Stephen Crane Society

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Badges of Courage and Cowardice: A Source for Crane's Title
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Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage* is surely among the most familiar and most frequently quoted titles in all of American literature. Like very few others—Twain and Warner's *The Gilded Age* comes to mind, Heller's *Catch-22*, London's *Call of the Wild*—it has achieved an idiomatic status; people quote it, as they might say "to the manner born" or "that is the question," without knowing the source. In recent compendia of familiar quotations, such as Justin Kaplan's revision of Bartlett's, "the red badge of courage" stands alone as itself a "familiar quotation" (824). No cross-reference is given for an earlier variant or source of the phrase. Crane's critics and biographers have given scant attention to the literary provenance or inspiration for the title.[1] I want to suggest such a source here.

The passage I have in mind is from Shakespeare, the ultimate source of so many of the ready-made phrases in our language. It occurs in *Henry 4, Part Two*, Act IV, scene 3. Sir John Falstaff is, as he does so often, extolling the virtues of wine. Abstemious young men "are generally fools and cowards," the boastful soldier maintains, "which some of us should be too, but for inflammation." His analysis continues. "A good sherris-sack [a good dry sherry, that is] hath a twofold operation in it." The first property, Falstaff explains, is that it makes a man witty. He goes on:

> The second property of your excellent sherris is the warming of the blood, which, before cold and settled, left the liver white and pale, which is the *badge of pusillanimity and cowardice*. But the sherris warms it and makes it course from the inwards to the parts extremes. It illumineth the face, which as a beacon gives warning to all the rest of this little kingdom, man, to arm, and then the vital commoners and inland petty spirits muster me all to their captain, the heart, who, great and puffed up with this retinue, cloth any deed of *courage*, and this valor comes of sherris. So that skill in the weapon is nothing without sack . . . . Herof comes it that Prince Harry is valiant . . . [my italics]

And so on.

I will not insist on the two soldiers named Henry here—Henry Fleming and Prince Hal (three counting Henry Hotspur, four counting Prince Hal's father, Henry IV himself). Nor will I harp on the fact that

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and conventionality." For each of the three poets, "dactylic rhythm tends to connote the mysterious, feminine, and irrational, paralleling the ambivalence towards dactylic rhythms evident in nineteenth-century writings on prosody." Eliot quickly reclaimed traditional meters after coming "to terms with the negative inherited connotations" associated with them.

Fleming, David William. "Restricted Space: The Urban Tenement and the American Literary Imagination." **DAI** 56.02A (1994): 0550. Indiana University. Fleming studies the tenement housing of the last three decades of the nineteenth century as it affected various Americans in their thinking and writing. He examines reformers such as Jacob Riis who "wanted to capture its reality and expose it to middle-class America in hopes that such depiction of the tenement's squalor would encourage public support for radical reform." He also examines the writings of various fictionists who looked at the tenement in an aesthetic way. Fleming states that "only Stephen Crane and Abraham Cahan completely succeeded in revealing how the urban tenement had been transformed from a social fact to a cultural artifact."

Freiman, Mark John. "The World View of American Literary Naturalism in the Fiction of Stephen Crane." **DAI** 38.09A (1978): 5476. Stanford University. Freiman explores Crane's naturalism through its social function. He offers Crane's naturalism as a means of dealing with late nineteenth-century social problems—specifically the changing economic system's incompatibility with the prevalent ideological system. He posits that "naturalism affirms the inevitability of a disjunction between objective causation and subjective perception." By examining *Maggie, The Red Badge*, "The Open Boat," and later short stories, Freiman finds "it is possible to abstract a code of ethics based on an altruism and human solidarity which is demonstrably consistent with a naturalistic epistemology." He concludes with a discussion on the limitations of naturalism as seen through Crane's works.

Fudge, Dennis Keith. "Questioning Truth: War and the Art of Writing in Ambrose Bierce, Stephen Crane, Michael Herr, and Tim O'Brien." **DAI** 57.07A (1996): 3019. University of Mississippi. Fudge examines writings by Ambrose Bierce, Stephen Crane, Michael Herr, and Tim O'Brien to study how depictions of truth have changed between the Civil War and the Vietnam War.

Shakespeare too is writing about a civil war or that Crane is clearly familiar, in his portrayal of Private Wilson, with the convention of the "braggart soldier," a convention so robustly embodied by Falstaff. Nor will I insist on Falstaff's own flight from battle in *Part One*, his pretense of being dead, and his famous claim, so similar to Henry Fleming's self-justifications, that "The better part of valor is discretion" (5.4.118). But three other facts seem to suggest that this may be a plausible source for Crane's title.

First, like many of Falstaff's eruptive speeches the passage is well known, even if the play—at least relative to the far more popular *Part One*—is less so. The passage is included in some familiar quotations volumes, including early editions of the Oxford collection of familiar quotations.[2] (It may also have been current, as George Monteiro recently suggested to me, within the Temperance circles Crane's mother moved in.)[3]

Second, Crane's father, the Reverend Jonathan Townley Crane, had a well-known interest in liquor and its effects. His *Arts of Intoxication*, despite the "how-to" suggestion of its title, is a passionate attack on the evils of alcohol. Stephen Crane shared his father's interest in alcohol, of course, though from the perspective of an avid consumer. The Shakespeare passage is in line with the clubman buffoonery about wine, women, and song that Crane imbibed during his New York years. In such circles, Falstaff was regarded as one of the patron saints of witty drinkers.[4] If Crane is invoking Falstaff in his title, however obliquely, it gives his already ironic title a further twist.

Third, while Falstaff makes no mention of the color of the badges of cowardice and courage—a damning omission surely, if this is assumed to be Crane's source—it is interesting to note that Crane himself made the following comment in a letter from Galveston (March 8, 1895) to his editor Ripley Hitchcock, who had evidently complained about the title: "As to the name I am unable to see what to do with it unless the word 'Red' is cut out perhaps. That would shorten it" (*Correspondence* 100). I take it Crane was joking, but the fact that the adjective was, in his mind, detachable, gives further credence to his familiarity with the Falstaff speech. (Personally, I would trace the "red" to *The Scarlet Letter*, which Richard Brodhead convincingly links to Fleming's fear that his shame is somehow legible [206-7]. Have others heard the "scar" in the "scarlet letter"?)

Of course, there are reasons to hesitate about this attribution of Crane's title to *Henry IV*. Crane's reading was famously spotty. John Berryman noted, "It is not easy to think of another important

prose-writer or poet so ignorant of traditional English as Stephen Crane was and remained," though Berryman carefully excepted from the realm of Crane's ignorance "the unavoidable master Shakespeare" (24). While there was a copy of Shakespeare's works in Brede Place, Crane's writing is not heavily laced with allusions to Shakespeare. It is also quite possible that there is a little-known intermediary source, based on the Shakespeare passage and familiar to Crane. If that is the case, we can still regard the Falstaff speech as the ultimate source.

And finally, does it really matter where Crane "got" the phrase, since he himself found the turn and the setting—the masterly mix of doubtful heroism and heroic doubt—to make it memorable? Perhaps not. But there is something satisfying to me at least in tracing Crane's phrase to this Shakespearean nexus of liquor and wit and war and great writing—the same web from which Crane's great novel emerged.

Notes

[1] Paul Sorrentino has pointed out some precursors to me. In 1950, Abraham Feldman suggested that the title was based on Shakespeare's phrase "murder's crimson badge" in *Henry VI, Part 3*. Perhaps it should not be surprising to find other critics looking at Shakespeare for possible sources. Such formulations as "the x of y," where x is a concrete noun and y is an abstraction, are quite common in Shakespeare; "the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" is merely among the most familiar of them. A decade later, though, Cecil D. Eby, Jr. questioned Feldman's attribution: "Knowing something of Crane's impatient and often unsympathetic reading tastes, we find it difficult to imagine his laboring through the unwieldly [sic] drama [i.e., *Henry VI*], though it is not impossible that he struck upon the line by accident" (205). Eby counters with another source, claiming that the phrase "red badge of courage" would have reminded any Union veteran who had served in Virginia of "the New Jersey general, Philip Kearny, and his famous 'red badge' (also called 'red diamond' and 'red patch') division of the Third Corps, Army of the Potomac" (205). Though Eby quotes Kearny's biographer, who called the patch "a badge of honor," his other documentation suggests that "patch" was the more common term in Kearny's division. Later in the same article Eby comments that "Ironically, Henry's wound, inflicted by a fellow Union soldier, is a private badge of cowardice which passes as a public badge of courage"—exactly Falstaff's opposition. See Eby.

[2] See, for example, *The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations* 380.

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ous representations of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century crowd. She points out the crowd's "twin pathologies: excessive unruliness (moral and political disorder) and excessive stagnation (mass culture's suppression of individuality)." Her study also examines writers who reject "their era's cults of both social-scientific determinism and possessive individualism." Crane is included among these writers.

Evans, Gareth Wynn. "Classes of Sentiment: The Politics of American Sentimental Fiction, 1789-1930." DAI 57.07A (1996): 3018. University of Wisconsin, Milwaukee. Evans examines a large group of sentimental writings, written between the 1780s and the 1930s, to focus on "sentimental writing as the site of a protracted and multi-faceted cultural struggle over the relationship of sentiment, sympathy and virtue to class." She also explores how this convention is often used in conjunction with "literary methods more commonly associated with realism, naturalism, and modernism."

Feast, James Edwin. "The Figure of the Crowd in Late Nineteenth Century America and its Appearance in Stephen Crane's Writings and Pulitzer's *New York World*." DAI 52.12A (1991): 4327. New York University. Feast discusses the changing perspective of the crowd using works by Crane. He posits that "Crane did not find anything but traditional crowd figures in his forbearers," but used this knowledge to represent the traditional as well as a "new crowd figure, a crowd that creates its own leaders." Examining *The Red Badge of Courage* alone, he notes that Crane depicts the traditional crowd, "that of the traditional army unit," and the new crowd, "with Henry Fleming as its internally generated leader." Feast uses Pulitzer's *New York World* as a foundation for the new crowd figure which Crane adopted.

Finch, Annie Ridley Crane. "The Metrical Code and the Fate of Iambic Pentameter in American Poetry." DAI 52.01A (1991): 0161. Stanford University. Finch examines the evolution of free verse by discussing how traditional meters had been applied by Dickinson, Whitman, Crane, and Eliot. For Dickinson, "iambic pentameter acts as a sign for traditional poetic authority, patriarchal structures such as Christianity, and social conventions of fame and power." Whitman's use of iambic pentameter works in a similar manner to Dickinson's, although the meter for him "is a source of poetic authority much more than it is for Dickinson." In Crane's time, iambic pentameter "signifies weakness

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the America of the 1890s in his tale of the Civil War." She also shows that Crane's depiction of "crimes against individuality, freedom, and humanity" in the war relate to the industrial workers' lives in the 1890s.

Dowling, Harry Filmore, Jr. "Stephen Crane's Authentic Vision." **DAI** 38.09A (1978): 5474. Lehigh University. Dowling describes Crane's "authentic vision of life" as "one of a dual or dipolar reality": on one hand there is the objective insignificance of man in the universe; on the other hand there is the subjective human necessity for self-concern and self-image. The dipolarity arises from "humans' subjective exaggerations of self-importance" which are "foolish from the viewpoint of objective reality." Dowling asserts that the tension created by this dipolar reality makes Crane's works successful, while his works without this tension do not succeed nearly so well.

Dula, Michael Williams. "Laughter in the Dark: The Jester God in American Literature." **DAI** 48.10A (1986): 2627. University of Virginia. Dula discusses the counter-myth of the Jester God who "plays cruel and incomprehensible jokes on mankind," a counter-myth which responds to the lingering Puritan myth. This counter-myth appears in the writings of Melville, Dickinson, Twain, Crane, Bierce, Cabell, and Faulkner. Dula distinguishes the fine line between a universe of chaos and that ruled by a Jester God: "It is better to be the butt of a Joke than to be a meaningless part of an absurd cosmos." He also states that the writers who posit this attitude eventually "enter their own projections as God, Jester, and Author of all they survey."

Dunne, Joseph Edward. "Narrative Control in the Fiction of Stephen Crane." **DAI** 39.03A (1978): 1564. University of Notre Dame. Dunne explores Crane's tendency to present conflicting ideas which often affect coherence; he observes that the narrator's views often clash with the characters' views, or the characters' views often clash with one another. For instance, "[Crane's] ironic, judgmental treatment of Mrs. Johnson, Jimmie, and Pete militates against his theme of environmental influence," and Henry Fleming uses delusions to cope with reality since reason and strength are limited; yet "the narrator frequently seems to deride the characters for their inherent limitations."

Esteve, Mary Gabrielle. "Representations of Crowds and Anonymity in Late-Nineteenth and Early-Twentieth Century Urban America." **DAI** 56.12A (1995): 4771. University of Washington. Esteve examines vari-

[3] Conversation with George Monteiro, December 1995.
[4] *Quotations for Occasions* (New York: Century, 1897), compiled for wits and toastmasters by Katharine B. Wood, is laced with quotations from *Henry IV, Part 2,* including a passage in praise of sherry ("With excellent endeavour of drinking good and good store of fertile sherris.") from later in the same Falstaff speech from which I derive Crane's title (98).

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The Aesthetics of Stephen Crane's
The Black Riders and Other Lines
A Bibliographical Study
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The Black Riders and Other Lines is, perhaps, the third most collected and collectible book by Stephen Crane (after *The Red Badge of Courage* and *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*.) It is, after the ill-fated self-published *Maggie*, the one book upon which Crane lavished the most attention [1] vis-a-vis production details. As such, it illustrates how truly innovative and "ahead of his time" Crane really was. In context, it should be remembered that in the publishing world in 1895, like the art world, the design world and the literary world, the industrial revolution would dramatically alter the course of civilization with the turn of the century. Design was in the throes of a conflict between late Victorian excesses (the typical end-of-phase evolution of a particular movement where that movement reaches its dead end and can evolve no further without eschewing its fundamental precepts) and the Arts and Crafts movement. Victoriana was ornate, elaborate, ornamental and complex; Arts and Crafts was unadorned, minimalist, functional and simple. Anyone familiar with the furniture of the period can see this conflict by comparing the Victorian works of the Belters with the Arts and Crafts works of the Stickleys. Somewhere in between was Art Nouveau (more generally called "the Aesthetic Movement"), an evanescent, natural, organic school of design that lasted a very short time and with very limited success, but which evolved into Art Deco and Modernism, the dominant thematic movement of the Twentieth Century.

Books in the 1890s were generally elaborate affairs: thick boards (i.e., covers, called boards because the first books were literally bound in wooden boards) with elaborate pictorial designs and floral motifs, every sort of swirl, cartouche and typeface; gothic, Romanesque, and Latinate, all juxtaposed and intertwined. These were and are quite beautiful and contrast quite sharply with the covers of books produced from the 1920s on. Dust wrappers were newly conceived, simple in design, meant to be discarded after purchase, and they appeared on very few books, as far as we know. (Bibliographically speaking, the study and veneration of dust wrappers are a very modern concept, and there are literally no extant scholarly studies from the nineteenth century dealing with the topic. In fact, the main source of dust-wrap-

can feminist perspective. She explains that this perspective deals with the stereotyping and oppression of women and with the patriarchal biases which deny women their own experiences. After examining *Tess of the d'Urbervilles, Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*, and *A Doll House*, and noting Hardy's and Crane's sympathetic treatment of their heroines, she concludes that only Ibsen "subscribes to a perspective acceptable to American feminists."

Connery, Thomas Bernard. "Fusing Fictional Technique and Journalistic Fact: Literary Journalism in the 1890s Newspaper." **DAI** 45.07A (1984): 2100. Brown University. Connery follows the merging of realist fiction with journalism in the 1890s. He notes that journalists attempted to make their "objective" reporting more interesting by using the creative elements of fictional writing; however, these literary journalists "do not create an illusion of reality, but describe reality, using an imagination restricted by the facts." He concludes that literary journalism should be "judged by its own standards and not those of objective reporting or by fiction's standards of creative invention." Connery studies the literary journalism of Julian Ralph, Richard Harding Davis, Hutchins Hapgood, and Stephen Crane.

Conyers, Lisa Ann. "National Images in the Short Story: Four Motif Studies in Time." **DAI** 51.02A (1989): 0499. University of California, Riverside. Conyers looks at four contemporary literatures with "regard to their historical and literary concept of time." She notes that each motif which she explores appears regularly in short fiction for each national group which she examines, leading "us to a partial understanding of a generation and the story of a people." She concludes that "self-reflective and self-defined, these examples from moments in history rely on a set of national particulars which are somewhat like scenes from civil registers . . . , yet which are common to all persons through poetical elaboration expressing truth and sympathy." Crane is included among an enormous list of writers.

Disney, Abigail Edna. "Shadows of Doubt: The American Historical War Novels of James Fenimore Cooper, Stephen Crane and Thomas Pynchon." **DAI** 55.03A (1994): 0565. Columbia University. Disney examines the distinction between war novels written by war veterans and those written as imaginative reconstructions. She observes that the non-veterans "examine the relationship of a war to its own aftermath": "The third chapter will show how Crane embeds a critique of

Irish-Catholic neighborhood in Chicago during the nineteen teens, twenties, and thirties." Further, he finds that the trilogy catalogs American males as "nihilist toughs, deluded businessmen, corrupt politicians, ineffective familymen, and downfallen workers."

Chamberlain, Donald James. "War is Kind." DAI 49.11A (1988): 3194. University of Texas at Austin. Chamberlain's musical composition consists of four movements for baritone solo, SATB chorus, and orchestra. The lyrics come from six of Crane's poems: "Black riders," "There was a crimson clash of war" and "Tell brave deeds of war" from *The Black Riders*; "War is Kind," and "Fast rode the knight" from *War is Kind*; and "The Battle Hymn" from the uncollected poems. Chamberlain says: "The poems are arranged to create a sense of narration or progression of idea which comments on the motives and ramifications of war."

Cho, Chulwon. "The Literary Tensions in Stephen Crane's Novels and Short Stories." DAI 55.04A (1994): 0962. New York University. Cho disregards the common theory that Crane's works are deterministic in order to pursue Crane's use of literary tensions; specifically he examines how these tensions arise from Crane's acceptance of a pessimistic world vision and his striving for the ideal of human kindness. Although finding that "Crane was unable to achieve a sense of 'Human Kindness' in his short literary career," Cho concludes that Crane was "a true craftsman, worthy of critical attention."

Church, Joseph Edward. "Images of Authority in Stephen Crane." DAI 47.08A (1986): 3037. University of California, Irvine. Church explores authority within Crane's *Maggie*, "The Blue Hotel," and *The Red Badge of Courage*, claiming that Crane himself performs a "proto-modernist critique of identity" to "overcome his own marginal status as an author." He proposes that the characters' (Maggie, the Swede, Henry) authority comes not from the individuality so prized in this era, but rather from the use of codes of the dominant culture, thus establishing "only an imaginary autonomy, an authority that endangers themselves and those around them even as it serves the larger culture."

Clerkin, Mary Jane. "A Feminist Interpretation of Three Nineteenth Century Literary Heroines: Hardy's Tess, Crane's Maggie and Ibsen's Nora." DAI 53.06A (1992): 1900. St. John's University. Clerkin examines several classic works by Hardy, Crane, and Ibsen from an Ameri-

per research, such as it is, is often based on the random discovery of old dust wrappers serendipitously appearing on the market, usually at an estate or yard sale.) On the other hand, William Morris's Kelmscott Press in the United Kingdom and Elbert Hubbard of the Roycrofters in the United States were producing Arts and Crafts style bindings, albeit on an extremely limited scale, that incorporated their beliefs that simplicity and craftsmanship were next to Godliness, their nearest historical antecedent, therefore, being the Middle Ages. Christopher Benfey in *The Double Life of Stephen Crane* makes the common but incorrect assumption that Arts and Crafts principles axiomatically required a "rough-hewn aesthetic . . . with the mark of the hand still on it" (137-38). On the contrary, these principles required that the essence of the created object be manifested by revealing the nature and manner of construction, not, in any way, the particular human that did the work. For example, in a house designed by the important Arts and Crafts firm of the Greene Brothers, a large central staircase is entirely constructed of oak without a single nail or peg, it being held together by a series of visibly interlocking planks and wedges. The form and function of the stairway, thus, are as if it were a naturally grown structure, with no sign of tool or hand. Perhaps more familiar is the work of Frank Lloyd Wright, known, among other things, for the organic relationship between the building and its site, as if, in many cases, the structure had sprung from the earth of its own accord. Anyone familiar with Wright's work and his early dogged allegiance to Arts and Crafts principles would know that there is nothing "rough-hewn" about either. Symbolically, the Aesthetes sought to reveal the structure of the universe created by the *unseen* hand of God. Nothing, in short, could be less "hand-hewn." The Greene stairway, like Roycroft chairs and a Wright house, appears to be created by a natural process of growth, not by a carpenter wielding an adz. There can be little doubt that this was the aesthetic inspiration that went into the creation of the book called *The Black Riders and Other Lines* and is the fundamental precept behind its striking design and execution. It is into this milieu and with this frame of mind that Stephen Crane delivered the manuscript of the poems for *The Black Riders* sometime in the Summer or early Fall of 1894 to the new and upstart publishing house of Copeland & Day, Boston, Massachusetts.

Copeland & Day was one of very many small publishing houses that came upon the literary scene in *fin-de-siècle* America with the notion that there needed to be an outlet for as much creative expression as possible, that too many unseen lights were glowing with-

out the aid of publication, and that an American aesthetic was evolving beyond the capability of established "mass market" publishers. Crane developed a well-documented close relationship with Copeland & Day that allowed him to participate in even the minutest details of fabrication of the finished book. As such, this book as object offers a particular insight into the poet's mode and method of creation.

There are eight collected American books of *The Black Riders*, most published by Copeland & Day, and not a little historical confusion as to the exact order and format of each with conflicting, overlapping and sometimes erroneous assumptions turned into fact by the power of the bibliographer's pen. There is scant evidence that any of these books were issued in dust wrapper, although Copeland & Day did issue books with glassine or "tissue" wrappers during this time period (e.g., Theocritus's *Sicilian Idylls and Other Verses* translated by Jane Sedgewick, 1898). This type of wrapper has the texture and look of translucent parchment. It was designed to protect the book from the time it left the publisher to the time it arrived at the purchaser's domain. Traditionally, it would then be discarded, more like wrapping paper than the dust wrappers of today. Fragile and made of a rather ephemeral material, few would be likely to survive. A noted institutional collection has a catalogue notation to the effect that it has a copy of *Black Riders* in "printed glassine." The actual wrapper, unfortunately, has not been found.

I have sorted out and organized all the known variants[2] as follows, and I believe this is the first such comprehensive presentation of all eight collected books:

1. The First Edition, 1895, Variant A, bound in cream laid paper over boards with an art nouveau orchid silhouetted in black and title letters in black, "THE BLACK RIDERS/ AND OTHER/ LINES/BY/ STEPHEN/ CRANE," aligned at the left margin. This design (based on a concept created by Frederick C. Gordon and Crane for the publisher) is printed on the back cover (aligned at the right margin) as well with the mirror image of the orchid. All the poems are numbered in roman numerals, not named, and the entire text of the poems is printed in capitals. Interestingly, the "all caps" presentation has been referred to on and off as a device that is reminiscent of headlines or telegraph messages or some similar bold expression of the poet in the nature of shouting. Critics, however, being creatures of substance rather than form, invariably disregard Copeland & Day's design, and the poems are, unfortunately, presented in critical context in a conventional format, first letters capitalized, and so forth. (This is also often the case

Brown, William Leslie. "Recreation and Representation in America, 1880-1900: The Economy of Play in the Work of Stephen Crane." **DAI** 50.12A (1989): 3949. Stanford University. Brown examines the "social definition" of "recreation" and its treatment in the works of Stephen Crane. Brown discovers that "play" finds a prominent role in many of Crane's works like "The Open Boat," in which "the cosmic game of chance is mediated by play in the world." Brown also "expose[s] some limitations of the contemporary literary-critical and philosophical understandings of 'play'" which "challenge late-century idealizations of 'play.'"

Budianta, Melani. "A Glimpse of Another World. Representations of Difference and 'Race': Stephen Crane and the American 1890s." **DAI** 53.10A (1992): 3526. Cornell University. Budianta states that Crane was "ambivalent [in his] representations of difference and 'race.'" Budianta argues that Crane possessed "doubts about the possibility of attaining true knowledge of other cultures, [which led to] his use of mistranslation as a comic means for representing difference." Budianta also compares Crane's work to twentieth-century writings in an attempt to highlight Crane's concept of difference and his role in perpetuating bias.

Campbell, Donna M. "Repudiating the 'Age of the Carved Cherry-Stones': The Naturalists' Reaction Against Women's Local Color Fiction." **DAI** 51.11A (1990): 3741. University of Kansas. Campbell explores two literary movements of the late nineteenth century: naturalism, represented by the works of Frank Norris, Theodore Dreiser, Jack London, and Stephen Crane; and women's local color fiction, represented by the works of Rose Terry Cooke, Sarah Orne Jewett, Mary E. Wilkins Freeman, and Constance Fenimore Woolson. She posits that the naturalists' works "suggest the problems of being young male writers in a literary climate seemingly dominated by elderly female local colorists." She claims that the naturalists feared the "the deleterious effects of excessive feminine culture," and only Stephen Crane "revised and reversed the local color genre itself in 'The Monster.'"

Carino, Peter Alfonso. "Plot in *Studs Lonigan*: The Failure of Manhood, the Triumph of Artistry." **DAI** 46.07A (1985): 1940. University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Carino labels James Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* trilogy as a story of failed manhood. He asserts that this trilogy follows the naturalist tradition of Stephen Crane, Frank Norris, and Theodore Dreiser, "providing a sociological examination of life in an

Anderson, Eric Gary. "Southwestern Dispositions: American Literature on the Borderlands, 1880-1990." DAI 56.01A (1994): 0189. Rutgers University. Anderson explores Euro-American writings about interactions with the native peoples of the American Southwest from 1880 to 1990. He says that these writers come to terms with the Southwest in their writings and that the "southwestern peoples and places compel these artists and writers to rethink the contemporary by recovering a sense of the ancient and alien."

Backman, Gunnar. "Meaning by Metaphor: An Exploration of Metaphor with a Metaphoric Reading of Two Short Stories by Stephen Crane." DAI 53.02C (1991): 0195. Uppsala Universitet (Sweden). Backman seeks to unite the "current views of metaphor in linguistic theory with text interpretation in literary criticism." The first part of his dissertation provides a background for a metaphoric reading of two of Stephen Crane's short stories ("The Bride Comes to Yellow Sky" and "The Blue Hotel") in the second part. He concludes that "Crane's deterministic view of man as being powerless before external forces permeates these comic and tragicomic texts to an even greater extent than a merely intuitive reading would indicate."

Barrish, Phillip J. "Literary Intellectuals and Discourses of Materiality: James, Crane, Cahan." DAI 52.08A (1991): 2923. Cornell University. Barrish explains that the turn-of-the-century authors James, Crane, and Cahan sought "new authority . . . by claiming to achieve a unique access to life's material dimension." Barrish suggests that these authors, through their immersion into a particular "immigrant or racial group," also saw themselves as "distinct from the materiality associated with it."

Broer, Paul Allan. "Stephen Crane: Man Adrift." DAI 49.08A (1988): 2217. City University of New York. Broer examines images concerning Stephen Crane and his role as an author. Broer maintains that misconceptions regarding his life, generated by some biographical accounts, have led to an incomplete understanding of Crane as an artist. Broer discusses the problems associated with evaluating Crane as an author by examining his poetry, his novellas *Maggie* and *The Red Badge of Courage*, and his short stories "The Blue Hotel" and "The Monster."

with e.e. cummings; that is, critics override the form of the print as if it were merely an insignificant detail rather than a substantive statement.) The unfortunate by-product of this refusal to honor the poet's presentation is obvious. By permitting the use of this typeface, Crane must have been seeking a way of expressing himself beyond the content of the words. Perhaps he was detaching his own voice from the poem; in fact, it is common knowledge that he refused to read or have his poems read out loud in his presence. This separation of the words from the speaker creates in the mind of the reader the impression that the book itself is the source of the poetry rather than merely its medium. Often in critical context, or, worse, in anthology, we are presented with such conventions as the capitalization of "God" when the poet did not make this distinction.[3] (In a letter to the publisher of *Elmer Gantry*, Sinclair Lewis wrote that under no circumstances was the word "god" to be capitalized unless it appeared in that form in the typescript.) We see the capitalization of "I" for the traditional form of emphasis by contrast when in the actual text of the poems no such contrast exists. The notion that the poems spring from the book rather than the poet is consistent with the organic nature of the Arts and Crafts movement and by extension to the precept that the object is a manifestation of a higher power using a human creator as a conduit rather than an origin. In this context, the cover design, print style and the substance of the poems themselves all come together in an organic whole. Often, the cover design of this book is criticized as incongruous with the poems; the beautiful art nouveau orchid has even been characterized as a deceitful come-on to attract purchasers who are then quite shocked by the "harsh" content of the poems. Nothing, in my opinion, could be further from the truth, at least as the intent of the poet and publisher was concerned. The unfurling orchid on the cover is part and parcel of the unfurling poems within, growing like the orchid from the physical book itself, as unrelated as possible to anything human. This is also consistent with anecdotal evidence, albeit probably exaggerated, that the poems or "pills" as Crane called them, poured mystically from his pen in precisely the form in which they appear on the page, unchanged and not "worked." (Hamlin Garland, the dedicatee of the book, was obsessed with this process and believed Crane to be psychic). In short, the poems spring from the book much the way the Ten Commandments purportedly appeared on the stone tablets—if I may stretch a point—from a force beyond the human conduit. The "truth" of these poems is self-evident and self-created. As Stanley Wertheim asserts about *The Black Riders* in *A Stephen Crane Encyclopedia*, " [t]ruth, conse-

quently, can be found only within the self and not in the institutions in which humanity has traditionally embodied it" (30). By extension, the "self" becomes the physical book, disembodied from its author, from which springs the "truth." (This edition was published in a run of 500 copies, which included "2," "3," "4," and "[4a]" below).

2. The First Edition, 1895, Variant B bound in pale yellow paper over boards, all other elements as in Variant A the same.[4]

[2a]. The First Edition, 1895, Variant C bound in pale yellow cloth over boards, all other elements as in Variant A the same. Anecdotal evidence indicates that there is an edition in yellow cloth, but there are no extant copies.

3. The First Edition, 1895, Variant D bound in gray laid paper over boards, all other elements as in Variant A the same.

4. The First Edition, 1895, Variant E bound in light gray paper with noticeable blue and red minute threads throughout over boards; black orchid design repeated on back cover as in Variant A, but with title and author lettering absent on back cover. Front cover lettering not aligned on left margin as in Variant A, but first line indented one space.

[4a.] The First Edition, 1895, Variant F bound in publisher's leather. A copy of the book in "publisher's leather" has never surfaced. (The term "publisher's leather" is used to distinguish the binding from "bound in leather" or "leather bound," which are bibliophilic terms reserved for rebinding in leather, a common practice, especially for antiquarian clothbound books or books in original publisher's leather that have deteriorated over time). That is to say, that while BAL makes an ambiguous reference to one, this does not imply it ever existed. BAL often depends on advertisements to justify the existence of certain editions. Publishers frequently advertise books in certain bindings waiting for orders that would justify production; no orders, no book. Most "limited editions" (like the leather bound) are usually tucked away for safekeeping and are not read. In fact, such editions are more likely to survive in good shape than trade editions. The Barrett Library at the University of Virginia reportstwo copies in "publisher's leather," but they are of the first British edition (William Heinemann, 1896). If there were American leather copies in existence, one, logically, would have surfaced by now.

5. The First Edition, Limited, 1895, Variant A bound in white paper over boards, no cover design; spine lettering on paper label with half-title and author's name in black; text printed in green ink from the same plates as the First Edition on "japan vellum" paper (a paper designed to look and feel like actual vellum). This edition is subsequent

This list updates the annotated bibliography published by Stanley Wertheim in *American Literary Realism* 8 (1975), 227-41, and a series of earlier listings published in *Thoth* (1963-1975), the journal of the graduate students in English at Syracuse University.

Adams, Richard Charles. "Taking Stock: Realism, Recognition, and the Cultural Reinvestment of America in the 1880s." **DAI** 57.01A (1995): 0210. University of Iowa. Adams explores the issues of political economy in a number of novels and stories from the 1880s and 1890s. He claims that economic progress was taking place at so great a rate that it made "the notion of progress itself obsolete." He explores issues concerning private property, the tariff, and inheritance in works by William Dean Howells, Henry James, Sarah Orne Jewett, Edward Bellamy, Stephen Crane, and Thomas Wentworth Higgins.

Alfieri, August Michael. "Thomas Beer, Freelance Writer and the Changes in the Literary Marketplace, 1920-1940." **DAI** 56.03A (1994): 0989. State University of New York at Stony Brook. Alfieri studies Thomas Beer and the literary marketplace from 1920 to 1940. He claims that Stephen Crane and Lytton Strachey influenced Beer and "helped him enter the biography boom." His discussion of Beer's biography includes the recent discovery of Beer's fabrications. Alfieri focuses on Beer's commercial career as a biographer and fiction writer.

Allred, Randal Wayne. "Writing the Civil War: Cultural Myth and War Narrative in DeForest, Bierce, and Crane." **DAI** 54.12A (1993): 4439. University of California, Los Angeles. Allred examines the works of De Forest, Bierce, and Crane to determine the problems associated with writing about the Civil War. He analyzes "to what extent perceptions of the War are the products of myth and trope rather than logic and data." Allred further asserts that the production of these Civil War stories was an outgrowth of "the Civil War's hold on the national imagination" and inquires about "the need to write the War in a way that would fulfill specific social and political objectives."

covers a marriage between Crane and French Impressionists; the description of "the color of the sea from slate to emerald green" by which the crew and the correspondent recognize the break of day is nothing but the literary equivalent of the French painters' portrayal of the changing phases of objects by sunlight. Oshitani adds that "the foam . . . like tumbling snow" is one of the favorite motifs of the Impressionists. Hence Crane through the characters shares the eye of Monet, which Cézanne described as not filtering objects through moral consciousness but as accommodating them to heightened sensitivity. Cézanne's description is parallel to Conrad's qualified praise of Crane as "the *only* impressionist and *only* an impressionist." Crane and the French Impressionists' attachment to sensitivity account for their evanescent and fleeting view of the world, ignoring or rejecting the logical and established *Weltanschauung*. Oshitani concludes that the concise and pithy style of representation in Crane's late works exemplifies the other side of the coin of Impressionism; although lavish with raw colors, the French painters seldom render the details of an object but often outline it in a few short strokes.

In comparison to similar Crane studies in English, this book suffers from a certain redundancy: especially the biographical information about Crane himself and the extensive citation of critical opinions concerning his impressionism. But in Japan there is neither a sufficient knowledge of Crane nor a profound awareness—even among scholars of American literature—of what has been written about him. Few reading this book, therefore, will disagree that Oshitani's prolonged overture is needed to introduce his new views; general readers will meanwhile appreciate it as a provocative guide to the world of Crane. In contrast, Oshitani's systematic explanation of Impressionism is perhaps more detailed than is necessary, given the persistent popularity of French Impressionism in Japan. It is axiomatic, moreover, that the Japanese prefer the sensitive to the rational. The reading of this study, therefore, persuades us that Crane's inclination for the sensitive is the nature of his appeal to us. This, however, is not to say that the interest of the present work is confined to the Japanese reading public; this first extended comparison of Crane and French Impressionists, sustained by the author's remarkable ability to coordinate large masses of material on the two artistic fields, deserves the attention of English-speaking literary and academic circles. In particular, the full demonstration of Crane's use of complementary colors should be translated into other languages. We must hope that Professor Oshitani will ensure that his ideas receive the publicity they deserve.

in time to the First Edition because of the obvious wear to the typeface. Green silk threads are used to gather signatures. (50 cc).

6. The First Edition, Limited, 1895, Variant B bound in white vellum (thin sheepskin) over boards, identical to the First Edition, Limited, Variant A, but cover design as in 1. above and spine lettering and decoration is gilt. (3cc).

7. The First Edition, Limited, 1895, Variant C bound in full green levant (polished, loose-grained morocco leather); printed inside of back cover "The Doves Bindery, 18 C-S 96." All other points as in the First Edition, Limited, Variant B. (3 cc).[5]

8. The Second Edition (also considered by some as the Third Edition if the "Limited Editions" are characterized as Second Editions), 1905, bound in uncovered cardboard, rough cut right margin, spine in 1/4 cream buckram; paper label on front cover with "THE BLACK RIDERS AND/ OTHER LINES/ BY STEPHEN CRANE" in black; no spine printing, back cover blank. The title page additionally states, "PRIVATELY REPRINTED/ BY COURTESY OF SMALL,/ MAYNARD & COMPANY/ Copyright, 1905, Copeland & Day." This has proved an enigmatic bit of print for many years. It turns out that Copeland & Day declared bankruptcy in 1899, and their assets including their rights in this book, but not the copyright itself, were transferred to Small, Maynard & Company, a firm which appears in no publishing reference book, but which did publish many books between 1903 and the 1920s. Small, Maynard then permitted the anonymous publisher of this edition the right to print it. Alternatively, this is a pirated edition, and all this verbiage is subterfuge; after all, Crane was dead, Copeland & Day was defunct, and the acknowledgment of the Copeland & Day copyright might have been thought a "courtesy." This edition, printed some five years after Crane's death, uses conventional typeface with standardized upper- and lower-case lettering. The book itself is as basic a format as possible with not even a semblance of fine binding, but rather a vividly modern minimalist approach that would be in keeping with the content in form and context had the publisher not succumbed to the impulse to conventionalize the typeface and establish a critical literary error that lasts to this day.[6]

It is difficult to imagine the creative vivacity that Crane exhibited in 1895. While all the efforts that went into *The Black Riders*'s publication were being expended, *The Red Badge of Courage* was on the typesetter's table. In later years, the few that remained for Crane, he believed his "Lines" to be his greatest and most personal work and the work for which he would be remembered. Time, perhaps, has not borne

this out, but collectors around the world still covet the small, odd book of verse, with the peculiar typeface with poems that "sprang fully formed" from a genius's mind.

Notes

[1] There is a serious difference of opinion among biographers on the matter of Crane's involvement with the production details of *The Black Riders*. Despite using the same documentary evidence, they arrive at vastly different conclusions. Because of certain lapses in the document records, mainly letters from Crane to the publisher, any conclusions drawn are based, in large part, on conjecture by both sides.

[2] Tthe word "variant" in bibliographic parlance usually refers to any variation whether of text, illustration, paper, or binding from another copy of the same edition, e.g., the use of different binding materials or a different overall size resulting from trimming down the pages. Generally, this term varies from the word "state," which refers to variations within the text that occur during the printing, e.g., broken or repaired letters or corrections made to typographical errors during a print run.

[3] In the extant surviving manuscripts of Crane's poems, he uses conventionalized (and sometimes erroneous) punctuation and capitalization.

[4] As there is only one known example of this edition, this might be a trial binding, i.e., a one-of-a-kind sample produced by the publisher but rejected for sale.

[5] The Doves Bindery went on to become the Doves Press, an independently successful fine-press printer that produced many other highly collectible books. The "C-S" designation refers to R. Cobden-Sanderson, a renowned UK printer-publisher.

[6] Critics who cannot reconcile the Copeland & Day presentation with their own notions of how the poems "should" be presented rely on the aforementioned manuscripts of the *Black Riders* poems which do use a conventionalized format. Had the first edition been published posthumously, reviewing the MS in a case like the one at hand would almost be required. That is obviously not the case here. While resorting to a MS can be useful to explicate ambiguous passages and other critical unanswerables, actually preferring the MS to the published work can, I strongly believe, create a dangerous precedent.

The Eye of Stephen Crane, by Zenichiro Oshitani. Osaka, Japan: Osaka Kyoiku Tosho Publishing Co., 1995. 370 pp. 4,000 yen.
Shunji Kuga
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Professor Zen'ichiro Oshitani, the most prominent Crane scholar in Japan, has written three books on Stephen Crane (on his life and main works, his poems, and his technique of impressionism [all written in Japanese]) in the 80s. His latest book is the culmination of his 30-year unfailing dedication to Crane and American literature.

The bulk of the book concerns the artistic affinities between Crane's impressionism and French Impressionist painters, which, as the author points out, James Nagel in his book on the literary impressionism of Crane left largely unexplored. The first half of the book is devoted to a detailed account of how Crane, through his mentor Garland and his reading of Goethe, came to know the French Impressionists' canon that "colors have an effect upon the human mind." Oshitani then proceeds to discuss the correlation of the two artistic fields in *Maggie, The Red Badge of Courage* and "The Open Boat."

Perhaps the most original feature of the present study is the argument that Crane adapted the theory of complementary colors to his works. Robert L. Hough in the 60s in his article on "Crane and Goethe" referred to Crane's use of that theory, yet without demonstration. Oshitani, by contrast, provides a detailed examination of passages, like the following from *The Red Badge*: "To the youth, it was an onslaught of redoubtable dragons. He became like the man who lost his legs at the approach of the red and green monster." He contends that, while red and its complementary color, green, respectively emphasize Henry's terror, the object of this terror is represented by gray, the mixed color of both, which was the color of the Confederate uniforms.

The author also suggests a connection between the theory of complementary colors and the most controversial ambiguity of the novel: the ethical progress of Henry. Towards the end Henry convinces himself that his "performances marched in wide purple and gold." Purple and gold (equal yellow, the complementary color of purple) in their vivid images appear to glorify his past deeds. But this glory is held in check by Crane's irony. Gray, the mixed color of purple and yellow, implies the "gray" side of Henry's "performances" and undermines his self-satisfied attitude towards his ethical maturation.

In the concluding chapter on "The Open Boat," Oshitani dis-

people."

    Unfortunately, along with the birthplace, the Stephen Crane Association had acquired a mortgage. And when the Depression hit, the memorial plans foundered. Throughout the 1930s, occasional newspaper pieces renewed interest in the building and in Stephen Crane's Newark roots. An April 18, 1932 *Newark Ledger* lamented, "Crane's Newark Birthplace as Forlorn as His Slum Stories." At this time the house consisted of furnished rooms rented individually. Members of the Crane Association had begun to view the house as a liability, but they were also burdened with a sense of responsibility stemming from their original mission. By March 1934 they were begging the City of Newark to take it and its $7000 mortgage. One year later the house was "vacant and boarded up," and the Association was still trying to give it away—"for possible use as a Free Public Library branch or a settlement house."

    An unsubstantiated rumor, not mentioned in the clippings, has the house serving as a brothel for a period. The author of *Maggie*, the man who chose a madame as his "wife," would have enjoyed the irony.

    The Newark clippings show that the city eventually assumed control of the property, and the house was razed. But the dream for a Crane Memorial was finally realized. This realization was in the form of the Memorial Wall and a children's playground, built in 1940 by the WPA. Then the playground itself grew as dilapidated as the house had been and was demolished in the 1970s. After the new owner, Victory Optical Co., saw a need to expand its parking lot, only the Memorial Wall remained. The address was changed to Victory Plaza.

    In a series covering "New Jersey's Oddball Attractions," the June 4, 1995 edition of the *Newark Star-Ledger* lamented the desolate state of the Plaza: "Now Victory is gone, and the Monument stands alone in its dismal surrounding, destined to die of neglect."

    A reprieve from this destiny came through the efforts of Charles Cummings and others interested in Newark's cultural heritage. Then came the bulldozer.

    Recent developments, however, indicate that the Newark commitment to Crane's memory is still alive. Reimar Construction, the company unknowingly responsible for the wall's destruction, has agreed to suggestions made by Cummings. Another monument, now being designed, will soon be erected close to the location of the one destroyed. Possibly, the site will be renamed "Stephen Crane Point." Once again, Crane admirers, like the man in William Crane's letter, can come to look and perhaps to worship.

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Changes at Crane Birth Site

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In late March 1997 a bulldozer rolled over the Newark property where Stephen Crane's birthplace had once stood. It leveled the Crane Memorial Wall—a 1940 WPA project made of bricks from the original Crane home with a ceramic portrait of Crane. The inscription, in terra cotta lettering, was the poem from *War Is Kind* beginning "Aye Workman, make me a dream."

Ironically, the City of Newark had been taking steps to remedy the neglect to which the memorial—located at the rear of a dreary downtown parking lot—had fallen victim. At the December 1995 Stephen Crane Conference held at the Newark Public Library, the Newark Preservation and Landmark Committee had dedicated a bronze plaque explaining the history of the birthplace. (Since the plaque had not yet been attached to the wall, it escaped the bulldozer.) At the urging of Charles Cummings, City Historian and Assistant Director of the Newark Library, graffiti had been removed from the wall, and plans were proceeding for a mini-park at the site.

When the Methodist parsonage stood here, the address was 14 Mulberry Place. The Cranes lived in the three-story brick house until spring 1874, when the family moved to Bloomington, also in New Jersey. Stephen Crane—having lived there for only two-and-a-half years—probably had no personal memories of the house. However, at least one admirer regarded it as a shrine even before his death. On November 4, 1899, Crane's brother William wrote to Cora Crane that another brother, Ed, "was laughing the other day about some man from Susquehanna, Pa., going to our old house in Newark, where Stephen was born, and looking at it and worshipping."

The annihilation by bulldozer is the latest of several indignities visited upon the site. However, in the 1920s and 30s repeated efforts were made to create a Crane memorial here. Clippings in the Stephen Crane Collection at the Newark Public Library trace the progress of these efforts. They began in 1925, when the newly formed Stephen Crane Association—under the leadership of Max J. Herzberg—began raising funds to acquire the house. With the aid of such Newark pillars as Louis Bamberger and Felix Fudd, the transaction was completed in 1929. By this time the building had become a dilapidated tenement. But the Association had dreams of transforming it into "a center for artistic endeavor" or into "a social settlement for the colored