"A METHODIST CLERGYMAN--OF THE OLD AMBLING-NAG, SADDLE-BAG, EXHORTING KIND": STEPHEN CRANE AND HIS METHODIST HERITAGE

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PREFACE

This is the first detailed analysis of the important published works of George Peck, Jesse Peck, and Jonathan Townley Crane and the first application of the fruits of such an analysis to the works of Stephen Crane in an attempt to unravel the problems of Crane's literary and cultural antecedents.

A study of this sort cannot be conducted without much assistance, and I had as much or more than most scholars deserve. Mr. Terry Basford of the Oklahoma State University library was indefatigable in his search, through interlibrary loan, for the works of Drs. Peck and Crane. He labored above and beyond the requirements of duty. Heather Lloyd and Carol Ahmad of the OSU library staff were also invaluable in furthering my research. Dr. Theodore Agnew was an early source of inspiration when he encouraged my research during a history reading course I took with him. Dr. Clinton Keeler was always a source of encouragement and support and has been missed as this study was brought to a close. Dr. Mary Rohrberger is almost a co-author, but I would not besmirch her reputation by adding her name to the title page. Dr. David Shelley Berkeley, who taught me all I wanted to know of research methods and who questioned my choice of specialty with unflagging incredulity, encouraged, subsidized, and reprimanded me with marvelous grace and will always hold me in his debt. My fellow students were an unwitting source of inspiration and my colleagues in the profession have served similarly. Dr. Margaret Nelson's kind gift of an out-of-print collection of studies was much

appreciated. Dr. John Bruton, however, in two years of tolerating Stephen Crane et al., has been more than most. He has been a friend, a colleague, and an advisor-in-absentia. He deserves better than he gets.

My study has been aided by persons known only through the impersonal medium of the letter and a signature. Kenneth Lohf of the Butler Library at Columbia, and Carolyn A. Davis of the George Arents Research Library at Syracuse University, provided important manuscripts and typescripts; and Evelyn Sutton of the Methodist Archives, Louise K. Capron of Drew University, and David Estes of Emory University all answered questions very patiently. Dr. Fredson Bowers, Dr. Robert W. Stallman, and Dr. Kenneth Cameron similarly answered questions and wrote kind, encouraging letters. Dr. Emory Bucke of the United Methodist Publishing House kindly obtained a copy of What Must I Do to be Saved? for me after I had exhausted what seemed to be all possible sources.

To list all the names of people who provided technical and textual assistance is impossible and beyond the ability of my memory. May they acquire the enduring fame of the unknown soldier. They are not forgotten. This study has been supported amply and unstintingly by my grandfather, Clarence D. Johnson, a veteran of sixty years in the wars of education. He did not collect interest or require identification. My mother provided the funds to purchase the Virginia edition of Crane's works, without which the study would have been seriously impeded. My father did not live to see the completion of this work, but he would not have been impressed, nor would I have expected him to be. Dr. Robert Schlottman, his wife, Carol, and his family have provided me and my family with a convenient and much appreciated weekend pseudo-home from

which I could complete the research for the paper. They are irreplaceable friends and marvelous hostelers. The obligatory reference to wife, family, dog, et al., is more than an obligation for this study. My wife, Peggy, has endured silently, and not so silently, has eaten with, slept through, and lived beside Stephen Crane for nearly ten years, and has been the only important inspiration and motivation for the completion of the degree. She never went to the whip in the stretch. My children have almost grown up in the shadow of Stephen Crane, a fact that I regret. John cut his first teeth on a Norton Critical Edition of The Red Badge of Courage and Fianna always pretended to understand when I wouldn't stop to play a game with her. Bess may be able to grow up with a participating father; I hope so. This study is a release, in many respects, and is not to be construed to be the property of the author. It is a poor substitute for the years I owe my family.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Jonathan Townley Crane

AS *The Annual Sermon*, etc.

MM *Methodism and Its Methods*

ARTS *Arts of Intoxication*

DUTY *Christian Duty in Regard to American Slavery*, etc.

DANCING *Essay on Dancing*

FB *The Fruitful Bough*

HOLINESS *Holiness, the Birthright of All God's Children*

POP A *Popular Amusements*

RW *The Right Way*, etc.

TM *The True Man*, etc.

George Peck

WAYA *An Answer to the Question, Why Are You a Wesleyan Methodist?* etc.

RF *An Appeal from Tradition to Scripture and Common Sense*, etc.

CE *Christian Exertion*, etc.

EMB *Early Methodism*, etc.

MC *Formation of a Manly Character*, etc.

CC *History of the Canada Case*

LJC *The Life of Julius Caesar*

LAT *The Life and Times of Rev. George Peck, D.D.*, etc.

IAE *Lives of the Apostles and Evangelists*

NER National Evils and Their Remedy

ORATION Oration Delivered on the Fourth of July, 1838

OCTT Our Country: Its Trials and Its Triumphs, etc.

PP The Past and The Present, etc.

SDCP The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection, etc.

BUDGET Sketches and Incidents, etc.

SE Slavery and the Episcopacy, etc.

USC Universal Salvation Considered, etc.

WYOMING Wyoming, etc.

Jesse Truesdell Peck

CIC The Central Idea of Christianity

GIE God in Education, etc.

GR The Great Republic, etc.

SPC A Sermon onthe Person of Christ

TW The True Woman, etc.

WMID What Must I Do To Be Saved?

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

When Stephen Crane, in a letter to one of his editors who had requested biographical information, wrote, "upon my mother's side, everybody as soon as he could walk, became a Methodist clergyman--of the old ambling-nag, saddle bag, exhorting kind. My uncle, Jesse T. Peck, D.D., L.L.D., was bishop in the Methodist church. My father was also a clergyman of that church, author of numerous works of theology, an editor of various periodicals of the church. He graduated at Princeton. He was a great, fine, simple mind." Crane was reciting family tradition--a tradition of which he was proud and which has become one of the principal wellsprings of Crane studies.[1] In 1896, Clarence Loomis Peaslee and Dr. Charles Kelsey Gaines recognized the family influence and its interest to Crane's work. Gaines paraphrased Crane's deflation of the Methodist itinerants in the family and suggested that "possibly this heredity, also, may be traced in his work."[2] Peaslee, a personal friend of Crane's, noted that "it is an interesting study in heredity to note the influence of these two professions in Mr. Crane's literary work."[3] The "two professions" are the soldiers and preachers of Crane's family. Even Crane's brother, William Howe Crane, felt compelled to indulge "a little speculation . . . as to how much Stephen owed to the Peck side of his make-up for his literary abilities" (Letters, p. 3), and Cora Crane, in her notes for an aborted biography, reminded herself to examine Stephen's

"ecclesiastical connections," to "use the problem of heredity," and to investigate Stephen's "home life X religion [sic]."[4]

From these early musings on Crane's literary debt to his family, there was no serious development, even in Thomas Beer's landmark biography, until Daniel Hoffman's study of Crane's poetry (John Berryman's thesis-ridden biography is suspect on this point).[5] Sherwood Anderson, in his introduction to Follett's 1925 edition of Crane's works, had demanded that readers "get him [Crane] in relation to his time, the drama of the man, of his life," but he went completely unheeded.[6] Hoffman, the first to quote extensively from the writings of Crane's family, admitted that "what we have need of is a fuller understanding of Crane's sensibility and of the literary and cultural traditions which lent their rather meager nutriment to its expression in his work." Hoffman had been "led from his [Crane's] poems to consider his relations to his parents, to the diverse religious views of his family." "The Bible and certain of his relative's tractarian writings," Hoffman continues, "provide him [Crane] with the chief stock of images in his verse."[7] Despite his repetition of material originated by Beer and perpetuated by Berryman, Hoffman concludes that none of "Crane's critics or biographers has followed the hint" of a connection between Stephen Crane and his family and their writings (Hoffman, p. 12).

Hoffman's study is hampered on several counts--it is entirely directed to the poetry, and thus ignores most of Crane's work; he ignores a great number of Crane's family's works; he assimilates and perpetuates undocumented conjecture from Beer and Berryman; he often cites the works of Crane's family gratuitously and without comment or reason, seemingly, other than to add novelty and attempt to add authority to his study.

Hoffman, however, does perform the service of putting the works of Crane's family before scholars and critics. Unfortunately scholars and critics, rather than investigating the works for themselves, generally have quoted Hoffman and applied his insights indiscriminately to the body of Crane's work. Such critical cannibalism has produced few new insights as a result; but an almost hide-bound mythos surrounding Crane and his family has emerged.

Thomas A. Gullason, is, perhaps, the one exception to this rule. Only a year after Hoffman's study, Gullason was saying "critics have overlooked the possible influences of Stephen Crane's rich family heritage," and was excavating a steady stream of additions to the knowledge of that family heritage that transcended Hoffman's study.[8] In fact, Gullason has added more to the scholarly knowledge of Crane's family than any other single scholar or historian. Joseph Katz, R. W. Stallman, Edwin Cady, James Colvert, and Donald Pizer have contributed to the growing body of information, but all of them, including Gullason, are seemingly more interested in artifacts of Crane's family than in critical study of Crane's relationship to the culture and heritage of his family. As recently as 1972 Gullason admits, "Stephen Crane is still at the crossroads today. We need to know much more about his life; . . . the available record of Crane's family heritage is limited and misleading,"[9] and Edwin Cady, in his introduction to volume eight of the Virginia <u>Crane</u>, laments, "we are reduced at many crucial points to saying that either Crane . . . had in fact read a lot or that he absorbed things from a climate of living tradition."[10] After eighty years of commentary, we find critics able only to offer a more sophisticated restatement of Peaslee's and Gaines's speculations.

Lyle Linder offers a new approach to the problem. In his "Applications from Social Science to Literary Biography: The Family World of Stephen Crane," Linder suggests that "formative childhood influences as studied in the behavioral sciences are useful in the study of Crane,"[11] and a study of the relationship of Crane's parents and of the influence of the family culture on Crane and his art is indeed useful in furthering critical understanding of Crane. Such a study requires documentable, quantifiable data. Linder offers a solution when he says "because they were prolific writers, Crane's father and uncles are much more accessible to analysis and provide a fruitful direction for understanding the family world in which Stephen and his siblings were reared."[12] Linder omits Crane's maternal grandfather, George Peck, or misidentifies him as an "uncle," but Peck's works added to the works of Jonathan Townley Crane, Stephen's father, and Jesse Truesdell Peck, Stephen's maternal great-uncle, constitute a body of literature which has never been studied. That literature embodies Crane's family background, a store of cultural heritage previously unrecognized, their religious and scriptural doctrines, and their philosophically moralistic ideals; all of these have been overlooked or ignored in the effort to understand Crane and his work. Such a study will help to establish a new understanding of Crane's religious attitudes, of his knowledge of precedent literature and literary culture, and of his family, its heritage, and its influence on him and his work.

NOTES

[1]R. W. Stallman and Lillian Gilkes, eds., Stephen Crane: Letters (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1960), p. 94. All subsequent references to Letters will be noted by parenthetical insertion of Letters and the page reference in the text.

[2]Charles K. Gaines, "Rise to Fame of Stephen Crane," Philadelphia Press (March 15, 1896), p. 34.

[3]Clarence Loomis Peaslee, "The College Days of Stephen Crane," Monthly Illustrator (August, 1896), p. 28.

[4]Stanley Wertheim, "Stephen Crane Remembered," Studies in American Fiction, 4 (1976), 61.

[5]John Berryman, Stephen Crane (New York: William Sloane Assoc., 1950), p. 297. All subsequent references to this work will be noted by parenthetical insertion of Berryman and page number in the text.

[6]Stephen Crane, The Works of Stephen Crane, ed. Wilson Follett (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), XI, p. xv.

[7]Daniel Hoffman, The Poetry of Stephen Crane (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1957), p. 12. All subsequent references to this work will be noted by parenthetical insertion of Hoffman and page number in the text.

[8]Thomas A. Gullason, "New Sources for Stephen Crane's War Motif," Modern Language Notes, 72 (1957), 572.

[9]Thomas A. Gullason, ed., Stephen Crane's Career: Perspective and Evaluation (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1972), p. 4.

[10]Stephen Crane, The University of Virginia Edition of The Works of Stephen Crane, ed., Fredson Bowers (Charlottesville: The Univ. Press of Virginia, 1973), VIII, p. xxiii. All subsequent references to this edition of Crane's works, whether introductory material or textual, will be noted by parenthetical insertion of the volume number and page number in the text.

[11]American Literary Realism, 1870-1910, 7 (1974), 280.

[12]Linder, p. 281.

CHAPTER II

THE CRITICAL FALLACIES

In the years since Crane's death, there has been ample time and opportunity for critical "schools" to gather around three major problems in Crane studies. Rejection of his father's religion, ignorance of literary and/or cultural precedents, and doctrinal disagreement in his own family have all gathered those critics who would identify, agree with, disapprove of, or reject the various proposals until all three basic assumptions have taken on the permanence of the Mosaic tablets. Yet none of the critics has thoroughly investigated and clearly identified Crane's bond with his Methodist family. Had they done so, the idea of his irrevocable rejection of Christianity (and Methodism) would have been seen as untenable; Crane's literary background would have been seen as more diverse than ever before imagined; and the established religious conflict between the two sides of his family would have dissolved. These then are the problems which must be addressed, and only a close analysis of the many facets of the works of George Peck, Jesse Truesdell Peck, and Jonathan Townley Crane will clearly establish Stephen's debt to his family and allow us to unfurl the fabric from which Stephen Crane cut the patterns for his works.

The chronicle of Crane's religious attitudes is a jumble of ambiguity and conflict. It is complicated by Crane's own contradictions and by a continuing regard for and perpetuation of that critical dogma which

demands that Crane rejected religion and God. That dogma is founded, almost entirely, in readings based on the poetry, and from that narrow base it dictates the presentation of Crane's religious attitudes throughout the critical investigation of Crane's works. It operates, as an example, in almost total ignorance of the spiritual crises which wrecked the end-of-the-century society Crane matured in. A chronological review of the study of Crane's religious heritage will help to illustrate the confusion.

Almost all criticism in this area reverts to Amy Lowell and her introduction to the poetry in Follett's edition. Her pontifications influence all commentary on the religious nature of Crane's poetry and her statements on Crane's God are the beginnings of the aforementioned mythos. Lowell writes:

> Crane was so steeped in the religion in which he was brought up that he could not get it out of his head. He disbelieved it and he hated it, but he could not free himself from it. A loathed and vengeful God broods over The Black Riders. Crane's soul was heaped with bitterness and this bitterness he flung back at the theory of life which had betrayed him. . . . Crane's theme in The Black Riders is twofold. It is at once the cruelty of universal law and the futility of hope. It is a creed of gall and aloes, and Crane believed it. It is the key to his life. Gentle and kind, yet he was weak, a man who needed something beyond himself to bolster him up. His revivalistic ancestors mocked him through his own flesh. He was no stronger than they, and he had been forced to let go their prop.[1]

Lowell's "loathed and vengeful God" and her assessment of Crane's "bitterness" and his rejection of God and religion, are recognizable templates for Crane criticism--they have become almost unavoidable commonplaces. Lowell probably derived her biographical information from Thomas Beer's biography, which preceded Follett by only two years, but her observations are original. Beer makes no stronger statement than his quotation of

Crane's famous "lake of fire" rejection statement and his revelation of Crane's admission to Helen Trent that "American religion was 'mildewed': he found Buddhism interesting."[2]

Not until the 1950's, during the revival of Crane studies sparked by Stallman's Omnibus and other works, is there any further discussion of Crane's attitudes, and one of the first commentators, Maxwell Geismar, seems to have reversed the field of opinion from Lowell's almost hortatory pronouncements. In his Rebels and Ancestors: The American Novel, 1890-1915, Geismar counters Lowell by suggesting that "though Crane had poured out the bitterness of his heart in these verses, there was an alternate strain, just as strong, of a suppliant tenderness, a lingering wish to believe, a depreciatory self-incrimination--an acknowledgement of guilt."[3] Crane, however, is, for Geismar, only a half-way house between Howells and Dreiser and, thus, is of only incidental importance not only to Geismar but to Geismar's readers; and Geismar's variation of and movement away from Lowell's reading is lost in the maze of Lowell apostles.

Everett Gillis, calling The Black Riders "adolescent in thematic material," echoes Lowell when he suggests that for Crane "the world is a rudderless ship set adrift by a malicious and negligent God. . . . Conventional morality is a sham and a lie, trust and wisdom illusions."[4] Even C. C. Walcutt, in his study of American naturalism, is only slightly less strident about Crane's heritage. "Crane's naturalism," Walcutt says, "is found, first, in his attitude toward received values, which he continually assails through his naturalistic method of showing that the traditional concepts of our social morality are shams and the motivations presumably controlled by them are pretenses."[5] Under the facade of language, Walcutt believes in Crane's rejection of his Christian and family heritage.

Daniel Hoffman, whose The Poetry of Stephen Crane towers over preceding and subsequent criticism as a guide and target, is remarkably subdued on the subject of Crane's attitudes on religion. Hoffman does, however, lay the groundwork for a new interpretation of Crane. "We have to consider," Hoffman begins, "the sense of isolation which their religious heritage imposed upon many Americans in the nineteenth century" (Hoffman, p. 7). Hawthorne's sinners, Thoreau's individualism, and Emerson's "Self-Reliance" are all cited as representative of the reliability of Hoffman's insight, but isolation is not the negation of Crane's purported rejection; it could, rather, be its natural result; thus when Hoffman says "few had thought to seek religious affirmations in Crane because his characteristic gesture, especially in his verse, is to deny the God of his fathers" (Hoffman, pp. 12-13), he confuses the reader and the issue by juxtaposing denial and affirmation. Hoffman goes on to connect Crane's denial to the ideals of social Darwinism and to ignore his suggestion of affirmation; but the damage is done. We are left, in Hoffman's work, with the addition of cultural pressures on Crane's literary consciousness and with a certain confusion in a work recognized for fresh comment and trend-setting criticism.

R. W. Stallman, in his allegorical reading of The Red Badge of Courage, succeeded in doing three things: side-tracking the criticism into a debilitating quarrel, establishing Crane's knowledge and use of Biblical and Christian allusion, and removing the consideration of Crane's religious attitudes from the exclusive province of the poetry.[6] Stallman, however, does not significantly clarify the ambiguity in the criticism; he only provides tools by which such a change can be effected. William Bysshe Stein, using those tools, admits that "Crane's background

is at issue." Suggesting that Crane was "reared in a confusing religious atmosphere," Stein concludes that "even in rebellion against the expression in institutional religion, he could not completely subdue its incontrovertible ethical affirmations." Stein's observations on Maggie lead him to believe that there are, in Maggie, "manifestations of an instinctive loyalty to the redemptive love of the Gospels."[7] The inherent weakness of Stein's identification of Maggie as a type of Christ figure, unfortunately, limits the ready acceptance of his critique and, therefore, adds to the chronicle of uncertainty. Stallman, Hugh N. Maclean, and James T. Cox, commenting on Maggie, "The Blue Hotel," and The Red Badge respectively, sound very much alike in their criticism. Stallman, comparing Maggie to Madame Bovary, says "as with Flaubert, so with Crane--the institution of religion is the butt of their criticism."[8] Maclean simply asserts that "Faith," for Crane, "is irrelevant."[9] Cox suggests that Crane's religious attitude is part of his artistry, one of the first to do so, and he suggests, speaking of The Red Badge, that "to make a mockery of man's chief delusion, which is Christianity with its promise of eternal life, Stephen Crane--no matter whose son he is--compares the victims of both conflicts [in The Red Badge] to Jesus Christ."[10]

Max Westbrook makes a sustained effort during this period to alter materially the pattern of confusion in favor of an affirmative, but judicious, reading of Crane. In his "Stephen Crane: The Pattern of Affirmation," Westbrook asserts that "the attitude toward life in Crane's writing is basically affirmative, and that the moral struggle is considered both noble and real." "It will be remembered," Westbrook chides, "that affirmation does not imply conventional religion, surface optimism, romantic heroics; nor does it preclude bitterness, skepticism, or belief

in an unjust fate."[11] Westbrook, finally, attempts to identify Crane's God. "Crane bitterly attacks the standard religious system and all its trappings," says Westbrook, "claiming that the true God is not found in the church. . . . Yet Crane's 'true God' is not described systematically but as a 'faintest breath.' What must be emphasized here is that Crane does replace the rejected belief with an accepted belief, and the fact that his 'true God' cannot be given a philosophic tag does not derail the interpretation. The contention is not that Crane was a theologian, but that he did present an affirmative view."[12] Westbrook is the first to offer an affirmative reading of Crane. More importantly, he does not attempt to negate the critical tradition, but to alter it to a truer, qualified reading.

Ralph Ellison, in Shadow and Act, counsels similarly cautious criticism, and demands study of Crane's traditional Christian heritage. But Ellison ends by sounding like a traditional reader. "Crane," Ellison suggests, "who might well have become a minister, turned from religion but transferred its forms to his art."[13] While offering some remarkable observations concerning Crane's images and allusions, Stanley Wertheim seems only to paraphrase and repeat the Lowell diatribe. "Despite his rejection of repressive orthodoxy," Wertheim says, "Crane could not rid himself of the dilemma of religious conscience."[14]

Harland Nelson, in his "Stephen Crane's Achievement as Poet," reinforces the tradition of the poetry as the source for example of Crane's religious credo, but, in spite of tradition, argues the most carefully organized and most clearly presented case for affirmation. Nelson's examples are those poems in which he feels "Crane embodied his most deeply felt beliefs: certain convictions and attitudes that he derived

from his religious traditions." Nelson admits that he is not "trying to reclaim Crane for orthodox--or unorthodox--Christianity." He is only trying to illustrate "that like other people of devout upbringing in nineteenth-century England and America who later left a faith which for them had become untenable, Crane took with him, willy-nilly, the fundamental though secularized outlook of his forebears."[15] Nelson continues that "Crane's response to his own religious tradition is not uniformly hostile. While he is against what he conceives to be the stock in trade of organized religion, he is not necessarily against the idea of God, even the Biblical idea of God. He rejects the Old Testament harshness, but still the God that he claims . . . is akin to the God of Elijah. The God who is not in the wind, or the earthquake, or the fire, but in the still, small voice (I Kings 19.11-12)--and the New Testament God of Love." "Crane's critics," Nelson concludes, "have never noticed his affirmations of Christian doctrine as much as his denials of it, no doubt because the poems which affirm Christian values are much less spectacular and obvious than the poems of denial."[16] Nelson's is an important study in opposition to a tradition of denial. With Westbrook, he opposes the adamant demand that Crane rejects his heritage with good sense.

Unfortunately a good number of critics remain unconvinced. Warner Berthoff, in his influential study of the era, is among them. In passing Crane as a fleeting, developmental figure in American literature, Berthoff states, flatly, "Crane's is not in any case a religious sensibility, the subject of these poems notwithstanding."[17] Berthoff seems to fit the standard of criticism established in several important period studies. Larzer Ziff and Jay Martin treat Crane with similar short shrift and lack of understanding.[18] Thomas A. Gullason reveals his

critical perception when he describes Crane's attitude only as "ambivalent" and makes several less than significant observations about the poetry.[19] George Monteiro, whose work on "The Open Boat" documents the likelihood of an important confluence of Methodist hymnody and Crane's artistry, still finds that Crane rejects his religious tradition. "He [Crane] matched his personal experience against the essentialist, allegorical teachings of nineteenth-century Protestantism as he knew them," Monteiro tells us, "and he found their optimism decidedly wrong-headed."[20] But Monteiro also admits, in another study, that "he [Crane] was never able to shake off the influence of the family religious inheritance that he could neither fully embrace nor repudiate clearly."[21] Marston LaFrance, in an important study of Crane and his work, is one of the most adamant nay-sayers. "Crane," says LaFrance, "inevitably scorns all dogma. He never hints that the Christian church will offer any real help to or comfort anyone here or hereafter. He ignores the entire Christian eschatology. If Crane had intended his concept of god to mean the Christian God within man there should appear, somewhere in the canon, at least some sympathetic mention of Christianity."[22] LaFrance does admit that "Crane did not grow up in a vacuum; he was affected by the Methodism of his parents, [and] the American Protestant evangelical tradition." However, paraphrasing H. G. Wells, he calls these all part of Crane's "enormous repudiations."[23]

Edwin Cady, in his reading of Stephen Crane, tends to be at odds with LaFrance, but such is the nature of the criticism. What is worse, Cady seems as ambivalent as Crane is seen to be. At one point Cady says "the first and most essential themes of his thoughts are religious. For life reasons, his religion was necessarily rebellious. That did not,

however, prevent it from being serious," and that "Crane groped his way toward a religion of his own. The point which has eluded perhaps most commentators is that he was most revolte, most exasperating, most agonized . . . when he insisted on taking the heart [the religion] of the family code seriously."[24] At another point, Cady suggests that "much of Crane's most intimate expression . . . suggests that, for all the mind of man can tell, God, intentionally or not, is playing games with us," and that God is "keeping the rules to himself."[25] Cady is, by turns, brilliant, mundane, mediocre, and enigmatic, but he is never consistent. His reading is exceptional and at all times interesting, but it does little to cut the Gordian knot. When he concludes that readers of Crane must realize that they are "dealing with an outraged Christian in agonies of doubt and rebellion against the pious smugness of non-Christian conventionalities," he makes his own lack of focus abundantly apparent.[26]

Bruce Grenberg harbors no such ambivalence. For Grenberg, Crane's whole conception worked on the basis "that God no longer operated in the world," and that the Christian God was "defunct." "Crane's fiction," says Grenberg, "was a continuing requiem for the dead God of Christianity."[27]

R. W. Stallman, in his biography of Crane, generally repeats Beer and Berryman and professes little original opinion on Crane's attitudes. Stallman's allegorical readings and his many defenses of them do suggest rejection and do betray his basic prejudice toward some kind of positive Christian influence on Crane's works, but Stallman's lack of attention to the subject of Crane's attitudes contributes to the confusion surrounding the subject.[28] Jean Cazemajou, in his pamphlet for the

University of Minnesota series on American authors, says that although Crane "did not accept . . . the traditional interpretation of the riddle of the universe offered by the Methodist church . . . it is impossible to study his achievement outside a religious tradition."[29] "Most of Crane's work," Cazemajou explains, "could be explained in terms of his religious background," but "his was a voice of dissent which rejected the ostensibly impregnable soundness of historical Christianity."[30] Cazemajou opts for Crane's rejection. Joseph Katz, in the introduction to his critical edition of Crane's poetry, calls Crane's poetry "the mordant expression of Crane's dissatisfaction with the religious traditions of his family."[31] Frank Bergon, dealing extensively, as few have, with Crane's artistry, says "Crane's sensibility . . . was finally not religious."[32] Donald B. Gibson, ignoring the Pecks and Dr. Crane, says simply that Stephen was "not an atheist," but that he "never forgave God for allowing natural evil."[33] Both Katz and Bergon harken back to Amy Lowell and are a part of the tradition she established. Gibson tries a Jungian approach to Crane's works and is relatively ineffectual in his effort because he fails to understand Crane or Jung.

Perhaps most telling, in regard to the growth or lack thereof in the controversy surrounding Crane's religious attitudes, are the observations recorded in the introductions of the Virginia edition of Crane's works. J. C. Levenson, in his introduction to the Whilomville Stories, says "a devastating intuition lay behind the skill with which this son of a Methodist minister could render the tabooed world of the urban underclass or the unthinkable chaos of a ruling violence." Levenson continues that Crane went beyond journalism to a place where "the moral assumptions of his literate audience did not hold. Those assumptions

were in large part his own" (VII, p. xvi). In a kind of ethereal way, Levenson says that Crane had to alter his perceptions, but we are not told how, nor how the fact that Crane is a preacher's son affects that alteration. We are required to infer that Crane found that his religious heritage did not work, but we do not know. Levenson, in other introductions, does nothing towards solving the riddle.

James Colvert, who has written eminently on the problem, suggests, in his introduction to the poetry volume of the Virginia edition, that

> 'visions of a world fallen and cursed . . . derive clearly from Crane's heritage as a minister's son and descendant of a long line of Methodist preachers. One of them was the Reverend Jesse T. Peck, bishop of Syracuse and author of What Must I Do to be Saved?, a forbidding treatise on the universality of sin and the irresistibility of divine retribution. It was this heritage which Crane thought he repudiated when he abandoned his father's parsonage for the studies of the bohemian New York, but clearly, as the persistent recurrence of religious allusion, imagery, and motif in his fiction and as the anguished speculation about God in the poetry . . . show, it was a heritage he could not deny ' (X, p. xx).

Colvert, here, is not only derivative, but he is also illustrating the problems inherent in the critical ambiguity surrounding Crane. Crane's attitudes have been discussed for such a long time that Colvert can repeat commonplaces (i.e., "recurrence of religious allusion") and expect them to be accepted. He cites Rev. J. T. Peck's What Must I Do to be Saved? gratuitously, never explaining its importance, and makes it appear that Crane consciously rejected his family by moving out of his father's house, but in fact Crane's father died when Crane was eight and Stephen had not lived in a parsonage for nearly ten years before he went to college, whence he matriculated to "bohemian New York." Colvert repeats the dogmatic epithets describing the "bleak doctrine" (X, p. xx) of Crane's family and the "vengeful God of Bishop Peck" (X, p. xxiii) and "the bleak fundamentalism of Crane's Methodist heritage" (X, p. xxv).

In this introduction, Colvert repeats some of the most frequently used cliches and most of the standard misconceptions of the tradition. He never explains his references to Crane's family, or connects them to his thesis, and he falls back on Amy Lowell for the air of authority such a reference lends, or is perceived to lend, to criticism of this sort. Colvert expects his audience to accept subjective assessments at face value. He succeeds only in reflecting the problems of the critical tradition of which he is a part. He treats Crane's religious heritage from a twentieth-century point of view, and he speaks of Methodism in Calvinistic terms, an equation spawned by modern misapprehensions for which Colvert is not solely responsible. Unfortunately, Colvert's appraisals and the Virginia Crane introductions do represent the state of the art in Crane studies.

John T. Frederick recognized these problems in his The Darkened Sky: Nineteenth Century American Novelists and Religion. Despite Frederick's omission of Crane, he offers hints which are applicable to our study. Speaking of "Melville, Howells, Twain, and James," Frederick suggests that "literary study in the last forty years has been generally deficient in attention to and understanding of the importance of the responses of these writers to the religious tensions of their times." "Notable exceptions to this broad indictment," Frederick continues, "have tended to be offset by eccentric and distorted readings, rising from the ideas and preconceptions of twentieth-century readers. Many critics have failed to recognize clearly the concrete terms in which religious problems confronted the individual writers and the intensity and urgency of their responses."[34] Frederick could be describing the body of criticism coming from and referring to Crane's works as easily as he is describing the problems of Crane's contemporaries. Frederick continues that most

critics have ignored the impact of the German Higher Criticism of the Bible, such works as Renan's Life of Christ and Strauss's Das Leben Jesu, and Darwinian theory. Had he added Colonel Ingersoll, Comstockery, and Herbert Spencer, he would have been describing other ignorances of Crane critics.[35]

These, then, are the problems faced by critics who approach the labryinth of Crane's attitudes towards religion and God. The largest problem has been the lack of even remotely verifiable sources in which to study what could be reasonably called Crane's religious culture. In his family's writings, that void is filled to a great extent.

The breadth and influence of Crane's reading on his art is, seemingly, less troublesome than the study of his religious attitudes because his reading has been so intensively discussed and documented. However, the largesse of critics in this matter is the basis of the problem. There has been no source identified which verifies a connection between Stephen Crane and the literature of his time; there is only innuendo, flippant commentary, and speculation. That speculation, which began simultaneously with the publication of The Red Badge, has created a body of criticism and a tradition which is like that associated with Crane's religious attitudes and is similarly corrupt.

The tradition breaks down into recognizable trends. The oldest is that which follows from Howells' claim that Crane was a "writer who has sprung into life fully armed," the literary innocent who had read nothing and knew nothing of literary culture, but who could still produce powerful fiction.[36] The strongest is that which was the natural off-spring of the first and coexists with it--that Crane's works can be found to be based on, in debt to, or to bear resemblances to those of various

European realists and naturalists, to Civil War narratives, to the works of some reform writers, to various standard works of English literature, and to the classics. The last, and freshest, recognizes the impact of his family culture and attempts to deal with documentable sources. The first two, however, still prevail by sheer weight and longevity. It should be noted that Crane's formal education has been, within reasonable limits, conclusively documented and that the impact of that education on Crane and his writing has been assessed to the extent possible. However, the personal reminiscences, school transcripts, and Crane letters which form the corpus of educational documents and which are cited as evidence of Crane's reading during his educational experience and of subsequent influence of that reading on his work are just as weak in specific citations and are just as subject to speculation as the works by the legion of source-hunters identifying influential works. Little more need be said of Crane's education. T. A. Gullason, Lyndon Upson Pratt, and others have established Crane's educational record.[37]

However, Thomas Beer did not have those documents. He accepts without question this faulty understanding of Crane's education; he cites, without authority, numerous works Crane is supposed to have mentioned or criticized; and he recites apocryphal stories like the Acton Davies incident with Lâ Débâcle as if they were fact.[38] Taken with the volumes of praise and damnation from various reviewers of The Red Badge, Maggie and The Black Riders, and adding Crane's own carefully managed pose of literary naiveté, Beer created the tradition of Crane's lack of reading and literary background and established it as the most firmly fixed and durable legend in the criticism. The legend has, in fact, spawned its successor, the abundance of influence studies, as a result

of the challenge it presents to critics. For critics it is a fact impossible to accept that a writer of Crane's abilities can be so ignorant; therefore there must be sources and, lacking definite referents, any possibility that shows even the slightest correspondence of image, style, or incident is fair game whether or not reliable documentation of any connection to Crane can be supplied.

Even with the precedent of Beer's biography, Carl Van Doren's assessment of Crane in American Mercury was the first important statement of Crane's ignorance. Van Doren is circumspect about dogmatic pronouncements, but still suggests that "he [Crane] had indeed gone through no formal training either as a writer or as reader. . . . For him the orthodox, the respectable, or the classical did not exist, or at any rate had no binding authority."[39] In his later introduction to Follett's Works, Van Doren goes beyond literary background and asserts that Crane "was as ignorant as an American diplomat of European history and political conditions."[40] Van Doren qualifies his assessments only by repeating the charges of Crane's reviewers. "So far as he [Crane] had literary models, they were odd volumes of Tolstoy and Flaubert."[41] Willa Cather, who met Crane only once, adds her voice to the indictment when she opines "perhaps it was because Stephen Crane had read so little, was so slightly acquainted with the masterpieces of fiction, that he felt no responsibility to be accurate or painstaking in accounting for things and people."[42] Strangely, it is Cather who tells us she saw Crane reading Poe when they met in Omaha.[43] Van Doren and Cather are responsible for the continuing life of Howells' assertions about Crane's tour de force nature, but the publication of Robert Spiller's Literary History of the United States established what Max Westbrook termed the "conventional dogma" concerning Crane.[44]

Spiller, in addition to locking Crane into the naturalist mold, says "the appearance of an original artist, springing without antecedent into life, is always illusion, but the sources of Crane's philosophy and art are as yet undeciphered."[45] The impact of the wide circulation of LHUS and, concurrently, of Spiller's opinions cannot be ignored or made light of. The work is considered a standard reference and is almost de rigueur as a quotation in any discussion of Crane's works. Berryman seconds Spiller by suggesting that "less than any other American writer of the century had he a sense of tradition or continuity in letters, whether English or American." "He [Crane] concentrates tendencies and powers already tentatively in play," Berryman continues, "at the same time these influences certainly tell us very little about him" (Berryman, pp. 25, 264). Berryman, in other words, could not sort out the available material on Crane and his background in any profitable way and, therefore, chooses to ignore the problem. In the years between Berryman's biography and Daniel Hoffman's study of Crane's poetry, little seems to change despite the growth of Crane studies. Hoffman admits that Crane was not "so ill-read as his critics suppose"; however, says Hoffman, Crane "was an ignorant man. Nowhere does his writing show any acquaintance with world history, with speculative philosophy, with science, with classical literature, with other languages, with myth, with any of the culturally important sources of metaphor--excepting religion" (Hoffman, p. 11). Hoffman's general excellence is not marred by his rephrasing of dogma; however, the critical authority of Hoffman's important insights permeates Hoffman's repetition and, thus, the traditional reading survives and has been transmitted to the most recent studies.

Edwin Cady makes the point that there is no clear record of what Crane read and that most of the conjecture is based on unreliable evidence, but Cady represents a qualification rather than an alteration of critical thought and, in essence, repeats the same ideas in a new guise.[46] J. C. Levenson, in another of his introductions to the Virginia Crane, calls Crane's life story "the depressing story of a young man with inadequate resources, intellectual and cultural" (III, p. xliv); and refers significantly to "the known paucity of Crane's reading" (II, p. xxx). Indicative of the confusion attendant on this school of thought is Eric Solomon's Stephen Crane: From Parody to Realism in which Solomon finds parody of almost every contemporary literary convention evident in Crane's work; Solomon therefore contends that almost all of Crane's works are parodic in nature and structure. But Solomon also contends strongly for Crane's lack of evident sources and likely readings. The irony of such a reading is that Solomon seems to ignore the foundation of parody--that the author of a parody must know and understand the convention he is parodying. Without readings or some kind of literary background, Crane becomes the most unlikely parodist imaginable; yet Solomon never admits sources and infers his acceptance of the legend which has just been outlined.[47]

The force of this tradition, as has been suggested, offered carte blanche for critics eager to see their work in print to fill the void. Thus they began from the precedent of the myth-like story of Crane writing his poetry after Howells read Dickinson to him and from Hamlin Garland's early "recognition" of the "fierce philosophy" of Olive Schreiner in The Black Riders.[48] Tolstoy, Flaubert, and Zola became, and still are, standards for reference. Frank Norris first suggested Zola in

1896.[49] Flaubert and Tolstoy emerged shortly after or shortly before--the chronology is unimportant because, despite Crane's assertions to the contrary and despite increasing uncertainty in the tone and documentation of attributive studies, the three Europeans endure as in the minds of Crane scholars. As late as 1969 James C. Colvert was still citing the connections between L'Assommoir and Maggie despite only the slightest evidence that Crane had so much as looked at a copy of the book (I, p. xliii).

The list of other influences on Crane is staggering. It includes Mallarme, Baudelaire, Charles Dewitt Talmage, Homer, Tennyson, Whitman, Samuel Clements, Marcus Aurelius, W. E. Henley, Anatole France, DeMaupassant, Pierre Loti, Spenser, Bierce, William Ellery Channing, Charles Loring Brace, Plutarch, Bryant, Owen Wister, Cooper, S. Weir Mitchell, Jacob Riis, an assortment of popular civil war narratives, De Forest, contemporary sports sections of newspapers, similarly contemporary humor magazines and, perhaps more significant than any of the others, the Bible. Furthermore, again despite scanty evidence, Crane has been connected, variously, with James' "Art of Fiction" and Poe's "The Poetic Principle" and "The Philosophy of Composition" in an attempt to lay some of the credit for his structure and style and art on the shoulders of these important works.[50] The longest list of "possible influences upon Crane," as Hoffman termed it, is found in the "List of Books, Brede Place" which lists alphabetically and somewhat carelessly the books found in Crane's library sometime prior to his death. The list goes only to T and is, therefore, imcomplete, but it is replete, nonetheless, with contemporary British authors, many of them Crane's personal friends, classics of English literature, some hack works, probably the

gifts of Crane's friends and admirers; it is, in short, the record of an eclectic, unsystematic collection similar to those found in most of the homes in America. The list does not identify which, if any, of the works Crane read or which of the works were there because Cora Crane, in whose hand the list is written, put them there. Both Hoffman and James E. Kibler, Jr., warn against attaching too much significance to the "List," but both mention and are impressed, as was H. G. Wells before them, by the number of works by Crane's father, grandfather, and uncle which appear on the list.[51]

Both Hoffman and Kibler intimate the importance of his family's works to Crane and his literature, contra Wells, and, indeed, the evidence of the "List" and of Hoffman's recognition of Crane's family's writings are probably most responsible for the grudging recognition of George Peck, Jesse Truesdell Peck, and Jonathan Townley Crane as literary influences on Crane. Unfortunately, the interest in the Pecks and Crane as sources in Stephen's background has centered on less than a half-dozen works and has ignored a vast range of additional works from these men. Their importance has been limited by critics to discussions of Crane's colorful style or has been relegated to use as illustration of the Methodism Crane grew up in and later rejected. Even this sort of argument is founded, primarily, on stylistic analysis rather than philosophical bases. The Pecks and Jonathan Crane have been recognized principally as _incunabula_ in Stephen's background and useful as footnote filler and as status symbols. It has become _chic_ to introduce their names, the names of their works and, occasionally, to quote from one of those works in the course of a study, but little of a substantial nature has been said; and what has been said, with few exceptions, has been

said on the basis of reading Hoffman or Gullason and rarely has come from perusal of the works themselves. The works of George Peck, J. T. Peck, and J. T. Crane are the products of intelligent, erudite, scholarly clerics, are chock-full of quotations from and references to literature, history, and philosophy, and are the one source of literary works that can be unmistakably placed in Crane's hands at a time when, educators and others lead us to assume, such sources are most clearly assimilated into the author's consciousness--his youth. Against a tradition of ignorance and questionable influences, the writings of Crane's family stand as an undiscovered or dimly perceived beacon in the darkness.

The problems of Stephen Crane's religious attitudes and of his reading and literary background have been discussed in critical studies. But the influence on criticism of Daniel Hoffman's study of Crane's poetry has never been seriously discussed, much less questioned. Hoffman's study, important as it is, cannot be accepted as the gospel it has become. Hoffman reviewed the poetry from an incomplete (given recent discoveries and editions perspective) and was blinded, in some instances, by the light cast from John Berryman's erratic biography. Aside from perpetuating some of the errors of Beer and Berryman, Hoffman's chapter entitled "War In Heaven," has become the prevailing metaphor in Crane studies.

The final problem for consideration, then, is the problem of that metaphor. The premise Hoffman proposed requires that a difference of religious philosophy existed between Jonathan Townley Crane and Mary Helen Peck Crane and her family, and that that difference resulted in real or imagined family strife which affected Stephen and marks his works.

Crane's father and mother, in the structure of this tradition, represent respectively, a "New Testament God" and an "Old Testament God," or a God of tender mercies and a brutal, vindictive deity. The struggle, viewed critically, invariably goes with tenderness and mercy and against brutality; and Stephen is, as a result, seen as either rejecting both conceptions because of the perceived struggle or opting for his father's God (and his father) to the exclusion of his mother's God and his mother. Neither critical option seems remarkably perceptive or realistic.

John Berryman fostered the tradition when he suggested that "some pieces [of The Black Riders] set against this Old Testament swaggerer an interior pitying God." "His mother's," Berryman continues, "had been warring with his father's God in Crane's thought" (Berryman, p. 114). Hoffman, inadvertently perhaps but nonetheless conclusively, cemented the tradition into the house of Crane criticism when he elaborated on Berryman by saying that "his [Crane's] father's theological views gave Crane a God of love with whom to oppose the God of vengeance who was the heritage of his mother's family" (Hoffman, p. 14). The force of the tradition is important because it colors so many areas of Crane studies. It appears in commentary on Crane's style, it is involved in discussion of Crane's depiction of character, and it is constantly referred to in any investigation of Crane's literary philosophy. But the protean nature of the critical terminology often obscures the facts that what seems a brilliant insight is, often, only a retread of a very worn discussion.

Crane's rejection of his mother's God and ultimate alignment with his father's more gentle God is one of the basic principles of Westbrook's affirmative thesis, and Bassan says essentially the same thing

when he says Crane does not abandon "the spirit of his minister father's gentle Methodism."[52] Robert Schneider follows Westbrook's lead when he asserts, "perhaps nowhere else did Crane more clearly show his nostalgia for the fruits of his father than by this retention of the basic elements of New Testament Christianity as the core of his ethical code." Although this is a remarkable assertion, Schneider does not successfully show the "ethical code" in action in Crane's work and his reading suffers as a result.[53] This approach degenerates, frequently, to a conflict between mother and son. Joseph X. Brennan, discussing George's Mother, transfers the conflict of the novel to Crane and his mother in terms of the original heavenly "war," as has come to be expected in readings of that novel,[54] and Larzer Ziff, seemingly wants it both ways when he suggests that Crane developed his attitudes "before his Mother . . . could impose her Methodism on him." By the time Crane had lived in England for awhile, Ziff tells us, he had matured sufficiently "to acknowledge his connections with the kindly Methodist tradition of his family."[55] Cleverly but consistently, Ziff follows the critical tradition of rejection. "Kindly Methodist tradition" implies, indeed has become something of a critical cliche for, Jonathan Townley Crane's religion and his God (cf. Bassan above); thus Ziff has Crane reject his mother's religion and "acknowledge" his father's--a standard construct, as we have seen. Edwin Cady and Stanley Wertheim, despite the excellence of their studies, follow Hoffman almost slavishly in echoing the rhetoric of his "War in Heaven";[56] Jean Cazemajou recites Crane's rebellion against the "Old Testament God";[57] James Colvert and Marston LaFrance qualify the general commonplaces of the tradition, but only present a new face on the old problem;[58] Thomas A. Gullason, whose importance in Crane studies has

been mentioned, only admits that "beneath Stephen Crane's bohemian pose there was the unmistakable Crane-Peck heritage," without attempting to explicate or clarify the impact of that heritage and does nothing to confirm or dispel the prevailing myth.[59] R. W. Stallman, in his many works, lobbies tirelessly for his allegorical reading of The Red Badge and, to "buttress" that reading, he almost idealizes Crane's relationship with his father to the final exclusion of his mother and her family (Stallman, pp. 14, 17, et passim).

Any suggestion which has Crane making a choice of parents, of religious philosophy, or opting for rejection of religion is an integral part of this tradition; however, the tradition still survives in the original which posits an unresolved conflict in the Crane family. Leverett Smith's "Stephen Crane's Calvinism," explains the two sides of the battle in terms of Mary Helen Peck Crane's "Calvinistic Methodism," which is in itself a contradiction of terms, and Jonathan Crane's "inner-light Methodism." However, Smith presents what seems to be a contradictory twist when he suggests that these differences are less important in the Crane family relationship than are their similarities. His initial separation is couched in such dogmatic terms that the later shift toward similarities loses its impact and is largely ignored; nonetheless just such a radical change of critical attitude is what is needed for understanding Crane's relationship with his parents and his mother's family.[60] George Monteiro offers such a change when he admits that "there is now considerable support among Crane's critics for a quite different idea." "He [Crane] still retained," Monteiro continues, "a pure vision of essential Christianity."[61] The change is radical, but supportable; it avoids, however, the problem of Hoffman's "War in Heaven" metaphor.

Lyle Linder adds the final piece to a possible solution of that problem. Linder makes the somewhat brash assertion that "when Jonathan Townley Crane married Helen Peck in 1848, he appears to have married her family and causes to an unusual degree. Her father was a pioneer circuit rider who sired five Methodist preachers, and Jonathan became a dutiful sixth."[62] Linder is brash because he does not support the assertion nor does he go further than to mention various works of Crane's family as possible sources; but by mentioning those works and arguing for their usefulness, he points the way to an accessible source of documentable material of which a careful analysis can be made. As a result, his brashness can be vindicated. With a study of the works of Crane's family, the tradition can be materially altered to remove some of the ambivalence and imprecision which it imposes on Crane, his family, and his works.

The three traditions taken together form an imposing critical structure; it will never be completely razed because some of it is soundly researched, amply documented, and irrefutable, and because some of it, although less soundly based, may be so firmly entrenched that no amount of scholarship will dislodge it. Only the passing of the proponents of some parts of the traditions will lessen or erase their effects. A great part of the traditions, however, are susceptible to and in need of renovation. A close study of the published works of George Peck, Jesse Truesdell Peck, and Jonathan Townley Crane will provide new information, needed documentation, and fresh directions for the study of Stephen Crane and his works.

The practical aspects of any study concerned with the writings of Crane's family are several and should be accounted for at the outset.

Crane's father, Jonathan Townley Crane; Crane's maternal grandfather, George Peck; and Crane's maternal great-uncle, Jesse Truesdell Peck are the principals of the study because they are the family authors previously associated with Crane and because they offer the greatest number of works available for study. One other Peck, Jonathan K. Peck, wrote The Seven Wonders of the New World and The Five Sons of Jesse Peck, but his works are of slight interest to this study because of the tenuous nature of J. K. Peck's relation to Crane.

The works studied were chosen on the basis of several considerations. If the works were mentioned by previous critics, those works were included. Furthermore, an investigation of the National Union Catalogue, Pre-56, offered a reasonably comprehensive list of works from all of the above mentioned authors and an attempt to examine all the works listed seemed the logical course of action. Several bibliographical supplements, notably those in the Dictionary of American Biography and Appleton's Cyclopaedia supplied further clues to the necessary works. Finally, "List of Books--Brede Place" is the only contemporary listing of what Crane might have known, or at least owned, of his family's works. As such, it was accepted as a kind of final authority for which works to consider. With the exception only of J. K. Peck's works, all the works catalogued by "List of Books," as taken from the manuscript held by the Butler Library, Columbia University, are dealt with and a few additional works of interest, gleaned from others of the mentioned sources, are considered.

There are some problems to be clarified, among them the consistent appearance in the various sources, including "List of Books," of a work entitled Rule of Faith, variously attributed to "Peck," Jesse T. Peck,

and George Peck. "List of Books" attributes it only to "Peck"; Appleton's assigns it to George Peck; and Stallman attributes it by that title, without comment, to Jesse T. Peck. James Kibler in his very useful study of Crane's library and of "List of Books," tentatively assigns Rule of Faith to Jesse Peck, but classifies it "unidentified" later in the study. Kibler also includes a note of disclaimer which credits Stallman for any identification of the book which Kibler uses.[63] The title does not appear in NUC or any other standard reference, but the problem is completely solved if we examine the descriptive title of George Peck's Appeal from Tradition to Scripture and Common Sense or; An Answer to the Question What Constitutes the Divine Rule of Faith and Practice? and pay attention to the object of the final clause. Rule of Faith became the title embossed on the spine of the 1844 edition, and on some subsequent editions, and, thus, became the title of the work. This fact offers some insight into the way "List of Books" was gathered and invites speculations as to why the book did not come to be known as Common Sense (perhaps to avoid comparison with that odious anti-Christian, Thomas Paine), but those are sidelights and cannot be considered here.

Whenever possible, first editions are used, with the exception of Jesse Truesdell Peck's The Great Republic, from the Discovery of America to the Centennial, July 4, 1876 or; The History of the Great Republic, considered from a Christian Viewpoint, in which case the 1876 edition, "completely revised," is used. As Peck tells us in the introduction, the 1876 version is a truer representation of what he originally intended but was prevented from doing by editorial necessities in the 1868 first edition. We are never sure what additions or changes make the

1876 edition a clearer representative of Peck's intention, but his avowed preference makes the use of that edition mandatory.

As for Stephen Crane's works, Fredson Bowers' Virginia edition of the Works has been used throughout. In spite of the controversy surrounding the editorial techniques which were used in producing this edition, it is, nonetheless, the most accurate comprehensive collection available to scholars and has been used in spite of what sometimes seem pedantic objections.

The mechanics of structure for a study such as is proposed are troublesome in that the first temptation is to deal with each principal separately and thereby create a neat, pigeonholed presentation of each individual, but to do so is to eliminate the comparisons and correlations necessary to understanding the relationship between Stephen and his family. Therefore, a short collation of the important biographical sketches of the individuals, coupled with Stephen's mention of them, precedes a group of chapters which attempt to address themselves to the separate problems. The biographical collation is necessary in order to grasp the public historical perspective on these men as opposed and compared to the intimate view drawn from Stephen's observations. Furthermore, the separations are the only opportunity we will have to meet each man individually and, thus, gain a certain understanding of each man. A bibliographic appendix (Appendix A) includes a detailed list of all the works included in the study separated by author. There will also be found a synopsis of each work arranged in chronological order according to the date of publication.

George Peck, Crane's maternal grandfather, was born in 1797 and died in 1876. He entered the ministry in 1816 and was a member of every

Methodist general conference from 1824 to 1872. He was also a delegate to the first evangelical alliance in London in 1846. He was one of five brothers, all of whom became Methodist ministers and one of whom (Jesse T.) was elected a bishop of the church. George Peck was principal of Cazenovia Seminary from 1835 to 1839 and was instrumental in its founding. He also managed the founding of a seminary at Kingston, Pennsylvania. From 1840 to 1848 he edited the Methodist Quarterly Review and from 1848 to 1852 the New York Christian Advocate. He married Mary Myers of Forty Fort, Pennsylvania in 1819 and took the M.A. from Wesleyan University and the D.D. at Augusta College.

While he did have conventional academic training, George Peck's early education was principally the result of personal desire. He taught himself Greek and Hebrew and was a voracious reader, often reading on horseback as he wended his way through the trackless woods of frontier New York and Pennsylvania on his assigned circuits. His many publications are entirely of doctrinal, controversial, or historical nature and reveal him to be an able apologist, doctrinal theologian, and historian. He is remarkably liberal in his regard for the various divisions of Christianity and of the other established religions of the world, drawing occasional quotations from the Koran and the Zend Avesta (see RF, p. 118). He shows prejudice only in regard of Roman Catholicism, the Episcopal Church, and Mormonism. He was regarded by at least one of his contemporaries "as one of the most remarkable men of our times--one whose genius and piety are indelibly stamped on the ecclesiastical polity and wonderful growth of the church--whose wise counsels and herculean labors are interwoven into its development."[64]

Jesse Truesdell Peck, Crane's maternal great-uncle, was born in 1811 and died in 1883. He entered the ministry in 1829. His formal education consisted only of a period at Cazenovia seminary but, like his brother George, he was widely read and remarkably self-educated. He taught himself Greek, Latin, and Hebrew and made education his special field of endeavor. He was principal of Gouverneur Wesleyan Seminary from 1837 to 1841 and principal of the Troy conference academy from 1841 to 1848. In 1848 he was appointed President of Dickinson College in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, which post he served four years. In 1854 he was appointed editor and secretary of the National Tract Society in New York, but returned to a pastorate in 1856. He transferred, for the sake of his wife's health, to California in 1858, serving pastorates in San Francisco and Sacramento and as President of the Board of Trustees for Pacific College. In 1866 he returned to New York and from 1870 to 1872, while pastor in Syracuse, New York, was instrumental in the founding and establishment of Syracuse University. In 1872 he was elected bishop and in 1881 presided at the London Methodist Ecumenical Conference. After the conference he made a tour of Europe holding conferences and investigating educational systems and facilities. His publications are hortatory, remedial, and historical, and he is considered to be not so liberal as his older brother in his views on doctrine and theology. However, he is not so dogmatic as his critics picture him. His avidity for Methodism, education, and American nationalism colored all his writings, but he was never bigoted, unless it is against the Roman church, and he was always solicitous of his fellow ministers and his congregations. He was known widely as a generous promoter of younger men and as a staunch advocate for Methodist doctrine. His style shows a practiced ease in

Christian controversy, an encyclopedic knowledge of the church fathers and ecclesiastical history, and a remarkable facility for striking metaphor.[65]

Jonathan Townley Crane, Stephen's father, was born in 1819 and died in 1880. Having been orphaned at the age of twelve, he supported himself until entering the College of New Jersey by working in a Newark trunk factory. After graduation, he entered the Methodist ministry in 1844. A converted Presbyterian, he served as presiding elder of several circuits and served in various circuits and stations in New Jersey and New York. He was principal of Pennington Seminary from 1848 to 1858, taught at Drew Theological Seminary in its first year, and took the D.D. from Dickinson College in 1856.

Crane's published works exhibit a clear sense of the moral responsibility of the church for its members and to the world. He also comments on the Bible with patristic ease and understanding. As the gathering forces of the Civil War thrust themselves even into the church, Dr. Crane joined the anti-slavery side of the controversy, but was never strident or loud enough to be a recognized champion. His works on slavery concern themselves principally with the church's and white America's responsibility to a race their predecessors had here. He was a liberal spokesman for the morality of a unified Christian church and showed no bigotry towards any of the protestant denominations. His one prejudice was the standard protestant revulsion for Roman Catholicism. His doctrinal and theological philosophies seem to be almost exactly those of his wife's family, who championed him in his successful publishing career and who seemed to treat him as another son or brother. In one of the most complete resumes of Dr. Crane we are told that "his style is

chaste, well ordered, and economical, and rises on worthy occasion to a sober eloquence. In doctrine he was a strict Methodist of the old stamp, filled with the sense of God's redeeming love. . . . In controversy he was gentlemanly, in his judgements charitable. . . . He leaves the impression of an unusually noble mind straitened by dogma and a narrow education." After the initial encomia, the last assessment of Dr. Crane as a "noble mind straitened by a narrow education," comes as something of a shock, especially in view of Dr. Crane's achievements in education and of the evidence of his wide reading. His works are replete with historical, literary, and ecclesiastical reference and are dogmatic only in the sense that they are strictly Christian and thoroughly Wesleyan in doctrine.[66]

These short reviews help to identify the principals of this study as self-made men, anything but the provincial circuit riders literary criticism would have them be. They are, throughout their writings, witty, urbane, erudite, and logical. They are shrewd logicians and staunch Methodists, and they are indefatigable seekers for the truth, be it religious or secular. When Stephen relays his famous "ambling-nag, saddle-bag, exhorting kind" (Letters, p. 94) description of his Peck forebears, he is probably reflecting the self-demeaning pride in their profession all three men exemplify in their works; Stephen is not being ironic or derogatory, as so many have assumed. These men were proud of having suffered the privations of riding the circuit for their faith, and they defend the practice vigorously when it comes under fire in the latter half of the century. The dangers and sufferings they describe are the same type of experiences Stephen put himself through in Greece and Cuba, and he probably admired and understood their fortitude as much

as anyone could. In fact, in a less quoted continuation of his notorious deflation, Stephen remembers that his "Uncle, Jesse T. Peck, D.D., L.L.D., was a bishop in the Methodist Church," and that his father was also "a clergyman of that church, author of numerous works of theology, an editor of various periodicals of the church. He graduated at Princeton. He was a great, fine, simple mind" (Letters, p. 94). Stephen's remembrance of his uncle's ecclesiastical office and of his degrees and of his father's accomplishments in the church suggest pride, not derogation. His comment on his father is as tenderly emotional as any statement Stephen Crane ever wrote.

Of the thirty-four works from the several pens of Crane's family included in this study, only one does not spring from a distinctly religious impulse. However, even that one work, Wyoming; Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures, has a religious patina imposed on its historical narrative. This pervasive religiosity does not come as a surprise to a critical establishment that has long recognized Crane's ecclesiastical background and has, almost as long, tried to discredit that background by claiming, on the basis of limited quotation, that Crane was alienated by the tradition and rejected, or attempted to reject it. It is a simpler thing to say that Crane rejects, out of hand, his religious heritage, than it is to prove it. What, for instance, is included in that religious heritage? Does Crane reject his family's ideals and aspirations wholesale, or does he reject some parcels and embrace others? The critical generality of "rejection" and "religious heritage" is, here, seriously deficient in connotative allusion. The "religious heritage" of Crane's family embraces their, and his, entire existence, not, as is inferred by the generality, just their

Methodism. With that in mind, it seems as ludicrous to assert the unmitigated rejection of a heritage as to assert the whole-hearted embrace of that heritage. Crane does neither. He, as have generations of children, winnows the harvest from his family heritage, discarding what, for him, is chaff and retaining that which, again for him, is seed and of worth.

A close comparison of the works of Crane's family with what we can extract from Crane himself will suggest that Crane, far from rejecting these works and his ancestral heritage, draws important personal standards from the philosophical ideals represented in the works and knows the works well enough to extrapolate story materials from them for his own works. The works of George Peck, Jesse Truesdell Peck, and Jonathan Townley Crane clearly reveal the philosophy they held separately and communally, illustrate the impact of that philosophy on Stephen Crane, throw new light on Crane's use of those works as literary sources, and suggest an interesting meshing of attitudes between Crane's poetry and the religious thought of his family.

NOTES

[1]Stephen Crane, The Works of Stephen Crane, ed., Wilson Follett (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), VI, pp. xix-xx.

[2]Thomas Beer, Stephen Crane: A Study in American Letters (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924), p. 61. All subsequent references to this work will be noted by parenthetical insertion of Beer and the page number in the text.

[3](Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1953), p. 79.

[4]Everett A. Gillis, "A Glance at Stephen Crane's Poetry," Prairie Schooner, 28 (Spring, 1954), p. 75.

[5]Charles C. Walcutt, American Literary Naturalism, A Divided Stream (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1956), p. 67.

[6]R. W. Stallman, ed., Stephen Crane: An Omnibus (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1952), p. 191, et passim.

[7]William Bysshe Stein, "New Testament Inversions in Crane's Maggie," Modern Language Notes, 73 (1958), 268.

[8]R. W. Stallman, "Crane's 'Maggie': A Reassessment," Modern Fiction Studies, 5 (1959), 254.

[9]Hugh N. Maclean, "The Two Worlds of 'The Blue Hotel'," Modern Fiction Studies, 5 (1959), 264.

[10]James T. Cox, "The Imagery of The Red Badge of Courage," Modern Fiction Studies, 5 (1959), 211.

[11]Nineteenth Century Fiction, 14 (1959), 219.

[12]Westbrook, p. 225.

[13]Ralph Ellison, Shadow and Act (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 62.

[14]Stanley Wertheim, "Stephen Crane and The Wrath of Jehovah," Literary Review, 7 (1964), 505.

[15]Harlan D. Nelson, "Stephen Crane's Achievement as Poet," Texas Studies in Language and Literature, 4 (1963), 567.

[16]Nelson, p. 570.

[17]Warner Berthoff, The Ferment of Realism: American Literature, 1884-1919 (New York: The Free Press, 1965), p. 234.

[18]See Jay Martin, Harvests of Change (Englewood Cliffs: N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), et passim, and Larzer Ziff, The American 1890's: Life and Times of a Lost Generation (New York: Viking Press, 1966), pp. 185-206 ff.

[19]Stephen Crane, The Complete Novels of Stephen Crane, ed., Thomas A. Gullason (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1967), p. 27.

[20]George Monteiro, "The Logic Beneath 'The Open Boat'," Georgia Review, 26 (1972), 334.

[21]George Monteiro, "Society and Nature in Stephen Crane's 'The Men in the Storm'," Prairie Schooner, 45 (1971), 17.

[22]Marston LaFrance, A Reading of Stephen Crane (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 150.

[23]LaFrance, p. 251.

[24]Edwin H. Cady, Stephen Crane (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1962), p. 74.

[25]Cady, p. 94.

[26]Cady, p. 110.

[27]Bruce L. Grenberg, "Metaphysics of Despair: Stephen Crane's 'The Blue Hotel'," Modern Fiction Studies, 14 (1968), 203.

[28]R. W. Stallman, Stephen Crane: A Biography (New York: George Braziller, 1968), p. 151 ff., p. 168 ff. All subsequent references to this work will be noted by parenthetical insertion of Stallman and the page number in the text.

[29]Jean Cazemajou, Stephen Crane, Univ. of Minnesota Pamphlets on American Writers, No. 76 (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1969), p. 37.

[30]Cazemajou, pp. 40-41.

[31]Stephen Crane, The Poems of Stephen Crane: A Critical Edition, ed., Joseph Katz (New York: Cooper Square, 1971), p. xxxiv.

[32]Frank Bergon, Stephen Crane's Artistry (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1975), p. 56.

[33]Donald B. Gibson, The Fiction of Stephen Crane (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Univ. Press, 1968), p. 132.

[34]John T. Frederick, The Darkened Sky: Nineteenth-Century American Novelists and Religion (Notre Dame: Notre Dame Univ. Press, 1969), p. xi.

[35]It is to James Colvert's credit that his introduction to X (see pp. xvii-xix) mentions the critical importance of scientism, Higher Criticism and the fallibility of social institutions, including Comstockery et al., to understanding Stephen Crane. He is the only critic to even mention these important sources, but it is only a mention.

[36]The source of the quotation is an apocryphal or mythical meeting of Howells and Crane as recorded first in Beer, p. 96 and repeated by Berryman, p. 68.

[37]See Beer, Berryman, Stallman, and C. L. Peaslee, "The College Days of Stephen Crane," Monthly Illustrator (1896), 27-30; Harvey Wickham, "Stephen Crane at College," American Mercury, 7 (1926), 291-297; Claude Jones, "Stephen Crane at Syracuse," American Literature, 7 (1935), 82-84; Lyndon Upson Pratt, "The Formal Education of Stephen Crane," American Literature, 10 (1938), 460-471; Thomas A. Gullason, "Four Men in a Cave, Likewise Four Queens; and A Sullivan County Hermit, and A Critical Appraisal," Readers and Writers, 1 (1967), 30-31; Jean Cazemajou, "Stephen Crane: Pennington Seminary: Étape d'une éducation méthodiste," Études Anglaises, 20 (1967), 140-148; Thomas A. Gullason, "The Cranes at Pennington Seminary," American Literature, 39 (1968), 530-541; Donald Sloane, "Stephen Crane at Lafayette," Resources for American Literary Study, 2 (1972), 102-105.

[38]Beer, p. 97. Rather like James Fenimore Cooper's entrance into novel writing, Beer tells us that Crane started The Red Badge as the result of a taunt from Acton Davies after Crane had rejected his pro-offered Lâ Débâcle. When asked if he thought he could write better than Zola, Crane answered, "of course." Berryman and Stallman accept the story and repeat it.

[39]Carl Van Doren, "Stephen Crane," American Mercury, 1 (1924), 11.

[40]Stephen Crane, The Work of Stephen Crane, ed., Wilson Follett (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), IV, p. ix.

[41]Van Doren, "Stephen Crane," p. 11.

[42]Stephen Crane, The Work of Stephen Crane, ed., Wilson Follett (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), IX, p. xi.

[43]Willa Cather, "When I Knew Stephen Crane," in Stephen Crane: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed., Maurice Bassan (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 14.

[44]Westbrook, p. 219.

[45]Robert Spiller, "Stephen Crane," Literary History of the United States, ed., Robert E. Spiller et al. (New York: Macmillan, 1946), p. 1021. Hereafter cited as LHUS.

[46]Cady, Stephen Crane, p. 69.

[47](Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1967), p. 15, et passim.

[48]The legend of W. D. Howells reading Dickinson to Crane and of Crane writing his own poetry immediately thereafter is first recounted by Beer and recited by Berryman and Stallman in their biographies. Garland cites Olive Schreiner, along with Dickinson, Henley, Whitman, and the Bible, in Roadside Meetings (1930), not to mention his many other, often contradictory, reminiscences of his acquaintance with Crane. Cf., for instance, Hamlin Garland, "Stephen Crane As I Knew Him," Yale Review, N.S. 3 (1914), 494-506.

[49]Frank Norris, "Stephen Crane's Stories of Life in the Slums," Wave (San Francisco), 15 (July 4, 1896), p. 13.

[50]The identification of likely sources for Crane's work was, is, and probably will be a major industry in the critical world. Anything like a complete list of source studies and notes identifying sources is not only too long for inclusion here, but is counterproductive. A partial, representative list includes Beer, Berryman, Stallman, and Hoffman, all of the introductions to the Follett edition of the works and to the Bowers Virginia edition, Gullason's introductions to his Complete Short Stories and Complete Novels of Stephen Crane, and Gullason's

"Tennyson's Influence on Stephen Crane," Notes and Queries, 203, N.S. 5 (1958), 164-65; "Stephen Crane: Anti-Imperialist," American Literature, 30 (1958), 237-41; and "The Sources of Stephen Crane's Maggie," Philological Quarterly, 38 (1959), 497-502; Stanley Wertheim, "Stephen Crane Remembered," Studies in American Fiction, 4 (1976), 45-64; Curtis Brown, Contacts (New York: Harper Bros., 1935); Lars Ahnebrink, The Beginnings of Naturalism in American Fiction (Upsala: A. B. Lundequistka Bokhandein, 1950); Scott C. Osborn, "Stephen Crane's Imagery: 'Pasted Like a Wafer'," American Literature, 23 (1951), 362; Everett Gillis, "A Glance at Stephen Crane's Poetry," Prairie Schooner, 28 (1954), 73-79; James B. Colvert, "The Origins of Stephen Crane's Literary Creed," University of Texas Studies in English, 34 (1955), 179-88; Colvert, "The Red Badge of Courage and a Review of Zola's Lâ Débâcle," Modern Language Notes, 71 (1956), 98-100; Marcus Cunliffe, "Stephen Crane and the American Background of Maggie," American Quarterly, 7 (1955), 31-44; Edmund Wilson, ed., The Shock of Recognition (New York: Farrer, Strauss and Giroux, 1955); James M. Cox, "The Pilgrim's Progress as Source for Stephen Crane's The Black Riders," American Literature, 28 (1957), 478-487; Corwin Knapp Linson, My Stephen Crane, ed., Edwin Cady (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1958); Neal J. Osborn, "The Riddle in 'The Clan' A Key to Crane's Major Fiction?," Bulletin of the New York Public Library, 69 (1965), 247-58; Cady, Stephen Crane (New York: Twayne Publications, 1962); Warren D. Anderson, "Homer and Stephen Crane," Nineteenth Century Fiction, 19 (1964), 77-86; Marvin Klotz, "Crane's 'The Red Badge of Courage'," Notes and Queries, N.S. 6 (1959), 68-69; Richard Peck, "Stephen Crane and Baudelaire: A Direct Link," American Literature, 37 (1965), 202-204; Maurice Bassan, "Introduction," in

Stephen Crane: A Collection of Critical Essays (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), 1-11; Joseph Katz, "Whitman, Crane, and The Odious Comparisons," Notes and Queries, 212, N.S. 14 (1967), 66-67; Marston LaFrance, A Reading of Stephen Crane (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Stephen Crane, The Poems of Stephen Crane: A Critical Edition, ed., Joseph Katz (New York: Cooper Square, 1971); Stanley Wertheim, "The Red Badge of Courage and Personal Narratives of the Civil War," American Literary Realism, 1870-1910, 6 (1973), 61-65.

[51]"List of Books, Brede Place," MS, Butler Library, Columbia University. I wish to thank Kenneth Lohf, Rare Book and Manuscript Librarian of the Butler Library for providing a photostatic copy of "List of Books" for my consultation. Also, see Hoffman, 31 ff.; James E. Kibler, Jr., "The Library of Stephen and Cora Crane," in Proof: The Yearbook of American Bibliographical and Textual Studies, ed. Joseph Katz (Columbia, S.C.: Univ. of South Carolina Press, 1971), I, p. 207, et passim.

[52]Bassan, ed., "Introduction," p. 1; Westbrook, "Affirmation," p. 224.

[53]Robert W. Schneider, "Stephen Crane and the Drama of Transition," Journal of the Central Mississippi Valley American Studies Association, 2 (1960), 14.

[54]Joseph X. Brennan, "The Imagery and Art of George's Mother," College Language Association Journal, 4 (1960), 107 ff.

[55]Ziff, p. 185.

[56]Cf. Cady, Stephen Crane, p. 112 ff.; Wertheim, "Stephen Crane and the Wrath of Jehovah," p. 502, et passim.

[57]Cazemajou, "Stephen Crane," p. 32.

[58]James B. Colvert, "Stephen Crane's Magic Mountain," in Stephen Crane: A Collection of Critical Essays, ed., Maurice Bassan (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1967), p. 102 ff.; LaFrance, A Reading of Stephen Crane, p. 144 ff.

[59]Complete Novels of Stephen Crane, ed., Gullason, p. 19.

[60]Leverett T. Smith, "Stephen Crane's Calvinism," The Canadian Review of American Studies, 2 (1971), 15.

[61]George Monteiro, "Stephen Crane and the Antinomies of Christian Charity," The Centennial Review, 16 (1972), 92.

[62]Linder, p. 281.

[63]Kibler, p. 237.

[64]Biographical material on George Peck is derived from DAB, 14, pp. 374-75; Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography, ed. Wilson and Fiske (New York: Appleton and Co., 1888), 4, pp. 695-96; and The Encyclopedia of World Methodism, ed., Nolan B. Harmon (Nashville: The United Methodist Publishing House, 1974), 2, p. 1872.

[65]Biographical material on Jesse Peck is derived from DAB, 14 pp. 379-80; Appleton's Cyclopaedia, 4, p. 695; The Encyclopedia of World Methodism, 2, p. 1873; Methodist Bishops: Personal Notes and Bibliography, ed. Frederick DeLandeLeete (Nashville: Parthenon Press, 1948), pp. 151-152.

[66]Biographical material on Jonathon Crane is derived from DAB, 4, pp. 506-508; The Encyclopedia of World Methodism, 1, pp. 601-602.

CHAPTER III

MORALS, IDEALS, AND PHILOSOPHIES

It is difficult to separate religion and ideals when discussing Crane and his family, until we recognize that Stephen's ideals and his philosophy of life developed into a secular entity. It is important to note developed--Crane became a secular man, he did not start out that way; furthermore, his ideal, moral, philosophical self, his "soul" for the romantics among us, contacted and appropriated its outline and its perspective from his Methodist family and their religiously inspired ideas. Without attempting to be coy or evasive, a discussion of the purely Biblical background which Crane consciously or unconsciously drew from is better left for discussion in a later chapter. It can be shown outside of that discussion that Crane's moral sensibilities and his sense of purpose and truth are directly related to and influenced by the Christian ideals represented by his family in their writings.

In his writing, with few exceptions, Crane is relatively noncommittal and ambiguous concerning all of the matters we are interested in (i.e. ideals and philosophies of life). Crane goes about his business seemingly free of the philosophical and ideological shackles which hampered his contemporaries and his society. However, if we look into his private life viewed from our only window into that life, his letters and the personal reminiscences of his friends and family, we find an entirely different figure. In his personal correspondence and acquaintances, he is forthright, openly self-conscious, and sometimes brutally

honest. His friends, acquaintances, and family, all of whom, it seems, felt obliged to record their personal anecdotes of "Stevie," almost unamimously draw a picture of a fun-loving but reticent, honest, truth-seeking, chivalrous, kind, chaste, generous, temperate, idealistic, self-sufficient, well-liked young man. He is described by one friend, as "modest, gentle, direct and unaffected. In character modest to the point of diffidence." He possessed "a rare characteristic . . . dislike of praise and publicity."[1] Frank Noxon, a Syracuse classmate, wrote of him, "Crane was brave, physically, morally and socially," and Walter Parker's account of Crane's prevention of tragedy in post-war Cuba is sufficient evidence of that bravery.[2] "He was lovable to a degree," his best friend, C. K. Linson wrote of him, "daring and chivalrous, generous as the air, compelling a genuinely warm affection from those who best knew him."[3] Frederick G. Gordon wrote of Crane to Thomas Beer, "his ideals were fine, his sense of honour high and his faith in mankind unshaken. He was all that we used to mean by the word <u>gentleman</u>. I never saw him even slightly intoxicated" (<u>Letters</u>, p. 329). Mark Barr reiterates Gordon's assessment when he tells us that "everyone who knew Stephen Crane loved him. People of very different interests found him congenial. His clarity of expression, his wit and humor, his kindness and consideration charmed his many friends. He had no vanity of any kind."[4] Noxon comments further on Crane's sense of kindness: "One of Stephen Crane's characteristics was a haunting solicitude for the comfort and welfare of other people, especially those of narrow means." "The dominant impulse," Noxon continues, "was a desire to serve the helpless" (<u>Letters</u>, pp. 334-35).

Even those who did not particularly care for him could find little fault with him. "He [Crane] had," Harvey Wickham, a Hudson River classmate, records, "the insane idea that the world might be regulated by justice,"[5] and Crane's niece relates in her first hand reminiscence that "he had a passion for truth." "His writings," Edna Crane Sidbury remembers, "must be sincere if he nearly starved in the meantime."[6] This cumulative view runs contrary to the gossip current during Crane's life and rampant just after his death. But it is consistent with the character we can derive from Crane's letters and with the character he would have been expected to be, given the ideals of his family by which he was reared.

Crane, as he wrote to Nellie Crouse, detested "dogma" (Letters, p. 114) and dogmatic pronouncement; furthermore, he was not remarkably free with talk about himself. Thus we cannot expect to have a great tome of quotations outlining his philosophy of life. But his letters and not a few first person news reports offer us a reasonably clear outline of his ambitions, ideals, and philosophies. Despite the contention that Crane is rarely trustworthy because of his sometimes radically ironic point-of-view, the letters are the only personal expression that we have from Crane. The irony was a part of Crane, but the extremity of that irony at its best was for public consumption; these letters were not; therefore we have, in the letters, as nearly the unvarnished Crane as we can hope to discover.

His lack of self esteem and his sense of personal humility are a common subject in his letters. He is most deprecating and tentative when speaking of his personal response to his works and reviews of those works. To Lily Brandon Munroe he wrote, "I do not think that I will

get enough applause to turn my head. I don't see why I should. I merely did what I could, in a simple way, and recognition from such men as Howells, Garland, Flowers and Shaw, has shown me that I was not altogether reprehensible. Any particular vanity in my work is not possible to me" (Letters, p. 21). Later in his career he informed another correspondent that "personally I am aware that my work does not amount to a string of dried beans--I always calmly admit it" (Letters, p. 104). But this deflation of his literary accomplishments is extended to himself and his personal ideas in regular fashion; he often admits to having an enormous ego, but also claims that "it's a comfortable and manful occupation to trample upon one's own egotism" (Letters, p. 98), and that "I am often marvelously a blockhead and incomparably an idiot. I reach depths of stupidity of which most people cannot dream" (Letters, p. 103).

To be sure, Crane was aware of himself and his worth; and his protesting can be read as hyperbole of a Shakespearian sort--the gentleman doth protest too much. But to read it so does disservice to Crane and ignores what can be read as Crane's credo of self. Crane wrote, for instance, to Nellie Crouse:

> When I speak of battle . . . I mean myself and the inherent indolence and cowardice which is the lot of men. I mean, also, applause. Last summer I was getting very ably laughed at for a certain book called The Black Riders. When I was at my publishers I got an armful of letters from people who declared that the Black Riders was--etc., etc.--and then for the first time in my life I began to be afraid, afraid that I would grow content with myself, afraid that willy-nilly I would be satisfied with the little, little things I have done. For the first time I saw the majestic forces which are arrayed against man's true success--not the world--the world is silly, changeable, any of its decisions can be reversed, but man's own colossal impulses more strong than chains, and I perceived that the fight was not going to be with the world but with myself. I had fought the world and had not bended nor moved an inch but this other battle--it is to last on up through the years

> to my grave and only on that day am I to know if the word Victory will look well upon lips of mine.
>
> (Letters, p. 105)

This "silly" world and the terminal battle with self are Crane's declaration of his personal foes and are the sum of and impetus for his deflation of self and his clamors of humility. Crane's attempts to remain his own man without bowing to the world's pressures are also attached to his presence as a man and to his perception of that manliness.

Crane's disdain of society is legend, but his ideal of man in society is less known and hardly understood. Again in a letter to Nellie Crouse he outlines his ideas. The irony here is very deep and is probably a device used to mask his feelings from a lady whom he is trying to impress. His ideals, however, come through clearly and, unless she was remarkably shallow, he probably offended her thoroughly. Crane writes:

> Your recent confession that in your heart you like the man of fashion more than you do some other kinds of men came nearer to my own view than perhaps you expected. I have indeed a considerable liking for the man of fashion if he does it well. The trouble to my own mind lies in the fact that the heavy social life demands one's entire devotion. Time after time, I have seen the social lion turn to a lamb and fail--fail at precisely the moment when men should not fail. The world sees this also and it has come to pass that the fashionable man is considerably jeered at. Men who are forever sitting with immoveable legs on account of a teacup are popularly supposed to be worth little besides. This is true in the main but it is not without brave exceptions, thank heaven. For my part, I like the man who dresses correctly and does the right thing invariably but, oh, he must be more than that, a great deal more. But so seldom is he anymore than correctly dressed and correctly-speeched, that when I see a man of that kind I usually put him down as a kind of an idiot. Still, as I have said, there are exceptions. There are men of very social habits who nevertheless know how to stand steady when they see cocked revolvers and death comes down and sits on the back of a chair and waits. . . . There are a few who can treat a woman tenderly not only when they feel amiable but when she most needs tender-treatment. . . . There are an infinitisimal [sic] number who can keep from yapping in a personal way about women. There are a large number who refuse

> to haggle over a question of money. There are one or two who invariably mind their own business. There are some who know how to be frank without butchering the feelings of their friends. There is an enormous majority, who, upon being insured safety from detection--become at once the most unconventional of peoples.
>
> In short they are precisely like the remainder of the race, only they devote their minds to riding smoothly. A slight jolt gives them the impression that a mountain has fallen upon them.
>
> I swear by the real aristocrat. The man whose forefathers were men of courage, sympathy and wisdom, is usually the one who will stand the strain whatever it may be.
>
> (Letters, pp. 114-16)

If we keep in mind Crane's pride in his Revolutionary War ancestors and his other historic Crane forebears, it becomes clear that Crane is harpooning the man of fashion, but he adds a sort of disclaimer to the same letter which must be read as his anchor for himself. He adds:

> As for the man with the high aims and things . . . I don't know that he is to my mind any particular improvement on the society men . . . still there are certainly people of high aims and there is a ridiculous quality to me in all high ambitions, of men who mean to try to make themselves great because they think it would [be] so nice to be great, to be admired, to be stared at by the mob.
>
> (Letters, p. 116)

The combined ideas of the man who can function in spite of society and can achieve greatness but wear it humbly provide the essence of Crane and of his heritage. Wrapped in the letters, however, are other important facets of his character and idealism, notably kindness, consideration, an unerring sense of justice, truth, and honesty. For Crane, kindness was of central importance. "The final wall of the wise men's thought however is Human Kindness [sic] of course" (Letters, p. 99). In his letters he sometimes self-consciously and sometimes rather proudly related his efforts at kindness. The incident of Edward Grover, the runaway he found in San Antonio and sent home, leaving himself penniless until Bachellor wired funds (Letters, p. 54), is

illustrative as is his reminiscence to Lucius Button of meeting a "most intolerable duffer" in New Orleans. Crane was apparently embarrassed by the provincial naiveté of this individual, but he assures Button "I was considerate of him, treated him well at times, and was careful of his childish innocence" (Letters, p. 54). "I strive to be," Crane tells Nellie Crouse, "as kind and as just as may be to those about me and in my meagre success at it, I find the solitary pleasure of life" (Letters, p. 99). In another letter to Miss Crouse, he adds rather finally, "I will be glad if I can feel on my deathbed that my life has been just and kind according to my ability and that every particle of my ridiculous store of eloquence and wisdom has been applied for the benefit of my kind" (Letters, p. 105). This juxtaposition of kindness and justice is a product of Crane's Methodist heritage, as will be illustrated afterward. The sense of justice which Crane evinced was often quixotic, but it was highly developed and was a grinding impulse in his life.

The Dora Clark affair, in which Crane alienated himself from the New York police force by defending a young lady from false charges brought by a police officer, is representative not only of the justice in his ideals but of the quixotic nature of that justice.[7] Incorporated into his quest for justice in the world is an enduring search for truth and an incurable antipathy for sham and insincerity. Of his works, the articles he wrote describing the summer life at Ocean Grove, New Jersey are ironic lances constantly thrusting at the balloon of sham surrounding the social life at the seaside. "On the Boardwalk," "The Seaside Hotel Hop," and "Parades and Entertainments," among others, all pierce the facade of "nice" society and reveal it for the unreal thing it is (VIII, p. 515, ff.; p. 521, ff.; p. 527, ff.). Indeed, the commentary

and criticism were so pointed that Crane lost his newspaper job over "Parades and Entertainments" (for the wrong reasons, but nonetheless as a result of his social criticism).[8] In his letters he excoriates "preaching" in art as fatal and insincere and abhors the customs of small town society. He vehemently attacks that type of small town woman who "in her righteousness is just the grave of a stale lust," but who "is a nice woman and all of her views of all things belong on the tables of Moses." Here, the irony fairly drips but it is also applied to those who endure the woman. "No man," Crane included, "has power to contradict her. We are all cowards anyhow" (Letters, p. 43). The sham of social position and the injustice of inflicting a false morality on all around her is coupled with criticism of those who endure silently. Crane's ideals are uncompromising and universal. His demands for truth, especially in his works, are just as uncompromising.

From the formative stages of The Red Badge of Courage when he wrote a friend, thanking her for lending him materials, that "I am not sure that my facts are real and the books won't tell me what I want to know so I must do it all over again, I guess" (Letters, p. 17), to a later series of projected articles on the Civil War for John Phillips, when he demanded to be sent to the battlefields "at the time of year" the battles had been fought in order to be sure of creating verisimilitude (Letters, p. 84), Crane was a stickler for facts and reality. His forays into the Bowery for the real feel of the life there; his hours at Syracuse spent in night court instead of classrooms, observing the characters and proceedings (Letters, p. 109); and his unquenchable lust for battle--to be there and participate and describe the real thing--are only further examples of the same lust for truth. But truth was

more than mere facts for Crane. It was also candor, honesty--straightforwardness--and it was a personal obsession. His candor was unlimited by social restriction or "good looks." He felt that "no harm could come from any course so honest," when he "frankly" admitted his admiration for a girl he had met only once and had corresponded with for only a short time (Letters, p. 70). He admitted to W. D. Howells after The Red Badge of Courage had been recognized, "I am, mostly, afraid. Afraid that some small degree of talk will turn me ever so slightly from what I believe to be the pursuit of truth, and that my block-head will lose something of the resolution which carried me very comfortably through the ridicule" (Letters, p. 106). That this resolution for the pursuit of truth is a part of his literary ideal is inferred if not evident, and it becomes more evident in his dealings with his publishers.

One such transaction, with Copeland and Day, publishers of The Black Riders, illustrates his adamance concerning his works and the integrity of his vision--the truth, in one sense: the ethics to be absolutely precise. "It seems to me," Crane writes, "that you cut all the ethical sense out of the book. All the anarchy perhaps. It is the anarchy which I particularly insist upon. . . . The ones which refer to God, I believe you condemn altogether. I am obliged to have them in when my book is printed" (Letters, p. 39). Crane is aware of the reaction references to "anarchy" and any criticism of God are going to have with the public, but his sense of "ethics" are truth (i.e. honesty) will not allow him to compromise his work in order to simply make a commercial success. His ideals were too important, at the time of Black Riders at least, to pander to a publisher for any reason. It becomes apparent, too, that Crane's ideals are very personal. They are to be

practiced and preserved in spite of all else. Only in the instance of their harming another can they be abrogated. In his much reprinted "manifesto" of truth and honesty, this individuality becomes even more starkly apparent:

> For I understand that a man is born into the world with his own pair of eyes, and he is not at all responsible for his vision--he is merely responsible for his quality of personal honesty. To keep close to this personal honesty is my supreme ambition. There is sublime egotism in talking of honesty. . . . I, however, do not say that I am honest. I merely say that I am as nearly honest as a weak mental machinery will allow. This aim in life struck me as being the only thing worth while. A man is sure to fail at it, but there is something in the failure.
>
> (Letters, p. 110)

Taken all together, we have a cross section of Crane's life and the impression of his view of truth on it. The product of it all is perhaps, the statement of his literary creed in a letter to Lily Brandon Munroe. In it we see the conception of the nascent realist, but we also see an artist extending his personal ideals to his art:

> I renounced the clever school of literature. It seemed to me that there must be something more in life than to sit and cudgel one's brains for clever and witty expedients. So I developed all alone a little creed of art which I thought was a good one. Later I discovered that my creed was identical with the one of Howells and Garland and in this way I became involved in the beautiful war between those who say art is man's substitute for nature and we are most successful in art when we approach the nearest to nature and truth, and those who say --well, I don't know what they say. . . . If I had kept to my clever, Rudyard Kipling style, the road might have been shorter but ah, it wouldn't be the true road.
>
> (Letters, pp. 31-32)

The uncompromising idealist, the individualist are both here, but here, also, is the statement of Crane's becoming a whole man. The man and his ideals overcoming the literary impulse for the wide and easy road to literary mediocrity is not only inspiring, but it is rooted in a Christian ethic. The principal critical interest in this last

statement has been how and from whom, or what, Crane "all alone" developed his "little creed of art." Most have leapt on Crane's early acquaintance with Hamlin Garland at Ocean Grove and there may be some significance in that early relationship. However, the ideals of Crane can be replicated, if not verbatim at least in all their essence, from the writings of his Methodist family.

As should be expected from men directly involved in education, all of Crane's forbears' works are didactic in nature. Furthermore, the works are eminently moralistic and Methodist/Christian oriented. Everything these men wrote is directly related to Christian and Wesleyan doctrine. However, the doctrine is not so important as the didacticism when related to Crane. Stephen was not sent to school until he was eight, but he was instructed at home by his sister Agnes.[9] The books she found in Jonathan Townley Crane's library were of extremely varied nature, but included all or the greater portion of Jonathan Crane's, George Peck's, and Jesse Peck's works; and those works were the sort that would have been viewed favorably as textbooks for the minister's son. Of the works, there was included a discourse by each man on the qualities of manhood necessary to develop the attributes of the Christian gentleman. The True Man, The Development of a Manly Character, and God in Education all propose the characteristics of the young Christian gentleman and admonish the young reader concerning how to develop those characteristics. These are Methodist "manners" books, and although there is no documentable evidence that Crane read any of them, they were all in his library at Brede Place. Moreover, he grew up in an atmosphere saturated with the ideals which were the foundation and genesis of the works. Additionally, Jonathan Crane's Popular Amusements

and Jesse Peck's What Must I Do to be Saved? and The Central Idea of Christianity forward moral positions which add to and are consistent with their own admonitions to young men and which seem to be the progenitors of Stephen's philosophical stance.

It is certain that Crane was not a student, an apostle of these works.[10] He did not follow them slavishly. The first tenet of manhood that all three men identify is physical fitness, and all concur that temperance in all things is desirable. George Peck specifically mentions good sleeping habits (MC, pp. 12-19). Crane, on the other hand, regularly wandered the streets on New York in all weathers, ill-clad; his diet was haphazard at best; and he slept when he could find a place. But these physical eccentricities were only enforced manifestations of his ideals--ideals nurtured in his family; the moral and idealistic Crane was cut from the mold of his fathers.

Jesse Truesdell Peck's counsel that his readers "avoid self-confidence" is in the exact tenor of Crane's personal fear of praise and of his deprecation of self. "No attempt of your enemy to destroy your peace," Peck continues, "will be more certain, or artful, than the effort to throw you on your own resources" (WMID, p. 176). Stephen worked at avoiding self-confidence and self-satisfaction possibly because he was aware of his own weaknesses. "The first branch of knowledge" George Peck deems necessary to the growth of manhood "is self-knowledge." In order to battle the "secret lodger whom they can neither resolve to reject nor retain" (MC, p. 24), George Peck demands that the young man know himself, his limitations and his temptations and then employ "the art of self-government" (MC, p. 84). "It is especially important that the discipline of the passions should be early commenced," says Peck,

"that the power of self control may grow, with the growth, and strengthen with the strength, until it ripens into habit" (MC, p. 84). A man who identifies his principal battle as that with himself and repeats his fears of praise and of the temptations to listen to that praise, is a man in control of himself and a man who has a very clear understanding of himself. Such a man was Stephen Crane.

One of the things Crane best understood was his unflagging desire to be successful in his art. But success, as we have seen, was courted on his terms. George Peck admits such desires are laudable but only if the desire is for "that popularity which follows, not that which is run after" (MC, p. 121). Crane more often ran away from popularity than toward it. He declined to read his own works at a public reading for the prestigious Uncut Leaves Society (Stallman, p. 91), and worried, after being feted by Elbert Hubbard and the Philistines, whether he "came off decently" (Letters, p. 84). "It is that popularity /which follows/," Peck goes on, "which, sooner or later, never fails to do justice to the pursuits of noble ends by noble means" (MC, p. 121). Noble ends and means were not the same things, precisely, for George Peck and Stephen Crane, but the principle is the same for both men. George Peck continues in a strain that enlarges on Crane's principal ideals, but contains the kernel of Stephen's thoughts:

> I will not do that which my conscience tells me is wrong, upon this occasion to gain the huzzas of thousands, or the daily praise of all the papers which come from the press. I will not avoid doing that which I think is right, /sic/ though it should draw on me the whole artillery of libels--all that falsehood and malice can invent, or the credulity of a deluded populace can swallow. . . . I was always of the opinion that reproach acquired by well-doing was no reproach, but an honor.
>
> (MC, p. 121)

George Peck simply states what Stephen demands of Copeland and Day when he refuses their editorial suggestions for Black Riders and what Stephen implies when he states that man is responsible only for the quality of his vision. The ideals are identical. Peck even warns his readers against the one vice that Crane never feared. "Especially would you degrade yourselves," Peck warns, "if, by a little ridicule, you should be made ashamed of virtue and befooled into recreancy by the meanest of all motives--a fear of being laughed at" (MC, p. 127). After having been made the butt of countless parodies and scathing reviews, Crane could still snap his fingers at ridicule. "When I was the mark for every humorist in the country, I went ahead," Crane writes to John Northern Hilliard, "and now, when I am the mark for only 50 percent of the humorists of the country, I go ahead" (Letters, pp. 109-110). Crane, in his letters, constantly refers to the abuse and ridicule of reviews and reviewers and consistently ignores and rebukes it. Finally, George Peck exhorts his readers to "never contend merely for victory. The object is too trivial for an immortal and responsible being. . . . The interests of truth can have no concern whatever with that question" (MC, p. 46). Crane admits that only on his deathbed will he know if "the word Victory will look well upon lips of mine," and that he has "lost all appetite for victory" (Letters, p. 105).

Crane's belittling of self and strife with self are all indicative of a moral nature and are parts of the regimen laid out for him, but they are only parts of the whole. "To be a man, then, in the worthy sense of the term," according to Jonathan Crane, "is to be something noble and brave, and honorable. It is to be strong in intellect, strong in generous emotions, and large-hearted sympathies. . . . Strong in the

power to will, and the power to do. It is the reverse of all that is cowardly, or weak, or mean in mind and in soul" (TM, p. 6). Jonathan Crane's "True Man" is the same as his son's "real aristocrat." Bravery, nobility, sympathy, and the like, are parts of both conceptions and Jesse T. Peck adds that "correct principles are indispensable parts of a good character. . . . Character and life will on the whole, inevitably correspond, or in other words, that a man is as his principles" (GIE, p. 14). We must infer a good deal, but given Jesse Peck's position as a bishop of the Methodist Church and as a leader in nineteenth-century higher education, he means something other than "men who are forever sitting with immoveable legs on account of a teacup" (Letters, pp. 144-145) when he speaks of men of principle. Crane's ideal aristocrat sounds a good deal like George Peck's. "How admirably," Peck suggests, "do simplicity and urbanity of manners appear in men of wealth and high respectability. Nothing is so strongly indicative of a clear head and a sound heart" (MC, p. 109).

Principles and urbanity are not all of Crane's or his family's requirements of the man. Both Crane and his family require love and sympathy and human kindness. "The last wall of the wise man's thought," Crane told Nellie Crouse, "is human kindness" (Letters, p. 99), and his family agreed in no uncertain terms. "In all good and working objects the heart," says George Peck, "should take the lead. Its true impulses, its gushing sympathies, should precede and accompany all our outward actions. Nothing can supply the lack of an honest and feeling heart" (MC, p. 99). Crane's sympathies, generosity, and openness are recorded in the responses of his family and friends, but the original impulses for Crane's actions are recorded in the works of his family. "One other

principle," Jesse T. Peck found "indispensable to a good character," was "Love." It must be "the pervading, pulling power of the soul that comprehends its mission here" (GIE, p. 20). "Without love," Peck continues:

> your character must be sadly defective and deeply vicious. . . . As a member of a family, as a neighbor, as a citizen, there will be due from you a kindly influence, that will soothe the afflicted, relieve the distressed, calm the passionate, and diffuse the sweetness of sympathy of good will, of genial love, through all the circles in which you move. . . . To the lowest and vilest of the race, you will have errands of mercy, upon which love alone will carry you. Your soul must be filled with a compassion that will weep over the degraded, however ungrateful, or violent in resentment.
> (GIE, p. 21)

Stephen was neither defective nor vicious and was deeply sympathetic to even "the vilest" of the Bowery dwellers he encountered. "The Men in the Storm," and "An Experiment in Misery," stand as examples of that sympathy. Again, George Peck seems to provide the final clue to the genesis of Crane's nature. "The sympathies of the human heart," Dr. Peck writes:

> upon which so much depends in our intercourse with society, depends much upon imagination. Properly to feel sympathy for the suffering, we must put ourselves into their circumstances, or imagine ourselves to be similarly situated. We must make their troubles our own; their anguish of spirit must be transferred to our own souls. . . . We shall sympathize with the mass and bear the burdens of our brethren.
> (MC, p. 611)

Crane not only imagined himself in the "circumstances" of the suffering, but suffered along with them. "The Men in the Storm" and "An Experiment in Misery" are the result of Crane's first-hand forays into the Bowery dressed and funded like one of the Bowery bums. The deprivations he suffered when he first went to New York as a free-lance reporter, before the success of The Red Badge, are additional reasons for his sympathy with the deprived and suffering. But, in addition to Crane's highly

developed sympathies and his practice of human kindness, justice, honor, truth and honesty are the keys to Crane's morality; Crane's father and the Pecks, again, provide what seems to be the legitimate background for Stephen's fervor.

All three of Stephen's male forbears are adamant for truth and justice. George Peck exhorts "let your object be truth. No man has any sufficient motive for being in the wrong" (MC, p. 44). Jesse T. Peck demands that his readers "avoid dishonesty in your business transactions. . . . What is right? is your only question, and in your soul you must have so high a sense of justice as to render wholly unnecessary a resort to that sound old motto. 'Honesty is the best policy'" (WMID, p. 182). Jonathan Crane tells his readers that "on moral and religious questions compromise is treason to right" (POP A, p. 189). These are the foundations from which Stephen could speak of his "personal honesty" and which likely spurred his belligerent refusals to alter Black Riders and Maggie to please publisher's whims.[11] Jesse Peck adds "we may vociferate until our strength of lungs is exhausted, but if the truth do not well up from within us--if it be echo merely, it will so appear" (CIC, p. 381), and then Peck states at least a part of what became Stephen Crane's literary standard:

> There is no concealing the fact. It represents itself. It speaks to the ears of men in its own intelligible language; and all feel if they do not say, 'there is something wanting. The words are all very well, but they seem to be hollow--empty--powerless'.
>
> (CIC, p. 381)

Here is the source of Stephen Crane's success in The Red Badge of Courage and Maggie--in all of his best works. He attends his words, they ring with veracity. His style demands honest depiction and real

characters. His work is not hollow or empty or powerless. But Jesse Peck has more to say on "the element of truth":

> We are formed to hate falsehood. The grosser forms of dishonesty excite our disgust, and to intimate a doubt of a man's veracity is justly deemed the severest reflection that can be made upon personal honor and self-respect. And yet, to be in the strictest sense a man of truth, is both more difficult and rare than we commonly suppose. . . . First of all, the principle of truth must be imbedded in the very foundations of character. If it be adopted as a convenience, it will be sacrificed at pleasure. If it be put on as an accession, it will be laid aside as a burden. The trials of veracity are too severe for a mere artificial attachment to the right and the just. A young man violates the laws of society--he is questioned, and it is whispered in his ear, that he may avoid the responsibility by denial or evasion. He is asked one question and answers another--saves himself from censure, severe or slight, and bears off with him a polluted conscience. He might have exhibited the qualities of a man, but he has acted the part of a coward. He has shrunk from justice.
> (GIE, pp. 17-18)

Peck has presented justification for, among others, Stephen's actions in the Dora Clark affair in which he appeared in night court for the defense of a prostitute against the unjust charges of a corrupt New York City policeman. Warned against appearing and counselled concerning the effect such an appearance could have on his budding career, Crane, nonetheless, appeared, the girl was released, and the subsequent publicity in the yellow press of 1890's New York, in addition to persecution by the New York City police, forced Crane to leave New York permanently (see note seven, above). Stephen's Uncle Jesse probably would not have approved of the object of Stephen's sense of duty, but he would have applauded the motive.

Duty was another of the necessities of manhood, according to Jesse Peck. "A man who sacrifices duty to personal safety," Peck exclaims, "is deemed a craven wretch, not fit to live" (WMID, p. 64). In an interview recorded after the court hearing which freed Dora Clark, Stephen

reflects both his personal feelings and all of the heritage lent him by Jesse Peck. "I well knew," Stephen told the reporter (maybe himself), "I was risking a reputation that I have worked hard to build. But . . . she was a woman and unjustly accused, and I did what was my duty as a man."[12] Jesse Peck offers exhortation and consolation for Stephen when he thunders, "be valiant for the truth. Truth is your security against the accusations of conscience--your defence in the hour of trial--your sword to fight for the course of justice. . . . Truth will shield you from the attacks of calumny. It will make you bold, and firm, and strong in the defense of the right" (GIE, p. 19). Stephen always retreated to the justice of his actions and his "personal honesty." The world meant not a whit to him as long as he could maintain his singular integrity. He was bolstered in his beliefs by his family ties and his acceptance of them. His father was as persuasive as his uncle on the matter of truth and justice. "To compromise with wrong," Jonathan Crane advised his readers, "is never the end of conflict. You must conquer a peace. If you do not mean to make a complete surrender to the world . . . there must be a point where the line is drawn. Will you try to draw it half way between right and wrong? If you do you will abandon a strong position for a weak one. . . . The place of undoubted right is at once the safest to occupy and the easiest to maintain" (POP A, pp. 183-184). Stephen never compromised with the "silly world" and drew the line only in defining his personal battle with himself. He strove for the right word, the right image, and the right deed and never doubted that what he accomplished was right and true. Jonathan Crane, quoting

Philippians 4.8, offers the Biblican invocation which guided the Pecks and Dr. Crane and perhaps, as a result, Stephen:

> Finally, Brethren, whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue and if there be any praise. Think on these things.
>
> (POP A, p. 209)

Stephen's quest for truth and honesty was an essential part of his literary practice; and there is evidence, as has been illustrated somewhat above, that his family, perhaps unwittingly but directly nonetheless, proposed the basis for his literary research.

The most important tenet of Stephen's literary source-gathering, with the exception of The Red Badge, was on-the-spot recording of detail and events. If possible, Stephen was not unlikely to participate in what he was investigating. The New York City sketches, the Western tales, "The Open Boat," all spring from direct experience. Even his involvement with Dora Clark was the result of one of many trips to New York's "Tenderloin" to gather material. His principal interest in all his observations was humanity--the workings and feelings of the human mind in relation to its environment or its immediate surroundings and condition. George Peck, in a passage counselling much reading of good literature as part of the venue for forming a manly character, strikes a chord that Stephen likely would have attended:

> If you add to reading the habit of careful observation, you will be able to store up such facts as will enable you to come to wise and safe conclusions, in all ordinary cases, with regard to the character of men. You should make every man, woman, and child around you a book [sic], from which you make it your daily business to derive lessons of instructions. Mark the connection between their conduct and certain results--the influence they exert upon society, and the means of that influence--the impressions they make, the opinions which are formed of them and how it all comes to pass.
>
> (MC, p. 38)

Stephen was the consummate recorder of his insights concerning men. He delighted in relating those observations--tales of barkeepers and Chinamen--for the delight and disgust of the polite company of his brother's household.[13] "The connection between their conduct and certain results" is a very naturalistic idea and seems to suggest at least a part of Stephen's interest in Maggie, but Peck continues:

> This knowledge is gained, not by asking questions, and prying into the secrets of other men, but by critical observations and patient reflection. A young man who would gain this knowledge, must keep his eyes wide open.
> (MC, p. 39)

Stephen did not go into "An Experiment In Misery" to ask questions but to observe and reflect--to experience. "Humanity," he wrote, "was a much more interesting study" (Letters, p. 109). "The Open Boat" and "One Dash-Horses" are the result of keeping his eyes wide open and reflecting his experiences. Jesse Peck reflects on the necessity of observation and on fiction. Peck reveals that "it is the truth-element in all departments of study, that constitutes your real prize. . . . This is to be found not chiefly in books, but in men; not mainly in facts, but in general principles; not so much in the sayings as in the doings of the race" (GIE, p. 11). Peck simply exhorts in the same strain as his brother. Observation of men and their lives is the study which leads to true manhood, along with reading, but not reading fiction. George Peck says of popular fiction, "go not then . . . to the fictions, or popular novels of the day, for a knowledge of human character, but study the thing itself" (MC, p. 38), and he adds a note which seems to be the predecessor of Crane's "little creed of art." "When the imagery of the compositions [popular novels]," Peck warns, "is so extravagant as to be false to nature . . . they are evil"

(MC, p. 70). Crane's stance that "art is man's substitute for nature and we are most successful in art when we approach the nearest to nature and truth," is only a literary enlargement and application of George Peck's contentions (Letters, pp. 31-32), and, contrary to the observations of some critics that Crane's writing of fiction was a rebellion against his family's strict ideals, seems to be his statement of understanding and acknowledgement of those contentions.

Substantial as these examples are, they fall, to some extent, into that nebulous area between circumstantial and concrete evidence. There are, however, additional correspondences directly related to Crane's works which add more concrete evidence to the discussion.

NOTES

[1]Wertheim, "Stephen Crane Remembered," p. 60.

[2]Wertheim, p. 55.

[3]C. K. Linson, "Little Stories of 'Stevie' Crane," Saturday Evening Post, 177 (1903), 20.

[4]Wertheim, p. 59.

[5]Wickham, "Stephen Crane at College," p. 294.

[6]Edna Crane Sidbury, "My Uncle, Stephen Crane, As I Knew Him," Literary Digest International Book Review, 4 (1926), 250.

[7]For the most thorough recounting of the Dora Clark Affair, as it has come to be called, see R. W. Stallman and E. R. Hagemann, eds., The New York City Sketches and Related Pieces (New York: New York Univ. Press, 1966), pp. 217-259.

[8]The various important accounts of this famous incident in Crane's career are Beer, pp. 88-90; Berryman, pp. 43-45; and Stallman, pp. 53-57.

[9]See Thomas A. Gullason, "Stephen Crane's Sister: New Biographical Facts," American Literature, 49 (1977), 234-38; Melvin Schoberlin's introduction to his edition of The Sullivan County Sketches of Stephen Crane (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1949), p. 3; and Letters, pp. 307, 334-339. Cf., also, Stallman, pp. 3-13, et passim.

[10]A complete, author-by-author bibliography of these works is included in Appendix A. The works will be cited by parenthetical insertion

of the abbreviated title and page number in the text. See the List of Abbreviations, p. vii, for a key to abbreviations and authors.

[11]Sidbury, p. 250.

[12]Stallman and Hagemann, eds., The New York City Sketches and Related Pieces, p. 224.

[13]Sidbury, p. 249.

CHAPTER IV

LITERARY INFLUENCE

The forte of any religious writer includes, obviously, religious tracts, sermons, and speculations on theology and dogma. Crane's family is not exceptional in this matter. However, they exhibit an almost-Puritan regard for biographies and history. Titles from their bibliographies are a convincing record of their regard of these forms: Early Methodism Within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference from 1788 to 1828; Wyoming, Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures; The Life of Julius Caesar; The Life and Times of Rev. George Peck, D.D.; Written by Himself; History of the Canada Case; Lives of the Apostles and Evangelists; and The Great Republic, from the Discovery of America to the Centennial, July 4, 1876 or; The History of the Great Republic Considered from a Christian Viewpoint. Interestingly, history, along with literature, are studies for which Stephen is remembered as having an affinity; and his fierce pride for and recollection of his family's New Jersey and Revolutionary history suggest that history and family were important to him (Letters, pp. 94-96, 124; see note 37, Chapter II, above). He wrote to his brother Will concerning final disposition of his father's library, "for my part, I would gladly give to you power to choose my part of the library. Take an encyclopaedia and as many histories as possible and then let the others have a chance" (Letters, p. 146). His sketchy records from Pennington Seminary, Claverack, Lafayette, and Syracuse all reflect his interest in history. He projected

the writing of a Revolutionary War novel before beginning the O'Ruddy and he was frantically writing the historical sketches of "Great Battles of the World" even as he was in his final illness.

Stephen ended his life writing historical articles, and he began his career writing a biographical sketch that his grandfather, uncle, and father would all have smiled upon approvingly. The sketch, entitled "Henry M. Stanley," appeared in the Claverack Vidette for February, 1890. This encomiastic, but accurate, account of Stanley's exploration of Africa, his locating of David Livingstone, and his rescue of the Emin Pacha emphasized Livingstone's "endeavor to Christianize even the most remote tribes," Stanley's "peril and privations" in his search for Livingstone and in his other explorations, and lionized "Stanley's indomitable will and faith in a Supreme Power who guided him through the forests and valleys of the great continent." The sketch also related Stanley's characteristic ending for his letters, "Praise be to God forever and ever," and ended by "giving him [Stanley] a place among the great men of the earth, where he should ever rank not only as a great Christian explorer, but as a great statesman and a great general" (VIII, 565-567). The Christian emphasis can be at least partially explained by the atmosphere at Claverack, but it cannot be denied that Crane was probably writing in the pattern of the type of material he had been encouraged to read and the type of writing his family was most fond of and proficient in. His father, Jonathan Crane, advises his readers, "read your Bibles, read history, the records of the past, and the accounts of current events. Read the biographies of good men and women" (POP A, p. 125). Stephen's grandfather, George Peck, demands similarly that "the history, geography, and natural production of the

earth" (MC, p. 39) are the proper readings for the young man and that "human character is to be learned by reading and observation. History--and especially biography--is replete with instructions upon this great subject. The lives of great and good men--philosophers, statesmen, divines--the biographies of pious men and women, will not fail to shed much light upon human character in general" (MC, p. 36).

Crane's earliest writing style and his subject matter would seem, then, to be affected by the instruction and predilections of his family; furthermore, his preferences for history and literature are a link to his family's literary standards. More important than even this family resemblance of material, is a significant body of thought and images from the writings of Jonathan Crane, George Peck, and Jesse Peck, which are sufficiently similar to parts of various Crane works to be considered as sources for those works. It is likely that the similarities are the result of Stephen's immersion, during his youth, in the environment which produced both these men and their works. In other words, Crane was reared by the standards and philosophies of his family as presented in their works and found them useful as story material. This is neither a new nor a startling idea. George's Mother has long been viewed as Stephen's fictional representation of his relationship with his mother, and the Whilomville stories are regularly attributed to Stephen's reminiscences of his childhood. It is often forgotten, however, that Stephen borrowed extensively from his grandfather's history of the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania and that he held almost all of his family's works in his library where he could find them at will and where others could see and recognize them. From the Sullivan County Tales to the O'Ruddy there are correspondences, reminiscences, and

replications of stories, images, and incidents from the works of George Peck, Jesse Peck, and Jonathan Crane. Some of the parallels which can be drawn are perhaps only coincidence or zealous over-reading, but some are too similar to be coincidental and at least one is documentable plagiarism.

The Sullivan County Tales are the product of Stephen's happy rambles through the woods and wilds of Sullivan County, New York, and Pike County, Pennsylvania. He always reminisced happily about time spent at Hartwood and the Hartwood Club founded by his brother Will. But the tales are more than reminiscence; they are, in some cases, faithful recording of local folklore and legend. They are the result of Stephen's avid listening to the tales of the old-timers of Sullivan County and his semi-fictional reproduction of those tales. Crane's use of stories heard and stories sought after is a part of the lore of Stephen Crane. He has been placed at the feet of the storytelling Civil War veterans of Port Jervis and Asbury Park in order to justify some of his insights in The Red Badge. His attendance on General Van Petten, a veteran of Antietam and other battles, at Claverack, has been recorded and used for the same purpose.[1] The clearest point all this information and speculation makes is that Crane was a good listener, liked and sought out good stories and storytellers, and then used the stories as best suited him and his work.

From the evidence of Early Methodism Within the Bounds of the Genessee Conference; The Life and Times of the Rev. George Peck, D.D., as Told by Himself; and Wyoming, Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures, Crane's grandfather, George Peck, was an excellent storyteller. He had a vast collection of stories gathered from his

years as a Methodist itinerant in the wilds of New York state and Pennsylvania. It is, to be sure, less than likely that Stephen heard, or remembered that he heard, any of the stories directly from the Reverend Dr. Peck. Crane was only four years old when his grandfather died and, despite a close family relationship, there is no record of the extensive family visiting which would have made for an early, lasting closeness between grandfather and grandson. However, Stephen could have read Peck's books and Stephen's mother, Mary Helen Peck Crane, Peck's daughter, would have been familiar with both the books and the stories, and therefore, Stephen probably heard or read at least some of the stories. All three books are set in frontier New York and are reminiscent of the woodlands recorded in The Sullivan County Tales. Rev. Peck often records local superstitions he encounters and provides lively recountings of his travels on horseback through the untamed country. Though Peck's style would not have appealed to Stephen, the stories probably would have, and there are several parallels of character and incident to suggest that he remembered them.

One such parallel is the presence of a "little man" as one of the principal characters of the Sullivan County tales. This little man is egotistical, a poser, frequently the butt of jokes, and has been variously identified as Louis E. Carr, a boyhood friend of Crane's, and as Crane himself;[2] but those identifications do not take into account the stories in Life and Times of George Peck's Uncle Isaac Collar who was a dwarf, a "great playmate," a musician, and a generally congenial member of Peck's family (LAT, p. 28 ff.). The presence of a dwarf in an appropriate wilderness setting is not convincing as evidence for an influence, but the tales of Uncle Isaac, told in the family, could have

planted the seed that flowered in the later writings. Peck also related stories of panther hunting in the Wyoming Valley (WYOMING, p. 149) which are similar to those in "The Last Panther" (VIII, pp. 207-211) and others, and Peck's stories of supernatural events, such as the night "a frightful figure, with sable countenance and fiery eyes" (LAT, pp. 97-98) visited a shinglemaker of his acquaintance, are reminiscent of the imagery of "A Ghoul's Accountant" (VIII, pp. 240-242) and "The Black Dog" (VIII, pp. 242-247). Peck's anecdote of how an early pioneer saved himself from Indians by hiding in a hollow log while the Indians sat on the log (WYOMING, pp. 369-370) reminds us of Crane's "little man" and his exploits in "The Holler Tree" (VIII, pp. 259-264). There is even a slight echo of "The Mesmeric Mountain" (VIII, pp. 268-271) in Peck's quotation from John Ruskin (WYOMING, p. 347).

The clearest example of correspondence and acquaintance is found in "Four Men in a Cave." In this sketch, the four nameless characters of the tales decide, reluctantly (they are goaded to it by the little man), to explore an intriguing cave because they will be able to "tell a great tale" when they return to the city. They half-walk, half-fall, in Keystone Kops fashion, down a path into a lighted chamber where they come face to face with the hermit in residence in the cave. The hermit demands that they play poker, cleans the little man out and sends them on their way. They are told, when they reach their camp, that the hermit is a good man gone bad as a result of visiting the gambling dens of the city, and the story ends with the little man cursing the hermit, and the pudgy man, the little man's antagonist, belittling him for his foolishness (VIII, pp. 225-230). George Peck relates an incident from his youth which smacks of this scenario. After being left in charge of the

younger children on a Sunday while his parents went to church, Peck says "a sudden temptation seized me to leave our charge for a ramble in the woods" (LAT, p. 34). He and his younger brother answered the temptation:

> We passed over the hill, crossed Red Creek, and entered a grove of heavy timber. Here we found another boy, who had a pack of cards. He shuffled his cards and offered to teach us how to play, but our consciences were already uneasy, and we declined, and left him.
> (LAT, p. 34)

On leaving, the boys were caught in a storm, "a furious tornado," and barely escaped being crushed by "an immense hemlock." The boys' guilt make the ending storm and escape decidedly portentous and the basis for a didactic ending of the story (LAT, p. 34), but the details of the story form the basis for the plot of "Four Men in a Cave." The sudden decision to go, the unexpected meeting with a boy with cards, and the ultimately disastrous ending are similar in both the anecdote and the sketch; if we remember that, in early notes for the sketch, Crane envisioned the card game happening in a grove of trees, the similarities expand (VIII, p. 849).

Furthermore, Peck describes an interesting cave in his history of Wyoming. "What is called Toby's Cave is found in the hillside west of the Eddy. . . . It is said by some of the old talkers that this cave once extended . . . the distance of three-fourths of a mile." This particular cave is of interest because of "curious legends of strange supernatural appearances in this cave" and "stories of strange sights and superhuman noises" (WYOMING, p. 426). Crane does not give his characters foreknowledge of their cave, but when they confront the hermit, they try to explain him as "a ghoul," "a vampire," and "a Druid before the sacrifice." They view him as "supernatural" or a "strange sight"

at best. The "altar" in the cave and the "cadaverous hounds" which accompany the furnishings of the cave simply add to the other-worldly atmosphere of the cave and the tale (VIII, p. 228), and help to tie the sketch to George Peck's description.

The card game of Crane's sketch has already been seen in Peck's childhood recollection, but Crane has his explorers discover that the hermit is "Tom Gardner." They are told that Gardner "was onct a fambly man, who lived in these here parts on a nice leetle farm. He uster go away to the city often, and one time he got a-gamblin' in one of them there dens. He wentter the dickens right quick then. At last he kum home one time and tol' his folks he had up and sold the farm and all he had in the worl'. His leetle wife, she died then. Tom, he went crazy" (VIII, pp. 229-230). Gambling, Jonathan Crane tells us in Popular Amusements, is intoxication, and he provides what could be the final piece of the background of the sketch:

> Indeed the history of every gambling den in the great cities of our own country, as well as in other lands, shows that the passion for cards, and the hope of winning money by them, often becomes an utter over-mastering infatuation, almost worthy the name of insanity, which renders the victim reckless of the claims of honor, religion, and the tenderest affections of our nature, and drags man down recklessly to his doom.
> (POP A, p. 111)

"Tom Gardner" has followed the path that Jonathan Crane describes. He has fallen into "one of them there dens" in the "great cities of our country," he has "become reckless" of all claims of family and home, and, falling to the wiles of the "over-mastering infatuation, almost worthy the name of insanity," "Tom, he went crazy." The final description of Tom Gardner and his fate rings like Jonathan Crane in fictionalized dialect. And when the cumulative effect of George Peck's stories and Jonathan Crane's morals is assessed, it seems that Stephen's sketch

reflects more than faint shadows of them. At least the similarities reflect Stephen's awareness of his family traditions.[3]

The Red Badge of Courage shows the same signs of Stephen's debt to his family heritage. The religious imagery of The Red Badge has been documented relentlessly and there is no profit in a new listing. However, any religious reference in The Red Badge owes somewhat to Stephen's background; the miscellaneous uses of churches, religiously oriented imagery, and ecclesiastical adjectives are the product of Stephen's years in a Methodist family. These blocks on which Stephen built The Red Badge have also been extensively researched and documented and are not of concern to this study; there are, however, at least two passages which, when compared to The Red Badge of Courage, suggest that Stephen either knew his family's works or that the imagery and ideals were an ineradicable part of his consciousness. Those passages deal with the two major components of The Red Badge--war and fear.

War, in his early career, was Stephen's passion. His family was not much different. His father uses battle and military imagery in his religious tracts and sermons; his grandfather wrote one history about the Indian wars of the Revolutionary period; and Stephen's brother was a recognized expert in Civil War strategy. Thus, when George Peck writes that "war seen from afar dazzles the imagination," he is only the harbinger of a family theme:

> The mind is filled with emotion of admiration as it contemplates the pomp of martial array, the skill of leaders, the valor of the contending forces, the attack, the thunder of the battle, which shakes the earth and darkens the heavens, the final charge, and the victory, the glad news that thrills along the wires which form the nerves of the nation, the mighty joy which rolls out from the field of strife in an ever-widening circle. But viewed more closely the scene changes; the moral grandeur of the contest may remain, but we learn the fearful price with which victory is bought. We

> behold the weary march, the crowded hospital, the horrors of the bloody field when the battle is over, and the place of strife is a true Alcedama, where the mangled forms of the living and the dying are sometimes left for days.
> (OCTT, p. 258)

The two-part construction of this passage reminds us of the inflation-deflation pattern of The Red Badge and of Crane's style in general. Even before he enlists, Henry "sees" war, but from "afar," and from the distance it "dazzles" his imagination. "He had," we are told, "of course dreamed of battles all of his life--of vague and bloody conflicts that had thrilled him with their sweep and fire: in visions, he had seen himself in many struggles" (II, p. 5). But Henry is thrilled by the contemporary war. He is excited by the "tales of great movements" that "shook the land. They might not be distinctly Homeric, but there seemed to be much glory in them." His readings were of "marches, i.e., conflicts, and he had longed to see it all. His busy mind had drawn for him large pictures, extravagant in color, lurid with breathless deeds" (II, p. 5).

Henry's imagination is spurred by "the newspapers," those parts of the system which "form the nerves of the nation." The papers told him "they were in truth fighting finely down there" (II, p. 6). The rampaging imagination, the naiveté, and the force of newspaper reports are all a part of Peck's declaration and of Crane's portrayal of Henry. But Crane destroys, or cripples, Henry's innocence from the point of his enlistment until, after he has fled from the battle, Crane shows Henry a panoramic view of the fruits of war.

> He came finally to a road from which he could see, in the distance, dark and agitated bodies of troops, smoke-fringed. In the lane, was a blood-stained crowd streaming to the rear. The wounded men were cursing groaning and wailing. In the air, always, was a mighty swell of sound that it seemed could sway the earth. With the courageous words of the artillery and the

> spiteful sentences of the musketry was mingled red cheers. And from this region of noises came the steady current of the maimed.
>
> (II, p. 51)

It is at this point in Henry's rite de passage that he begins his rehabilitation from coward to hero, but the point of importance is the juxtaposition of the "red cheers" with the reality of the wounded and dying and the opposition of this scene with the idealism of Henry's imagination. Peck structures his statement by means of the same idea. Peck moves from the "moral grandeur" of the reports of victory to "the weary march, the crowded hospital, the horrors of the bloody field." Peck undermines the glory of war with the realities. His statement could have been the program for the early parts of The Red Badge. The general structure and the content of both men's ideas are the same and the purpose seems to be essentially identical--to explode the mythology of war's glories by placing them directly beside the bodies of dead soldiers and the lines of hobbling wounded.

Included in Crane's conception of this problem is the contemplation and understanding of fear. Peck discusses fear from the viewpoint of understanding it in the course of forming the manly character--a viewpoint not totally alien from Crane's design for Henry Fleming and The Red Badge. Peck defines fear, categorizes it, and defends it with exceptions:

> Fear may be considered an animal instinct--something man possesses in common with mere animals. It is designed by the creator to secure self-preservation; and in man, is right or wrong, noble or ignoble, according to its degree of intenseness and the object of which excites it. Fear is the apprehension of danger, or a shrinking from evil. All men naturally dread misery, and consequently they fear personal harm. This is not ignoble when there is real evidence of danger, and when the feeling is not so intense as to turn us from the path of duty. . . . When fear becomes the ruling feeling, and the heart loses its power of resistance or endurance, cowardice is

> the consequence. Cowardice is sometimes mere weakness, and at others a vice. It is vice when it turns its victim from the path of duty.
>
> (MC, p. 94)

Peck describes, in a concentrated flourish, what Crane diffuses throughout his novel and all around Henry Fleming. Fleming is shackled throughout with his contemplation of and misunderstanding of fear. At the first rumors of battle, "a little panic-fear grew in his mind. As his imagination went forward to a fight, he saw hideous possibilities. He contemplated the lurking menaces of the future and failed in an effort to see himself standing stoutly in the midst of them" (II, p. 10). Fleming feels the pressure of this fear and foresees it causing him to forsake duty. "In the darkness," after he had attempted and failed to find solace in kindred spirits of the army who felt as he did, "he saw visions of a thousand-tongued fear that would babble at his back and cause him to flee while others were going cooly about their country's business. He admitted that he would not be able to cope with this monster" (II, p. 20). Fleming's fear is already as George Peck identifies it--the impulse to preservation. But, it is also Peck's vice and Henry recognizes it as such. After he has run from battle and after he discovers the regiment has stood and won, he "cringed as if discovered at a crime" (II, p. 45), and begins a rationalization of his actions which is, at once, a comfort and a rebuke to him. He tells himself that he has acted "according to very correct and commendable rules" such as Peck has suggested, and, in the controversial forest-cathedral scene, he allies himself with the animals, notably a squirrel, which, when threatened, runs from danger immediately. "There was the law," Fleming tells himself. "Nature had given him a sign." (II, pp. 46-47). Or, as Peck opened his commentary, "fear may be considered an animal

instinct." But Henry's recognition is only rationalization. He recognizes his error and tries to atone for it throughout the rest of the novel. After his heroism, he is still troubled by his "vivid error" (II, p. 135) and only with effort can he put "at a distance" (II, p. 135) his errancy in duty to the regiment and, perhaps most importantly, to the tattered man. Fleming recognizes the "vice" of cowardice and that he has submitted to it. If we enter this understanding into the effect of the last scene, in which much critical endeavor has been expended to show Fleming's maturity, we must suggest that Fleming does not mature significantly--he only opts to deal with his guilt at another time and ends as much a coward as he began. But to come to that conclusion we must admit that Crane's sense of right and wrong--of duty and dereliction--are essentially those of George Peck and the rest of his family, and that Peck's disdain for cowardice of any kind is a pattern for Crane's similar disdain.

A final item in this chronicle of fear and duty is more conclusive in determining Crane's relations to his family's writings. In Early Methodism Within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference from 1788 to 1829, George Peck relates the story of a Methodist itinerant's travels through the wilderness after dark. Coming from a chapter entitled "Romantic Adventures of Two Old Presiding Elders," the story is one of the best anecdotes in the book and, if we speculate a bit, we can imagine that the chapter title would have piqued the interest of the young Stephen Crane who read dime novels on the sly and Baron de Blowitz with his father's blessing. The story is not remarkably exciting, but it tells of lost trails, blocked paths, and a final, startling event:

> At length it began to be dark, and in a short time I could not see the path or the marked trees. My horse seemed

> bewildered. In the midst of my perplexity I thought I heard the sound of an ax. I started for it as straight as possible, and soon saw a light and a man chopping. . . . As soon as I thought I was near enough to make him hear me I hailed him. He was astonished to hear a human voice at that distance in the wilderness, and told me to stop immediately, as I must be on the brink of a precipice. . . . Of course I came to a full stop. When he reached the place I was astonished to find that not more than a rod before me there was a yanning [sic] gulf, and a steep pitch of some fifteen or twenty feet down. The cold chills ran through me.
>
> (EMB, p. 415)

Crane uses an image of this type of event at the point when Henry, unconsciously, runs from battle:

> He [Henry] blanched like one who has come to the edge of a cliff at midnight and is suddenly made aware. There was a revelation.
>
> (II, p. 41)

This is the last image before Henry throws down his gun and flees, and represents a kind of awesome, final fear. In Peck the event is diluted and lacks the dramatic impact of Crane's image, but the essentials of the unknown and the unknowing being replaced by the cognizant and the frightened are the same. The singularity of Peck's event and of the image in The Red Badge is such that it seems not at all unlikely that Crane read the story from Peck's work or heard it recited by a family member. The image of sudden fear and escape from it would have stayed with the youngster.

The leading characters of Maggie and George's Mother would, as a matter of course, fall under the righteous disapprobation of the Methodist Pecks and Cranes. Stephen recognized these relatively naive views of mankind and their untenable nature, but his disapproval did not erase his foundations in those views nor did it prevent him from using them to good advantage in both works. Crane's record of Maggie's fall is enhanced and defined by his effective distribution of ideas similar to

those of his family. Crane describes Maggie's first meeting with Pete--their first significant meeting--in terms of fantasy and contempt. Her fantasies concern Pete and his glowing presence. Her contempt is for her surroundings. Perhaps for the first time she recognizes the squalor she lives in and the near-slavery she works in; "the broken furniture, grimy walls, and general disorder of her home," in Maggie's revery, "of a sudden appeared before her and began to take a potential aspect. Pete's aristocratic person looked as if it might soil." Maggie sees Pete as "the ideal man" and places him where "her dim thoughts were often searching for far away lands where, as God says, the little hills sing together in the morning. Under the trees of her dream-gardens there had always walked a lover" (I, p. 26). Pete grows throughout that first visit and she "surrounded him with greatness" (I, p. 27). After he leaves, she reviews her home:

> Maggie contemplated the dark, dust-stained walls, and the scant and crude furniture of her house. 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 varnished flowers in the carpet-pattern, she conceived to be newly hideous. Some faint attempts which she had made with blue ribbon to freshen the appearance of a dingy curtain, she now saw to be piteous.
> (I, p. 28)

She considers her place of employment as "a dreary place of endless grinding" and she finds that "to her the earth was composed of hardships and insults. She felt instant admiration for a man who openly defied it" (I, p. 28). Maggie's secret adulation of Pete and her shame of the condition he has found her in are all out of proportion to the reality of Pete's stature and motives, and her shame of what she calls home is only magnified because she is smitten with Pete's charms. None of these perceptions, Crane leads us to believe, is reliable or reversible, and they are the seeds of Maggie's final shame.

Jonathan Crane, in his commentary on the decalogue, The Right Way, expounds on just this sort of experience, and suggests that the effects of such perception are inevitable:

> In youth the world stands forth clad in hues of brilliancy and beauty; but fancy lends much of the light, and a susceptible heart magnifies every excellence. Like the objects seen by an inflamed eye, all things are surrounded by a halo of tinted rays--but the rainbow is in the mental sky, and not the material one. That which should be highly prized, and eagerly sought, appears repulsive; and objects, from which wisdom would fly as from the plague, seem exceeding desirable. To the youthful gaze courses of life seem replete with joy, where in reality there is naught but disaster.
> (RW, p. 111)

There are no rainbows over Maggie's "far away lands," but Pete is Maggie's "world" seen through "hues of brilliancy and beauty," and she is decidedly the victim of a "susceptible heart." She is shamed by the only anchors, poor things that they are, which she has in life--her home and job. They are anything but "highly prized," but they are all that stand between Maggie's tenuous respectability and her eventual fate, and she rejects them in favor of Pete. Pete is her temporal "joy" in a life which is "composed of hardships and insults." The similarities of impulse present themselves, but perhaps most significant is Jonathan Crane's final question. "Surrounded by the allurements of sin, and the false light of error," Dr. Crane asks, "to whom shall youth look for counsel, if not to the parents?" (RW, p. 111). Maggie's parents are drunken non-sequiturs to Dr. Crane's argument. They do not attempt to guide their children; Maggie's mother is never sober, and when Pete arrives to take Maggie out for the first time, her drunken mother, "stretched on the floor, blasphemed and gave her daughter a bad name" (I, p. 29). When the final break between Maggie and her mother comes, it is her mother who shouts, "go t'hell an' good riddance." It is

recorded that "Maggie went" (I, p. 41). That Maggie is thrust out by her parent almost seems an answer to Jonathan Crane's question. Stephen suggests that not all the implications of the fourth commandment have universal application. There is, here, an attempt to establish a dialogue from son to father, and there is agreement on basic observations--it is only in application and prevention that there is disagreement.

There is no such disagreement between father and son on the role Pete plays and on Maggie's eventual fall as a result. Stephen shows us the results of a violent brouhaha between Maggie's mother and brother and Maggie's reaction to it. In the midst of the battle, Pete comes in:

> He walked over to Maggie and whispered in her ear, 'Ah, what d'hell Mag? Come ahn and we'll have a hell of a time.'
> (I, p. 41)

After her mother curses her violently, Pete again tempts Maggie:

> At this instant Pete came forward. 'Oh, what d'hell, Mag, see,' whispered he softly in her ear. 'Dis all blows over. See? D'ol' womal'll be all right in d'mornin'. Come ahn out wid me! We'll have a hell of a time.
> (I, p. 41)

Pete plays the identifiable role of tempter--a satan-like villain whose type is portrayed in a similar, but more general, situation by Jonathan Crane:

> 'No harm.' Whispers the black-hearted scoundrel, with smooth and honeyed accent, in the ear of unsuspecting innocence. 'No harm; the marriage ceremony is but an empty form of words; no harm in its omission for a little time.' And the wretched female, dishonoured and thrown aside, becomes a broken-hearted outcast.
> (<u>Dancing</u>, p. 118)

The whisper of the tempter and the villainous intent are part of both situations. Jonathan Crane simply compacts into a few lines what Stephen extends to several chapters. Immediately after Pete tempts

and convinces Maggie to go with him, we are informed, inferentially, that Maggie was "ruined" that night, but the final dénouement of Maggie's "dishonour" is not unveiled for several chapters. Maggie's reputation, however, is made the morning after her deflowering. Jimmie realizes Pete has ruined his sister and tells his mother that "Maggie's gon t'd'devil," and she replies, "May Gawd curse her forever" (I, p. 43). The neighbors in the tenement take almost demoniacal delight in accepting the news and dogmatizing her reputation. We hear Maggie called "a bold thing," and we are told that "dere wasn't a feller come t'd'house but she'd try t' mash 'im." We are told that Maggie's fate was foreseen." 'I could' tol' yehs dis two years ago,' said a woman in a key of triumph. . . . 'Dat Johnson girl ain't straight'" (I, p. 44). Finally we learn that "'Anybody what had eyes could see dat dere was somethin' wrong wid dat girl. I didn't like her actions'" (I, p. 44). In short, the society of Maggie's environment closes her access and she is forced to her trip to the river. Jonathan Crane, again, portrays the same situation:

> Suppose the victim of detraction belongs to the sex whose reputation is proverbially fragile, she at once becomes an outcast, every lip curls with scorn, and insult encompasses her on every side; and the society of which she is perhaps fitted to be the charm and the pride, unite to drive her from their midst. No age, no position in life, is beyond the reach of the slanderer.
>
> (RW, p. 240)

Both Stephen and Jonathan Crane seem to condemn "the slanderer" rather than the victim. Maggie, who "blossomed in a mud puddle" (I, p. 24) was indeed "fitted to be the charm and pride" of her society, yet her society does "unite" to drive her out. In condemnation of the injustice the Cranes are in complete agreement.

It is important that these conjunctions of thought are concentrated in the chain of events that is the direct cause of Maggie's descent to the street. Both Stephen and Jonathan Crane suggest that the victim is helpless without aid--Maggie has none--and that society is a major factor in the final result. Jonathan Crane makes the basic assumption that parents will not willfully lead their children astray or leave them to their own devices, which of course Maggie's parents do. But even on this point Stephen does demur significantly. Maggie's parents are part of the problem as Stephen draws them, but he suggests that given other circumstances, other parents, Maggie might have survived. The rift is only a maturation of point-of-view. Jonathan Crane assumes and has seen only one side of the case; Stephen knows because he has experienced or seen both sides.

Less important intrinsically, but noteworthy, are other correspondences of image. The deteriorating sequence of theatres and dance halls to which Pete takes Maggie has been shown to be an important barometer of Maggie's situation.[4] As the scenes become sleazier, Maggie is seen to become cheaper and cheaper. It is interesting that Jonathan Crane, George Peck, and Jesse Peck are unanimous in condemning "the theatre, the opera, the minstrels, the ballroom" (WMID, p. 184). "All struggle of virtue and propriety," they tell us, "for the ascendancy within them [the theatres] has been a perfectly hopeless one" (TW, p. 33; MC, pp. 269-71; POP A, p. 41). For Maggie, the role of the theatres is to identify the hopelessness of her plight. Once she enters the round of theatre dates with Pete, her doom is inevitable. The remarkable scene in which Maggie summons her last hope and approaches a clergyman only to be rebuffed is a very sharp criticism from Stephen Crane:

> Suddently she came upon a stout gentleman in a silk hat and a chaste black coat, whose decorous row of buttons reached from his chin to his knees. The girl had heard of the Grace of God and she decided to approach this man.
>
> His beaming, chubby face was a picture of benevolence and kind-heartedness. His eyes shone good will.
>
> But as the girl timidly accosted him, he made a convulsive movement and saved his respectability by a vigorous side step. He did not risk it to save a soul. For how was he to know that there was a soul before him that needed saving?
>
> (I, p. 67)

The criticism is reminiscent of similar criticism by Jonathan Crane, the Methodist father Stephen supposedly rejects:

> Shall we look upon the children, even of the outcasts as something less than human, and 'pass them by on the other side,' gathering our garments close around us lest we be defiled?
>
> (AS, p. 20)

The criticism of both authors is aimed at the same target for essentially similar reasons, and even in the final result of that action, "the deathly black hue of the river" (I, p. 70), Jonathan Crane seems to precede his son's image:

> When they the children are struggling in the whirling current of a river of death, shall we let them sink?
>
> (AS, p. 20)

The morality and ideals of Jonathan Crane are imbedded in Maggie after they are filtered through the refining process of Stephen Crane's art and are modernized, although not necessarily liberalized and definitely not brutalized, by their conjunction with Stephen's personal morals and ideals.

The process recurs, perhaps more strenuously and blatantly, in George's Mother. George's Mother is something of a cause célèbre in the canon of Stephen Crane's work because of the portrayal of what has been considered a semi-autobiographical view of Crane's mother, Mary Helen Peck Crane, and of Stephen's relationship with her. Other than

the superficial resemblance of the conflict between George and his mother over his attendance at prayer meeting, there seems to be little evidence for comparison. However, the temperance theme which runs through most of the book can be traced from Stephen's work back to the related attitudes of his family. His father, grandfather, and great-uncle, as a result of their religious beliefs, were ardent advocates of the temperance movement. His mother was a regular W.C.T.U. speaker, nationally, and was a principal in the New Jersey movement to ban the sale of alcohol to school boys.[5] In George's Mother, Stephen admits no moralizing such as will be found in the works of his family, but collectively they foreshadow George's inexorable descent after his introduction to alcohol.

George first enters the saloon when he meets an old acquaintance. While there he discovers a feeling of congeniality and amiability which has long been absent at home (I, pp. 115-118). George Peck warns against saloons where "old friendships are strengthened and new ones formed. . . . Here it is that the taste is contracted, and the associations formed, which lead to confirmed habits of intemperance" (MC, p. 268). Peck also warns that the unsuspecting neophyte "does not know that his first entrance upon that enchanted ground [a saloon] is the introduction to a long chapter, which almost certainly follows; it is the first step which leads . . . to the gutter" (MC, pp. 86-87). "The vendors are cunning," Jonathan Crane observes, "they try to make their establishments as attractive as possible. . . . They exert themselves to secure a nightly assemblage of jovial merrymakers, whose songs and stories will draw others, and hold the company together late, and thus help business." These establishments are most attractive to "the man

whose home is cheerless, the man who not from any special love of it . . . but because they are led by the love of social enjoyment which they find in the companies addicted to indulgence" (ARTS, p. 217). It is the merrymaking which draws George from his "cheerless" home and his nagging mother because George "sometimes wondered whether he liked beer. He had been obliged to cultivate a talent for imbibing it," but "he understood that drink was an essential to joy" (I, p. 159). In one instance, after he has been disappointed in an affair with a "Maggie Johnson," which he carried on from afar and never really began, and after he has a particularly annoying bout with his nagging mother, he feels "that the earth was not grateful for his presence upon-it," and "He could now perceive that the universe hated him. He sank to the most sublime depths of despair" (I, p. 141). However, he is "rescued" from himself when his friend invites him to a "blowout" and he accepts:

> . . . as he walked home he thought that he was a very grim figure. He was about to taste the delicious revenge of a partial self-destruction. The universe would regret its position when it saw him drunk.
> (I, p. 141)

Jonathan Crane recognized the emotions that George displays and recorded them:

> Some drink deliberately for the purpose of drowning painful reflection. They have been unfortunate, or wicked, or both; and they dread to be left alone with their own thoughts. Alcohol possesses the power to paralyze the intellect and fill the soul with an animal joy which, for the moment, sweeps away the sad memories of an ill-spent life. It is the natural resort of those who are unwilling to contemplate the past, and dare not face the present. Cowardice, meanness of spirit, prompt them to fly to premeditated delirium.
> (ARTS, p. 219)

George sees himself as "unfortunate" for several reasons, goes to the "blowout" to inflict punishment on the world for dealing so badly with him, and displays the same sort of "cowardice" Stephen described as

the lot of Bowery dwellers (see Letters, p. 133), and which Jonathan Crane mentions. The description of the party is amazingly similar to a description of the same sort by Jonathan Crane. Stephen's characters are all good fellows and "excessively amiable." George feels "that he had social standing" among them. There are ridiculous stories, singing, and much drinking and George "of a sudden felt . . . that he was having a good time." He was "an enthusiast" and was "capable of heroisms." After he becomes extremely intoxicated, he is sure that he is "capable of most brilliant and entertaining things" (I, pp. 142-146) when he is actually incapable of standing upright. Passing out, he is excluded from the party. The progress of this drunken debauchery and of George's part in it are accurately portrayed by Jonathan Crane:

> When a company of men are drinking together they tend, at least for a time, to be talkative and merry, and the feeblest attempt at a jest is greeted with unlimited laughter. There may be no affectations in their merriment. The joke really seems to them unspeakably comical; but they are not conscious that their appreciation of it is greatly intensified by the fact that before it was uttered, they were feeling very funny indeed.
>
> So if one of the company takes it into his bewildered head to try to reason about something, he is, in his own eyes a veritable Solomon; and, if he is talking on their side of the question, his equally bewildered comrades marvel at this supernatural sagacity and eloquence. . . . To the man intoxicated with alcohol any poor pebble of forced wit is a sparkling gem and every puddle of muddy discourse has ocean depths of wisdom in it.
>
> (ARTS, pp. 142-143)

George feels all of these things; and his final feelings before he passes completely out of the party, are, again, reminiscent of Jonathan Crane. As George stands "tottering in the middle of the room," he slurs out "G'l'm'n, I lovsh girl! I ain' drunker'n yeh all are!" He is hurled into a corner and is "buried" under a pile of chairs and tables in order to discourage his attempts to rise, and he marvels that he,

"the brilliant, the good, the sympathetic" could be so badly treated (I, pp. 148-149). Jonathan Crane tells us that "when he [the drunkard] is so far gone as to stammer in his speech and to totter in his gait, and be helpless in mind and body, his sense of wisdom, his strength, his greatness, and his goodness is at its highest point" (ARTS, p. 145).

Jonathan Crane's observations on drinking and drunkenness are probably second-hand, and Stephen's experience is not known to be that extensive. Stephen's reputation for drunkenness is entirely circumstantial. However the temperance background of him family is well-known and it should not be surprising that some of Stephen's narratives sound like the temperance discourses of his family. There is a basic difference of purpose between the two. Jonathan Crane and the Pecks moralize and predict; Stephen simply records without commentary. The differences stem from Stephen's observations of drunks and drunkenness during his forays into the Bowery. He no longer finds it necessary to beg the question with empty assertions; he, unlike his family, has seen everything George experiences and knows it will happen again and again and that no amount of moralizing to the drunk will change the pattern. Writing within his creed of art which forbids "preaching," he only records--his family provides a convenient, familiar rhetoric. The end result is the same, however, and as George sits by his mother's deathbed with "hideous crabs crawling upon his brain" (I, p. 178), it becomes apparent that Stephen condemns him as surely as Jonathan Crane passes judgement on his whole cadre. Stephen is, as should be expected, more subtle and ironic, but George's Mother still emerges as a literary temperance tract in the mode of his family's similar writings.

Crane's family looms in the background of all his works in one degree or another. The family condemnation of novel-reading informs

the satire in "Why Did the Young Clerk Swear?" (VIII, pp. 33-38; cf. POP A, pp. 129, 139); their attitudes toward the extremely poor and the wealthy are incorporated into "An Experiment in Misery" and "An Experiment in Luxury" (VIII, pp. 283-302; cf. TW, p. 298; TM, p. 31; RW, p. 272; MC, pp. 61, 91, 109); their fondness for dagger images and assassin metaphors may explain Crane's "assassin" in "An Experiment in Misery" (cf. RW, p. 63; POP A, p. 42; AS, p. 5; MM, pp. 385-386); their stand on the evil of trains running on the sabbath for "Sunday excursions," and some romantic sunset imagery may be related to "Mr. Bink's Day Off" (VIII, pp. 305-313; cf. RW, pp. 92, 96; MC, p. 56); Dr. Crane's reviews of South American and Mexican intoxicants, especially pulque, could have served as a guidebook for Stephen in his Mexican reports (cf. ARTS, pp. 41, 122); George Peck's condemnation of unethical "landjobbers" is redolent with the anger of Stephen's attack on coal agents in "In the Depths of a Coal Mine" (VIII, pp. 590-600; cf. WYOMING, p. 184); Jonathan Crane's relatively superficial discussion of opium reflects his son's attitudes toward the drug in "Opium's Varied Dreams" and "Yen-Hock Bill and His Sweetheart" (VIII, pp. 365-370, 396-399; cf. ARTS, pp. 102-119); anecdotes, images, and attitudes from the minds of his family play a part in The Whilomville Stories, specifically "The Carriage Lamps," "His New Mittens," "The Lover and the Tell-Tale," "Making An Orator," and "A Little Pilgrim" (cf. BUDGET, v. 2, p. 85; POP A, pp. 143-145, 192; LAT, p. 19; SPC, p. 8; CE, pp. 25, 90; AS, pp. 12, 16); Jesse Truesdell Peck's blatant espousal of manifest destiny rings through several of Stephen's Cuban reports (cf. GR et passim); and the shadow of Jesse Peck's The True Woman and Jonathan Crane's The Right Way fall over the characterizations of the central

women figures in Active Service and The Third Violet--Peck's classification of types of women and Dr. Crane's applications of the decalogue are informative in understanding Stephen's portrayal of Nora Black, Marjorie Wainwright, Miss Fanhall, and Florinda O'Connor (cf. TW, pp. 211 ff, 218-234, 298, 345, et passim; RW, pp. 128-180, 187-191).

After this listing of confluences, only a record of documentable influence and/or borrowing would further clarify Crane's relationship to his family's works. Fortunately such is available. In three sketches written in 1899, but not published until 1901-02, Crane virtually plagarized George Peck's Wyoming, Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures. "The Battle of Forty Fort," "The Surrender of Forty Fort," and "Ole' Bennett and the Indians" are all taken from various narratives in Peck's historical record of the British and Indian attack on the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania in 1778-79. Crane seems to have written the stories with his grandfather's work open, at ready reference. An extensive, opposing-column comparison of the two authors will clearly identify Crane's debt to his grandfather.

In this comparison, Crane's stories are quoted in full from the Virginia Works; George Peck's Wyoming is quoted only to show those passages Crane drew from. The Peck quotations are identified by the parenthetical insertion of the page number at the end of the quotation.

"The Battle of Forty Fort"
Stephen Crane
VIII, pp. 137-143

The Congress, sitting at Philadelphia, had voted our Wyoming country two companies of infantry for its protection against the Indians with the single provision that we raise the men and arm them ourselves. This was not too brave a gift but no one could blame the poor Congress and indeed one could wonder that they found occasion to think of us at all since at the time every gentlemen of them had his coat-tails gathered high in his hands in readiness for flight to Baltimore. But our two companies of foot were no sooner drilled, equipped and in readiness to defend the colony when they were ordered off down to the Jerseys to join General Washington. So it can be seen what service Congress did us in the way of protection. Thus the Wyoming Valley, sixty miles deep in the wilderness, held its log-houses full of little beside mothers, maids and children. To the clamor against this situation, the badgered Congress could only reply by issue of another generous order directing that one full company of foot be raised in the town of Westmoreland for the defense of said town and that the said company find their own arms, ammunition and blankets. Even people with our sense of humor could not laugh at this joke.

When the first two companies were forming, I had thought to join one but my father forbade me, saying that I was too young although I was full sixteen, tall and very strong. So it turned out that I was not off fighting with Washington's army when Butler and his rangers and Indians raided Wyoming. Perhaps I was in the better place to do my duty, if I could.

Wyoming, Its History, Its Stirring Incidents and Romantic Adventures
George Peck

By order of Congress 'two companies on the Continental establishment' were raised 'in the town of Westmoreland,' to be 'stationed in proper places for the defense of the inhabitants of said town and parts adjacent.' (153-154)

At the critical period when our army had retreated across the Delaware, these companies were 'ordered to join General Washington with all possible expedition.' This order left Wyoming in a most defenseless condition. (154)

Wyoming was peculiarly exposed, being situated at the distance of sixty miles from the white settlements, east and south. (29)

They were now called to leave their mothers, wives, and sisters exposed to the incursions of the merciless savages, without anything like adequate means of defense. (154)

All that was done was an order passed by Congress that 'one full company of foot be raised in the town of Westmoreland, for the defense of said town,' and 'that the said company find their own arms, ammunition, and blankets.' This amounted to nothing, as it did not increase the force of the settlement. (30)

When wandering Indians visited the settlements, their drunkenness and insolence were extreme but the few white men remained calm and often enough pretended oblivion to insults which because of their wives and families they dared not attempt to avenge. In my own family, my father's imperturbability was scarce superior to my mother's coolness and such was our faith in them that we twelve children also seemed to be fearless. Neighbor after neighbor came to my father in despair of the defenceless condition of the valley and declaring that they were about to leave everything and flee over the mountains to Stroudsburg. My father always wished them Godspeed and said no more. If they urged him to fly also, he usually walked away from them.

There were men there who, if their wives and children had not been in the power of the savages, and they had had in hand their trusty rifles, would have sent a ball through the heart of the old limb of Satan, and run the hazard of dying the next moment. But, grinding their teeth, they smothered their wrath as well as they could. (225)

Finally there came a time when all the Indians vanished. We rather would have had them tipsy and impudent in the settlements: we knew what their disappearance portended. It was the serious sign. Too soon the news came that 'Indian Butler' was on the way.

The Indians were evidently making preparations to identify themselves with the English cause. They all withdrew from Wyoming and went north. There were rumors of their intentions to cut off the settlement, which filled the minds of many with alarm. (154)

The valley was vastly excited. People with their smaller possessions flocked into the block-houses and militia officers rode everywhere to rally every man. A small force of Continentals--regulars of the line--had joined our people and the little army was now under the command of a Continental officer, Major Zebulon Butler.

Colonel Zebulon Butler had obtained leave of absence from the army, and came on in advance of the Wyoming companies, which were finally ordered to the scene of danger and alarm under Captain Spaulding. The command, by universal consent, was accorded to Colonel Butler. (156)

I had thought that with all this hub-bub of an impending life and death struggle in the valley that my father would allow the work on our farm to slacken. But in this I was notably mistaken. The milking and the feeding and the work in the fields went on as if there were never had been an Indian south of the Canadas. My mother and my sisters continued to cook, to wash, to churn, to spin, to dye, to mend, to make soap, to make maple sugar. Just

before the break of each day, my younger brother Andrew and myself tumbled out for some eighteen hours' work and woe to us if we departed the length of a dog's tail from the laws which our father had laid down. It was the life with which I was familiar but it did seem to me that with the Indians almost upon us, he might have allowed me at least to go to the Fort and see our men drilling.

But one morning we aroused as usual at his call from the foot of the ladder and dressing more quickly than Andrew I climbed down from the loft to find my father seated by a blazing fire reading by its light in his bible.

'Son,' said he.

'Yes, father.'

'Go and fight.'

Without a word more, I made hasty preparation. It was the first time in my life that I had a feeling that my father could change his mind. So strong was this fear that I did not even risk a good-bye to my mother and sisters. At the end of the clearing I looked back. The door of the house was open and in the blazing light of the fire I saw my father seated as I had left him.

At Forty Fort, I found between three and four hundred under arms while the stockade itself was crowded with old people and women and children. Many of my acquaintances welcomed me; indeed I seemed to know everybody save a number of the Continental officers. Colonel Zebulon Butler was in chief command while directly under him was Colonel Denison, a man of the valley and much respected. Colonel Denison asked news of my father whose temper he well knew. He said to me: 'If God spares Nathan Denison I shall tell that obstinate old fool my true opinion of him. He will get himself and all his family butchered and scalped.'

The whole army consisted of 'two hundred and thirty enrolled men, and seventy old people, boys, civil magistrates, and other volunteers,' the whole embracing six companies, which were mustered at Forty Fort, where the families of the settlers on the east side of the river had taken refuge. (38)

I joined Captain Bidlack's company for the reason that a number of my friends were in it. Every morning we were paraded and drilled in the open ground before the Fort and I learnt to present arms and to keep my heels together although to this day I have never been able to see any point to these accomplishments and there was very little of the presenting of arms or of the keeping of heels in the battle which followed these drills. I may say truly that I would now be much more grateful to Captain Bidlack if he had taught me to run like a wild horse.

There was considerable friction between the officers of our militia and the Continental officers. I believe the Continental officers had stated themselves as being in favor of a cautious policy whereas the men of the valley were almost unanimous in their desire to meet Indian Butler more than half-way. They knew the Indians and they deduced that the proper plan was to march forth and attack the British force near the head of the valley. Some of the more hot-headed ones rather openly taunted the Continentals but these veterans of Washington's army remained silent and composed amid more or less wildness of talk. My own concealed opinions were that although our people were brave and determined, they had much better allow the Continental officers to manage the valley's affairs.

At the end of June, we heard the news that Colonel John Butler with some four hundred troops which he called the Rangers and with about five hundred Indians had entered the valley at its head and taken Fort Wintermoot after an opposition of a perfunctory character. I could present arms very well but I do not think I could yet keep my heels together. But Indian Butler was marching upon us and even Captain Bidlack refrained from being annoyed at my refractory heels.

It was the opinion of Colonels Butler and Denison that it was best to delay until the recruits should arrive. Captains Lazarus Stuart and William M'Karrican headed the party which were for marching out of the fort at once and meeting the foe. A warm debate upon the question followed, which closed with high words. The belligerent captains, perceiving that the majority was on their side, intimated that it was cowardice which influenced the views of the colonels, and that, if they should decline the command, they--the captains--would lead on the brave men who would volunteer to go out and flog Butler and his Indians. . . . In this case, as in many others, hot-headed and reckless men prevailed against sober counsels. (157)

On the 29th or 30th of June, 1778, Colonel John Butler, with about four hundred British provincials, partly made up of Tories, together with six or seven hundred Indians, entered the head of the valley, and took possession of Fort Wintermoot without opposition. (38).

'On the 30th of June I arrived with about 500 rangers and Indians at Wyoming.' (52)

The officers held councils of war but in truth both Fort and Camp rang with a discussion in which everybody joined with great vigor and endurance. I may except the Continental officers who told us what they thought we should do and then declaring that there was no more to be said remained in a silence which I thought was rather grim. The result was that on the 3rd of July, our force of about 300 men marched away, amid the roll of drums and the proud career of flags to meet Indian Butler and his two kinds of savages. There yet remains with me a vivid recollection of the close row of faces above the stockade of old Forty Fort which viewed our departure with that profound anxiety which only an imminent danger of murder and scalping can produce. I myself was never particularly afraid of the Indians for to my mind the great and almost the only military virtue of the Indians was that they were silent men in the woods. If they were met squarely on terms approaching equality, they could always be whipped. But it was another matter to a fort filled with women and children and cripples to whom the coming of Indians spelled pillage, arson and massacre. The British sent against us in those days some curious upholders of the honor of the King and although Indian Butler who usually led them afterward contended that everything was performed with decency and care for the rules, we always found that such of our dead whose bodies we recovered invariably lacked hair on the tops of their heads and if worse wasn't done to them we wouldn't even use the word mutilate.

Colonel Zebulon Butler rode along the column when we halted once for water. I looked at him eagerly, hoping to read in his face some sign of his opinions. But on that soldierly mask I could read nothing although I am certain now that he felt that the fools among us were going

A council of war was called on the 3rd of July, and though it was the opinion of Colonel Butler, Colonel Denison, and Lieutenant Colonel Dorrance, and others, that 'a little delay would be best,' in hopes of the arrival of re-enforcements, which it was thought might be on their way, yet a large majority were for marching at once upon the enemy and giving them battle. . . . 'The column, consisting of about three hundred men, old men, and boys, marched from the fort,' at about three o'clock in the afternoon, with drums beating and colors flying. (38-39)

to get us well beaten. But there was no vacillation in the direction of our march. We went straight until we could hear through the woods the infrequent shots of our leading party at retreating Indian scouts.

Our Colonel Butler then sent forward four of his best officers who reconnoitred the ground in the enemy's front like so many engineers marking the place for a bastion. Then each of the six companies were told their place in the line. We of Captain Bidlack's company were on the extreme right. Then we formed in line and marched into battle with me burning with the high resolve to kill Indian Butler and bear his sword into Forty Fort while at the same time I was much shaken that one of Indian Butler's Indians might interfere with the noble plan. We moved stealthily among the pine trees and I could not forbear looking constantly to right and left to make certain that everybody was of the same mind about this advance. With our Captain Bidlack was Captain Durkee of the Regulars. He was also a valley man and it seemed that every time I looked behind me I met the calm eye of this officer and I came to refrain from looking behind me.

Still, I was very anxious to shoot Indians and if I had doubted my ability in this direction I would have done myself a great injustice for I could drive a nail to the head with rifle-ball at respectable range. I content that I was not at all afraid of the enemy but I much feared that certain of my comrades would change their minds about the experience of battle on the 3rd of July 1778.

But our company was as steady and straight as a fence. I do not know who first saw dodging figures in the shadows of the trees in our front. The first fire we received however was from our flank where some hidden Indians were yelling and firing, firing and yelling. We did

'Colonel Z. Butler, on approaching the enemy, sent forward Captains Ransom and Durkee, Lieutenants Ross and Wells, as officers whose skill he most relied on, to select the spot, and mark off the ground on which to form the order of battle. On coming up, the column displayed to the left, and under those officers every company took its station. . . . On the American right was Captain Bidlack's company.' (39)

Yellow and pitch-pine trees, with oak shrubs, were scattered all over the plains. . . . Captain Durkee and Ransom, as experienced officers, in whom great confidence was placed, were stationed, Durkee with Bidlack on the right wing, Ransom with Whittlesey on the left. (39)

He demanded, ". . . Where Solomon, that good marksman?" (164)

Along the whole line the discharges were rapid and steady. It was evident that on the more open ground the Yankees were doing most execution. As our men advanced pouring in their platoon fires with great vivacity, the British line gave way, in spite of all their

not mind the warwhoops. We had heard too many drunken Indians in the settlements before the war. They wounded the lieutenant of the company next to ours and a moment later they killed Captain Durkee. But we were steadily advancing and firing regular volleys into the shifting frieze of figures before us. The Indians gave their cries as if imps of Hades had given tongue to their emotions. They fell back before us so rapidly and so cleverly that one had to watch his chance as the Indians sped from tree to tree. I had a sudden burst of rapture that they were beaten and this was accentuated when I stepped over the body of an Indian whose forehead had a hole in it as squarely in the middle as if the location had been previously surveyed. In short we were doing extremely well.

Soon we began to see the slower figures of white men through the trees and it is only honest to say that they were easier to shoot. I myself caught sight of a fine officer in a uniform that seemed of green and buff. His sword-belt was fastened by a great shining brass plate and no longer feeling the elegancies of markmanship, I fired at the brass plate. Such was the conformation of the ground between us that he disappeared as if he had sunk in the sea. We, all of us, were loading behind the trees and then charging ahead with fullest confidence.

But suddenly from our own left came wild cries from our men while at the same time the yells of Indians redoubled in that direction. Our rush checked itself instinctively. The cries rolled toward us. Once I heard a word which sounded like "quarter." Then to be truthful our line wavered. I heard Captain Bidlack give an angry and despairing shout and I think he was killed before he finished it.

In a word, our left wing had gone to pieces. It was in complete officers' efforts to prevent it. The Indian flanking part on our right kept up from their hiding-place a galling fire. Lieutenant Daniel Gore received a ball through the left arm. . . . Captain Durkee stepped to the bank to look . . . when he fell. On the British Butler's right, his Indian warriors were sharply engaged. . . . As the battle waxed warmer, that fearful yell was renewed again and again with more spirit. It appeared to be at once their animating shout and their signal of communication. (40-41)

The Indians had thrown into the swamp a large force, which now completely outflanked our left. It was impossible it should be otherwise; that wing was thrown into confusion. Colonel Denison gave orders that the company of Whittlesey should wheel back, so as to form an angle with the main line, and thus present his front, instead of flank, to the enemy. The difficulty of performing evolutions by the bravest militia on the field under a hot fire is well known. On

rout. I know not the truth of the matter but it seems that Colonel Denison had given an order which was misinterpreted for the order to retreat. At any rate there can be no doubt of how fast the left wing ran away.

We ran away too. The company on our immediate left was the company of regulars and I remember some red-faced and powder-stained men bellowing at me contemptuously. That company stayed and, for the most part, died. I don't what they mustered when we left the Fort but from the battle eleven worn and ragged men emerged.

In my running was wisdom. The country was suddenly full of fleet Indians, upon us with the tomahawk. Behind me as I ran I could hear the screams of men cleaved to the earth. I think the first things that most of us discarded were our rifles. Afterward upon serious reflection I could not recall where I gave my rifle to the grass.

I ran for the river. I saw some of our own men running ahead of me and I envied them. My point of contact with the river was the top of a high bank. But I did not hesitate to leap for the water with all my ounces of muscle. I struck out strongly for the other shore. I was expected to be shot in the water. Up stream and down stream, I could hear the crack of rifles but none of the enemy seemed to be paying direct heed to me. I swam so well that I was soon able to put my feet on the slippery round stones and wade. When I reached a certain sandy beach, I lay down and puffed and blew my exhaustion. I watched the scene on the river. Indians appeared in groups on the opposite bank firing at various heads of my comrades who like me had chosen the Susquehanna as their refuge. I saw more than hand fling up and the head turn sideways and sink.

the attempt, the savages rushed in with horrid yells. Some had mistaken the order to fall back as one to retreat, and that word, that fatal word, ran along the line. Utter confusion now prevailed on the left. (41)

But the day was lost, and every man made shift for himself as best he might. Some ran down the plains, some took to the mountain, but most fled in the direction of the river. Many were struck down with the tomahawk; and others were taken prisoners, and suffered a still more terrible fate. (159)

Solomon Bennett steered his course toward the river; he gained the river bank against Monocasy Island, but a little in advance of several Indians who were in pursuit of him. He plunged into the river, and swam upon his back. (160)

I set out for home. I set out for home in that perfect spirit of dependence which I had always felt toward my father and my mother. When I arrived I found nobody in the living room but my father seated in his great chair and reading his bible, even as I had left him.

The whole shame of the business came upon me suddenly. 'Father,' I choked out, 'we have been beaten.'

'Aye,' said he, 'I expected it.'

"The Surrender of Forty Fort"
Stephen Crane
VIII, pp. 143-148

Immediately after the battle of July 3rd, my mother said: 'We had best take the children and go into the Fort.'

But my father replied: 'I will not go. I will not leave my property. All that I have in the world is here and if the savages destroy it they may as well destroy me also.'

My mother said no other word. Our household was ever given to stern silence and such was my training that it did not occur to me to reflect that if my father cared for his property, it was not my property and I was entitled to care somewhat for my life.

Colonel Denison was true to the word which he had passed to me at the Fort before the battle. He sent a messenger to my father, and this messenger stood in the middle of our living-room and spake with a clear indifferent voice. 'Colonel Denison bids me come here and say that John Bennett is a wicked man and the blood of his own children will be upon his head.' As usual my father said nothing. After the messenger had gone, he remained silent for hours in his chair by the fire and this stillness was so impressive to his family that even my mother walked on tip-toe as she went about her work. After this long time my father said: 'Mary.'

Mother halted and looked at him. Father spoke slowly and as if every word was wrested from him with violent pangs. 'Mary, you take the girls and go to the Fort. I and Solomon and Andrew will go over the mountain to Stroudsburg.'

Immediately my mother called us all to set about packing such things as could be taken to the Fort. And by night-fall we had seen them within its pallisade and my father, myself and my little brother Andrw who was only eleven years old were off over the hills on a long march to the Delaware settlements. Father and I had our rifles but we seldom dared to fire them because of the roving bands of Indians. We lived as well as we could on blackberries and raspberries. For the most part, poor little Andrew rode first on the back of my father and then on my back. He was a good little man and only cried when he would wake in the dead of night very cold and very hungry. Then my father would wrap him him in an old grey coat that was so famous in the Wyoming country that there was not even an Indian who did not know of it. But this act he did without any direct display of tenderness for the fear I suppose that he would weaken Little Andrew's growing manhood. Now in these days of safety and even luxury, I often marvel at the iron spirit of the people of my young days. My father without his coat and no doubt very cold, would then sometimes begin to pray to his God in the wilderness but in low voice because of the Indians. It was July but even July nights are cold in the pine-mountains, breathing a chill which goes straight to the bones.

But it is not my intention to give in this section the ordinary adventures of the masculine part of my family. As a matter of fact my mother and the girls were undergoing in Forty Fort trials which made as nothing the happenings on our journey which ended in safety.

My mother and her small flock were no sooner established in the crude quarters within the pallisades than negotiations were opened between Colonel Denison and Colonel Zebulon Butler on the American side and 'Indian Butler' on the British side for the capitulation of the Fort with such arms and military stores as it contained, the lives of the settlers to be strictly preserved. But, 'Indian Butler' did not seem to feel free to promise safety for the lives of the Continental Butler and the pathetic little fragment of the regular troops. These men always fought so well against the Indians that whenever the Indians could get them at their mercy there was small chances of anything but a massacre. So every regular left before the surrender and I fancy that Colonel Zebulon Butler considered himself a much abused man for if we had left ourselves entirely under his direction there is no doubt but what we could have saved the valley. He had taken us out on July 3rd because our militia officers had almost threatened him. In the end he had said: 'Very well, I can go as far as any of you.' I was always on Butler's side of the argument but, owing to a singular arrangement of circumstances, my opinion at the age of sixteen counted upon neither the one side nor the other.

The Fort was left in charge of Colonel Denison. He had stipulated before the surrender that no Indians should be allowed to enter the stockade and molest these poor families of women whose fathers and brothers were either dead or fled over the mountains unless their physical debility had been such that they were neither to get killed in the battle nor to take the long trail to the Delaware. Of course this excepts those men who were with Washington.

For several days, the Indians obedient to the British officers, kept out of the Fort but soon they

CAPITULATION AGREEMENT--. . . .
Art. I. It is agreed that the settlement lay down their arms, and their garrison be demolished.
Art. II. That the inhabitants occupy their farms peaceably, and the lives of the inhabitants be preserved entire and unhurt. (44)

Indeed, it was determined by the enemy to spare the inhabitants after the agreement, and that myself and the few Continental soldiers should be delivered up to the savages. (51)

These insulting insinuations aroused the spirit of Colonels Butler and Denison, and they resolved to hazard all upon the chances of a battle. Colonel Butler said, 'We go into imminent danger; but, my boys, I can go as far as any of you.' (157)

began to enter in small bands and went sniffing and poking in every corner to find plunder. Our people had hidden everything as well as they were able and for a period little was stolen. My mother told me that the first thing of importance to go was Colonel Denison's hunting-shirt made of 'fine forty' linen. It had a double cape and was fringed about the cape and about the wristbands. Colonel Denison at the time was in my mother's cabin. An Indian entered and rolling a thieving eye about the place sighted first of all the remarkable shirt which Colonel Denison was wearing. He seized the shirt and began to tug while the Colonel backed away tugging and protesting at the same time. The women folk saw at once that the Colonel would be tomahawked if he did not give up his shirt and they begged him to do it. He finally elected not to be tomahawked and came out of his shirt. While my mother unbuttoned the wristbands the Colonel cleverly dropped into the lap of a certain Polly Thornton a large packet of Continental bills and his money was thus saved for the settlers.

They came into our house, and a stout Indian claimed Colonel Denison's hunting-shirt, a very nice one, made of fine forty linen, with a double cape, fringed around the cape and wrists. The colonel objected; but, upon the Indian raising his tomahawk, and mother begging him to give it up, he consented. While she was unbuttoning the wristbands the colonel stepped back, and Polly Thornton, who sat by me, received a package of money from his pocket. It was the town money, in Continental bills. (163)

Colonel Denison had several stormy interviews with Indian Butler and the British commander finally ended in frankly declaring that he could do nothing with the Indians at all. They were beyond control and the defenceless people in the Fort would have to take the consequences. I do not mean that Colonel Denison was trying to recover his shirt; I mean that he was objecting to a situation which was now almost unendurable. I wish to record also that the Colonel lost a large beaver hat. In both cases he willed to be tomahawked and killed rather than suffer the indignity but mother prevailed over him. I must confess to this discreet age that my mother engaged in fisticuffs with a squaw. This squaw came into the cabin and without preliminary discussion attempted

Colonel Denison remained in our cabin, but when Butler came into the fort he sent for him. . . . Colonel Denison remonstrated with him upon the subject of the aggressions of the Indians. . . . Colonel Denison again set for Butler. . . . Toward night Butler came in again, and Colonel Denison had another conversation with him, earnestly chiding him for the breach of a solemn treaty. Butler finally waved his hand and said, 'To tell you the truth, I can do nothing with them.' . . . . His final answer was as before, 'I tell you, sir, I can do nothing with them.' He then arose and left. . . . In fact, he left us to the tender mercies of the savages, without any regard to the articles which he had signed with his own hand. (163)

to drag from my mother the petticoat she was wearing. My mother forgot the fine advice she had given to Colonel Denison. She proceeded to let the squaw out of the cabin and although the squaw appealed to some warriors who were standing without the warriors only laughed and my mother kept her petticoat.

The Indians took the feather beds of the people and ripping them open, flung the feathers broadcast. Then they stuffed these sacks full of plunder and flung them across the backs of such of the settler's horses as they had been able to find. In the old days my mother had had a side saddle of which she was very proud when she rode to meeting on it. She had also a brilliant scarlet cloak which every lady had in those days and which I can remember as one of the admirations of my childhood. One day my mother had the satisfaction of seeing a squaw ride off from the Fort with this prize saddle reversed on a small nag and with the proud squaw thus mounted wearing the scarlet cloak also reversed. My sister Martha told me afterward that they laughed even in their misfortunes. A little later they had the satisfaction of seeing the smoke of our house and barn arising over the tops of the trees.

When the Indians first began their pillaging, an old Mr. Sutton who occupied a cabin near my mother's cabin anticipated them by donning all his best clothes. He had had a theory that the Americans would be free to retain the clothes that they wore. And his best happened to be a suit of Quaker gray from beaver to boots in which he had been married. Not long afterward my mother and my sisters saw passing the door an Indian arrayed in Quaker gray from beaver to boots. The only odd thing which impressed them was that the Indian had appended to the dress a long string of Yankee scalps.

Another /Indian/ came in and demanded the colonel's new beaver hat. As in the former case, he objected; but, as in that instance, the lifted tomahawk and mother's entreaties brought him to terms (163-164)

One circumstance Mrs. Myers--probably from motives of delicacy --does not relate. . . . A filthy squaw undertook forcibly to deprive her of one of her garments. . . . She drew he clenched hand, and gave the old hag a blow in the face which felled her to the ground. The squaw, recovering, grappled the pale-faced woman, but was soon worsted in the struggle. It was an anxious moment with the friends of Mrs. Bennett who were present. Would she be tomahawked on the spot? was the question resolved in every mind. That question was soon settled by a roar of laughter from the Indians, one of them patting her on the back with the complimentary words, 'Good squaw.' (165)

They took our feather beds, and ripping open the ticks, flung out the feathers, and crammed in their plunder . . . and, throwing them over their horses, went off. (165)

One /squaw/ rode off astride of mother's side-saddle, that, too, wrong end foremost, and mother's scarlet cloak hanging before, being tied at the back of her neck. We could not help laughing at the ridiculous figure she cut, in spite of the deep trouble which then all but overwhelmed us all. (165)

Something more than a week after the battle the houses throughout the settlement were fired. The smoke arose from all quarters at the same time.

Mr. Sutton, presuming too hastily that they would be left with

Sutton was a good Quaker and if he had been wearing the suit there would have been no string of scalps.

They were in fact badgered, insulted, robbed by the Indians so openly that the British officers would not come into the Fort at all. They stayed in their camp affecting to be ignorant of what was transpiring. It was about all they could do. The Indians had only one idea of war and it was impossible to reason with them when they were flushed with victory and stolen rum.

The hand of fate fell heavily upon one rogue whose ambition it was to drink everything that the Fort contained. One day he inadvertently came upon a bottle of spirits of camphor and in a few hours he was dead.

But it was known that General Washington contemplated sending a strong expedition into the valley to clear it of the invaders and thrash them. Soon there were no enemies in the country save small roving parties of Indians who prevented work in the fields and burned whatever cabins that earlier torches missed.

The first large party to come into the valley was composed mainly of Captain Spaulding's company of regulars and at its head rode Colonel Zebulon Butler. My father, myself and little Andrew returned with this party to set to work immediately to build out of nothing a prosperity similar to that which had vanished into smoke.

the clothing which they had on, put on his wedding suit--a fine Quaker suit. . . . The first "big Indian" that came along after Mr. Sutton had rigged himself up in his best stripped him of every article he had on excepting his shirt. How that rascally savage looked in his 'fine Quaker suit,' with his rifle, bullet-pouch, and powder-horn, and a string of scalps around his waist, may be imagined. (207)

While the plundering was in progress, Mrs. Seybolt saw an Indian break open her sister's trunk, in which he found a bottle of camphor. He took it up, and, smelling of it, asked if it was poison. The owner replied it was not; he then made her taste it after which he drank it off, and went and lay down by the river. The doctor was soon informed of the circumstance, and, on examining him, pronounced him in a dying state. (232-233)

General Washington had projected an expedition into the Indian country effectually to chastise the savages, and to make an end of their incursions upon the frontier settlements. (166)

Colonel Butler and Captain Spaulding mustered their men and set off for Wyoming, preferring the hazard of meeting the Indians to that of allowing the Pennamites to take possession of the country.

The company saw no Indians, but everywhere met the sad traces of their ravages. The houses of the settlement were nearly all reduced to ashes, the crops were destroyed, and the horses, cattle, etc., were either killed or driven off. (171)

"'Ol' Bennet' and
the Indians"
Stephen Crane
VIII, pp. 148-154

My father was so well known of the Indians that as I was saying his old grey coat was a sign throughout the Northern country. I know of no reason for this save that he was honest and obstreperously minded his own affairs and could fling a tomahawk better than the best Indian. I will not declare upon how hard it is for a man to be honest and to mind his own affairs but I fully know that it is hard to throw a tomahawk as my father threw it, straighter than a bullet from a duelling pistol. He had always dealt fairly with the Indians and I cannot tell why they hated him so bitterly unless it was that when an Indian went foolishly drunk, my father would deplore it with his foot if it so happened that the drunkenness was done in our cabin. It is true to say that when the war came, a singular large number of kicked Indians journeyed from the Canadas to revisit with torch and knife the scenes of the kickings.

If people had thoroughly known my father, he would have had no enemies. He was the best of men. He had a code of behavior for himself and for the whole world as well. If people wishes his good opinion they only had to do exactly as he did and to have his views. I remember that once my sister Martha made me a waistcoat of rabbits' skins and generally it was considered a great ornament. But one day my father espied me in it and commanded me to remove it forever. Its appearance was indecent, he said, and such a garment tainted the soul of him who wore it. In the ensuing fortnight, a poor peddler arrived from the Delaware who had suffered great misfortunes in the snows. My father fed him and warmed him and when he gratefully departed, gave him

the rabbits' skin waistcoat and the poor man went off clothed indecently in a garment that would taint his soul. Afterward, in a daring mood, I asked me father why he had so cursed this peddler and he recommended that I should study my bible more closely and there read that my own devious ways should be mended before I sought to judge the enlightened acts of my elders. He set me to ploughing the upper twelve acres and I was hardly allowed to loose my grip of the plough handles until every furrow was drawn.

The Indians called my father 'Ol' Bennet' and he was known broadcast as a man whose doom was sealed when the red-skins caught him. As I have said, the feeling is inexplicable to me. But Indians who had been abused and maltreated by outright ruffians, against who revenge could with a kind of propriety be directed--many of these Indians avowedly gave up a sense of genuine wrong in order to direct a fuller attention to the getting of my father's scalp. This most unfair disposition of the Indians was a great deep anxiety to all of us up to the time when General Sullivan and his avenging army marched through the valley and swept our tormentors afar.

And yet great calamities could happen in our valley even after the coming and passing of General Sullivan. We were partly mistaken in our gladness. The British force of Loyalists and Indians met Sullivan in one battle and finding themselves over-matched and beaten, they scatterred in all directions. The Loyalists for the most part went home but the Indians cleverly broke up into small bands and General Sullivan's army had no sooner marched beyond the Wyoming valley than some of these small bands were back in the valley, plundering outlying cabins and shooting people from the thickets and woods that bordered the fields.

General Sullivan had left a garrison at Wilkesbarre and at this time

The expedition was committed to the charge of General Sullivan, who . . . proceeded to the prosecution of the objects of the expedition. . . . Colonel John Butler at the head of the British and Tories, and Brant in command of the Indians, made a stand . . . but were routed . . . and left the Indian towns, and the fields loaded with fruit, to be overrun and desolated by an avenging foe. (61)

In 1779 General Sullivan had pursued the Indians with the scourge of war, and driven them west of the Genessee River. Colonel John Butler and Brant had been worsted at every point, and had fled to Niagara. It was obvious enough to the fierce braves that it was in vain to attempt to meet the Americans in force in the open field, but they

we lived in its strong shadow. It was too formidable for the Indians to attack and it could protect all who valued protection enough to remain under its wings but it could do little against the flying small bands. My father chafed in the shelter of the garrison. His best lands lay beyond Forty Fort and he wanted to be at his ploughing. He made several brief references to his ploughing which led us to believe that his ploughing was the fundamental principle of life. None of us saw any means of contending him. My sister Martha began to weep but it no more mattered than if she had begun to laugh. My mother said nothing. Aye, my wonderful mother said nothing. My father said that he would go plough some of the land above Forty Fort. Immediately, this was with us some sort of law. It was like a rain or a wind or a drought.

He went, of course. My young brother Andrew went with him and he took the new span of oxen and a horse. They began to plough a meadow which lay in a bend of the river above Forty Fort. Andrew rode the horse hitched ahead of the oxen. At a certain thicket the horse shied so that little Andrew was almost thrown down. My father seemed to have begun a period of apprehension at this time but it was of no service. Four Indians suddenly appeared out of the thicket. Swiftly and in silence, they pounced with tomahawk, rifle and knife upon my father and my brother and in a moment they were captives of the redskins--that fate whose very phrasing was a thrill to the heart of every colonist. It spelled death or that horrible simple absence, vacancy, mystery which is harder than death.

As for us, he had told my mother that if he and Andrew were not returned at sun-down she might construe a calamity. So at sun-down we gave the news to the fort and directly we heard the alarm-gun, booming out across the dusk like a salute to the

shrewdly concluded to take vengeance upon them by visiting their settlements in small parties, and by stealthy approaches to take property and prisoners, or murder and scalp, as the case might be. They consequently, in small gangs, followed down General Sullivan upon the very heels of his army, and he had no sooner disposed of the garrison at Wilkesbarre, and crossed the mountain with his army, than the work of plunder and murder was resumed. (291)

General Sullivan had left several companies in the garrison at Wilkesbarre, under the command of Colonel Moore. (173)

Mr. Bennett could procure no land to work under cover of the the fort, and finally resolved to make an attempt to work his own land above Forty Fort. (175)

On the 27th of March, 1780, he commenced plowing within the 'Ox-bow,' a bend in the creek on the flats. . . . His team consisted of a yoke of oxen and a horse. The boy Andrew rode upon the horse. When they came to the bend in the creek the horse seemed shy. Mr. Bennett said, 'I fear all is not right. I think we will go around once more.' When they came again to the same point, four Indians sprung from the bushes, and one seized Mr. Bennett, and another took Andrew from the horse. (175)

When Mr. Bennett left home, he told his wife that if he did not return by sundown she might conclude some harm had befallen him. Soon after sundown Mrs. Bennett gave the information at the fort that her husband and son had not

death of my father, a solemn final declaration. At the sound of this gun, my sisters all began newly to weep. It simply defined our misfortune. In the morning, a party was sent out which came upon the deserted plough, the oxen calmly munching and the horse still excited and affrighted. The soldiers found the trail of four Indians. They followed this trail some distance over the mountain but the red-skins with their captives had a long start and pursuit was all but useless. The result of this expedition was that we knew at least that father and Andrew had not been massacred immediately. But in those days this was a most meagre consolation. It was better to wish them well dead.

returned, and desired that a party might be sent out in search of them. . . . It was thought not prudent to go out that night. They fired the alarm-gun, and waited till morning. A company went out, and found Mr. Bennett's oxen and horse trembling with the cold. . . . They followed on the track of the Indians to the top of the mountain, and then returned. (176)

My father and Andrew were hurried over the hills at a terrible pace by the four Indians. Andrew told me afterward that he could think sometimes that he was dreaming of being carried off by goblins. The redskins said no word and their mocassined feet made no sound. They were like evil spirits. But it was as he caught glimpses of father's pale face, every wrinkle in it deepened and hardened, that Andrew saw everything in its light. And Andrew was but thirteen years old. It is a tender age at which to be burned at the stake.

The Indians hurried on with their prisoners over the mountain. (293)

In time the party came upon two more Indians who had as a prisoner, a man named Lebbeus Hammond. He had left Wilkesbarre in search of a strayed horse. He was riding the animal back to the fort when the Indians caught him. He and my father knew each other well and their greeting was like them.

'What, Hammond! You here?'

'Yes; I'm here.'

As the march was resumed, the principal Indian bestrode Hammond's horse but the horse was very high-nerved and scared and the bridle was only a temporary one made from hickory withes. There was no saddle. And

The Indians hurried off their prisoners, and soon came up with two more Indians, having Lebbeus Hammond as a prisoner. (175)

Lebbeus Hammond had left Wilkesbarre in pursuit of a fine horse, which he found on a place he had occupied a few miles up the river. . . . He made a bridle of hickory withes, and was proceeding homeward, when he saw moccasin tracks. . . . All at once two Indians leaped from the bushes, and one seized his horse, while the other pulled him off. (292)

Their greetings were such as might have been expected. (292)

so finally the principal Indian came off with a crash, alighting with exceeding severity upon his head. When he got upon his feet he was in such a rage that the three captives thought to see him dash his tomahawk into the skull of the trembling horse and indeed his arm was raised for the blow but suddenly he thought better of it. He had touched by a real point of Indian inspiration. The party was passing a swamp at the time so he mired the horse almost up to its eyes and left it to the long death.

Mr. Bennett exclaimed, 'Hammond, are you here?' With downcast look, Hammond answered 'Yes.' (175)

An Indian mounted Hammond's horse, but when they came to the marsh, which lies between the river and the mountain, he ran the horse into the mire and left him there. (293)

I have said that my father was well-known of the Indians and yet I have to announce that none of his six captors knew him. To them, he was a complete stranger for upon camping the first night they left my father unbound. If they had had any idea he was 'Ol' Bennet' they would never have left him unbound. He suggested to Hammond that they try to escape that night but Hammond seemed not to care to try it yet.

The Indians evidently did not know the prisoners, for they left them unbound; and Bennett was for attempting escape, but Hammond thought it not possible to succeed, and the idea was given up. (293)

In time, they met a party of over forty Indians commanded by a Loyalist. In this band there were many who knew my father. They cried out with rejoicing when they perceived him. 'Ha!' they shouted. 'Ol'Benett!' They danced about him, making gestures expressive of the torture. Later in the day my father accidentally pulled a button from his coat and an Indian took it from him. My father asked to be allowed to have it again for he was a very careful man and in those days all good husbands were trained to bring home the loose buttons. The Indian laughed and explained that a man who was to die at Wyallusing--one day's march--need not be particular about a button.

At length they met a party of about forty Indians, commanded by a white man--a Tory, of course. An old Indian belonging to the party sung out, 'Ah.' Old Bennet; I'd rather see your scalp.' (293)

An Indian went up to a burnt stump and blackened his face, and coming up to Mr. Bennett, he directed his attention to his face, with the significant sentence, 'Ho! Bennet.' The movement was well understood. (294)

Mr. Bennett accidentally pulled a button from his coat, and put it in his pocket. They were now searched, and the button being found, Bennett asked for it, saying he wished to put it on again. The Indian flung it away, saying, 'Fool, Bennet; only one day more. You die at Wyallusing.' (294)

The three prisoners were now sent off in care of seven Indians while the Loyalist took the remainder of his men down the valley to further harass the settlers. The seven Indians were now very careful of my father, allowing him scarce a wink. Their tomahawks came up at the

One of the party of Indians which they met joined their party, which made seven. (294)

slightest sign. At the encampment that night, they bade the prisoners lie down and then placed poles across them. An Indian lay upon either end of these poles. My father managed however to let Hammond know that he was determined to make an attempt to escape. There was only one night between him and the stake and he was resolved to make what use he could of it. Hammond seems to have been dubious from the start but the men of that time were not daunted by broad risks. In his opinion the rising would be a failure but this did not prevent him from agreeing to rise with his friend. My brother Andrew was not considered at all. No one asked him if he wanted to rise against the Indians. He was only a boy and supposed to obey his elders. So, as none asked his views, he kept them to himself but I wager you he listened, all ears, to the furtive consultations, consultations which were mere casual phrases at times and at other times swift brief sentences shot out in a whisper.

The band of seven Indians relaxed in vigilance as they approached their own country and on the last night from Wyallusing the Indian part of the camp seemed much inclined to take deep slumber after the long and rapid journey. The prisoners were held to the ground by poles as on the previous night and then the Indians pulled their blankets over their heads and passed into heavy sleep. One old warrior sat by the fire as guard but he seems to have been a singularly inefficient man for he was continuously drowsing and if the captives could have got rid of the poles across their chests and legs, they would have made their flight sooner.

The camp was on a mountain-side amid a forest of lofty pines. The night was very cold and the blasts of wind swept down upon the crackling, resinous fire. A few stars peeped through the feathery pine branches.

That night the prisoners were <u>pappoosed</u>, that is fastened down with poles laid across them, with an Indian on each end of the poles. (294)

Bennett said to Hammond, 'We must rise upon them tonight.' 'It will be a great undertaking,' said Hammond, 'but it may be our last chance.' 'They will kill me,' answered Bennett, 'and I know not with what cruel tortures. It may be we shall succeed, and if we do we will again return to our families; but if I am to die, I will sell my life as dearly as possible.' (294)

In the consultation, the boy said little, but thought much. (294)

When the Indians were ready to lie down, they <u>pappoosed</u> the prisoners as on the preceding night; then they drew their blankets over their heads and fell into a sound sleep. One only seemed to be on watch. About midnight Bennett manifested great uneasiness, and asked to get up. He received for answer, 'Most day--lie down, dog.' he insisted that he was sick, and <u>must</u> get up. About one o'clock the Indians all got up and relieved the prisoners, allowing them to get up and walk about. Bennett brought wood and flung it on the fire. In about two hours all the Indians were snoring again except the old watchman, and he commenced roasting the deer's head, first sticking it in the fire, and then scraping off the meat with his knife and eating it. Finally the old fellow began to nod over his early breakfast.

Deep in some gulch could be heard the roar of a mountain stream.

At one o'clock in the morning, some of the Indians arose and releasing the prisoners commanded them to mend the fire. The prisoners brought dead pine branches; the ancient warrior on watch sleepily picked away with his knife at a deer's head which he had roasted; the other Indians retired again to their blankets, perhaps each depending upon the others for the exercise of precautions. It was a tremendous slack business; the Indians were feeling security because they knew that the prisoners were too wise to try to run away.

The warrior on watch mumbled placidly to himself as he picked at the deer's head. Then he drowsed again; just a short nap of a man who had been up too long. My father stepped quickly to a spear and backed away from the Indian; then he drove it straight through his chest. The Indian raised himself spasmodically and then collapsed into that campfire which the captives had made burn so brilliantly and as he fell he screamed. Instantly, his blanket, his hair, he himself, began to burn and over him was my father tugging frantically to get the spear out again.

My father did not recover the spear. It had so gone through the old warrior that it could not readily be withdrawn and my father left it.

The scream of the watch-man instantly aroused the other warriors who as they scrambled in their blankets found over them a terrible white-lipped creature with an axe--an axe, the most appallingly brutal of weapons. Hammond buried his weapon in the head of the leader of the Indians even as the man gave out his first great cry. The second blow missed an agile warrior's head but caught him in the nape of the neck Hammond placed himself by an Indian axe, and Andrew Bennett, the boy, stood by the guns, which were stacked. Both watched the movements of Mr. Bennett, who was poking up the brands. He had on a long great-coat, and, as he came around near the Indian, he cautiously took hold of a spontoon, or war-spear, which lay by his side, and stepped back with the instrument covered by his coat, holding it in a perpendicular position behind him. When he had reached the right point behind the Indian he plunged it through him. He gave a tremendous jump and a hideous yell, and fell upon the fire. . . . The spontoon was so firmly fixed in the body of the Indian that Bennett was obliged to abandon it, and to use a gun and a tomahawk during the rest of the fight. Hammond used the axe, dashing it into the head which was first lifted. The old Indian . . . was the first to take the alarm. He yelled out 'Chee-woo! Chee-woo!' when Hammond buried the axe in his brains, and he fell headlong into the fire. The next blow took an Indian on the side of the neck, just below the ear, and he fell upon the fire. The boy snapped three guns, not one of which happened to be loaded, but his operations made the Indians dodge and jump straight under Hammond's axe, or the breech of a gun which old Mr. Bennett had clubbed, and with which he did terrible execution. A stout Indian undertook to secure a weapon by a rush upon the boy. He sprang upon the boy with the fury of a demon, his eyes seeming to blaze, when the brave little fellow swung the breech of a gun, and buried the cock in the top of his head. Just at that moment the only two remaining alive took to their heels, when Mr. Bennett, who could throw a tomahawk with the precision and force of any red-skin on the frontier, picked up a tomahawk and let it slip, and it stuck

and he swung to bury his face in the red-hot ashes at the edge of the fire.

Meanwhile, my brother Andrew had been gallantly snapping empty guns. In fact he snapped three empty guns at the Indians who were in the purest panic. He did not snap the fourth gun but took it by the barrel and, seeing a warrior rush past him, he cracked his skull with the clubbed weapon. He told me however that his snapping of the empty guns was very effective because it made the Indians jump and dodge.

Well, this slaughter in the red glare of the fire on the lonely mountain-side endured until two shrieking creatures ran off through the trees but even then my father hurled a tomahawk with all his strength. It struck one of the fleeing Indians in the shoulder. His blanket dropped from him and he ran on practically naked.

The three whites looked at each other, breathing deeply. Their work was plain to them in the five dead and dying Indians underfoot. They hastily gathered weapons and mocassins and six minutes from the time when my father had hurled the spear through the Indian sentinel, they had started to make their way back to the settlements, leaving the campfire to burn out its short career alone amid the dead.

in the back of one of them. The Indian turned round, being at about the distance of forty feet, and hollowed out 'whoo,' and his blanket fell from his shoulders, and the hatchet was left with it on the ground, he running off naked. (296-300)

It was an awful struggle, but it was not long. A minute and a half or two minutes, and the work was done. Five of the savages were piled up on and around the fire, and two had fled badly wounded. . . . The prisoners were now free, and no time was lost. They supplied themselves with good moccasins from the feet of the dead and dying Indians, and took guns and ammunition for defense, and blankets for their protection from the cold, and fifteen minutes from the moment the last blow was struck they were upon the line of march for their home and friends. (300)

The clarity of the similarities dispels any question of Crane's borrowing, but the dissimilarities help to establish Crane's relationship with his source. Crane is not completely faithful to that source. Peck's "Thomas Bennett" becomes Crane's "John Bennet." Peck's "Thomas" is "one of the 'old men' who volunteered to defend the country," but he "was so

certain that the little army were about to be drawn into a snare and cut off, that he declared he would go with them no farther than 'Tuttle's Creek'" (WYOMING, p. 158). Crane's "John" sends his son Solomon to fight, but makes no pretension of going himself. After the battle, Solomon runs for the river, and Peck records that the Indians were extremely interested in him, taking many shots at him while he was in the water (WYOMING, p. 160). Crane tells us that Solomon makes it to the river, but the Indians ignore or do not see him. Furthermore, when Solomon finally arrives home, in Peck's account, his father has been pacing the river bank, listening to the sounds of battle and finally declaring, "our boys are beat; they will all be cut to pieces!" (WYOMING, p. 160). Crane, on the other hand, has Solomon discover his father at home just as he left him. When Solomon announces the defeat, his father replies stoically, "'Aye,' said he, 'I expected it'" (VIII, p. 143). When it is determined that the male Bennet(t)s must go over the mountain to Stroudsburg and the women must go into the fort, Peck records that it is Mrs. Bennett who brings order of indecision and determines the family's actions. Crane, in a dramatic scene, shows the family dominated by the elder Bennet and directed by his decisions. In fact, Peck tells us, it is Solomon who refuses to surrender to the Indians only to be mollified by his mother's sensible decisions, not, as Crane has it, the stubborn, domineering, elder Bennett (WYOMING, p. 161; VIII, p. 143). These divergences are small, compared to the mass of correspondence. The similarities are sufficiently clear that any doubt of Crane's borrowing is unimaginable. However, the differences are the traces by which we can see Crane at work and gain some idea of Crane's purpose as he wrote the stories.

The principal differences are simply additions of narrative substance and of description. These sorts of additions should be expected from an artist of Crane's ability. One passage on "John Bennet," for which Peck has no coordinate, is instructive. The passage depicts "Ol' Bennet" as seen by the narrator Solomon Bennet, his eldest son. "John was honest and obstreperously minded his own affairs," and "if people had thoroughly known my father, he would have had no enemies. He was the best of men. He had a code of behaviour for himself and for the whole world as well. If people wished his good opinion they had only to do exactly as he did and to have his views" (VIII, p. 148). The emphasis on a "code of behaviour" and the approbation of the narrator combine to suggest that there is more of Stephen Crane than Solomon Bennet in these words. Crane also reveals himself in Solomon Bennet's admission of his childhood admiration for this mother's scarlet cloak (VIII, p. 147); this last detail, added by Crane, is reminiscent of the Beer, Berryman, and Stallman stories of a similar predilection for red on the part of one small Stephen Crane (Beer, pp. 36-38; Berryman, pp. 9-10; Stallman, p. 3). The establishment of Solomon as Crane's narrative persona lends a new tone to these three Wyoming tales. Crane did admire his father, and here, in a group of slight sketches written in his last days, was an opportunity to illustrate that admiration. That Crane makes "John" Bennet a Bible-quoting, Bible-reading pioneer in the place of no such depiction from George Peck, the Methodist minister who never missed an opportunity to allude to such behavior, and that he renames "Thomas" with the shortened version of his father's own name is significant.

In the context of this study, Crane's borrowing from his grandfather takes on a new perspective. The borrowing establishes a methodology for

Crane's sources in that we see Crane borrow facts and incidents when necessary, but he is most interested in the strong sense of character and the personal honor depicted in the Bennetts and in a faithful depiction of that character and honor. A latent desire to attach those personal attributes to his own father is only a natural progression of his artistic program. The fact that those ideals can be so clearly isolated from the workds of his family simply emphasizes that Crane relied on his heritage as a part of his daily existence and as a part of his literary inspiration. Jonathan Crane, in The Annual Sermon Before the American Sunday School Union, says "the impressions made upon the minds and hearts of children remain longer and exercise more influence than those made in later years" (AS, p. 12). Stephen's recognition of and adherence to his own family "impressions" redeems Dr. Crane's assurances.

NOTES

[1]Thomas F. O'Donnell, "John B. Van Petten: Stephen Crane's History Teacher," American Literature, 27 (1955), 196-202, et passim.

[2]Schoberlin, ed., p. 18; Stallman, pp. 43-44.

[3]When the content of probable conversations between Stephen and Rev. Dr. H. C. Hovey, a spelunking Methodist lecturer at the Avon Seaside Assembly (VIII, p. 501), is added to these passages, the background of "Four Men in a Cave," and "Across the Covered Pit" (VIII, pp. 584-587) is established.

[4]Janet Overmeyer, "The Structure of Crane's Maggie," The University of Kansas City Review, 29 (1962), 71-72.

[5]cf. Beer, pp. 37, 49; Berryman, pp. 8, 13; Stallman, pp. 11-13, 30.

CHAPTER V

CULTURAL HERITAGE

Stephen Crane's "family world makes clear many of the themes in his work," Thomas A. Gullason argues, "and in turn, helps to give a clearer perspective on his art."[1] And in his introduction to Crane's short stories and sketches, Gullason makes the most comprehensive attempt to outline not only Crane's understanding of and appreciation for history and classical literature, but of Crane's father's influence on that understanding and appreciation. Gullason calls Jonathan Crane "a veritable encyclopedia of knowledge" and, from the evidence of Dr. Crane's works, reveals that "he had a strong preference for classical literature and for history."[2] Jonathan Crane's repeated references to wars--Biblical and secular--and his relish for battle metaphor in his sermons and other religious writings, Gullason says, "explains his son's obsession with war and history."[3] Gullason also challenges critics like Carl Van Doren who insisted on Stephen Crane's ignorance not only of history prior to the Civil War, but of topical affairs subsequent to that conflict. Gullason identifies Crane's historical affinities, his collections of histories as recorded in "List of Books," and his awareness of current events manifested in works like The Blood of the Martyr, "A Foreign Policy in Three Glimpses," and "The Monster."[4] In short, Gullason gives the lie to the critical demand that Stephen was the equivalent of a literary idiot savant. But even this effort to clarify the issue addresses itself only to Jonathan Crane's background and

Stephen Crane's awareness of classical literature and history. Gullason does not attempt to deal with the Peck side of Crane's family or with their awareness of and interest in literature, art, mythology and folklore or with the effect that interest might have on Stephen Crane. Gullason looks in the right direction, but it is only the critical equivalent of a sidelong glance. His succinct treatment of Jonathan Crane's store of classical and historical materials and of Stephen's use of that store of material goes only far enough to be used to support Gullason's contentions for the primacy of war as Stephen's literary beacon--a thesis not to be scoffed at, but still short-sighted, given the wealth of material it does not cover.

The ultimate flaw in the critical regard of Stephen's reading and his cultural background is a failure to recognize the originality of the writer in the use of those materials. If we try to identify sources in his works, there are derivative materials, but they are carefully woven into his fiction and poetry and do not intrude themselves on the work. They are always part of the flow of the story and are never ostentatious or, with one or two exceptions, even obvious. Crane's African allusions, for instance, are so carefully incorporated as to be almost invisible. Yet he wrote two complete sketches with an African background (VIII, 569-573; VIII, 565-566), and frequently refers to Hottentots, various African affairs, and once to that choice African bovine, the Zebu (see, for example, I, p. 71; III, p. 158; VIII, p. 381). Assuming, then, that Crane has no literary or cultural foundations is not only to impugn his artistry, but to ignore the evidence. Crane is the boy who knew enough of Tennyson to call his work "swill" (Beer, p. 53; Berryman, p. 5; Stallman, p. 19), and the man Willa Cather

recalls carrying and reading a small volume of Poe.[5] He is the student whose few complete college credits include superior marks in English literature (Letters, p. 307), and the critic who praised the sentiment of Ouida (VIII, pp. 677-678). He is the opera critic who could pronounce intelligently on the performances and performers of the New Orleans opera (VIII, pp. 425-428), and the poolroom loafer who could carry on an impressive conversation concerning Tolstoy, Flaubert and their works (Beer, p. 55; Berryman, p. 20; Stallman, p. 26). He is the young man a schoolmate remembers who "was a voracious reader of all the nineteenth century English writers and reveled in the classics of Greece and Rome. Plutarch lives [sic] was his constant companion and even at this age he was familiar with the English and American poets. He would frequently quote from Tennyson's [sic] "In Memoriam" and Bryant's [sic] "Thanatopsis [.]"[6] Granted, these are sparse evidence for any considerable cultural foundation in Crane's writings or heritage; however, Crane, the author, adds to the accounting.

In his works, Crane rarely quotes, but he regularly alludes to or paraphrases an eclectic store of material. His allusions to mythology suggest a broad understanding of Greek and Roman myth. He refers to the Apollonian myths (I, p. 22) and to Mars (VI, p. 245) and Plutus (VIII, p. 281) with precision of meaning. In the Sullivan County Tales he alludes to a whole genre of myth which is similar to or derived from the mythology springing from the myth of the Caledonian Boar (VIII, p. 201). His use of Homer and his allusions to Greek heroism have been identified and discussed at length,[7] but no mention has been made of his careful use of "armed men just born of the earth" from Jason's

quest for the golden fleece (II, p. 23), nor of his reference to the labors of Hercules in "Shame" (VII, p. 164).

Crane also shows an affinity for folklore and uses it not only as allusion, but as the material for entire sketches. His Mexican trip provided folk material for "The Voice of the Mountain," "How the Donkey Lifted the Hills," and "The Victory of the Moon" (VIII, pp. 88-98). The same western trip for the Bachellor syndicate is the source for the Indian legend of the hot springs in "Seen at Hot Springs," a report of the sights at Hot Springs, Arkansas in 1895 (VIII, p. 423). Crane also alludes to an Indian legend in The Third Violet, but the New York setting probably places this legend's source in the wealth of stories Stephen's grandfather, George Peck, or his great-uncle, Jesse Peck, had to tell of their youth in wilderness up-state New York (III, p. 21 ff.). Crane's fierce loyalty to and love of his New Jersey home are sufficient explanation for the spooks and quasi-Indian lore of "Ghosts on the Jersey Coast" and "The Ghostly Sphinx of Metedeconk" (VIII, pp. 638-642, 645-648). These are probably stories that were repeated for Stephen and other children until they became a part of his psyche.

Art is a much discussed facet of Crane's cultural mien. But it is universally discussed in terms of his associations with his artist friends in New York City before the success of The Red Badge and in terms of his understanding of the theory of color as a basis for his works. It is also the crux of a long argument about Crane's knowledge of French impressionists and pointillists which is necessarily unresolvable and unsatisfying.[8] The argument is necessarily unresolvable because there is no evidence from Crane that he knew or admired any of the French symbolists; there is, however, such evidence for another

school of art which is consistent with Crane's tastes. He remembers paintings by "Detaille, de Neuville, and Morot" (III, p. 157) and recalls a "Famous picture" entitled "Roll Call after Quatre Bras" (VI, p. 251). Edward Detaille, Alphonse Marie Adolphe de Neuville, and Aimē Nicolas Morot are all a part of the large French school of epic historical art which concentrated on highly-detailed reminiscences of the wars that raged on the continent in the nineteenth-century. When Crane calls a scene from "An Episode of War" "precisely like an historical painting" (VI, p. 91), he is undoubtedly thinking of this genre of art and, likely, this school of artists. Velasquez, whose fame is well established, is often considered the founder of the historical epic genre, and Crane alludes to him and his art several times in his Cuban reports. Crane also reveals an interest in the popular contemporary rage for Greek archaelogical art by having "Phidias," the archetypical Greek sculptor, pass judgement on a portrait of General Smolenski (IX, p. 73), and when he compares one of his characters to "the priestess in paintings of long-gone Mediterranean religions" (VIII, p. 385). Crane also alludes to popular lithographs and prints, such as would have appeared regularly in the illustrated periodicals or would have hung in any of the parlors he would likely have known, when he uses a "lithograph" of St. Stephen as a principal icon in "A Little Pilgrim" (VII, p. 237) and when he compares the occupants of "The Open Boat" to "a grotesque rendering of the old babes in the wood" (V, p. 83). Crane also recognizes the Pre-Raphaelite fad for paintings of Dante when he identifies "a resemblance to a stern and mournful Dante" in the hero of "An Old Man Goes Wooing" (VIII, p. 495). Not surprisingly, considering his affinity for music, Crane also makes one reference to a near

contemporary composer. He does obeisance to Richard Wagner and recognizes the latter's popularity when he alludes to Wagner's lush orchestral constructs in "The Cry of a Huckleberry Pudding" (VIII, p. 256).

Crane's literary foundations are a problem of a different sort. Ever since the publication of The Red Badge, the controversy has raged. Zola, Tolstoy, Maupassant, Mallarmé, Loti, Baudelaire, the DeGoncourts and others have all been suggested as sources of plot, setting, idea, or character in Crane's writings. But those suggestions, just as those concerning impressionism in art, are only conjecture. There are a considerable number of literary references in Crane's works, but none of them allude to or are taken from the works of the authors just named.

Crane's literary background, as outlined by his allusions, is eclectic and international. Homer has already been mentioned above, and Crane considers Virgil as Homer's equal and of similar interest (X, p. 103; II, p. 24, et passim). Crane paraphrases The Vision of Piers Plowman (II, p. 46) and alludes to or paraphrases Shakespeare three times (V, p. 97; VIII, p. 470; VIII, p. 488). He mentions Cervantes, in his Cuban reports, as the source of Spanish inspiration and pride (VI, p. 251 ff.) and he refers, obliquely, to Izaak Walton and his Compleat Angler in a humorous description of the Royal Irish Constabulary (VIII, p. 491). Defoe and Robinson Crusoe (X, p. 113) and Oliver Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" (V, p. 165) are important allusions in "Dan Emmonds" and "The Blue Hotel" respectively. Jane Austen (VI, p. 243) and Lord Byron (X, p. 103) are alluded to knowingly and Crane's use of Tennyson in the scathingly sarcastic "Making of an Orator" is obvious (VIII, pp. 160-161). Crane also has a character of one of his western sketches read Scott's Fair Maid of Perth, perhaps a tribute to

his grandfather, whose favorite author Scott was (V, p. 187). Crane's quotation of Carolyn Norton's "Bingen on Rhine" in "The Open Boat" has been sufficiently discussed by critics (V, p. 85), but his allusion to George DuMaurier's Trilby, while in a slight sketch, deserves more attention than it has had (VIII, p. 314). Crane's review of Ouida's Under Two Flags reveals a life-long appreciation of that author and unveils Crane as a sentimentalist (VIII, p. 677), and Crane's quotations from Cooper, his allusions to Hawthorne, and his borrowings from and fabrications of Emerson (see Appendix B, p. 270) and his mention of Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin indicates that he was not ignorant of American literature (VI, p. 238; VIII, p. 200 ff.; VIII, p. 281; VIII, p. 315).

In addition to these bits of "serious" literature, Crane never tries to conceal his knowledge of popular fiction. He refers to "dime novels," "half-dime, blood-and-thunder pamphlets," and Stratemeyeresque fiction popular among the female students of a certain Pennsylvania boarding school as if he were speaking from first-hand knowledge (VII, p. 179; VII, p. 229; VI, p. 33). It should be noted, however, that he refers to these publications in terms of the standard rhetoric of their detractors.

These allusions record at least a part of Crane's cultural, especially literary, milieu. Isolated though they are, they reveal a wider reading and cultural underpinning than previously granted Crane. With this in mind, we return to the ultimate question. Given Crane's sporadic schooling and his consistently adamant repudiation of sources, where is the font of a heritage which would prepare Crane in the manner which he seems to be prepared? While his formal education was haphazard

and desultory, his education at home and in his family could not have been less than intense and wide-ranging. His father, grandfather, and great-uncle set a standard which Stephen would undoubtedly have been expected to attain. As has been noted, Crane's father's library was at Stephen's disposal; and he was encouraged, very early, to read--but to read what was approved. That kind of enforced selectivity, with his family's bent for education, provides the source for the kind of cultural base Stephen displays. The allusions and quotations gleaned from his family's writings show us just how much Crane had to draw on.

To reiterate, Gullason has outlined the classical and historical background provided by Jonathan Crane. However, had Gullason identified similar interests in the Peck side of Crane's family, he would have only deepened and widened the classical and historical base on which Crane built his fiction. The authors of Wyoming, The Great Republic, and other histories would be expected to have a serious and profound interest in history. We have already seen something of their regard for historical writing as reading material; furthermore, if Jonathan Crane's interest in classical literature were not sufficient evidence to certify Crane's acquaintance with Homer, Virgil and others, then the admission by George Peck, in the preface to his Life of Julius Caesar, that "no part of this work is taken from any book in the English language" (LJC, preface, n.p.) should clearly identify Dr. Peck's understanding of the classics, especially the histories, and supplement Dr. Crane's influence in the classics.

Dr. Peck and his brother Jesse Truesdell take an almost unchristian pride in their languages--they both read and translated Greek, Hebrew, and Latin--and in their ability to read the classics in the

original. The list of their classical borrowing reads like a library of standard classical authors (cf. Appendix B, which includes a detailed, book by book listing of allusions in the works of George Peck, Jesse Peck, Jonathan Crane, and Stephen Crane. The Appendix serves in the place of many troublesome notes.) In history they draw on Suetonius, Julius Caesar, Appian, Cicero, Vellerius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Floras, Lucan, Plutarch, Livy, Josephus, Herodotus, Strabo, Xenophon, Pliny the Younger, Lycurgus, and Plato. From the literature they quote The Iliad, The Odyssey (very carefully), and The Aeneid; they allude to Aristophanes, Juvenal, Aesop, Aesculapius, Plautus, Terence, and are fond of referring their readers to Longinus' Moral Sublime. This kind of classical knowledge and training, and pride in it, could not have been dismissed or avoided.

More importantly, the works would have been available for Stephen's perusal, and he would undoubtedly have been encouraged to read from them. To go with the knowledge of classical materials, the Drs. Peck and Dr. Crane are all familiar with the resources necessary for historical research. Jesse Peck cites twenty separate works in an informal bibliography of "works cited" in The Great Republic, including Bancroft's History of the United States from the Discovery of the Americas--a work not completed until 1884. Dr. Peck's subscription to the work is final evidence of his interest in history and of his effort to maintain contact with as current a history as possible. George Peck relies heavily on local histories of the Wyoming valley as sources for verification in his own history of Wyoming. The number of works cited in the various histories written by his grandfather and great-uncle insure that Stephen was introduced to history and the importance of

historical process very early. But, it also suggests that Stephen knew and understood research and the importance of accuracy. The story of his agonies over the rightness of The Red Badge and his endless nights poring over Century's Battles and Leaders are important evidence of what is a legitimate carry-over from his family's modus operandi in writing.[9] Further discourse on a matter which Gullason has covered so thoroughly (classical and historical writings in Crane's background) would be superfluous, but the areas he left untouched need review.

In their classical readings, the Pecks and Dr. Crane could not have avoided references to the pantheons of Greek and Roman gods. Their references to Greek and Roman mythology are always distinctly Christian and label everything mythological as irrevocably pagan. The scattering of mythological allusion is almost invariably read as an example of licentious behavior or, as with the Promethean myth, as a typological study. Vulcan, Argus, Neptune, and Croesus are all grouped in the first category. The Ceres myths of Roman origin are treated much as Prometheus is treated.

The interest of George Peck and Jonathan Crane in folklore is more important. Dr. Crane cites two distinct folk tales in his works, and his reputation as a local humorist suggests that he was the repository of many such stories. George Peck's Wyoming history and his Life and Times teem with the stuff of folklore, and he cites several local Indian tales in separate vignettes at the end of Wyoming. Stephen came by his interest in folk material through his family's interest. The line between his Sullivan County Tales and folklore is very indistinct, and the genealogy of those tales finds its beginnings in his grandfather's and father's stories.

Stephen's knowledge of art is probably one facet of his cultural being which did not originate with his family. His years with the New York artists molded his tastes and provided him with the technical ability he displays using color in literature, but his family does show appreciation of art and artists. H. T. Tuckerman's American Artist Life is among the works credited in Jesse Peck's The Great Republic and there is a chapter of that work devoted to outlining the development of American art. Benjamin West seems to be not only Jesse Peck's favorite, but is the consensus favorite in the family works. Charles Willson Peale is also recognized, and it is reasonably certain that Dr. Crane and George Peck were familiar with George Catlin's famous Indian gallery. Dr. Crane mentions his work in the description of Heathen rites for his Essay on Dancing (p. 40). Dr. Crane admires the art and the artist, but deplores the rites depicted. George Peck knew the Catlins personally, from his circuit-riding days in Pennsylvania, and remembers "the famous painter of Indian portraits" in his Life and Times (p. 159). Stephen's love of music is inextricably related to his family's similar penchant.

Both Pecks and Dr. Crane repeatedly praise the Methodist hymnology of Samuel and Charles Wesley, the singing of their hymns, and the benefit of music in general. They cite only Beethoven and Paganini of contemporary or historical artists, but music was a part of their lives and of Stephen's.[10]

Perhaps the most serious void, as the critics record it, in Crane's cultural background is his apparent lack of philosophical and literary preparation. As we have seen, Crane's allusions to literature are broader than has been allowed, but his literary allusions fit the mold

of his family's tastes. Those tastes reflect their Methodist predilections, but are remarkably current and enlightened. Their philosophical readings are immense and varied and, together with their literary choices, form a solid base on which Stephen could build his literature. His family's outrage against almost everything French is an interesting indicator in outlining Stephen's attitudes. Voltaire, Mirabeau and Rousseau are never accorded a kind word in any of the works of the Pecks or Dr. Crane, and the pointed remarks and pithy commentary concerning these men make it clear that the Methodists had read the "infidel French" in order to attack them. Alexis DeTocqueville receives kinder treatment, but only for the merits of his Democracy in America and its decidedly pro-American sentiments.

Other than Christian doctrine and philosophy, Drs. Peck and Dr. Crane refer most frequently to G.W.F. Hegel's Philosophy of History, but they also show a tendency to defend John Locke and his individualism. They uniformly attack Hume, Bolingbroke, Herbert, Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Chubb, and Tindal, and alternately praise and excoriate Edward Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. Their praise is for Gibbon's historical methods, while their venom is heaped on him for his treatment of Christians and Christianity. Sir Isaac Newton, Davy, and Copernicus, all singled out for their efforts in advancing the state of man, are praised as examples of Anglo-Saxon ingenuity. The inclusion of Copernicus as an Anglo-Saxon is never explained, but he is further praised as a martyr for his principles.

Secular philosophy is not a major force in the writings of George and Jesse Peck and of Dr. Crane. It is used as a sounding board for Christianity and Methodist principles and came to Stephen Crane in that

guise. The demeaning of French philosophers and French ideas may be a key to Crane's careful avoidance of connections to French authors. Crane never, until late in his career when he admits reading and liking Anatole France, approves of French literature, and he studiously avoids any suggestion of such an influence on his work. His family's wrath against the French explains at least a part of those feelings.

The chronicle of literary references in the works of Stephen Crane's family is not only impressive; it is the record of that literary heritage Stephen Crane allegedly does not have. While the list includes such Europeans as Blaise Pascal, Alain LeSage, Bram Stoker, and Alphonse Lamartine, British literati from Chaucer to the contemporaries of the Pecks and Crane predominate. Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, "Legend of Good Women," and "Parliament of Fowls" are all cited. Richard Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity is accorded a place of honor at the head of a chapter, as are Sir Walter Raleigh's Historie of the World and Sir Francis Bacon's Essays and Meditationes Sacrae, De Haeresibus. Thomas More's Utopia is quoted and The Faerie Queene is cited repeatedly. Ten plays from the Shakespearian canon are quoted, with Henry VIII, Macbeth and Othello cited most frequently. As should be expected, Pilgrim's Progress and Paradise Lost are both much quoted, and Samuel Butler's "Hudibras" is an unusual favorite when viewed from a modern perspective. The Religio Medici is quoted as is Congreve's The Way of the World. John Dryden's poetry and drama are both represented. Aurengzebe is the favorite among Dryden's plays.

The Spectator and Joseph Addison's writings for it are among the commonest citations in the works. Richard Steele and The Tatler are mentioned once, but Addison is the favorite. The Spectator is cited

as exemplary in character, style, information, and philosophy. In short, The Spectator is considered, after the Bible, the perfect reading material. That it was a family favorite can be attested to by William Howe Crane's letter to Stephen requesting, among other things, that Stephen and Cora provide William's daughter Helen with a copy "of Addison's Spectator [sic]." In William Crane's opinion (William was Stephen's elder brother), no work "inculcates a love of truth more effectively"(Letters, p. 240).

Contemporary with Addison and The Spectator, Alexander Pope's Essay on Man, "The Universal Prayer," and "The Rape of the Lock" are quoted alongside Chesterfield's Letters to His Son. Only the exemplary sections of Lord Chesterfield's advice are forwarded by Methodist sensibilities. George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne, and Lady Mary Wortley Montague are cited. Samuel Johnson' circle and his contemporaries are important parts of the literary allusions. Rasselas is quoted four times and at length, Boswell's Life and Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" are quoted as illustrations. Edward Young's "Night Thoughts" is a popular citation and Jonathan Swift is praised for his Digression Concerning Madness but rebuked for the fanciful and frivolous nature of Gulliver's Travels. Blair's "The Grave" and Gray's "Elegy in a Country Churchyard" are both quoted extensively and are praised for their sober, measured, meditative qualities. Henry Fielding (Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones), Laurence Sterne (Tristram Shandy), and Tobias Smollett (Peregrine Pickle and Roderick Random) are all cited and singled out as literature to be avoided. In a singular sort of magnanimity, however, Smollett's "Ode to Independence" is used to introduce a chapter and is considered the test of the chapter. William Cowper is alluded to

several times, but is never quoted. Robert Burns, on the other hand, is one of the favorite poets and is quoted as example and exempla. "To a Louse," and one of his songs, "Willie Brewed a Peck O' Maut" are quoted in a temperance context, and "Tam O'Shanter" is quoted extensively and often, also as temperance exemplum.

British romantics are alternately damned and praised. They are damned for their habits and praised for some of their sentiments. Sir Walter Scott is the favorite novelist of all three men in Crane's family. Heart of Midlothian, Rob Roy, and Lay of the Last Minstrel are all quoted. Charles Lamb, from his Letters and "Farewell to Tobacco," is frequently cited as the example of a regenerate man and artist, as are Thomas De Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium Eater and Samuel Taylor Coleridge's Aids to Reflection. Coleridge's "Kubla Kahn" is also cited approbatively. Wordsworth's "Ode-Intimations of Immortality," Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh, Henry Kirke White, and Robert Pollok are all treated kindly--the latter two principally because they died young. Shelley and Byron are set up as examples of how not to live. Byron's incestuous behavior and Shelley's escapades are cited as contributors to their unhappy deaths, and the artists are consistently depicted as dissipated and undesirable. However, Byron's "Destruction of Sennacherib" and "Of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers" are both quoted as exemplary poetry.

The Victorians, contemporaries of the Pecks and Dr. Crane, are received well and cited as choice reading for all Christians. Tennyson's "Locksley Hall," Fitzgerald's translation of the Rubiayat, Macaulay's History of England, and Carlyle's Heroes, are all quoted and recommended.

American authors and figures who are cited are generally cited enthusiastically, but the list is relatively short. In an age when American literature was still struggling to be recognized, however, this circumstance is not strange. Jonathan Edwards is praised for his religious writings and his Puritan ideals, and is criticized for his dogmatic Calvinism. Thomas Paine is heartily embraced for Common Sense and then cast away irretrievably for his apostasy in The Rights of Man and The Age of Reason. Thomas Jefferson and John Adams are quoted as historical reference. Benjamin Franklin is praised for his exemplary advice in Poor Richard's Almanac and George Washington is treated with typical, for the period, reverence. Washington Irving's "Rip Van Winkle" is used as an example of the results of sloth, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and John Greenleaf Whittier are both praised for their abolitionist ideals and Longfellow's "The Spanish Student" and "A Psalm of Life" are quoted. Abraham Lincoln is treated as a second Washington, especially after his assassination, and his messages to Congress are regularly used to head chapters of Civil War history. Next to Longfellow, William Cullen Bryant is the poet of favor from American literature. Bryant's "Thanatopsis," "The Battle-Field," and "The Ages" are all quoted.

In moments of expansive liberality, the Pecks and Dr. Crane acknowledge Lydia Huntley Sigourney, Sara Josepha Hale, Felicia Dorothea Hemans, and Hannah More, women who wrote children's stories, as examples of choice reading for young readers.

Harriet Beecher Stowe and Uncle Tom's Cabin are naturally included and are cited as necessary reading, particularly in those works published during the Civil War. Edgar Allen Poe's "The Raven" is

paraphrased in a manner which makes it apparent the work was read, but in such a way that it need not be acknowledged, thus freeing these Methodist authors from any association with Poe's miserable reputation.

In addition to this secular, cultural foundation, the Pecks and Dr. Crane are all masters of exegetical method and research techniques. Their citation of religious source materials is too massive and too extensive to be rehearsed here. Such an exercise may be irrelevant anyway, because it is unlikely that the youthful Stephen Crane would have been interested in works such as Clarke's Commentaries or Watson's Institutes. He might have been interested by Fox's Book of Martyrs, which is cited frequently by George Peck, especially if we remember Stephen's picture of three youngsters "like three martyrs being dragged toward the stake," in "Lynx-Hunting" (VII, 143), but there is no other hint in Stephen's works that suggests any association with learned ecclesiastical literature.

Nonetheless, the cultural milieu just described answers the charges of Crane's severest critics that he has none of the standard cultural moorings expected of a major artist, and Lincoln Travis's letter makes Crane's reading sound like his family's library. Neither milieu nor letter, however, completely satisfies the charges of borrowing from or aping the French novelists who were becoming notorious during the years of his later youth. His family's attitude toward the French, discussed briefly above, coupled with their stance on fiction and novel-reading, discussed below, makes it highly unlikely that Crane read or had any contact with any of those French writers or with any considerable amount of popular fiction before he went to New York City after his brief sojourn at Syracuse University. By that time he had met Hamlin

Garland, had been introduced to Howells' theory of truth in fiction and had developed enough of a sense of himself and his abilities to need no other fiction or writer as a template for his own work.

On fiction, novels, and the reading of the same, George Peck, Jesse Peck, and Dr. Crane are in almost total accord. There is no "good" novel, reading fiction and/or novels is morally degrading, and good Christians do not engage in this activity. George Peck condemns all popular novels as "the works of imagination" (MC, p. 27), probably diseased, and warns his readers that "a book is a companion, and a bad book is the most dangerous of all bad companions" (MC, p. 296). "In your intercourse with society," Dr. Peck continues, "you will see the fruits of human corruption in real life in sufficiency--yea, far more than will be for your good--without studying the fictitious characters which infidel and licentious writers have conjured up, to meet the vitiated taste of the novel-reading community, and to lead away the young from the paths of virtue" (MC, p. 37). Dr. Peck storms against any work of the imagination and against reading for amusement. Dr. Peck charges that "fictitious narratives . . . depicting scenes of vice" are the result of "another evil of the greatest magnitude." "An injury is done to the youthful mind," he argues, "which is in no degree compensated by the moral at the close" (MC, p. 81).

Only reading which has a purpose is acceptable. "The whole of your reading, and every part of it," he demands, "should have a tendency to expand your intellect, refine your taste, and improve the tone of your moral feelings" (MC, p. 299). No novel or popular fiction can accomplish these things according to George Peck, and Jesse Peck is even more adamant. He declares the readers of fictional works to be

sinners and says that "sinners seek happiness . . . in reading works of fiction. They plead for them as harmless, and yet know that they [fictional works] are inseparably connected with everything corrupting and ruinous to the soul" (WMID, p. 183). In another work he is more vitriolic. "Novel reading is a crime," he thunders, "it murders the heart, the intellect and the body" (TW, p. 154). In yet another work, Dr. Peck admits that "we cannot say that Christians . . . deliberately prefer a work of fiction to a searching book on Christian Perfection." However, he goes on, "in multitudes of instances, the entire neglect of works of this kind [Christian works] has prepared the way for that vicious taste [for novels] which is now ruining the characters of thousands" (CIC, p. 114).

Jonathan Crane, a younger man than the Pecks and somewhat more liberal, defines the novel as "a portraiture of 'something new, falling within the domain of fancy or imagination, with its interest centering in love'," and goes on to suggest that "to portray something new is certainly not wrong if the portraiture be true" (POP A, p. 121). This departure from the Peck attitude is troublesome, especially when Dr. Crane opposes the Pecks by suggesting that "there is a place . . . for fancy and imagination in the legitimate operations of the mind" (POP A, p. 127). Dr. Crane even goes so far as to suggest that "there are some few works of fiction which are well-written and true to nature, and which inculcate the right and condemn the wrong" (POP A, p. 127), further alienating himself from his father-in-law's ideals. However, Dr. Crane relents when he counsels "if you have but little time for reading, spend none of it on works of fiction," and when, in a final word on the matter, he recommends "TOTAL ABSTINENCE [sic]" as the "rule of thumb"

for novel-reading (POP A, p. 124). Dr. Crane does, finally, return to the Methodist and Peck standard, but he was never gone so far as it may seem. His definition only admits the place of fancy and imagination in the mind's workings and requires that works of fiction be "true." He goes only so far as to grant the usefulness of a "few" works of fiction --not a statement of total acceptance in the least. Lest we consider this a serious breach between Dr. Crane and the Pecks, Dr. Crane's definition of fiction and his admission of the usefulness of some works is precisely congruent with the practice of George and Jesse Peck, who admired the works of the "fancy" and the "imagination" of several novelists, but of Sir Walter Scott in particular, and read his works with pleasure (LAT, pp. 278-279). Remembering that Scott is also a moralist underneath his romantic, but historically accurate trappings, we have a novelist in the mode of Dr. Crane's description who is acceptable to all three men. Dr. Crane may not follow strict dogma, but the Pecks apparently did not practice all the dogma they preached.

Acceptance of a few works or a few authors, however, is not tantamount to building libraries of fiction, and Stephen was discouraged at every turn from any contact with fiction. "TOTAL ABSTINENCE [sic]" was still the rule. Discouragement does not negate interest, as Stephen's early adoration of Tolstoy attests, but active discouragement does limit opportunity. It should be noted that Tolstoy's basic attitudes fit the demands of Jonathan Crane and would probably have been acceptable as reading material for Stephen. It is obvious, from allusions in The Whilomville Stories, "The Blue Hotel," and "Three Miraculous Soldiers," that he, as a child, surreptitiously encountered some of the most virulent of the dime novels and juvenile fiction, the penny-dreadfuls of

his period. However, these small volumes could be hidden more easily, or discarded, and thus be read without fear of discovery, than could hard cover novels such as those Zola and the rest produced. Therefore, if he was aware of Zola et al., he likely ignored their works in enforced obedience to the family will. His family not only provided him with cultural precedent, but insulated him, for a time, from the literary impulses and theories which were just then reaching the United States from decadent France; thus, in a way, the family preserved him from a plethora of bewildering influences.

Perhaps the above is not a satisfying scenario, but it is plausible. It is not satisfying because it does not completely answer the questions of Zola's influence, or seeming influence, on Maggie and The Red Badge. Those works were written in New York, and the folklore of Stephen's encounters with Zola's novels may take on more validity, given the plausibility of this thesis. It is increasingly plausible because it answers the question of how Crane could burst into the world of major fiction without a single visible cultural support other than the Bible. None of his friends, save Linson perhaps, knew his family or any more of their background than Stephen told them, and his critics did not take the time to investigate. As late as 1900, after Stephen's death, he was identified as springing from Puritan stock, and the sensational tales of his dissipation distracted serious investigators from analysis of his family background for years. That Crane has a somewhat more than a conventional cultural background does not detract from his reputation. It may dim some of the other worldly luster which the myth of Stephen Crane had accumulated, but it can diminish the myth only in order to construct a clearer picture of the artist and his works.

NOTES

[1]Stephen Crane, The Complete Short Stories and Sketches of Stephen Crane, ed., Thomas A. Gullason (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1963), p. 24.

[2]Gullason, ed., The Complete Short Stories and Sketches, p. 26.

[3]Gullason, ed., The Complete Short Stories and Sketches, p. 27.

[4]Gullason, ed., The Complete Short Stories and Sketches, pp. 27-28 ff.

[5]Cather, in Bassan, ed., Stephen Crane, A Collection, p. 14.

[6]A. Lincoln Travis, Letter to Mansfield French, 20 March 1930, TS, Stephen Crane Collection, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York.

[7]See Warren D. Anderson, "Homer and Stephen Crane," Nineteenth Century Fiction, 19 (1964), 77-86; Robert Dusenberry, "The Homeric Mood in The Red Badge of Courage," Pacific Coast Philology, 23 (1968), 31-37.

[8]See Stallman, Omnibus, pp. 185-187; Henry McBride, "Stephen Crane's Artist Friends," Art News, 49 (1950), 46; Joseph J. Kwiat, "Stephen Crane and Painting," American Quarterly, 4 (1952), 331-338; Robert L. Hough, "Crane and Goethe: A Forgotten Relationship," Nineteenth Century Fiction, 17 (1962), 135-148.

[9]See Beer, p. 97; Berryman, p. 66; Stallman, p. 168 ff.; Corwin Knapp Linson, My Stephen Crane, ed., Edwin H. Cady (Syracuse: Syracuse Univ. Press, 1958), pp. 37-38.

[10]See Harvey Wickham, "Stephen Crane at College," American Mercury, 7 (1926), 291-297; George Monteiro, "The Pilot-God Trope in Nineteenth-Century American Texts," Modern Language Studies, 7 (1977), 42-51; Frank Noxon, Letter to Mansfield French, 29 June 1934, TS, Stephen Crane Collection, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, New York. The letter recalls Crane and Noxon attending services at a "St. Paul's" and that Noxon remembers "it was the choir that drew him [Crane] to St. Pauls's."

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS HERITAGE

Daniel Hoffman, in his 1956 study of Crane's poetry, created and established the prevailing metaphor for discussions of not only Crane's poetry, but for all critical commentary on the relationship of Crane's works to his religious heritage. Hoffman's "War in Heaven" metaphor is based on his dualistic reading of the depictions of God in Crane's poetry. Hoffman finds that "there is in Crane's treatment of God and religion a progress from the utter denial . . . to an affirmation of faith" (Hoffman, p. 48), and that these two poles represent not only a dichotomy of the Biblical depictions of God, but of the supreme deities of Jonathan Crane and the Pecks, including Crane's mother, Mary Helen Peck Crane. Naturally, the differences inherent in these two Gods cause them to be in conflict with each other, and, thus, the "war" is on. But despite Hoffman's assertion that Crane's poetry reflects "a tension between Divine Justice and Divine Mercy" and that "his [Crane's] parents had different conceptions of God" (Hoffman, p. 47), he makes a puzzling disclaimer:

> Opposed though the Christian ethics of Jonathan Crane were, in Stephen's mind, to the iron rule of Jesse Peck, it is well to emphasize that if his 'mother's had been warring with his father's God in Crane's thought,' it was a war which neither parent nor maternal grandfather nor great-uncle recognized or fought themselves. There is no indication whatever that the Reverend Dr. Crane's mildness was regarded as heretical by his wife's family, or by any authority of the Methodist Church; . . . Although two such intrepid logicians as the brothers Peck would certainly have recognized their

> differences with Jonathan Crane, relations between them seem not to have been strained. Nor is there evidence that Dr. Crane and his wife had any serious falling-out on theological grounds--or on any other. The conflict became a conflict only in the mind of their son.
>
> (Hoffman, pp. 70-71)

There is much logic in the disclaimer and much perspicacious comment. There is no evidence of friction of any kind, excepting sibling rivalries, in Crane's family. It was a close-knit, "oyster-like family" (Stallman, p. 6), as Agnes Crane termed it, and the evidence of regular family reunions, at least until George Peck's death (LAT, p. 342, et passim.), suggests nothing but congeniality in the family. But this lack of discord, any sort of discord, denies the background from which the cerebral conflict Hoffman intuits originates. By identifying the battleground as Stephen's mind, Hoffman debases not only Crane's art, but Crane himself. In order to react to domestic conflict of the sort imagined, Crane had to be able to perceive it. If, as the record shows, there was nothing to perceive, then there was nothing to react to and, as a logical conclusion, there was no "war." It is the metaphor that is unfortunate because there is no struggle, as evidenced in the poetry and the other works; there is only reaction to, and a choice between, the God[s] Stephen found in his family theology and, rather than a "progression" from rejection towards affirmation, the poetry reflects the ambivalent, somewhat liberal conception of God recognized by his elders. Couched in images and directed by ideals which spring directly from the religious impulse of his family, the poetry, when coupled with the doctrinal, scriptural conformity found in the works of Jonathan Crane and the Pecks, does not verify Hoffman's concepts of either "war" or "progression." It offers evidence that Crane uses the poetry as a sounding board on which he could

try his conceptions of God and religion for their honesty and truth in a search for a religious tradition he could embrace.

Denial and vilification of God are the emphases of the major readings of The Black Riders. To be sure, God seems something of a buffoon in "God fashioned the ship of the world" (BR 36); and God is a bit like the playground bully who is belittled as a result of his exploitations in "If there is a witness" (BR 13), and "A god in wrath" (BR 19). But God sometimes is pictured as forgiving and sensitive in human relationships (cf. BR 18, 33). The most consistent assessment of God in The Black Riders is that there are multiple conceptions of God but that one conception never dominates. Instead, two seemingly antagonistic conceptions share the emphasis, but both are viable alternatives. Crane admits the right of individual preference, in "I stood upon a highway" (BR 34), from among many choices:

> I stood upon a highway,
> And, behold, there came
> Many strange pedlers.
>
> To me each one made gestures,
> Holding forth little images, saying,
> 'This is my pattern of God.
> 'Now this is the God I prefer.'
>
> But I said, 'Hence!'
> 'Leave me with mine own,
> 'And take you yours away;
> 'I can't buy of your patterns of God,
> 'The little gods you may rightly prefer.'
> (BR 34)

But two distinct options emerge from "The livid lightnings flashed" (BR 39), where there is discussion, but no violence and no argument, between adherents of the two conceptions of God:

> The vivid lightnings flashed in the clouds;
> The leaden thunders crashed.
> A worshipper raised his arm.
> 'Hearken. Hearken! The voice of God!'

'Not so,' said a man.
'The voice of God whispers in the heart
'So softly
'That the soul pauses,
'Making no noise,
'And strives for these melodies,
'Distant, sighing, like faintest breath,
'And all the being is still to hear.'
(BR 39)

The lack of any argument posits at least the semblance of tolerance between the opposing parties and establishes the "thunderer" and the "still, small voice" as the two prevailing, concurrent views of God. In "A man went before a strange god" (BR 51), there is an act of choice but there is still a consistent representation of the two faces of God.

A man went before a strange god,--
The god of many men, sadly wise.
And the deity thundered loudly,
Fat with rage, and puffing,
'Kneel, mortal, and cringe
'And grovel and do homage
'To my particularly sublime majesty.'

The man fled.

Then the man went to another god,--
The god of his inner thoughts.
And this one looked at him
With soft eyes
Lit with infinite comprehension,
And said, 'My poor child!'
(BR 51)

The last two poems of The Black Riders effectively neutralize zny denial of God. "God lay dead in heaven" (BR 67), reveals a world in chaos without the dead God:

God lay dead in Heaven;
Angels sang the hymn of the end;
Purple winds went moaning,
Their wings drip-dripping
With blood
That fell upon the earth.
It, groaning thing,
Turned black and sank.
Then from the far caverns

Of dead sins
Came monsters, livid with desire.
They fought,
Wrangled over the world,
A morsel.
But of all sadness this was sad,--
A woman's arms tried to shield
The head of a sleeping man
From the jaws of the final beast.
(BR 67)

"A spirit sped" (BR 68), graphically portrays the fate of an impatient supplicant:

A spirit sped
Through spaces of night;
And as he sped, he called,
'God! God!'
He went through valleys
Of black death-slime,
Ever calling,
'God! God!'
Their echoes
From crevice and cavern
Mocked him:
'God! God! God!'
Fleetly into the plains of space
He went, ever calling,
'God! God!'
Eventually, then, he screamed,
Mad in denial,
'Ah, there is no God!'
A swift hand,
A sword from the sky,
Smote him,
And he was dead.
(BR 68)

If there is no God, there is no need to emphasize his death, and it is unlikely that the world would be in chaos as a result. The apocalyptic, revelatory imagery reinforces the obvious answer--God is still necessary to maintain order in Crane's universe. Again, if God has no power in that universe, he cannot strike the blow which eliminates "the spirit" when he denies God. Divine action asserts both awareness and power for the deity. But, having established the existence of God, it is of interest that the

predominant conceptions of God in The Black Riders, those juxtaposed in "The livid lightnings flashed" (BR 39), and "A man went before a strange god" (BR 51), are consistent with the conceptual duality recognized by the Methodist dogma and doctrine of Crane's family.

In the writings of Jesse Peck, George Peck, and Jonathan Crane, there is a uniform conception of God as omniscient, omnipresent, unchanging, and unchangeable, but having two faces represented by the human messengers of God--the ministers. Furthermore, these disparate views of God are accepted as equally powerful and efficacious in Christian endeavor. Jesse Peck goes only so far as to relate that the ministers "range the world of love and of wrath" to appeal to sinners (WMID, p. 33), but George Peck is more specific. Admitting that "the thunderer was the ruling spirit," Peck recalls that "there were some who were eminently sons of consolation" (EMB, p. 279). In one of his sermons, the same Dr. Peck makes no distinction, but simply states that there were "sons of thunder and sons of consolation as well" (PP, p. 8).

Jonathan Crane, in contrast to the critical perception of him as the adversary of the thundering, vengeful God of the Pecks, reveals views remarkably similar to those found in both Jesse and George Peck. Crane's God is "a god of love and boundless mercy, but he is also a God of holiness. . . . He will not suffer the wicked to go unpunished" (RW, p. 31). Furthermore, "it was the mighty sword of the spirit with which the early Methodist preachers won their victories. . . . It thundered . . . it wept and entreated" (MM, p. 29). Finally, Jonathan Crane identifies his God and the ministers in a nearly verbatim echo of George Peck. "One," Dr. Crane says, "is a son of thunder, another a son of consolation" (MM, p. 123). The duality in The Black Riders is similar to that of Stephen's

family, and the consonance dulls the force of the contention that there was strife in Crane's family on the point. The liberality implies in such a double standard not only allows for a choice similar to that in BR 34 and BR 39, but allows Crane to speculate, in the poetry, on his inadequacies of spiritual attainment and still aspire to his father's standards. Furthermore, it allows him to contemplate, intellectually and obliquely, certainly, a return to or compromise with the comfortable and familiar acceptance of Christian redemption.

In "I was in the darkness" (BR 44), and "Yes, I have a thousand tongues" (BR 4), Crane recognizes his reluctance to accept his inclination toward Christian grace and his resulting remorse:

> I was in the darkness;
> I could not see my words
> Nor the wishes of my heart.
> Then suddenly there was a great light--
>
> "Let me into the darkness again."
> (BR 44)

The "darkness" of BR 44, which prevents the persona from seeing "the words" and "wishes" of his "heart," is suddenly illuminated by a "great light." The light, undoubtedly, allows the words and wishes to be seen and, having seen them, the speaker demands, "let me into the darkness again." If the "light" be granted the force of Biblical "light," and likewise the opposing "darkness," but the intervening words and wishes ignored, then the final wish is a rejection of a Christian experience. However, the light is rejected not for itself, but because it outlines the persona as he is and the exposure is more than he can bear.

Jesse Peck asks, "but are you yet in darkness? Does a weight of guilt still press heavily upon you?" (WMID, p. 100). "There is a light for the world in holiness," Dr. Peck continues, "even in its smallest

beginnings, it reveals much of the darkness within and around us. . . . With its own strength and intensity, it will reveal with fearful distinctness, the evils which were before unknown. . . . With amazing force its rays will float off over land and sea, for the revealing of a world's corruptions, and miseries, and perils" (CIC, p. 185). The persona answers the question. He wishes not to stand in the light of personal scrutiny and to avoid the shame of self-recognition. Humility and shame become the impulse for rejection--shame of his own "words" and "wishes" and the humiliation of living comfortably, or ignorantly, in the darkness of sin. This humiliation resounds through BR 4.

"Yes, I have a thousand tongues," seems to draw on Charles Wesley's "O for a thousand tongues to sing," number one in the Methodist hymnal throughout Crane's stay in his father's Methodist parsonage. The reference to "melody" strengthens this likelihood. But while Wesley prays for a thousand tongues to sing "my great redeemer's praise,"[1] Crane's persona has a thousand tongues, but nine and ninety-nine lie:

> 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.
> (BR 4)

The single veracious tongue will "make no melody" at his behest, much to the speaker's chagrin. But Jesse Peck celebrates "over one sinner that repenteth, more than over ninety and nine just persons who need no repentance" (WMID, p. 61), and George Peck asserts that "the false swearer stakes his all upon a lie. He repudiates his hope of heaven, and invokes eternal vengeance upon his soul if his tale of falsehood is not true" (MC, p. 70). Crane's "dead" tongue could be reluctant to repent, or make

"melody," but it is similarly reluctant to follow the lead of its fellows and risk "eternal vengeance." The humiliation of the dilemma is evident when we consider the silence imposed on a seemingly willing singer. But Charles Wesley's last verse offers relief. Wesley demands "his praise, ye dumb, your loosened tongues employ."[2] Thus the praise of "the great redeemer" will free the "dead" tongue and the persona from the self-imposed debility of his own inadequacy and rehabilitate the singer in the clearest Christian and Methodist tradition.

This theme of humiliation and deflation continues mercilessly through The Black Riders. When Crane's persona meets a "seer" who holds "the book of wisdom," he suffers a different sort of debasement:

> I met a seer.
> He held in his hands
> The book of wisdom.
> "Sir," I addressed him,
> "Let me read."
> "Child--" he began.
> "Sir," I said,
> "Think not that I am a child,
> "For already I know much
> "Of that which you hold.
> "Aye, much."
>
> He smiled.
> Then he opened the book
> And held it before me.--
> Strange that I should have grown
> so suddenly blind.
> (BR 36)

The secularization of the experience does not negate the similarities between Crane's picture and Jesse Peck's pronouncement:

> We have been sure that we were already wise in the mysteries of the kingdom, have felt competent to criticise the teachings of experience and improve upon the Bible itself! We have attempted to put our theories into practice, endeavoured in all sincerity to do the things we had thought certain to secure the favor of God, and wondered at our failures.
> (WMID, p. 37)

The deflation of pride, worldly wisdom, and experience are the same, and the equation "book of wisdom" equals "Bible" informs the ultimate reading of the poem as another step toward final recognition and correction of primal innocence. But if the persona cannot be secure in himself, he must be able to anchor himself in another harbor, perhaps society. But Crane rejects that option with the blessings of his family.

In the longest poem of the group, the persona stands "musing in a black world, / Not knowing where to direct [his] feet." He turns to "the quick stream of men / Pouring ceaselessly, / Filled with eager faces," demands "Where do you go? What do you see?" and receives the reply from "a thousand voices" and a thousand pointing fingers--"Look! Look! There!" The persona does not immediately recognize where the mob points and is again, impatiently, importuned "Look! Look! There!" At the second chance, the persona leaps into blind pursuit of the "vision painted upon a pall" and struggles mightily to reach it only to find "no radiance in the far sky, / . . . / No vision painted upon a pall." When he cries "in despair, / I see nothing! Oh Where do I go?", he is again answered "Look! Look! There!" He is finally mocked by the throngs; "at the blindness of my spirit / They screamed, / 'Fool! Fool! Fool!" (BR 49). Rather than "faith desperately sought" (Hoffman, p. 71), the poem is more clearly a slap at the nature of man. None can give specific directions and none clearly see the objective, they are only a part of the "torrent of desire," and follow where it goes. He who does not understand or he who questions is a fool. Jesse Peck suggests that "fool" is two-edged in this regard:

> You are not a solitary being. You are in the midst of spectators who observe your movements with special interest. . . . And you are not indifferent as to the judgement they form in relation to you. You desire the approbation of all. You watch with keenest anxiety their various expressions, and infer as

> you can their opinions. When you have done anything which calls out their criticism or disapprobation, you probably regret it, and feel more or less anxiety as to the result. Ere you are made aware of it, you have made yourself a slave to public opinion, to popular feeling. You have allowed your personal identity to be merged and well-nigh lost in the preferences of others. Imperceptibly you have come to be unwilling to brave the opposition of your associates, even to save your soul!
> (WMID, p. 57).

He who allows himself to fall into the condition of the persona, Peck says, is twice a fool--once in the opinion of the crowd and once for following the vagaries of that crowd. Jonathan Crane offers the answers with what seems clairvoyant perception of the problem behind BR 49: "They would enjoy life wisely and well must not heed every voice which cries 'Lo, here,' or 'Lo, there,' but remember that 'the kingdom is within'" (POP A, p. 169). After suffering the jibes and mockery of the throng and after seeing the folly of personal pride, the answer is still within, but with a difference. The distinction between dependence on self and hubris is central to the argument. Individual inspection reveals the flaws and recognition of the flaws is the first step to remediation. The individual must make peace with himself and his God; the two taken together are the kingdom within. The poetry moves toward that recognition and reconciliation, however stormy and unorthodox the confrontation may be.

Recognition of personal flaws is a definite part of "I was in the darkness" (BR 44), but observation and identification of sin are a large part of two frequently misread poems in The Black Riders. Hoffman points out "In the desert" (BR 3), for a singularly unsatisfactory reading, but attaches, correctly, Jesse Peck's What Must I Do to be Saved? to it. Hoffman says Peck "may reveal the elusive significance of this parable," and quotes from Peck's chapter entitled "The Depraved Heart" (Hoffman, p.

54). At the risk of repetition, it is worthwhile to reproduce the quotation Hoffman uses:

> To understand in how deep a sense you are lost, you must know your own heart; but 'the heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked, who can follow it?' 'From within, out of the heart of man proceed evil thoughts, adulteries, fornications, murder, thefts, covetousness, wickedness, deceit, lasciviousness, an evil eye, blasphemy, pride, follishness! All these evil things come from within, and defile man.' And you are the sinner thus depraved. It is your heart that is thus deceitful above all things and desperately wicked! . . . No healthy human figure can illustrate this fallen moral state. A mass of loathsome corruption alone can show how vile is the depravity of man.
> (WMID, pp. 20-21)

Given "the desert" and "the creature, naked, bestial" who is eating his "bitter" heart in BR 3, Hoffman is correct. The poem becomes a statement of rejection:

> In the desert
> I saw a creature, naked, bestial,
> Who, squatting upon the ground,
> Held his heart in his hands,
> And ate of it.
> I said, 'Is it good, friend?'
> 'It is bitter--bitter,' he answered;
> 'But I like it
> 'Because it is bitter,
> 'And because it is my heart.'
> (BR 3)

The heart-eater rejects all the warnings against following the heart and continues to eat it "because it is bitter, / And because it is [his] heart" (X, p. 4). But Hoffman errs in the identification of the persona as the creature. He, as well as many others, ignores the "I" who observes the creature. The creature's predominance successfully deflects attention from the subject of the poem to the object.[3] "I" is the actor and observer and thus the persona, probably Crane, and as a result, the poem becomes a lesson for the incipient regenerate. That he is not yet regenerate is clear in his greeting the creature as "friend." The creature is the

embodiment of all the evil that the wicked heart can produce--the "mass of loathsome corruption"--and is graphic warning of what not to do and become. The poem takes on a powerful moral when the persona is correctly perceived.

Similarly, "I stood upon a high place" (BR 9), has long been misread as Crane's acceptance of brotherhood with the devils who leap and cavort below his vantage point.

> I stood upon a high place,
> And saw, below, many devils
> Running, leaping,
> And carousing in sin.
> One looked up, grinning,
> And said, 'Comrade, Brother!'
> (BR 9)

Crane's persona, however, only observes. When one of the devils calls out "Comrade, Brother," the observer says nothing in recognition or reply. He does not acknowledge the greeting, but does recognize those below as demons and that they are "carousing in sin." That the demons greet him in conjugal terms suggests that the observer is still akin to them, but he stands on "a high place" above them--a situation very similar to the Christian idea of having been saved and admitted to grace. Jesse Peck speaks of uncovering "the pit of endless woe, where wicked men and devils walk, and curse, and writhe forever" (WMID, p. 33), and warns that "the eyes of demons watch you too. They feel a malicious pleasure in your resistance to the convictions which press upon you" (WMID, p. 59). But he does offer "a practicable experimental scheme," in which a "Helping hand" raises the sinner up and places him "on a rock as sure as the foundation of heaven" (WMID, p. 82). Peck identifies the watching demons and their pleasure at the uncertainty of the unregenerate, but he does suggest that once upon the "rock," the sinner is safe and, applied to BR 9, the

observer seems beyond the reach of the demons, perhaps on the verge of Christian redemption.

The recognition of sin, according to Christian practice, is a major step toward redemption, but the final act is to request, to seek "saving grace." "Man must seek forgiveness himself," Jesse Peck thunders. "God will grant it for the asking" (WMID, pp. 35-36). The sinner "must cry out, save O save me, or I die" (WMID, p. 35). It is a step Crane's character would not allow him to take. It requires recognizable humility, which Crane was capable of, and subservience to and dependence on the will of God--neither of which Crane with his individuality could accept. However, in "Well, then, I hate thee" (BR 12), a poem Hoffman reads as the ultimate rejection, Crane goes that final step, but does so by bullying and taunting God and demanding fulfillment of the law. If his gambit is successful, he can slip into his father's heritage on his own terms, without sacrificing his personal identity.

"Well, then," is the only poem in Crane's works with an epigraph and that epigraph is the only unquestionably Biblical quotation in the poetry. The importance of the quotation is that it links Crane and the poem directly to his Biblical upbringing and, when coupled with the Methodist connections of "Yes, I have a thousand tongues" (BR 4), it makes a set of the important spiritual references in Crane's heritage. The atypicality of the form further isolates the poem from the rest of the work and suggests special significance for the poem:

> 'And the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon
> the heads of the children, even unto the third and
> fourth generation of them that hate me.'
>
> Well, then, I hate Thee, unrighteous picture;
> Wicked image, I hate Thee;

> So, strike with Thy vengeance
> The heads of those little men
> Who come blindly.
> It will be a brave thing.
> (BR 12)

For all practical purposes, the epilogue allows Crane to initiate a dialogue with God in the poem.

The second commandment, in addition to inveighing against graven images and cursing non-believers (Exodus 20.5), promises "mercy unto thousands of them that love me, and keep my commandments" (Exodus 20.6). This juxtaposition of divine curse and divine mercy functionally informs the organization of Crane's poem and creates a basis for the interpretation of the poem. In answer to the curse of the epilogue, Crane flings the gauntlet of his opening statement--"Well, then, I hate Thee." He mocks the commandment's principal injunction by addressing the deity as an "unrighteous picture" and as a "wicked image" and demands the promised retribution. That retribution is "the sins of the fathers."

Crane's Methodist "fathers" are guilty only of adherence to Methodist doctrine and dogma, belief in their ministries, and faith in God. If, then, "the sins of the fathers" are to be visited on those who hate or openly defy God, i.e., Crane, then Crane demands that faith and belief, his fathers' only sins, be settled upon him. Taking an illustration from Joel Chandler Harris, we can envision Crane begging God to throw him into the briar patch. Crane's demand for the fulfillment of the law obviates the necessity for mercy and replaces it with justice. In the same sort or ironic statement that allows him, in a later poem, to assert that war is kind, Crane defies the God of Exodus, fully expecting action, such as is depicted in BR 68, and when the action promised is accomplished, he will have been readmitted to the body of the faithful. He will have done

so on his own terms, but in complete accord with the teaching of the Drs. Peck and Dr. Crane.

Jesse Peck assures Crane of retribution almost as if he had read the poem. "There it stands," Peck writes,"a stern unalterable fact, the rebellion of a subject against an infinite sovereign! No tears can wash it away. No penance relieve it of its inherent wrong, or deprive it of its condemning power. The throne of God would fall, and the moral universe become a wreck, if one such sin were to be forgiven without a sacrifice of infinite merit." "No more would it be practicable," Peck continues, "for God, in the exercise of his sovereignty, arbitrarily to absolve the sinner, for then he would condemn and approve the same character, under the same circumstances, at the same time" (WMID, pp. 80-81). God is the maker, keeper, and enforcer of the law and it is the law which prevents arbitrariness in God's dealings with man and vice versa. "The law is here [in the tabernacle and in God]," Peck imagines God saying, "I must preserve its integrity; but it shall not harm you. I hold its thunders in abeyancy. I satisfy its claims, and dispense mercy to those who deserve its fiercest wrath" (CIC, p. 231). Peck shows us that Crane's expectations are realistic. In rebellion against God, Crane can expect to be punished; the punishment is inexorable, for if he is not punished the moral order of the universe will crumble; and the law, in God's keeping and with his arbitration, dispenses "mercy to those who deserve its fiercest wrath." Crane will, according to doctrine, have "the sins of the fathers" as his own. Dr. Crane adds his voice to the clamor for the inevitability of the result. "The iniquity of the fathers is visited upon their children, and passed down to other generations," Dr. Crane says in his commentary on the decalogue, and "this is in accordance with the

lessons of history, as well as the declaration of the command" (RW, p. 61). Dr. Crane's assessment of the historical reality of the generational sins assures that Stephen will have settled upon him his fathers' "sins." The result will be absolution and admittance to the "grace" of his Methodist/Christian heritage.

There are even suggestions that Crane tries to imagine the world of the regenerate Christian and the effort of the Christian to reach his final reward. In "There was set before me a mighty hill" (BR 26), the persona struggles "long days" through "regions of snow." When he reaches "the summit-view, / It seemed that my labor had been to see gardens / lying at impossible distances" (BR 26). The poem is generally read as a fable of frustration and a tale depicting the futility of, and thus the rejection of, Christian labor. However, Jonathan Crane, quoting Isaiah 33.17, writes what seems to be a Christian model for Stephen's image. The Christian, Dr. Crane tells us, "is assuredly in the narrow path, and he will yet see the king in his beauty and behold the land that is very, far off" (HOLINESS, p. 134). For Dr. Crane, the "lands" are the constant vision of heaven and the throne of God. For his son, "gardens" is more specific, more graphic and more inviting, but the vision is similar in that the implications of gardens in a Biblical sense gives the goal of the poem a decidedly redemptive air. The idea of "impossible distances" betrays Stephen's human weaknesses, but does not invalidate his quest, for George Peck tells us, quoting Peter 1.5-9, that "he that lacketh these things is blind [these "things" are faith, virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, brotherly kindness, and charity] and cannot see afar off, and hath forgotten that he was purged from his old sins" (SDCP, p.

21). Crane is not blind and can see "afar off"; therefore he has not forgotten his redemption, he only appears weary of the struggle.

In BR 29, "Behold, from the land of the farther suns," he has achieved his goal and has returned:

> Behold, from the land of the farther suns
> I returned,
> And I was in a reptile-swarming place,
> Peopled, otherwise, with grimaces,
> Shrouded above in black impenetrableness.
> I shrank, loathing,
> Sick with it.
> And I said to him,
> 'What is this?'
> He made answer slowly,
> 'Spirit, this is a world;
> 'This was your home.'
> (BR 29)

When the spirit returns from "the land of the farther suns," he does not recognize the world from which he came and must be told "'This was your home.'" Having achieved the final Christian grace, the spirit does not recognize the "mass of loathsome corruption" which was his home. When the spirit was translated to a better world, he lost his taste for and his identification with the original. There is an air of nostalgia, of loss in the poem, as if the spirit is not certain the change is for the better, but his revulsion at his former state suggests that the change is irrevocable, and he likely prefers his new state of grace.

The stark images of the poetry are also a part of Crane's religious heritage, but the Biblical influence on Crane's family, and thus Crane, makes them less a distinct product of his family consciousness than of a confluence of the family Methodism and of Biblical readings. We cannot ignore, for instance, the presence of desert imagery in BR 3 and BR 42 and the prevalence of similar imagery in his family's writing. "The desert of sin" (WMID, p. 167), "a dreary desert" (EMB, p. 185) and "the

moral desert of earth" (CIC, p. 184), not only correspond with Crane's pictures, but are helpful in understanding the tone of the poetry.

The mountains of BR 22, 31, 37, and WK 80 are probably as much a result of Biblical imagery as any of Crane's imagery. But George Peck's "mountains which lift up their heads, in countless numbers" (WYOMING, p. A2) as well as a whole range of "brazen mountains," "mountains of sin," "dark mountains," and "angry mountains" which emerge from the other Peck and Crane works, can be fruitfully examined in comparison to Stephen's works.

Stephen's "A youth in apparel that glittered" (BR 27), is often read as merely a set-piece show-casing his fascination for chivalry and the trappings of heraldry. But when the descriptions of Methodist itinerants as "warriors" possessed of "hearts swelling with a grander, holier chivalry than ever nerved the arms of knights of old when they girded on their armour of steel to battle with the Turk" (MM, p. 31; FB, p. 21) are accounted for, the poem takes on a different context. Indeed, George Peck relates an anecdote which not only follows the same story line, but when compared, makes the poem a bitterly ironic statement (cf. OCTT, p. 182).

In like kind, if we admit the similarities of Jonathan Crane's statement that "thus it [the world] clings to the Church, arguing inviting, urging; and wherever to its own dull vision the path ceases to be clear, it sweeps off swiftly and invariably into the realms of darkness and danger" (POPA, p. 25), and "God fashioned the ship of the world carefully" (BR 6), the God of BR 6 is no longer a buffoon, and the world, in its foolish waywardness, becomes the butt of the joke. The doctrine, dogma, and imagery in the works of Drs. Peck and Crane and the poetry of Stephen Crane are demonstrably of a single bolt. They are from different parts

of the cloth and sometimes cut on a different bias, but they all derive from the same loom.

It is foolhardy to demand that Crane reject his family and his heritage without examination of their works and comparison of the two sets. It is just as foolhardy to postulate a "war in heaven" on the basis of similarly faulty comparisons. If for no other reason than finally, it is to be hoped, to put to rest the misconception of a theological internecine conflict, one further comparison is offered.

"The preachers," George Peck writes, "are diversified in their talents; yet they 'all speak the same thing,' 'being perfectly joined together in the same mind and in the same judgments'" (WAYA, p. 52). So it is with the Pecks and Dr. Crane. They display no evidence of any divergence from or disagreement on the Christian tenets of faith, belief, redemption, and salvation. They agree on "holiness" as the great Christian ideal. In their Methodism they adhere strictly to Wesleyan doctrines; the fallen state of man, the justification and regeneration necessary to redeem man from his fallen state, and final sanctification, are parts of the Wesleyan polity of all three men. A public acknowledgment of sin and declaration of intent to accept the grace of God are essentials of the process by which the Drs. Peck and Crane demand a sinner come to Wesleyan redemption. Perhaps most important of these doctrinal agreements is the absolute reliance on the scriptures as the basis for doctrine, dogma, and ecclesiastical organization.

In short, for these Methodist ministers and for the whole church, as Jesse Peck puts it, "the Bible is the only standard of doctrine" (CIC, p. 323). "The only infallible source of information upon the doctrines of religion," says George Peck, "is the Holy Bible" (SDCP, p. 40), and he

adds in another work, "we hold the Scriptures to be the rule of faith and practice" (RF, p. 284); "all things," he says, "are contained in the Holy Scriptures" (RF, p. 315). "The Bible," Jonathan Crane says, "is God's voice to men" (MM, p. 35), and "thorough conviction of the truth of God's word and the reality of the things revealed therein" is basic to the "strong and beautiful Christian Character" (HOLINESS, p. 123).

Furthermore, Wesleyan Methodism is scriptural. "The Wesleyan ministry, as a whole," Dr. Peck writes, "is Scriptural, evangelical, zealous, plain, faithful, and practical. It . . . is generally an exposition of God's own word" (WAYA, p. 49). And, Dr. Crane adds, "we claim that these doctrines [of the Methodists] are eminently Scriptural, agreeing both with the letter and spirit of God's word." "This simple, generous Scriptural theology," Dr. Crane continues, "is the strength of the Methodist Church" (MM, pp. 26-29). The scriptural foundation of Christianity and Methodism and Stephen's family's enthusiastic embrace of it creates an important measurement by which to gauge the intensity of any projected disagreement among the members of the family, i.e., the scriptural references each author includes in his works.

The critical perception of Crane's family and of the heavenly war clearly identifies how the family is divided. The Pecks are the adherents of the Old Testament God, termed by criticism and popular conception as vindictive, vengeful, wrathful, etc., and Dr. Crane is the champion of the New Testament God who is styled as kind, loving, forgiving, listening, etc. With this dichotomy in mind, we should expect a cataloguing of scriptural references in the various works and authors to bear out these assigned affinities. However, such is not the case. Jesse Peck, condemned as the result of this authorship of What Must I Do to be Saved? as the most

hortatory of Stephen's family, and George Peck, the most prolific writer of the family, but still of the Old Testament Pecks, cite a three-to-one predominance of New Testament references in the over 1500 quotations from their twenty-four works. Jonathan Crane, the avatar of the New Testament God, in the critical standard, cites only a slight predominance of New Testament references in ten works. (For a complete listing of Biblical references in the works of George Peck, Jesse T. Peck, Jonathan Crane and Stephen Crane, see Appendix C.) The quantification suggests, very strictly applied, that just the opposite of the critical standard occurs. The Pecks are eminently New Testament oriented, and Jonathan Crane only slightly favors the New Testament. The slight predominance of the New Testament in Jonathan Crane's works is, however, the results of his work The Right Way. This patristically-styled commentary on the decalogue naturally includes considerable quotation from Exodus and, perhaps, overbalances the statistical result in a manner which does not clearly reflect Jonathan Crane's predilections. His work on what Jesse Peck and George Peck call the "great idea of Christianity" (CIC, p. 100), Holiness the Birthright of All God's Children, a work more specifically doctrinal than The Right Way, is founded on a body of scriptural reference which cites slightly more than three New Testament passages for every Old Testament quotation in the work, or a ratio very similar to the ratio of New to Old Testament quotations in the works of George and Jesse Peck. Dr. Crane is, like the male members of his wife's family, a New Testament Christian, doctrinally, and the agreement of doctrinal messages in the most frequently quoted chapters and verses from the works of all three men is the final key to understanding their Christian accord.

Matthew, John, and Romans are the favorite books for quotation in all three authors. The fifth chapter of Matthew is found most often in George Peck's works, and is a close second in the works of Jesse Peck and Jonathan Crane. Only Hebrews 11 and 1 John 1 appear more frequently in the works of Jonathan Crane and Jesse Peck, respectively. The content of these three chapters enhances the agreement between the three ministers which has already been discussed.

Matthew 5 is the most detailed gospel account of Christ's Sermon on the Mount; Hebrews 11 is Paul's definition of faith which is heavily dependent on the ideal of Matthew 5; 1 John 1 is the epistle writer's description of the divine person of Christ and his account of the necessity for man to believe in Christ. All three are basic parts of Christian and Methodist doctrine and are integral parts of each minister's beliefs and professions. More importantly, the selection, by design of serendipity, of these three chapters as the favorite chapters to illustrate the didactic messages of three ministers supposedly at war, is sufficient evidence to quell those unwarranted reports. However, one final reduction of these statistics, which identifies the most frequently quoted verse from each man's works, adds to the evidence. Not surprisingly, the verses so identified are capsules of the faith of each man, and reveal, perhaps more clearly than previous evidence, the consanguinity of their belief.

The Pauline benediction on the Thessalonians, 1 Thessalonians 5.23, is the most common verse from the works of George Peck. "And the very God of Peace," Paul writes, "sanctify you wholly; and <u>I pray God</u> your whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ." Paul's epistle to the Hebrews, Hebrews 6.1, is the source of Jonathan Crane's "favorite" verse. Paul exhorts the Hebrews,

"therefore leaving the principles of the doctrine of Christ, let us go on into perfection; not laying again the foundation of repentance from dead works and of faith toward God." Jesse Peck turns most often to the first epistle of the apostle John, author of the Gospel and The Revelation. In 1 John 1.7, John promises "but if we walk in the light as he is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." The design of all three verses is explicit. Man must believe, must repent his sins, have faith in the Christian Bod and Jesus Christ, and must strive for sanctification and the perfection of the Christian promise. All three men, as Methodist ministers, have but one purpose as their guiding impulse--the desire to see all men saved by the grace of Christ. These verses are at the heart of that impulse and their selection is evidence that there is no disagreement between the ministers in doctrine or in scripture and clearly illustrates their likenesses.

From the Old Testament, with the exception of the saturation of quotations from Exodus in The Right Way, all three men refer most often to Psalms, and George Peck and Jonathan Crane both quote from Psalm 119 more often than any other. Jesse Peck, in his reference to the Psalms, finds Psalm 51 to be most often useful in his writings. But the two Psalms only underline the agreement already noted. Psalm 119, the longest of the ostensibly Davidic hymns, is a collection of prayers which call on God for forgiveness and mercy and would be perfect lessons from any Methodist pulpit. Psalm 51 is David's prayer for the forgiveness of his sins and for divine sanctification of this soul, and Jesse Peck quotes his supplication frequently in his works. "Create in me a clean heart, O God;" David prays, "and renew a right spirit within me" (Psalms 51.10). The

prayers of Psalms 51 and 119 are physically a part of the Old Testament but they have the same message as the New Testament message the Pecks and Dr. Crane espouse, and they do no violence to their air of theological brotherhood.

One fault of quantification is the necessity to isolate examples in order to codify and particularize them. In doing so, the context from which they are taken is often ignored and, as a result, faulty representations are made. In the works of the Pecks and Dr. Crane, however, there has been no such damage done to context because there is no difference of contextual tone from minister to minister. The scriptures cited are found in contexts so similar that there are instances when one minister borrows, wholesale, passages from his relations' work and inserts it in his own work (with, it should be added, proper credits) without noticeable changes in not only tone, but in style of content.

The strength of these similarities of philosophy, doctrine, and scriptural evidence insist that there was no war in the Peck/Crane heaven; nor is there is any evidence that Stephen rejects his heritage or his family's religious bequest to him. When he uses Biblical references, he uses them much as a Methodist minister might. For Stephen Crane, the Bible was, as it was for his family, a sourcebook for example, metaphor, and allusion; he uses it descriptively, as when he has a soldier describe the enemy as charging through "hell's fire and brimstone" in The Red Badge, quoting from six possible references in both the Old Testament and New Testament, or metaphorically when he tells us that Uncas, in his sketch "The Last of the Mohicans," sought whiskey "as the hart panteth for the waterbrooks," quoting from Psalm 42. He uses scriptural allusion as a key to interpretation of the piece in which it is included. When he names John Twelve in

"The Monster," as others have pointed out,[4] the content of that chapter of the Bible is instructive toward understanding the story as is the quotation of the decalogue in the epigraph to BR 12. When he tells us, quoting Job, that a group of drunks were "fitted for a tree shaded land, where everything was peace," or when he paraphrases the gospel of Matthew to tell us "now that five of them had congregated, it gave them happiness to speak their inmost thoughts without fear of being misunderstood" (I, p. 129), he is being heavily ironic in his use of the allusion, but it is a lesson for instruction just as surely as is any lesson from a Methodist pulpit; and, similarly, when he quotes Jeremiah 7.4 in "A Little Pilgrim," the citation is not only obviously a Sunday-school lesson as a part of the story's plot, but it is also a lesson on the basis of which Crane points out his moral--a moral that is as Christian as his fathers could have intended.

In the forty-three passages from Crane's works that can be traced to a Biblical source, his use of Biblical quotation, reference, and allusion shows only understanding of the Bible and masterful use of its material, both skills the products of his heritage. He never controverts Christian and Methodist principles nor denies their existence. He learned the art of Biblical allusion from the font of his father's pulpit; he did not learn to hate it, only to use it and, occasionally, to question it in order to discern the truth.

The poetry, it is likely, is experimental in the sense that Crane is seeking an expression of himself and of a religious mode he can accept. In later works, notably "The Open Boat," "The Blue Hotel," and others, God does become, for Crane, a disinterested spectator of man's posturings and posings, but in The Black Riders Stephen is still unsure and is trying

to cover as many exists as he can imagine. He still remembers the closeness of a family atmosphere that, by the time of the writing of The Black Riders, he could enter only as a quest. With those memories, he tries to use his background to justify himself in his own way and to recreate a milieu free of dissension or worry in which he could move as an equal and an accepted member of the congregation.

Conclusions

When critics, then, leap to embrace the popular and hoary traditions around Stephen Crane and his literature, they grasp at paper figures--there is substance, but no depth in them. The commonplaces of criticism ignore Crane's Methodist forebears and their important influence on him. Crane cannot reject their counsel, because it is a part of him, almost inherent. He does not lack the cultural background it is assumed he is without, because that, too, came with his family heritage and he could not avoid it. His formal education, if it accomplished anything, only detracted from the education he had assimilated prior to matriculation. The critical acceptance of the overbearing metaphor of a "war in heaven" is simply wrong. There was no apparent conflict in Crane's family and there was none in his mind, as Hoffman and Berryman would have it. Without that war as an overbearing metaphor, we become free to examine the works in relation to Stephen's family atmosphere and his true cultural artifacts. It is a study that has been needed for years. In his family's writings are the clues to the "little creed of art" (Letters, p. 31) Stephen professed to have developed on his own, and the philosophical, cultural heritage necessary to give that creed voice.

NOTES

[1]Charles Wesley in Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, With Tunes (New York: Eaton and Mains, 1878), p. 5.

[2]Wesley, p. 5.

[3]Crane successfully deflects attention here just as he successfully diverts the reader of "The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" from the bride, the center of the story, to the more active and visible Jack Potter and Scratchy Wilson.

[4]Daniel Knapp, "Son of Thunder: Stephen Crane and The Fourth Evangelist," Nineteenth Century Fiction, 3 (December, 1969), pp. 261-268, et passim.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SYNOPSES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WORKS OF GEORGE PECK, JESSE TRUESDELL PECK, AND JONATHAN TOWNLEY CRANE

The synopses of the works are presented in order that the reader might have a clearer conception of each work and, conversely, of the *corpus* of each author. They are presented in chronological order so that some idea of the historical associations of these men to each other might be developed and so that a conception of the development of each author might be presented. The bibliography is offered as a concrete reference without the fog of the bibliographic entries of all other works, either of Stephen Crane or of the critical and reference works consulted.

Peck, George. *Universal Salvation Considered, and the Eternal Punishment of the finally Impenitent Established, In a Series of Numbers Commenced with the Signature of "Observer" in "The Candid Examiner," A Periodical Work Published at Montrose Pennsylvania by the Rev. C. R. Marsh--Editor*. Wilkesbarre, Pa.: S. D. Lewis, 1827. 148 pp.

A collection of periodical articles answering the arguments of the Universalist editor of *The Candid Examiner*. Dr. Peck's arguments are saturated with scriptural notations and with Greek and Roman fathers, and his thick, finely reasoned logic is directed to the object of disproving the Universalist contention for salvation of all souls without regard for their condition. The argument is not only intended to prove the error of

Universalism, but to label it a heretical doctrine. This work commences Dr. Peck's publishing career.

Peck, Jesse T. A Sermon on the Person of Christ. Watertown: Knowlton and Rice, 1836. 16 pp.

A discourse outlining and analyzing the devine nature of Christ, the human nature of Christ, and the union of the two natures in Christ on the basis of translations of the original texts and evidence from the scriptures. This is an unusually erudite and exegetical sermon for a discourse presented at a camp-meeting. The inclusion of original Greek and Latin texts and the translation of the same as examples for his argument is evidence not only of Dr. Peck's Biblical scholarship, but of his thoroughness in discussion and explanation:

Peck, George. Oration Delivered on the Fourth of July, 1838. Auburn, N.Y.: Auburn Banner, 1838. 32 pp.

A historical presentation encomiating republicanism but warning that republican institutions cannot survive without religion and the moral values of Christianity. He praises revolutionary war veterans, of whom some were present, leans heavily on Washington's valedictory of his troops for examples, and damns the contemporary press for inflammatory journalism. A good example of the wedding of religious and political bombast, but generally well-written and reasoned.

Peck, George. National Evils and Their Remedy. A Discourse Delivered on the Occasion of the National Fast, May 14, 1841, In the Methodist Episcopal Church, Greene St., New York. New York: Lane and Sandford, 1841. 32 pp.

Delivered on the occasion of a national fast declared to mourn the death of President Harrison. Dr. Peck takes the opportunity to exhort a congregation of ministers on the evils which abound in the society they

serve and the remedies for those evils. The evils resemble the list of deadly sins and the remedies, finally, are patriotism, philanthropy, and religion.

Peck, George. An Answer to the Question. Why are You a Weslevan Methodist? To Which is Added an Examination of a Tract Entitled "Tracts for the People, No. 4—Methodism as Held by Wesley, By D.S.P." New York: Lane and Sandford, 1842. 242 pp.

An explanation and defense of Methodist doctrines, practices, and organizations, this spirited avowal of all things Methodist and reflection on the charge of schism laid on the Methodists by the Protestant Episcopalians, also answers and refutes a Protestant Episcopal tract which denounces the Methodists as heretics and traitors to the true Church and and to their own founder John Wesley, who never left the Anglican Church even while founding the Methodist movement.

Peck, George, ed. Christian Exertion: or, the Duty of Private Members of the Church of Christ to Labor for the Souls of Men Explained and Enforced. New York: Lane and Tippett, 1845. 160 pp.

It is unclear why this is identified as an edition. No sources are ever identified as part of the editorial process and the exhortations by George Peck to the private members of the church are typical of his other writings. The work identifies what George Peck considers the responsibility of every member in witnessing for the faith and in what is expected of the layman in the business of saving mankind from itself. The rewards of the Christian who exerts himself in the prescribed manner are outlined and missionary work is defended.

Peck, George. Slavery and The Episcopacy: An Examination of Dr. Bascom's Review of the Reply of the Majority to the Protest of the Minority of the Late General Conference of the M.E. Church in the Case of Bishop Andrew. New York: Lane and Tippett, 1845. 139 pp.

A rebuttal of the Southern Methodists' spokesman against the action in the matter of Bishop James O. Andrew of Georgia by the General Conference of 1844 which was the immediate cause of the separation of the M.E. Church and the M.E. Church, South. The careful recitation of all the proceedings and procedents which led to Bishop Andrew's being asked to desist from the exercise of his office are presented completely, but not without prejudice. The problem of slavery in the church or associated with the church is a point on which Dr. Peck is uncompromising, and Dr. Peck hides his resentment badly. The work is a clear representation on the Methodist doctrines concerning slavery and of the mutual obduracy which caused the church schism.

Peck, George, ed. The Life of Julius Caesar. New York: Lane and Tippett, 1846. 180 pp.

An extremely prejudiced, slanted view of Caesar. Dr. Peck uses all the right sources in his references to Tacitus, Suetonius, Livy, Cicero, Caesar et al. and is proud that none of his sources are extant in English. However, his view of Caesar is decidedly Christian and deflates Caesar at every possibility for his ruthlessness or his ego and then sanctimoniously excuses him because he appeared before the advent of Christianity. The facts of Caesar's life are accurate, but editorial tone and commentary detract from the work as pure history.

Peck, George. Lives of the Apostles and Evangelists. New York: Lane and Scott, 1848. 214 pp.

A very straight forward historical accounting of the lives of all the Apostles and Evangelists. Dr. Peck draws his history from Biblical accounts, contemporary histories, the fathers, and from the myths and legends surrounding these founders of Christianity. There is little personal interjection, little editorial slant, and no textual criticism.

Peck, George. History of the Canada Case. New York: n. pub., 1849. 16 pp.

A very dry, very precise, concise accounting of the division of the Canadian Methodist Church from the Genesee Conference of New York beginning at the General Conference of 1816 and ending with the establishment of a separate Canadian Church and the settlement of pecuniary claims by the General Conference of 1836. A very measured, capable, accurate accounting of the proceedings.

Crane, Jonathan Townley. Essay on Dancing. New York: Lane and Scott, 1851. 132 pp.

An engagingly written treatise on the evils of the dance. Dr. Crane's references to Hebrew dance as depicted in the Pentateuch and his depiction of and commentary on Greek, Roman, and American Indian rituals are evidence of his scholarship, but are also interesting bits of information. Quotations from Cicera, Socrates, Pericles, and Strabo are somewhat out of context, but also attest to the scholarship employed to write what seems a trivial work on an unimportant problem. For Dr. Crane, however his invocations against all dance were serious forays in his quest to save the souls of the dissolute and unregenerate mankind.

Crane, Jonathan T. The True Man. A Discourse Delivered Before the Belles Lettres Society of Dickinson College, June 26, 1851, by Rev. J. Townley Crane, A.M., an Honorary Member. Philadelphia: T.K. and P.G. Collins, 1851. 39 pp.

A discourse outlining the necessities for the preparation and responsibilities of the true Christian gentleman. The literary and cultural allusions in the work make it clear that Dr. Crane is addressing something other than a normal congregation.

Peck, Jesse T. God In Education. A Discourse to the Graduating Class of Dickinson College, July, 1852. Washington: Robt. A. Waters, 1852. 36 pp.

Not only an address to a graduating class, but Dr. Peck's valedictory on leaving the presidency of Dickinson College. He congratulates the class on their accomplishments and exhorts them to go forth and use their education to enhance themselves and mankind and to further the Methodist and Christian cause. The address includes a sort of "rules for Christian gentlemen (Dickinson had an entirely male student body) to live by" and is enlightening in a study of Dr. Peck's attitudes towards personal behavior.

Crane, Jonathan T. The Right Way; or, Practical Lectures on the Decalogue. New York: Carlton and Porter, 1853. 299 pp.

A scripturally founded commentary on the decalogue with particular emphasis placed on the reader's understanding the place of each commandment in regard to Wesleyan doctrine and Christian belief. This is not a scholarly exegesis for the sake of exegesis. There are references to the fathers and much quotation of precedent and subsequent scripture and of typological significances of the parts of the decalogue, but Dr. Crane's style helps him avoid obfuscation and misdirection and assures that an intelligent reader could follow him through the work without difficulty.

Peck, George. Formation of a Manly Character: A Series of Lectures to Young Men. New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1854. 304 pp.

Dr. Peck addresses his young readers on a subject which is similar to those suggestions Jonathon Crane makes in True Man, but expands his topic and discusses the problems of growing into Christian Manhood in more detail. He separates the argument into the formation of Physical Manhood; Intellectual Manhood; Emotional Manhood; Volitive Manhood, or development of the will and controlling the same; Social Manhood; Civil Manhood; and Moral and Religious Manhood. He exhorts the young men to fulfill their

promise and become the true men necessary to forward the progress of Church and Nation and demands that they work untiringly for the right and the truth through education.

Peck, George. The Scripture Doctrine of Christian Perfection Stated and Defended: with a Critical and Historical Examination of the Controversy, Ancient and Modern. Also Practical Illustrations and Advices. New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1854. 461 pp.

An erudite, but recondite, exegetical study of this basic Wesleyan doctrine. Dr. Peck's massive allusions to the patriarchal works and to the fathers are awesome, and his scriptural references are so plentiful as to tend to obscure his points. He quotes the fathers in the original Greek and Latin, often without translation, and generally conducts a very thorough investigation of the existence of such a doctrine, the continued force of the doctrine, the necessity of the doctrine, and the consequences of forsaking the doctrine. This is decidedly not a book for lay reading.

Peck, George, ed. Sketches and Incidents; or, A Budget From the Saddle-Bags of a Superannuated Itinerant. Cincinnati: Swormstedt and Poe, 1854. 191 pp.

George Peck's edition of a group of stories and religious witnesses from the collection of Rev. Abel Stevens. There is little here that can be directly traced to George Peck, but the stories generally are interesting and informative and are the sort of stories George Peck would not have been ashamed of appending his name to. Additionally, Abel Stevens was an old friend whose wife was in financial trouble and Dr. Peck edited these stories in hope of relieving some of her distress.

Peck, George. Appeal from Tradition to Scripture and Common Sense; or, an Answer to the Question, What Constitutes the Divine Rule of Faith and Practice? New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1855. 462 pp.

Dr. Peck's essential point here is a refutation of the traditionary basis of Anglican and Roman Catholic doctrine in favor of a more strictly

scripturally based doctrine, such as that practiced by the Methodists. He rejects patristic writings only as a basis for doctrine, not for their insight into or aid in understanding scripture. The argument includes many references to and quotations from patristic writings, and scriptures by which Peck refutes or enlarges upon narrowness of patristically inspired doctrine.

Peck, Jesse T. The True Woman; or, Life and Happiness at Home and Abroad. New York: Carlton and Porter, 1857. 400 pp.

Dr. Peck essays to instruct his audience, which he expects to be entirely women, in the ways of Christian behavior and in their duties and responsibilities in their relationships with men. He requires that women be educated, but only to a point. At that point, they should concern themselves with keeping house, marriage, and childbearing. Dr. Peck explains his ideas on raising children and how women, intellectually and emotionally, are different from men and, thus, require different intellectual, social, and religious preparation. He describes of the classes of women, including useless women, the technical lady, and the difference between "females" and "ladies".

Peck, George. Wyoming; Its History, Stirring Incidents, and Romantic Adventures. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1858. 430 pp.

A thoroughly accurate, but delightfully written history of the Wyoming Valley of Pennsylvania. There is much firsthand reportage from interviews with old pioneers in Wyoming. The predominance of the material in the work is, in one way or another, associated with the settling of Forty Fort, Pennsylvania and of the British and Indian attack on the fort in July of 1778. There are several descriptions of local points of interest in appendices and some recital of local folklore concerned with

those landmarks. Dr. Peck's regard for historical method is evident. There are times when he picks at a nit of historical trivia and ignores more important matters.

Peck, Jesse T. The Central Idea of Christianity. Boston: Henry V. Degen, 1858. 389 pp.

Dr. Peck presents very closely constructed analytical, historical, scriptural, doctrinal, and logical arguments for "holiness" or "Christian perfection" as the central idea of Christianity, and warns the church against schism on the point and that in order to achieve its promise, the church, and its ministers, must vigorously pursue all means to make this central idea the reality for its total membership.

Peck, Jesse T. What Must I Do to be Saved? New York: Carlton and Porter, 1858. 192 pp.

Intended for the unregenerate or backslidden laymen, this work bristles with what has come to be recognized as the standard rhetoric of the evangelical pulpit. But the question of the title is not all there is to be found in the book. In the second half of the work, Dr. Peck softens his diatribe somewhat and answers the question in conciliatory terms and tone. The thunder and fire of the first half changes to the suffering Christ of redemption in the second half. The title is descriptive of the work and there is little else can be said in general terms.

Crane, Jonathan T. The Annual Sermon Before the American Sunday-School Union; Delivered in the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, On Sunday Evening, May 2, 1858, by Rev. J.T. Crane, D.D. of the New Jersey Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: American Sunday-School Union, 1860. 31 pp.

An exhortation to the organizers of Sunday-schools to continue their work and a congratulation for the work already done. The principle of this message is that children are the hope of the nation and those

children who receive the Christian instruction available at a Sunday-school are the greatest hope and blessing.

Crane, Jonathan T. Christian Duty in Regard to American Slavery: A Sermon Preached in the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, Jersey City, on Sabbath Morning, December 11, 1859 by Rev. J.T. Crane, D.D., Pastor. Jersey City: R.B. Kashow, 1860. 22 pp.

Speaking after the Harper's Ferry raid, from the text of 1 Corinthians 7.21, Crane counsels careful reflection on the problem of slavery. Using the existence of slavery in the Roman empire as example, he suggests that Paul speaks to the situation and in a series of arguments tells Christians that slaves have no right to use extreme measures to free themselves, and that Christians are required to resist efforts to free the slaves by force of arms, but are required to reason with slaveholders at every opportunity concerning their perfidious practice. After the inflammatory and popular actions of John Brown, the sermon is an attempt to clear the air and install reason in the place of emotion.

Peck, George. Early Methodism Within the Bounds of the Old Genesee Conference from 1788 to 1828; or the First Forty Years of Wesleyan Evangelism in Northern Pennsylvania, Central and Western New York, and Canada. New York: Carlton and Porter, 1860. 572 pp.

A historical annalistic record replete with history of the Methodist itinerancy, descriptions and anecdotes of the ministers of the region, and Dr. Peck's personal reminiscences. Dr. Peck includes proceedings of various quarterly and general conferences and, in very specific, but very readable, information, delineates the founding, establishment, and final division of one of the largest conferences of early Methodism.

Peck, George. Our Country: Its Trial and Its Triumph. A Series of Discourses Suggested by the Varying Events of the War for the Union. New York: Carlton and Porter, 1865. 300 pp.

A series of sermons delivered during the course of the Civil war. This group of sermons is a clear indicator of the concerns of the church during the war and of the acrimony heaped on the South from Northern pulpits. In these sermons, God is on the side of the Union and the South is the tool of England, France, and the Devil. The topicality of the sermons and the frequent allusion to current events makes it clear that Dr. Peck kept himself informed and that he was not afraid to deliver almost secular sermons. The political nature of some of the sermons is surprising, but well-managed. Narrative examples in the last sermons show Dr. Peck at the front when it was in Pennsylvania, and have him ministering to the dead and dying--sometimes while they lay on the field before the hospital detail arrived.

Crane, Jonathan T. The Fruitful Bough. The Centenary Sermon Preached Before the Newark Conference at Washington, Warren County, New Jersey, March 23, 1866. New York: John W. Oliver and Co., Steam Printers, 1866. 25 pp.

Celebrating the one-hundredth year of Methodism in the United States, this sermon is basically an historical review of Methodist progress. It attributes Methodist success to Methodist doctrine, Methodist "adherents and advocates," and Methodist organization. Dr. Crane also warns that success is fleeting and losing sight of basic Methodism in the rush to success and growth can only precipitate a retrograde movement for the church.

Peck, George. The Past and The Present. A Simi-Centennial Sermon. Preached Before the Oneida and Wyoming Conferences at Ithaca, N.Y., April 19, 1866. New York: Carlton and Porter, 1866. 43 pp.

A discourse answering the elder ministers of the church, of whom Peck was a member, concerning the decline of Methodism because of changes in methodology and practice. Changes in singing and in the system of

itinerancy, and the establishment of permanent churches are all defended as inevitable and generally for the best. The content of the sermon is liberally spiced with Peck's personal reminiscences of the old circuit-riders and of the hardships of riding circuits in frontier New York and Pennsylvania. When Peck ends by suggesting that the old days were not the best of days, he summarizes the entire message.

Peck, Jesse T. The Great Republic, from the Discovery of America to the Centennial, July 4, 1876 or; The History of the Great Republic, Considered from a Christian Viewpoint, Completely Revised. New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1876. First Edition, New York: Broughton and Wynam, 1868. 692 pp.

The descriptive title is accurate with regard to the content of the book. A large, battle by battle section on the Civil War is one striking idiosyncrasy of the work and another, to the modern reader, is the overt, unabashed avowal of manifest destiny. For Dr. Peck, everything which has occurred in the history of the nation was foreordained by the Devine Will and everything that will occur is subject to the same force. The historical record is accurate, even minute on some subjects. Dr. Peck records some things which have dropped out of modern texts but, in his skein of things, seem important. The work as history is not without the imprint of authorial prejudice, especially with regard to slavery in the account of pre-Civil War activities. Dr. Peck's Methodist predilections are unmistakable to the alert reader. He is not unnecessarily obtrusive, but his concerns are obvious.

Crane, Jonathan T. Popular Amusements. Cincinnati: Hitchcock and Walden, 1869. 209 pp.

A doctrinally founded damnation of any activity which does not produce some Christian result. Dr. Crane does not forbid recreation, but insists that the recreation be pious and seemly in manner. Baseball,

Horse-Racing, Dancing, The Theater, Cards, Chess, Billiards, and Novels and Novel-Reading all fall under Dr. Crane's disapprobation. He goes so far as to outline the difference between a bad social gathering and an acceptable one and appeals to the youth of the church and to the church itself to heed his warnings and repent.

Crane, Jonathan T. Arts of Intoxication. New York: Carlton and Lanahan, 1870. 264 pp.

In keeping with the temperance spirit of the times and of the Methodist church, Dr. Crane summarily condemns all forms of intoxication including Coca-Leaf, Thorn-Apple, Betel-Nut, Tobacco, Hemp, Opium, and Alcohol. His classical and literary sources for examples are occasionally surprising, but reflect his vast reading and his research capability. The sources also reflect the second-hand viewpoint necessary for Dr. Crane to write the book. Dr. Crane never indulged and therefore had only temperance tracts and his sources from which to draw his conclusions. His primary target is alcohol to which he devotes nine of seventeen chapters.

Crane, Jonathan T. Holiness, The Birthright of All God's Children. New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1874. 144 pp.

A controversial investigation of the Christian and Methodist doctrine of Christian perfection. Dr. Crane examines Wesley's enigmatic pronouncements on the question in his sermons and takes the church and his fellow clergymen to task for not attempting to fully understand the doctrine and for not preaching it in order for their congregations to understand it. Dr. Crane does not depart from standard readings and understandings; he only makes an effort to clarify a troublesome doctrine which is central to Christian theology.

Peck, George. The Life and Times of Rev. George Peck, D.D. Written by Himself. New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1874. 409 pp.

Dr. Peck's autobiography recounts his entire genealogy and his life from birth to superannuation with a liberal sampling of his wit, his anecdotes of himself, his family, and his associates, and with a recital of his remembrances of acceptance of Methodism, entry into the ministry, his many assignments, and his trials on the itinerant trail. Except for a pervasive mood dictated by the occupation of the subject, there is nothing didactic or religious about the work. There is little scriptural quotation and no exhortations. Dr. Peck simply tells his life's story in an engaging and very enjoyable style. The importance of Dr. Peck's ministry is evident, however, as he mentions only one of his children and speaks of his wife infrequently.

Crane, Jonathan T. Methodism and Its Methods. New York: Nelson and Phillips, 1876. 395 pp.

In a period of changes in the church, Crane reviews the development of the church and argues both sides of the major problems in the church: the itinerancy, the Episcopacy, the presiding elders, and ecclesiastical prosperity. He presents a balanced argument on both sides. Never dogmatic, Crane comes to the final conclusion that the church will prosper in spite of the bickering, the itinerancy is slowly losing its usefulness as the land fills up, the episcopacy is an irrevocable part of the church, the presiding eldership is an important link between local and national levels of the church and must be retained, and the prosperity is the largest hurdle the church must confront in order to avoid becoming indolent and satisfied with itself.

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Crane, Jonathan Townley. The Annual Sermon Before the American Sunday-School Union; Delivered in the Trinity Methodist Episcopal Church, Philadelphia, On Sunday Evening, May 2, 1858, by Rev. J.T. Crane, D.D. of the New Jersey Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. New York: American Sunday-School Union, 1860.

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Townley Crane, A.M., and Honorary Member. Philadelphia: T.K. and P.G. Collins, 1851.

Peck, George. An Answer to the Question, Why are You a Wesleyan Methodist? To Which is Added an Examination of a Tract Entitled "Tracts for the People, No. 4-- Methodism as Held by Wesley. By D.S.P." New York: Lane and Sandford, 1842.

_____. Appeal from Tradition to Scripture and Common Sense; or, an Answer to the Question, What Constitutes the Divine Rule of Faith and Practice. New York: Carlton and Phillips, 1855.

_____., ed. Christian Exertion; or, the Duty of Private Members of the Church of Christ to Labor for the Souls of Men Explained and Enforced. New York: Lane and Tippett, 1845.

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Episcopal Church, Greene St., New York. New York: Lane and Sandford, 1841.

_____. Oration Delivered on the Fourth of July, 1838. Auburn, N.Y.: Auburn Banner, 1838.

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_____. Universal Salvation Considered, and the Eternal Punishment of the Finally Impenitent Established, In a Series of Numbers Commenced with the Signature of "Observer" in "The Candid Examiner," a Periodical Work Published at Montrose, Pennsylvania by the Rev. C. R. Marsh--Editor. Wilkesbarre, Pa.: S.D. Lewis, 1827.

_____. Wyoming; Its History, Stirring Incidents and Romantic Adventures. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1858.

Peck, Jesse T. The Central Idea of Christianity. Boston: Henry V. Degen, 1858.

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_____. What Must I Do to be Saved? New York: Carlton and Porter, 1858.

APPENDIX B

A LIST OF HISTORICAL, PHILOSOPHICAL, MYTHOLOGICAL, FOLKLORE, LITERARY, ARTISTIC, AND POLITICAL WORKS AND FIGURES QUOTED OR ALLUDED TO IN THE WORKS OF GEORGE PECK, JESSE TRUESDELL PECK, JONATHAN TOWNLEY CRANE, AND STEPHEN CRANE

This list identifies the quotations or allusions in each work used in the study. The works are identified by abbreviations (see the LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, page vii), and each item of quotation is preceded by the number of the page on which it occurs. Specific works are identified, when possible, with the author of the work. In the case of some obscure and minor works and authors, no attempt has been made to memorialize them further than they were identified by Drs. Peck and Crane. The mass of quotations forbids quoting them in the appendix lest the appendix outstrip the study in length, and a similar concern forbids the recital of the amazing number of religious reference works used by the authors. Furthermore, lacking any evidence that Stephen Crane was even slightly interested in these religious works, it seems ostentatious to impose such a list on the reader. Stephen Crane's allusions are cited in full and are identified as clearly as possible. The general nature of some of the allusions, however, precludes specific identification. This listing may also appear

gratituous, but it is the first such listing of Crane's allusions and, as such, seems of sufficient merit to be included.

ORATION

6. Thomas Paine, Common Sense.

8. Richard Hooker, Ecclesiastical Polity.

16-17;
26-27. George Washington, "Valedictory Address."

25. Ceres myths.

29. Vulcan, Neptune, Argus.

NER

13. Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America.

WAYA

90. Sir Isaac Newton's philosophy.

96. David Hume, History of England.

219. Plutarch, Lives.

CE

21. John Milton; William Cowper; Robert Hall; Sir Francis Bacon, Meditationes Sacrae, De Haeresibus.

LJC

title page, n.p. Sir Francis Bacon.
preface, n.p. Appian, Dio Caesario
Cicero, Orations and Letters
Crevier / Niebuhr, Lectures on the History of Rome
Floras
Julius Caesar, Commentaries
Lucan
Merimee, Studies on Roman History
Michelet, Roman History
Plutarch, Life of Caesar
Suetonius, The Lives of the Caesars
Valerius Maximus
Vellerius Paterculus

158. S. Mullen, The Pilgrim of Beauty.

DANCING

title page, n.p. Cicero.

9. Alexander Pope, "The Universal Prayer."

12. Lady Mary Wortley Montague (travel narratives).

20. Plato, De Legibus; Theophrastus; Lucian.

21. Homer, The Odyssey.

23. Plato, De Legibus.

24. Virgil (on Bacchanalia).

25. Livy (on Bacchanalia).

27. Aristophanes (on introduction of modesty in dress to the Athenian Stage).

30. Valerius Maximus (on Roman Floralia).

34. Homer, The Iliad.

35. Lycurgus, Spartacus, Plato (on pyrrhic dance).

40. George Catlin (on Mandan dances).

49. Thevenot, Persia.

53. Strabo (on the temple of Aphrodite at Corinth).

55. Xenophon, Symposium.

64. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "The Spanish Student."

65. Cicero.

72. Joseph Addison, The Spectator.

74. Alphonse M. L. Lamartine, "Pilgrimage."

77. Venus de Medici (as art that has no soul).

TM

5. Shakespeare, Hamlet.

7. Beethoven.

8. Samuel Butler, "Hudibras."

9. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, "A Psalm of Life."
Robert Burns, "Tam O' Shanter."

10. Locke, Blackstone, Aesculapius, Thomas Jefferson.

11. Robert Pollok, John Summerfield.

12. Blaise Pascal, Otway, Gilbert Burnet, Byron, Burns, Henry Kirke White, Thomas Walsh, Pascal, Mozart, Buckminster, Hallam, Davidson sisters, Robert Emory, Merritt Caldwell.

13. George Gordon Lord Byron, "Of English Bards and Scotch Reviewers."

14. Edward Fitzgerald, The Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam.

15. Milton, Porsons, Sir Isaac Newton, Copernicus, Plato.

18. Copernicus, Davy, Newton, Euclid.

19. Sir Thomas More, Utopia.

23. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Kubla Khan."

28. Horatio Alger; John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress.

29. Plautus, Terence.

32. John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress.
Joseph Addison, The Spectator.
Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas DeQuincey.

33. Campbell, Burns, Swift, Byron, Dermody.
Charles Lamb, Essays of Elia.
Thomas Moore, "Lalla Rookh."

35. Bram Stoker, Dracula; Godwin (on political justice).

36. Percy Bysshe Shelley.

37. the Titans (mythology).

GIE

11. Cicero.
Xenophon, Anabasis.
William Paley, Moral Philosophy.
Samuel Butler, "Hudibras."

16. Shakespeare, Macbeth.

26. Byron, Jonathon Edwards, Aaron Burr.

RW

59. Jean-Baptiste Moliere; Alain Rene LeSage, Gil Blas.

71. Thomas Paine, George Washington.

145. Sir Francis Bacon, Essays: Of Revenge.

153. Shakespeare, Merchant of Venice.

156. Prometheus, Croesus.

159. Samuel Johnson, Rasselas.
Boswell, Life of Dr. Johnson.

FORMATION

17. Joseph Addison, The Spectator.

19. Benjamin Franklin, Poor Richard's Almanac.

29. Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

32. Robert Burns, "To A Louse."

50. John Locke.

52. Cicero, De Senect.

54. Milton.

60. Homer, Virgil, Milton, Cowper, Pollok.

64. Germaine Necker De Staël (on Rousseau).

71. Jonathan Swift, Digression Concerning Madness.

78. Samuel Johnson, Rasselas.

90. Eliza Cooke.

92. Robert Blair, "The Grave."
Shakespeare, Henry VIII.

95. Edward Young.

99. Mrs. Rowe.

103. Froude.

105. Edward Young.

130. Sparks, Life of Washington.

132. Shakespeare, Henry V.

143. Phillip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, Letters to His Son.

196. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Aids to Reflection.

203. Sir Thomas Browne, Religio Medici.

211. Alexander Pope, Essay on Man.

214. Bacon, Byron.

247. Voltaire, Rousseau, Henry St. John Vis. Bolingbroke, Herbert.

249. Washington Irving, "Rip Van Winkle."

262. Alfred Lord Tennyson, "Locksley Hall."

297. Joseph Addison, The Spectator.

299. Edward Young, "Night Thoughts."

BUDGET

28. Thomas Hobbes, The Leviathan; Tindal, Shaftesbury, Chubb.

29. Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire; Voltaire, Rousseau, Bolingbroke, Hume.

71. Longinus, The Moral Sublime.

133. John Milton, Paradise Lost.
John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress.

134. Pliny the Younger, Cicero.
Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.
Geoffrey Chaucer, Canterbury Tales.

135. Edmund Spenser, Faerie Queene.

18, v.2. John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress.

27, v.2. Joseph Addison, The Spectator.
William Congreve, The Way of the World.
Oliver Goldsmith, "The Deserted Village."
Thomas Gray, "Elegy in a Country Churchyard."
Samuel Johnson, Rasselas.
George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne.
Richard Steele, The Tatler.
Edward Young, "Night Thoughts."

27, v.2. Parnell, Alexander Pope, Rowe, Jonathan Swift, Thomson.

28, v.2. Henry Fielding, Joseph Andrews, Tom Jones.
Tobias Smollett, Peregrine Pickle, Roderick Random.
Laurence Sterne, Tristram Shandy.

29, v.2. Alexander Pope.

131, v.2. Geoffrey Chaucer, "Legend of Good Women."

RF

191. Basnage, History of the Jews.

278. Thomas Carlyle, Heroes; Milton.

TW

335. Felicia Dorothea Hemans, Lydia Huntley Sigourney, Sara Josepha Hale.

WYOMING

12. Chapman, History of Wyoming.
Milton, Paradise Lost.

16. Campbell, "Gertrude of Wyoming."

18. Pennsylvania Archives.

21. Stone, History of Wyoming.

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169. Henry Kirke White.

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198. Robert Blair, "The Grave."

271. Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet.

294. Percy.

296. Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet.

299. Samuel Wesley, "Battle of the Frogs and Mice."

304. John Dryden, "Of Pythagorean Philosophy, from Ovid's Metamorphoses."

308. Tobias Smollett, "Ode on Independence."

310. Edmund Spenser, Faerie Queene.

322. John Dryden, Aurengzebe.

331. Geoffrey Chaucer, Parliament of Fowles.
Alexander Pope, "Rape of the Lock."

340. Samuel Butler, "Hudibras."

347. John Ruskin.

351. John Milton, Paradise Lost.

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"The Gailliard."

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AS

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EMB

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OCTT

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124. Robert Blair, "The Grave."
Shakespeare, Henry VIII.

127. Thomas Paine, Age of Reason.

155. Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin.

168. William Cowper, "The Task."

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254. John Adams, Ezra Stiles.

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POP A

116. Edgar Allen Poe, "The Raven."

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ARTS

title page, n.p. Homer, The Odyssey.
John Milton, Paradise Lost.

15. Homer, The Odyssey.

18. Homer, The Odyssey.

53. Robert Burton, Anatomy of Melancholy.

54. Sir Walter Raleigh, Historie of the World.

57. James I, King of England, Counterblaste.

64. Charles Lamb, "Farewell to Tobacco."

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90. Shakespeare, Othello.

106. Thomas DeQuincey, Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.

114. Samuel Taylor Coleridge.

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138. Charles Lamb, Letters.

138-39. Robert Burns, "Tam O' Shanter."

139, 158, 163. Robert Burns, "Tam O'Shanter."

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HOLINESS

88. Samuel Butler, "Hudibras."

143. John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress.

LAT

10. Ira B. Peck, Peck Genealogy.

36. Daniel Defoe, Robinson Crusoe.

119-20. John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress.

126. Samuel Butler, "Hudibras."

159. John Locke.

192. Thomas Babington Baron Macaulay, History of England.

270. Homer, The Iliad.

278. Sir Walter Scott, Rob Roy.

285. Sir Walter Raleigh, History of the World.

294. Sir Walter Scott, Heart of Midlothian.

298. Voltaire, Mirabeau, Rousseau.

317. William Cullen Bryant, "Thanatopsis."

MM

155. Shakespeare, King John.

159. George Catlin.

333. John Bunyan, Pilgrim's Progress.

369. Folklore of wolf eating horse on the run and ending up in the harness in the place of the horse.

382. Folklore of the halcyon nesting on waters denoting calm weather.

All of the references of FB are repeated in the opening chapters of MM as the result of FB being reprinted in full there. There are neither secular nor religious allusions in CC or SE, and there are only allusions to religious works in PP, CIC, WMID, SDCP, LAE, SPC, USC, and DUTY.

This unscientific and subjective listing of Stephen Crane's allusions is presented without comment and with only minimal annotation. The separations into mythology and folklore, art, classical, historical and contemporary, literature, and miscellaneous are unscientific and designed only to bring a soupçon of order to chaos. Crane's allusions are usually clear, and identification is provided only when necessary or when a specific work can be identified. When a specific work and author is so identified, that identification is provided by listing the source of the allusion, the author, Crane's work, and the volume and page number on which that allusion appears in the Virginia Works.

MYTHOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

Greek and Roman Mythology: Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 22.

> "He and his team had the unalienable right to stand in the proper path of the sun chariot, and if they so minded, obstruct its mission or take a wheel off."

Jason and the Argonauts, Greek: The Red Badge of Courage, II, p. 23.

> "one by one, the regiments burst into view like armed men just born of the earth."

United States Folklore: The Third Violet, III, p. 21.

> "Once upon a time, there was a beautiful Indian maiden, of

course." (Narrative continues with the lore behind the topographical scenery.)

Greek and Roman Mythology: "War Memories," VI, p. 245.

"Mars vanished. It could not have been death. One cannot kill Mars."

Greek Mythology: "Shame," VII, p. 164.

"deep in herculean labors."

Greek, Roman, and Teutonic Mythology: "Hunting Wild Hogs," VII, p. 201.

"The latter [European boar] are prominent indeed in mythology and history."

Greek and Roman Mythology: "A Night at the Millionaire's Club," VII, p. 281.

"sang a little ode to Plutus."

United States Folklore: "Seen at Hot Springs," VIII, p. 423.

"There is naturally an Indian legend attached to these springs."

United States Folklore: "Ghosts on the Jersey Coast," "The Ghostly Sphinx of Metedeconk," VII, pp. 368-642; pp. 645-648.

The entirety of both stories is based on New Jersey folklore.

Mexican Folklore: "The Voice of the Mountain," "How the Donkey Lifted the Hills," "The Victory of the Moon," VIII, pp. 88-98.

The entirety of all three tales is based on Mexican folklore.

ART

Alphonse Marie Adolphe de Neuville, Edouard Detaille, Aime-Nicolas Morot:

No specific works cited; Active Service, III, p. 157.

"through his thought passing all the lightning in the pictures of Detaille, deNeuville, and Morot; lashed battery horses roaring over bridges; grand cuirassiers dashing headlong against stolid invincible red-faced lines of German infantry; furious and bloody grapplings in the streets of little villages of northeastern France."

Periodical Illustration, Popular Decorative Art: "The Open Boat," V, p. 83.

"They were babes of the sea, a grotesque rendering of the old babes in the wood."

Velasquez: No specific works cited; "War Memories," VI, pp. 251, 254.

Velasquez is cited several times as a source of pride to the Spanish troops during the Cuban war.

Popular, Historical painting: No specific work cited; "An Episode of War," VI, p. 91.

Probably referring to the type of work by Detaille or Deneuville cited above. "An aide galloped furiously, dragged his horse suddenly to a halt, saluted, and presented a paper. It was, for a wonder, precisely like an historical painting."

Popular Lithography: "Martyrdom of St. Stephen"; "A Little Pilgrim," VII, p. 239.

"Back of the superintendent's chair hung a lithograph of the Martyrdom of St. Stephen."

Richard Wagner: No specific work cited; "The Cry of a Huckleberry Pudding," VIII, p. 256.

"There had been an endless hymning by leaves, blades, and unseen live things, through which these men, who adored Wagner, had slept."

Pre-historic, Mediterranean Art: "In the Tenderloin: A Duel," VIII, p. 385.

Probably relating to Minoan artifacts which had been made very popular by the middle of the century. Cf. Keats' "Ode on a Grecian Urn." "She was a wondrous white figure in her vestal-like robe. She resembled the priestess in paintings of long-gone Mediterranean religions."

Popular Art: Portraits of Dante; "An Old Man Goes Wooing," VIII, p. 495.

Probably referring to the Pre-Raphaelite fad of portraying Dante Alighieri. Examples are Anselm Feuerbach's "Dante and the Noble Women of Ravenna," and J. L. Gerome's "Dante." "There was a resemblance to a stern and mournful Dante portrait."

Greek Art: "A Portrait of Smolenski," IX, p. 73.

"If Phidias could see this picture he might not altogether approve of it."

Popular, Historical Art: "Roll Call After Quatres Bras"; "Some Curious Lessons from the Transvaal," IX, p. 242.

"They would do well in a representation of the famous picture 'Roll Call After Quatres Bras.'"

CLASSICAL

Roman History: Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 40.

"The mother and son began to sway and struggle like gladiators."

Homer: The Iliad and The Odyssey; The Red Badge of Courage, II, pp. 5, 6, 29, 90.

"He had long despaired of witnessing a Greek-like struggle."
"Tales of great movements shook the land. They might not be distinctly Homeric, but there seemed to be much glory in them."
"She had disappointed him by saying nothing whatever about returning with his shield or on it."
"They mouthed rumors that had flown like birds out of the unknown."
"Rumors again flew, like birds."

Greek and Roman History: Active Service, III, pp. 113, 235.

"The bust of dead-eyed Pericles."
"The crowd murmuring like a Roman Mob in Nero's time, closed around them."

Greek and Roman History: "This Majestic Lie," "The Second Generation," "The Kicking Twelfth."

"I found him revelling in food like a fat old senator of Rome's decadence," VI, p. 221.

"When his boy returned the greeting should have something Spartan in it," VI, p. 279.

"The young general, cold-eyed, stern and grim as a Roman," VI, p. 296.

Greek and Roman History: "The Squire's Madness," "The Devil's Acre," "Seen at Hot Springs," "An Explosion of Seven Babies."

"He moved softly about the room looking at the photographs of Greek ruins which adorned the walls. He stopped finally before a large picture of the Gate of Hadrian," VIII, p. 195.

"His chosen course lay directly toward the seven babies who, in their anxiety to view the combat, had risen from the bench and were standing ready as a Roman populace to signify the little man's death by rubbing their stomachs," VIII, pp. 266-67.

"As unintelligible always as a row of Homeric experts," VIII, p. 420.

"A certain Roman class taught magnificent indifference as the first rule of life. These Cows are disciples of the Romans," VIII, p. 667.

Greek History: "A Fragment of Velestino," "Greeks Waiting at Thermopylae," "My Talk With Soldiers Six."

"It was Demosthenes returned and in command of a battery of howitzers," IX, p. 33.

"The pass had been widened and much changed since Leonidas' fight," IX, p. 58.

"Tears and flowers, added to a Spartan injunction from my mother. I believe I replied with a Spartan sentence, too," IX, p. 68.

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY

African Affairs: Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 71.

"He was in the proper mood of missionaries. He would have fraternized with obscure Hottentots."

European History: The Red Badge of Courage, II, pp. 19-20.

"Yeh talk as if yeh thought yeh was Napolyon Bonypart."

Oriental Affairs: The Third Violet, III, pp. 19, 90.

"You should have been a Chinese soldier-of-fortune."

"I have always said that you should have been a Chinese soldier of fortune," she observed musingly, "your daring ingenuity would be prized by the Chinese."

European Affairs: Active Service, III, pp. 155, 326.

"The most astute journalists in Europe have been predicting a general European smash-up every year since 1878."

"New Phalerum," "Vladivostock or Khartum."

African Affairs: Active Service, III, p. 158.

"As if he discovered that he was travelling in the same compartment with a zebu."

American History: "The Clan of No-Name," VI, p. 129.

"pouring into the field such a fire from their magazines as was hardly heard at Gettysburg."

European Affairs: "This Majestic Lie," "Wounds in the Rain," VI, pp. 217, 243.

"He would reply, as serious as a Cossack in his fatalism."
"Bismarck, or Louis XIV."
"Bishop Potter."
"Bernhardt."

European Affairs: "The Monster," VII, pp. 50, 51.

"The Turks should be pushed into the sea and drowned."

"Martha walked her kitchen with a stern brow, an invincible being like Napoleon."

"Martha made definitions, but she devoted them entirely to the Armenians . . . and the Chinese."

"Cuba . . . Armenia."

American History: "The Carriage-Lamps," VII, pp. 175, 178.

"'He think he was Jesse James, I raikon.'"
"each boy would strive to have himself called Kit Carson."

Oriental Affairs: "The Stove," VII, p. 197.

"In China, they drown girl-babies."

European History: "The Stove," VII, p. 205.

"making a piteous wail of amazed and pained pride that would have moved Peter the Great."

Oriental Affairs: "The Snake," VIII, p. 66.

"And so he cried his cry, an incredibly-swift jangle of tiny bells, as burdened with pathos as the hammering upon quaint cymbals by the Chinese at war."

French History: "A Christmas Dinner Won in Battle," VIII, p. 85.

"It resembled a parade of Parisians at the time of the first revolution."

Contemporary Amusement: "A Night at the Millionaire's Club," VIII, p. 282.

"A gallery ticket for the Kilanyi living pictures."

European History: "An Experiment in Luxury," VIII, p. 300.

"This simple antic defeating some intention of a great domestic Napoleon."

French Military: "In a Park Row Restaurant," VIII, p. 328.

"I think that if a squadron of Napoleon's dragoons charged."

American History: "In a Park Row Restaurant," VIII, p. 328.

"I am reminded of the Battle of Gettysburg."

British Military: "When a Man Falls, a Crowd Gathers," VIII, p. 346.

"He charged the crowd as if he were a squadron of Irish Lancers."

African Affairs: "In the Broadway Cable Cars," VIII, p. 374.

"The King of Abyssinia is careering past."

British Military: "In the Broadway Cable Cars," VIII, p. 324.

"No Captain in the Royal Horse Artillery."

British History: "In the Broadway Cable Cars," VIII, p. 375.

"A troop of Elizabethan courtiers in large ruffs."

American Current Events: "In the Broadway Cable Cars," VIII, p. 376.

"The interior of the car resembles the scene of the battle of Wounded Knee."

South American Affairs: "Nebraska's Bitter Fight for Life," VIII, p. 417.

"Until he resembled some kind of a purple Indian from Brazil."

Oriental Art: "A Jag of Pulque is Heavy," VIII, p. 457.

"The pulque is served in little brown earthern mugs that are shaped in miniature precisely like one of the famous jars of the Orient."

American History: "Stephen Crane in Texas," VIII, p. 376.

Recounts in some detail the history of the siege of the Alamo and its importance to the history of Texas and its importance as a national symbol.

African Affairs: "The King's Favor," VIII, pp. 570-574.

The entire narration of Mr. Thies' adventure in his audience with King Cetewayo of the Zulus requires some knowledge of and understanding of the British actions against the Zulus and of their treatment of the captured King.

British and German Foreign Affairs: "A Foreign Policy in Three Glimpses,"

"The Blood of the Martyr," VIII, pp. 574-578; 735-739.

These satires of the British incursions into the Fijis and of German imperialism in China required something more than a journalistic knowledge of the actions.

American History: "The Blue Badge of Cowardice," IX, p. 48.

"In our country the Northern army fought for two years without winning a victory."

Naval History: Frederick Marryat and James Fenimore Cooper; "Chased by a

Big 'Spanish Man-O'-War'," IX, p. 126.

"A stern chase! Shades of Marryat and Cooper!"
It should be noted, however, that both Marryat and Cooper wrote sea-novels and Crane could be alluding to those novels.

British Diplomacy: "Stephen Crane Fears No Blanco," IX, p. 189.

"One remembers the visit of the British deputation to the Court of King Menelek."

European History: "Stephen Crane Makes Observations in Cuba's Capital,"

IX, p. 199.

"It is doubtful if Bismarck's stern, quick terms to a conquered France were not more truly merciful than this buttermilk policy of ours."

British History: "Stephen Crane on Havana," IX, p. 208.

"When the Earl of Malmesbury was Minister for Foreign Affairs, he in 1852 wrote to the British Ambassador at Berlin about a certain political complication on the following terms: (quotes the dispatch in full)."

European History: "Spaniards Two," IX, p. 216.

"After Waterloo, some of Napoleon's superb gray veterans wrote pamphlets proving that the English knew nothing of the art of war."

European History: "Our Sad Need of Diplomats," IX, p. 222.

"Napoleon once settled a treaty by hurling a porcelain vase to the floor in fragments and declaring to the Austrian Ambassador that his country would look that way if he did not instantly submit to the imperial terms."

American Current Events: "In the Country of Rhymers and Writers," X, p. 103.

"the well-known language of William Tweed."

European History: "In the Country of Rhymers and Writers," X, p. 103.

"Napoleon once said."

LITERATURE

Piers Plowman: The Red Badge of Courage, II, p. 46.

"This landscape gave him assurance. A fair field, holding life."

"Bingen on Rhine," Caroline Elizabeth Sheridan Norton, Lady Maxwell:

"The Open Boat," V, p. 85.

"A Soldier of the Legion lay dying in Algiers
There was a lack of woman's nursing, there was a dearth of woman's tears;
But a comrade stood beside him, and he took that comrade's hand,
And he said: 'I never more shall see my own, my native land.'"

Richard III, Shakespeare: "Flanagan and His Short Filibustering Adventure," V, p. 97.

"A winter of discontent had come to the stoke-room."

Contemporary American Popular Fiction: "The Blue Hotel," V, p. 152.

"it seems to me this man has been reading dime-novels."

"The Deserted Village," Oliver Goldsmith: "The Blue Hotel," V, p. 165.

"He might have been in a deserted village. We picture the world as thick with conquering and elate humanity, but here, with the bugles of the tempest pealing, it was hard to imagine a peopled earth."

Fair Maid of Perth, Sir Walter Scott: "Moonlight on the Snow," V, p. 181.

"He sat down to read, his hand falling familiarly upon an old copy of Scott's 'Fair Maid of Perth'."

Contemporary American Popular Fiction: "Three Miraculous Soldiers," VI, p. 33.

"In all the stories she had read when at boarding school in Pennsylvania, the girl characters, confronted with such difficulties, invariably did hairbreadth things. True, they were usually bent upon rescuing and recovering their lovers, and neither the calm man in grey nor any of the three in the feed box was lover of hers, but then a real heroine would not pause over this minor question. Plainly a heroine would take measures to rescue the four men. If she did not at least make the attempt, she would be false to those carefully constructed ideals which were the accumulation of years of dreaming."

The Leatherstocking Tales, James Fenimore Cooper: "Wounds in the Rain," VI, p. 238.

"They were, in fact, of the stuff of Fenimore Cooper's Indians, only they made no preposterous orations."

British Literature: "Wounds in the Rain," VI, p. 243.

"Jane Austen."

Children's Tales and Fables: "Wounds in the Rain," VI, p. 243.

"Henri Georges Stephane Adolphe Opper de Blowitz."

Spanish Literature: "War Memories," VI, p. 251.

"Cervantes." Crane makes several mentions of the author of Don Quixote as a source of pride for the Spanish troops of the Cuban war.

Contemporary American Theater: "The Monster," VI, p. 13.

"A company of strollers was to play East Lynne."

"The Charge of the Light Brigade," "The May Queen," Alfred Lord Tennyson:

"Making An Orator," VII, pp. 158-59, 161.

"He was passive to the teacher while she drove into his mind the incomprehensible lines of 'The Charge of the Light Brigade': Half a league, half a league, / Half a league onward--." "She would be the Queen of May."

British Parliamentary Proceedings: "Making An Orator," VII, p. 160.

Cites a speech concerning a rebuttal to a speech questioning the loyalty of Irish troops.

Contemporary American Popular Fiction: "The Carriage Lamps," VII, p. 179.

"On the cover of a dime novel . . . The Red Captain: A Tale of the Pirates of the Spanish Main."

Contemporary American Theater: "The Fight," VII, p. 223.

"The Relative merits of two Uncle Tom's Cabin Companies."

Contemporary American Popular Fiction: "The City Urchin," VII, p. 229.

"A certain half-dime blood-and thunder pamphlet had a great vogue." Crane quotes the plot of this publication at length.

Oriental Folklore: "The Snake," VIII, p. 66.

"Once there was a man and a snake who were friends, and at the end, the man lay dead with the marks of the snake's caress just over his East Indian heart."

The Last of the Mohicans, James Fenimore Cooper: "The Last of the Mohicans," VIII, p. 200.

Crane quotes the lament for Uncas from Cooper's novel.

American Literature and History: "A Night at the Millionaire's Club," VIII, p. 281.

"Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, George Washington, and Alexander Hamilton."

Trilby, George Louis Pamella Busson DeMaurier: "The Art Students' League Building," VIII, p. 134. (Published serially in Harper's, 1894.)

"The Parisian custom, exhaustively recounted in 'Trilby.'"

Ralph Waldo Emerson: "The Art Students' League Building," VIII, p. 315.

Crane fabricates a "line from Emerson" for this story.

"Congratulate yourselves if you have done something strange and extravagant and broken the monotony of a decorous age."

Epitaph, Shakespeare: "Stephen Crane in Texas," VIII, p. 470.

"A little guide-book published here contains one of these 'Good friend, forbear--' orations."

Macbeth, Shakespeare: "Ballydehob," VIII, p. 488.

"These old women are as mystic as the swinging, chanting witches on a dark stage when the thunder-drum rolls and the lightning flashes by schedule."

Under Two Flags, Ouida: "Ouida's Masterpiece," VIII, p. 677.

Crane reviews this work and praises the sentiment of the novel. He admits to having read others of Ouida's works in his youth.

The Compleat Angler, Izaak Walton: "The Royal Irish Constabulary," VIII, p. 491.

"Isaac Walton is the father of the Royal Irish Constabulary."

Homer and Virgil: "In the Country of Rhymers and Writers," X, p. 103.

"The Works of Homer," "The Immortal Virgil."

British Literature: "In the Country of Rhymers and Writers," X, p. 103.

"Lord Byron."

Robinson Crusoe, Daniel Defoe: "Dan Emmonds," X, p. 113.

"The worst beating at the hands of the sea that has happened since Robinson Crusoe's ships used to sail up and down mountains."

MISCELLANEOUS

Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 9.

"Two little boys fighting in the modes of four thousand years ago."

The Red Badge of Courage, II, p. 5.

"He had regarded battles as crimson blotches on the pages of

the past. He had put them as things of the bygone with his thought-images of heavy crowns and high castles. There was a portion of the world's history which he had regarded as a time of wars, but it, he thought, had been long gone over the horizon and had disappeared forever."

"The Open Boat," V, p. 72.

"The man in the stern slid his hand along the thwart and moved with care, as if he were of Sèvres."

"In the Broadway Cable Cars," VIII, p. 376.

"To import from ages past a corps of knights in full armor."

"Greeks Waiting at Thermopylae," IX, p. 58.

"They don't know . . . a truce from a trilobite."

APPENDIX C

LIST OF BIBLICAL QUOTATIONS IN THE WORKS OF GEORGE PECK, JESSE TRUESDELL PECK, JONATHAN CRANE, AND STEPHEN CRANE

This list of Biblical quotations is identified according to the works the quotations appear in and according to frequency of appearance. Multiple quotations of a verse are noted by parenthetical expression after the citation. The works are identified by abbreviation. See the LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS, page vii. Stephen Crane's Biblical allusions and quotations are quoted in full, this never having been done before, and are preceded by the Biblical source, work of reference, and volume and page number of the Virginia Works in which the allusion or quotation can be found, i.e., Matt. 5.26; "One Dash-Horses"; V, p. 13.

JONATHAN TOWNLEY CRANE

RW

Genesis
1.1
1.5
2.3
3.6
4.10
6.5
7.4
8.10
9.6
27.28
29.28
50.10

Exodus
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3.14
3.15
15.19
19.18 (4)
19.19
20.2 (5)
20.3
20.4
20.4-5
20.7 (2)
20.7-11
20.8
20.10 (5)
20.12 (8)
20.13 (3)
20.15 (2)
20.16 (2)
20.17 (2)
20.19
20.25
22.2 (2)
23.19
25.13

12.15
12.19 (3)
12.19-20
12.20
12.21
13.1
13.9 (2)
14.23
1 Corinthians
9.9 (2)
11.7 (2)
15.49
2 Corinthians
7.1
Galatians
5.14 (2)
Ephesians
2.2-3
2.12
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Biblical Allusions of Stephen Crane

Psalms 148.9, Job 38.7, Isaiah 42.11; Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 26.

"where, as God says, the little hills sing together in the morning."

Proverbs 22.16, 22-23; Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 37.

"She rejoiced at the way in which the poor and virtuous eventually overcame the wealthy and wicked."

Matthew 7.9, Luke 11.11; Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 43.

"'May Gawd curse Her forever,' she shrieked. 'May she eat nothin' but stones and d' dirt in d' street. May she sleep in d' gutter an' never see see d' sunshine again.'"

Luke 15.11-32; Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 55.

"'Well, I didn' mean none of dis prod'gal bus'ness anyway,' explained Jimmie. 'It wa'nt no prod'gal dauter, yeh damn fool,' said the mother, 'It was a prod'gal son, anyhow.'"

Job 1.21; Maggie, A Girl of the Streets, I, p. 76.

"'D'Lord gives and d'Lord takes away.'"

Job 40.21-22; George's Mother, I, p. 129.

"they were fitted for a tree-shaded land, where everything was peace."

Matthew 18.18; George's Mother, I, p. 129.

"Now that five of them had congregated it gave them happiness to speak their most inmost thought without fear of being misunderstood."

Psalms 102.11; Isaiah 40.6-8, 24; George's Mother, I, p. 155.

"As she stared into space her son saw her regarding there the powers and influences that she had held in her younger life. She was in some way acknowledging to fate that she was now but withered grass, with no power but the power to feel the winds."

Ezekiel 38.22, Luke 9.17, 17.29, Revelation 19.20, 20.10, 21.8; The Red Badge of Courage, II, p. 9.

"hell's fire an' brimstone."

Isaiah 2.4, Joel 3.10, Micah 4.3; The Red Badge of Courage, II, p. 135.

"He came from hot-ploughshares to prospects of clover tranquility and it was as if hot ploughshares were not."

Genesis 32.23-28; Active Service, III, p. 165.

"Coleman struggled with his dragoman as Jacob struggled with the angel."

Amos 5.7, Revelation 8.11; Active Service, III, p. 239.

"but it was now all turned to wormwood."

Matthew 13.46; The Third Violet, III, p. 16.

"a priceless pearl of art and philosophy."

Exodus 14.21; The O'Ruddy, IV, p. 61.

"'would you be leaving the gentleman as dry as the bottom of Moses' feet when he crossed the Red Sea?'"

Genesis 19.26; The O'Ruddy, IV, p. 140.

"a vivid statue of Lot's wife turning to look back."

2 Kings 19; "A Man and Some Others," V, p. 57.

"came down like the Assyrians on the front door of that saloon." (Perhaps via Byron's "The Destruction of Sennacherib.)

Matthew 5.45; "Flanagan and His Short Filibustering Adventure," V, p. 93.

"whereas twenty cow-eyed villains who accept unrighteous and far-compelling kicks as they do the rain of heaven may halo the ultimate history of an expedition."

Matthew 13.46; "War Memories," VI, p. 252.

"a filled canteen was a pearl of price."

Matthew 2.1; "The Shrapnel of Their Friends," VI, p. 303.

"Instantly the wise men--and there were more than three--came out of the east and announced that they had divined the whole

plan. . . . The wise men again came out of the east and told what was inside the Richie head, but even the wise men wondered what was inside the Richie head."

John 12; "The Monster," VII, p. 62, et passim.

"John Twelve, the wholesale grocer."

Proverbs 25, 23-24; "The Angel Child," VII, p. 137.

"But the rains came and the winds blew in the most biblical way when a certain fact came to light."

Matthew 6.28; "The Knife," VII, p. 187.

"Whenever impending starvation forced him to cease temporarily from being a lily of the field."

Matthew 7.12; "A Little Pilgrim," VII, p. 235.

"in a glorious application of the Golden Rule."

Jeremiah 7.4; "A Little Pilgrim," VII, p. 237.

"Trust ye not in lying words, saying the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord are these."

Job 38; "The Voice of the Mountain," VIII, p. 90.

"Yet it is true that we did not see the King of Everything fashioning the stars nor did we know the sun in his childhood."

Deuteronomy 8.3; "The Judgement of the Sage," VIII, p. 98.

"I give you the loaf, because of God's word."
"Take this loaf; I give it because you are hungry."

Deuteronomy 5.16; "Ol' Bennett and the Indians," VIII, p. 149.

"I should study my bibles more closely and there read that my own devious ways should be mended before I sought to judge the enlightened acts of my elders."

Psalms 42.1; "The Last of the Mohicans," VIII, p. 200.

"as the hart panteth for the waterbrooks."

Genesis 7.4, 12; "The Black Dog," VIII, p. 253.

"It will rain for forty days and forty nights."

Psalms 11.5, 34.19; "A Tent in Agony," VIII, p. 253.

"The hand of heaven sometimes falls heavily upon the righteous. The bear gained."

Genesis 8.8-12; "In the Tenderloin," VIII, p. 395.

"The dove that brought the olive branch to Noah was one of their number."

Isaiah 66.15, Hosea 8.7, Amos 1.14; "Yen-Hock Bill and His Sweetheart,"

VIII, p. 398.

"She came to a time of fire and sword, whirlwind and sudden death."

Joshua 6.20, ff.; "Stephen Crane in Texas," VIII, p. 469.

"around Jericho, the city would not have fallen, it would have exploded."

Esther 4; "A Fishing Village," VIII, p. 493.

"groaned as Mordecai groaned for his people."

Ecclesiastes 1.2; "Avon's School by the Sea," VIII, p. 503.

"Vanity, Vanity, all is vanity."

1 Corinthians 13.1; "The Seaside Hotel Hop," VIII, p. 527.

"is likely to consist of a wailing cornet and a piano, which resemble a Christian who hath not charity, in that it long ago became as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal."

Luke 2.14; "Throngs at Asbury Park," VIII, p. 538.

"Peace on Earth; good-will toward men."

1 Corinthians 9.22; "High Tides at Ocean Grove," VIII, p. 539.

"On the Pauline plan of being all things to all men (and some boys). . . ."

Daniel 6.16; "The King's Favor," VIII, p. 573.

"Daniel mingling in a social way with the denizens of the den."

Exodus 20.5; The Black Riders, X, p. 8.

"And the sins of the fathers shall be visited upon the heads of the children, even unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me."

VITA

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Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: "A METHODIST CLERGYMAN--OF THE OLD AMBLING-NAG, SADDLE-BAG, EXHORTING KIND": STEPHEN CRANE AND HIS METHODIST HERITAGE

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