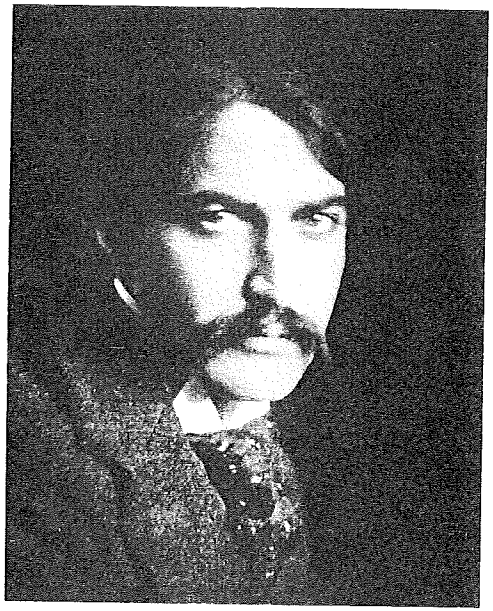
Stephen Crane Studies

Volume 3, Number 1
Spring 1994



Stephen Crane Society

Stephen Crane Studies

Department of English
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

Stephen Crane Studies is a journal of notes, queries, and reviews pertaining to the study of Stephen Crane; it is published semiannually in the Spring and Fall by the Department of English, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. Manuscripts should follow *The MLA Style Manual.* Annual subscriptions are $10 for individuals and $20 for institutions; foreign subscriptions are $12 and $22. Checks should be made payable to the "Stephen Crane Society." Address all correspondence regarding subscriptions and manuscript submission to:

Paul Sorrentino, Editor
Stephen Crane Studies
Department of English
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061-0112
Telephone: 703-231-6501
Fax: 703-231-5692
Email: psorrent@vt.edu

ISSN 1061-6136

Table of Contents

The Veracious Narrative of "An Experiment in Misery": Crane's Park Row and Bowery

Scott Penney
University of Georgia

As with many of Stephen Crane's New York pieces, "An Experiment in Misery" first appeared in a newspaper, the *New York Press* (see figure 1). After the story was first published in April 22, 1894, Crane edited it for a short-story collection by omitting its explanatory frame at beginning and end, a frame explaining the circumstances of Willie's experiment, the purpose of which was to witness the life of the Bowery from a tramp's eyes. Not only does the story become more terse in the absence of this frame, the editorial omission makes the character's predicament more psychologically tenuous, as if there were a genuine possibility he might descend into the ranks of the destitute. How much the protagonist, Willie, fears being engulfed by that world can be seen when he asks a tramp who has become his guide to share breakfast with him after they have spent a night together in a Bowery flophouse (291). By removing the original frame of the story, Crane removes its safety props and highlights the anxiety of the protagonist.

The original version emphasizes a theme of dispassionate investigation and its pitfalls. One question it asks of Willie, the investigator, is whether he can remain untouched by the suffering that he chooses to observe. After observing two tramps with a friend, Willie decides to enter their world for a day — yet by entering that world he becomes, in his words, "forever altered." This alteration suggests that Willie was naïve to assume he could remain emotionally detached from the reality he has witnessed. Crane never discloses, in either version, whether he is a reporter. Yet the earlier version emphasizes the theme of reportage. Park Row's eminence in the 1890s as Newspaper Row links Willie more closely to the newspaper profession than the final version with its emphasis on the character's alienation from all that he sees.

M. Thomas Inge has written extensively on popular culture and recently edited *Dark Laughter: Satiric Art of Oliver W. Harrington from the Walter O. Evans Collection of African-American Art* (1993).

George Monteiro's recent publications are *Robert Frost & the New England Renaissance* and *The Correspondence of Henry James and Henry Adams*. He has in progress a study of Stephen Crane and his culture and a compilation of contemporary reviews of Crane's work for Cambridge University Press.

Scott Penney is currently a doctoral candidate specializing in early American literature and British Romanticism. His poems have been published in *Shenandoah* and various small-press publications; this, however, is his first publication in a scholarly journal.

Paul Sorrentino is currently working on a biography of Crane.

Donald Vanouse has published articles on Crane and on topics in literature and psychology. Currently, he is preparing a facsimile edition of *The Black Riders* (1895) and *War Is Kind* (1899).

Stanley Wertheim is co-author, with Paul Sorrentino, of *The Crane Log: A Documentary Life of Stephen Crane.*

Announcement

The restored text of Dreiser's *Jennie Gerhardt* is available now in a classroom paperback. The Penguin Twentieth-Century Classics series has reprinted the text of the 1992 Pennsylvania edition of the novel, together with its historical notes and an introduction by James L. W. West III (ISBN 0-14-018710-3; $11.95). The University of Pennsylvania Press will also bring out, in the spring of 1995, a collection of critical, historical, and contextual writings on the new *Jennie Gerhardt*. The volume will be entitled *Dreiser's* Jennie Gerhardt: *New Essays on the Restored Text* and will contain some twenty contributions by such scholars as Robert Elias, Richard Lingeman, Philip Gerber, Valerie Ross, Lawrence Hussman, Christopher Wilson, Susan Albertine, Daniel Borus, Clare Eby, Yoshinobu Hakutani, and James L. W. West III, who is editing the collection. The book is designed for scholars, teachers, and students of the restored text.

Crane wrote "An Experiment in Misery" and its companion piece, "An Experiment in Luxury," for two readerships, one of the burgeoning newspaper press and the other of fiction. The newspaper readership might be relieved by the introduction and ending Crane supplied in the *New York Press* version. Readers of fiction, on the other hand, might feel cheated by such a frame's artificiality, similar to the good endings tacked onto fairy tales. While the former audience would expect the literal, the latter would be more concerned with the figurative descent into the city's lower depths, a descent Maurice Bassan has characterized as "geographically circular" (129). Such a circularity, Bassan asserts, is crucial to the narrative structure of the story, to its depiction of "the rhythm of monotony, of hopeless repetition" so emblematic of the tramp's life (130).

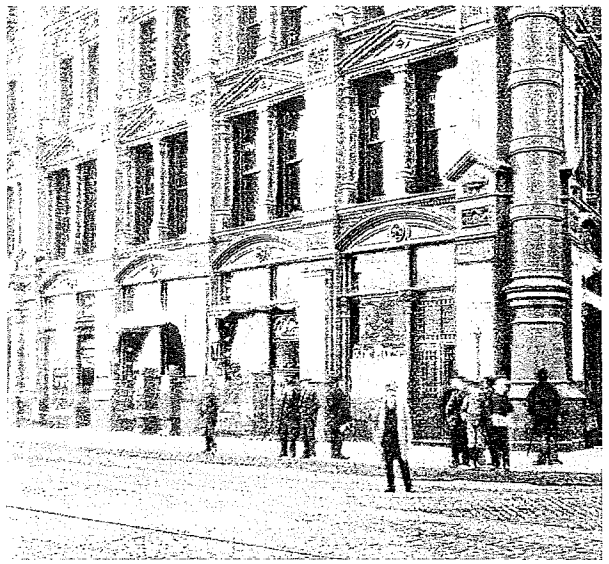


Figure 1. Crane's employer and publisher of "An Experiment in Misery," *New York Press*, (King).

When Crane edited the story for the literary market, he did not need to abandon realism to keep the geographic circularity so essential to it. So Willie still departs from City Hall Park along the eastern border of Park Row, confronts a tramp he dubs the assassin outside a tavern north of Chatham Square, and after sleeping in an undesignated seven-cent Bowery flophouse resembling those depicted by Jacob Riis in *How the Other Half Lives*, returns to City Hall Park along the identical route of Park Row. He returns to the park profoundly affected by what he has witnessed: the circuitous quality of the journey is broken by his vision of the city that terminates the story—"He confessed himself an outcast" (293). At the conclusion, Willie sees City Hall Park by day's prosaic light:

> And in the background a multitude of buildings, of pitiless hues and sternly high, were to him emblematic of a nation forcing its regal head into the clouds, throwing no downward glances; in the sublimity of its aspirations ignoring the wretches who may flounder at its feet. (293)

In Crane's time, the City Hall Park that serves as point of departure for the story was considered the uncontested communications center of Manhattan. In addition to housing Tammany Hall, bordered by the Wall Street district and the Brooklyn Bridge on the east (see figure 2), the park housed Newspaper Row, home of nine daily newspapers, including the *World*, the *Sun*, the *Journal*, the *Herald*, and Crane's employer of 1894, the *New York Press* (King 317). Newspaper Row extended from Park Row along City Hall Park's eastern border (see figure 3). The offices of the *New York Press*, on the corner of Beekman and Park Row, were at the very southern end of this row. Willie's departure from this area in a northerly direction suggests that he is an investigative reporter who has quite possibly departed from his place of employment. A newspaper audience at the time could not have missed such a geographical reference. As James Nagel has pointed out, Willie is "engaged in some kind . . . of scientific, detached investigation of a social condition" (169). However,

Tsunematsu, Masao. "Materials for Stephen Crane Studies: Collections of His Letters." *The Rising Generation* 135.12 (1990): 590-92. Tsunematsu discusses the value of *The Correspondence of Stephen Crane, 2 vols.* eds. Stanley Wertheim and Paul Sorrentino (New York: Columbia UP, 1988). This collection, he states, includes a great deal of new material, corrects errors in earlier works, and provides scholars with a clearer glimpse of Crane's character.

Wertheim, Stanley. "Who Was 'Amy Leslie.'" *Stephen Crane Studies* 2.2 (1993): 29-36. Wertheim discusses documents concerning Amy Leslie's date of birth and her relationship to the world of prostitution in New York City. These issues are central to the complex problem of Crane's emotional involvement with Amy Leslie.

manuscript was censored by Ripley Hitchcock. Pizer further states that the 1975 University of Virginia edition, edited by Fredson Bowers, imposes an inappropriate "consistency and correctness" upon Crane's language.

_____. "[Crane and *The Red Badge of Courage*: A Guide to Criticism]." The Red Badge of Courage: *An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism. 3rd Ed.* Ed. Donald Pizer. New York: Norton, 1994. 120-45. Pizer reprints and updates (through 1992) his comments on editions, general estimates of Crane, and criticism of *The Red Badge* first published in *Fifteen American Authors Before 1900: Bibliographic Essays in Research and Criticism.* Ed. Earl N. Harbert and Robert A. Rees. Rev ed. Madison: U of Wisconsin P, 1984.

Quinn, Brian T. "A Contrastive Look at Stephen Crane's Naturalism as Depicted in 'The Open Boat' and 'The Blue Hotel.'" Studies *in English Language and Literature* 42 (1992): 45-63. Quinn's argument concerning the issue of brotherhood in the two stories is blurred by his uncertainty in using terms such as "naturalism," "irony," and "cynicism."

Robertson, Michael. "Stephen Crane." *A Sourcebook of American Literary Journalism: Representative Writers in an Emerging Genre.* Ed. Thomas B. Connery. New York: Greenwood, 1992. 69-79. Robertson notes that Crane's journalism focuses upon issues of perception and consciousness rather than on the factual and moralistic concerns of conventional reporting. He finds "War Memories" to be "Crane's most complex and sophisticated nonfiction narrative."

Slotkin, Alan Robert. *The Language of Stephen Crane's Bowery Tales.* New York: Garland, 1993. xxi+150. After a brief discussion of dialect in the Sullivan County tales, Slotkin identifies the phonemes, morphemes and syntactic characteristics of Bowery dialects found in *Maggie* and *George's Mother.* He concludes that *Maggie* uses a "saturative" technique to emphasize the power of the environment and that *George's Mother* is more subtle in its attention to idiolectal forms.

despite the fact that Crane does not attribute to Willie a profession, the very nature of the experiment he performs, and its point of origin in City Hall Park, suggests he is a reporter, albeit a rather amateurish one.

Willie actually moves north or "uptown" when he departs from the Bowery, yet, is described as "shuffling off down Park Row" as he nears Chatham Square (284), and as Bassan has noted, Willie's story is no doubt a figurative descent. Crane depicts Park Row in rather general terms: the reader learns enough of it to become acquainted with its affluence. Park Row terminates in Bowery Street and Chatham Square, where the protagonist notes "aimless men strewn in front of saloons and lodging houses, standing sadly, patiently, reminding one vaguely of the attitudes

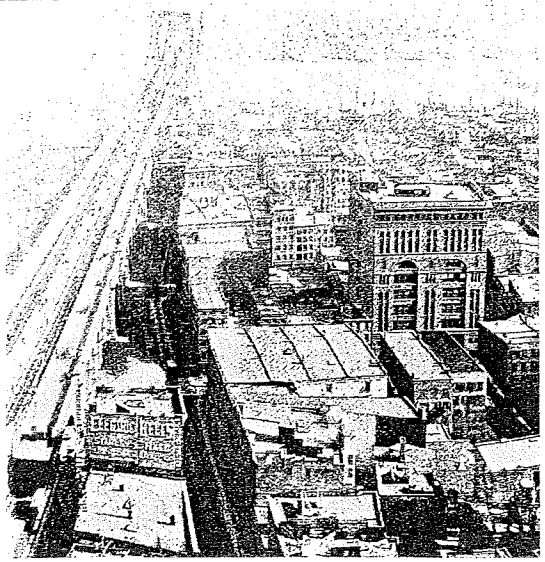


Figure 2. Brooklyn Bridge and environs as seen from the dome of the *World* building (King).

of chickens in a storm" (284). The further east of Park Row or the further north from Brooklyn Bridge one went, the poorer the neighborhood became. In 1890, Jacob Riis described a similar contrast between affluence and poverty somewhat east of Willie, north of the Brooklyn Bridge overpass, along Cherry Street, a Bowery street running parallel to the East River:

> Leaving the Elevated Railroad where it dives under the Brooklyn Bridge at Franklin Square, scarce a dozen steps will take us where we wish to go. With its rush and roar echoing yet in our ears, we have turned the corner from prosperity to poverty (28-29).

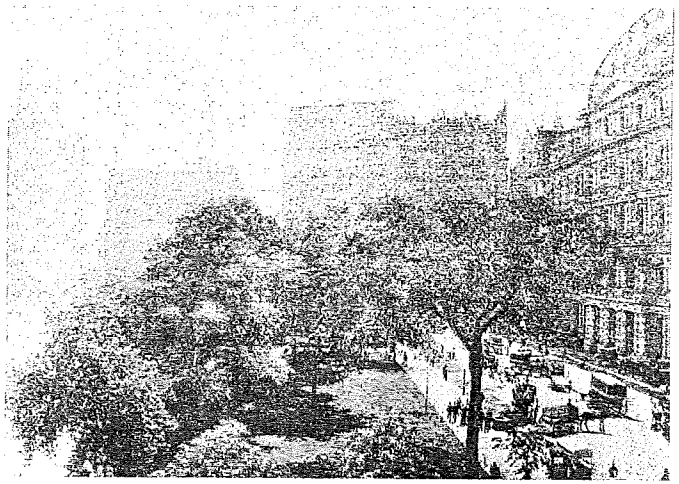


Figure 3. Southeastern border of City Hall Park with Newspaper Row in the background, the *World* building to the far left (King).

Gandal, Keith. "Stephen Crane's *Maggie* and the Modern Soul." *ELH* 60 (1993): 759-85. Gandal argues that Crane's *Maggie* marks a major shift in the depiction of the structure of the self. Novelists and psychologists had identified struggles of "character" and "conscience" in defining identity, but Crane shows his slum characters asserting—or failing to assert—"self esteem" as a mode of freedom in their environment.

Gullason, Thomas A. "Stephen Crane at Claverack College: A New Reading." *Courier* 27.2 (1992): 33-46. Drawing upon a newspaper article written by Crane's brother Wilbur and student writings in the Claverack *Vidette*, Gullason argues that Crane left Pennington Seminary to protest an unjust "hazing" charge, and that at Claverack, he experienced "a lively social, literary, cultural, and intellectual environment" as well as achieving the military rank of adjutant.

Hayes, Kevin J. "Crane Reviews in the *Manchester Guardian*." *Stephen Crane Studies* 2 (1993): 38-49. Hayes adds ten new items from the *Guardian* to the two items noted by R. W. Stallman in *Stephen Crane: A Critical Bibliography* (1972). Also, he reports that Stallman "cites a *Red Badge* review on 29 January 1896," but Hayes found no reference to Crane on that date.

Novotney, George T. "Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*." *Explicator* 50 (1992): 225-27. Novotney notes that Nell's use of the compound epithet "cloud compelling" to describe Pete echoes Pope's uses of the term in *The Dunciad* and in his translation of the *Iliad*. The epithet may simply exemplify Nell's irony, or it may reflect Crane's appreciation of Jove and Juno's discussion of the fate of Sarpedon.

Pizer, Donald. "A Note on the Text." The Red Badge of Courage: *An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds and Sources, Criticism. 3rd ed.* Ed. Donald Pizer. New York: Norton, 1994. ix-x. Pizer defines his editorial principles for presenting the 1895 Appleton text "conservatively emended" with uncancelled manuscript passages in an appendix. He rejects the 1982 Binder edition, saying that there is "no external evidence" that Crane's

Stephen Crane: An Annotated Bibliography of Articles and Book Chapters Through 1993

Donald Vanouse
SUNY Oswego

This bibliography updates Patrick K. Dooley's *Stephen Crane: An Annotated Bibliography of Secondary Scholarship* (New York: G.K. Hall, 1992) and supplements the listings published in *Stephen Crane Studies* 2 (1993). The editors of *Studies* invite scholars to send offprints or photocopies of articles to Paul Sorrentino for inclusion in future bibliographies.

Brown, Stephen M. "Sometimes Less is Less: Recent Books by Michael Fried." *Papers on Language and Literature* 27 (1991): 399-412. Brown discusses three books by Michael Fried (*Absorption and Theatricality, Courbet's Realism*, and *Realism, Writing, and Disfiguration: On Thomas Eakins and Stephen Crane*). He argues that Fried seeks to "turn us away from the outside world to regard . . . The problems of making and viewing art." In Fried's responses to Crane, Brown finds that "signifiers slip from their signifieds" in "reductionist" readings.

Clendenning, John. "*Maggie* and New Directions: The American Literature Conference, 1993." *Stephen Crane Studies* 2 (1993): 50-52. In summarizing the "Centennial Reconsiderations" of *Maggie*, Clendenning notes that James B. Colvert emphasized the need to acknowledge "disjunctions as well as unities" in Crane's novel. Sergio Perosa discussed the theme of "death by water" and the absence of Maggie from "crucial scenes" of the novel. Donald Pizer identified techniques by which Crane achieves a "unique compression and compactness." Presentations for the second panel, "New Directions in Stephen Crane Studies," included Michael Robertson's discussion of the conflict between "mass media culture" and "academic elitist culture" in *Active Service*, Mary Neff Shaw's examination of "the dialogical" in Crane's religious poems, and Stanley Wertheim's new evidence concerning Amy Leslie [see below].

Willie crosses into the inferno of the story when he walks above City Hall Park, crossing the line between affluence and poverty where Park Row terminates in Chatham Square. Upon getting Willie to Chatham Street and into a saloon, once Willie has aligned himself "with the flowing life of the great street" (284) and arrived in the Bowery proper, Crane no longer refers to street names. After meeting his Virgil, the assassin, whose eyes "peered with a guilty slant," Willie lends him three cents to purchase a night's board at a seven-cent lodging house (287).

Riis's investigative study of Bowery life verifies the price of the lodging house as typical, but for 1894 its features are unlikely. Riis's seven-cent flophouses do not feature the lockers Crane compares to tombstones (287). Crane's residents are in fact rather privileged to sleep on individual leather cots as late as 1894, during the depression. In contrast, Riis documents only canvas strips hung across rows of beams that creaked to the weight of full occupancy (87). Although Crane got right the price of the flophouse where the assassin and Willie sleep, whether he visited the lodgings themselves cannot be answered satisfactorily. In any event, photographic veracity would have contributed little to the dramatic truth of the scene.

In the *New York Press* version, Willie confesses to his friend that upon returning from his Bowery experiment, his point of view "has undergone a considerable alteration" (863). Had this passage remained in the story, it would have served as a redundant afterword to the reflection of the final two paragraphs. He departs from the park by night, returning by day. Upon his return, as he witnesses pedestrians in the City Hall area, those "blend of black figures, changing yet frieze-like" (293), he experiences what might be termed an epiphany of alienation: "Social position, comfort, the pleasures of living, were unconquerable kingdoms. He felt a sudden awe" (293). This awe and attendant estrangement render the newspaper version's original conclusion verbose and anticlimactic.

The "multitude of buildings," "emblematic of a nation forcing its regal head to the clouds" (293), are buildings of the newspaper industry. The buildings that housed nine city dailies,

as well as Crane's employer, dominated Willie's Park Row skyline. Tallest of the buildings would have been that occupied by the *World* (see figure 4), from the top of which dome one could view the panorama of lower Manhattan and Brooklyn; south of the *World*, where Park Row and Beekman Street intersect on City Hall Park's southeastern border, stood the *New York Press* offices, Crane's employer in 1894 (King 361). Willie's epiphany would have occurred as he looked at these buildings. Since the earlier version of the story connects Willie with some sort of investigative project, Willie's epiphany serves to criticize the newspaper industry, an industry as assertive as the investment banks to their south. While it is apt to say that "the gigantic buildings around [Willie] become expressions of a nation that cares only for the

Figure 4. City Hall with Joseph Pulitzer's *New York World* building towering behind it (King).

Work Cited

The Correspondence of Stephen Crane. Ed. Stanley Wertheim and Paul Sorrentino. 2 vols. New York: Columbia UP, 1988.

> Man is puny and insignificant. His moral imperatives are of no concern to a universe conceived of as a field of force. We live in this disjunction of our ethics from the physical Creation. This dilemma, limned in full by the naturalistic novelists, is the peculiar anguish of the twentieth century. What ultimately gives meaning to our lives, for Crane, is our responsibility to one another, a theme more fully developed in his fiction.

Kazin observed that Crane

> threw himself into every possible experience of his time. . . . If one thing characterizes Stephen Crane it's the fact that he understood that in literature, even more than anywhere else, what counts is the actual experience of life and not whatever people say about it.

Crane's "passion for the actual fires of life," Kazin empathized, was the source of his inspiration and the wellspring for the verisimilitude of his fiction.

The service ended with a procession to the Poets' Corner, where the Dean of the Cathedral conducted the induction ceremony as the choir sang a hymn of praise:

> For all the poets who have wrought
> Through music, words, and vision
> To tell the beauty of God's thought
> By art's sublime precision,
> Who bring our highest dreams to shape
> And help the soul in her escape,
> To God be thanks and glory.

successful" (Nagel 173), that these buildings are largely occupied by newspapers suggests a more specific target for Willie's concluding reflections.

But dependent upon newspapers for his livelihood, Crane could hardly afford to be other than muted in his remarks about them. He had written for the *Tribune* in 1892, was working for the *Press* in 1893-94, and would later work for the *Journal*. When Crane transformed newspaper piece into story, he removed "An Experiment in Misery" from the context of investigative reporting by omitting the original beginning and end. He also broadened the context of the story when he discarded suggestions alluding to the newspaper business. Nonetheless, the newspaper business still lifts its regal head into the clouds in the protagonist's mind: Willie could not help notice the tower of the *New York World* as it dominated the 1894 skyline.

Crane gently nips the hand that feeds him through the device of Willie's daylight meditation on Manhattan's indifference as he gazes at Newspaper Row. He mutely criticizes the industry that employs him, simultaneously questioning the journalist's enterprise, in particular his ability to remain aloof and unmoved by what he sees. Those anthropomorphized towers, especially the regally ornate building of the *World*, Crane contrasts with the awed but emotionally sunken Willie, the experimenter-investigator who sits abjectly at their feet, having experienced the downward pull of a grim social reality he had sought to investigate with a dispassionate and superior attitude.

Works Cited

Bassan, Maurice. "The Design of Stephen Crane's Bowery 'Experiment.'" *Studies in Short Fiction* 1 (1964): 129-32.

Campbell, Helen. *Darkness and Daylight, or, Lights and Shadows of New York Life*. Hartford, Conn.: Worthington, 1892.

Crane, Stephen. *Tales, Sketches and Reports*. Vol. 8, *The Works of Stephen Crane*. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Charlottesville: UP of Virginia, 1973.

King, Moses. *King's Photographic Views of New York.* Boston: Moses King, 1895. (For photographs.)
Nagel, James. "Structure and Theme in Crane's 'An Experiment in Misery.'" *Studies in Short Fiction* 10 (1973): 169-74.
Riis, Jacob. *How the Other Half Lives: Studies Among the Tenements of New York.* New York: Scribners, 1890.

Stephen Crane Memorialized

Stanley Wertheim
William Paterson College

On the evening of 17 October 1993, at the Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in New York City, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Stephen Crane were inducted into the American Poets' Corner of the Cathedral in a solemn and deeply moving vespers service. By candlelight in a darkened cathedral, symbolizing God's act of creation over the dark waters of chaos, Crane took his place among twenty other luminaries of American literature including Melville, Hawthorne, Whitman, and Henry James. The tablet honoring Crane is placed between those of Emerson and Mark Twain and directly below that of Emily Dickinson. On it is engraved Crane's name, years of birth and death, and an excerpt from a letter he wrote to J. Herbert Welch in the spring of 1896 at the height of his fame: "The nearer a writer gets to life the greater he becomes as an artist" (*Correspondence* No. 241). Poets Dana Gioia and Richard Wilbur read selections from the poems of Longfellow. In the gloomy, candlelit atmosphere of the massive cathedral, Mr. Gioia's rendition of "The Jewish Cemetery at Newport" was especially affecting. Daniel Hoffman and Alfred Kazin read from the works of Crane. Mr. Hoffman read "A man said to the universe," "A newspaper is a collection of half injustices," the conclusion of Chapter nine of *The Red Badge of Courage*, and "Do not weep, maiden, for war is kind." Mr. Kazin read the seventh and final section of "The Open Boat."

In his prefatory remarks, Hoffman commented that those who recall the brief iconoclastic fables of *The Black Riders* "may well wonder would Crane be best pleased to be celebrated in this august cathedral, amidst such ritual." He noted that such questions arise from a partial view of Crane's sensibility. In a deeper sense, Crane's poems express an internalized faith that needs no churches but finds expression in the theme of mortal interdependence:

of "Killing His Bear" in that journal.

Finally, it should be pointed out that Pratt also anticipates Stallman in linking up "Killing His Bear" to *The Red Badge of Courage*. Stallman writes: "Crane's portrayal of the little man's terror in 'Killing His Bear' prepared for the 'psychological portrayal of fear' in Henry Fleming . . ." (*Sullivan County* 20). Pratt writes:

> [this] solitary hunter . . . is the same 'little man' through whose brain one knows the other Sullivan Country experiences. And, in a sense, he is also Henry Fleming, facing unseen enemies at Chancellorsville, and gripping desperately his cold rifle, as he senses the approaching struggle, whose event will bring either the humiliation of flight, or the exultation of conquest. Will the Red Badge be sardonically worn? (165)

Works Cited

Crane, Stephen. "Killing His Bear." *American Prefaces* 5 (1940): 152-53.

Gullason, Thomas. "A Stephen Crane Find: Nine Newspaper Sketches." *Southern Humanities Review* 2 (1968): 1-37.

Pratt, Lyndon. "Newly Found Stories by Stephen Crane." *American Prefaces* 1 (1936): 164-65.

[Schramm, Wilbur?]. "Five Years of American Prefaces." *American Prefaces* 5 (1940): 131.

Schoberlin, Melvin, ed. *Sullivan Country Sketches*. Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1949.

Stallman, Robert W. "Stephen Crane and Cooper's Uncas." *American Literature* 39 (1967): 393-96.

_____, ed. *Stephen Crane: Sullivan Country Tales and Sketches*. Ames: Iowa State UP, 1968.

Sam Watkins: Another Source for Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage*

M. Thomas Inge
Randolph-Macon College

One of the most intriguing questions about Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* (1895) remains how he was able to achieve so much detailed and psychologically sound information about the Civil War through reading and research. The only accounts he admitted to having read were portions of compilations from the pages of *Century Magazine* edited by Robert Underwood Johnson and Clarence Clough Buell, *Battles and Leaders of the Civil War* (1887-1888), although he returned the volumes to their owner with a note saying that "the book won't tell me what I want to know. . ." (Stallman 168). Other works mentioned as possible sources include Wilbur F. Hinman's *Corporal Sy Klegg and His "Pard"* (1887), Joseph Kirkland's *The Captain of Company K* (1891), Walt Whitman's *Specimen Days & Collect* (1882), *Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant* (1885-1886), George F. Williams' "Lights and Shadows of Army Life" (1884), and John William De Forest's *Miss Ravenel's Conversion from Secession to Loyalty* (1867) (Webster, Solomon, Stallman 168-88, Aaron 211-15, Knapp 61). I wish to add one more title to this remarkably short list of sources and analogues, Sam R. Watkins' *"Co. Aytch," Maury Grays, First Tennessee Regiment; or, A Side Show of the Big Show* (1882).

Samuel R. Watkins (1839-1901) was born near Columbia, Tennessee, educated at Jackson College in Columbia, and at the age of twenty-one joined the Confederate Army, and was assigned to Company H of the First Regiment Tennessee Volunteers. He first saw action with the Army of Northwestern Virginia under General Robert E. Lee and would fight through some of the most difficult battles of the Civil War: Shiloh, Corinth, Perryville, Murfreesboro, Shelbyville, Chattanooga, Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, the Hundred Days Battles, Atlanta, Jonesboro, Franklin, and Nashville. He was wounded three times, and out of the 120

men who enlisted in Company H in 1861, Watkins was one of only seven survivors.

Following the war, he married, fathered eight children, ran a farm and a general store. In 1881 he began to write a series of articles for newspapers and magazines about his Civil War experiences, possessed by a strong desire to tell about the war from the ground up, as it appeared to a young soldier caught up in one of the worst conflicts in human history, what he characterized as an "unholy and uncalled for war" (Watkins 94). Watkins confessed:

> I know nothing of history. See the histories for grand movements and military maneuvers. I can only tell of what I saw and how I felt. . . .I only write of the under *strata* of history; in other words, the *privates' history*—as I saw things then, and remember them now. (201-09)

It is, indeed, not the history but the candor, the quotability, and the engaging personality of Sam Watkins that has kept *"Co. Aytch"* in print for over a century. First published serially in his hometown newspaper, the *Columbia Herald*, beginning May 13, 1881, the chapters were promptly collected and issued by the Cumberland Presbyterian Publishing House of Nashville in an edition of 2,000 in both hard and paper backs. The reputation of the book remained so strong that in 1900 another edition of 2,000 copies was issued by the *Chattanooga Times* newspaper with a few minor changes. Modern interest led in 1952 to the publication of a facsimile reprint of the 1900 edition by the McCowatt-Mercer Press of Jackson, Tennessee, with an introduction by Bell Irvin Wiley, an index, and illustrations drawn from photographic archives. A popular paperback edition appeared in 1962 in the Collier Books Civil War Classics series with an introduction by Roy P. Basler, and in 1982, a facsimile reprint of the first 1882 edition was issued by the Morningside Bookshop in Dayton, Ohio, with an introduction by Lee A. Wallace, Jr., an index, and further contemporary photographs.

Justice to Lyndon Pratt: Crane in *American Prefaces*

George Monteiro
Brown University
Paul Sorrentino
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

To get the bibliographical record straight, we should like to call attention principally to two items in *American Prefaces*, a journal published at the University of Iowa from 1935 to 1943, that have so far escaped the notice of most, if not all, students of Crane's work:

> (1) Pratt, Lyndon. "Newly Found Stories by Stephen Crane." *American Prefaces* 1 (1936): 164–65.
> (2) Crane, Stephen. "Killing His Bear." *American Prefaces* 5 (1940): 152-53.

In "Newly Found Stories" Pratt identifies for the first time several of Crane's so-called Sullivan County sketches, mainly from the pages of the *New York Tribune* in 1892. By title he mentions (besides "Killing His Bear") "The Last of the Mohicans" and "The Way in Sullivan Country; A Study in the Evolution of the Hunting Yarn"—two stories that both R. W. Stallman ("Cooper's Uncas"; *Sullivan County* vii-viii) and Gullason later identified, seemingly for the first time, as Crane's works.

To Pratt goes the credit, not only of being the first scholar to attribute "Killing His Bear" (*New York Tribune*, July 31, 1892) to Crane, but of being the first to reprint the sketch since its original publication in the *Tribune*. In fact, besides printing it in 1936, *American Prefaces* selected "Killing His Bear," "that thrilling discovery" (Schramm), for its "Fifth Anniversary Number" in 1948 (Crane 152-53). Melvin Schoberlin included "Killing His Bear" in his 1949 collection of Sullivan County sketches but does not mention Pratt's *American Prefaces* piece or either of the reprintings

Library of America, 1984.
Knapp, Bettina. *Stephen Crane.* New York: Ungar, 1987.
Solomon, Eric. "Another Analogue for *The Red Badge of Courage.*" *Nineteenth-Century Fiction* 13 (1958): 63-67.
Stallman, R. W. *Stephen Crane: A Biography.* New York: Braziller, 1968.
Watkins, Sam R. *"Co. Aytch," Maury Grays, First Tennessee Regiment; or, A Side Show of the Big Show.* Nashville: Cumberland, 1882.
Webster, H. T. "William F. Hinman's *Corporal Sy Klegg* and Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage.*" *American Literature* 11 (1939): 285-93.

Sam Watkins' *"Co. Aytch"* is a personal memoir that readers have acclaimed as a lively and witty commentary on the Civil War and its significance from the point of view of an ordinary Southern footsoldier. Watkins had a way with words, and he invested his memoirs with a high degree of narrative skill. His uses of irony, humor, metaphor, imagery, fable, and description, at their best, compare favorably with such authors as John William De Forest, Ambrose Bierce, and Stephen Crane who wrote fiction about the war.

Both *"Co. Aytch"* and *The Red Badge of Courage* are structured as initiation stories in which a young man moves from innocence and romanticism to pragmatism and maturity through the terrifying experience of warfare. Watkins lacks the technical control and poetic conciseness of Crane in handling his material, but there are several explicit parallels between the two books that suggest *"Co. Aytch"* may have been among those read by the young Crane born six years after the war was over.

Like the fictional Henry Fleming in Crane's novel, the as yet uninitiated Sam Watkins also feels "envy" for those who have already encountered "war, the blood-swollen god" (Crane 103) and wear their wounds proudly:

> Ah, how we envied those that were wounded. We thought at that time that we would have given a thousand dollars to have been in the battle, and to have had our arm shot off, so we could have returned home with an empty sleeve. (Watkins 16)

Crane offers the same idea more succinctly:

> At times he regarded the wounded soldiers in an envious way. He conceived persons with torn bodies to be peculiarly happy. He wished that he, too, had a wound, a red badge of courage. (Crane 133)

Except for the final felicitous image, which gave the book its title, Watkins' style is as simple and direct as that of Crane.

One of the most often discussed and explicated images in Crane's novel is the final line of chapter nine, "The red sun was pasted in the sky like a wafer" (Crane 137). Watkins also had his own red sun as a silent witness to the ravages of man: "The sun was poised above us, a great red ball, sinking slowly in the west, yet the scene of battle and carnage continued" (Watkins 54).

The most frequently discussed character in *The Red Badge* is the tall soldier, Jim Conklin, who lurches through chapter nine in a coma-like state, incoherently conversing with Henry, finally to collapse into a death tremor. Crane reports, "As the flap of the blue jacket fell away from the body, he could see that the side looked as if it had been chewed by wolves" (Crane 137). Watkins has a very similar experience with an equally spectral figure with a comparable wound:

> As I went back to the field hospital, I overtook another man walking along. I do not know to what regiment he belonged, but I remember of first noticing that his left arm was entirely gone. His face was as white as a sheet. The breast and the sleeve of his coat had been torn away, and I could see the frazzled end of his shirt sleeve, which appeared to be sucked into the wound. I looked at it pretty close, and I said "Great God!" for I could see his heart throb, and the respiration of his lungs[a]. I was filled with wonder and horror at the sight. He was walking along, when all at once he dropped down and died without a struggle or a groan. (Watkins 68-69)

Finally, Watkins frequently reflects on the tranquility of nature that serves as a reminder of continuity in the scheme of things and the futile efforts of men to wreak havoc on the world, as in his final paragraph:

> The tale is told. The world moves on, the sun shines as brightly as before, the flowers bloom as beautifully, the birds sing their carols as sweetly, the trees nod and bow their leafy tops as if slumbering in the breeze . . . and the scene melts and gradually disappears forever. (Watkins 236)

Crane is a bit more explicit:

> As he gazed around him, the youth felt a flash of astonishment at the blue, pure sky and the sun gleamings on the trees and fields. It was surprising that Nature had gone tranquilly on with her golden process in the midst of so much devilment. (Crane 116)

And like Watkins, Crane's final sentence rests with Nature: "Over the river a golden ray of sun came through the hosts of leaden rain clouds" (Crane 212).

These and other more general parallels do indicate that Crane may have known *"Co. Aytch,"* but in any case it is clearly an analogue. I do not mean to suggest, however, that Watkins is Crane's equal as a writer. Crane's controlled and poetically vivid prose style is one of the treasures of American literature. It is interesting to note in these examples, however, as in others, that both resorted to similar ideas and images, and Watkins has his own power deriving from an ability to describe his actual experiences without the adornment and romantic distancing characteristic of most commentators on the Civil War. Both give us an unadorned realism in prose, but one writes autobiography and the other fiction. We remain amazed, nevertheless, at Crane's ability to capture so much of the common experience of a war he recreated entirely in his own imagination.

Works Cited

Aaron, Daniel. *The Unwritten War: American Writers and the Civil War.* New York: Knopf, 1973.

Crane, Stephen. *Prose and Poetry.* Ed. J. C. Levenson. New York: