any other major writer of his day. He too was intrigued by the role of pure chance in the universe. Very early he broke with the mechanistic determinism advocated by most serious thinkers and artists of his time. As early as 1879, the psychological studies of William James led him to conclude that space is nothing more than a "special form of sensibility" and by 1886 he was asserting that "Date in time corresponds to position in space." During the same period, experiments in color and sound led the German philosopher-scientist Ernst Mach to conclude that no precise boundary line can be found between physical phenomena and the sensations which they produce in an observer. Mach arrived at the same conclusion as a physicist as James had as a psychologist: that the distinction between the external and internal worlds is an illusion based on outmoded concepts. For example, if a pencil is placed in water it appears crooked to an observer. It is, according to Mach, really impossible to say that the pencil is straight or crooked. We can only

say that it is straight in air and crooked in water. Similarly, it is impossible to define absolute motion because all motion is relative to some other body also in motion. Probably without ever hearing of Mach, Crane captured the same kind of thought in the world of flux which surrounds the open boat. His surrealistic imagery which unites the natural world with the state of mind of his characters is the dramatic counterpart of Mach's straight and crooked pencil. By 1890, James was asserting, "My thesis is that if we start with the supposition that there is only one primal stuff or material in the world, a stuff of which everything is composed, and if we call that stuff 'pure experience,' then knowing can easily be explained." The artistic synthesis of psychological and natural forces toward which Crane was groping a few years later culminates in the "pure experiences" of the correspondent in the mad surf of "The Open Boat" and the Swede in the psychic snowstorm of "The Blue Hotel." This doesn't mean necessarily that Crane knew of James's work, nor is it likely that he understood the logical problems posed by the Darwinian hypothesis of chance variations. But he sensed the problem and participated in the second wave of the Darwinian revolution just as surely as did the few thinkers who laid the groundwork for the age of relativity a few years later. Crane's revolt against determinism at a time when other writers were just beginning to embrace this philosophy testifies to the far reach of his imagination. He paid a heavy price for his precociousness. His acceptance of the first tenet of naturalism that man is governed by blind instinct and his rejection of the rigid system of natural laws which supposedly governed these instincts led him inevitably to



a disbelief in all knowledge. Together with his perception of the materialism and hypocrisy of his own age, this intellectual conflict drove him to the bitter nihilism which haunted the final years of his life. The best of Crane's work is not only great art, but also brilliantly conceived intellectual history rendered by a man instinctively sensitive to the fundamental revolution in thought of his time.

Crane's movement from naturalism to nihilism foretells the rebirth of the human spirit in American literature. The literary naturalism which flourished immediately after his death sought to reduce man's desires and actions to blind animal instincts governed by mechanistic natural laws. The strength of naturalism was a new form of truth. Its weakness was the paradox of borrowing a scientific theory to prove that man ultimately did not reason at all. Crane accepted the first tenet of naturalism that man was motivated by animal instincts, but the attention he paid to the role of pure chance led him ultimately to reject the concept of rigid mechanistic laws. In place of the iron laws of the universe, he came to believe in a universe without laws at all. Out of this bitter disbelief, Crane forged the subtle brotherhood of the men in the open boat, the rich loving portraits of the gentle monster and the comic cowboy and the unconscious heroism of the tragic Swede. The best known writers of the 1920s followed him in this direction. Fitzgerald, Hemingway and Faulkner all acknowledged mankind's entrapment in the materialistic world, but each of them through his own art found a means of affirming the human spirit. Fitzgerald portrayed Gatsby's world as "material without being real," and celebrated his dream of beauty even while guaranteeing its doom.

Hemingway offers man no hope in a meaningless universe, but, like Crane, he writes about the fleeting hope of beauty within the human heart and counsels human courage and grace in place of an outworn faith. Faulkner most of all acknowledges man's kinship with the animal kingdom, but he also promises that the human spirit will endure just because it is born of the land and partakes of the same natural virtues which all living creatures possess. Naturalism is a passing phase in the intellectual history of mankind, but nihilism is a recurring state of mind which man arrives at periodically in the course of changing intellectual direction. The temporary disbelief in all laws permits man to resurrect human creativity. This is what was happening in both art and science in the first years of the new century. Crane and his followers in the mainstream of American literature employ their art to renew the human spirit.

## FOOTNOTES

## INTRODUCTION

<sup>1</sup>"The Edge of the Future," McClure's Magazine, II (January, 1894), 202.

<sup>2</sup>Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 48.

<sup>3</sup>". . . [Spencer] nearly killed me," Dreiser said, "took every shred of belief away from me; showed me that I was a chemical atom in a whirl of unknown forces. . . ." W. A. Swanberg, Dreiser (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1965), p. 60. London's autobiographical hero, Martin Eden, says, "I still think that Herbert Spencer is a great and noble man." Jack London, Martin Eden (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1956), p. 362.

<sup>4</sup>North American Review, XC (April, 1860), 506. Herbert W. Schneider identifies Francis Bowen, professor of moral philosophy at Harvard, as the author of this unsigned review.

<sup>5</sup>The specific name of "pure experience" was coined by William James in "A World of Pure Experience," Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods, I (1904), 533-43, 561-70. But the general revolt against dualism was well under way during the 1890s and James himself expressed earlier versions of both his pragmatism and radical empiricism during this decade.

## CHAPTER I:

### A WORLD BOILING WITH CHANGE

<sup>1</sup>The general description of New York City street life in this chapter is drawn primarily from John A. Kouwenhoven, ed., The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1953), and Lloyd Morris, Incredible New York (New York: Random House, Inc., 1951).

<sup>2</sup>See particularly Arena and Forum.

- <sup>3</sup>Morris, Incredible New York, p. 213.
- <sup>4</sup>Kouwenhoven, Portrait of New York, p. 357.
- <sup>5</sup>Solomon Schindler, "The Nationalization of Electricity," Arena, X (June, 1894), 85.
- <sup>6</sup>Kouwenhoven, Portrait of New York, p. 359.
- <sup>7</sup>Schindler, "Electricity," p. 85.
- <sup>8</sup>Robert J. Finley, "Electric Street Lighting in American Cities," Review of Reviews, VII (February, 1893), 68.
- <sup>9</sup>Kouwenhoven, Portrait of New York, p. 375.
- <sup>10</sup>Helmut Gernsheim and Alison Gernsheim, A Concise History of Photography (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965), p. 167.
- <sup>11</sup>F. C. Beach, "Modern Amateur Photography," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXVIII (January, 1889), 288.
- <sup>12</sup>Gernsheim, A Concise History of Photography, p. 168.
- <sup>13</sup>Robert Taft, Photography and the American Scene (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 428. Pulitzer told his editors to discontinue using so many woodcuts when he left for Europe because he felt they lowered the dignity of his newspaper, but when they did the circulation went down immediately, and when they restored the illustrations, it shot up again.
- <sup>14</sup>Kouwenhoven, Portrait of New York, pp. 382-84.
- <sup>15</sup>Beaumont Newhall, ed., The History of Photography (New York: Museum of Modern Art, undated), p. 86. Muybridge, born Edward James Muggeridge in England, began his studies of animal motion in the 1870s using a series of cameras lined up in a row to take pictures of former California Governor Leland Stanford's race horses.
- <sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 85.
- <sup>17</sup>Theodore Child, "Some Modern French Painters," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXX (May, 1890), 832.
- <sup>18</sup>Peter Henry Emerson, Naturalistic Photography (New York: E. & F. Spon, 1890, first published in 1889), p. 6.
- <sup>19</sup>Emerson strongly recommends that photographers study the theories of vision of Helmholtz and Tyndall. The reliance of Monet and Seurat on scientific theories of light is described in Francesco Abbate, ed., Impressionism: Its Forerunners and Influences (London: Octopus Books, 1972), p. 101.

<sup>20</sup>Sometimes the painters sent the photographers outdoors instead. Degas, who disliked outdoor painting, often employed photographs as models which accounts for the "snapshot" quality of some of his paintings. Gernsheim, A Concise History of Photography, p. 167.

<sup>21</sup>Newhall, The History of Photography, p. 8.

<sup>22</sup>Emerson, Naturalistic Photography, p. 97.

<sup>23</sup>The black bordered pamphlet which Emerson issued in January, 1891, explained that "a great painter" had convinced him that "the limitations of photography are so great that, though the results may and sometimes do give a certain aesthetic pleasure, the medium must always rank the lowest of all the arts. . . ." Newhall, The History of Photography, p. 10.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-85.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 91.

<sup>26</sup>Stephen Crane, Stephen Crane: Letters, ed. by Robert W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes (New York: New York University Press, 1960), p. 21.

<sup>27</sup>Sidney Kobre, The Yellow Press and Gilded Age Journalism (Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1964).

<sup>28</sup>For example, the pioneer in this "yellow journalism," Joseph Pulitzer's New York World, increased its circulation from 95,000 in 1884 to 600,000 13 years later only to see its lead cut away by William Randolph Hearst's even more sensational New York Examiner.

<sup>29</sup>In whipping up public interest for the war, Hearst printed highly imaginative atrocity reports and at one point had his reporters rescue a Cuban "heroine" from the hands of the Spanish, but he reserved his most audacious command for the outbreak of the war when he ordered his reporter in London to rent a British steamship and sink it in the straits of Gibraltar to block the Spanish fleet. However, the Spanish fleet sailed before the harassed reporter could complete the negotiations. W. A. Swanberg, Citizen Hearst (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961).

<sup>30</sup>W. J. Stillman, "Journalism and Literature," Atlantic Monthly, LXVIII (November, 1891), pp. 687-95, see p. 694.

<sup>31</sup>I am indebted to Robert W. Stallman's Stephen Crane: A Biography (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1968) for these and most of the other facts about Crane's life, but not, of course, for the interpretation which I am placing on them here with regard to the influence of journalism in his life. Whenever biographical information about Crane is drawn from a source other than Stallman's authoritative work, it will be indicated.

<sup>32</sup>Examples could be multiplied almost indefinitely. His most famous lead, of course, is "None of them knew the color of the sky," from "The Open Boat." The opening passages of The Red Badge of Courage and "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" are equally powerful. Even his minor works, particularly the Sullivan County Sketches, clearly show Crane's conscious effort to suggest the entire significance of his story in a single striking sentence or two at the beginning of the story.

<sup>33</sup>Many reviewers in Crane's own time and some later critics have accused Crane of seeking to create a sensational effect in his first published book of poetry, Black Riders and Other Lines.

<sup>34</sup>An excellent account of Spencer's impact on American intellectual and business thought is given in Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971). See Chapter 2, "The Vogue of Spencer." The dinner at Delmonico's is described on p. 48.

<sup>35</sup>"Wealth," reprinted in Daniel J. Boorstin, ed., An American Primer, Mentor Books (New York: New American Library, 1966), p. 520. Originally printed under the title "The Gospel of Wealth" in England's Pall Mall Gazette in June, 1890, and reprinted as "Wealth" in the North American Review. According to Boorstin the article was widely printed in pamphlet form and made Carnegie more famous than all of his activities as an industrialist.

<sup>36</sup>William Graham Sumner, "Sociology," from Collected Essays in Political and Social Sciences, 1885, reprinted in Perry Miller, ed., American Thought: Civil War to World War I (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 80.

<sup>37</sup>Lester Ward, "Sociocracy," from The Psychic Factors of Civilization (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1893), reprinted in Miller, American Thought, pp. 106-20.

<sup>38</sup>Miller, American Thought, p. xxv.

<sup>39</sup>Edward Bellamy, Looking Backward (New York: Lancer Books, 1968, originally published in 1888).

<sup>40</sup>More than 23,000 strikes and lockouts occurred between 1881 and 1900 according to Irving S. Kull and Nell M. Kull, A Chronological Encyclopedia of American History (New York: Popular Library, 1952), p. 245. The number of workers on strike rose to 600,000 in 1886 and 750,000 in 1894 in the wake of the financial crash the previous year.

<sup>41</sup>Harry Barnard, Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld, Charter Books (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1938).

<sup>42</sup>Boorstin, An American Primer, p. 535.

- <sup>43</sup>Stallman, Stephen Crane: A Biography, p. 55.
- <sup>44</sup>Stephen Crane, "In the Depths of a Coal Mine," McClure's Magazine, August, 1894, reprinted in Stephen Crane, The New York City Sketches of Stephen Crane, ed. by Robert W. Stallman (New York: New York University Press, 1966), pp. 289-97.
- <sup>45</sup>Crane, Letters, p. 133.
- <sup>46</sup>Stephen Crane, "The Men in the Storm," The New York City Sketches, p. 93.
- <sup>47</sup>Inscriptions by Crane on copies of Maggie sent to Hamlin Garland and Dr. Lucius L. Button in March (?), 1893. Crane, Letters, p. 14.
- <sup>48</sup>"The Saloon Curse," editorial note in the Arena, IV (November, 1891), 763.
- <sup>49</sup>Henry A. Hartt, MD, "Another View of the Rum Problem," Arena, I (May, 1890), 742-43.
- <sup>50</sup>"The Saloon Curse," p. 763.
- <sup>51</sup>Howard Crosby, "Government by Rum-Sellers," Forum, IX (May, 1890), 341.
- <sup>52</sup>Henry George, "To Destroy the Rum Power," Arena, I (January, 1890), 196.
- <sup>53</sup>Howard Crosby, "Rum and the Rum Power," Arena, I (March, 1890), 396.
- <sup>54</sup>The Rev. E. E. Bartlett, "A Plea for the Prohibition Party," Arena, VI (October, 1892), 600-01.
- <sup>55</sup>Kull, Encyclopedia, p. 263.
- <sup>56</sup>Anthony Comstock, "Lotteries and Gambling," North American Review, CLIV (January, 1892), 217.
- <sup>57</sup>Rodolfo Lanciani, "Gambling and Cheating in Ancient Rome," North American Review, CLV (July, 1892), 105.
- <sup>58</sup>Charles William Kennedy, "Gambling on Ocean Steamers," North American Review, CL (June, 1890), 782.
- <sup>59</sup>Edgar Fawcett, "A Paradise of Gamblers," Arena, IV (November, 1891), 648-49.
- <sup>60</sup>Editorial note, Arena, IV (November, 1891), 758-59.

<sup>61</sup>Lucinda B. Chandler, "The Woman Movement," Arena, IV (November, 1891), 704.

<sup>62</sup>B. O. Flower, "The Era of Women," Arena, IV (August, 1891), 382.

<sup>63</sup>Goldwin Smith, "Woman's Place in the State," Forum, VIII (January, 1890), 523.

<sup>64</sup>W. S. Lilly, "The Ethics of Marriage," Forum, VIII (January, 1890), 514.

<sup>65</sup>Jhalmar Jhorth Boyesch, "Types of American Women," Forum, VIII (November, 1889), 337 and 345.

<sup>66</sup>B. O. Flower, "Wellsprings and Feeders of Immorality," Arena, XI (December, 1894), 59.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p. 60.

<sup>68</sup>Edgar Fawcett, "The Woes of the New York Working-Girl," Arena, V (December, 1891), 30.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>70</sup>Flower, "Wellsprings," Arena, XI (December, 1894), 56, and (January, 1895), 167-68.

<sup>71</sup>Introductory note by Stallman, Crane, Letters, p. 5.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p. 19.

<sup>73</sup>Edward A. Freeman, "Dangers to the Peace of Europe," Forum, XII (November, 1891), 297.

<sup>74</sup>William R. Thayer, "The Armed Truce of the Powers," Forum, XII (November, 1891), 312.

<sup>75</sup>Camille Pallatan, "French Feeling Towards Germany," Forum, XII (December, 1891), 453.

<sup>76</sup>Joseph Rodes Buchanan, MD, "The Coming Cataclysm of American and Europe," Arena, II (August, 1890), 294.

<sup>77</sup>Charles W. Larned, "Is Our Military Training Adequate?" Forum, XII (February, 1892), 783.

<sup>78</sup>B. O. Flower, "Fostering the Savage in the Young," Arena, X (August, 1894), 422.



<sup>79</sup>Margaret Steward Sibley, "A Fin-De-Siècle Vision," Arena, XI (December, 1894), 98.

<sup>80</sup>"Progress and Pain," Arena, II (July, 1890), 131.

## CHAPTER II:

### WONDERS AND TERRORS OF SCIENCE

<sup>1</sup>John Fiske, "A Century's Progress in Science," Atlantic Monthly, LXXVIII (July, 1896), 14.

<sup>2</sup>Clarence King, "The Education of the Future," Forum, XIII (March, 1892), 24.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas H. Huxley, Science and Culture and Other Essays (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1881), p. 5.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>5</sup>King, "The Education of the Future," p. 30.

<sup>6</sup>George H. Knight, "The Relation of Invention to Conditions of Life," Cosmopolitan, XII (February, 1892), p. 452.

<sup>7</sup>"The Edge of the Future," McClure's Magazine, II (January, 1894), 202.

<sup>8</sup>Knight, "Invention," p. 452.

<sup>9</sup>"The Edge of the Future."

<sup>10</sup>R. H. Thurston, "The Border-land of Science," North American Review, CL (January, 1890), p. 79.

<sup>11</sup>Herman von Helmholtz, Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1873), p. 360.

<sup>12</sup>Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought (Boston: Beacon Press, 1971), p. 36.

<sup>13</sup>Fiske, who called Spencer, "Master," said that "The theory of evolution had already received in Spencer's hands a far more complete and philosophical treatment than ever before, when the theory of natural selection came to supply the one feature which it lacked." "A Century's Progress in Science," p. 21.

<sup>14</sup>King, "The Education of the Future," p. 24.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>16</sup>Morton White, in Social Thought in America (New York: Viking Press, 1949), coined the phrase, "The Revolt Against Formalism," to summarize the intellectual revolution against all forms of abstract knowledge and formal principles which emanated from the Darwinian revolution near the end of the 19th century.

<sup>17</sup>Ludwig Büchner, MD, Force and Matter or Principles of the Natural Order of the Universe with a System of Morality Based Thereon (4th English ed.; London: Asher and Co., 1884), p. 3.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 75.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>20</sup>L. Susan Stebbing, Philosophy and the Physicists (London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1937), p. 144.

<sup>21</sup>Helmholtz, Popular Lectures, p. 385.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 384.

<sup>23</sup>Büchner, Force and Matter, p. 251.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 304.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 270.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 401.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 244.

<sup>28</sup>Sir William Dampier, A History of Science (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), p. 285.

<sup>29</sup>Fiske, "A Century's Progress in Science," p. 17.

<sup>30</sup>Büchner, Force and Matter, p. 131.

<sup>31</sup>Edward S. Holden, "Contributions from the Lick Observatory: A Lunar Landscape," Century, XLII (July, 1891), 439.

<sup>32</sup>Fiske, "A Century's Progress in Science," p. 15.

<sup>33</sup>Rudolph Thiel, And There Was Light: The Discovery of the Universe (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1957), pp. 313-14.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 324.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Loren Eiseley, Darwin's Century, Anchor Books (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961), pp. 333-34.

<sup>37</sup>Fiske, "A Century's Progress in Science," p. 15.

<sup>38</sup>Edward S. Holden, "The Wonderful New Star of 1892," Forum, XVI (October, 1893), 211.

<sup>39</sup>Stephen M. Allen, "A Newly Discovered Law in Physics," Arena, I (April, 1890), 530-31.

<sup>40</sup>North American Review, XC (April, 1860), p. 506. Herbert W. Schneider identifies Francis Bowen, professor of moral philosophy at Harvard, as the author of this unsigned review.

<sup>41</sup>Charles S. Peirce, "The Fixation of Belief," Popular Science Monthly, November, 1877, reprinted in Perry Miller, American Thought: Civil War to World War I (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 124.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>William James, "The Dilemma of Determinism," an address at the Harvard Divinity School March 13, 1884, printed in the Unitarian Review, XXII (1884), 193-224, reprinted in The Writings of William James, ed. by John J. McDermott, Modern Library (New York: Random House, Inc., 1968), p. 606.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 588.

<sup>45</sup>Emile Boutroux, On the Contingencies of the Laws of Nature, trans. by Fred Rothwell (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1916), p. 195.

<sup>46</sup>Selections from Bergson, ed. by Harold A. Larrabee (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949), pp. 38-42. For a fuller account of Bergson's life, see Jacques Chevalier, Henri Bergson (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928) and J. Alexander Gunn, Bergson and His Philosophy (London: Methuen and Co., 1920).

<sup>47</sup>J. Alexander Gunn, Modern French Philosophy (London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1922), p. 317.

<sup>48</sup>Edward Madden, Chauncey Wright and the Foundations of Pragmatism (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963), pp. 21-22.

<sup>49</sup>Chauncey Wright, "Evolution of Self-Consciousness," North American Review, CXVI (April, 1873), reprinted in Miller, American Thought, p. 35.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 36.

<sup>51</sup>Ralph Barton Perry, ed., Thought and Character of William James (2 vols.; Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1935), II, 11.

<sup>52</sup>Frank M. Albrecht, Jr., "The New Psychology in America: 1880-1895" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1960), p. 136.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 129-30 and pp. 186-88.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., pp. 132-134.

<sup>55</sup>Fiske, "A Century's Progress in Science."

<sup>56</sup>For the best history of experimental psychology, see Edwin G. Boring, A History of Experimental Psychology (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950). Among the founders of scientific psychology were Gustav Fechner, whose work in "psychophysics" in 1860 attempted to establish a unit of measurement for mental phenomena; Herman von Helmholtz, a trained physiologist who made historic contributions in both physics and psychology, and Wilhelm Wundt, who established the first experimental psychology laboratory in Leipzig in 1879 and helped train many of the first generation of American psychologists. Boring discusses the departure of American psychology from the German and English traditions on pp. 505-08.

<sup>57</sup>William James, Principles of Psychology, excerpts reprinted in Writings of William James, p. 109.

<sup>58</sup>Perry, Thought and Character of William James.

<sup>59</sup>James, Writings of William James, p. 21.

<sup>60</sup>Boring, Experimental Psychology, p. 529.

<sup>61</sup>Quoted in Richard J. Bernstein, John Dewey (New York: Washington Square Press, 1967), p. 15.

<sup>62</sup>Bernard Hart, "The Conception of the Subconscious," The Journal of Abnormal Psychology, IV (1909-10), 352-54.

<sup>63</sup>A. A. Roback and Thomas Kiernan, Pictorial History of Psychology and Psychiatry (New York: Philosophical Library, 1969).

<sup>64</sup>William James, "What Psychical Research Has Accomplished," Forum, XIII (July, 1892), 741-42.

<sup>65</sup>Ernest Jones, The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud (New York: Basic Books, 1957), p. 250.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>67</sup>William James, Notice of J. Breuer's and S. Freud's "Ueber den Psychischen Mechanismus Hysterischer Phänomene," Psychological Review, 1894, I, 199, reprinted in Writings of William James, p. 832.

<sup>68</sup>Jones, Freud, p. 164 and p. 170.

<sup>69</sup>Leon Edel, Henry James: The Treacherous Years (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1969), p. 15.

<sup>70</sup>George Trumbull Ladd, Philosophy of Mind: An Essay in the Metaphysics of Psychology (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), p. 411.

<sup>71</sup>William DeWitt Hyde, Practical Idealism (New York: Macmillan Co., 1897), pp. 110-11.

<sup>72</sup>Charles S. Peirce, "The Architecture of Theories," Monist, January, 1891, reprinted in Charles S. Peirce: The Essential Writings, ed. by Edward C. Moore (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), p. 168.

<sup>73</sup>Henry Wood, "The Higher Evolution of Man," Arena, X (July, 1894), 214.

<sup>74</sup>J. M. Peebles, "Primitive Christianity and Modern Spiritualism," Arena, X (November, 1894), 826-27.

<sup>75</sup>William James, "Human Immortality," the Ingersoll Lecture delivered at Harvard University in 1897, printed in Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898).

<sup>76</sup>F. C. S. Schiller, Riddles of the Sphinx: A Study in the Philosophy of Humanism (New York: Macmillan Co., 1910), p. 270.

<sup>77</sup>Perry, Thought and Character of William James, II, 155-61.

<sup>78</sup>Margaret B. Peeke, "The Psychic and the Spiritual," Arena, XIII (June, 1895), 43.

<sup>79</sup>B. O. Flower, Progressive Men, Women and Movements in the Last 25 Years (Boston: The New Arena, 1914), p. 183. Flower devotes two consecutive chapters to "Psychical Research" and "The Rise and Rapid Growth of Christian Science" and clearly associates the two movements within the larger framework of spiritualism.

<sup>80</sup>Richard Hodgson, "Psychical Research: Apparitions and Haunted Houses," Arena, III (September, 1890), 416.

<sup>81</sup>Alfred Russel Wallace, "Are There Objective Apparitions?" Arena, III (January, 1891), 146.

<sup>82</sup>O. B. Frothingham, "Some Aspects of Psychical Research," Atlantic Monthly, LXVI (August, 1891), 204.

<sup>83</sup>The original Society for Psychical Research was founded in England in 1882 and included many prominent scientific figures there. James helped found the American Society for Psychical Research two years later after becoming interested in the subject during his visit to England in 1882. See Perry, Thought and Character of William James, II, 160, for a list of the American members and J. J. Thomson's Recollections and Reflections (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), pp. 147-49, for his description of a seance which he and a number of other members of the British society attended.

<sup>84</sup>William James, "The Knowing of Things Together," president's address at the American Psychological Association meeting, December, 1894, reprinted in Writings of William James, p. 156.

<sup>85</sup>Auguste Poincaré, Science and Hypothesis: The Foundations of Science (New York: The Science Press, 1913), p. 83.

<sup>86</sup>J. Bradley, Mach's Philosophy of Science (London: The Athlone Press of the University of London, 1913), pp. 150-53.

<sup>87</sup>William James, "The Spatial Quale," Journal of Speculative Philosophy, XIII (1879), p. 65.

<sup>88</sup>William James, "The Perception of Time," Journal of Speculative Philosophy, XX (1886), p. 379.

<sup>89</sup>Schiller, Riddles of the Sphinx, p. 58.

<sup>90</sup>Algot Ruge and Nancy Margot Paul, Henri Bergson (London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1914), pp. 126-27.

<sup>91</sup>Henry A. Boorst and Lloyd Motz, eds., The World of the Atom (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 330.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 332.

<sup>93</sup>James Clerk Maxwell, "A Dynamical Theory of the Electromagnetic Field," Philosophical Transactions, 1865, reprinted in The World of the Atom, p. 343.

<sup>94</sup>Helene Bonfort, "Sketch of Heinrich Hertz," Popular Science Monthly, XLV (July, 1894), reprinted in the Annual Report of the Board

of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, July, 1894 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896), p. 722.

<sup>95</sup>Thomson, Recollections and Reflections, p. 391.

<sup>96</sup>G. W. deTunzelmann, "Hertz's Researches on Electrical Oscillations," Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, July, 1889 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891).

<sup>97</sup>Bonfort, "Sketch of Heinrich Hertz."

<sup>98</sup>Ernest Greenwood, Amber to Amperes: The Story of Electricity (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931), p. 209.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>101</sup>Sir James Jeans, The Mysterious Universe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), p. 39.

<sup>102</sup>W. Robert Nitske, The Life of Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen [Roentgen] (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971), pp. 112-25. All of the quotations from newspaper coverage of Röntgen's discovery are included in Nitske's chapter on "The News Media," pp. 112-25.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid., pp. 126-37. The entire article is reprinted here.

<sup>104</sup>Ibid., p. 132.

<sup>105</sup>Boorst and Motz, The World of the Atom, pp. 402-07.

<sup>106</sup>Thomson, Recollections and Reflections, pp. 338-39.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., p. 332.

<sup>108</sup>Boorst and Motz, The World of the Atom, p. 430.

<sup>109</sup>Büchner, Force and Matter, p. 480.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., p. 484.

<sup>111</sup>Thomas Huxley, "Introductory Essay: The Struggle for Existence in Human Society," Letter to the London Times, 1891, reprinted in Selected Works of Thomas Huxley (Westminster ed.; New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1903), IX, 197.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., p. 212.

<sup>113</sup>Quoted in Stebbing, Philosophy and the Physicists, p. 146.

<sup>114</sup>Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams (Sentry Edition; Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961), p. 451.

<sup>115</sup>Ibid., p. 449.

### CHAPTER III:

#### THE IRON LAWS OF SOCIETY

<sup>1</sup>Inscriptions by Crane on copies of Maggie sent to Hamlin Garland and Dr. Lucius L. Button in March (?), 1893. Stephen Crane: Letters, ed. by Robert W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes (New York: New York University Press, 1960), p. 14.

<sup>2</sup>Stephen Crane, Maggie: A Girl of the Streets (1893 ed.; Boston: D.C. Heath and Company), reprinted in Maurice Bassan, ed., Stephen Crane's Maggie: Text and Criticism (Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1966), p. 54. Unless otherwise noted, all of the quotations from Maggie are from this edition.

<sup>3</sup>Donald Pizer argues in "Stephen Crane's Maggie and American Naturalism" that Crane's irony is foreign to the naturalistic vision, but the contrast between the naturalistic hero's ignorance and the knowledge given by the author to the reader is the essential dramatic irony of nearly all naturalistic fiction. In Maggie, Crane directs his irony at the hypocrisy and indifference of society which is entirely in keeping with the naturalistic outlook. Pizer's article is reprinted in Maurice Bassan, ed., Stephen Crane: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967), His comment about irony is on page 116.

<sup>4</sup>Crane, Maggie, p. 4 and p. 19.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>The early version of Maggie in which the heroine clearly is murdered or driven to suicide by a sex maniac is more in keeping with Crane's sketch of the declining commercial value of his heroine. He deleted the reference to the fat man in the version published in 1896 to avoid censorship problems.

<sup>9</sup>Crane, Maggie, p. 17.



<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 27.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 3-4.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 11.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 60-62.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 7.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., pp. 20-22.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>26</sup>The babies in the "Tommie" series are not named, but, according to Stallman, Crane wrote "An Ominous Baby--Tommie's home-coming" in his notes. Robert W. Stallman, Stephen Crane: A Biography (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1968), p. 101.

<sup>27</sup>Stephen Crane, "An Ominous Baby," Arena, IX (May, 1894), reprinted in The Complete Short Stories and Sketches of Stephen Crane, ed. by Thomas A. Gullason (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1963), pp. 154-56. Unless otherwise noted, all of the quotations from Crane's Bowery Sketches in this chapter are from Gullason's collection.

<sup>28</sup>Stephen Crane, "A Great Mistake," Ibid., pp. 157, 58.

<sup>29</sup>Stephen Crane, "A Dark Brown Dog," Ibid., p. 161.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 163.

<sup>31</sup>Stephen Crane, "An Experiment in Misery," Ibid., p. 139.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 141.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 142.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., pp. 142-43.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 144.

<sup>38</sup>Stephen Crane, "The Men in the Storm," Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 176.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 177.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 178.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 179.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., pp. 180-81.

<sup>50</sup>Stephen Crane, "In the Depths of a Coal Mine," reprinted in The New York City Sketches of Stephen Crane, ed. by Robert W. Stallman (New York: New York University Press, 1966), p. 295. All of the quotations from this article are from this collection.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 289-90.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 290.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., pp. 290-91.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 293.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 294-96.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 292.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 294-95.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., pp. 295-96.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 297.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 296.

#### CHAPTER IV:

#### THE QUEST FOR SELF KNOWLEDGE

<sup>1</sup>Stallman emphasizes the importance of his discovery of the simultaneous composition of Maggie and the Sullivan County Sketches and bases his dating of the first draft of the Bowery novel on the accounts of several fraternity brothers of Crane's at Syracuse and the report by Willis Fletcher Johnson that he saw a manuscript of Maggie in summer, 1891. See Robert W. Stallman, Stephen Crane: A Biography (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1968), p. 32 and p. 567, and Chapter V, "Maggie," pp. 66-86.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 66.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>4</sup>Willis Fletcher Johnson, "The Launching of Stephen Crane," Literary Digest International Book Review, IV (April, 1926), p. 289.

<sup>5</sup>The six unsigned hunting sketches which Stallman has discovered in the Tribune between February and July, 1892, presumably are by Crane, but they bear little relationship except setting to the sketches which Crane published in the Tribune beginning with "Four Men in a Cave" in July, 1892. The earlier sketches are simply tongue in cheek hunting tales while the latter ones discussed in this paper have clear metaphorical allusions. Stephen Crane, Sullivan County Tales and Sketches, ed., with an intro., by Robert W. Stallman (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1968).

1

<sup>6</sup>Letter to Copeland and Day, New York City book publishers, June 1895 (?), reprinted in Stephen Crane, Stephen Crane: Letters, ed. by Robert W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes (New York: New York University Press, 1960), p. 59.

<sup>7</sup>Stephen Crane, The Complete Short Stories and Sketches of Stephen Crane, ed. by Thomas A. Gullason (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1963), pp. 66-69. All of the quotations from the Sullivan County Sketches are from Gullason's collection.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., pp. 67-68.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 74-77.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., pp. 77-79.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., pp. 80-84.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., pp. 84-86.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 90-92.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., pp. 96-99.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 99-102.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 102-107.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 295-97.

<sup>18</sup>Stallman, Stephen Crane: A Biography, pp. 116-117.

<sup>19</sup>All of the quotations from The Red Badge of Courage are taken from the text published by D. Appleton and Co. in 1895, reprinted in Stephen Crane, Stephen Crane's The Red Badge of Courage: Text and Criticism, ed. by Richard Lettis, Robert F. McDonnell and William E. Morris (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1960), p. 16.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>22</sup>Compare the opening passage of The Red Badge of Courage, Ibid., p. 3., with the final passage of "The Mesmeric Mountain," in Crane, The Complete Short Stories, p. 102.

<sup>23</sup>Crane, Crane's Red Badge of Courage, p. 4.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., pp. 32-33.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 69.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 40.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>This passage is from a written manuscript of The Red Badge of Courage collected by Crane's friend, Willis Brooks Hawkins, and reprinted in Robert W. Stallman's collection of Crane's works, The Red Badge of Courage and Selected Stories, Signet Classic (New York: New American Library, 1960), p. 212 (notes).

<sup>45</sup>Crane, Crane's Red Badge of Courage, p. 46.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>49</sup>These quotations are not included in the version of The Red Badge of Courage published by Appleton, but are from Crane's original manuscripts. See Stallman's The Red Badge of Courage, pp. 132-33.

<sup>50</sup>Crane, Crane's Red Badge of Courage, p. 87.

<sup>51</sup>This passage also has been added by Stallman from the original manuscripts, The Red Badge of Courage, p. 134.

<sup>52</sup>For an analysis of the textual endings, see, Ibid., p. 220 (notes).

<sup>53</sup>Crane, Crane's Red Badge of Courage, p. 27.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 40. The bracketed word "fierce" is from Stallman's edition based on the original manuscript.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 54.

<sup>56</sup>Herman Melville, final passage of Chapter 41 on "The Whiteness of the Whale," Moby Dick (New York: Grosset & Dunlap, n.d.), p. 218.

<sup>57</sup>It is tempting to think that Crane may have read Moby Dick which was re-issued in America in 1893 with notices in several literary periodicals of the time. Moreover, Melville lived until his death in 1891 only a few blocks from Crane's first lodgings in New York City and was an occasional guest at meetings of the Author's League held at the home of Richard Watson Gilder which attracted many of the leading literary figures of the period, including William Dean Howells. During the 1880s and '90s Melville's work was being championed by a small group of English literary men, led by James Bilson, a close friend of George Bernard Shaw. Although there is no direct evidence that Crane read any of Melville's works, there is a strong probability that he knew about them. Both Melville and Crane acknowledged reading Goethe, and Crane said that Goethe's Theory of Colors was a principal source of his own color symbolism. Whether or not Crane read Melville, there is no doubt that their color symbolism derives from a common perception of 19th century physical principles of color and solar energy.

<sup>58</sup>Crane, Letters, p. 159.

<sup>59</sup>Robert W. Stallman, ed., The Stephen Crane Reader (Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1960), p. 520.

<sup>60</sup>Stallman, Stephen Crane: A Biography, p. 72.

<sup>61</sup>Stephen Crane, The Poems of Stephen Crane, ed. by Joseph Katz (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966), p. 3. All quotations of Crane's poetry are from this volume.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p. 84.

- <sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 5.
- <sup>64</sup>Ibid., Verse 37, p. 39.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 125.
- <sup>66</sup>Ibid., Verse 4, p. 6.
- <sup>67</sup>Ibid., Verse 17, p. 19.
- <sup>68</sup>Ibid., Verse 20, p. 22.
- <sup>69</sup>Ibid., Verse 36, p. 38.
- <sup>70</sup>Ibid., Verse 5, p. 7.
- <sup>71</sup>Ibid., Verse 6, p. 8.
- <sup>72</sup>Ibid., Verse 29, p. 31.
- <sup>73</sup>Ibid., Verse 27, p. 29.
- <sup>74</sup>Ibid., Verse 9, p. 11.
- <sup>75</sup>Ibid., Verse 11, p. 13.
- <sup>76</sup>Ibid., Verse 16, p. 18.
- <sup>77</sup>Ibid., Verse 18, p. 20.
- <sup>78</sup>Ibid., Verse 25, p. 27.
- <sup>79</sup>Ibid., Verse 33, p. 35.
- <sup>80</sup>Ibid., Verse 8, p. 10.
- <sup>81</sup>Ibid., Verse 23, p. 25.
- <sup>82</sup>Ibid., Verse 21, p. 23.
- <sup>83</sup>Ibid., Verse 10, p. 12.
- <sup>84</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>85</sup>Ibid., Verse 66, p. 70.



## CHAPTER V:

## THE INDIFFERENT UNIVERSE

<sup>1</sup>Unless otherwise noted, all the quotations from Crane stories in this chapter are from Stephen Crane, The Complete Short Stories and Sketches of Stephen Crane, ed. by Thomas A. Gullason (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1963), "A Poker Game," pp. 325-28.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., pp. 249-52.

<sup>3</sup>Robert W. Stallman, Stephen Crane: A Biography (New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1968), p. 584 (note).

<sup>4</sup>Stephen Crane, "The Five White Mice," The Complete Short Stories, p. 411.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 418.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 417.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 416.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 417.

<sup>9</sup>Stephen Crane, "The Open Boat," Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 340.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p. 355.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 347.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 341.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 345.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 346.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 339.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 345.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 350.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 355.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 352.

- <sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 353.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 357.
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 343.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 351.
- <sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 346.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 348.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 257.
- <sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 342.
- <sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 341.
- <sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 355.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 343.
- <sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 341.
- <sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 358.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup>Ibid., p. 359.
- <sup>37</sup>Stephen Crane, "The Monster," Ibid., p. 431.
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid., p. 432.
- <sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 433.
- <sup>40</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 433-34.
- <sup>42</sup>Ibid., p. 437.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 444.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 438.
- <sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 442.
- <sup>46</sup>Ibid., pp. 438-39.
- <sup>47</sup>Ibid., p. 439.

- <sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 440.
- <sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 441.
- <sup>50</sup>Ibid., p. 442.
- <sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 448.
- <sup>52</sup>Ibid., p. 447.
- <sup>53</sup>Ibid., pp. 454-55.
- <sup>54</sup>Ibid., p. 434.
- <sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 435.
- <sup>56</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid., p. 446.
- <sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 449.
- <sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 449-50.
- <sup>60</sup>Ibid., pp. 458-59.
- <sup>61</sup>Ibid., p. 465.
- <sup>62</sup>Stephen Crane, "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky," Ibid., p. 384.
- <sup>63</sup>Ibid., p. 388.
- <sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 383.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>66</sup>Ibid., p. 389.
- <sup>67</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>68</sup>Ibid., p. 392.
- <sup>69</sup>Stephen Crane, "The Blue Hotel," Ibid., p. 492.
- <sup>70</sup>Ibid., p. 485.
- <sup>71</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>72</sup>Ibid., pp. 489-90.
- <sup>73</sup>Ibid., p. 493.

- <sup>74</sup>Ibid., pp. 486-87.
- <sup>75</sup>Ibid., p. 501.
- <sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 504.
- <sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 487.
- <sup>78</sup>Ibid., p. 505.
- <sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 497.
- <sup>80</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>81</sup>Ibid., p. 498.
- <sup>82</sup>Ibid., p. 502.
- <sup>83</sup>Ibid., p. 486.
- <sup>84</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>85</sup>Ibid., p. 488.
- <sup>86</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>87</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>88</sup>Ibid., p. 492.
- <sup>89</sup>Ibid., p. 491.
- <sup>90</sup>Ibid., p. 494.
- <sup>91</sup>Ibid., p. 495.
- <sup>92</sup>Ibid., p. 498.
- <sup>93</sup>Ibid., p. 499.
- <sup>94</sup>Ibid., p. 487.
- <sup>95</sup>Ibid., p. 489.
- <sup>96</sup>Ibid., p. 498.
- <sup>97</sup>Ibid., p. 503.
- <sup>98</sup>Ibid., p. 505.
- <sup>99</sup>Ibid., p. 504.
- <sup>100</sup>Ibid., p. 505.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

## SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

The first section of this bibliography lists sources used to outline the culture and science of Crane's time. The second section is devoted to primary and secondary sources employed in preparing an interpretation of Crane's works.

### I

#### General

- Adams, Henry. The Education of Henry Adams. Sentry Edition. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1961.
- Barzun, Jacques. Darwin, Marx, Wagner. 2nd rev. ed. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1958.
- Boorstin, Daniel J., ed. An American Primer. Mentor Books. New York: New American Library, 1966.
- Commager, Henry Steele. The American Mind. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950.
- Dewey, John. The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1910.
- Eiseley, Loren. Darwin's Century. Anchor Books. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1961.
- Flower, B. O. Progressive Men, Women and Movements in the Last 25 Years. Boston: The New Arena, 1914.
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude. Darwin and the Darwinian Revolution. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1962.
- Hofstadter, Richard. The Age of Reform. New York: Random House, Inc., 1955.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Social Darwinism in American Thought. Boston: Beacon Press, 1971.
- Kull, Irving S., and Kull, Nell M. A Chronological Encyclopedia of American History. New York: Popular Library, 1952.

- Miller, Perry, ed. American Thought: Civil War to World War I. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968.
- Schneider, Herbert W. A History of American Philosophy. New York: Columbia University Press, 1963.
- White, Morton. Social Thought in America. New York: Viking Press, 1949.
- Wiener, Philip. Evolution and the Founders of Pragmatism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949.
- Wilson, R. J., ed. Darwinism and the American Intellectual. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1967.
- Ziff, Larzer. The American 1890s. New York: Viking Press, 1966.

#### Cultural Life and Social Issues

- Abbate, Francesco, ed. Impressionism: Its Forerunners and Influences. London: Octopus Books, 1972.
- Barnard, Harry. Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld. Charter Books. Indianapolis: Bobbs Merrill Co., Inc., 1938.
- Bellamy, Edward. Looking Backward. New York: Lancer Books, 1968. (Originally published in 1888.)
- Emerson, Peter Henry. Naturalistic Photography. New York: E. & F. Spon, 1890. (Originally published in 1889.)
- Gernsheim, Helmut, and Gernsheim, Alison. A Concise History of Photography. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1965.
- Kobre, Sidney. The Yellow Press and Gilded Age Journalism. Tallahassee: Florida State University Press, 1964.
- Kouwenhoven, John A., ed. The Columbia Historical Portrait of New York. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1953.
- Morris, Lloyd. Incredible New York. New York: Random House, Inc., 1951.
- Newhall, Beaumont, ed. The History of Photography. New York: Museum of Modern Art, n.d.
- Swanberg, W. A. Citizen Hearst. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1961.
- Taft, Robert. Photography and the American Scene. New York: Macmillan Co., 1938.

## Articles

Bartlett, The Rev. E. E. "A Plea for the Prohibition Party." Arena, VI (October, 1892), 599-602.

Beach, F. C. "Modern Amateur Photography." Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXVIII (January, 1889), 288-297.

Boyesch, Hjalmar Hjorth. "Types of American Women." Forum, VII (November, 1889), 337-47.

Buchanan, Joseph Rodes, MD. "The Coming Cataclysm of America and Europe." Arena, II (August, 1890), 292-312.

Carnegie, Andrew J. "Wealth." Reprinted in Boorstin. An American Primer.

Chandler, Lucinda B. "The Woman Movement." Arena, IV (November, 1891), 704-11.

Child, Theodore. "Some Modern French Painters." Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LXXX (May, 1890), 816-42.

Crosby, Howard. "Government by Rum-Sellers." Forum, IX (May, 1890), 341-47.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Rum and the Rum Power." Arena, I (March, 1890), 396-402.

Fawcett, Edgar. "A Paradise of Gamblers." Arena, IV (November, 1891), 641-51.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Woes of the New York Working-Girl." Arena, V (December, 1891), 26-35.

Finley, Robert J. "Electric Street Lighting in American Cities." Review of Reviews, VII (February, 1893), 68-70.

Flower, B. O. "Era of Women." Arena, IV (August, 1891), 382-84.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Fostering the Savage in the Young." Arena, X (August, 1894), 422-32.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Wellsprings and Feeders of Immorality." Arena, XI (December, 1894), 56-70, and (January, 1895), 167-75.

Freeman, Edward A. "Dangers to the Peace of Europe." Forum, XII (November, 1891), 297-311.

George, Henry. "To Destroy the Rum Power." Arena, I (January, 1890), 196-208.

Hartt, Henry A., MD. "Another View of the Rum Problem." Arena, I (May, 1890), 742-45.



- Kennedy, Charles William. "Gambling on Ocean Steamers." North American Review, CL (June, 1890), 780-82.
- Lanciani, Rodolfo. "Gambling and Cheating in Ancient Rome." North American Review, CLV (July, 1892), 97-105.
- Larned, Charles W. "Is Our Military Training Adequate?" Forum, XII (February, 1892), 783-96.
- Lilly, W. S. "The Ethics of Marriage." Forum, VIII (January, 1890), 504-14.
- Pallatan, Camille. "French Feeling Towards Germany." Forum, XII (December, 1891), 453-71.
- "Progress and Pain." Arena, II (July, 1890), 129-31.
- "The Saloon Curse." Arena, IV (November, 1891), 763-66.
- Schindler, Salomon. "The Nationalization of Electricity." Arena, X (June, 1894), 85-90.
- Sibley, Margaret Stewart. "A Fin-De-Siècle Vision." Arena, XI (December, 1894), 98-99.
- Smith, Goldwin. "Woman's Place in the State." Forum, VIII (January, 1890), 515-30.
- Stillman, W. J. "Journalism and Literature." Atlantic Monthly, LXVIII (November, 1891), 687-95.
- Sumner, William Graham. "Sociology," from Collected Essays in Political and Social Sciences, 1885. Reprinted in Miller. American Thought, pp. 71-92.
- Thayer, William R. "The Armed Truce of the Powers." Forum, XII (November, 1891), 312-29.
- Ward, Lester. "Sociocracy," from The Psychic Factors of Civilization. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1893. Reprinted in Miller. American Thought, pp. 106-20.

#### Science and Philosophy

- Albrecht, Frank M., Jr. "The New Psychology in America: 1880-1895." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1960.
- Bernstein, Richard J. John Dewey. New York: Washington Square Press, 1967.

- Boorst, Henry A., and Motz, Lloyd, eds. The World of the Atom. New York: Basic Books, 1966.
- Boring, Edwin G. A History of Experimental Psychology. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1950.
- Bradley, J. Mach's Philosophy of Science. London: The Athlone Press of the University of London, 1913.
- Boutroux, Emile. On the Contingencies of the Laws of Nature. Translated by Fred Rothwell. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1916.
- Büchner, Ludwig, MD. Force and Matter or Principles of the Natural Order of the Universe with a System of Morality Based Thereon. 4th English ed. London: Asher and Co., 1884.
- Chevalier, Jacques. Henri Bergson. New York: Macmillan Co., 1928.
- Dampier, Sir William. A History of Science. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966.
- Greenwood, Ernest. Amber to Amperes: The Story of Electricity. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931.
- Gunn, J. Alexander. Modern French Philosophy. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd., 1922.
- Helmholtz, Herman von. Popular Lectures on Scientific Subjects. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1873.
- Huxley, Thomas H. Science and Culture and Other Essays. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1881.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Selected Works of Thomas Huxley. Westminster ed. 9 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1903.
- Hyde, William DeWitt. Practical Idealism. New York: Macmillan Co., 1897.
- James, William. Principles of Psychology. 2 vols. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1890.
- Jeans, Sir James. The Mysterious Universe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948.
- Jones, Ernest. The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud. New York: Basic Books, 1957.
- Ladd, George Trumbull. Philosophy of Mind: An Essay in the Metaphysics of Psychology. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895.

Larrabee, Harold A., ed. Selections from Bergson. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1949.

Madden, Edward. Chauncey Wright and the Foundations of Pragmatism. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963.

Nitske, W. Robert. The Life of Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen [Röntgen]. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1971.

Peirce, Charles S. Charles S. Peirce: The Essential Writings. Edited by Edward C. Moore. New York: Harper & Row, 1972.

Perry, Ralph Barton, ed. Thought and Character of William James. 2 vols. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1935.

Poincaré, Auguste. Science and Hypothesis: The Foundations of Science. New York: The Science Press, 1913.

Roback, A. A., and Kiernan, Thomas. Pictorial History of Psychology and Psychiatry. New York: Philosophical Library, 1969.

Rule, Algol, and Paul, Nancy Margot. Henri Bergson. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1914.

Schiller, F. C. S. Riddles of the Sphinx: A Study in the Philosophy of Humanism. New York: Macmillan Co., 1910.

Stebbing, L. Susan. Philosophy and the Physicists. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1937.

Thiel, Rudolph. And There Was Light: The Discovery of the Universe. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1957.

Thomson, J. J. Recollections and Reflections. New York: Macmillan Co., 1937.

### Articles

Allen, Stephen M. "A Newly Discovered Law in Physics." Arena, I (April, 1890), 529-38.

Bonfort, Helene. "Sketch of Heinrich Hertz." Popular Science Monthly, XLV (July, 1894). Reprinted in the Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, July, 1894. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896.

[Bowen, Francis.] Unsigned review of The Origin of Species. North American Review, XC (April, 1860), 474-506.

DeTunzelmann, G. W. "Hertz's Researches on Electrical Oscillations." Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian



Institution, July, 1889. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891.

"The Edge of the Future." McClure's Magazine, II (January, 1894), 199-216.

Fiske, John. "A Century's Progress in Science." Atlantic Monthly, LXXVII (July, 1896), 13-25.

Frothingham, O. B. "Some Aspects of Psychical Research." Atlantic Monthly, LXVI (August, 1890), 203-07.

Hart, Bernard. "The Conception of the Subconscious." Journal of Abnormal Psychology, IV (1909-10), 351-71.

Hodgson, Richard. "Psychical Research: Apparitions and Haunted Houses." Arena, III (September, 1890), 409-21.

Holden, Edward S. "Contributions from the Lick Observatory: A Lunar Landscape." Century, XLII (July, 1891), 436-37.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Wonderful New Star of 1892." Forum, XVI (October, 1893), 211-220.

Huxley, Thomas, H. "Introductory Essay: The Struggle for Existence in Human Society." Letter to the London Times, 1891. Reprinted in Selected Works of Thomas Huxley, IX, 197.

James, William. "The Dilemma of Determinism." Unitarian Review, XXII (1884), 193-224. Reprinted in The Writings of William James. Edited by John J. McDermott. Modern Library. New York: Random House, Inc., 1968.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Human Immortality." Lecture delivered at Harvard University in 1897. Printed in Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1898.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Knowing of Things Together." President's Address at the American Psychological Association Meeting, December, 1894. Writings of William James, pp. 152-68.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Perception of Time." Journal of Speculative Philosophy, XX (October, 1886), 374-407.

\_\_\_\_\_. "The Spatial Quale." Journal of Speculative Philosophy, XIII (January, 1879), 64-87.

\_\_\_\_\_. "What Psychical Research Has Accomplished." Forum, XIII (July, 1892), 727-42.

King, Clarence. "The Education of the Future." Forum, XIII (March, 1892), 20-33.

- Knight, George H. "The Relation of Invention to Conditions of Life." Cosmopolitan, XII (February, 1892), 442-52.
- Maxwell, James Clerk. "A Dynamical Theory of the Electromagnetic Field." Philosophical Transactions, 1865. Reprinted in Boorst and Motz. The World of the Atom.
- Peeke, Margaret. "The Psychic and the Spiritual." Arena, XIII (June, 1895), 43-49.
- Peirce, Charles S. "The Architecture of Theories." Monist, January, 1891. Reprinted in Charles S. Peirce: The Essential Writings, pp. 159-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Fixation of Belief." Popular Science Monthly, November, 1877. Reprinted in Miller. American Thought, pp. 121-39.
- Thurston, R. H. "The Border-land of Science." North American Review, CL (January, 1890), 67-79.
- Wallace, Alfred Russel. "Are There Objective Apparitions?" Arena, III (January, 1891), 129-46.
- Wood, Henry. "The Higher Evolution of Man." Arena, X (July, 1894), 214-24.
- Wright, Chauncey. "Evolution of Self Consciousness." North American Review, CXVI (April, 1873), 245-310. Reprinted in Miller. American Thought, 27-45.

#### Primary Sources of Crane's Work

- Crane, Stephen. The Complete Novels of Stephen Crane. Edited by Thomas S. Gullason. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Complete Short Stories and Sketches of Stephen Crane. Edited by Thomas A. Gullason. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Maggie: A Girl of the Streets. 1883 ed. Reprinted in Stephen Crane's Maggie: Text and Criticism. Edited by Maurice Bassan. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The New York City Sketches of Stephen Crane. Edited by Robert W. Stallman. New York: New York University Press, 1966.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Poems of Stephen Crane: A Critical Edition. Edited by Joseph Katz. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1966.

Crane, Stephen. The Red Badge of Courage. 1895 ed. Reprinted in Stephen Crane's The Red Badge of Courage: Text and Criticism. Edited by Richard Lettis, Robert F. McDonnell and William E. Morris. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1960.

\_\_\_\_\_. Stephen Crane: Letters. Edited by Robert W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes. New York: New York University Press, 1960.

\_\_\_\_\_. Stephen Crane: Uncollected Writings. Edited by Olov W. Fryskstedt. Uppsala, Sweden: University of Uppsala, 1963.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Sullivan County Tales and Sketches. Edited by Robert W. Stallman. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1966.

\_\_\_\_\_. The War Dispatches of Stephen Crane. Edited by Robert W. Stallman. New York: New York University Press, 1966.

\_\_\_\_\_. The Work of Stephen Crane. Edited by Wilson Follett. 12 vols. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1925-26.

#### Bibliographical Studies

Beebe, Maurice, and Gullason, Thomas A. "Criticism of Stephen Crane: A Selected Checklist with an Index to Studies of Separate Works." Modern Fiction Studies (Stephen Crane Number) V (Autumn, 1959), 282-291.

Hudspetch, Robert N. "A Bibliography of Stephen Crane Scholarship: 1893-1962." Thoth (Syracuse University Graduate Group) IV (Winter, 1963), 30-58.

Stallman, Robert W. Stephen Crane: A Critical Bibliography. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1972.

#### Biographical Sources

Beer, Thomas. Stephen Crane: A Study in American Letters. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1923.

Berryman, John. Stephen Crane. New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1950.

Gilkes, Lillian. Cora Crane: A Biography of Mrs. Stephen Crane. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1960.

Linson, Corwin Knapp. My Stephen Crane. Edited by Edwin H. Cady. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1958.

Solomon, Eric. Stephen Crane in England: A Portrait of the Artist. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1964.

Stallman, Robert W. Stephen Crane: A Biography. New York: George Braziller, Inc., 1968.

Articles and Commentaries of Special Value

Cady, Edwin. "Stephen Crane and the Strenuous Life." ELH, XXVIII (December, 1961), 376-82.

Cather, Willa. "When I Knew Stephen Crane." The Library, I (June 23, 1900), 17-18.

Conrad, Joseph. Introduction to Beer, Stephen Crane.

Crane, Helen R. "My Uncle, Stephen Crane." American Mercury, XXXI (January, 1934), 24-29.

Garland, Hamlin. Roadside Meetings. New York: Macmillan Co., 1930, pp. 189-206.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Stephen Crane as I Knew Him." Yale Review, III (April, 1914), 494-503.

Gullason, Thomas A., ed. "The Letters of Stephen Crane: Additions and Corrections." American Literature, XLI (March, 1969), 104-06.

Johnson, Willis Fletcher. "The Launching of Stephen Crane." Literary Digest International Yearbook, IV (April, 1926), 288-90.

Liebling, A. J. "The Dollars Damned Him." The New Yorker, XXXVII (August 5, 1961), 48-72.

O'Donnell, Thomas F. "DeForest, Van Petten, and Stephen Crane." American Literature, XXVII (January, 1956), 578-80.

\_\_\_\_\_. "John B. Van Petten: Stephen Crane's History Teacher." American Literature, XXVII (May, 1955), 196-202.

Pizer, Donald. "The Garland--Crane Relationship." Huntington Library Quarterly, XXIV (November, 1960), 75-82.

Pratt, Lyndon Upsett. "The Formal Education of Stephen Crane." American Literature, X (January, 1939), 460-71.

Wells, H. G. Experiment in Autobiography. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1967 (originally published in 1934), pp. 522-25.



### Selected Criticism

- Aahnebrink, Lars. The Beginnings of Naturalism in American Fiction. Uppsala, Sweden: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1950.
- Bassan, Maurice, ed. Stephen Crane: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1967.
- Cady, Edwin H. Stephen Crane. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1962.
- Gibson, Donald B. The Fiction of Stephen Crane. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1968.
- Gullason, Thomas A., ed. Stephen Crane's Career: Perspectives and Evaluations. New York: New York University Press, 1972.
- Hoffman, Daniel G. The Poetry of Stephen Crane. New York: Columbia University Press, 1957.
- Howells, William Dean. Criticism and Fiction. New York: Harper, 1891.
- Katz, Joseph. Stephen Crane in Transition: Centenary Essays. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1972.
- LaFrance, Marston. A Reading of Stephen Crane. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1971.
- Stallman, Robert W. Stephen Crane: An Omnibus. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1952.
- Walcutt, Charles C. American Literary Naturalism: A Divided Stream. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956.

### Articles of Special Interest

- Brennan, Joseph X. "Ironical and Symbolic Structure in Crane's Maggie." Nineteenth Century Fiction, XVI (March, 1962), 303-15.
- Buitenhuis, Peter. "The Essentials of Life: 'The Open Boat' as Existentialist Fiction." Modern Fiction Studies (Stephen Crane Number) V (Autumn, 1959), 243-50.
- Colvert, James B. "Structure and Theme in Stephen Crane's Fiction." Modern Fiction Studies (Stephen Crane Number) V (Autumn, 1959), 199-208.
- Cox, James Trammel. "The Imagery of The Red Badge of Courage." Modern Fiction Studies (Stephen Crane Number) V (Autumn, 1959), 209-19.

- Fitelson, David. "Stephen Crane's Maggie and Darwinism." American Quarterly, XVI (Summer, 1964), 182-94.
- Gleckner, Robert F. "Stephen Crane and the Wonder of Conceit." Modern Fiction Studies (Stephen Crane Number) V (Autumn, 1959), 271-81.
- Maclean, Hugh N. "The Two Worlds of the Blue Hotel." Modern Fiction Studies (Stephen Crane Number) V (Autumn, 1959), 260-70.
- Nye, Russel B. "Stephen Crane as Social Critic." Modern Quarterly, XI (Summer, 1940), 48-49.
- Rosenfeld, Isaac. "Stephen Crane as Symbolist." Kenyon Review, XV (Spring, 1953), 311-14.
- Stone, Edward. "The Many Suns of The Red Badge of Courage." American Literature, XXIX (November, 1957), 322-26.
- Wells, H. G. "Stephen Crane from an English Standpoint." North American Review, CLXXI (August, 1900), 233-42.
- West, Roy B., Jr. "Stephen Crane: Author in Transition." American Literature, XXXIV (May, 1962), 215-28.
- Westbrook, Max. "Stephen Crane's Social Ethic." American Quarterly, XIV (Winter, 1962), 587-96.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Stephen Crane and the Personal Universe." Modern Fiction Studies, VIII (Winter, 1962-63), 351-360.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIV. LIBRARIES



31293101758468