

EXPLANATORY NOTES

“I have a terrific job of reading to do.”

—John Steinbeck to Elizabeth Otis (15 December 1939)

NOTES FOR A

I. Like JS, Ethan Allen Hawley, the narrator and protagonist of *WOD*, remembers "as a child scrambling among the brilliants of books" (p. 74). In addition to the Rollo series, he refers to the children's magazine *Chatterbox*, and to several illustrated books on natural disasters. JS had contempt for "pulp" juvenile fiction and once castigated Howard Pease, author of the Tom Moran mysteries, for his "shop keeper's attitude, his wrapping up stories in butcher's paper and delivering them to a hungry public..." (JS/AGD, [1929]; Bancroft). But he was extremely fond of what he considered legitimate children's literature and literature for young adults, because it reduced narrative to the simplest and most magical elements, as for instance in Kenneth Grahame's *The Golden Age* (1895) and *The Wind in the Willows* (1908), which he read both as a child and as an adult (GG/RD, 16 January 1982). As late as June, 1966, JS was planning a work called "And a Piece of it Fell on My Tail" (*SCa*, p. 77), inspired, he told EO, by the tale of Henny-Penny and Chicken Little, perhaps "the most widely read story in the English language" (*SLL*, p. 832). See also entries 22, 60, 66, 67, 351, 482, 764-769.

4-6. In "John Steinbeck: Architect of the Unconscious," (Dissertation, 1972), Clifford Lewis correctly notes that JS admired the "speculations of Brooks and Henry Adams" (p. 72). All of these books were in his library during the 1930s. Much later, in a paragraph eventually deleted from *A&A*, he alluded to Henry Adams' *Dynamic Theory of History*--JS called it "dynamism"--as one of a long series of attempts, "from Homer to Toynbee," to find a pattern in human events and to discover or to invent "substitutes for the gods" (TMS, p. 137; HRC).

10. This is the copy of Aeschylus which prompted JS's added detail about Elizabeth McGreggor's reading in *TGU*: "Elizabeth McGreggor was even more widely educated than most teachers. In addition to fractions and French she had read excerpts from Plato and Lucretius, knew several titles of Aeschylus, Aristophanes and Euripides, and had a classical background resting on Homer and Virgil" (pp. 32-33). In an earlier version of the novel, "The Green Lady," he wrote that

Beth Willets--Elizabeth McGregor's forerunner--"was considered an advanced thinker. In addition to fractions and French ... [she] had read excerpts from Plato and Aristotle and Lucretius" (TMS, p. 4; SUL). See also Riggs, *SCa* (p. 142).

12. See Linda Ray Pratt, "Imagining Existence: Form and History in Steinbeck and Agee," *Southern Review*, 11 (1975), for an excellent discussion of the different uses of the "truth" of social reality in *GOW* and in Agee and Evans' book.

13-15. JS and Edward Albee traveled to the Soviet Union in 1963 for the Cultural Exchange Program (*SLL*, p. 769). Later that year, at a meeting with students at the University of Helsinki, JS praised *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?* (Joseph Waldmeir/RD, 17 May 1979). JS followed Albee's work closely, and his interest in Absurdist drama (the allusion to "two people in garbage cans" is to Samuel Beckett's *Endgame*) was due in part to Albee's influence (ALW/RD, 12 May 1973). See also entry 176, and Seymour Krim's *Shake it for the World, Smartass* (1970), pp. 375-378. Albee's *A Delicate Balance* is dedicated to JS.

16-17. A breach occurred between JS and GA in 1938, caused by GA's jealousy of JS's artistic success (*SLL*, pp. 156-157). JS's letters at Bancroft (many of them appear in *SLL*, but in excised form) indicate he read GA's work in manuscript form and commented on it freely; for example, he had read an early version of *Young Robert* in 1933. During this period they frequently exchanged ideas on literature and writing, a habit resumed briefly in 1950 (see entry 316).

19. The influence of Allee's ideas on his former student EFR, and then from EFR to JS, is fully explored by Richard Astro. When JS "learned Allee's ideas about the automatic behavioral patterns of animal aggregations, Steinbeck wrote a two-page paper on the subject of group behavior..." (*JS/EFR*, p. 63). That paper, "Argument of Phalanx," was supposedly written around 1935. However, notice should be made of another version. In a six-page piece, "Case History," which JS composed between late May and early June, 1934 (the manuscript is in his *LV* notebook at SRC), the protagonist of his essay-story, a disaffected and shell-shocked World War I veteran named John Ramsey, explains the phalanx theory to a friend. In doing so, he offers as corroborating evidence the work of "Dr. Allee of Chicago" and "Edward Ricketts of Monterey." It is possible that this was JS's first attempt to write down the phalanx theory, a concept which preoccupied him since 1933 (*SLL*, pp. 74-82).

About the time he was writing "Case History," he told GA (the edited version of this letter appears in *SLL*, pp. 92-94), "Just now I am writing my phalanx theory into an essay, socratic in method, light and informative because I want to make some record of it..." (TMS letter, [1934]; Bancroft). "Case History" is informative though hardly "light" (but neither is "Argument of Phalanx"). Unlike "Argument," however, it is socratic in method, constructed as a question-and-answer dialogue between Ramsey, who has just been involved in lynching a child-murderer, and Will McKaye, owner and editor of the local newspaper, who demands some explanation for the irrational group action. "Case History" indicates that for JS the phalanx theory was still essentially expository, an awareness that must have prompted him to distill its major elements into "Argument of Phalanx." He returned to "Case History" for the basis of his short story "The Vigilante" (*Esquire*, October, 1936; later included in *LV*), where the intellectual weight of his thesis was submerged by an increased focus on characterization. EFR's copy of *Animal Aggregations* was destroyed in the 1936 fire at his lab, but he replaced it in January, 1940, through JS and Viking Press. If JS owned his own copy of Allee's book, it has not yet come to light.

20. In his Foreword, Allen quotes a letter from JS which contains suggestions for the beginning writer, including these: "Don't think back over what you have done. Don't think of literary form. Let it get out as it wants to. Over tell in the matter of detail--cutting comes later. The form will develop in the telling. Don't make the telling follow a form."

21. JS received an advanced review copy. On the verso of the publisher's complimentary slip, the author had written: "And who hopes the reference on page 279 is not a slip of the memory"--a reference to a comment in the text that JS had once worked for the WPA (he had not). See BMC #8 (p. 144), and the comments following entry 921.

22. JS's interest in Andersen began in his childhood. He was especially fond of "The Darning Needle" (pp. 334-337 of this edition), and referred to it in a letter to Carl Wilhelmson, written in 1924 or 1925 (SUL).

23-26. JS's reading of *The Buccaneer* probably affected some aspects of Henry Morgan's character in *COG*. Later, during the 1940s, Anderson's *Joan of Lorraine* inspired JS's research for a play, "The Last Joan," which he never finished. Still later, in *A&A*, JS counted Anderson among the "American writers

of stature and performance who took their basic training ... in newspapers..." (p.160). See also Peter Lisca, who suggests that the officer of the invading army in *MOON* resembles "Erfurt, the Nazi officer in Maxwell Anderson's *Candle in the Wind*, which Steinbeck had read" (*WWJS*, p. 193).

27-30. As an undergraduate, JS had heard Anderson speak but did not meet him until later. In a letter to EO ([13 November 1939]; *SUL*), he said, "Sherwood Anderson is coming down Wednesday. I've never met him." In "Sherwood Anderson Meets John Steinbeck: 1939," *SQ*, 11 (1978), 20-22, Ray Lewis White speculates that as a result of that meeting, Anderson directed Ted Lillenthal (San Francisco book dealer and publisher, with Leon Gelber, of the Lantern Press) to send JS a copy of Anderson's *The Modern Writer*, which Lantern Press published in 1925. JS's interest in Anderson began in the early 1920s, and while he moved away from his influence (especially after *POH*), it is not quite fair to suggest, as Fontenrose does, that JS's "enthusiasm" for Anderson "waned" (*JSII*, p. 3). In a letter to his publisher JS linked the critical reception of *TGU* with *Winesburg's*: "I remember the criticism of Winesburg, Ohio. 'Stupid, crude writing,' 'consciously dirty,' 'poor inept English' ... Oh! I'm pleased all right. It [*TGU*] must be a pretty good book" (*JS/RB*, [ca. September 1933]; *HRC*). Still later, on 24 October 1959, JS told CS that "the by-products [of a long writing career], the criticism, the slings and arrows and boquets [sic] have become nothing but a mild kind of nuisance. I know now the weary acceptance of Sherwood Anderson when he came to Stanford to face us fresh faced, eager, ambitious and ferocious young critics. I wonder why he did it. There was no law that forced him" (*SUL*).

32. One of the books EFR wanted to replace after the 1936 fire was the Loeb Classical Library edition of *The Golden Ass* (Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press, 1915).

34. JS quotes directly from this book on pages 69 and 172 of *Bombs Away* (1942), his account of a U.S. Army Air Force Bomber Team.

43-44. What JS thought of Atherton's work is not known. She apparently praised *CR*, however, for which he thanked her in a letter dated 23 March [1945] (*Bancroft*).

NOTES FOR B

56. JS encouraged GA to write about the Hollywood scene because it was social history in the making and provided material "Balzac would have gone nuts over" (JS/GA, [1933]; Bancroft). According to his agent, JS admired Balzac's fiction all of his life (EO/RD, 20 August 1979).

64-65. In his essay, "A Spiritual Morphology of Poetry," EFR quotes brief sections from both of these translations of Baudelaire as inferred instances of the poet's transcendental awareness. See Hedgpath, *OS*, 2 (p. 86).

67. In another letter to ES, JS reports on "the reading of Oz" (*SLL*, p. 379). He drew on Baum's book for characterization (Margie Young-Hunt as Ozma) in *WOD* (pp. 162-163) and for dream imagery (melting) in *WOD* (p. 111).

75-76. After 1948, when Bellow joined Viking Press, PC served as his editor (as well as Arthur Miller's and Joseph Campbell's). How much more of Bellow's work JS read is open to conjecture, but it was obviously enough for him to inscribe a copy of his Nobel Prize Speech in 1962 to Bellow with these words: "You're Next." (Bellow won the prize in 1976.) See Richard Stern, "Bellow's Gift," *New York Times Magazine*, 21 November 1976, p. 42. When PC died in 1964, his friends contributed brief statements to a limited edition memorial pamphlet; JS's "In Memoriam" (pp. 19-20) joined similar tributes from Bellow, Campbell, Miller, Malcolm Cowley and Pascal Covici, Jr. See BMC #8 (p. 95).

77-81. Nathaniel Benchley relied on JS's appraisal when he was first starting out as a writer and sent JS copies of these books (Nathaniel Benchley/RD, 1 July 1980). *The Monument* is dedicated to JS "for precisely one hundred and three reasons."

88. See also entries 627 and 638.

89. In his Preface, Bennett writes, "Report likewise says that a writer of such different cast as Mr. John Steinbeck will one day offer us his highly individual recension of the Vinaver text" (p. vii).

91. As JS's letter to CS attests, he was building a "library of words" in the 1950s. Among his books at the Sag Harbor house was *Brewer's Dictionary of Phrases and Fables* (New York: Harper, 1953). Courtesy of ES and JB.

93-95. From his childhood onward, JS was exposed to the Bible (first the King James Version, which he always preferred, then the American Revised Standard Version): "I absorbed it through my skin," he said in retrospect (*ACTS*, p. xi). His favorite books of the Old Testament were Genesis (see *JN*, pp. 104-105), Exodus, Deuteronomy, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon and Isaiah; of the New Testament, Matthew, Corinthians 1 and 2 and Revelation (*EO/RD*, 20 August 1979). Though he was not orthodoxly religious, JS responded powerfully, with an artist's temperament, to the Bible's spirituality, poetical rhythms, symbolism, characterizations and moral dimensions, perhaps never more fully than in *GOW*. The conflicting exegeses of the Biblical parallels, borrowings and echoes are best represented by essays in Agnes McNeill Donohue's *A Casebook on THE GRAPES OF WRATH* (1968), pp. 90-125. Besides the ones listed here, JS generally had multiple copies of the Bible on hand; for instance, among his books at Sag Harbor, he had two copies of *Good News for Modern Man* (New Testament), Robert Ballou's shortened edition of the Revised Standard Version published by Holm and Lippincott, and a copy of *The Reader's Bible*. Courtesy of ES and JB. See also entries 54 and 55.

99-102. During the early months of 1938, Bennett Cerf (who was trying to entice JS to join Random House after the failure of Covici-Friede) sent JS a gift of several Random House one-volume Modern Library Giants. JS thanked Cerf for the "princely box" but except for the Blake volume (and the Pushkin and Synge volumes which surfaced later--see entries 667 and 783) gave no indication of the other titles. The importance of Blake's line--"Everything that lives is holy"--to *GOW* has frequently been remarked. See Duane R. Carr's summary, "Steinbeck's Blakean Vision in *The Grapes of Wrath*," *SQ*, 8 (1975), 67-76. In "A Spiritual Morphology of Poetry," *EFR* quotes the line (from *Visions of the Daughters of Albion*) as "All that lives is holy"--no doubt the source for Preacher Casey's usage in *GOW*. See Hedgpeth, *OS*, 2 (p. 88), and Astro, *JS/EFR* (p. 41). The title and epigram for Steinbeck's *BB* comes, of course, from Blake's "Tyger."

106. The lines from Boethius which JS compressed (see Chapter XVII, pp. 249-251) appear on page 57 of Sedgfield's edition; the fineness of the print may have caused JS to transcribe them improperly.

107. Although JS told Edith Wagner that he had been reading Molière's *Les Femmes Savantes* (entry 584), "which I have never read in French before and a low detective tale labelled L'Homme du Dent d'Or ..." (*SLL*, p. 8), he was never "proficient in French" (*ES/RD*, 31 January 1979). JS's initial introduction to Boileau occurred in Elementary French A1 at Stanford in 1923 and was later augmented by English translation; his comments represent a paraphrase and redaction of Boileau's theoretical statements on tragedy, epic and comedy developed in *Chant (Canto) III of L'Art Poétique* (1674), his most famous theoretical work. It should also be noted that JS's comments to JHJ are now available in "Steinbeck's Suggestions for an Interview with Joseph Henry Jackson," in Peter Lisca, ed., *The Grapes of Wrath: Text and Criticism* (1972), pp. 859-862.

109-112. In Chapter 27 of *SOC* (p. 257), JS and EFR quote directly from the Introduction to Boodin's *A Realistic Universe*, but note the page number incorrectly as xvii instead of xvi. Boodin's statement--"Somehow, the laws of thought must be the laws of things if we are going to attempt a science of reality. Thought and things are part of one evolving matrix and cannot ultimately conflict"--is reiterated later when he writes, "From the fact ... that the laws of thought are implied in our mental constitution, and have been forced upon it in its adjustments to the objective world, we have ... a presumption that the laws of thought are the laws of things" (p. 328). Boodin was a philosophy professor at UCLA, whose student, RA, served in the early 1930s as a "transmission belt" for his ideas to JS and EFR (*RA/RD*, 10 August 1979). Astro demonstrates how Boodin fits the general thematic pattern of JS's and EFR's readings in holistic philosophy (*JS/EFR*, pp. 48-53; 66-67), but says little about Boodin's concepts of form and creativity which dominate the later sections of *A Realistic Universe* and how they bear on JS's artistic execution. As late as *WOD*, Boodin's *A Realistic Universe* was still providing JS with material, this time for justifying Ethan Allen Hawley's moral relativity: "If the laws of thinking are the laws of things," Hawley says, "then morals are relative too, and manner and sin--that's relative too in a relative universe" (p. 61). Later on in the novel, Hawley wonders to himself, "If the laws of thinking are the laws of things, can fission be happening in the soul? Is that what is happening to me, to us?" (p. 166). See also John Ditsky, "Music from a Dark Cave: Organic Form in Steinbeck's Fiction," *The Journal of Narrative Technique*, 1 (1971), 61; and his "The Winter of Our Discontent: Steinbeck's Testament on Naturalism," *Research Studies*, 44 (1976), 44.

114. When JS was working on an early version of *COG*, "he needed background material on Wales and I brought him Borrow's *Wild Wales* from the Stanford University Library" (CS/RD, 13 May 1979). See also Moore, who writes, JS "researched extensively in the subjects of folk-lore and topography for *Cup of Gold*. One of the preparatory books he read with gusto was Borrow's *Wild Wales*" (NJS, p. 14). JS's reference to the Welsh bard, Iolo Goch (*COG*, p. 1), may have been suggested by Borrow (p. 371). See also entries 517, 681, 683, and corresponding notes.
115. Boswell's biography of Johnson was one of JS's favorite books in the late 1920s, an interest inspired by his teacher at Stanford, Professor Margery Bailey (CS/RD, 13 May 1979). Another classmate recalled that in 1928 JS "had a copy of Boswell's Johnson which was bound [by Webster Street's wife] in a blue denim cover, to keep it reasonably legible" (RC/RD, 24 November 1979).
119. Braley's doggerel epic uses "certain incidents" from *COG*. In his Acknowledgement, Braley prints a letter from JS granting his permission to borrow from *COG* (pp. vii-viii).
120. For more on JS's relationship with John Breck, see JSEK (p. 91).
124. On the influence of *The Mothers*, Astro quotes CB as saying that Ma Joad in *GOW* is "pure Briffault" (JS/EFR, p. 133). Astro continues: "Steinbeck's interest in Briffault's theory of the mother-role may be responsible in part for the unusual women characters in his fiction, particularly for the absence of sexually oriented female characters in most of his novels and short stories" (p. 243). For a discussion of Briffault's influence, see Warren Motley's "From Patriarchy to Matriarchy: Ma Joad's Role in *The Grapes of Wrath*," *American Literature*, 54 (1982), 397-412.
129. JS had read Browning by the Mid-1920s, as Fontenrose suggests (JSII, p. 3). In *TGU*, Elizabeth McGreggor reads aloud to Joseph Wayne from *Pippa Passes* (p. 40).
133. In his letter of 18 March 1966 to Bühler, JS also thanked him for the gift of another book, probably *The History of Tom Thumbe*, edited by Bühler for the Renaissance English Texts Society, and published together with Stanley Kahrl's edition of *The Merie Tales of the Mad Men of Gotham* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern Univ. Press, 1965). See also JS's letter to CH (9 January 1957) inviting him to meet Bühler, "whose name you will know from his Medieval and Renaissance work" (ACTS, p. 300).

138. Burns provided JS's title, *OMM*.

139. JS owned this entire facsimile reprint--two of the volumes have his ownership stamp (see BMC #8, p. 144)--but it was part of the library which Gwyn kept when they divorced in 1948.

140-143. This portion of JS's letter to AGD was excised from *SLL* and given incorrectly as 5 December instead of 5 November (p. 17). In a letter to Katherine Beswick, written in late February or early March of 1928, JS denied that the dialect used in the early part of *COG* was "Byrnian": "It is so long since I have read Byrne that I have forgotten much of him, and so there is not the least imitation..." (*SUL*). See also note to entry 783.

NOTES FOR C

144-147. Cabell's work was extremely popular with JS and his friends in the early 1920s, and he undoubtedly read much more of it than I have listed. Besides reading *Jurgen*, JS had access to "half a dozen" other volumes (titles unknown) by Cabell when JS stayed with CS for a month (ca. 1925) at the latter's home in Long Beach, California (*CS/RD*, 13 May 1979). Another friend and classmate at Stanford wrote his honors thesis on Cabell and talked with JS about most of Cabell's work up to 1926 (*AGD/RD*, 23 October 1979). *NV* records an amusing episode in which JS refused an invitation to meet Cabell in 1926, arguing that he did not want to risk undercutting his admiration for Cabell's fiction (*JSEK*, p. 102). Beginning with Moore in 1939 (*NJS*, p. 92), numerous critics have noted JS's early love for Cabell (and for Donn Byrne--he often referred to them in tandem), as well as his subsequent turning away from that influence.

148. Caesar's *Commentaries* was one of JS's favorite works; his second wife recalled reading it to him aloud on numerous occasions (*GS/RD*, March 1971). In *POH* Junius Maltby "described the Gallic wars" to some of the local boys (p. 75).

149-151. JS and Robert Capa were asked about Caldwell, Hemingway and Faulkner during their trip to Russia in 1947. See *ARJ*, Chapter 3 (p.27). JS thought that Caldwell had struck a rich vein in his use of humor to temper the sense of despair and social injustice in his fiction. One correspondent

suggested that the example of *God's Little Acre* was important for JS's writing of *Tortilla Flat* (Mrs. Joseph Henry Jackson/RD, 17 July 1980). Along with Dorothea Lange's Farm Security Administration photographs (1935-1939), JS also consulted Caldwell's and photographer Margaret Bourke-White's *You Have Seen Their Faces* (New York: Viking Press, 1937) in preparation for *GOW*. See also James Gray's *On Second Thought* (1946), p. 133, for a passing comparison between JS's and Caldwell's regionalism.

155. JS and Campbell first met in 1932 through EFR. Later PC served as their editor at Viking Press and kept both men apprised of the other's work: when Viking Press published Campbell's *Oriental Mythology* in 1962, PC sent JS a copy (PC/JC, 26 March 1962; HRC). In the early 1930s, when JS was at work on *TGU*, he and Campbell discussed, among other things, "the interpretation and use of symbolic forms" (Joseph Campbell/RD, 1 June 1979). For more on Campbell, JS and EFR, see Astro, *JS/EFR* (P. 41); Donald Newlove, "The Professor with a Thousand Faces," *Esquire*, 88, (1977), 134; and Hedgpeth, *OS*, 1 (pp. 14-15). See also entry 933.

156-157. Capa traveled to Russia with JS in 1947 and contributed the photographs and a chapter to *ARJ* (see the note to entry 698). After Capa's death in Indo-China in 1954, JS wrote a memorial piece for *Popular Photography*, 35 (1954), in which he said, "It does seem to me that Capa has proved beyond all doubt that the camera need not be a cold mechanical device. Like the pen, it is as good as the man who uses it. It can be the extension of mind and heart" (52).

158-159. JS's comment about writers from the "neurosis belt of the South" (*JN*, p. 115) was an allusion to Faulkner (see entries 276-282) and to Capote, whose *Other Voices, Other Rooms* he disliked because of its "decadence" (EO/RD, 20 August 1979). Warren French suggests that JS's characterization of Joe Elegant in *ST* (see especially Chapter 34) is a parody of Capote and his "famous publicity photograph" which accompanied *Other Voices, Other Rooms* (it shows Capote in a languid, sensual pose). See *John Steinbeck* (1961), pp. 159-160. JS's disappointment with patently self-conscious prose recalls his "disgust of Proust," who "wrote his sickness, and I don't like sick writing" (quoted in *NJS*, p. 92).

168-171. Moore accurately notes that JS liked Cather's work "immensely" (*NJS*, p. 92). More recently, in his revised edition of *John Steinbeck* (1975), Warren French outlines similarities between the careers and background of JS and

Cather, and reasonably asserts that the ending of *WOD* "is like that of Willa Cather's *The Professor's House*" (p. 163). According to his first wife, JS owned and read all of Cather's novels listed here (CB/RD, 21 September 1979). See also John Ditsky, "Land-Nostalgia in the Novels of Faulkner, Cather, and Steinbeck," (Dissertation, 1967).

187. JS refers to Chesterfield's letter of 22 May 1749, O.S.

188. In *The Rise of Romance* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), EV says, "John Steinbeck, in *Tortilla Flat* ... on his own admission, was inspired by memories of the *Quest of the Grail*" (p. 42). JS's admission probably came in private conversation with EV. Most of JS's comments about the Arthurian influence on *TF* are either general, as in "My Short Novels," where he speaks of his study of the "Arthurian cycle" (1953; rptd. in *SAHC*, p. 39), or specifically linked to "the Malory version" (*SLL*, p. 97). Lisca, however, noticed the connection with Chrétien de Troyes (*WWJS*, p. 77). More to the point, Arthur Kinney, who follows Roger Sherman Loomis' approach in *The Development of Arthurian Romance* (New York: Norton, 1963), notes that Chrétien's Lancelot was a caricature, and claims him as "the potential ancestor of Pilon, the Pirate and ... Big Joe Portagee." See his stimulating essay, "Tortilla Flat Re-Visited," in Hayashi, ed., *Steinbeck and the Arthurian Theme*, SMS #5 (1975), p. 16. Chrétien was much in Steinbeck's mind in the late 1950s; he told EO, "If Malory could rewrite Chrétien for his time, I can rewrite Malory for mine" (*ACTS*, p. 321). See also entry 506.

191. *On War* first appeared in 1832.

192. For more on Clavigero, see *SOC* (pp. 51-53, 209-210, 232-233).

193. When he was writing *WOD*, JS asked CH to send him books of political speeches. He wanted something with "the ringing tone, the bell-like timbre, the huge and measured metres of the 1850 political prose ..." and eventually settled on Clay (JS/CH, 28 June [1960]; Bracken). In *WOD* Ethan Allen Hawley learns that his son's prize-winning "I Love America" essay was plagiarized from one of Clay's speeches, "delivered in 1850" (p. 292). The speech was "A General Review of the Debate on the Compromise Bills," 22 July 1850.

195. Although it has been assumed that JS's interest in modern physics and the quantum theory was a result of his friendship with EFR (they met in 1930), he had obviously been reading on his own before then. Whether JS actually read the highly technical writings of Schrödinger, Planck, Bohr and Heisenberg--all mentioned in a letter to CS ([30 June 1933]; SUL)--or whether he learned of their discoveries through such primers as Condon's and Morse's, or through Eddington's monumental *The Nature of the Physical World* (see entry 252), is unresolved.

197-198. For Barnaby Conrad's relationship with JS, including efforts to film "Flight," see *Fun While It Lasted* (New York: Random House, 1969), pp. 383-389.

199-203. In response to a questionnaire by Alexander Janta (PEN International Center for Writers in Exile), JS agreed that Conrad was among the great writers of English literature, and that he owed some of his own development as a novelist to Conrad, but he did not elaborate (TMS, nd; HRC). See also his statement to Amassa Miller: "Conrad said that only two things sold, the very best and the very worst" ([December 1930], *SLL*, p. 32).

206. This seems to be one of JS's merely referential gestures in *A&A*. I have been unable to determine whether JS read all the volumes in Cooper's tales. His summary assessment of Cooper owes a great deal to Mark Twain's "Fenimore Cooper's Literary Offenses" (1895), which JS enjoyed reading aloud (Nathaniel Benchley/RD, 1 July 1980).

207-212. Besides the six volumes by Coulton which JS read in the period from May to October of 1957, he also later finished Coulton's *Art and the Reformation* (New York: Harper, 1958).

218. JS had read Crane quite early--around 1921. While his chronological placement of other American authors in *A&A* is accurate, his historical context for *The Red Badge*--he groups Crane with Melville and Whitman--is erroneous. In fact, JS was never quite able to place Crane properly. The holograph manuscript of *A&A* (p. 39; HRC) shows that he initially confused Hart Crane for Stephen Crane as author of *The Red Badge of Courage*. (JS might have read Hart Crane's poetry, but CH, who knew both men, never heard JS mention Hart Crane's work). See also Thomas Kiernan, *The Intricate Music* (1979), for JS's reputed autobiographical fallacy, his confusion of Stephen Crane for Henry Fleming (p. xiii).

NOTES FOR D

222. JS's portrait of Henri the painter in *CR* (see especially Chapter XXII) is a comic redaction of elements in Dali's autobiography.

224-225. While JS seems to have been most strongly impressed by Dante's *Inferno* (his comments here on the Italian language were suggested by a passage in Cary's introduction to *The Vision of Hell*, "The Life of Dante"), he had read the entire *Divine Comedy*, probably at a fairly early age. By the time he composed the statement about Aron Trask in *EE* he had obviously forgotten that the Doré illustrations of "massed and radiant angels" accompany Dante's *Paradiso*, not *Inferno*.

226-227. See *SOC* (pp. 135 and 192) for additional references to Darwin's two books.

229. JS contributed a blurb for the dust jacket of Davis's book (BMC #8, p. 98).

231-233. JS knew De Kruif quite well and was impressed with his thoughtful and timely work. JS was especially immersed in *The Fight for Life* because for a brief time in the spring of 1939 he was helping Pare Lorentz film it for the United States Film Service. He told CS: "I've been all over hell since I wrote last, to New York and Washington and Chicago and back to the South. I've been working with Lorentz... I wanted to know how pictures were made and didn't want to get the training in Hollywood so I've been carrying lights and working in every possible field even to the cutting room" (JS/CS, 23 June 1939; SUL). The book and the film-making experience provided him with background knowledge for this own script, *The Forgotten Village* (1941). See entry 694, and the note to entry 242 below.

236a. In "More About Aristocracy: Why Not a World Peerage?" *Saturday Review*, 38 (1955), 11, JS proposed that Dewey be ennobled "not only as a reward for service rendered, but as a goal for others to shoot at, as an enticement to effort for the world's good." Whether JS had read Dewey earlier in his life is unknown; it is certain, however, that he read a "large part" of *A Common Faith* during his *EE* period (CH/RD, 20 August 1979). See also the note to entry 428.

237-239. According to Susan Riggs, "Steinbeck at Stanford," *Stanford Magazine*, 4 (1976), Margery Bailey, one of JS's favorite professors, was "totally absorbed by Shakespeare, Restoration comedy, and Dickens in her teaching" (17). Except for *A Christmas Carol* (1843), how much more of Dickens JS read is unknown. There are similarities between the two writers, and for a discussion of their treatment of "idiots"--Barnaby in *Barnaby Rudge* and Lennie Small in *OMM*--consult Joan Steele's essay in *SLD* (pp. 16-27).

242. In his introduction to the Limited Editions Club *GOW* (1940), JHJ did not mention Dos Passos' influence on the intercalary sections, claiming instead that JS "talked to Pare Lorentz ... and listened to him expound his theory of the technique of the documentary film, heard a play back of the radio drama, *Ecce Homo!*, that Lorentz had done for the Columbia Workshop, unconsciously absorbed many of the Lorentz principles, as the merest glance at the 'interchapters' ... will show" (p. ix). This is a surprising assertion because JHJ ignored JS's advice, as the key paragraph from his letter (written well before JHJ's introduction) reveals: "It is interesting the Lorentz angle. Because I had laid out the inter-chapter method before I saw *The River* or *Ecce Homo*. Where I see the likeness now is in the chapter of the route where the towns are named [Chapter 12]. I have little doubt that the Lorentz is strong in that. But the other--may be influenced by Dos Passos to some extent but not Lorentz" (JS/JHJ, [ca. May, 1939]; Bancroft). In fact, JS's first wife emphasized his enthusiasm for all three volumes of *U.S.A.--The 42nd Parallel, 1919* and *The Big Money*--and suggested the trilogy expanded JS's conception of the novel form (CB/RD, 21 September 1979).

244. JS's comments to PC clearly echo T.E. Lawrence's introduction: "I believe [*Arabia Deserta*] to be one of the great prose works of our literature.... It seems not to have been written easily...."

246-247. JS deeply "admired" Dreiser's work, and was undeterred by a somewhat comical meeting with him in 1939. See volume III of Robert Elias's edition, *Letters of Theodore Dreiser* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), 868-869.

249a-249b. When JS was in Vancouver, British Columbia, in the fall of 1939 (JS/CS, 14 October 1939; SUL), he met or visited with Francis Aldham, editor of the *Vancouver Province* and founder of the Canadian Press Service. Aldham had a large

private library, and introduced JS to the work of Eric Duncan. GG believes JS met Duncan (he lived in Sandwick, British Columbia) too, but that has not been clearly established. It is certain, however, that JS later consulted these two books by Duncan for background information on Norwegian ancestry and the Lofoden Islands when he was writing *MOON* (GG/RD, 10 February 1982). See also the note to entry 552.

250. See Robert Morsberger's comment in "Steinbeck's Screenplays and Productions," in his edition of JS's *Viva Zapata!* (1975): "Steinbeck read [Dunn's book] but rejected its sensationalism; his own research for the film provided quite a different portrait of a restrained and responsible leader" (p. 132).

NOTES FOR E

252. JS and EFR refer to pages 208-210 of Eddington's book. JS's statements about building a world, in the Foreword to *BPT*, are indebted to Eddington's Chapter XI, "World Building." See also Astro, *JS/EFR* (pp. 24 and 29).

253-254. PC sent JS both of these books, and a bound copy of *Atlantic Monthly* (which featured Julia Ward Howe's "Battle Hymn of the Republic"). About Edman JS said: "Candle in the Dark is beautifully made and I have read Philosopher's Holiday and liked it" (JS/PC, 22 December [1939]; HRC). See also entry 403.

261. How much, if any, of Eliot's poetry JS read in the 1920s and 1930s is still a matter of conjecture. JS's preference for more accessible contemporary poets, such as Carl Sandburg and Robinson Jeffers, seems to suggest that Eliot's formal wizardry and allusive context would not have excited him. Nevertheless, as Richard Astro states in "Phlebas Sails the Caribbean: Steinbeck, Hemingway, and the American Waste Land," in Warren French, ed., *The Twenties* (1975), even if JS had not read Eliot before writing *COG*, Eliot's "universal metaphor" (also available to JS, as it had been for Eliot, in Jesse Weston's *From Ritual to Romance*) can be applied to the "spiritual condition" of *COG*, (p. 218). In the late 1950s, as his comments to EV indicate, JS did read *The Waste Land*. It had no eventual effect on *ACTS*, but it did strongly influence his last novel, *WOD*, as Donna Gerstenberger properly established in "Steinbeck's American Waste Land," *Modern*

Fiction Studies, 11 (1965), 59-65. JS's statement in A&A, "As it is with a poet, so it is with a people" (p. 117), is an allusion to Eliot's famous line that the world will end with a "whimper," not a "bang." During his marriage to Elaine, JS also owned a copy of Eliot's play, *The Cocktail Party* (1950).

262. Since the appearance of Frederic Carpenter's essay, "The Philosophical Joads," in *College English* (1941; rptd. in *SAHC*, pp. 241-249), JS's indebtedness to Emerson and to the influence of the native American philosophical tradition stemming from Transcendentalism, has been among the most persistent refrains in Steinbeck criticism. Richard Astro has countered that argument (but not necessarily extinguished it) by demonstrating JS's more immediate reliance on the work of several holistic and organismal scientists--Allee, Boodin, Briffault, Ritter and Smuts--whose world views were similar in some respects to Emerson's (*JS/EFR*, p. 48). Nonetheless, JS did read Emerson, notably "Self-Reliance," "The Oversoul," "The American Scholar," and "Experience," "prior to 1935" (JS/Joseph Fontenrose, 26 August 1958; Bancroft), and certainly enough to support John Ditsky's claim in *Essays on "East of Eden," SMS #7* (1977), that "the parallels between Emerson's thinking and Steinbeck's are innumerable" (p. 47; my emphasis). In response to a query about Emerson's influence on Jim Casy's beliefs (in *GOW*), JS told James Brasch, "I am afraid you will have to set the Emerson likeness down to parallelism rather than direct influence" (21 September 1954; SRC).

265. This was JS's chief source for *COG*. However, I have not been able to determine which modern edition he used, and whether he encountered it while at Stanford (where, according to ACD, JS and his friends frequently discussed pirates), or during 1925 when he was in New York (where, according to Lawrence Clark Powell, JS "read up on Wales and Morgan..."). See Agatha Te Maat, "John Steinbeck: On the Nature of the Creative Process in the Early Years," (Dissertation, 1975), pp. 38; 74-75. There were at least three editions of the Anglicized (1684-1685) version of Esquemeling's book published around the turn of the century: one edited by H. Powell (London: Allen and Unwin, 1893); one published in 1898 in London by Swan Sonnenschein Company; and one edited by William S. Stalleybrass, with an Introduction by Andrew Lang (New York: Dutton, nd). JS's familiarity with Lang might have drawn him to that edition. For a discussion of JS's use of Esquemeling, see Darlene Eddy, "To Go A-Buccaneering and Take a Spanish Town: Some Seventeenth Century Aspects of *Cup of Gold*," *SQ*, 8 (1975), 3-12.

270. Henry Morgan's meeting with Charles II and John Evelyn which occurs in Chapter V of *COG* was probably suggested by several entries in Evelyn's diary, made between 1671 and 1674, where he records seeing Morgan in London. See Darlene Eddy's essay on *COG* (cited directly above), and Peter Lisca, *John Steinbeck: Nature and Myth* (1978), p. 27.

271. The uncluttered parable effect which JS strove for in his writing between 1947 and 1952 was aided by the example of *Everyman*. He originally used it as the working title of *BB*, and later told PC that he considered Cal Trask (in *EE*) his "Everyman" figure (*SLL*, pp. 380-381, 429).

272. JS considered Ewer's book "turgid" (RC/RD, 24 November 1979).

NOTES FOR F

273. In 1924 JS was delighted by the "ridiculous rustic dialogue" of *The Broad Highway* (CS/RD, 13 May 1979). See also NV who says JS "... fell under the spell of ... Farnol" (*JSEK*, p. 87).

274-275. EFR read far less fiction than JS, but among his favorite contemporary novelists--Hemingway, Henry Miller and Steinbeck--these two books by Farrell were important. *No Star is Lost* inspired EFR's lines, "Nothing is wasted. No star is lost" (*OS*, 2, p. 146; transcribed verbatim in *SOC*, p. 263). *Studs Lonigan* reflected EFR's Chicago up-bringing and his non-teleological beliefs (*JS/EFR*, p. 56). But JS, who had read EFR's copy of *Studs Lonigan* (it was one of the books in WFL), invested his own reaction in the following account, which has no corresponding parallel in EFR's notes of the *Western Flyer's* trip to the Sea of Cortez: "The crew read books they have not known about--Tony reads *Studs Lonigan* and says he does not like to see such words in print. And we are reminded that we once did not like to hear them spoken because we were not used to them. When we became used to hearing them, they took their place with the simple speech-sounds of the race of man. Tony reads on in *Studs Lonigan*, and the shock of the new words ... left him and he grew into the experience of Studs. Tiny read the book too. He said, 'It's like something that happened to me'" (*SOC*, p. 90). See also JS's comment to ES with entry 622.

276-282. JS followed Faulkner's career more closely than has generally been acknowledged. His second wife recalled that in the 1940s "He wasn't particularly enthusiastic about Faulkner,

but he always had respect for great writers" ("CW," p. 256). His later responses ranged from private hostility and jealousy, to public homage. In his letter of 16 May 1956 to James Pope, JS attacked Faulkner's statements on "The Artist" in Jean Stein's "Art of Fiction" interview (*Paris Review*, 4 [Spring, 1956]) and accused him of pomposity and plagiarism. "I don't know," he continued, "whether the Nobel Prize does it or not, but if it does, thank God I have not been so honored" (*SLL*, p. 529; see also his letter to Pascal Covici, Jr., [13 April 1956], *SLL*, pp. 527-528). But by 1962, as JS's own Nobel Prize Speech declares, Faulkner had become his "great predecessor," and four years later, in *A&A*, he was permanently installed as one of "the great ones" in JS's pantheon of American writers (p. 162). In the later years JS read Faulkner with greater tolerance, probably because his attitude had been tempered by some personal and written communications with him in 1956 and 1957. On 29 November 1956 they met at Harvey Breit's home in New York City to convene a newly-formed writer's committee for President Eisenhower's People-to-People Program. (JS brought the Hungarian writer George Tabori; Saul Bellow, Edna Ferber, Donald Hall, Robert Hillyer, Elmer Rice and William Carlos Williams were also present.) The following day Hall, JS and Faulkner met at Random House to draft a statement which recommended measures to counteract Soviet influence in Hungary and Poland. At this second meeting, JS and Faulkner became friendly, and Donald Hall remembers "the two men swapped hunting stories." See Joseph Blotner, *Faulkner: A Biography* (New York: Random House, 1974), II (1623-1625). In February, 1957, there was another cordial exchange concerning JS's upcoming trip to the PEN Congress in Tokyo, which he attended that September with John Dos Passos, John Hersey and Elmer Rice (*SLL*, pp. 564-572). For more on this personal angle, see Richard Peterson, "Homer Was Blind: John Steinbeck on the Character of William Faulkner," *SQ*, 11 (1978), 15-20; and for the larger literary parallels, John Ditsky, "Steinbeck and William Faulkner," *SLD* (pp. 28-45).

284. JS borrowed numerous details from Faure's characterization of Lady Godiva for his own development of Cathy Ames in *EE*. While Faure's portrayal of Leofric (Godiva's husband) might have suggested some of Adam Trask's characteristics, the personality and role of Ezra (Leofric's advisor) conspicuously informed Steinbeck's portrayal of Lee. See my essay, "Lady Godiva and Cathy Ames: A Contribution to *East of Eden*'s Background," *SQ*, 14 (1981), 72-83.

293. In "CW" Halladay records GS's comments on Finney's book: "John encouraged me to adapt *The Circus of Dr. Lao* for the stage with Nathaniel Benchley. He had always adored that book, and after we were divorced, the play was produced" (p. 221). The adaptation by GS and Benchley is at SRC.

297-298. JS seems to have escaped Fitzgerald's enormous influence, a point tellingly established by Brian Barbour's "Steinbeck as a Short Story Writer" in Tetsumaro Hayashi, ed., *A Study Guide to Steinbeck's "The Long Valley"* (1976), p. 114. Warren French's discussion of similarities between *The Great Gatsby* and *COG*, in his revised *John Steinbeck* (1975), pp. 46-48, should be seen as an example of artistic coincidence rather than influence; so should Kiyohiko Tsuboi's "Steinbeck's *Cup of Gold* and Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*," in *John Steinbeck: East and West*, SMS #8 (1978), pp. 40-47.

301. On EV's advice, JS read Flaubert's "Legend of St. Julien the Hospataller" (1877); JS considered it a "brilliant piece of work" (JS/EV, 20 July 1957; SUL). I am indebted to Mrs. Eugène Vinaver for this identification.

310. See Fontenrose, *JSII* (p. 46), for an indication that *The Revolt of the Angels* "contributed" to *IDB*.

312. JS is rumored to have owned all twelve volumes of *The Golden Bough*, but I have been unable to verify that (CS/RD, 20 May 1979). Frazer was important to JS, especially in regard to *TGU*, though the most striking parallels--including the sacred oak tree which Joseph Wayne believes contains the spirit of his dead father--were available to him in his abridged version. See also Lisca, who reports that EFR "once referred to *The Golden Bough* as 'Steinbeck's *vade mecum*'" (*WWJS*, P. 223); and Lewis, "John Steinbeck: Architect of the Unconscious," (Dissertation, 1972), Chapter I.

312a. PC gave a copy of French's book to JS, and noted in a letter, "For the first time I am reading a critical biography of yourself without cringing" (PC/JS, 6 November 1961; HRC).

313-314. JS was aware of the main tenets of Freud's psychological theories, as suggested in his letter of 9 August 1933 to Carl Wilhelmson (*SLL*, p. 87), but he never studied Freud intensively, and never preferred his work to Carl Jung's (CH/RD, 20 August 1979). He once told CS, "Freudian criticism has always seemed a kind of waste of time" (23 June 1939; SUL). The spectre of Freud still casts shadows: