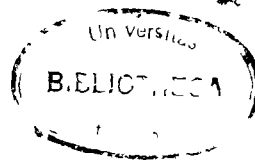


A STUDY OF MELVILLE'S JOURNALS, LECTURES, AND LETTERS

By Therman Benjamin O'Daniel

A Dissertation in English Presented to the
Faculty of Arts of the University of Ottawa
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy



Ottawa, Canada, 1955

UMI Number: DC53971

INFORMATION TO USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted. Broken or indistinct print, colored or poor quality illustrations and photographs, print bleed-through, substandard margins, and improper alignment can adversely affect reproduction.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if unauthorized copyright material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.

UMI[®]

UMI Microform DC53971
Copyright 2011 by ProQuest LLC
All rights reserved. This microform edition is protected against
unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code.

ProQuest LLC
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106-1346

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

In the preparation of this "Study of Melville's Journals, Lectures, and Letters," I unavoidably incurred a great debt to numerous Melvillean scholars and investigators, and to many other literary historians and critics. In every case where I drew directly upon their investigations, I expressed my appreciation immediately, in the form of footnotes. Nevertheless, I wish again to thank all of them here, for certainly the results of their studious inquiries into countless aspects of the author's life and works, lightened my labors and enabled me to complete my special study in a shorter time than otherwise would have been possible.

To the editors and transcribers of the three manuscript journals: Mr. Raymond M. Weaver, Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf, the anonymous editor of the "Journal of Melville's Voyage in a Clipper Ship," Mr. Jay Leyda, and Mr. Howard C. Horsford; to the legion of investigators who discovered, collected, transcribed, and edited the letters; and to those who did the same for the newspaper reports on the lectures, I owe, and acknowledge here, a special debt of gratitude.

Likewise, an expression of my appreciation is due to The Fund for the Advancement of Education for the generous fellowship grant which I received, during the academic year of 1951-1952, to enable me to broaden my qualifications for college

teaching. This grant made it possible for me to complete most of the research work that this study required. I must add, however, and the same applies to all who aided me, that The Fund for the Advancement of Education is not to be held responsible for any of the conclusions reached by me, nor for any of the shortcomings of this study.

I am grateful also to the Committee on Higher Degrees in the History of American Civilization of Harvard University, for permitting me to examine the manuscripts and the other materials in the Melville Collection in the Houghton Library; to Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf, who graciously invited me to her home, talked with me about her grandfather, and offered me the use of books and other materials in her private collection; and to the Massachusetts Historical Society for permitting me to read Melville's manuscript letters to Richard Henry Dana, Jr., in the Collection of Dana papers.

The following other libraries and their staffs have been of valuable assistance to me in many ways: Widener Library of Harvard University, Boston Public Library, Berkshire Athenaeum, University of Ottawa Library, Free Library of Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library, Temple University Library, New York State Library in Albany, New York, and The Fort Valley State College Library, Fort Valley, Georgia.

For obvious reasons I have saved my particular expressions of appreciation to three persons until the last.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

iv

To my wise counselor and constructive critic, Dr. Raymond H. Shevenell, who with rare patience and friendliness, directed this dissertation from beginning to end, I owe a special debt of gratitude which I am happy to acknowledge. To the memory of my mother I wish to pay my sincere respects, for while she lived she made my interests and ambitions her own, and spared no sacrifices to help me achieve them. Finally, my deep obligations to my wife are too numerous, varied, and personal to specify here, but I experience exceedingly great joy in acknowledging them.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
INTRODUCTION	vi
I.- THE MELVILLE CANON	1
1. Books	4
2. Newspaper Contributions	8
3. Magazine Contributions	24
4. <u>Billy Budd</u> and Other Posthumous Works	63
II.- HERMAN MELVILLE AS A WRITER OF JOURNALS	76
III.- MELVILLE THE LECTURER	95
IV.- THE LETTERS OF HERMAN MELVILLE	112
1. Melville's Earliest Published Letters	118
2. Correspondence with James Billson	134
3. Letters in Raymond Weaver's Biography	141
4. To Evert and George Duyckinck	145
5. Letters Written to Children	177
6. Correspondence with His Family and Others	182
7. To Elizabeth Melville and Samuel Shaw	225
8. To Richard Henry Dana, Jr.	232
9. Correspondence with Editors and Publishers	238
10. To Chief Justice Shaw and Others	268
11. Concerning Books and Lectures	272
12. Final Letters of Herman Melville	277
CONCLUSION	292
BIBLIOGRAPHY	303

Appendix

1. AN ABSTRACT OF <u>A Study of Melville's</u> <u>Journals, Lectures, and Letters</u>	359
ANALYTICAL INDEX	362

INTRODUCTION

"Until I was twenty-five, I had no development at all," wrote Herman Melville to Nathaniel Hawthorne, in June of 1851. "From my twenty-fifth year I date my life."¹ This statement, written by the younger author to his older and more famous literary friend, is extremely important because of its significant autobiographical meaning, for in it, Melville virtually tells Hawthorne it was at twenty-five that he found himself; it was at this age that he knew definitely what he wanted to do in life. And, it is plainly evident, that what he wanted to do, was to write, because he lost no time setting about doing it.

On October 3, 1844, two months and two days after his twenty-fifth birthday, the U. S. Frigate United States landed him at Boston, and Herman Melville was a sailor home from the sea. During the three years that he had been away, he had experienced the excitement and hardship of whaling; he had lived through a brief period of captivity among cannibals; he had been involved in mutiny; he had spent much time in drifting about, here and there, in the South Seas; and, in order to get back home, he had signed for one cruise on the United

¹ Herman Melville, "Letter to Nathaniel Hawthorne, June 1 (?), 1851," in Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Boston, James R. Osgood and Company, 1885, Vol. 1, p. 405.

States, and had received his share of adventures in the U. S. Navy. Now, according to Mr. Gilman:

The life of physical experience was over; the life of intellectual experience was about to begin as Melville set a restless and increasingly powerful imagination and an earnest moral sense to work upon the raw materials in his memory. 2

It was to this period of his life, after his return from the sea, that Melville referred when he wrote to Hawthorne about dating his life from his twenty-fifth year, and adding: "Three weeks have scarcely passed, at any time between then and now, that I have not unfolded within myself."³ But, this "unfolding" was, by no means, just an internal process; it was external as well; for now, as it has been stated, he knew definitely what he wanted to do, and he lost no time in doing it. Of this, Mr. Gilman writes:

According to tradition, his friends, excited by his tales, urged him to put them into print. Within a year after his return to his mother's house in Lansingburgh, he had completed the writing of Typee. 4

Typee was Melville's first novel; in fact, his first

2 William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life and "Redburn", New York, New York University Press, 1951, p. 161.

3 Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, pp. 405-406.

4 William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life and "Redburn", p. 161.

book of any description. Although it was completed in 1845, "within a year after his return to his mother's house in Lansingburgh," it was not published until early in 1846. His oldest brother, Gansevoort, a successful lawyer and politician, was going to London as secretary to the legation, and he took the manuscript of Typee with him when he sailed on July 31, 1845.⁵ Gansevoort offered the manuscript to John Murray, who, after being convinced of the authenticity of its contents and after receiving some new material from the author, purchased the manuscript and published it in February and April, 1846, under the title of: Narrative of a Four Months' Residence Among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands; or, A Peep at Polynesian Life. In the meantime, Gansevoort had shown the proof sheets of the manuscript to Mr. George P. Putnam, and this led to the publication of the work, in New York, by Wiley and Putnam, in April of 1846. The title of the American edition, differing to some extent from the English edition, read: Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life, During A Four Months' Residence in a Valley of the Marquesas with Notices of the French Occupation of Tahiti and the Provisional Cession of the Sandwich Islands to Lord Paulet.

Melville dedicated Typee to Lemuel Shaw, Chief Justice

⁵ Jay Leyda, The Melville Log: A Documentary Life of Herman Melville, 1819-1891, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951, Vol. 1, p. 197.

of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. After the publication and sensational success of this work, and likewise of his second book, Omoo, the author made two momentous decisions, and proceeded immediately to execute them. He married the charming Elizabeth Shaw, only daughter of the distinguished Chief Justice, to whom Typee had been dedicated; and he renewed, with greater determination, his resolution to make professional writing his life's career. With the first of these events, which occurred on August 4, 1847, we have no immediate concern here, but the second vitally interests us, for out of it, came all the books and manuscripts in the Melville Canon.

Although this study begins with a rather thorough review of the complete Melville canon, its main purpose is to present a comprehensive account of only three types of compositions produced by this great American author. The particular writings of Herman Melville which receive special treatment here, are his journals, his lectures, and his letters. It is hoped that the review of his entire canon, at the beginning, will supply many literary and biographical facts which will provide a rich background for the whole study; and that it will serve, especially, to make the later detailed discussions of his journals, lectures, and letters, better understood and appreciated.

Excluding the first chapter, entitled, "The Melville Canon," the purpose of which has been explained in the paragraph

above, this study is divided into three major parts: one for Melville's journals, another for his lectures, and the last for his letters. To each of these main parts, a chapter in the study is devoted.

In the second chapter, "Herman Melville as a Writer of Journals," an attempt is made to describe the type of journal writer Melville was; to give an account of the experiences which he had that provided the material for his three journals; and to indicate the literary use which he made of the journal entries in some of his later works.

The next chapter, "Melville the Lecturer," gives the titles of his three lectures, together with some speculations regarding their contents; makes an attempt to designate the cities and towns in the East and Middle West where he made appearances on the lecture platform; and presents some reasons for his lack of success as a lecturer.

The third and final chapter in the body of this study is concerned with "The Letters of Herman Melville," and it is by far the longest of the three major parts, for Melville was a prolific letter writer. Wherein his journals, at best, are fragmentary, and wherein no manuscript copies of his lectures are known to exist, a large number of his excellent letters have been preserved. Thus, with considerably more material available to work with, it was possible to present a fuller treatment of this aspect of Melville's personal life and

professional career.

The purpose of this chapter is to present a thorough discussion and analysis of these letters; to interpret significant details in their contents which furnish valuable biographical and literary information; to note the charm and beauty of their style, and the manner in which Melville's true personality is revealed in them; and most important of all, to indicate how their general epistolary excellencies bid fair to give their author a richly deserved place among the great letter writers of all times.

CHAPTER I

THE MELVILLE CANON

During his lifetime Herman Melville wrote and published, in book form, nine novels, one volume of short stories and sketches, and four volumes of verse - a total of fourteen books. His first book appeared in 1846; his last, forty-five years later, in 1891, the year of his death. Just before his death he completed Billy Budd, his tenth novel, but so great had his literary reputation declined, that this admirable work, which now ranks high in his canon, had to remain in manuscript until 1924 before being published.

Besides his books, Melville wrote a number of stories and sketches, some articles, and some book reviews, which appeared in several of the leading contemporary magazines, but were never collected during his lifetime. And, of course, he left an accumulation of material in manuscript form, which included, not only Billy Budd, the important little novel already mentioned but journals and letters, and a mass of miscellaneous prose and verse.

Herman Melville's forty-five years¹ of creative literary activity may be divided into two very unequal and con-

¹ Melville published fugitive pieces, as early as 1838 and 1839, in The Albany Microscope, and The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser, but his professional literary career really began with the publication of Typee, in 1846.

trasting periods of eleven and thirty-four years, respectively, with the shorter span being, quantitatively, more productive, and, qualitatively, more distinguished than the longer one.

During the first period, from 1846 to 1857, Melville wrote all his novels - with the exception of one - including his masterpiece, Moby-Dick; his best, as well as, the bulk of his short stories and sketches; his best piece of literary criticism; his two longest journals; and some of the best and most self-revealing of his personal letters. This period was almost exclusively a period of prose, and the prose works produced were directed to and definitely designed for public consumption, for Melville, all during this time, was the professional creative artist who was trying to make a living by his pen. Not once did he consider attempting "to stoop to conquer," for he had his own standards, below which he would not descend; yet, with the production of ten books and a mass of other writing in just eleven years; it cannot be denied that no one ever tried harder to succeed than he.

All who know his tragic story are aware of the fact that, in a commercial sense, he did not succeed. Hence, after 1857, there was a drastic change in his way of life. "Year after year," writes Mr. Weaver, "to go on perpetually writing books that would not sell was a luxury he could not

afford."² Still, Herman Melville was a literary genius, a creator of art, and "his impulse to write he seemed to have been unable to completely strangle."³

Thus, he continued to write, but in a more private and leisurely manner, until the very end of his life. Poetry now claimed his attention, and this second literary period, extending from 1857 to 1891, became, principally, a period of poetic production. Yet, only four books of verse - two of them rather thin and printed privately - were published in thirty-four years, as compared with the ten volumes of prose plus the magazine contributions, which appeared in the eleven-year first period. There was some prose written, too, but none of it was published until long after his death. So, this second period was a distinct contrast to the first. In it, there were no definite printers' deadlines to meet; no particular public to please; and no profits expected; only the personal ecstasy that was sure to come from the private self-expression of an artist who could not force himself to be completely silent.

2 Raymond Weaver, Editor, Shorter Novels of Herman Melville, New York, Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1942, "Introduction," p. xlv.

3 Ibid., p. xlii.

1. Books

Previously, it has been stated that Herman Melville wrote and published fourteen books during his lifetime. It has been noted, too, that ten of these were works of prose, and four were volumes of verse. Also, attention has been called to the fact that Melville's prose works were published during an eleven-year period which we have chosen to call his First Literary Period; while his poetic books appeared during a span of thirty-four years, which we have designated as his Second Literary Period.

During the first period, Melville published Typee, in 1846; Omoo, in 1847; Mardi, in 1849; Redburn, also in 1849; White Jacket, in 1850; Moby-Dick, in 1851; Pierre, in 1852; Israel Potter, in 1855; The Piazza Tales, in 1856, and The Confidence-Man, in 1857.

Nine of these books were novels; while the tenth, The Piazza Tales, was a volume of short stories and sketches, consisting of six pieces, five of which had appeared earlier in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, between 1853 and 1855. The exact date when each story appeared will be given later, in the section treating Melville's contributions to newspapers and magazines, but their titles were: "Bartleby"; "Benito Cereno"; "The Lightning-Rod Man"; "The Encantadas; or, 'Enchanted Islands"; and "The Bell-Tower." The only new sketch, "The Piazza", was the title story of the collection.

It appeared first in the volume, but had never before been published. Of it Mr. Oliver writes: "'The Piazza' was probably written in mid-February, 1856, shortly prior to publication of the book, to serve as a unifying sketch."⁴

"To the London house of John Murray belongs the credit of having first recognized Melville,"⁵ for, as we have seen, it was the head of this English publishing firm who purchased the Typee manuscript, and it was not until "after John Murray had agreed to publish the book in England," that "the American rights were purchased by Wiley and Putnam."⁶ Typee thus "appeared in book form in 1846 simultaneously in New York and London, being one of the first works to be published in this manner."⁷ The next year Murray also published Omoo in London, while Harper and Brothers, who, by this time, had become Melville's American publishers, issued the book simultaneously in New York. By adopting this method of having his books issued abroad and at home simultaneously, or approximately so, Melville assured himself and his publishers of limited

⁴ Egbert S. Oliver, Editor, Piazza Tales, by Herman Melville, New York, Hendricks House-Farrar Straus, 1948, "Introduction," p. ix.

⁵ Meade Minnigerode, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and A Bibliography, New York, The Brick Row Book Shop, Inc., 1922, p. 105.

⁶ Ibid., p. 105.

⁷ Ibid., p. 105.

protection against piracy in an age that had no international copyright law.

After John Murray had published Melville's first two books, Typee and Omoo, the author offered him the first opportunity, in England, to publish his third book Mardi,

. . . at the fanciful price of £ 150 for the first edition plus half profits of all future editions after expenses had been paid. . . . It did not occur to Melville that Murray was averse to publishing fiction of any sort, nor did he know that influential pressure was being brought on the English house to drop him from the Home and Colonial Library on the grounds that his books were not the sort that "any mother would like to see in the hands of her daughters... 8

Nevertheless, Murray hesitated for some time before finally ejecting the book late in February of 1849.

. . . Accordingly, John R. Brodhead, who continued to act as Melville's agent, took the work to Richard Bentley who, on March 3, accepted it and agreed to give its author the aristocratic distinction of being paid in quineas instead of pounds - and to pay him two hundred of them as an advance against his share of the profits. Bentley was apparently both nervous about a book that had been in the hands of another English publisher and willing to make up for any time lost in negotiations, for he proved his ability to hold his own in the fierce competition which characterized the piratical days of his trade by proposing to get out a book of more than a thousand pages two weeks after he had agreed to publish it. Mardi apparently made its first appearance on or about March 17 in an edition

8 Leon Howard, Herman Melville: A Biography, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1951, p. 117.

of three volumes which sold at a half guinea each. It was probably the first "three-decker" novel by an American published in England and one of the most expensive American books to be issued by an English press. Such a method of publication was not designed to make Melville a widely read author, but it would enable the publisher to make a profit if he disposed of the first edition of a thousand copies. The speed with which the whole business was handled took the Harpers completely by surprise, and although the first volume of their edition was ready by the end of March, Mardi did not make its formal appearance before the American public until April 14. 9

After publishing Mardi, in 1849, Richard Bentley continued as Melville's English publisher through 1851. During that time, in addition to Mardi, he published Redburn, White Jacket, and Moby-Dick. In America, these same works, plus Pierre in 1852, were issued by Harper and Brothers. "Bentley, presumably pleading the state of the copyright, had refused to publish Pierre; and the best arrangement which could be made for an English edition was an issue of the American sheets under the imprint of the Harpers' London agent, Sampson, Low, Son, and Company, which was to appear in November."¹⁰

After Pierre, Harper and Brothers did not publish any more of Melville's prose works. Israel Potter (1855) was published, in America, by G. P. Putnam and Company, and, in England, by G. Routledge and Company. The Piazza Tales and The Confidence-Man both were issued by Dix and Edwards

9 Ibid., p. 129.

10 Ibid., p. 198.

in New York; while, in London, Sampson, Low, Son, and Company brought out The Piazza Tales, and Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts published The Confidence-Man.

The four books published by Melville during his Second Literary Period were: Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War, in 1866; Clarel: A Poem and Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, in 1876; John Marr and Other Sailors, in 1888; and Timoleon, etc., in 1891. All four of these works, as previously stated, were volumes of verse. Battle-Pieces was published by Harper and Brothers; Clarel, in two volumes, by G. P. Putnam's Sons, at the expense of Peter Gansevoort, Melville's uncle; John Marr, by the De Vinne Press; and Timoleon, by the Caxton Press. The last two thin volumes were privately printed, at the author's own expense, and limited to just twenty-five copies. Not a one of Melville's books of poetry was published in England, and none of them was ever reprinted anywhere during his lifetime.

2. Newspaper Contributions

Melville's contributions to newspapers belong to what may be called, the pre-professional or apprenticeship period of his life as an author; his contributions to magazines, to the period after he had become a professional writer. He published only a few occasional pieces in newspapers, and these pieces, as far as it is known, were limited

to two papers:¹¹ The Albany Microscope and The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser.

To The Albany Microscope, Melville contributed three letters, one of which the editor divided into two parts and ran each part in a separate issue. Thus, the author's three letters appeared in four issues of the paper. Two of these letters were replies to attacks upon him which had appeared in previous issues of the Microscope. In order that they may be understood and fully appreciated, the following brief sketch of the background, which led up to them, is given.

In the summer of 1830 when Allan Melville's business failed in New York City, he moved his family to Albany, where business was no better for him, and where he became ill and worried himself to death in January of 1832. The oldest boy, Gansevoort, immediately left school and took over his father's business, and soon thereafter, Herman, also, withdrew from school and took a clerk's job in the New York State Bank.

Though forced to leave school, both boys became active in all of the local organizations which offered any advantages for intellectual development. Gansevoort was already a member of the Albany Young Men's Association when Herman,

11 Unless, perhaps, he wrote the election notice, which appeared in the Albany Evening Journal for February 13, 1838, announcing that he had been "unanimously elected to serve" as president of the Philo Logos Society. See: William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, p. 91, and Note, No. 28, p. 321; and Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, p. 74.

who did not quite meet the minimum age requirement of sixteen, joined the organization in January of 1835. The future author seems to have had an enthusiastic interest in oratory and debating, at this time, for when there was a decline in the debating activities of the Association, he joined the Ciceronian Debating Society, and when this organization dissolved, he joined the Philo Logos Society.

As far as we know, he was an active member of the last named Society until 1837, when Gansvoort's business failed. In the fall of this year, Herman, in an attempt to lend his aid to the improvement of the family fortune, left Albany for Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where he tried his luck as a country school teacher. "But one term of school teaching," writes Mr. Gilman, "seems to have been quite enough for him. By January Herman was back in Albany. Finding the Philo Logos Society moribund, he set about reviving it (with the assistance of Uncle Peter, who seems to have lent a room and furniture in Stanwix Hall). On February 9 Herman was elected president, and immediately he found himself embroiled in a controversy that makes up one of the most amusing and illuminating chapters in his early life."¹²

The combatants in this verbal battle were Charles Van Loon, ex-president of the Philo Logos Society, and Herman Melville, the newly elected president. And since it happened

12 William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, p. 90.

that the controversy was not confined to the privacy of the Philo Logos Society's meetings, this accounted for the fact that Melville became a temporary contributor to The Albany Microscope.

After the announcement¹³ of the recently elected officers of the Philo Logos Society appeared in the Albany Evening Journal, a letter,¹⁴ stating that no such Society existed, and publicly denouncing the election as "a mere farce" and "a hoax," was published in The Albany Microscope, by a correspondent who signed himself "Sandle Wood."

Melville strongly resented this attack, and what angered him more was the fact that he was convinced that "Sandle Wood" was none other than Charles Van Loon. Therefore, he wrote a bitter reply to "Sandle Wood"; signed his letter "Philologist"; and published it in The Albany Microscope for February 24, 1838. Melville opened his attack with the following statement: "In every community there is a class of individuals, who are of so narrow-minded and jealous a disposition that deserving merit when developed in others, fills their bosoms with hatred and malice." He developed this idea to some extent; then proceeded to show how "powerless and feeble" and how "harmless" such people had become even though

13 Ibid., Note, No. 28, p. 321; and Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, p. 74.

14 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, p. 75.

they might be considered "as a band of moral outlaws" who used "falsehood and deceit" as their weapons. He then closed by placing Charles Van Loon at the forefront of this class of people, and by offering, to anyone who desired it, a chance to prove that the Philo Logos Society did exist. He accomplished these latter objectives in the following manner:

In the van of these notable worthies stands pre-eminent, that silly and brainless loon who composed the article in your last week's paper, denying the existence of the Philo Logos Society, the legality of its recent election, and its alleged possession of a room in Stanwix Hall.

Any individual calling at No. 9 Gallery, Stanwix Hall, next Friday evening at 7 o'clock, will receive indubitable evidence of the utter fallacy of "Sandle Wood's" statement, and will see the society in full operation, the officers (of whose election the public was notified in the Evening Journal,) in the act of discharging their respective duties, and as well furnished a room as is "owned, rented, or any manner used," by the most flourishing debating institution of which old Gotham may boast.

PHILOLOGIAN. 15

In the Microscope for March 10, Charles Van Loon, under the signature of "Ex-President," denied that he was "Sandle Wood," and denied having written the letter that had been signed with such a pseudonym, but in defense of what he called, "a foul, dastardly attack upon" his character, he blasted away at Melville in a venomous manner and at some

15 Herman Melville, "A Letter," signed "Philologist", in The Albany Microscope, issue of February 24, 1838, (reprinted in William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, pp. 251-252; and, in part, in Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, pp. 75-76.)

great length. He said that Melville "richly merited" the "title 'Ciceronian baboon'" which his "fantastic tricks" had "earned for him." "But," he said, "I shall lead him up before the public under the more romantic appellation of Hermanus Melvillian. Hermanus Melvillian, a moral Ethiopian, whose conscience qualms not in view of the most atrocious guilt; whose brazen cheek never tingles with the blush of shame, whose moral principles, and sensibilities, have been destroyed by the corruption of his own black and bloodless heart."¹⁶

He accused Melville of conducting himself in a disgraceful manner at the meetings of the Philo Logos Society, and held him responsible before leaving Albany, for bringing about the decline of this organization, "whose infant bloom and youthful vigor," had given "promise of a long and useful existence." And, finally, Van Loon accused Melville, upon his return to Albany, of calling an "unauthorized and unconstitutional meeting" of the Society, and having himself "Duly elected President."¹⁷

This attack by Van Loon provoked a reply from Melville that was so long that the editor of the Microscope divided it into two parts and featured it in a column on the front page of two issues of his paper. In "Part I," of this "Letter,"

16 William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, p. 253.

17 Ibid., pp. 253-254.

which was signed "Philologian," and which appeared in the Microscope for March 17, 1838, Melville stated that it had not been his intention to write another letter after he submitted the first one, but what had happened since that time had caused him to change his plans. He then said that he was "at a loss to account for the avidity with which" Van Loon sought "to drag before the public a distorted" account of a private organization; unless it was "a mere feint or stratagem, under which" he sought "to overthrow" Melville's reputation.

After these introductory statements, he proceeded with his reply to Van Loon, whom he addressed as "Mr. 'Sandle Wood' alias 'Ex-President', alias C*****s V*n L**n." He condemned the extreme abusiveness of Van Loon's letter, and said that he would not attempt to compete with him "for the palm of vulgarity, nor seek to emulate the Billingsgate volubility of abuse" which Van Loon practiced "to perfection." He said that his antagonist had failed in a pitiable manner "to substantiate" his "infamous allegations," and that he was profoundly indifferent to all his "professions of hatred, hostility and revenge." And since Van Loon, at the time, was studying to be a Baptist minister, Melville closed with the following bit of irony: "May these truly christian attributes cling around the sacred lawn with which you are hereafter to be invested, and your angelic nature be a fit

illustration of the peaceful spirit of the gospel you profess."¹⁸

The second part of this "Letter" appeared in The Albany Microscope for March 24, 1838, and was signed "Philologean." In it, Melville continued his attack upon Van Loon; this time, by answering the various charges made by his antagonist, and by making countercharges. He said that Van Loon, in his adverse criticism of the relationship which existed between Melville and the Philo Logos Society, had shown himself "a stranger to veracity." He stated that he joined the Society upon the invitation of some of its members, and when Van Loon offered a motion to censure him, the members voted it down. When "called from town for a few months," he "left the society in an apparently healthful and prosperous condition;" but on his return, his "astonishment was unlimited" when he saw it "in the last stages of a rapid decline." He and some others tried to revive it, and they succeeded, but Van Loon, the president, did not cooperate. The election was perfectly constitutional, and he (Melville), "the present incumbent was unanimously preferred to the presidency." Through his endeavors, "a large and elegant room was obtained in Stanwix Hall, together with suitable furniture to the same,

¹⁸ Herman Melville, "A Letter, Part I," signed "Philologian," in The Albany Microscope, issue of March 17, 1838. (Reprinted in William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, pp. 254-256; and, in part, in Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, pp. 76-77.)

free from all expenses to the society."

At a subsequent meeting of the Society, where matters "progressed with utmost harmony and good feeling," Melville charged that Van Loon, "stung with disappointment, smarting with envy, and boiling with wrath, sailed with all the majesty of offended pride into the midst of the assemblage" and attempted to provoke an uproar over, what he termed, the unconstitutionality of the election. The members, however, according to Melville, supported him; "ratified his election, and freely censured" Van Loon for his "intemperate and ungentlemanly behavior." That is why, Melville charged, Van Loon, in revenge, secretly wrote the "Sandle Wood" letter, and when he exposed him, Van Loon threw "off the mask entirely" and gave "free vent" to his anger "in a tirade of obscenity and abuse, in which it is" his "peculiar province to excel."

Melville closed by stating that it was with reluctance that he had "been drawn into any public disputation with one of" Van Loon's "stamp," but he had "to expose the malevolence of" his antagonist's "intentions;" but now that he had accomplished his objective, he was happy to "Cheerfully bid a long good night to any further newspaper controversy with" Charles Van Loon. However, he could not resist adding one strongly-worded parting blow, in the form of the following note: "N. B. Your incoherent ravings may be continued if you choose; they remind me of the croakings of a Vulture

when disappointed of its prey."¹⁹

Van Loon accepted the challenge; immediately continued his "ravings;" and there was nothing "incoherent" about what he had to say. The issues of The Albany Microscope for March 31 and April 7, 1838, carried his bitter reply, but Melville kept his word and did not publicly prolong the controversy. Thus ended an old-fashioned slanderous word-battle, conducted with reckless abandon by two youthful antagonists, and publicly displayed in the pages of a contemporary paper whose masthead proclaimed it to be: "Devoted to Popular Tales, History, Legends and Adventures, Anecdotes, Poetry, Satire, Humour, Sporting, and the Drama."²⁰

Melville's final contribution to the Microscope - another "Letter"²¹ and signed "Philologean" - appeared in the issue for March 31, 1838. It was not concerned with controversial matters, but instead, was an earnest appeal, directed to "The young men of Albany," for more support of the debating society attached to the Young Men's Association. He

19 Herman Melville, "A Letter, Part II," signed "Philologean," in The Albany Microscope, issue of March 24, 1838. (Reprinted in William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, pp. 257-258; and, in part, in Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, p. 77.)

20 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, p. 75.

21 Herman Melville, "A Letter," signed "Philologean," in The Albany Microscope, issue of March 31, 1838. (Reprinted in William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, pp. 262-263; and in part, in Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, p. 77.)

pointed out the great advantages, provided by debating, for the development of the mind, talents, and powers, and expressed the hope that his appeal would be responded to, in order that the society might be revived and its usefulness increased.

Until Mr. Leyda²² discovered the Melville letters of 1838, in The Albany Microscope, the "Fragments From a Writing Desk," published a year later in The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser, were thought to have been Melville's earliest printed writings. Mr. Weaver, his first biographer, writes of them:

Only two of Melville's earliest effusions, written before the world had "fairly Timonised him" are known to survive. These appeared in The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser for May 4, and May 18, 1839. The first is signed "L. A. V.;" the second, known to exist only in a single mutilated clipping, in lacking the closing paragraphs, can give no evidence as to concluding signature. Copies of these two articles are preserved among Melville's papers, each autographed by him in faded brown ink.²³

Mr. Gilman takes issue with Mr. Weaver regarding the autographs and a few other details. "The copies of the ar-

22 Mr. Gilman, who "reprinted for the first time," in his Melville's Early Life, "The texts of the most significant" letters in the Melville-Van Loon controversy, seems to acknowledge Mr. Leyda as the discoverer of them. In Note No. 30, p. 321, he writes: "I am indebted to Jay Leyda for calling my attention to these letters."

23 Raymond M. Weaver, Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, New York, George H. Doran Company, 1921, p. 115.

ticles bear Melville's name," he writes, "but the autographs are not his, and of the three signatures, two are in blue ink and only one in faded brown ink."²⁴ He thinks that Melville's wife identified the articles as his, and wrote his name on them. These, however, are but minor differences, as Mr. Gilman does not attempt to question the authorship, for he concludes with the statement, "There is no sound reason to doubt Melville's authorship."²⁵

Mr. Gilman did find, on the back of one portion of the second "Fragment," the part which Mr. Weaver thought was missing, and he found it signed with the pseudonym, "L. A. V.", like the first.²⁶

The significant fact in all this, that is of immediate interest for us here, is that Melville's "Fragments From a Writing Desk," are his second series of writings printed in a newspaper, not his first, and therefore, represent the second published works in the Melville Canon.

Although the acrimonious "Letters" which Melville exchanged with Van Loon in The Albany Microscope preceded, by almost a year, the appearance of the "Fragments" in The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser, the "Fragments", amateurish though they certainly are, represent his first

24 William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, p. 204.

25 Ibid., p. 265.

26 Ibid., p. 265.

efforts in the field of belles-lettres.

In the "Fragments From a Writing Desk," Melville attempted to write sophisticated pieces of society literature. They appeared under the same title, but were designated as "No. 1" and "No. 2", in two issues of The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser. Fragment "No. 1" appeared on the front page in the issue of May 4, 1839. It is written in the epistolary form, and treats of the artificial elegancies of fashionable society in such a manner as to reveal it, at once, to be a feeble imitation of Chesterfield. But instead of a father's letter to a son, we find here a letter to an elder Beau Brummell from a youthful protege, who seems thrilled to report the progress which he has made in overcoming his bashfulness and becoming a true dandy in the world of fashion. Opening his letter with a salutation to, "My Dear M____," he writes:

You remember how you used to rate me for my hang-dog modesty, my mauvaise honte, as my Lord Chesterfield would style it. Well! I have determined that hereafter you shall not have occasion to inflict upon me those flattering appellations of "Fool!" "Dolt!" "Sheep!" which in your indignation you used to shower upon me, with a vigour and a facility which excited my wonder, while it provoked my resentment.

And how do you imagine that I rid myself of this annoying hindrance? Why, truly, by coming to the conclusion that in this pretty corpus of mine was lodged every manly grace ...²⁷

²⁷ Herman Melville, "Fragments From a Writing Desk: No. 1," in Raymond M. Weaver, Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, p. 116.

After describing, at length and in no modest manner, this new conclusion which he has formed of his physique, mind, and wit, as well as, of the fine figure he is now cutting in society "as a distingue of the purest water, a blade of the true temper, a blood of the first quality!" he injects a reference to the local scene which must have been designed to catch the attention of, and flatter the feminine population.

By my halidome, sir, this same village of Lansingburgh contains within its pretty limits as fair a set of blushing damsels as one would wish to look upon on a dreamy summer day! 28

Other extravagant compliments follow, directed to the Lansingburgh ladies, in general; then he selects three of them for special attention.

I have in "my mind's eye, Horatio," three (the number of the Graces, you remember) who may stand, each at the head of their respective orders. 29

Although complaining, occasionally, that his "powers of delineation" are "inadequate to the task," he manages to obtain more than sufficient aid - from his study of classical lore and his readings from the great authors - to describe all of the imaginary charms and graces of these imaginary daughters of Venus. And with this, he closes his fragment, "No. 1."

The second and last of the brief series of "Fragments

28 Ibid., p. 118.

29. Ibid., p. 118.

From a Writing Desk" appeared in The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser for May 18, 1839. In this one, Melville drops the epistolary form, and gives us a brief narrative of adventure, which he tells in the first person. The narrator of the story is a very sentimental and romantic young man, and his adventure is, indeed, extremely odd and fanciful.

Becoming disgusted with his Greek, the young man throws his lexicon across the room and sallies out into the clear air and bracing coolness of an April evening. He walks along the bank of a river for half an hour; then flings himself upon the grass and is "soon lost in revery, and up to the lips in sentiment." A cloaked figure glides by and drops at his feet "an elegant little, rose-coloured, lavender-scented billet-doux"; he picks it up, breaks the seal, and reads "by the light of the moon, the following:

"Gentle Sir -
 If my fancy has painted you in genuine
 colours, you will on the receipt of this, incontin-
 ently follow the bearer where she will lead you.

Inamorata." 30

He decides not to follow; then changes his mind, and starts after the figure, which he sees to be that of a woman. She travels with such speed that he is filled "with sundry

30 Herman Melville, "Fragments From a Writing Desk: No. 2," in William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, p. 265.

misgivings as to the nature of the being," who can travel so fast. When he walks, she walks; when he runs, she runs; and she always maintains the same distance between them. She baffles him so that he considers committing suicide. However, since there is no elegant manner in which he can do this now, and since he has a good wager on an unfinished chess game, he decides that it "would be highly inexpedient" to commit suicide now.

He follows his guide through a dense and gloomy forest which he dislikes very much. Finally they come to an unpretentious mansion; are raised, to an upper window, in a basket; and are taken down a corridor to a splendid apartment, decorated in a lavish manner. Here he sees a young girl of matchless beauty. She orders his guide to leave the room, and they are alone. He loses no time professing his love, and she gives every indication of returning the passion, but says nothing. He begs her to speak and convince him of her love. They he says:

her lips moved - my senses ached with the intensity with which I listened, - all was still, - they uttered no sound; I flung her from me, even though she clung to my vesture, and with a wild cry of agony I burst from the apartment! - She was dumb! Great God, she was dumb! **DUMB AND DEAF!**³¹

With the publication of the two "Fragments", Herman

31 Ibid., p. 271.

Melville's literary apprenticeship came to an end. "Whether Herman received the encouragement of pay for his work is not known," writes Mr. Gilman, "but ... it is clear that he was forced to seek some other means of subsistence besides authorship."³² As another fact, in his early life, it would be extremely interesting to possess this information regarding Melville's business relationship with The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser. But, even if William J. Lamb, the editor, did pay him something for these fugitive pieces, it certainly could have been only a pittance. In 1839, the Melville family was in a desperate financial condition, and much more than a pittance was needed to relieve it. Albany and Lansingburgh, at this time, offered few opportunities for desirable employment of any type. Melville, therefore, not only had "to seek some other means of subsistence," but he had to find another city in which to seek it.

3. Magazine Contributions

It was probably on the Saturday afternoon of June 1, 1839, that Herman Melville left the rented family home in Lansingburgh for New York City.³³ Two of his brothers, Gansevoort and Allan, had gone a few days earlier, and Gansevoort

32 William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, p. 120.

33 Ibid., p. 124

had secured him a job "with Captain Oliver P. Brown aboard the St. Lawrence, bound for Liverpool."³⁴ The sailing date was postponed for one day; "thus it was on Wednesday, June 5, that his nautical career began."³⁵ The St. Lawrence made the crossing in twenty-seven days; then remained at Prince's Dock in Liverpool for six weeks.³⁶ She sailed for New York on August 13, and it was not until Tuesday, October 1, that she" came finally to her pier, and Melville's first voyage was over." ³⁷

Melville made no immediate literary use of his disappointing voyage to Liverpool. Some years later it formed the basis for his novel, Redburn. In the meantime, he had to go job-hunting again, for upon returning home from a voyage that had been entirely unprofitable financially, he found his family in a worse condition than when he left. As further employment in the merchant service apparently held no appeal for him, he turned once more to school teaching.

Around the beginning of December, 1839, he accepted a teaching position at Greenbush, a small settlement near Lansingburgh. For some reason he was very optimistic about his prospects here, and made promises of substantial aid to his mother, but months passed during which time he received

34 Ibid., p. 128

35 Ibid., p. 129.

36 Ibid., p. 134.

37 Ibid., 145

no pay, and when May came, he knew that the Greenbush school would be forced to close for want of money. After this, it appears that he "filled in at the tiny, one-room district school in Brunswick, a two-mile walk from home."³⁸ But school teaching was never a money-making profession, and, with the nation still feeling the effects of the Panic of 1837, Melville and other teachers of the time were promised very little, and they could not always depend upon receiving what had been promised to them. Thus it was plainly seen that he would have to find something else to do, and it was equally as obvious that he would again have to leave home to find it.

Many persons, however, have left home to improve their circumstances, but failed to accomplish their purpose. It was Melville's ill-luck to find such a fate in store for him from his next venture. Early in June, 1840, accompanied by a boyhood friend, Eli Fly, he went west to Galena, Illinois, travelling by way of canals, lakes and rivers. His Uncle Thomas had settled there with his family three years earlier and Melville hoped that he might make his fortune from some opportunity which would surely present itself in this rapidly developing town with its lead mines. It happened, unfortunately, that he "picked the worst possible year in which to go west, for the financial depression which blighted his earlier prospects at

38 Ibid., p. 151.

home had moved ahead of him across the country."³⁹ He was disappointed to find that his uncle was anything but prosperous, and that there were no present or future prospects of employment for him and Fly in Galena. Thus, "At the beginning of autumn," writes Mr. Howard, "There was nothing for Melville and his companion to do but turn homeward with the hope of finding some sort of employment in New York."⁴⁰

This western trip was put to good use in The Confidence-Man many years later, but, as far as practical benefits for the present were concerned, it was a total loss. He and Fly, on their return to the East, stopped at home only briefly; then they proceeded together to New York, where Fly, whose penmanship was respectable, eventually found a job as a copyist, but Melville found nothing to do there or anywhere else on land. It was time for him to go down to the sea again, and, since this was his destiny, he did not oppose it.

By late December, 1840, Melville was in New Bedford, Massachusetts, where he had gone for the purpose of making arrangements for his second voyage; this time, not on a merchant ship, but on a whaling vessel. On December 26, he signed his "Seaman's Protection Paper,"⁴¹ swearing that he was born in New York City and was an American citizen; on

39 Leon Howard, Herman Melville, p. 36.

40 Ibid., p. 37.

41 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, p. 111.

December 31, his name, with a Fairhaven "Residence," appeared "on the crew list of the Acushnet;"⁴² and on January 3, 1841, aboard this same Acushnet, a new ship of Fairhaven,⁴³ he sailed for a long voyage to the South Pacific.

When Melville sailed to the South Seas as a member of the Acushnet's whaling crew, he was an amateur writer with a few occasional pieces to his credit. Soon after his return upon the Frigate United States, he became a busy professional author. His novel, Typee, in 1846, was his first publication as a professional writer. During the next year, he not only published Omoo, his second novel, but he began another aspect of his writing career - that of contributing articles to contemporary magazines.

By comparison with some authors of his own day and many of ours, Melville was not a prolific contributor to magazines, but this activity, which he began in 1847, was engaged in, off and on, for almost twenty years. Most of his magazine contributions, however, appeared during the same years in which he was writing and publishing the majority of his books, or, during that eleven-year span, which was quantitatively and qualitatively his best, and which we have referred to, previously, as his first literary period. After 1857, his contributions to magazines were limited, so it seems, to a

42 Ibid., p. 113.

43 Ibid., p. 113.

few poems which appeared in Harper's New Monthly Magazine during 1866.

Since Melville's contributions to magazines were published in three forms - anonymously, pseudonymously, and signed - it is possible that some of his pieces have not yet been identified. But, to the extent that they have been identified to date, his magazine contributions appeared in four different publications and consisted of: several pieces of literary criticism, published in The Literary World; extracts, usually chapters, from his novels, which also appeared in The Literary World, with one chapter, from Moby-Dick, appearing in Harper's New Monthly Magazine; seven comical articles on Zachary Taylor, published in Yankee Doodle; short stories and sketches, published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine and Putnam's Monthly Magazine; one novel, Israel Potter, published serially in Putnam's Monthly Magazine; and a few poems, published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine.

Melville, it seems, wrote five pieces of literary criticism. Three of these, more or less, are conventional book reviews, containing, of course, comments, here and there, expressed in a manner peculiarly his own; but the other two are something quite different, one being much less than a review, and the other much more. All five of the pieces appeared in The Literary World, as follows: "Etchings of a

Whaling Cruise and Sailor's Life and Sailor's Yarns," in March, 1847; "Mr. Parkman's Tour," in March, 1849; "Cooper's New Novel," in April, 1849; "A Thought on Book-Binding," in March, 1850; and "Hawthorne and His Mosses," in August, 1850. The first four were published anonymously; the fifth appeared under the pseudonym, "By a Virginian Spending July in Vermont."

Exactly one month after Evert Duyckinck issued the first number of The Literary World,⁴⁴ a new weekly magazine, Melville's review of J. Ross Browne's Etchings of a Whaling Cruise and Captain Ringbolt's Sailor's Life and Sailor's Yarns appeared in it. According to Mr. Thorp, who discovered the holograph manuscript:

This review is, it would seem, the first piece of criticism written by Melville. The holograph MS. I was lucky enough to come upon in a file of unsigned contributions to the Literary World in the Duyckinck Collection in the New York Public Library. The MS. has been placed with the other Melville papers in that collection. 45

Melville reviewed both of the books in the same article, but he discussed Browne's book first and devoted most of the space to it. He praised the Etchings of a

⁴⁴ The first number of The Literary World appeared on February 6, 1847; Melville's "Review" appeared in the fifth number on March 6, 1847.

⁴⁵ Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, With Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes, New York, American Book Company, 1938, Notes, p. 421.

Whaling Cruise as "a book of unvarnished facts," and after making "some allowances for the general application of an individual example," he thought that it "unquestionably" presented "a faithful picture of the life led by the twenty thousand seamen employed in the seven hundred whaling vessels which," at that time, pursued "their game under the American flag."⁴⁶ Browne, he thought, "very creditably achieved" for "the hardy whaleman's" life, what Dana "so admirably" did "in describing the vicissitudes of the merchant-sailor's life."⁴⁷

The personal narrative which the author worked into his book also appealed to Melville, and he felt that "the brutal tyranny" to which Browne was submitted by his captain, held up, for readers to see, "the outrageous abuse to which seamen," in the American whaling industry, were "actually subjected," and which demanded legislation to bring to an end. Since Browne was the victim of such tyranny, the reviewer said that he could excuse some of the "personal bitterness" which he found in the book.

He pointed out one or two errors, committed by Browne in his book, especially the author's account "of a

⁴⁶ Herman Melville, "[Review of] Etchings of a Whaling Cruise and Sailor's Life and Sailor's Yarns," in The Literary World, Vol. 1, No. 5, issue of March 6, 1847, p. 105.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 105.

whale's roaring when wounded by a harpoon." In commenting on this, Melville said that he could imagine veterat Nantucket whalers raising their eyebrows at hearing such a thing, for "the creature in question is as dumb as a shad, or any other of the finny tribes."⁴⁸

Melville found "irresistibly comic," those scenes in which Browne described and exposed the clever strategy, employed by the shrewd city shipping agents in deceiving and "decoying 'green hands' to send on to the different whaling ports."⁴⁹ And, after commenting on some of the other terrible experiences endured by Browne, under a whaling captain who was "the very incarnation of all that is dastardly, mean, and heartless," Melville offered a few words of admonition to young prospective whalers who labored "under the lamentable delusion that the sea" possessed perpetual charms for all who sailed it.

Wherein Brown's book had much to say about the wrongs suffered by the sailor-author and his companions in the fore-castle, Melville found, in Captain Ringbolt's Sailor's Life and Sailor's Yarns, quite a different story - one, in fact, which came "from the quarter deck, the other end of the ship," and which was strongly opposed to the version presented by Browne. Of this, the reviewer writes:

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 105.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 105.

Captain Ringbolt almost denies that the sailor has any wrongs, and more than insinuates that sea-captains are not only the best natured fellows in the world, but that they have been sorely maligned. Indeed, he explicitly charges Mr. Dana and Mr. Browne with having presented a decidedly one-sided view of the matter; and he manfully exclaims that the Captain of the Pilgrim - poor fellow! - died too soon to vindicate his character from-unjust aspersions. ⁵⁰

Melville's comment on this was that if the Captain of Dana's ship the Pilgrim was dead, the Captain of Browne's ship was not; so let him come forward and clear himself. As a former sailor, of the fore-castle part of the ship, Melville, the critic, was not convinced by Captain Ringbolt's arguments. He knew that captains might be charming fellows ashore, but they could be tyrants at sea, and usually were. He was willing to grant that all sea-captains were not alike in this respect, perhaps, but still there was enough truth in the statements of Dana and Browne "to justify nearly to the full, the general conclusions to be drawn from what they have said on this subject."⁵¹

But Captain Ringbolt's book was much more than a defense of the captain's class to which he belonged, and Melville briefly mentioned this fact in the concluding paragraph of his review. He found the "little stories of the sea," which really made up the greater part of the book,

50 Ibid., p. 106

51 Ibid., p. 106.

"simply and pleasantly told, and withal entertaining."

If Melville wrote any more reviews in 1847, or any at all in 1848, they have not yet been identified. His next critical article did not appear in The Literary World until March 1849. It was entitled "Mr. Parkman's Tour", and was a review of The California and Oregon Trail by Francis Parkman.

To him, Parkman's book was "without literary pretensions," but he thought it "a very entertaining work, straightforward and simple throughout, and obviously truthful."⁵²

He considered the title to be absolutely inappropriate and misleading, and he had much to say to Parkman and other authors about properly naming their books. The titles of books, he said, "are presumed to express the contents." Regarding Parkman's work, in particular, he said, "There is nothing about California or Oregon in the book; but though we like it the better for this, the title is not the less ill-chosen."⁵³

He was strongly opposed to Parkman's views of the Indians. The author had said that it would be "difficult for any white man," after living among the Indians, "to hold" them to be "much better than brutes." Melville said that this

⁵² Herman Melville, "Mr. Parkman's Tour," in The Literary World, Vol. 4, No. 113, issue of March 31, 1849, p. 291.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 291.

feeling of "disdain and contempt" with which "civilized beings sojourning among savages soon come to regard them," was "not defensible" and was "wholly wrong."⁵⁴

But reminding the reader that he had found two faults with the book, one "with the title, and another with the matter," he said that he was happy to be done with "the unpleasantness of fault-finding" and glad to turn away from it.

The remainder of the review contained nothing but praise for the book. He considered the style to be easy, free, and "flowingly correct." He found "no undue sallies of fancy, and no attempts at wit which flash in the pan."⁵⁵ In brief, the book was excellent and had, what he called, "the true wild-game flavor."⁵⁶

Although he had not been extremely severe in his criticism of the two faults which he found in Parkman's book, Melville was not soon to forget that he had gone that far in attacking the work. His own book, Mardi, his most ambitious book to date, was not faring too well with the critics, and this, perhaps, helped to remind him of what he had said unpleasantly about another man's book. At any rate, his review of Parkman's book was still on his mind, as late in the year as December, and as far away as London, for, in a letter

54 Ibid., p. 291.

55 Ibid., p. 291.

56 Ibid., p. 292.

which he wrote to Evert Duyckinck from that English city, he said: "In a little notice of 'The Oregon Trail' I once said something 'critical' about another's [sic] man's book - I shall never do it again. Hereafter I shall no more stab at a book (in print, I mean) than I would stab at a man."⁵⁷

In 1849, when James Fenimore Cooper published the next-to-the-last of his long list of novels, The Sea Lions: or, The Lost Sealers, Melville reviewed it in The Literary World under the caption, "Cooper's New Novel." The author of the Leather-Stocking novels was one of his old favorites, and his opinion of this new novel was uniformly favorable throughout. Beginning with the title, which he found "attractive," he said that the book itself did not "disappoint the promise held forth on the title-page."⁵⁸

He had high praise for Cooper's descriptions of "a violent gale" and of the Antarctic "'regions of thick-ribbed ice,'" and, in general, it was his feeling that "few descriptions of the lonely and the terrible" could "surpass the grandeur of many of the scenes" found in the book.

After a brief synopsis of the story, he spoke of the

⁵⁷ Herman Melville, "Letter to Evert Duyckinck, London, Dec. 14, 49," in Willard Thorp, Herman Melville; Representative Selections, p. 376.

⁵⁸ Herman Melville, "Cooper's New Novel," in The Literary World, Vol. 4, No. 117, issue of April 28, 1849, p. 370.

hero, Roswell Gardiner, as one to be admired "for a noble fellow," and of the heroine, Mary Pratt, as one to be loved "for a fine example of womanly affection, earnestness, and constancy." And in closing, he "warmly" recommended the novel as a whole; mildly criticized "those who more for fashion's sake than anything else," had "of late joined in decrying" Cooper; and expressed the opinion that even they would find "this last work" to be "one of his happiest."⁵⁹

Although the revised edition of another Cooper novel, The Red Rover, was the inspiration for Melville's next critical essay entitled, "A thought on Book-Binding," the essay was not a review of the novel, nor was it, in any way, a discussion of the contents of the book. As the title specifically suggests, it was simply a discussion of the manner in which the book was bound.

In a manner, possessing something of the charm of the familiar essay, Melville objected to "the sober-hued muslin" binding which the Putnam company gave the book. At greater length, he wrote:

...we would have preferred for the 'Red Rover' a flaming suit of flame-colored morocco, as evanescently thin and gauze-like as possible, so that the binding might happily correspond with the sanguinary, fugitive title of the book. Still better, perhaps, were it bound in jet black, with a

59 Ibid., p. 370.

red streak round the borders (pirate fashion); or, upon third thoughts, omit the streak, and substitute a square of blood-colored bunting on the back, imprinted with the title, so that the flag of the 'Red Rover' might be congenially flung to the popular breeze, after the buccaneer fashion of Morgan, Black Beard, and other free and easy, dare-devil, accomplished gentlemen of the sea. 60

On the other hand, he approved of "the mysterious cyphers in bookbinders's relieve stamped upon the covers," for in these he recognized "a poetical signification and pictorial shadowing forth of the horse-shoe" always found nailed to the mast of pirate ships, and he thought the publisher used good taste in giving this "touch of the sea superstitions of pirates" to the volume. This reminded him, by contrast, "of the sad lack of invention" displayed by most bookbinders. And the manner in which books were bound, was not something to be taken lightly, for

Books, gentlemen, are a species of men, and introduced to them you circulate in the "very best society" that this world can furnish, without the intolerable infliction of "dressing" to go into it. ... Men, then, that they are - living without vulgarly breathing - never speaking unless spoken to - books should be appropriately apparelled. Their bindings should indicate and distinguish their various characters. 61

60 Herman Melville, "A Thought on Book-Binding," in The Literary World, Vol. 6, No. 163, issue of March 16, 1850, p. 276.

61 Ibid., pp. 276-277.

He concluded the essay by saying that he had spoken exclusively about the "outside" of The Red Rover because he deemed "any elaborate criticism of it "quite unnecessary, and uncalled for at that time. "Long ago, and far inland we read it in our uncritical days, and enjoyed it as much as thousands of the rising generation will, when supplied with such an entertaining volume in such agreeable type."⁶²

"A Thought on Book-Binding," like several of the other critical essays, was published anonymously, but, fortunately, its authorship no longer can be questioned. In 1932, Mr. John H. Birss⁶³ definitely established it to be Melville's composition by finding the holograph manuscript among the Duyckinck Papers in the New York Public Library.

By far the longest and most distinguished piece of literary criticism, known to have been written by Melville, was the essay which appeared in The Literary World for August 17 and 24, 1850, under the title of "Hawthorne and His Mosses," and under the pseudonym, "By a Virginian Spending July in Vermont."

According to Melville, it was four years after its publication that he first read Hawthorne's Mosses from an

62 Ibid., p. 277.

63 John H. Birss, "A Book Review by Herman Melville," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 2, issue of April, 1932, pp. 346-348.

Old Manse. He found in it, however, that which he had not found elsewhere, and he discovered its author to be "a man of a deep and noble nature,"⁶⁴ whose whole literary art took complete possession of him. He recognized in Hawthorne a kindred spirit, and he discovered in his book those qualities of originality and deep penetration into character which he admired. When these factors are considered, the glowing tribute to Hawthorne's genius, which the essay on the Mosses contains, should occasion no surprise.

Hawthorne's melancholy which all over him, "rests like an Indian summer," and the darker side of his soul "despite its Indian-summer sunlight" are two qualities which appeal especially to Melville. It is this melancholy quality in Hawthorne, Melville thinks, which gives him "such a depth of tenderness, such a boundless sympathy with all forms of being," and which seems to indicate that the author himself has suffered, for "this alone can enable any man to depict it in others." The other quality in Hawthorne - the blackness or darker side of his soul - according to Melville, is the quality which gives him power and force. It is the blackness also in Shakespeare, not the ranting and dagger stabbing; but the probing of the soul for truth that makes Shakespeare, Shakespeare.

⁶⁴ Herman Melville, "Hawthorne and His Mosses," By a Virginian Spending July in Vermont, in The Literary World, Vol. 7, No. 185, issue of August 17, 1850, p. 125.

But since "it is the least part of genius that attracts admiration," Shakespeare was forced to present his great art in the form of popularizing noise, broad farce, and blood-besmeared tragedy. But, says Melville, Hawthorne has not done this. He is "content with the still, rich utterance of a great intellect in repose, and which sends few thoughts into circulation, except they be arterialised at his large warm lungs, and expanded in his honest heart."⁶⁵

If few of the people, who praise Shakespeare, really understand him, it is only natural and not surprising that Hawthorne should not be understood. The blackness in Hawthorne is not forced on the reader; some readers never discern it; but it is there for those who can understand it, and account for it.

Melville is not one of those who believe Shakespeare to be absolutely unapproachable. He believes Shakespeare has been approached; that "there are minds that have gone as far as Shakespeare into the universe. ...Believe me, my friends, that men not very much inferior to Shakespeare are this day being born on the banks of the Ohio."⁶⁶

This last statement leads him to proclaim his optimistic faith in the future greatness of American literature. He calls upon his countrymen to support and encourage American

65 Ibid., p. 126.

66 Ibid., p. 126.

authors, and thereby hasten the development of an original national literature. "The great mistake seems to be, that even with those Americans who look forward to the coming of a great literary genius among us, they somehow fancy he will come in the costume of Queen Elizabeth's day; be a writer of dramas founded upon old English history or the tales of Boccaccio. Whereas, great geniuses are parts of the times, they themselves are the times, and possess a corresponding colouring."⁶⁷

He does not say that Hawthorne is a greater man than Shakespeare, or as great. "But the difference between the two men is by no means immeasurable. Not a very great deal more, and Nathaniel were verily William."⁶⁸

America should prize and cherish her authors; glorify them; take them to her bosom; and not lavish her embraces upon an alien. Praise mediocrity even at home, until such appreciation produces better and greater works.

It is true that few of our authors have displayed that decided originality which merits great praise. "But it is better to fail in originality, than to succeed in imitation. He who has never failed somewhere, that man cannot be great. Failure is the true test of greatness."⁶⁹

67 Ibid., p. 126

68 Ibid., No. 186, issue of August 24, 1850, p. 145.

69 Ibid., p. 146.

Melville condemns the smooth, pleasing writers, and calls them an appendix to Goldsmith and other English writers. We want no American Goldsmiths and no American Miltons, he says. Yet all American writers need not cleave to nationality in their writings. Just let them not write like an Englishman and a Frenchman, but write like a man. We should boldly condemn all imitation; praise and foster all originality, even it "at first it be crabbed and ugly as our own pine knots." ...

And now, my countrymen, as an excellent author of your own flesh and blood - an unimitating, and perhaps, in his way, an inimitable man - whom better can I commend to you, in the first place, than Nathaniel Hawthorne. He is one of the new, and far better generation of your writers. The smell of young beeches and hemlocks is upon him; your own broad prairies are in his soul; and if you travel away inland into his deep and noble nature, you will hear the roar of his Niagara. ⁷⁰

In praising Hawthorne, Melville feels that he honors himself more than Hawthorne, for "honest praise, ever leaves a pleasant flavor in the mouth." Then too, within a very short time, the genius of this author and the great excellence of his Mosses have exerted a powerful artistic influence upon him. "I feel that this Hawthorne has dropped germinous seeds into my soul. He expands and deepens down, the more I

70 Ibid., p. 146.

contemplate him; and further and further, shoots his strong New England roots into the hot soil in my Southern soul."⁷¹

Thus, Melville declares, in the conclusion of his essay, "that the American who up to the present day has evinced, in literature, the largest brain with the largest heart, that man is Nathaniel Hawthorne. Moreover, that whatever Nathaniel Hawthorne may hereafter write, 'The Mosses from an Old Manse' will be ultimately accounted his masterpiece."⁷² However, he does not care to be a true prophet here, and hopes that Hawthorne may prove his prediction false by producing something greater.

In passing, brief mention should be made of another critical article entitled "Nathaniel Hawthorne"⁷³ - a review of The Scarlet Letter - which appeared in The Literary World for March 30, 1850. Until about thirteen years ago it was customary for most scholars, without questioning the evidence, to ascribe the authorship of this article to Herman Melville. In 1942, however, Mr. Willard Thorp,⁷⁴ who investigated the matter, found "no evidence to support such an ascription,"

71 Ibid., p. 146

72 Ibid., p. 147.

73 Anonymous, "Nathaniel Hawthorne," in The Literary World, Vol. 6, No. 165, issue of March 30, 1850, pp. 323-325.

74 Willard Thorp, "Did Melville Review The Scarlet Letter?" in American Literature, Vol. 14, No. 3, issue of November, 1942, pp. 302-305.

but did find, what he considered to be, "some evidence to refute it." Using, as his evidence, Melville's essay on the Mosses and a letter from Hawthorne to E. A. Duyckinck, he concludes that the tone and the style of the review were not Melville's, and that the review was not written by him, but by Evert Duyckinck.

Prior to the publication of Omoo in 1847, The Literary World began the practice of publishing a chapter or two from each new novel by Herman Melville. These chapters appeared in a section of the magazine, variously headed, "Glimpses of New Books," "Advanced Passages from New Books," and the like. The section was a regular feature of The Literary World and in it appeared passages, not only from Melville's books, but from the new books of other authors as well. Since such advanced notices served as good advertisements for the forthcoming books, both authors and publishers, no doubt, were more than happy to grant permission to the magazine to print the passages.

In Melville's case, it was customary for the editor to obtain the extracts from the proof sheets and print them some time before the novels came from the press. Usually they appeared accompanied by only a few words of comment or by no comment at all, for later issues of The Literary World carried formal reviews of the books after they were published.

Although these extracts from Melville's novels do not belong to the same category as the other contributions, men-

tion is made of them here because they do represent a certain class of his magazine contributions. The chapters or extracts issued by The Literary World, in the manner described above, were the following: "The French Priests Pay Their Respects" and "A Dinner Party in Imeeo," from Omoo,⁷⁵ in April 1847; "Taji Sits Down to Dinner With Five-and-Twenty Kings," from Mardi,⁷⁶ in April 1849; "Sharks and Other Sea Fellows," from Mardi,⁷⁷ in June 1849; "Redburn Contemplates Making a Social Call on the Captain" and "A Living Corpse," from Redburn,⁷⁸ in November 1849; and, "A Shore Emperor on Board a Man-of-War," from White-Jacket,⁷⁹ in March 1850.

Melville's final magazine contribution of this type, did not appear in The Literary World, but was printed in

75 Herman Melville, "The French Priests Pay Their Respects" and "A Dinner Party in Imeeo" (Chapters 37 and 68 in Omoo), in The Literary World, Vol. 1, No. 12, issue of April 24, 1847, pp. 274-275.

76 Herman Melville, "Taji Sits Down to Dinner With Five-and-twenty Kings" (Chapter 84 in Mardi), in The Literary World, Vol. 4, No. 114, issue of April 7, 1849, pp. 309-310.

77 Herman Melville, "Sharks and Other Sea Fellows" (Chapter 18 in Mardi: "My Lord Shark and His Pages"), in The Literary World, Vol. 4, No. 124, issue of June 16, 1849, p. 519.

78 Herman Melville, "Redburn Contemplates Making a Social Call on the Captain" and "A Living Corpse" (Chapters 14 and 48 in Redburn), in The Literary World, Vol. 5, No. 145, issue of November 10, 1849, pp. 395-397.

79 Herman Melville, "A Shore Emperor on Board a Man-of-War" (Chapter 56 in White-Jacket), in The Literary World, Vol. 6, No. 162, issue of March 9, 1850, pp. 218-219.

Harper's New Monthly Magazine, for October 1851. It was "The Town-Ho's Story," and was taken from his masterpiece, Moby-Dick.⁸⁰

In July of 1847, exactly three months after the advanced passages from Omoo appeared in The Literary World, Melville began contributing a series of original and amusing unsigned comic articles to Yankee Doodle, a humorous weekly magazine, which tried to become the "American Punch," but failed to survive after the first year of its publication. The articles were seven in number, and all appeared under the same title, "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack.'" Furthermore, in an attempt to make the fictitious "authenticity" of the "Anecdotes" more convincing, the title was always followed by the bracketed by-line: "[Reported for Yankee Doodle by his Special Correspondent at the seat of War]."

The articles ran in consecutive issues of the magazine, from July 24 to September 11, 1847, except that no installment appeared for the week of September 4. To Mr. Luther S. Mansfield⁸¹ goes the credit for identifying these anonymous contributions as Melville's. He discovered a chance

⁸⁰ Herman Melville, "The Town-Ho's Story" (Chapter 54 in Moby-Dick), in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 17, issue of October, 1851, pp. 658-665.

⁸¹ Luther S. Mansfield, "Melville's Comic Articles on Zachary Taylor," in American Literature, Vol. 9, no. 4, issue of January, 1938, pp. 411-418.

reference in the diary of Evert A. Duyckinck which established Melville's authorship of the articles.

The first article consisted of "Anecdotes" number one and two, preceded by a general introduction which contained the necessary facts to get the series started. This introduction stated that the current interest in "everything connected with the home-spun old hero" of the Mexican War, General Zachary Taylor, daily had caused "unprincipled paragraphists" to "perpetrate the most absurd stories wherewith to titilate public curiosity concerning him." For this reason, "Yankee Doodle has thought that a few authentic anecdotes may not be unacceptable to his numerous readers."⁸²

These anecdotes, the introduction continued, "have been collected on the ground from the most reliable and respectable sources, ... and we have the very best reason to believe have never before appeared in print." Yankee Doodle, in order to be absolutely sure of this, "has sent on a correspondent to the seat of war for the express purpose of getting together and transmitting to us all reliable on dits connected with Old Zack."⁸³

We are then told of the "flattering reception" which

⁸² Herman Melville, "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack' [Reported for Yankee Doodle by his special Correspondent at the seat of War]" in Yankee Doodle, Vol. 2, No. 42, issue of July 24, 1847, p. 152.

⁸³ Ibid., p. 152.

the correspondent received at camp. The General, on hearing of his arrival and the object of his visit, rode to meet him, and took him to his own quarters where the correspondent was "permanently domiciled as one of the General's family."

The General is reported to have been greatly displeased and upset by the unofficial stories, written about him, which he had seen in the papers. He felt that they "had greatly scandalized him," and he is supposed to have said: "Sir, ... they are making a downright ass of me there at the North - those infernal editors deserve a sound thrashing for hatching such a pack of lies - they do, indeed."⁸⁴

Thus, he was glad that "a man of purity" had come to record truthfully "his most trifling actions," and he "agreed to frank all his communications to Yankee Doodle." Furthermore, the General gave the correspondent a written certificate, to be printed in Yankee Doodle, proclaiming that magazine "to be the only true source where an anxious public can procure a correct insight into his private life and little personal peculiarities."⁸⁵ In addition, it praised Yankee Doodle's correspondent, and attacked the articles in other papers as having been written by enemies of the General "to injure his reputation with the people of the United States with a view of defeating his election to the presidency should

84 Ibid., p. 152.

85 Ibid., p. 152.

he run for that office."⁸⁶

In "Anecdote, No. I" the correspondent gave an account of the bravery and coolness of "Old Zack" on the battlefield, where, in the face of great peril, he was always "as cool as a Roman punch." To illustrate these sterling qualities of the General, he told of an occasion when "Old Zack" pulled the fuse out of a large enemy shell, that fell near him, and offered it to any of his officers who had a cigar to light.

In a postscript to this anecdote, it was reported that Mr. Barnum had sent for the shell for his museum, and would exhibit it if it came. If the genuine article did not come, he would exhibit a replica of it.

"Anecdote, No. II" described the "Cincinnatus---like simplicity and unaffectedness of old Zack's habits." He did his own washing and mending. His washing, according to the report, was satisfactory, but because of his eyesight, he was "not very nimble with the needle." Nevertheless, he insisted on doing his own mending, and was "proud" of "the neatness and expedition with which he" put "a new seat in his ample pants."

The second article⁸⁷ in the series contained only one "Anecdote," but it was numbered, "III," to represent the or-

86 Ibid., p. 152.

87 Ibid., No. 45, issue of July 31, 1847, p. 167.

der in which it was sent from "the seat of War." This brief story stressed "Old Zack's insensibility to bodily pain" which was accounted to be "almost equal to his utter indifference to danger." It told of the trick played upon the General by "a mischievous young drummer boy," who inserted "a sharp iron tack, point upwards, into the august saddle of the hero of Palo Alto." Old Zack, however, mounted his horse and rode all day with the tack "within the closest possible vicinity of a rather sensitive part," yet never noticed it until he tore his pants on it, when he dismounted. This enraged and embarrassed him, and he hurried into his tent, for "though valiant as Cid, the old hero" was "as modest as any miss."⁸⁸

This outrage against the General was charged immediately to some Mexican spy, and an honorable reward was offered for his capture. It was never known that the drummer-boy was the culprit. Barnum, however, wrote for the pants to exhibit in his museum, and received a favorable reply, and Yankee Doodle made him a placard for the occasion.

The third article was entitled, "Gen. Taylor's Personal Appearance, or Old Zack Physiologically and Otherwise Considered," and was supposedly written "By a Surgeon of the Army in Mexico."⁸⁹ Since this was a deviation from the

88 Ibid., p. 167,

89 Ibid., No. 44, issue of August 7, 1847, p. 172.

standard "Anecdote," Yankee Doodle printed the following explanation in the form of a prefatory note:

In lieu of anything of his own our correspondent has furnished us this week the following vivid and powerful description of the personal appearance of Old Zack, which, from his private note to us, he appears to have procured from a friend in the army, with no little difficulty. We call the attention of our readers to its bold and massive English. 90

This article stated that Old Zack's face was "physiognomical phenomenon, which Lavater would have crossed the Atlantic to contemplate."⁹¹ In addition, it gave a detailed description of the General's height, size, face, nose, hair, manner, military discipline, general toilet (in which he was "far from imitating a Brummellian"); as well as, the various articles of clothing usually worn by him, including his pants, coat, wool hat, and shoes.

In the fourth article of the series, there was a return to the regular type of "Anecdotes." This one, "No. IV," contained one of several private letters of condolence, "addressed by Old Zack to Santa Anna and other Mexican Generals, upon their successive defeats in the field."⁹² The particular letter, referred to on this occasion, was addressed

90 Ibid., p. 172.

91 Ibid., p. 172.

92 Ibid., No. 45, issue of August 14, 1847, p. 188.

specifically to General Santa Anna. Old Zack opened it **in** a serious vein, expressing his happiness for his country at defeating the Mexican, but offering the General personal condolence on an occasion that was so melancholy for him.

Old Zack in a seriocomic manner, then referred to the Mexican's "inglorious retreat" and the "ridiculous figure" which he would "eventually cut in history" because of it. He hoped that Santa Anna would stand up like a man next time; thought the Mexican troops needed more drilling; and advised "daily practice at facing bayonets and great guns."⁹³

The old hero told his enemy that he regretted that he could not promise him anything different in the future, for it was his "fixed determination to drub" him "soundly" whenever he could; and if Santa Anna persisted in presenting himself "to be repeatedly wolloped," then wolloped he would be to his "heart's desire."⁹⁴

The fifth article⁹⁵ was composed of two of the "Anecdotes," and they were numbered, five and six. Both of these to some extent, dealt with the General and his confidential Negro servant, Sambo. The fifth "Anecdote" gave an account of Old Zack's ire, which was provoked by one of Sambo's puns. It happened that the General and a council of a few of his offi-

93 Ibid., p. 188.

94 Ibid., p. 188.

95 Ibid., No. 46, issue of August 21, 1847, p. 199.

cers were at dinner in his quarters, and the servant had just placed a hot chicken pie on the table, when an enemy shell struck the table and pan, in such a manner, as to knock the pan "directly on the venerable white head of the brave old hero." Jambo was amused by this, and laughingly said, "'I 'spect you go now, Massa, lick the Mexicans, you armed cap a pie - cause aint you got the hot pie for a cap, ha ha!"⁹⁶ The General, who was described as hating "a pun worse than a Mexican," threatened to send Jambo back to Louisiana "if he dared to make another joke, as bad as that."

In the meantime, P. T. Barnum's agent, who was always alert to acquire all relics of Old Zack, "immediately bought up the damaged pan" by exchanging a dozen new ones for it.

Old Zack was presented in an irate mood, but justifiably so, in the sixth "Anecdote," which was entitled, "Infamous Plot to Obtain Possession of the General." Jambo, who had sold various relics of his master to Barnum's agent, learned from this agent that Barnum had one General in his museum "and hoped soon to get another," and Jambo "need not wonder if he saw his master grinning through the bars of a cage."⁹⁷

The very next day, Old Zack received an impertinent letter which asked him to consider an excellent offer by Barnum if he ever considered retiring from the army. It crit-

96 Ibid., p. 199.

97 Ibid., p. 199.

icised the way the government had treated him; offered him five times the salary of a Major-General; offered him the society of a General almost as famous; and the chance to "gratify the lawful desires and advance the happiness of myriads of" his "countrymen and countrywomen." All the General had to do was to surrender himself "entirely to the control and direction of the said Peter Tamerlane B_____m." The General was asked to think carefully of this offer, which would certainly insure his election to the presidency. After this, the letter closed with: "I have already sounded Sambo and he appears to have no objection."⁹⁸

A postscript stated that negotiations were in progress to obtain General Santa Anna, and he might be the better speculation.

Old Zack, of course, tore the insulting letter into "a thousand pieces" and "cautioned Sambo to have no communication with the fellow, who had been so anxious to buy his old clothes, old knives, old forks, old cups, old kettles, and old pans."⁹⁹

The sixth article¹⁰⁰ . . . also contained two "Anecdotes." The first of these, "No. VII," gave an account of Old Zack's great anger over "the false and lying version of the cele-

98 Ibid., p. 199

99 Ibid., p. 199.

100 Ibid., No. 47, issue of August 28, 1847, p. 202.

brated steamboat story" which he had read in various newspapers. According to this story, the General gave up his bed, on a crowded steamboat, to a sick soldier; then went to the engine room, where he "passed the better part of the night dozing in the comfortable warmth of its blaze."¹⁰¹

Now this "idea of his snoozing away a night in front of a Steamboat fire is perfectly ludicrous, nothing could be more grossly absurd." The true story, according to the "Correspondent at the seat of War," was that the General did give up his berth to the wounded soldier, and he did go to the engine room, but instead of falling asleep in front of the fire, he

drew back the door of the oven, with a light spring (surprising in one of his bulkiness) leaped in, and spent the rest of the night in walking about in the flame, and cracking jokes with the firemen or stoker outside everytime his circuit about the oven brought him to the door.¹⁰²

The second part of this article was made up of "Anecdote, No. VIII," which contained Old Zack's reply to a letter, from Yankee Doodle, on the presidency question, and asking the old hero for a statement of his principles. The General said he did not "like to commit himself positively; but as a printer, and I'm a sort of a printer myself, having often made a strong impression - you will understand what I say. I

101 Ibid., p. 202.

102 Ibid., p. 202.

shall always endeavor to support the _____ "103

Then Old Zack drew thirty stars and eight stripes; arranged these in the shape of a small flag of the United States; signed his name; and this was his reply.¹⁰⁴

The seventh and final article¹⁰⁵ in this comic series, contained "Anecdote, No. IX," in which the "Special Correspondent at the seat of War" gave a true version of Old Zack's table manners; about which "the greatest curiosity" had been manifested, and about which also, "constant false reports" had been circulated "misrepresenting most grossly his conduct in this respect.

The Correspondent, therefore, in order "to rectify these deceptions," and give the readers what he "promised from the beginning, authentic and reliable particulars," had "been at some pains for several days past to watch the Old General closely, before, at, and immediately after meals."¹⁰⁶ He was able, therefore to report truthfully that, at the beginning of his meals, the General took off his hat; sat on a settle of some sort; took his fork in his left hand and his knife in the right; "and in an inappreciably short space of time" began "striking right and left in the nearest dish." He insisted on everything being "piping hot" except his dumplings, for he

103 Ibid., p. 202.

104 Ibid., p. 202.

105 Ibid., No. 49, issue of September 11, 1847, p. 229.

106 Ibid., p. 229.

hated "a hot dumpling as he" hated "the devil."

The assertion that, after his meals, he invariably wiped his mouth on his coat tail, was foul slander and absolutely untrue, for he always took his meals in "a camp-roundabout or bob," and this garment had no tail. (Barnum would exhibit one in September at his museum.)

The Correspondent closed by stating that there had been so many requests, from all parts of the Union, for one of the General's roundabouts that his supply had become depleted. He was sure, therefore, that nothing would please Old Zack more than for some one to send him a new supply of "brown roundabouts, large over the back and free in the arms."¹⁰⁷

On October 1, 1852, about two months after Fierre had been published in America by Harper and Brothers, Melville received the following "circular letter" from the G. P. Putnam and Company:

We take the liberty of informing you of our intention to publish an Original periodical of a character different from any now in existence, and, as it is our wish to have the best talent of the country to aid us in the undertaking, to solicit your assistance as a contributor ...

As it is desirable that we should know the extent of our literary resources, we shall be greatly obliged by as early an answer as may suit your convenience, whether or not you will be able to furnish us an occasional article, and if you will be willing that

107 Ibid., p. 229.

your name should be announced as a probable contributor. 108

About this same time, also, the unfavorable reviews of Pierre were appearing in increasing numbers, and it was becoming quite evident that, regardless of the author's high opinion of this novel, it was certainly unpopular with the public, and was doomed, therefore, to be a financial failure. In view of these circumstances, there must have been something reassuring, to say the least, in the letter from G. F. Putnam and Company inviting him to become a contributor to their new magazine, because it was their "wish to have the best talent of the country to aid" them "in the undertaking." Furthermore, for a professional writer, whose lick had been anything but good of late, there was another bright side to the matter: "Magazine writing was fairly profitable, too. Putnam's paid five dollars a page ... Harper's did not pay quite so well, but it would take easily written sketches and was a dependable source of supplementary income."¹⁰⁹

Melville, however, did not immediately avail himself of this new opportunity. In fact, thirteen months passed before his first contribution appeared in Putnam's Monthly Magazine. Nevertheless, the invitation which had come to him,

108 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. I, P. 461.

109 Leon Howard, Herman Melville, p. 212.

more than a year before, must be regarded as one of the strong stimuli that launched him upon the most creative and lucrative period of his career as a magazine writer.

"Bartleby, the Scrivener: A Story of Wall Street" was Melville's first contribution to Putnam's Monthly Magazine. It appeared, in two installments, during the months of November and December of 1853. Also published, in December, 1853, was his first contribution, of this type, to Harper's New Monthly Magazine. It was a short story entitled, "Cock-A-Doodle-Do! or The Crowing of the Noble Cock Beneventano." Thus, in this manner, and to these two magazines, did his contributions of stories and sketches continue, from November, 1853, until May, 1856. First, a story or sketch would appear in Putnam's; then one, in Harper's; and occasionally, a different story or sketch would appear in each of the magazines at the same time.

During this period of two years and half, Melville published fourteen¹¹⁰ of these stories and sketches, and one novel, in serialized magazine form. By an odd coincidence, seven stories appeared in each of the two magazines. The serialized novel was published in Putnam's Monthly Magazine.

110 A fifteenth story, "The Two Temples," was submitted to Putnam's but was rejected because of fear that it might offend some of the church readers. Charles Briggs, the editor, and George P. Putnam, the publisher, both wrote cordial letters of explanation and regret to Melville. The story remained unprinted until after Melville's death. "The Piazza," another story written during this period, was not a magazine con-

Excluding the two, already mentioned, the other stories or sketches and the novel, in chronological order, were: "The Encantades or Enchanted Isles," printed in Putnam's, under the pseudonym, "Salvator R. Tarnmoor," and appearing in three installments during March, April, and May, 1854; "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs,"¹¹¹ in Harper's for June, 1854; "The Happy Failure: A Story of the River Hudson," in Harper's for July, 1854; the novel, "Israel Potter," serialized in nine installments, in Putnam's, from July, 1854, to March, 1855; "The Lightning-Rod Man," in Putnam's for August 1854; "The Fiddler," in Harper's for September, 1854; "The Paradise of Bachelors and The Tartarus of Maids," in Harper's for April, 1855; "The Bell-Tower,"¹¹² in Putnam's for August, 1855; "Benito Cereno," in three installments, in Putnam's for October, November, and December, 1855; "Jimmy Rose," in Harper's for November, 1855; "I and My Chimney," in Putnam's for March, 1856; "The 'Gees," in Harper's for March, 1856; and, "The Apple-Tree Table; or Original Spiritual Manifestations," in Putnam's for May, 1856.

tribution, but, as noted elsewhere, it was published as the title story of The Piazza Tales, in 1856.

¹¹¹ This story was reprinted in the Western Literary Messenger, of Buffalo, for August, 1854.

¹¹² This story was reprinted in two other collections, excluding his own Piazza Tales, during Melville's lifetime: in Little Classics: Tragedy, Edited by Rossiter Johnson, in 1874; and in A Library of American Literature from the Earliest

With the publication of "The Apple-Tree Table," Melville's contributions to magazines, during his first literary period, came to a close. During his longer, but leaner, second period of literary production, lasting from 1857 to 1891, his magazine contributions were limited to the following poems, all printed in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, in 1866: "The March to the Sea," in February; "The Cumberland," in March; "Phillip," in April; "Chattanooga," in June; and "Gettysburg," in July.

All five of the poems, listed above, were included in Melville's first volume of poetry, Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War, published by Harper and Brothers, in August, of 1866. The poem entitled, "Phillip," in the magazine version, appeared in the volume under the title of "Sheridan at Cedar Creek." According to Mr. Thorp: "It was reprinted in the New York Leader, December 8, 1866; in the Pittsfield Sun, January 17, 1867; and elsewhere."¹¹³

Although it occurred about seven months after the author's death, mention should be made here of the fact, that Arthur Stedman¹¹⁴ published five of Melville's poems in the

Settlement to the Present Time, Edited by Edmund Clarence Stedman and Ellen Mackay Hutchinson, in 1889.

¹¹³ Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, Notes, p. 426.

¹¹⁴ Arthur Stedman, "Poems by Herman Melville," in Century Magazine, New Series, Vol. 22, No. 1, issue of May, 1892, pp. 104-105.

Century Magazine for May, 1892. The poems were: "Art," "Monody," "Night-March," "The Weaver," and "Lamia's Song;" and all were taken from Melville's last volume of verse, Timoleon, which he published privately, in 1891, a few months before his death.

4. Billy Budd and Other Posthumous Works

At his death, on September 28, 1891, Herman Melville left unpublished, a fairly large assortment of manuscript material in both verse and prose. Although all of these pieces are definitely inferior to his earlier major works, a few of them, including Billy Budd, Foretopman, often exhibit real flashes of the genius which their author possessed as a young man. It is fortunate, therefore, for the students of Melville, that these manuscripts were preserved, and have come down to us. An interesting account of how this was accomplished, and by whom, is given by Mr. Raymond Weaver, as follows:

Though for the twenty years between 1866 and 1886, Melville had been employed as Inspector of Customs, and the world at large had seemed utterly to have forgotten him as a man-of-letters, his wife, though temperamentally unfitted to understand him in any profound essential, had borne with him gallantly through poverty, sickness, and apparent failure, and on his certificate of death she declared her faith by giving his "Occupation" as that of "Writer." And the funeral once over, Mrs. Melville returned to his bedroom study, with its black, narrow bed, its black bookcases lined with volumes of poets and philosophers, with its prints and etchings that Melville had collected, and at the massive and ornate desk (brought over from France by Melville's father before Melville's birth) she went through

Melville's papers. What was destroyed will never be known. What has survived she sorted, tied with pink tape into orderly bundles frequently labelled in pencil in her hand, and deposited the slight bulk of it all into a miniature trunk hardly larger than an average sized suit-case, where they reposed untampered with for twenty-eight years. 115

When Melville's wife died in 1906, the trunk of manuscripts passed to his daughter, Elizabeth (Bessie) Melville, and after her death, in 1908, his other daughter, Mrs. Frances Melville Thomas became custodian of the papers. And later, from Mrs. Thomas, in natural descent, they passed to her daughter, Melville's granddaughter, Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf, who permitted Mr. Weaver to make the first scholarly use of them. Of this, she writes, in her most recent book about her grandfather:

It was not until 1919, the centenary of Melville's birth, just after the box of manuscripts had been given me by my mother, that I was traced to my home in Wellesly Farms by Raymond Weaver. There he first came in August of that year, and was made welcome by my husband and two small sons as well as myself. He was given access to all the material in my possession: it is easy now to understand his excitement.

The result was the first biography, Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic, published in 1921. 116

115 Raymond Weaver, "Introduction" to The Shorter Novels of Herman Melville, New York, Horace Liveright, Inc., 1928, p. viii.

116 Eleanor Melville Metcalf, Herman Melville: Cycle and Epicycle, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, pp. 293-294.

But Mr. Weaver made other use of these treasures in the trunk, for it was he who first edited the manuscripts for publication in the Standard Edition of Melville's Works which Constable and Company of London published in 1924.

Two interesting questions might be asked about the contents of this now famous trunk. First, what specific pieces of writing did Melville leave in manuscript form? And secondly when did he write them? The first question is far easier answered than the second, for, barring the possibly destroyed pieces, its answer may be arrived at simply by examining the manuscripts which remain after his works, published during his lifetime, have been excluded. But, to ascertain when each manuscript was written, is a much more difficult problem, and one which, except in a few cases, is impossible to solve, because Melville did not date each manuscript, nor did he leave notes concerning the time when each was written; and because, even after he stopped writing for the public, he continued to write privately for his own artistic pleasure and satisfaction. Thus, some of the manuscripts - like that of "The Two Temples," for instance - could have been written, but not published, during the time when his name was still known to the general public as a professional writer; while others could have been written some years later; and still others - like Billy Budd - could have been written during the last years of his life, when the general public did not know him as a professional writer who

had ~~once~~ been famous.

Among the tied up bundles of verse in the trunk of papers, was the manuscript of a complete volume of poems, to which Melville had given the title, Weeds and Wildings, with A Rose or Two. These pastoral poems about rural life and rural scenes; about clover and flowers; about turnip fields and wayside weeds; and especially, about roses; recalled his life with his family at Arrowhead, and were dedicated, with affection, to his wife, Elizabeth, whom he called, poetically, "Winnefred," the "Madonna of the Trefoil." In the last paragraph of his long prefatory dedication, he writes:

Well, and to whom but to thee, Madonna of the Trefoil, should I now dedicate these "Weeds and Wildings," thriftless children of quite another and yet later spontaneous aftergrowth, and bearing indications too apparent it may be, of that terminating season on which the offerer verges. But take them. And for aught suggestion of the "melting mood" that any may possibly betray, call to mind the dissolved snow flakes on the ruddy oblation of old, and remember your "tears of the happy." 117

Another unfinished manuscript volume, consisting of narrative verse and prose, combined, deals with two old gentlemanly characters. One is a nobleman, whom Melville calls, the Marquis de Grandvin; and the other is the friend of this gentleman, and Melville calls him, John Gentian. The poetic compositions

117 Howard F. Vincent, Editor, Collected Poems of Herman Melville, Chicago, Hendricks House, 1947, p. 482.

in this projected but incomplete volume are rather stiff and dull, and they completely lack the appeal of some of the lighter and more charming poems in Weeds and Wildings.

Besides the completed volume of poems, Weeds and Wildings, and the incomplete, but projected volume on the Marquis de Grandvin and his friend, John Gentian, Melville left unpublished, at his death, a number of miscellaneous poems to round out his career as a poet. It was one of the ironies of fate that Weeds and Wildings, with a Rose or Two, the only book which he dedicated to his wife and amanuensis, failed to find its way into print until nearly a score of years after his death.

Although Melville's fame as a poet has grown - and is still growing - with the years, his reputation as a literary artist is still based, mainly, on his great prose works. It is not too curious a coincidence, therefore, that he should have left among his papers at his death, prose manuscripts which surpass his unpublished poetry.

Since we have discussed, in a brief manner, the manuscript verse pieces which he left to posterity, let us turn now to the manuscript prose works, which were left with the poems, and which, after the author's death, Elizabeth Melville "sorted, tied with pink tape into orderly bundles, ... and deposited" in the "minature trunk, ... where they reposed untampered with for twenty-eight years."

In 1919, the twenty-eighth year, Raymond Weaver examined

them for his biography of Melville, and five years later, in 1924, he edited them for the thirteenth volume of Constable's Standard Edition of Melville's Works. In his "Introductory Note," he writes:

Billy Budd, the title-piece of this volume, is a novel finished by Melville five months before his death in 1891, and never before published. "Daniel Orme" is a sketch "omitted from Billy Budd." The fourth piece - "The Two Temples" - was on May 12, 1854, refused by Putnam's Monthly Magazine out of fear of offending the religious sensibilities of the congregation of Grace Church, New York. This volume concludes with eight sketches surviving in manuscript, written, in all probability, after Melville's retirement in 1886, at the age of sixty-seven, from his post as Inspector of Customs in New York City. Except for his letters, journals, and the juvenile "Fragments from a Writing Desk," this closes the count of Melville as a writer of prose. 118

By briefly examining these prose works in reversed order to the manner in which they are mentioned above, by Mr. Weaver, we shall come to Billy Budd, the most important piece in the group, last.

The eight concluding sketches, mentioned by Mr. Weaver, refer to prose pieces which deal with the Marquis de Grandvin and John Gentian, the two characters of Melville's manuscript poems. In his comment on these sketches, Mr. Vincent, who

118 Raymond M. Weaver, Editor, Billy Budd and Other Prose Pieces, by Herman Melville, in The Works of Herman Melville, London, Constable and Company, 1924, Vol. 13, p. v.

edited the poems, says that they are "written in a playful style somewhat reminiscent of Steele, Addison, and Irving, describing a Club of Burgurdians under the patronage of the Marquis de Grandvin (a personification of wine) and headed by their Dean, Major John Gentian, Esquire."¹¹⁹

"The Two Temples" is an interesting sketch, written in a satiric vein, and depicting the narrator's contrasting experiences in Temple First, a grand New York church for rich members only, and in Temple Second, a London theater whose doors are open to all the people. He was denied a seat in Temple First, but welcomed with great courtesy and even given a ticket for a seat in Temple Second.

The main point of this sketch is obvious, throughout, but for readers who might still have missed it, the narrator says at the end:

I went home to my lonely lodging, and slept not much that night, for thinking of the First Temple and the Second Temple; and how that, a stranger in a strange land, I found sterling charity in the one; and at home, in my own land, was thrust out from the other. ¹²⁰

It is no wonder that Charles F. Briggs, the Editor of Putnam's Monthly, rejected this manuscript, even though he recognized

¹¹⁹ Howard P. Vincent, Editor, Collected Poems of Herman Melville, p. 483.

¹²⁰ Herman Melville, "The Two Temples", in the Works of Herman Melville, Vol. 13, p. 191.

some of its fine qualities. His letter to Melville, in part, states:

I am very loth to reject the "Two Temples" as the article contains some exquisitely fine description, and some pungent satire, but my editorial experience compels me to be very careful in offending the religious sensibilities of the public, and the moral of the "Two Temples" would sway against us the whole power of the pulpit, to say nothing of Brown, and the congregation of Grace Church. 121

Melville's note, "omitted from Billy Budd," on the fragment of "Daniel Orme," indicates, either that this sketch was once a part of Billy Budd, or that the author intended it as a part of the novel, but decided not to include it in his final draft of the handsome Foretopman. At any rate it seems definitely to be an extended portrait of the veteran sailor, whom he calls, "the Dansker," in Billy Budd.

This is the old seaman, who, "in his ascetic way rather took to Billy;" and "from the first in addressing him he always substituted Baby for Billy. The Dansker, in fact, being the originator of the name by which the foretopman eventually became known aboard ship." Furthermore, it was this same old sailor who first discovered that Claggart hated Billy, and who tried, in his experienced way, to warn the innocent and unsuspecting young man that even though Claggart always "had a sweet

121 Ibid., p. 173.

voice" and a "pleasant word" for him, he was employing these methods to hide his true feelings. Whenever Billy mentioned these things to him, the Dansker replied, "And that's because he's down upon you, Baby Budd."¹²²

Melville, with the intuition of an experienced artist, no doubt felt that his longer, first portrait of the Dansker was too full for the final length of Billy Budd. Thus to prevent a lack of balance in his short novel, he substituted a more effective shorter portrait, and kept the original version of the veteran sailor among his manuscript papers as the "Daniel Orme" sketch which has come down to us.

When Mr. Weaver, in his "Introductory Note" to Billy Budd and Other Prose Pieces, made the statement that "this closes the count of Melville as a writer of prose," he not only shut out the possibility of manuscript copies of Melville's lectures turning up, at some future time, but he inadvertently assumed that his scholarly eye had not missed anything among the Melville papers which he had examined. His broad and all-inclusive general statement contains a lesson for scholars, because a quarter of a century later, more or less, another editor of Billy Budd, Mr. Frederick Barron Freeman, discovered that Mr. Weaver had overlooked "Baby Budd," a complete short story, that was mixed up in the manuscript pages of the novel,

122 Ibid., pp. 38-39

Billy Budd.

"In my research on Billy Budd," writes Mr. Freeman, "I discovered the short story, 'Baby Budd, Sailor,' embedded in the manuscripts of the novel, a discovery which was unexpected and gratifying. From the cut, pinned, or pasted pages of the manuscripts, from the smudged cancellations and confused pagination, a twelve-thousand-word short story appeared, buried in the thirty-six-thousand-word novel. The novel is an analytical presentation of the characters and problems concerned. The short story is an excellent example of Melville's ability to write a miniature tragedy. Although it lacks the interpretive ramifications of the novel, it reveals the author in his primary artistic inspiration."¹²³

On the manuscripts of Billy Budd, Melville wrote the following notes:

Friday, Nov. 16, 1888 - begun.
Revision begun - March 2, 1889.
Finished - April 19, 1891.

Mr. Weaver and others, who considered the manuscripts as containing the novel only, interpreted these notes as giving the dates for the beginning, revision, and completion of this single literary work. Mr. Freeman's interpretation is different.

¹²³ Frederick Barron Freeman, Editor, "Melville's Billy Budd: The Complete text of the Novel and of the Unpublished Short Story," Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948. p. vii.

It follows:

The pencilled notes at the beginning and end of the manuscripts show that Melville began the tale of Billy Budd on or before November 16, 1888. He finished the revised version of the short story before March 2, 1889, when he began to expand it into the novel, the revision of which he completed on April 19, 1891. 124

Then, after mentioning Mr. Weaver's edition of Billy Budd and succeeding reprints of it, he added:

Unfortunately, the pressure of time made it impossible for Mr. Weaver to decipher accurately the crabbed penmanship and the confused pagination of the manuscripts, to uncover the hidden short story, or to record more than seven of the hundreds of variant readings. My Transcription of the novel and short story is an effort to establish a definitive text through the presentation of all variant readings. 125

Without going into a detailed synopsis of Billy Budd, it suffices here to state, that in this final important work of his literary career, Herman Melville was deeply concerned with the universal and eternal problem of good and evil; with the dilemmas it presented to human beings, especially when forced to make decisions at crucial moments in their lives; and with the terrible tragedies which resulted from the conflict of the good with the evil. For Melville, the author of Mardi, and Moby-Dick, and Pierre, and The Confidence-Man, knew sadly, and too well, that whenever and wherever the innocent

124 Ibid., p. ix.

125 Ibid., p. ix.

and the good Billy Budds and the sinister and the evil Claggarts met in this world, conflict must necessarily ensue, and tragedy was inevitable. This "mariner and mystic," as Raymond Weaver called him, knew a great deal, indeed, about this gigantic problem of good and evil, for he wrestled with it in each of his major books, from early youth until advanced old age. The struggle lasted, as a matter of fact, until six months before his death, when he completed his final little masterpiece, Billy Budd.

It is no wonder that, even in his seventy-first year, Melville had no time for anything else, and that he so informed Professor Archibald MacMechan, a Canadian admirer of his books. In his reply to this gentleman's letter, he wrote:

But you do not know, perhaps that I have entered my eighth decade. After twenty years nearly, as an outdoor Custom House officer, I have latterly come into possession of unobstructed leisure, but only just as, in the course of nature, my vigor sensibly declines. What little of it is left I husband for certain matters as yet incomplete, and which indeed may never be completed. 126

This was written on December 5, 1889, and Melville was still writing; still battling with the problem of good and evil; for Billy Budd was not completed until sixteen and a half months later, on April 19, 1891. The few fragments that he failed to finish are not too important, but that he did

"husband" enough energy and "vigor" to complete one more major work, Billy Budd, is very important, indeed, for the artistry of this last short novel has not only added luster to Melville's fame, but it has enriched the prose literature of his native land.

CHAPTER II

HERMAN MELVILLE AS A WRITER OF JOURNALS

It would have been strange, indeed, had Herman Melville died without leaving a few journals, diaries, or notebooks to his credit. From Colonial times through the nineteenth century, Americans of the literate class, and authors, especially, were indefatigable keepers of diaries, journals, and notebooks. Melville's distinguished contemporaries, in the nineteenth century, continued the tradition in a vigorous and methodical manner. The mention of but three of this select group - Emerson, Hawthorne, and Thoreau - will serve to illustrate the extent to which the famous writers of that age indulged in the practice. In modern authoritative editions, Emerson's Journals appear in ten volumes; Thoreau's in fourteen; and Hawthorne's American Notebooks and English Notebooks in two scholarly volumes; "The Heart" of his Journals in another; and Passages from his American, English, French, and Italian Note-Books are available in five other volumes.¹

Although Melville did leave three brief journals - just enough perhaps, to enable him to join the literary ranks of other producers in this genre - he was neither energetic

¹ Robert E. Spiller et al., Editors, Literary History of United States, New York, Macmillan Company, 1948, Vol. 3, Bibliography, pp. 493, 545, 743.

nor methodical as a keeper of journals, and his slender output woefully suffers by comparison with the voluminous productions of his contemporaries. For him, the keeping of a journal was a special, occasional activity, rather than a daily duty.

All three of Melville's journals were records of voyages, or of journeys by both land and sea. Not one of them, however, dealt with his first trip to Liverpool, on the merchantman, or his longer and more adventurous voyage to the South Seas, on the whaling vessel. As far as we know, he kept no written records of these early and exciting voyages. The occasional practice of keeping a journal was adopted much later by him, and was exercised, in two of the instances, at widely separated intervals of time.

Melville's journals are: Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, 1849-1850, Edited by his granddaughter, Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf, in 1948; Journal Up the Straits: October 11, 1856-May 5, 1857, Edited by Mr. Raymond Weaver, in 1935, and again, just recently, by Mr. Howard C. Horsford, in 1955;² and Journal on the Clipper Ship "Meteor", 1860, which was first printed in The New England Quarterly, in the issue of

2 Howard C. Horsford, Editor, Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, October 11, 1856-May 6, 1857, by Herman Melville, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955.

In his "Introduction," Mr. Horsford explains why he

January, 1929. As the dates indicate, two of the journals belong to his first literary period, while the last, belongs to his second. All of them remained unpublished for many years after his death.

Referring to the manuscript which she edited, Mrs. Metcalf writes: "The Journal was a private record that was never intended for publication,"³ and, from what Mr. Weaver writes, about Melville's penmanship, it would appear that Melville left the Journal Up the Straits in such a condition as to have almost prevented it from ever being published. "This Journal Up the Straits - as Melville called it -" writes Mr. Weaver, "was in a handwriting that seemed to defy deciphering. ... Calvin Thomas, the Goethe scholar, who saw the Journal, said he had thought the manuscript of the second part of Faust was the worst in the world until he was convinced of what Melville could do."⁴

gave a new title to his edition of the Journal.

"Only on the cover of the second volume," he writes, "is there any pretense at a title ('Journal / Up the Straits / 1856.'), but since this has no singular relevance to the journal as a whole, it has been discarded for this edition." p. 42.

3 Eleanor Melville Metcalf, Editor, Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, By Herman Melville, 1849-1850, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948.

4 Raymond Weaver, Editor, Journal Up the Straits: October 11, 1856-May 5, 1857, by Herman Melville, New York, The Colophon, 1935, p. xxviii.

"For seventeen weeks and two days of 1849-50," writes Mrs. Metcalf, "Herman Melville ... kept a journal of a trip to Europe."⁵ This journal, his first, and entitled, Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, 1849-1850, does not contain an entry for every day of the trip. He left New York on Thursday, October 11, 1849, and returned on February 1, 1850. His last entry of any consequence, was for Christmas day, 1849; although he did briefly record seeing the pilot boat on the morning of Wednesday, January 30, 1850. He sailed from New York on the Southampton, commanded by Captain Robert Harper Griswold, and he returned on the Independence, commanded by Captain A. T. Fletcher.

The immediate purpose of his trip was to find a publisher for White Jacket, perhaps necessary since the comparative unpopularity of Mardi, and the death of his brother, Gansevoort, who had marketed Typee for him in London. But that he had other motives less obviously practical, he freely revealed to friends before he sailed and discussed with some of his fellow travellers aboard the ship. 6

While abroad, he visited London and a few smaller towns in England; then, Paris, Brussels, Cologne, and Coblenz, on the continent. After some negotiating, he finally succeeded in "the immediate purpose of his trip," by concluding an arrange-

5 Eleanor Melville Metcalf, Editor, Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, 1849-1850, p. xvii.

6 Ibid., p. xii.

ment with Bentley, on December 15, for the publication of White-Jacket. One of his "other motives less obviously practical" was to visit the holy Land, but this did not materialize. He discussed this, going over on the ship, with his companions, Mr. George J. Adler, the philologist, and Dr. Franklin Taylor, a cousin of James Bayard Taylor, but the cost of the trip, together with his nostalgia for his wife and son, caused him to give up the idea.

Notwithstanding his failure to accomplish all that he planned, Melville did obtain, from his observations and experiences on this trip, many new ideas which he utilized conspicuously, in later literary works, such as: "The Two Temples," Israel Potter, "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs," "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids," and possibly, to a less noticeable extent, in Billy Budd and other works.

After his return home, he wrote the novels, Moby-Dick, Pierre, Israel Potter, and The Confidence-Man; the sixteen stories and sketches, published, with one exception, in The Piazza Tales and in magazines; and possibly some poetry, which remained unpublished at the time.

Then again, on another eleventh of October - but, in 1856, seven years after his voyage to London and the Continent - Melville, now weary of writing and disappointed as an author, sailed for distant shores, and this time, realized his earlier

desire by journeying to the Holy Land.

Nothing could have been more beneficial to Melville, physically and inspirationally, than this second pleasure trip abroad in 1856, for the years which immediately preceded it had not only wearied and disappointed him with his professional career, but they had seriously impaired his health by straining his bodily energy almost to the breaking point. In the biographical notes, which she left in manuscript form, his wife tells us:

"... We went to Pittsfield and boarded in the summer of 1850 - moved to Arrowhead in fall October 1850. Wrote White Whale or Moby Dick under unfavorable circumstances - would sit at his desk all day not eating anything till four or five o'clock - then ride to the village after dark - would be up early and out walking before breakfast - sometimes splitting wood for exercise. Published White Whale in 1851 - Wrote Fierre - published 1852. We all felt anxious about the strain on his health in spring of 1853. ... In Feb 1855 he had his first attack of severe rheumatism in his back - so that he was helpless - and in the following June an attack of sciatica. Our neighbor in Pittsfield Dr. O. W. Holmes attended & prescribed for him. ..." 7

And Mr. Weaver also writes: "The five years between the publication of Moby-Dick and his advent to the Holy Land were the most crucial in Melville's long life; and around these years hovers the lowering of the sinister intimation that his sanity was obscured."⁸

7 Quoted by Raymond Weaver in his edition of Journal Up the Straits, pp. xv-xvi.

8 Ibid., p. xii.

Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel's son, was one of the first authors to publicize "the sinister intimation" to which Mr. Weaver referred. Of Melville, he wrote: "He was restless and disposed to dark hours, and there is reason to suspect that there was in him a vein of insanity. His later writings were incomprehensible."⁹ Every careful reader of Melville's later works, whether he likes them or not, knows that there is nothing "incomprehensible" about them. And "never," writes Mr. Weaver, "except by the most unscrupulous abuse of language might even Pierre and The Confidence Man be invoked in proof that Melville was insane."¹⁰ To which, Mr. Robert S. Forsythe adds, that: "For thinking people, the question - raised by the late Julian Hawthorne - of Melville's sanity has long since been completely settled."¹¹

Melville's trip to the Holy Land was financed by his father-in-law, Judge Lemuel Shaw. He sailed from New York on October 11, 1856, "in the screw-steamer" Glasgow, which was bound for Glasgow. After arriving in Scotland, he proceeded to Liverpool, and then to Southport for a brief visit with

9 Julian Hawthorne, Hawthorne and His Circle, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1903, p. 33.

10 Raymond Weaver, Editor, Journal Up the Straits, p. xxiii.

11 Robert S. Forsythe, "Review of Journal Up the Straits", Edited by Raymond Weaver, in American Literature, Vol. 8, No. 1, issue of March, 1936, p. 85.

Hawthorne. From Liverpool, he sailed to Constantinople in the Egyptian under the command of Captain Tate. He visited Egypt, Palestine, Athens, Naples, Rome, Florence, Venice, Milan, Berne, Basle, Strasbourg, Cologne, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, London, Oxford, Stratford-on-Avon, Birmingham, and many places in between, before coming back to Liverpool, where he sailed for home on May 5, 1857. He saw the pyramids, the Sphinx, the Acropolis, the Sistine Chapel, ancient and medieval architecture, famous statues, and the scenes of the great stories of the Bible. He visited famous art galleries and museums, churches, parks, market-places, and universities, and he described all of these things and commented on them, in his own way, in his Journal Up the Straits: October 11, 1856-May 5, 1857.

Melville's trip to the Holy Land was the inspiration for his longest poem - one which appeared in two volumes, in 1876, and which he entitled, Clarel: A Poem and Pilgrimage in the Holy Land. Therefore, the Journal Up the Straits later proved to be an important document to its author, for it provided him, not only with much of the material for Clarel, but for a good many of the poems in Timoleon, as well. And Mr. Forsyth - whose analytical and critical review of Weaver's edition of the Journal, is more than just another review - suggests that Melville might have planned to cull even another book from this Journal for Dix, Edwards, and Company and for

Putnam's, but was prevented from doing so by the panic of 1857 which plunged both the company and the magazine into difficulties. 12

From Boston, near the end of May, 1860, Melville wrote to Evert Duyckinck about some poems which he assured Duyckinck his wife would send to New York, "in the course of a week or so," after the copying of the manuscript had been completed. Then with a, "Now for something else," he made a sudden transition to the topic of another voyage that he was then about to begin:

I anticipate as much pleasure as, at the age of forty, one temperately can, in the voyage I am going. I go under very happy auspices so far as ship & Captain is concerned. A noble ship and a nobler captain - & he my brother. We have the breadth of the tropics before us, to sail over twice; & shall round the world. Our first port is San Francisco, which we shall probably make in 110 days from Boston. Thence we go to Manilla - & thence, I hardly know where. 13

Melville made this voyage with his brother, Thomas, as far as the "first port," San Francisco, but the distant trip to "Manilla - & thence, I hardly know where," did not materialize for him. However, out of this incomplete voyage -

12 Ibid., p. 87. See pp. 85-96. also for the correction of many errors made by Weaver.

13 Herman Melville, "Letter to Evert Duyckinck, Boston, May 29th (28) 1860, On board ship 'Meteor'," Reprinted in The Portable Melville, edited by Jay Leyda, New York, The Viking Press, 1952, pp. 586-587.

Melville's final journey by sea - came his third and last journal, a record more incomplete than the voyage itself - a mere fragment, really, entitled:

Journal
Kept on board ship, "Meteor"
Thomas Melville, Commander:
From Boston to San Francisco
Herman Melville, Passenger. 14

The Meteor sailed from Boston on May 30, 1860; arrived off San Francisco on October 11, and anchored at her wharf on the twelfth. The ship had been one hundred and thirty-four days at sea, rather than the one hundred and ten estimated by Melville. She had encountered calms and gales, "with snow, rain, hail, sleet, mist, fog, squalls, head-winds;" there was a "man hurt by the sea;" and Benjamin "Ray, a Nantucketer, about 25 years old, a good honest fellow (to judge from his face & demeanor during the passage) fell . . . from the Main top-sail yard to the deck, & striking head foremost upon one of the spars was instantly killed."¹⁵

In San Francisco, changes were made in the sailing plans of the Meteor; so, after tarrying there for eight days,

¹⁴ Anonymous, "Journal of Melville's Voyage in a Clipper ship," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 1, issue of January 1929, p. 120.

¹⁵ Herman Melville, "Journal on the Clipper Ship Meteor, 1860," "Reprinted in The Portable Melville, pp. 590-591.

Melville parted company with his brother, and sailed for home. He made the trip as far as Panama on the Cortes; crossed the Isthmus to Aspinwall; there he boarded the S. S. North Star, on November 5, and arrived in New York on the twelfth. On November 16, the Meteor, still under the command of Captain Thomas Melville, the author's brother, sailed from San Francisco for Falmouth, England.

Melville's Journal on the Clipper Ship "Meteor," 1860 - the random record which he kept of the outward bound part of this voyage - is truly a fragment, for it contains but fourteen entries: one for the month of May, and that for the thirtieth, the sailing date; six for June; two for July; and five for August. Several of the entries, like those quoted above, describe weather conditions, or deal directly with Ray's death. Some of the others contain the author's comments on: his reading; ships that are met; the collision with the English brig, Elizabeth Baxter, whose captain was asleep; chess games with Tom played with pieces fashioned by the carpenter; and the passing of the Meteor through the Strait of Le Maire. The August tenth entry - the very last one - treats reflectively of seaman Ray's death and his mother's sorrow: "Not so easily," writes Melville, "will his fate be washed out of her heart, as his blood from the deck."

Melville had taken the trip with Tom because he felt that it might improve his health, but "he was not at all

benefited by the voyage."¹⁶ In his absence, Evert Duyckinck had read his poems, and thought well of them, but his brother, Allan Melville, the lawyer, had been unable, even with Duyckinck's aid, to find a publisher for the volume. Thus, the author-seaman, who left a manuscript which he was anxious to see in print, and, who sailed away, anticipating "as much pleasure as, at the age of forty, one temperately can," returned home doubly disappointed - his anticipations of the voyage had not been realized, and his poems had not been published.

Although Herman Melville, as we have observed, lived in a diary-keeping, notebook-keeping, and journal-keeping age, he did not, as far as we know, indulge in this practice to any great extent. Certainly, by comparison with his literary contemporaries, the three fragmentary journals - with their skipped days and unsystematic entries¹⁷ - which he left to posterity, represent a scant legacy in this genre. Nevertheless, great artist that he was, he was able, with the aid of

¹⁶ Maria Melville, "Letter to Peter Gansvoort, Nov. 5, 1860," in Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 1, pp. 230-231.

¹⁷ We find such entries as the following: for Saturday January 3, 1857, "I will now without any order jot down my impressions of Cairo, ere they grow dim;" and for Tuesday, March 10, 1857, "I begin writing here after more than one week's abstinence, owing to state of my eyes and general incapacity." See: Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, Edited by Howard C. Horsford, pp. 114, 208.

his powerful imagination, to make a remarkable and extensive creative use of this meager material in his later literary works.

The experiences which he had on his trip to London and the Continent, in 1849-1850, and the entries which he made in his journal of this visit, provided him with some of the material for such stories or sketches as "The Two Temples," "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs," and "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids;" and it also provided him with some of the material for the two short novels, Israel Potter and Billy Budd.¹⁸ While his talks with the German, Mr. Adler, about "Fixed Fate, Free will, foreknowledge absolute,"¹⁹ on board ship as they crossed the Atlantic together, might have given him some ideas for "Chapter XLVII, The Mat-Maker," in Moby-Dick.

Melville had been disappointed in his hope of reaching the Holy Land, on his trip abroad in 1849-1850, but seven years later, with the financial aid of his father-in-law, he set out on a much longer pilgrimage which led him to the Holy Land and the realization of his early dream. The journal which he kept of this journey: Journal Up the Straits, or Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, October 11, 1856-May 6, 1857, later

18 Eleanor Melville Metcalf, Editor, Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, 1849-1850, by Herman Melville. See pages: 25-27, 41, 77, 103-5, 113, 129, 135.

19 Ibid., pp. 5, 93.

supplied him with much of the material for his long narrative poem, Clarel; and for many of the poems in Timoleon, including the poems, in the section of this volume, entitled, "Fruit of Travel of Long Ago."²⁰ Also, it provided him with material for two of his lectures, "Statues in Rome" and "Travelling"; for "The Haglets," a poem in John Marr and Other Sailors; and for many of his unpublished poems, such as "The Admiral of the White," "The Continents", "The Dust-Layers," "Puzzlement," "A Rail Road Cutting near Alexandria in 1855," and "Suggested by the Ruins of a Mountain-Temple in Arcadia."²¹

Since his Journal on the Clipper Ship "Meteor", 1860, is only a few pages in length, it is difficult to trace any of Melville's later works to it as a source. Had he completed the distant trip with his brother, as they planned it, he might have produced a full-sized journal, but since they only rounded the Horn and went as far as California together, after which, Melville returned home alone, he probably gave up the idea of keeping the journal, and left it in the fragmentary state in which it has come down to us.

Sailing around the Horn was an old experience for Herman Melville. What was there that he could record in his journal that he did not already know? He did make a few entries

20 Howard P. Vincent, Editor, Collected Poems of Herman Melville, pp. 473, 476.

21 Ibid., pp. 471, 485-487.

about unusual occurrences: the collision of the English brig, Elizabeth Baxter, with Tom's ship, the Meteor; the five or six days of "Calm - profound at times;" then, the stormy weather, as they rounded the Horn; and saddest of all, the tragic fall^{of} "Ray, a Nantucketer, . . . from the Main topsail yard to the deck," who struck his "head foremost upon one of the spars" and "was instantly killed." He tried to read a little, but found "methodical reading out of the question." He spent most of his time, therefore, conversing and playing chess with his brother. Thus, few entries were made in this brief journal - only fourteen, to be exact, from the date of sailing, on May thirtieth, to August tenth, when, without warning, the journal abruptly ended.

Melville, as we have noted, took a different attitude toward his other two journals. By no means did he make entries in either of them regularly and methodically, but, in his own way, he gave conscientious attention to both of them. For in 1849 and 1856, respectively, when he began these journals, he was definitely in search of new material that he could turn to literary use. Hence both of these journals were kept with a definite purpose in mind.

In his Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, for instance, several of his notes containing comments on particular entries, supply evidence that thoughts were coursing through his mind, relative to the use he might make of such

entries at a future time. On Saturday, November 10, 1849, he described a scene and an experience which he had in London, when, "through the influence of the Fire Officer," he pushed his "way through cellars & anti-lanes into the rear of Guildhall, with a crowd of beggars who were going to receive the broken meats & pies from yesterday's grand banquet (Lord Mayor's Day)."

His note of comment on this entry was: "(A good thing might be made of this.)"²² On Friday, November 23, 1849, he attended a publisher's dinner at Mr. Murray's. "It was a most amusing affair," he stated, at the beginning of a lengthy description of it which he entered in his journal, and near the end of which, he wrote: "Such is a publisher's dinner - a comical volume might be written upon it."²³ And, as a final example, we have his entry of Sunday, December 10, 1849, in which he debated with himself whether he should remain another three weeks in London, in order to accept "the Duke of Rutland's cordial invitation to visit him at his Castle," for this would furnish him with just the thing he wanted. He regarded this as "an open prospect to get some curious ideas of a style of life, which in all probability," he wrote, "I shall never have again." He wanted to stay and collect "material", and he wanted to sail for

22 Eleanor Melville Metcalf, Editor, Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, 1849-1850, by Herman Melville, p. 26.

23 Ibid., p. 45.

home to see his wife and son, so the debate continued: "If I do not go, I am confident that hereafter I shall upbraid myself for neglecting such an opportunity of procuring 'material'".²⁴

Besides the extensive use which Melville later made of his Journal Up the Straits, in Clarel; in his lectures; and in numerous short poems, it is very probable that when he took the trip abroad and began this journal on October 11, 1856, that he had in mind many other possible uses to which good travel material might be put. Not the least of these might possibly have been a popular travel book or two, for travel books were in vogue, and John Lloyd Stephens, Bayard Taylor, George William Curtis, John W. De Forest, Nathaniel Parker Willis, and numerous other writers had enjoyed great success with them.

After he returned from the trip with his journal, he seems to have read it often and to have made frequent notations after many entries in it, such as: "For the story," "enumerate", and "For Note."²⁵ These notes indicate that many possible uses for the material were being considered by him. The feeling of some students of his works, is that Melville possibly thought of using some of this journal material for contributions, which he agreed to make to the newly-founded Atlantic Monthly,

24 Ibid., pp. 72-73.

25 Howard C. Horsford, Editor, Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, October 11, 1856-May 6, 1857, by Herman Melville, pp. 31-33.

and for a sequel to The Confidence-Man, which, at one time, he contemplated writing.²⁶

Herman Melville, in the writing of his prose and verse, exercised a powerful imagination, and this was one of the evidences of his great genius as a man of letters. Of course, like other men of letters, he had to have material, and like them, he obtained some of this material from books. But Melville, more so than many other writers required material that came from personal experience, for he was the type of author whose creative genius was able to achieve its best and most effective results when stimulated by what he saw, felt, and did. Thus, when he had almost exhausted his experiences in the South Seas and on the Man-of-War, in books from Typee to White Jacket, and while he was contemplating the final major use of these experiences in his masterpiece, Moby-Dick, he felt the need to travel again and gather new material. Thus, he went abroad in 1849, and returned with his Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent. Seven years later, in 1856, he was struck again by the urge to travel in search of new material, and from this pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he returned with his Journal Up the Straits. And, as we have seen, and perhaps, to an extent which we have been unable to see, the

26 Ibid., pp. 30-33.

material in these volumes provided some stimulation to Melville's imagination, and afforded him that happiness which an author receives from the creation of art, until the last year of his life.

CHAPTER III

MELVILLE THE LECTURER

It has been noted that Melville's journey to the Holy Land provided him with material for the longest of his three journals; for Clarel, his two-volume narrative poem; and for a number of the poems in his last little book, Timoleon. The trip also supplied him with much of the material for two of his lectures - another aspect of his professional career, not previously discussed.

If Melville, as a nineteenth century author, could not escape the practice of keeping a few journals, it is not difficult to realize that, in this same age of the Lyceum vogue,¹ only an adamantine opposition to it, could have enabled him to escape mounting the lecture platform. We know definitely, however, that on his part there was no such opposition, for in a letter, of December 20, 1858, to George Duyckinck, he wrote, in the following manner, of a prospective engagement in Jersey City: "I should be glad to lecture there - or anywhere. If they will pay expenses, and give a reasonable fee, I am ready to lecture in Labrador or on the Isle of Desolation off Patagonia."²

¹ See a discussion of the Lyceum Movement, in Literary History of the United States, Vol. 1, pp. 230-231.

² Herman Melville, "Letter to George Duyckinck, Pittsfield Dec. 20th - Monday (1858)," in Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 397.

Melville's career as a lecturer occupied, approximately the three-year period between his return from the Holy Land, in 1857, and his voyage to San Francisco on the Meteor, in 1860. Although he expressed himself in an intentionally humorous manner, in the "semi-business letter" to his friend, George Duyckinck, he was absolutely serious about desiring "to augment the meagre income from his books and his Pittsfield farm by lecturing."³ Thus, while "Lyceum speakers were much in vogue," he willingly joined the ranks of "many of the most noted author as well as orators," who "were induced to mount the public platform, partly because of the liberal fees and the stimulus it gave the sale of their books."⁴

Melville lectured on three subjects: "Statues in Rome, variously called "Statuary in Rome," "Roman Statuary," and "Ancient Sanctuary;" "The South Seas;" and "Travelling." The first subject seems to have been the one that he used most frequently, but was least popular with his audiences. It was the topic employed when he "delivered his first lecture in Lawrence Massachusetts, on the night of November 23, 1857, for the benefit of charity;" and when he delivered his second lecture, "on the following evening, Tuesday, November 24, 1857, . . . in the

³ John H. Birss, "Herman Melville Lectures in Yonkers," in American Book Collector, Vol. 5, No. 2, issue of February, 1934, p. 50.

⁴ Ibid., p. 50.

Phenix Hall at Concord, New Hampshire, for a fee of thirty dollars."⁵

During the remaining weeks of 1857, he lectured at the Tremont Temple, in Boston, on December 2; in Montreal, on December 10; and in New Haven, on December 30. Near the end of December, he composed his new lecture on "The South Seas," but seems not to have used it until he appeared at Auburn, New York, on January 5, 1858.⁶

After the Auburn Lecture, he went to Ithaca and spoke on "Statuary in Rome," on January 7; and keeping this subject he lectured in Cleveland, on January 11; Detroit, on the twelfth; and Clarksville, on the twenty-second. In February, he was at Cincinnati on the second; Chillicothe, on the third; Charlestown, Massachusetts, on the ninth; Rochester, on the eighteenth; and New Bedford, on the twenty-third.

Melville appears to have lectured on "The South Seas," exclusively, during his second lecture season which opened on December 6, 1858, at Yonkers, New York.⁷ A week later, on the fourteenth, "he was in Pittsfield appearing before his fellow-townsmen in the role of lecturer."⁸

⁵ Francis V. Lloyd, Jr., "Melville's First Lectures," in American Literature, Vol. 13, No. 4, issue of January, 1942 pp. 391-394.

⁶ Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 2, p. 588.

⁷ John H. Birss, "Herman Melville Lectures in Yonkers" p. 52.

⁸ Ibid., p. 52.

On January 31, 1859, Melville again appeared at the Tremont Temple, in Boston. Then he went to New York to fill the engagement, obtained for him by George Duyckinck, on February seventh; and, after this, he went on to Baltimore for an engagement, the next evening. Later in February, he went West again for a series of four lectures in Chicago, on the twenty-fourth; Milwaukee, on the twenty-fifth; Rockford, Illinois, on the twenty-eighth; and Quincy, Illinois, on the second of March. He closed this season of lectures, so it appears, at Lynn, Massachusetts, on the evening of March 16, 1859.

If all the facts are known, Melville's third lecture season was, indeed, a brief one. He opened it on November 7, 1859, at Flushing, Long Island, and used his new lecture, "Travelling," which he had prepared sometime prior to this date. "At Flushing," the lecture "was advertised as 'Travelling; Its Pleasures, Pains, and Profits.'"⁹ His next appearance was not until February 14, 1860, at Danvers, Massachusetts, where he delivered "one of his lectures."¹⁰ Then, lecturing on his new topic, "Travelling," he made his final appearance at the Dowse Institute, in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts, on

⁹ John H. Birss, "'Travelling': A New Lecture by Herman Melville," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 4, issue of December, 1934, Footnote, p. 727.

¹⁰ Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 2, p. 613.

February 21, 1860. Of this engagement, Mr. Birss writes:

This was Melville's last lecture. He decided suddenly to terminate his third season and sailed May 30, 1860, from Boston with his brother, Captain Thomas Melville, on the Clipper, Meteor, around the Horn to San Francisco. After arriving there, he may have given a lecture, for Joseph E. A. Smith in his sketch of Melville lists that city in Melville's lecture route, but there is no evidence known at present to support his statement. 11

Since the middle of the 1930's, several Melville scholars have made studies of announcements and reviews of Melville's lectures which appeared, during the time, in the local newspapers of the cities and towns in which he lectured. Such studies have produced some valuable information, despite the fact "that newspaper files corresponding to all but a few dates of Melville's itinerary are either totally lost or certain numbers are lacking."¹² It was in this manner that Mr. Birss discovered a good report on "Travelling," his third lecture, in the Cambridge Chronicle for February 25, 1860. Melville's three early biographers knew of but two subjects on which he lectured. "For these lyceum gatherings," writes Mr. Weaver, "Melville prepared two lectures: one on the South

11 John H. Birss, "'Travelling': A New Lecture by Herman Melville," p. 728.

12 Ibid., p. 725.

13 Ibid., pp. 725-728.

Seas, one on Statuary in Rome." ¹⁴ And these are the only two referred to by Mr. Freeman ¹⁵ and Mr. Mumford. ¹⁶

Reference has already been made to Mr. Birss' study of Melville's lecture on "The South Seas" in Yonkers, New York. From the report in the Yonkers Examiner, which appeared a few days later: "One surmises," Mr. Birss writes, "that his reading ability was not of the first order, and that his remarks concerning the imposition of civilization's enlightenment upon the Polynesians were not cordially received." ¹⁷

Mr. George Kummer ¹⁸ made a study of the reaction of the public to the lectures delivered by Melville in January and February, of 1858, in Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Chillicothe, as reflected in the reports found in the Cleveland Morning Leader, Cleveland Daily Herald, Cincinnati Gazette, Cincinnati Daily Commercial, the Chillicothe Advertiser, and The Scioto Gazette.

¹⁴ Raymond Weaver, Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, p. 371.

¹⁵ John Freeman, Herman Melville, New York, Macmillan Company, 1926, p. 66.

¹⁶ Lewis Mumford, Herman Melville, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929, p. 283.

¹⁷ John H. Birss, "Herman Melville Lectures in Yonkers," pp. 50-51.

¹⁸ George Kummer, "Herman Melville and the Ohio press," in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. 45, No. 1, issue of January, 1936, pp. 34-36.

A similar study of the 1859 midwestern tour, covering Chicago, Rockford, and Quincy, in Illinois, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin, was made by Mr. Merrell Davis.¹⁹ This study confirms the dates of the four lectures; gives information, in some cases, on attendance and on fees received by Melville; and quotes the review, given in the Milwaukee Daily Wisconsin, which the author describes as "the longest, most complete," and best, but which contains an "enthusiasm" which "is exceptional and does not represent the general attitude toward Melville's lectures. Other reviewers were less favorable in their comments."²⁰

But Mr. Davis goes much further than this, in his study, and draws two conclusions from the newspaper reports which he examined: (1) that Melville, in these four lectures, failed as a lecturer; and (2) "Consequently these newspaper reports of his Midwestern lecture tour provide some evidence that he stopped writing because he could offer the public nothing new."²¹

An article entitled "Melville and His Public,"²² take

¹⁹ Merrell R. Davis, "Melville's Midwestern Lecture Tour, 1859," in Philological Quarterly, -Vol. 20, No. 1, issue of January, 1941, pp. 46-57.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 51.

²¹ Ibid., p. 57.

²² Anonymous, "Melville and His Public" in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 5, issue of August, 1942, pp. 67-71.

exception to Mr. Davis' second conclusion. "Surely Melville did not regard his lectures as any part of his seriously imaginative writing," it states. "To accept Mr. Davis' point of view, one would have to assume that the lectures were Melville' idea of a new kind of outlet for old stock in literary material. The article also, by making a study of the contemporary accounts of Melville's Ithaca, Cleveland, Cincinnati, and Rochester lectures, corrects the dates of all but one of them, as given by Mr. Weaver, who only assigned the proper date to the Ithaca engagement.

Mr. Francis Lloyd's study, "Melville's First Lectures," which has already been referred to, is important for having established the lecture at Lawrence, Massachusetts, on November 23, 1857, and the one at Concord, New Hampshire, on November 24, 1857, as Melville's first and second lectures. Melville's early biographers do not mention the Lawrence engagement, and both Weaver and Mumford mistook Concord, New Hampshire for Concord, Massachusetts.

Mr. Newton Arvin, in "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer,"²⁵ reviews the accounts of Melville's

23 Ibid., p. 67.

24 Francis V. Lloyd, Jr., "Melville's First Lectures," in American Literature, Vol. 13, No. 4, issue of January, 1942. pp. 391-395.

25 Newton Arvin, "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 2, issue of May, 1942, pp. 21-22.

lectures which scholars have reprinted from contemporary newspapers, and suggests that this practice be continued until the whole evidence on Melville as a lecturer "has been brought to light."

Mr. Charles Duffy,²⁶ possibly acting upon Mr. Arvin's suggestion, reprints the reviews of Melville's Ithaca lecture, which the Ithaca Journal and Advertiser carried in its issue of January 13, 1858.

Mr. John H. Birss²⁷ discusses the review of Melville's Charlestown lecture, of February 9, 1858, which appeared in the Charlestown Advertiser on February 10, 1858, under the heading "Mishawum Lectures." He finds the review rather favorable, and states: "It would seem from this account, that on occasion Melville could make a fairly pleasing impression as a speaker." However, he adds that such an impression is negated by the adverse reports from Cincinnati and Cleveland.

an anonymous article,²⁹ signed "S," quotes an article

26 Charles Duffy, "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 4, issue of July, 1942, p. 58.

27 John H. Birss, "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of April, 1943, pp. 11-12.

28 Ibid., p. 12.

29 Anonymous, "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 7, issue of October, 1942, pp. 111-112.

from the New Haven Journal and Courier, for December 30, 1857, as possible evidence to support the notion that Melville's New Haven lecture was cancelled because of the opposition which attended Wendell Phillip's first speech, in New Haven, on the subject of slavery. The article also stresses the fact that the lecture must have been withdrawn, for the Columbian Weekly Register carried no account of it nor any announcement of it.

In reply to "S", Mr. Francis Lloyd³⁰ makes the observation that the failure of "S" to find an account of Melville's lecture, might have "come from the fact that the New Haven papers of that time, as was customary in many other newspapers of the same period, did not ordinarily report lectures." He rather feels, therefore, that the lecture was not withdrawn. And the fact that Melville's account book lists a fifty dollar fee for the lecture, gives him a stronger basis for his belief.

Mr. Tyrus Hillway³¹ contended that Melville's New Haven lecture "received the normal journalistic treatment of the day;" then he produces documentary evidence to prove that Melville's lecture was not withdrawn, but that the author made his appearance in the city of New Haven and delivered his lect

30 Francis V. Lloyd, Jr., "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 3, No. 3, issue of June, 1943, pp. 40-41.

31 Tyrus Hillway, "A Note on Melville's Lecture in New Haven," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 60, -No. 1, issue of January, 1945, pp. 55-57.

on December 30, 1857, as planned. Mr. Hillway's article seems to settle the matter of the New Haven lecture in a convincing manner.

All three of Melville's lectures, as well as his twenty-eight³² or more appearances on the lecture platform, during 1857-1860, belong to that part of his career, after the publication of The Confidence-Man, which we have called his second literary period. No manuscript copies of any of the lectures have yet been found, or are known to exist. We know of their contents only from the announcements and reports of them which appeared in contemporary newspapers, and from the comments on them found in contemporary letters. From these, however, it appears obvious that visits, along the way, from his journey to the Holy Land, provided him with much of the material for "Statuary in Rome;" that his travels and experiences in the Pacific, supplied him with most of the material for "The South Seas"; and that a combination of all of his journeys by land and sea, provided a storehouse of material for "Travelling."³³

Although a few of the newspaper reports and a statement or two, found in personal letters, contain favorable comments

32 Mumford writes: "in all he gave less than thirty lectures." See, Herman Melville, p. 283. The possibility still remains, however, that he may have had other engagements which we do not know about.

33 Even so, Melville's reading must not be overlooked as a possible source of additional material for all three of his lectures.

on Melville as a lecturer, most of them agree that he was anything but successful in this aspect of his professional career. The assertion of his Pittsfield friend, J. E. A. Smith, that: Melville "did not take very kindly to the lecture platform, but had large and well-pleased audiences,"³⁴ is a broad generalization of dubious value, since no details are given to support it. Yet, the first part of Smith's statement is, perhaps, quite accurate, leaving only the latter part subject to doubt. Even when Melville's audiences were large, they appear seldom to have been "well-pleased." More often they were disappointed "It was his fate to be advertised as 'the celebrated adventurer and then after being heard, to be passed off by the critics as 'too bookish to please.'"³⁵

The fact is, there seems to have been little or no interest, on the part of the general public, in his "Statuary in Rome." This lecture just did not have popular appeal, and yet, Melville delivered it on more occasions than either of his other two speeches. "The lecture was quite interesting to those of artistic tastes," states the report, on "Statuary in Rome," in the Boston Journal for December 3, 1857, "but we fancy the larger part of the audience would have preferred something more

³⁴ J. E. A. Smith, Herman Melville, Written for the Evening Journal, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 1891, p. 15.

³⁵ Francis V. Lloyd, Jr., "Melville's First Lecture," p. 395.

modern and personal."³⁶

Henry Sanford Gansevoort, Melville's cousin and the son of Peter Gansevoort, heard the lecture of December 2, 1857, referred to above, and, a week later, gave an extended account of it in a letter to his father. After complaining that Melville had "dropped the pen of candid narration for that of captious criticism," he continued, in part:

. . . I had the pleasure of listening to his lecture on Statuary in Rome delivered a week since. It was well conceived and executed but it lacked the force and beauty that characterise his early writings.

He [sic for His] object was to paint to his audience the appearance of Roman Statuary objectively and afterward to speculate upon the emotions and pleasure that appearance is apt to excite in the human breast. The lecture was delivered in Tremont Temple. The audience was large and respectable. The hall however is badly planned for acoustics and consequently the speakers voice imperfectly reached its remoter parts. He spoke with animation and effect however - . . .

I was much pleased. If however he had treated a subject with which his name is connected and in which he would be more at home he would have done better. "The South Seas," "Oceanica" or a thousand different subjects would have been preferable. . . 37

Henry Sanford Gansevoort was graduated at Princeton in

36 Reprinted by Raymond Weaver, in Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, p. 372.

37 Victor Hugo Palsits, Editor, "Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904," in Bulletin of the New York Public Library, Vol. 33, No. 7, issue of July, 1929, pp. 518.

1855, and attended the Harvard Law School in 1857. He came of a distinguished and wealthy family and had the background of culture and education that enabled him to appreciate a lecture on Roman statues. Also, he possessed a certain admiration for his cousin, the lecturer, which made him a sympathetic listener. Therefore, although the Tremont Temple may have had its defects as an auditorium, he generously overstressed these, no doubt, in order to avoid mentioning one of Melville's most obvious weaknesses as a public speaker - lack of force in delivery. Still, this admiring cousin and sympathetic critic found fault with the subject of Melville's lecture, and had to admit that it was ill-chosen for a popular lecture.

Melville's lecture on "The South Seas" seems to have had more general appeal, but not all of the accounts of it are as favorable as those found in the Boston Journal, and in the letter, written to his sister, by Henry Sanford Gansevoort, who heard Melville speak in New York. According to the reporter for the Journal, "The lecture gave the most ample satisfaction, and was frequently applauded."³⁸ And Henry Sanford Gansevoort informed his sister that, "It was in Cousin Hermans true vein;" and then enthusiastically exclaimed:

³⁸ Raymond Weaver, Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, p. 375.

. . . I assure you it was a treat long to be remembered. The rooms were about half filled owing to the want of proper advertising but those who were present evinced their gratification by applause and attention. He treated the subject in so unpretentious a manner, so originally and so carelessly if I may so that I assure you it was really refreshing. . . . 39

In sharp contrast to this flattering appraisal of Melville and his lecture on "The South Seas," were the comments which appeared in the reports of two Rockford, Illinois, newspapers. The reporter for the Republican accused him of lacking "depth, earnestness, consecutiveness, and finish, without which qualities no man need hope of being a permanently successful lecturer."⁴⁰ He also criticised Melville's style and subject matter, and said that lecturing was "evidently not his forte."

The reviewer for the Register expressed considerable disappointment in the lack of interesting personal details in the lecture, which the advertisements "on the posters" had led the audience to expect. Instead of the firsthand experiences of "one who had travelled in one of the most delightful portions of the world . . . we received a record in manuscript of a few general historical facts. . . .

39 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, Vol. 2, pp. 600-601.

40 Merrell R. Davis, "Melville's Midwestern Lecture Tour, 1859," pp. 52-53.

The first portion of his lecture was devoted to an exposition of the greatness and vastness of his theme. The middle portion was made up of a few inklings of what he saw, and what he might have said on what he saw, if he had time! . . . The latter portion of the lecture was made up of the announcement that the inhabitants of the different South Sea Islands were different in their manners and customs, and had many traditions, not one of which did he give us. . . . 41

Nor did the reporter for the Republican fail to attack Melville for the impersonal treatment of his material. As a matter of fact, the article of this writer was more severe in its criticism than that which was carried in the Register:

It has rarely been our lot to witness a more painful infliction upon an audience. . . . We had expected to hear a personal narrative of sight scenes . . . some interesting details of the lives, manners, and customs of the people; the relation of real personal adventures - always pleasing - . . . Instead of these there was a simple presentation of historical facts, few in number, very common placed, and to be found in books on the shelves of almost any library; the facts slightly exaggerated. . . . 42

In his lectures, it appears that Melville, occasionally, was as outspoken, in the expression of his opinion, as he was in his books. This practice on his part provoked the final objection which some of his hearers had against him, and it was one of the contributing factors in making him unpopular as a lecturer. Mr. Birss, for instance, found that: "One member of Melville's audience," in Yonkers, "was moved to write

41 Ibid., p. 53.

42 Ibid., p. 54.

the Examiner giving free vent to his adverse opinion of Melville's views."⁴³

Thus it appears, from the available evidence which we have on him as a lecturer, that Melville was deficient in most of the qualities of a popular lecturer. One of his subjects - "Statuary in Rome" - was not of interest to the general public, and another - "The South Seas" - is said to have lost its appeal because of the way in which he treated the material. On the other hand, regardless of the subject he was lecturing on, his voice and platform manner lacked enthusiasm, forcefulness, and charm; while, in addition to these shortcomings, there were objections, at times, to the opinions which he expressed.

⁴³ John H. Birss, "Herman Melville Lectures in Yonkers," p. 51.

CHAPTER IV

THE LETTERS OF HERMAN MELVILLE

Because of the privacy attached to letters, whether business or social in content, editors and publishers seldom venture to make them available to the public until some years after their authors have died. Also, at times, many other persons must have died - those written to, for instance, as well as, particular relatives and family friends - before documents, so private in nature, are made public. In any event, for reasons such as these, if writers of letters, achieve any distinction at all, they almost always enjoy a posthumous reputation.

The case, with respect to Herman Melville and his letters, has been no different. But Melville, perhaps living some years before his time, and therefore, unwittingly an unfortunate author in timing the appearance of his major works, has had the extreme good fortune of having many of his excellent letters come to light simultaneously with the revival of his literary fame. The result of this has been, that not only has Melville received some just, though delayed recognition, for the versatility of his genius, but, likewise, by virtue of the intrinsic merit of his letters themselves, he has been accorded a distinguished place among the eminent letter writers of his country and age.

Of Horace Walpole, often called "the prince of letter writers," Professor George Sherburn writes, "His personality, his artifice, have been decried; but from one point of view his personality is negligible: it is the wealth of his material that counts."¹ With Melville, the letter writer, it is different; his personality is never negligible. His material, too, though nowhere near as voluminous as Walpole's, is often of great importance, but it is his personality - the revelation, in his letters, of his innermost thoughts, feelings, and moods - that counts most.

Mr. Harrison Hayford, in discussing two letters, written by the author of Moby-Dick to Richard Henry Dana, Jr., not only stresses the content value and charming appeal of these particular letters, but proceeds to express a high opinion of Melville's letter-writing ability, in general. "Written in 1849 and 1850, at the prime of Melville's creative vigor," he states, "these letters not only furnish interesting biographical details and valuable comment on White Jacket and Moby Dick, but in themselves constitute welcome additions to the works of one of the most delightful of letter writers."²

1 Albert C. Baugh, Editor, A Literary History of England, New York, Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1938, p. 1080.

2 Harrison Hayford, "Two New Letters of Herman Melville in Journal of English Literary History, Vol. 11, No. 1, issue of March, 1944, p. 76.

To assign Melville a lofty place among the select and exalted company "of the most delightful of letter writers," is to bestow praise of an unrestricted order upon him. And yet, since a large number of his letters have now been made accessible to the public, many readers will agree that this is an honor which he richly deserves.

Mr. Meade Minnigerode, who, in 1922, first edited, in his own peculiar manner, parts of seventeen of Melville's letters to his friend, Evert Duyckinck, writes:

Whatever the final estimate of Melville as a writer, whatever the ultimate judgment passed upon him as a mystic, an eccentric, a recluse, and a wilfully perverted genius - the author of Mardi and Moby-Dick, the perpetrator of Pierre - in these letters, at least, one finds an utterly different Melville. A cheerful, whimsical Melville; a lover of company, and of the good things of life; a gay, ironical fellow, aiming his witty shafts at the gods; a turbulent enfant terrible at times, with his impudent personal pen, and yet a sensitive soul, recoiling from criticism and abuse; a hotheaded proclaimer of truth; a vivid, warmhearted, gentle, friendly, impulsive personality; and for several years a patient sufferer from a great infirmity. 3

Herman Melville came of a letter writing family in a letter writing age. His father, before him, seems to have spent much time in writing long letters - some business, some social, and many of which were part business and part social

3 Meade Minnigerode, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography, New York, The Brick Row Book Shop, Inc., 1922, p. 4.

in content. His mother, on the other hand, appears to have been satisfied to let her husband write most of the letters, while he lived, but after his death, she demonstrated that she, too, could wield an effective pen - especially one of a demanding nature, as her brothers soon discovered. Of her, Mr. Gilman writes: "Maria Melville hated to write letters, but when the welfare of her family was concerned she did not hesitate."⁴ Likewise, Melville's uncles and aunts; his brothers, Gansvoort and Allan, in particular; his numerous cousins; his wife, Elizabeth Melville; the members of his wife's family, the Shaws; and the author himself - all were lovers, or certainly frequent practitioners, of the art of letter writing, and kept a steady stream of letters flowing in many directions.

Since, in recent years, a good number of these letters have become accessible, and have served to increase our knowledge of Melville, one is led to believe that if all were available, ~~many~~ of the still hidden facts of his life would very likely be revealed. In time, others surely will come to light, but many, unfortunately, are believed to be lost forever - consumed in the various "bonfires" mentioned and discussed by Mr. Leyda, who refers to the author and his immediate family as "the letter-destroying Melvilles."⁵

4 William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, p. 123.

5 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, pp. xiii and xxvi.

Years earlier, when engaged in writing his father's biography, Julian Hawthorne called upon Melville and had occasion to experience the truth of this statement. "When I visited him in 1883," writes Hawthorne's son, "to ask whether he had letters from my father, in reply to those he had written him, he said, with a melancholy gesture, that they had all been destroyed long since, as if implying that the less said or preserved, the better!"⁶

Then too, there is a statement, preserved in his own words, which provides authoritative support for all of this, since, in it, Melville, at the time, freely admitted that destroying letters was one of his habits. In his letter of December 10, 1863, written in reply to Miss Sophie Van Matre's request for autographs from old letters, he writes:

I shld be very happy indeed to comply with your request to furnish you with autographs from old letters, were it not that it is a vile habit of mine to destroy nearly all my letters. 7

This "vile habit" of Herman Melville and of the other "letter-destroying Melvilles," as well, is probably responsible not only for the destruction of numerous letters written to the author by the Duyckinck brothers, Hawthorne, and others, but

⁶ Julian Hawthorne, "When Herman Melville was 'Mr. Omoo'," in Literary Digest International Book Review, Vol. 4, No. 9, August, 1926, p. 562.

⁷ Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, II, p. 664.

for a large number of letters written by him. Over thirty years ago, Mr. Weaver discovered that, "None of Melville's letters of courtship survive."⁸ Also, of the many letters written by him to his wife, during forty-four years of married life, only one appears to be extant, though references to others which she received from him, are often found in her letters to relatives and friends. And finally, there is the odd case of a bundle of his letters, written to an old friend, being returned to his family after the friend's death. These letters, too, like so many of the others described, are now missing. The friend, in this instance, was Ellen Maret Gifford, and writing of the friendship which existed between her and Melville, as well as, of the missing letters, Mr. Leyda states:

Mrs. Gifford extended her friendship for M beyond her death, two years before his, with a handsome legacy to him & his family. It is almost impossible to estimate the depth of this long friendship, for after her death all his letters to her, with one exception, & most of her letters to Elizabeth Melville, her cousin, were returned to the letter-destroying Melvilles. 9

Having discussed Melville's importance as a letter writer, and having examined some of the problems connected

8 Raymond M. Weaver, Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, p. 260.

9 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. xxvi.

with his letters, including an explanation of the chief reason why more of them are not extant, let us now turn our attention to the Melville letters which have survived, and which have been made available to the public.

1. Melville's Earliest Published Letters

It seems that only six of Melville's letters appeared in print during his lifetime. The first of these was his letter to the Committee in charge of the Memorial Meeting for James Fenimore Cooper. It was published by G. P. Putnam, in 1852, in a volume entitled, A Memorial to James Fenimore Cooper.¹⁰ Since that time, the letter has been reprinted by John H. Birss,¹¹ in Notes and Queries, in 1932, and by Jay Leyda,¹² in The Melville Log, in 1951. Melville wrote the letter from Pittsfield, and said that his "considerable distance" from New York City, where the meeting was held, "connected with other reasons," accounted for his inability to

¹⁰ A Memorial to James Fenimore Cooper, New York, G. P. Putnam, 1852, p. 30.

¹¹ John H. Birss, "A Letter of Herman Melville," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 162, No. 3, issue of January 16, 1932, p. 39. Mr. Birss gives the date of this letter, as "Feb. 20th, 1852."

¹² Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 440. Mr. Leyda dates the letter, December 19, 1851, as follows: "December 19 M replies to Rufus W. Griswold's invitation to attend the memorial meeting for James Fenimore Cooper, to be held in New York on Dec 24 (but postponed till Feb 27, 1852)".

attend. He rejoiced, however, that "many better, though not more zealous, men" would be there "to unite on that occasion, in doing honour to a memory so very dear, not only to American literature, but to the American Nation."

Melville said that he "never had the honour of knowing, or even seeing, Mr. Cooper personally;" he knew him only through his works; hence, though dead, Cooper was still alive to him. He said that Cooper's works were among the earliest that he could remember; and that, in his boyhood, they produced "a vivid and awakening power" upon his mind. It pained him that Cooper's "fame at home," late in his life, "received a slight, temporary clouding, from some paltry accidents," but this would not prevent the author from taking his rightful place in history. He called him "a great, robust-souled man," and said "a grateful posterity will take the best care of Fenimore Cooper."

The second of these letters was written in New York on December 15, 1863, and addressed to "George McLaughlin, Esq. Cincinnati." It was first printed in the History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair,¹³ in 1864, and reprinted by Mr. John H. Birss,¹⁴ on October 15, 1932, in Notes and Queries.

During the Civil War, Sanitary Fairs were projects held

¹³ History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, Cincinnati, C. F. Vent and Company, 1864, pp. 187-188.

¹⁴ John H. Birss, "An Obscure Melville Letter," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 163, No. 16, issue of October 15, 1932, p. 275.

in various sections of the country for the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers. One means of raising money for this charity was to sell autographed letters, solicited from prominent persons. Melville's letter was a reply to a request of this nature, from the Chairman of the Sub-Committee on Autograph letters. He seemed sincerely glad of the opportunity to make a contribution to a cause which he felt would "do an immense service to our soldiers," for he hastened to comply with the request as soon as it was received. There was a delay, however, in its reaching the author, for it was sent during the time that he was moving back to New York from Pittsfield. In his conclusion to the brief letter, he expressed the hope that God would prosper the Fairs; "those who work for them and the great cause which they are intended to subserve."

The other letters, printed, during his lifetime, were four of the letters written by Melville to Nathaniel Hawthorne, in 1851 and 1852, and they appeared partially transcribed, in Julian Hawthorne's biographical work, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife,¹⁵ which was published in 1885.

Six years after Melville's death, two more of his letters, written to Hawthorne, found their way into print. Hawthorne's daughter, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, printed them in her

¹⁵ Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife Vol. 1, pp. 385-389, 398-407, and 475.

book, Memories of Hawthorne,¹⁶ which was published in 1897. All six of these Melville letters, which, fortunately, were preserved by the Hawthorne family, have been reprinted at various times since they first appeared, but the manuscript letters themselves, "have not yet been made available for study by their present owner."¹⁷

In 1929, Mr. Samuel E. Morison¹⁸ made a transcription of another Melville-to-Hawthorne letter, and printed it in The New England Quarterly, preceded by the following editor's note:

"Only one Hawthorne-Melville document is still unprinted, the 'Agatha' letter," writes Raymond Weaver, in his life of Herman Melville. Through the kindness of the owner, Mrs. Henry K. Metcalf, we are now enabled herewith to print the original letter, returned by Hawthorne at the author's request, after he had learned that Hawthorne proposed to do nothing with it. Melville intended to write the story himself but never did; and the letter has been among Melville's papers ever since. The memorandum of facts which the New Bedford lawyer sent to Melville, and upon which the story of Agatha was to have been based, has always remained with the letter, and is therefore printed with it here.

S. E. M. 19

In recent years this "Agatha" letter has become a

16 Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Memories of Hawthorne, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1897, pp. 156-160.

17 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. xxvii.

18 Samuel E. Morison, "Melville's 'Agatha' Letter to Hawthorne," in The New England Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 2, issue of April, 1929, pp. 296-307.

19 Ibid., p. 296.

famous Melville document, because it contains, among other things, some valuable details regarding Melville's literary technique. In the letter, by the way, Melville gives Hawthorne an account of a true story which he had heard, in July of 1852, while taking a brief vacation tour, with Judge Shaw, which carried them to New Bedford, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, Naushon, Falmouth, a few other places in between, and back to Boston. Melville obtained the story from John Clifford, a New Bedford lawyer, who, after entertaining Judge Shaw and the author in New Bedford, had accompanied them to Nantucket. "One night," writes Melville to Hawthorne, "we were talking, I think, of the great patience, & endurance, & resignedness of the women of the island in submitting so uncomplainingly to the long, long absences of their sailor husbands, when, by way of anecdote, this lawyer gave me a leaf from his professional experience."²⁰

Briefly, this "leaf" from the lawyer's "professional experience" concerned the tragic story of Agatha Robertson (called "Robinson" by Melville), nee Agatha Hatch, a Quaker woman of Falmouth. While living at Pembroke, she met and cared for Robertson, a shipwrecked sailor, who later married her, and lived with her for two years. After this, and when she was with child, he deserted her, presumably to find work

20 Ibid., p. 296.

but did not return for seventeen years. In the meantime, Agatha was left in poverty to rear their daughter as best she could. Also, in the meantime, Robertson had remarried, and when he returned and gave Agatha financial aid, he did not tell her of his second marriage. When the second wife died, he tried to persuade his first family to move with him to Missouri. Agatha refused, and Robertson married a third time, with Agatha being informed, this time, but she did not condemn him.

John Clifford, the lawyer, had learned of this true story when employed by the administrator of Robertson's estate to assist in investigating all claimants entitled to shares of the property. He gave these details in the document called "The Lawyer's Story," which Mr. Morison referred to as having "always remained with the letter," and which he printed with it.

Now, the interesting part of Melville's "Agatha" letter to Hawthorne, which was written from Pittsfield on August 13, 1852, is that Melville offered the story to Hawthorne for literary use. "It has occurred to me," he writes to Hawthorne, "that this thing lies very much in a vein, with which you are peculiarly familiar. To be plump, I think that in this matter you would make a better hand at it than I would." In addition to this, he offered many suggestions regarding the manner in which the story might be developed. A study of these suggestions gives us an insight into Melville's literary

technique.

After Melville's first "Agatha" letter, of August 13, 1852, another idea came to his mind, which he thought might be helpful to Hawthorne in developing the story, and he sent this on to Hawthorne in a letter of October 25, 1852. Hawthorne, as we know, kept all of the material for a time, but finally decided not to use it. And when Melville visited him, in late November, at Concord, he urged Melville to write the story himself. On Melville's return to Boston from the visit, he wrote to Hawthorne again. The letter is not dated, but it was certainly written "after November 26, 1852." In part, it reads:

Boston.

My dear Hawthorne, - The other day, at Concord, you expressed uncertainty concerning your undertaking the story of Agatha, and, in the end, you urged me to write it. I have decided to do so, and shall begin it immediately upon reaching home; and so far as in me lies, I shall endeavor to do justice to so interesting a story of reality. . . . 21

Melville, in the continuation of the letter, asked Hawthorne to return all of the material to him, and to send, at the same time, any suggestions that Hawthorne might have that would be of assistance to him.

Thus, we see, that, in all, three letters and "The Lawyer's Story" make up the "Agatha" material. A study of

21 Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Vol. 1, p. 475.

these related letters, entitled, "The Significance of Melville's 'Agatha' Letters," has been made by Mr. Harrison Hayford.²²

In his opinion, these letters "cast light not only on" Melville "friendship with Hawthorne but on the problem of his intentions in writing Pierre and on his state of mind during the months following its completion."²³ Mr. Hayford contends that Melville's activities, after completing Pierre, disprove the old theories that he meant that work to be his last; that he accepted failure; and that he admitted to himself that he had nothing further to say as an artist. What it was that "prevented him from writing - or at any rate from publishing - the story of Agatha,"²⁴ is a matter upon which at present one can only speculate," writes Mr. Hayford. Perhaps the story did not turn out as he hoped; the unfavorable reviews of Pierre might have been a factor; or he may have transferred his interest to another work. "But in any case we may be sure that

22 Harrison Hayford, "The Significance of Melville's 'Agatha' Letters," in Journal of English Literary History, Vol. 13, No. 4, issue of December, 1946, pp. 299-310.

23 Ibid., p. 299.

24 In this connection, it should be noted that some Melville scholars now believe that Melville wrote the "Agatha" story and destroyed it. Mr. Morison says above: "Melville intended to write the story himself but never did." However, Mr. Jay Leyda states: "Melville worked on this story through the winter of 1852-53, in a period of the deepest hopelessness, caused by the unanimous hostility to Pierre. It was apparently added one day to a bonfire of unsuccessful work . . ." - The Portable Melville, p. 465.

he did not look upon Pierre, either before or after its publication, as being his 'last fling'."²⁵

This discussion of the Melville-Hawthorne correspondence cannot be concluded without adding a few details with respect to the importance of those letters which Melville wrote to Hawthorne prior to the time the "Agatha" letters were written. For significant, in a special way, as the "Agatha" letters surely are, they do not possess the general, over all, importance; the beauty of expression; and the revelation of mind, spirit, and heart, of the earlier letters.

Melville met Hawthorne, for the first time, on August 5, 1850, at the home of David Dudley Field, in Stockbridge, where a goodly company had gathered for an excursion to Monument Mountain. Evert Duyckinck, a friend of both men, was a member of this excursion party. "Anxious that his two friends now living only a few miles apart should know each other well," writes Mr. Mansfield, "Duyckinck made arrangements on the Monument Mountain excursion to call with Melville at Hawthorne home in Lenox a few days later."²⁶ After this, the friendship between the two men rapidly developed, and until Hawthorne

²⁵ Harrison Hayford, "The Significance of Melville's 'Agatha' Letters," p. 310.

²⁶ Luther S. Mansfield, "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851: Some unpublished Letters of Evert A. Duyckinck," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 1, issue of March, 1937, pp. 33-34.

moved from Lenox, they met as often as their literary labors permitted, and engaged in many intellectual discussions of interest to both of them.

Something of what this friendship and these meetings meant to Melville may be gleaned from a statement made by Mrs. Hawthorne in one of her frequent letters to her mother, despite the fact that the main purpose of the statement is to praise "the mighty heart," "comprehending humanity," and "grand intellect" of her husband. She writes as follows:

It really is marvelous, how the mighty heart, with its charities, and comprehending humanity, which glows and burns beneath the grand intellect, as if to keep warm and fused the otherwise cold abstractions of thought, - it is marvelous how it opens the bosoms of men. I have seen it so often, in persons who have come to him. So Mr. Melville, generally silent and incommunicative, pours out the rich floods of his mind and experience to him, so sure of a large and generous interpretation, and of the most delicate and fine judgment. 27

That Melville did pour "out the rich floods of his mind and experience" to Hawthorne is verified by the early letters which he wrote to him. Hawthorne was the first contemporary writer of unadulterated artistic standards and real literary stature that Melville became intimately acquainted with, and the younger author assumed, immediately, that this man would

27 Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Memories of Hawthorne, p. 200.

understand him. He "unbuttoned" himself to his newly found literary friend, and permitted his deep thoughts and wild imagination to overflow in unrestrained and passionate utterances.

A letter of his to Hawthorne, written one "Wednesday morning" in the spring of 1851, begins with a common enough statement about a pair of shoes for Julian, which Hawthorne, evidently, had asked Melville to look for in Pittsfield. But after informing Hawthorne "that a pair to fit him, of the desired pattern, cannot be had in all Pittsfield," Melville enters into successive discussions of The House of the Seven Gables; of God and man; and of men who say yes and those who say no. He declares his allegiance to the men who say no, and places Hawthorne among them.

There is the grand truth about Nathaniel Hawthorne. He says NO! in thunder; but the Devil himself cannot make him say yes. For all men who say yes, lie; and all men who say no, - why, they are in the happy condition of judicious, unincumbered travellers in Europe; they cross the frontiers into Eternity with nothing but a carpet-bag, - that is to say, the Ego. Whereas those yes-gentry, they travel with heaps of baggage, and damn them! they will never get through the Custom House. What's the reason, Mr. Hawthorne, that in the last stages of metaphysics a fellow always falls to swearing so? I could rip an hour. . . . 28

In the next letter - that famous letter of June 1 (?),

1851, already referred to; the one in which Melville spoke of having no development at all until he reached the age of twenty-five - in this letter, Melville really unlocks the flood gates of his innermost thoughts and feelings. He freely discusses with Hawthorne the personal problems facing him at the time: the problems connected with the writing of Moby-Dick; with truthfully trying to write what he wishes to write; and with achieving or not achieving literary fame. It is impossible for a man "to get a living by the Truth," he writes. "Let any clergyman try to preach the Truth from its very stronghold, the pulpit, and they would ride him out of his church on his own pulpit bannister."

In a week or so, I go to New York, to bury myself in a third-story room, and work and slave on my "Whale" while it is driving through the press. That is the only way I can finish it now, - I am so pulled hither and thither by circumstance. The calm, the coolness, the silent grass-growing mood in which a man ought always to compose, - that, I fear, can seldom be mine. Dollars damn me; and the malicious devil is forever grinning in upon me, holding the door ajar. My dear Sir, a presentiment is on me, - I shall at last be worn out and perish like an old nutmeg-grater, grated to pieces by the constant attrition of the mood, that is, the nutmeg. What I feel most moved to write, that is banned, - it will not pay. Yet, altogether, write the other way I cannot. 29

He admits to Hawthorne that he is doing a great deal of talking about himself, and he knows that "this is selfish-

ness and egotism," but how can he help it. "I am writing to you; I know little about you, but something about myself. So I write about myself, - at least, to you. Don't trouble yourself, though, about writing; and don't trouble yourself about visiting; and when you do visit, don't trouble yourself about talking. I will do all the writing and visiting and talking myself."³⁰

Immediately, however, he does speak of Hawthorne. He mentions having recently read his short story, "Ethan Brand", about a man whose intellectual development caused him to forget his love of mankind and his reverence for God. "He was a sad fellow, that Ethan Brand," writes Melville. But turning back to himself, he says: "I stand for the heart. To the dogs with the head: I had rather be a fool with a heart, than Jupiter Olympus with his head. The reason the mass of men fear God, and at bottom dislike Him, is because they rather distrust His Heart, and fancy Him all brain like a watch."³¹

Then, following this, there is more praise for Hawthorne. He tells him of a brief trip which he took to New York, "the other day," where he saw a portrait of Hawthorne, and "heard many flattering (in a publisher's point of view) allusions to the 'Seven Gables,'" Also, he has seen Hawthorne's

30 Ibid., pp. 431-432.

31 Ibid., p. 432.

book of "Tales," and another new volume, by him, announced. "So upon the whole, I say to myself, this N. H. is in the ascendent. My dear Sir, they begin to patronize. All Fame is patronage." However, with respect to his own fame, he says:

Let me be infamous; there is no patronage in that. What "reputation" H. M. has is horrible. Think of it! To go down to posterity is bad enough, any way; but to go down as a "man who lived among the cannibals"! When I speak of posterity, in reference to myself, -I only mean the babies who will probably be born in the moment immediately ensuing upon my giving up the ghost. I shall go down to some of them, in all likelihood. "Typee" will be given to them, perhaps, with their gingerbread. I have come to regard this matter of Fame as the most transparent of all vanities. I read Solomon more and more, and every time see deeper and deeper and unspeakable meanings in him. . . . 32

On and on flow Melville's words until the letter ends, and, when a new letter is begun, they flow again. On June 29, 1851, he says: "The clear air and open window invite me to write to you." Since Hawthorne last visited him, he has "been building some shanties of houses (connected with the old one) and likewise some shanties of chapters and essays." He has been to New York, but the heat and "the long delays of the printers" disgusted him and caused him to return to the country although "the 'Whale' is only half thro' the press." But again, he realizes that he is beginning to write at length

about himself; so he says:

I am sure you will pardon this speaking all about myself; for if I say so much on that head, be sure all the rest of the world are thinking about themselves ten times as much. Let us speak, tho' we show all our faults and weaknesses, - for it is a sign of strength to be weak, to know it, and out with it, - not in a set way and ostentatiously, tho', but incidentally and without premeditation. - But I am falling into my old foible, - preaching. . . . 33

In his next available letter, which was probably written around July 22, 1851, he thanks Hawthorne for his "easy flowing long letter (received yesterday), which flowed through me, and refreshed all my meadows, as the Housatonic - opposite me - does in reality." It is "the height of the haying season" now, and he is busy, but the first chance he gets, he will "roll down" to Hawthorne, for they must go on an excursion together before autumn arrives. Greylock Mountain is the chosen place. "We must go and vagabondise there," he says. "But ere we start, we must dig a deep hole, and bury all Blue Devils, there to abide till the last Day."³⁴

After Melville's letters to Hawthorne appeared in the books published by Julian Hawthorne and Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, in 1885 and 1897, respectively, the next Melville letter, to be printed, appeared in the November issue - the "Fiftieth

33 Ibid., pp. 434-435.

34 Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Memories of Hawthorne, p. 156.

Anniversary Number" - of The Atlantic Monthly, in 1907. Mr. Bliss Perry printed this letter, for the first time, in his article entitled, "The Editor Who Was Never the Editor,"³⁵ and Mr. John M. Birss reprinted it in Notes and Queries,³⁶ in 1934.

Melville wrote the letter to "Phillips, Sampson & Co., Boston," and indirectly to Francis H. Underwood, who busied himself to get the Atlantic Monthly started, but never had the honor to becoming its editor. Written from "Pittsfield, Aug. 19, 1857," the letter was Melville's brief reply to an invitation to become a contributor to the new publication. After a short sentence, acknowledging his receipt of the invitation on the day before, he wrote as follows: "I shall be very glad to contribute, though I cannot now name the day when I shall have any article ready."³⁷ He concluded the letter by wishing the company "the best success" in its "laudable enterprise."

It has been ascertained that Melville never did get "any article ready" for the Atlantic Monthly, and nothing from his pen appeared in it, except this "bit of Melville's writing,"

³⁵ Bliss Perry, "The Editor Who Was Never the Editor," in The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 100, No. 5, issue of November, 1907, p. 667.

³⁶ John M. Birss, "Herman Melville and the Atlantic Monthly," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 167, No. 13, issue of September 29, 1934, pp. 223-224.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 224.

as Mr. Birss refers to his letter, which did appear, a half century after it was written, "in the Fiftieth Anniversary number of the Atlantic."³⁸

2. Correspondence with James Billson

Students of Melville are indebted to an Englishman, Mr. James Billson,³⁹ for preserving, and finally, for publishing, in the Nation and Athenaeum, in 1921, eight letters that were written by Melville during the last decade of his life. In submitting them for publication, Mr. Billson wrote to the editor of the magazine, as follows:

Very few words are necessary to explain the fortunate circumstances which brought me these interesting letters from Herman Melville so many years ago. Finding much difficulty in discovering the titles of his works, I adopted the simple course of writing direct to the author, and, with the help he gave me, I was ultimately able to own nearly all his published works. ⁴⁰

Mr. Willard Thorp, who reprinted the last of these letters, in 1938, gives us, in the following note, some additional information with respect to the background of this interesting correspondence:

³⁸ Ibid., p. 223.

³⁹ (James Billson), "Some Melville Letters," in Nation and Athenaeum, Vol. 29, No. 4763, issue of August 15, 1921, pp. 712-713.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 712.

In the 1880's, in Leicester, England, a group of young secularists, to whom James Thomson was introduced by his friend John Barrs, met congenially to discuss literary and social problems. They became interested in Melville through Thomson's enthusiasm. Typee and Omoo and Mardi they could easily procure, but they wished more. One of their number, Mr. James Billson, wrote to Melville to secure the titles of all the books he had written. The ardent appreciation of this English group, conveyed to Melville through Mr. Billson, led him to do what he seldom did in these late years, open a correspondence. ⁴¹

Although the eight letters form a definitely connected correspondence series, they were not written in rapid succession, but rather at long intervals of time, which extended over a total period of more than four years. Melville's first letter^{was} written on "Oct. 10th, 1884"; his last, on "The last day of 1888." Nevertheless, from first to last, the connection between them is obvious. Furthermore, we find in the letters, as a whole, not only a uniform and attractive tone of informal friendliness and geniality, but also, an occasional bit of spontaneous literary criticism, often expressed in Melville's witty and most appealing manner. For instance, in the first letter where he lists some of the titles of his works, as Mr. Billson requested, he puts Clarel down, followed by this comment: "a metrical affair, a pilgrimage or what not, of several thousand lines, eminently adapted for unpopularity." Then he added, "The notification to you here is ambidexter,

⁴¹ Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 437.

as it were: it may intimidate or allure."⁴²

In the second letter, dated December 1, 1884, Melville thanked Billson for the volume of poems which the Englishman sent him. Thomson's poem, "Weddah and Om-el-Bonain," he said: "gave me more pleasure than anything of modern poetry that I have seen in a long while. The fable and the verse are alike supremely beautiful. It is exactly that kind of a gem which some of Keat's pieces are; and what can one say more? You should be happy to think that you personally knew the author of such a poem."⁴³ He was sorry that he had no photograph to send to Billson, but promised to send him one if he should "have one taken again."

On January 21, 1885, Melville received another book from Billson, and the next day he wrote to thank him for it. In return, he sent his friend a copy of Clarel, since Billson had informed him that he had been unable to obtain a copy of the work. The letter contains another comment on the poetry of James Thomson, as well as an interesting statement on pessimism:

42 (James Billson), "Some Melville Letters," p. 712.

43 Ibid., p. 712.

"Sunday up the River," contrasting with "The City of Dreadful Night," is like a Cuban humming-bird, beautiful in faery tints, flying against the tropic thunder-cloud. Your friend was a sterling poet, if ever one sang. As to the pessimism, although neither pessimist nor optimist myself, nevertheless I relish it in the verse, if for nothing else than as a counterpoise to the exorbitant hopefulness, juvenile and shallow, that makes such a bluster in these days, at least in some quarters. 44

Over seven months passed before Melville wrote again, on September 5, [1885]. In the meantime, he had received two papers, months earlier, and more recently, a copy of The Academy - all from his English friend. One of the papers contained an article on James Thomson, written by Billson, and Melville said that his "interest in the author of 'The City of Dreadful Night' was measurably qualified by it." In the other paper was an article "referring to the South Sea Islands," which must have been published anonymously, for Melville asked, "was this too written by yourself?" In The Academy, he found a poem by Robert Buchanan entitled, "Socrates in Camden," and after thanking Billson for all of the material, he commented on the Buchanan poem as follows:

For more than one reason this piece could not but give me pleasure. Aside from its poetic quality, there is implied in it the fact that the writer has intuitively penetrated beneath the surface of certain matters here. It is the insight of genius and the fresh mind. The tribute to Walt Whitman has the ring of strong sincerity. As to the incidental allusion to my humble self, it is over-praise, to be sure; but I can't help that, though I am alive to the spirit that dictated it. 45

44 Ibid., p. 712.

45. Ibid., p. 712.

Then, displaying his ability to end a brief letter abruptly, yet charmingly, he concluded with this sentence: "But a letter on almost any theme is but an inadequate vehicle, so I will say no more."

On December 20, 1885, Melville wrote to thank Billson for sending him two prose works by James Thomson, Essays and Phantasies and Satires and Profanities. Of several of the essays in the first volume, he said, "each is so admirably honest and original and informed throughout with the spirit of the noblest natures, that it would have been wonderful indeed had they hit the popular taste." But realizing, too well, what would be required to make them "hit the popular taste," he added, "They would have to be painstakingly diluted for that." He praised the best of the essays for their "grace and poetry," while displaying, at the same time, the "utterly untrammelled and independent" motions of the author's mind. Then the topic of "fame" received his attention, as it had in one of his earlier letters to Hawthorne:

It is good for me to think of such a mind - to know that such a brave intelligence has been - and may yet be, for aught anyone can demonstrate to the contrary. - As to his not achieving 'fame' - what of that? He is not the less, but so much the more. And it must have occurred to you, as it has to me, that the further our civilization advances upon its present lines so much the cheaper sort of thing does 'fame' become, especially of the literary sort. This species of 'fame' a waggish acquaintance says can be manufactured to order, and sometimes is so manufactured thro the agency of a certain house that

has a correspondent in every one of the almost innumerable journals that enlighten our millions from the lakes to the Gulf, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. . . . 46

He informed Billson that he now had a photograph for him, and was sending it upon the condition that Billson would reciprocate with one of his own.

The lone letter, written during 1886, was dated, April second, and contained belated thanks for a "kind note" and several gifts, including: "the photograph of so friendly a correspondent"; a copy of "Omar" in "semi-manuscript" form, which Melville said, "imparted yet added significance to that sublime old infidel"; a discussion, in Pall Mall, of the hundred best books, which he thought was "perhaps more curious and diverting than profoundly instructive"; and a copy of Thomson's A Voice from the Nile, a memoir, and a portrait. The last were gifts from Mr. Barrs, another English friend, to whom Melville sent his thanks through Mr. Billson. He said that he was glad to learn from Billson that Thomson had an interest in Blake.

The letter contained another comment on Thomson, which Melville concluded in a manner that was typically his own. If one were to consider that poet's career, he said, "one could heave a big sigh for the fatality inverting so genial a spirit. But perhaps the Gods may make it all up to him wherever he

may now sojourn. If they do not, the shabby fellows ought to be ashamed of themselves."⁴⁷

Two letters, written during the year of 1888 - one on April seventh, and the other on "the last day" of the year - completed this series of eight letters. The first letter is particularly interesting for the statement which it contains relative to an edition of Israel Potter, under a changed title:

Time, just now, hardly admits of my responding to your inquiries as fully as I should like. But let me say that you have all my published books except the 'Piazza Tales,' now out of print. As for the 'Two Captains' and 'Man of the World,' they are books of the air - and I know of none such. The names appear, though, on the title-page of a book of mine - 'Israel Potter' - which was republished by a Philadelphia house some time ago, under the unwarrantably altered title of 'The Refugee.' A letter to the publisher arrested the publication. ⁴⁸

Mr. Billson informs us that he was living at a house known as "The Birds' Nest Farm" when Melville wrote his last two letters. This information enables us to appreciate Melville's conclusion: "I hope that some egg in the 'Birds' Nest Farm' may hatch the Bird of Paradise for you - happiness."

In his final letter Melville acknowledged, with thanks, the receipt of Billson's last letter, which was again accompanied by a gift - another book. In his comment on this, we find his usual sincere and enthusiastic appreciation for the

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 713.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 713.

verse and prose of James Thomson:

You could hardly have sent me anything more welcome. All the contents are highly interesting; but I agree with you in thinking the Essay on Blake the most so. I learned much from it. But 'The City of Dreadful Night,' one can hardly over-estimate it, massive and mighty-as it is - its gloom is its sublimity. The confronting Sphinx and Angel, where shall we go to match them? Thomson's criticisms in general are very refreshing in their ignoring of the conventional in criticism. But I must rein up. My eyes have been annoying me for some days past; and I know of hardly anything more disconcerting. But let me think of those lines on Patti, and forget that. 49

Thus, ended a very unique literary correspondence which, among other significant things, is especially important in revealing the sound strength and perceptiveness of Melville's alert mind during the latter years of his life.

3. Letters in Raymond Weaver's Biography

The next work in which some of Melville's letters appeared, was Raymond Weaver's biography, Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, which was published in 1921. It is in this biography that we find, what Melville himself tells us was the third letter ever written by him, and what, according to Mr. Weaver, now represents "the earliest manuscript of his that survives. It reads:"

11th of October, 1828.

Dear Grandmother

This is the third letter that I ever wrote so you must not think it very good. I now study geography grammar, writing, Speaking, Spelling, and read in the Scientific class book. I enclose in this letter a drawing for my dear grandmother. Give my love to grandmamma, Uncle Peter and Aunt Mary. And my Sisters and also to Allan,

Your affectionate grandson
Herman Melville. 50

Mr. Weaver also reprinted all of Melville's letters to Hawthorne, with the exception of the "Agatha" letters. However in addition to these and the letter to his grandmother, given above, four other Melville letters are to be found in this biography. These include: two letters to his father-in-law, Chief Justice Shaw; one to his brother, Thomas Melville; and one to Professor Archibald MacMechan.

The first letter to Chief Justice Shaw, dated March 19, 1846, was written before Melville's marriage, and was sent, accompanied by "one of the first bound copies of Typee," the novel which Melville dedicated to Judge Shaw. He said the dedication was made very simple because "the world would hardly have sympathized to the full extent of those feelings with which I regard my father's friend and the constant friend of all his family." Then he expressed the hope that the novel would afford

50 Raymond M. Weaver, Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, p. 68.

him "some entertainment, even if it should not possess much other merit. Your knowing the author so well," he said, "will impart some interest to it."⁵¹

The second letter, written from Center Harbor, New Hampshire, on August 6, 1847, was really a note to Judge Shaw, added to Elizabeth's letter to her mother. He and Elizabeth were on their wedding trip, their marriage having occurred two days before, on the fourth of August. The brief letter possesses a very cordial tone, and gives a description of the scenery, but otherwise contains nothing of importance.

His letter, of May 25, 1862, to his brother Thomas, one of his favorites, is witty and full of lively jollity. The playful salutation gives an indication of what is to follow:

My Dear Boy: (or, if that appears disrespectful)
My Dear Captain:

Thomas, apparently, in a recent letter to his mother, written from Pernambuco, had described his treatment of a "sleepy-headed" young man among his crew. Melville, who had read the letter and enjoyed it, makes the following amusing comment about the young man and about "sleepy fellows" in general:

51 Ibid., p. 258.

That's the sort of fellow, seems to me, to get along with. For my part I love sleepy fellows, and the more ignorant the better. Damn your wide-awake and knowing chaps. As for sleepiness, it is one of the noblest qualities of humanity. There is something sociable about it, too. Think of those sensible & sociable millions of good fellows all taking a good long friendly snooze together, under the sod - no quarrels, no imaginary grievances, no envies, heartburnings, & thinking how much better that other chap is off - none of this: but all equally free-&-easy, they sleep away & reel off their nine knots an hour, in perfect amity. If you see your sleepy ignorant jackass-friend again, give him my compliments, and say that however others may think of him, I honour and esteem him.

. . . 52

In another place Melville teases his brother about the rumor being circulated that Captain Thomas Melville had taken not to drink; "Oh no, but worse - to sonnet-writing." And so proceeds this light and merry letter, but enough has been cited to give the flavor of it.

Besides Mr. Billson and other English admirers of his literary works, Melville had an ardent Canadian admirer in the person of Dr. Archibald MacMechan, Munro Professor of English at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Professor MacMechan informed Melville that he considered his earlier books to be "the most thoroughly New World product in all American literature;" that he was "anxious to set the merits of" his "books before the public;" and therefore, desired to correspond with him in order to obtain some facts about his

life and literary methods, other than what was available "in such books as Duyckinck's dictionary."⁵³

Melville's reply to Professor Macmechan, dated December 5, 1889, is the last of his letters found in Mr. Weaver's biography. In it, he expressed his deep appreciation to his admirer: "Your note gave me pleasure, as how should it not, written in such a spirit;" but he stated that he had entered his eighth decade, and indicated that he could not begin another correspondence at that time. "I have lately come into possession of unobstructed leisure," he wrote, "but only just as, in the course of nature, my vigour sensibly declines. What little of it is left I husband for certain matters as yet incomplete, and which indeed may never be completed."⁵⁴ The friendly and sincere letter closed with the hope that Professor Macmechan would understand, and take what he had said, and what it implied, in the same spirit that prompted it.

4. To Evert and George Duyckinck

In 1922, Mr. Meade Minnigerode, after examining some of the resources of the vast Duyckinck Collection of Manuscripts in the New York Public Library, published parts of seventeen of Melville's letters to Evert Duyckinck, and three letters to Duyckinck, written by Melville's wife, Elizabeth.

⁵³ Ibid., p. 380

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 381

These letters appeared in "Part I" of a book entitled, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography.

Melville's literary and social friendship with the two brothers, Evert A. Duyckinck, three years his senior, and George L. Duyckinck, four years his junior, like the friendship in many respects, of a similar nature with Hawthorne, constituted one of the bright episodes in his long life and literary career. He wrote many more letters to the older brother than to the younger one, and seems to have enjoyed a more intimate friendship with him, though his friendship was close, too, with George.

Melville's friendly relationship with Evert began in 1846 while Typee was going through the press at Wiley and Putnam's, where the older Duyckinck brother was employed. Mr. Leyda, in discussing their meeting and relationship, writes:

When M entered the literary world in 1846, Duyckinck, though not much older in years, was far more mature in that world's experience, as son of a publisher & an editor in his own right. It was as editor of Wiley & Putnam's distinguished "Library of Choice Reading" that Duyckinck first met M, & he thereafter tended to regard M with that mixture of admiration & condescension usually directed to the protégè, and enjoyed M as talker & companion perhaps as much as artist. On his part M derived pleasure & benefit from the association and from Duyckinck's large & attractive library, where he became a regular borrower. . . . 55

Melville's first letter to Evert Duyckinck was written from Lansingburgh on July 3, 1846, and concerns the genuineness of Typee. Apparently Duyckinck and John Wiley, like John Murray and many others in England and America, doubted Melville's claim that the narrative was based on a real adventure. At the time this letter was written, Tobias Greene had turned up in Buffalo, New York, and had given much-needed support to Melville's claim in a letter to the editor of the Buffalo Commercial Advertiser. Melville mentions much of this in the first paragraph of his letter to Duyckinck:

There was a spice of civil scepticism in your manner, my dear Sir, when we were conversing together the other day about "Typee" - what will the politely incredulous Mr. Duyckinck now say to the true Toby's having turned up in Buffalo, and written a letter to the Commercial Advertiser of that place, vouching for the truth of all that part (which has been considered the most extraordinary part) of the narrative, where he is made to figure. 56

In later paragraphs, and in a more serious tone, Melville suggested that "the article in the C. A. with the letter of Toby . . . ought to be pushed into circulation;" and he thought that "Mr. Duyckinck might say a word or two on the subject which would tell." He said, also, that he had written to Toby and expected to see him soon, and that he was

56 Heide Minnigerode, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography, p. 14.

thinking of writing a sequel to Typee, and asked Duyckinck what he thought of the idea. "I should value your opinion very highly on this subject," he said.

By the time Melville wrote his next letter to Duyckinck, on July 28, 1846, he and Tobias Greene had met for their reunion, and he had written the "Sequel," referred to in his first letter, and which his American publishers were planning to incorporate in a new edition of Typee. This brief letter was mainly concerned with reminding Duyckinck of his promise to take precautions against "the piracy that might be perpetrated on the 'Sequel,' by publishing an extract or two from it." He thought, too, that the Revised Edition of Typee should "be duly announced," but was "happy that the literary tact of Mr. Duyckinck" would "be exerted on the occasion."⁵⁷

In a letter of December 8, 1846, Melville informed Duyckinck that he had "a new book in M.S." and would call at his house with it, at eight-thirty, if Duyckinck was not otherwise engaged. The "new book," of course, was Omoo, in its manuscript form, and Melville said that he desired to obtain his friend's opinion of it. He added, however, that he was not addressing him in his official capacity as an employee of Wiley and Putnam, "but presume to do so confidentially as a friend."⁵⁸

The next letter, which Mr. Minnigerode included in his

57 Ibid., p. 19.

58 Ibid., p. 28.

book, was dated, November 11 (14), 1848, and in it, Melville made caustic comments on Joseph C. Hart's Romance of Yachting, which Duyckinck had sent him to review, and told Duyckinck that he could not review such a book.

Seriously, Mr. Duyckinck, on my bended knees, and with tears in my eyes, deliver me from writing aught upon this crucifying Romance of Yachting.

What has Mr. Hart done that I should publicly devour him? I bear that hapless man no malice. Then why smite him? And as for glossing over his book with a few commonplaces - that I can not do. The book deserves to be burnt in a fire of asfetida, and by the hand that wrote it.

Seriously again . . . the book is an abortion, the mere trunk of a book, minus head, arm or leg. Take it back, I beseech, and get some one to cart it back to the author. 59

Comments - critical or otherwise - on his major American literary contemporaries, are not too numerous in the writings of Herman Melville. A few authors and their works received his attention in miscellaneous reviews, or were briefly referred to, here and there, in his letters. He said more, perhaps, about Cooper and Hawthorne than any of the others. What he said about Parkman, he regretted. Therefore, his letter of March 3, 1849, written from Boston, is especially interesting for the comments which it contains on Ralph Waldo Emerson. It was written after he had heard Emerson lecture,

and the impression which he received was favorable, but apparently he must have held a different opinion of the Concord author before this time.

Nay, I do not oscillate in Emerson's rainbow, but prefer rather to hang myself in mine own halter than swing in any other man's swing. Yet I think Emerson is more than a brilliant fellow. Be his stuff begged, borrowed, or stolen, or of his own domestic manufacture he is an uncommon man,

I was very agreeably disappointed in Mr. Emerson. I had heard of him as full of transcendentalism, myths and oracular gibberish . . . to my surprise, I found him quite intelligible, tho' to say truth, they told me that that night he was unusually plain.

Now, there is a something about every man elevated above mediocrity, which is for the most part instantly perceptible. This I see in Mr. Emerson. And, frankly, for the sake of the argument, let us call him a fool - then had I rather be a fool than a wise man. 60

The next paragraph is significant for its revelation of Melville's interest in thoughts and ideas of the deeper variety, as well as for the beauty of its figurative language. With respect to the letter, it is of particular interest to note that for this one figure of speech, so original and vivid in conception, Melville drew with spontaneous deftness, upon his whaling experiences in the South Seas, and upon his visit to Galena, Illinois, where the lead mines are located:

I love all men who dive. Any fish can swim near the surface, but it takes a great whale to go down stairs five miles or more; and if he don't attain the bottom, why, all the lead in Galena can't-fashion the plummet that will. I'm not talking of Mr. Emerson now, but of the whole-corps of thought-divers that have been diving and coming up again with blood-shot eyes since the world began. 61

But returning to Emerson for a final comment or two, his critical mind detected one noticeable blemish on the escutcheon of that sage:

I could readily see in Emerson, notwithstanding his merit, a gaping flaw. It was, the insinuation that had he lived in those days when the world was made, he might have offered some valuable suggestions. These men are all cracked right across the brow. And never will the pullers-down be able to cope with the builders-up. . . . But enough of this Plato who talks thro's his nose. . . . 62

As for Emerson being "above Munching" plain cake and swigging off ale in a "company of jolly fellows," as Duyckinck complained, Melville said, "that's his misfortune, not his fault. His belly, sir, is in his chest, and his brains descend down into his neck, and offer an obstacle to a draughtful of ale or a mouthful of cake. . . ." ⁶³

His letter from Boston, of April 5, 1849, contains a long passage on the tragic and pathetic case of Charles Penno

61 Ibid., p. 33.

62 Ibid., pp. 33-34.

63 Ibid., p. 34.

Hoffman, a prominent New York literary figure of versatile talents, who, in this year, became the victim of a mental disorder which permanently ended his varied literary career as a poet, critic, novelist, and journalist.

Poor Hoffman - [I remember the shock I had when I first saw the mention of his madness] . . . This going mad of a friend or acquaintance comes straight home to every man who feels his soul in pain, which but few men do. For in all of us lodges the same fuel to light the same fire. And he who has never felt, momentarily, what madness is has but a mouthful of brains. . . . but it we prate much of this, why we shall be illustrating our own proposition.
 . . . 64

While abroad, during a few months of 1849-1850, on a mission with a dual purpose: one, to market White-Jacket in London, and the other, to see as much of the Continent as his funds would allow; he wrote, belatedly and apologetically, to Duyckinck from Paris on December 2, 1849: "Traveling takes the wit out of one's pen as well as the cash out of one's purse."

He mentioned having made an attempt one evening to see Rachel, but after taking his "place in the 'que' (how the devil do you spell it?) or tail - and having waited there for full an hour - upon at last arriving at the ticket-box the woman then closed her little wicket in my face - and so the

'tail' was cut off.

"Now my travelling 'tail' has been cut off in like manner, by the confounded state of the copyright question in England. . . ." ⁶⁵ It was not until the fifteenth of December, after he returned to London from the Continent, that he was able, finally to sell the White-Jacket manuscript to Bentley. Therefore, this last statement, about "the copyright question," expressed his bitter vexation over the existence of a condition which had made it necessary for him to alter greatly his travel plans.

In the letter from London, on December 14, 1849, we find one of the many slurring remarks which he directed against Redburn, the little novel which many enjoyed, but which Melville never ceased condemning; he regarded it always as a potboiler, and was forever apologizing for having written it. In this instance, he tells Duyckinck that he tried to see a copy of the Literary World at Bentley's, but it was not available, so:

I did not see your say about the book "Redburn," which to my surprise (somewhat) seems to have been favorably received. I am glad of it, for it puts money into an empty purse. But I hope I shall never write such a book again.

Tho' when a poor devil writes with duns all around him, and looking over the back of his chair, and perching on his pen, and dancing in his ink-stand - like the devils about St. Anthony - what can you expect of that poor devil? What but a beggarly "Redburn." 66

65 Ibid., p. 51.

66 Ibid., p. 52.

This letter also contains his statement of regret for having critically attacked Parkman's The Oregon Trail, but this has been discussed elsewhere in this study.

Melville returned to New York from his trip abroad, on February 1, 1850. The very next day he wrote a letter to his friend, Evert Duyckinck, and sent it accompanied by six gifts for him and other members of his family. Three of the presents were for Duyckinck himself. They included: a copy of the three-volume English edition of Mardi; a copy of "a fine old spicy duodecimo mouthful in the shape of Hudibras," which he picked up "at Stribb's in the Strand;" and "a bottle-stopper from Cologne," with "a sermon in it." The other three presents were medals, and they were to be distributed as follows: the bronze medal, which came "from a mountainous defile of a narrow street in the Latin Quarter of Paris," was for Duyckinck's brother, George, for "his kindness in giving me an 'outfit' of guide-books;" while the other "two medals (warranted not silver)," which came "from the Thomas Tunnel," "thirty feet under water," were for Duyckinck's sons, Evert and Henry.

Writing in a facetious manner, he apologized to Duyckinck for presenting him with the copy of Mardi, saying that there was method in his making such a gift. Since Duyckinck's valuable library "must to a late posterity be preserved intact," Mardi then, if given a place in it, might have a chance to survive. Mardi might -

by some miracle, that is - flower like the aloe, a hundred years hence - or not flower at all, which is more likely by far, for some aloes never flower.

Again: (as the divines say) political republics should be the asylum for the persecuted of all nations; so, if Mardi be admitted to your shelves, your bibliographical Republic of letters may find some contentment in the thought that it has afforded refuge to a book which almost everywhere else has been driven forth like a wild, mystic Mormon into shelterless exile. 67

Melville's next letter to Duyckinck, which we find, given in part, in Mr. Minnigerode's book, was written from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on August 16, 1850. Melville and his family, at the time, were vacationing there, in a boarding house that formerly had been the private home of the author's uncle. Later, in the same year, Melville purchased a nearby house, and after a brief return to New York, moved his family from the City and took permanent residence in the vicinity for the next thirteen years.

This letter, of August 16, 1850, was written in reply to Duyckinck's letter, which Melville had received on the thirteenth of August. It should be mentioned that Duyckinck and another literary friend, Cornelius Mathews, had just concluded a ten-day visit with Melville on August twelfth. On returning to New York, both he and Mathews wrote to Melville, and Duyckinck's letter was accompanied by a dozen bottles of

champagne and some cigars. One other important fact, for the sake of emphasis, should be restated here: it was during this particular visit of Duyckinck that Melville first made the acquaintance of Hawthorne, which led to the development of the intimate friendship between these authors.

Some of these details, and references to a few other matters, appear in Melville's letter. He begins it with an original description of the old house:

I call it Banian Hall, my dear Duyckinck, because it seems the old original Hall of this neighborhood - besides, it is a wide-spreading house, and the various outhouses seem shoots from it, that have taken root all round.

I write you this from the garret-way, located at that little embrasure of a window (you must remember it) which commands so noble a view of Saddleback. My desk is an old one, an old thing of my uncle the Major's, which for twelve years back has been packed away in the corn-loft over the carriage house. Upon dragging it out to daylight, I found that it was covered with the marks of fowls - quite white with them - eggs had been laid in it - think of that! Is it not typical of those other eggs that authors may be said to lay in their desks, especially those with pigeon-holes?

Day before yesterday - Wednesday - I received your letter of the 13th, also Mathews', and was delighted and softened by both. . . .

Twelve more beautiful babies than you sent me in that wicker cradle by Express I have never seen. Uncommon intelligence was in their aspect and they seem full of animation and hilarity. . . . 68

Following this, he described the manner in which the wicker basket of champagne "was carried in state to the farm;" and at dinner, they "cracked the champagne," and drank toasts to Duyckinck and Mathews. The cigars were mentioned too, with enthusiasm. Also, he told Duyckinck about a trip made by him, in a party consisting of four carriages, to the Shaker Village at Lebanon; acknowledged receipt of the Literary World; found the printing - in his article on "Hawthorne and His Mosses" - "more correct" than he expected, but indicated that there were "one or two ugly errors" in it. "If it is a fair day," he said, "I shall drive to Hawthorne's tomorrow and deliver his parcels." Then, he closed the letter by urging Duyckinck to tell him, in his next letter, when he was coming for a second visit.

After Melville moved into his house in Pittsfield, late in September, 1850, he was very busy, for a time, with numerous jobs connected with getting settled. He was alluding to this, in his letter to Duyckinck, written on a "Sunday Evening [October 6,] 1850", when he said: "I hardly thought that I should find time or even table to write you this long while. But it is Sunday at last, and after a day chiefly spent in Jacquesizing in the woods, I sit down to do what with me is an almost unexampled thing - inditing a letter at night." Then followed, in the portion given by Minnigerode, a passage of beautiful description:

It has been a most glowing and Byzantine day - the heavens reflecting the hues of the October apples in the orchard - nay, the heavens themselves looking so ripe and ruddy, that it must be harvest-home with the angels, and Charles' wain be heaped high as Saddleback with Autumn's sheaves. . . . 69

He had been very busy, he said; had "cruelly bruised" his finger with a hammer; had had everything to do and no one to help him; but hoped all would be "to rights" soon, and he could take his ease on his mountain.

He thanked Duyckinck for his recent letter and the newspaper, which carried an article stating that the Senate had banned flogging in the American Navy. "I am offering up devout jublations for the abolition of the flogging law," he said. And he closed by sending his love to Adler, whom he hoped to get "behind a cigar one of these days & talk over old times," and by asking Duyckinck to remember him to his brother.

There was such a long delay before the next letter was written, on a "Friday evening," probably near the end of the second week in December, that Melville, in a light vain, made much ado about this in his first two paragraphs. "I now write to inform you," he said, "that this man has turned up - in short, My Dear Fellow in spite of my incivility I am alive & well, & would fain be remembered." He said he was writing by candle light, and implied that this hurt his eyes. There was

no news for a country man to write about but himself; so if Duyckinck wanted a letter, he had to make up his mind "to receive an egotistical one."

Later, he asked: "Do you want to know how I pass my time?" Then followed his daily schedule, which began with his rising at eight and feeding his farm animals, and then having breakfast himself. The period set aside for writing came next:

My own breakfast over, I go to my work-room and light my fire - then spread my M.S.B. on the table--take one business squint at it, and fall to with a will. At 2½ P.M. I hear a preconcerted knock at my door, which (by request) continues till I rise and go to the door, which seems to ween me effectively from my writing, however interested I may be. 70

The farm animals are fed again; his own dinner is eaten; and a trip is made to the village for the mail - "and if it be a 'Literary World' day, great is the satisfaction thereof." His evenings are spent "in a sort of mesmeric state in my room - not being able to read - only now and then skimming over some large-printed book."

He asked Duyckinck if he could send him "about fifty fast-writing youths, with an easy style;" he could use them, "because since I have been here I have planned about that number of future works and can't find enough time to think

about them separately. But I don't know but a book in a man's brain is better off than a book bound in calf - at any rate it is safer from criticism."⁷¹

In the concluding part of the letter, omitted by Minnigerode, Melville mentioned having seen something of a German translation, in progress or completed, by Adler; asked to be remembered to him; and said, "In the country here, I begin to appreciate the Literary World. I read it as a sort of private letter from you to me."

The next letter, from "Pittsfield, Wednesday [February 12], 1851," is a long one, and Mr. Minnigerode prints it in two parts, in different chapters of his book, as if each part were a separate letter. Also, as is the usual practice with him, he omits portions of each part.

In the early paragraphs of the letter, Melville refused to comply with two of his friend's requests; in the latter part, he made another appraisal of Hawthorne as a individual and as a writer.

We have noted, in a previous letter, Melville's refusal to review a book for Duyckinck. Here, we find him refusing to write articles for Holden's Magazine. At this stage in his career, he seemed determined to write only what he wanted to write, and to be independent, also, with respect to

71 Ibid., p. 71.

the manner in which he should write it. Yet, Duyckinck was his friend, one of his best friends, and it was not easy to refuse his request.

How shall a man go about refusing a man? Best be round-about, or plump on the mark? - I can not write the thing you want. I am in the humor to lend a hand to a friend if I can; but I am not in the humor to write the kind of thing you need - and I am not in the humor to write for Holden's magazine. If I were to go on to give you all-my reasons you would pronounce me a bore so I will not do that. You must be content to believe that I have reasons, or else I would not refuse so small a thing. 72

Melville also refused to send Duyckinck a daguerreotype, of which he said, humorously, "(what a devil of an unspellable word!)." After saying he had none to send, he continued, "And if I had, I would not send it for such a purpose, even to you." Then, as if to soften the effect of so blunt a refusal, he added, in bantering language, several remarks about it being no distinction to get one's picture in print, since "almost everybody is having his 'mug' engraved nowadays."

Turning now to Hawthorne, he informed Duyckinck that he visited him two weeks ago, and "found him, of course, buried in snow; and the delightful scenery about all wrapped up and tucked away under a napkin as it were." Then, after mentioning a day's visit to Pittsfield which family illness

prevented Hawthorne from making, he said:

By the way, I have recently read his 'Twice Told Tales' (I hadn't read but a few of them before). I think they far-exceed the 'Mosses.' They are, I fancy, an earlier vintage from his vine. -Some of those sketches are wonderfully subtle. Their deeper meanings are worthy of a Brahmin. Still there is something lacking - a good deal lacking to the plump sphericity of the man. What is that? He doesn't patronise the butcher - he needs roast-beef, done rare.

Nevertheless, for one, I regard Hawthorne (in his books) as evincing a quality of genius immensely loftier, and more profound, too, than any other American has shown hitherto in the printed form. Irving is a grasshopper to him - putting the souls of the two men together, I mean. But I must close. . . . 73

But Melville's refusal to comply with his friend's requests continued to worry him. At five o'clock, that same afternoon, he re-read his letter and added a postscript (not given by Minnigerode), before starting for the village post office. In glancing over the letter he had written, he told Duyckinck, "I thought there seemed an unkindness in it - & that had I, under the circumstances, rec'd such a letter from you, in reply to such a letter as yours to me - I would deem it not well of you. - Still, I can't help it - and I may yet be of some better service to you than merely jotting a paragraph for Holden's." ⁷⁴

73 Ibid., p. 56.

74 Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 386.

Melville saw his old boyhood friend, Eli James Murdock Fly, in March of 1851, and when Fly left Pittsfield, on his way to Brattleboro, Melville accompanied him as far as Springfield. In his letter of "Wednesday [March 26], 1851," he told Duyckinck of this, and said of Fly, "He has long been a confirmed invalid, & in some small things I act a little as his agent."⁷⁵ He told Duyckinck that Fly would remain at Brattleboro, through the summer months, and asked him to send Fly's copies of the Literary World and the Dollar Magazine there, instead of to his old address. In closing, he made another reference to the weakness of his eyes:

The Spring begins to open upon Pittsfield, but slowly. I only wish that I had more day-time to spend out in the day; but like an owl I steal about by twilight, owing to the twilight of my eyes. . . . 76

In early November, of 1851, a few weeks after The Whale had been published in London, but while it was still going through the press, as Moby-Dick, at Harper's, Duyckinck sent Melville a news account of the destruction of the whaleship, Ann Alexander, on August 20, 1851. By a strange coincidence, the fate of this real ship had been the same as that of Melville's imaginary Pequod - both had been rammed and sunk by

75 Meade Minnigerode, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and A Bibliography, See, "Facsimile of a Letter" after p. 42.

76 Ibid., after p. 42.

a whale. In his reply to Duyckinck, from "Pittsfield, Friday afternoon [November 7, 1851], Melville wrote:

Your letter received last night had a sort of stunning effect on me. . . . It is really and truly a surprising coincidence, to say the least. I make no doubt it is Moby-Dick himself, for there is no account of his capture after the sad fate of the Pequod about fourteen years ago -

Ye Gods! What a Commentator is this Ann Alexander whale. What he has to say is short and pithy but very much to the point. I wonder if my evil art has raised this monster. . . . 77

The next two letters were written just before Melville made his voyage around the Horn with his brother Thomas, who was the commander of the Clipper ship, Meteor. They have been referred to previously, and a passage quoted from one of them, in connection with the discussion of Melville's Journal of this voyage. Before sailing, he left, in manuscript form, enough material for a volume of verse, together with some publication instructions, to be followed by his other brother, Allan, after his wife completed the final copy of the manuscript. The two letters addressed to Duyckinck were written to solicit his aid in getting the poems published.

In the first letter, written from Pittsfield, May 21st, 1850," he asked his friend to look over the poems, when they arrived in New York, "and if they seem of a sort that you care

77 Ibid., p. 74.

to be any way concerned with, advise with Allan as to a publisher, and form of volume, etc."⁷⁸ He dared not ask that Duyckinck, "in the midst of better avocations," read the proof sheets, but he did ask him if he would "at least see that the printer's proof reader" was "a careful and competent hand?"

In short, may I, without seeming too confident, ask you, as a veteran and expert in these matters, and as an old acquaintance, to lend something of an overseeing eye to the launching of this craft - the committing of it to the elements? 79

In closing, Melville asked Duyckinck to answer him as soon as possible; then, possibly remembering that he had not always complied with his friend's requests, he added: "and whether you say yea or nay, Believe me, sincerely yours, H. Melville."

Duyckinck said, "yea," in a letter which Melville described as "a very welcome one - quite a wind from the fields of old times." He received it just before leaving Pittsfield, and "the postponement of the ship's day of sailing," gave him a chance to answer it, from "Boston, May 29th, 1860, On board ship 'Meteor'". He informed Duyckinck that his wife would send the material in a week or so, and referred him to her, in his absence, "in case of any exigency requiring information further than you are now in possession of." Then

78 Ibid., pp. 78-79.

79 Ibid., p. 79.

followed, indirectly, a message for George:

If your brother George is not better employed, I hope he will associate himself with you in looking over my scribblings. 80

He said no more about the manuscript and its publication, but closed his letter by speaking enthusiastically of the pleasure he anticipated from the voyage he was taking with his brother.

After Melville's departure, his wife had occasion to write three letters to Duyckinck in connection with the manuscript left by her husband. On June 1, 1860, she sent him "a copy of the memoranda which he jotted down for Allan," and told him that the manuscript would follow on Monday or Tuesday of the next week. On June fourth, she sent the manuscript, accompanied by a letter, in which she discussed some technical matters and asked Duyckinck's advice on them. She also asked him to give her his opinion of the manuscript after he had read it, adding: "and you need not be afraid to say exactly what you think - . . . If your brother also would add his impressions, so much the better. . . ." ⁸¹

Elizabeth Melville displayed an excited interest in this first poetic venture of her husband, and her zeal for the work was intensified after the Duyckinck brothers read it and apparently expressed a favorable impression of it. In her

80 Ibid., p. 80

81 Ibid., p. 86.

third letter, from "Arrowhead, June 23d. 1860," she thanked Evert Duyckinck for his "kind endeavors about the manuscript." Naturally, she regretted that Charles Scribner refused to publish it,⁸² and that Duyckinck was having no better success with other publishers, but these things did not worry her; her confidence in the intrinsic merit of her husband's work remained firm:

For myself, I am willing to wait patiently for the result, so that the publication is eventually accomplished - and do not consider its rejection by the publishers as any test of its merit in a literary point of view - well knowing, as Herman does also, that poetry is a comparatively uncalled for article in the public market.

. . .

I think infinitely more of yours and your brother's opinion of it, and feel more confidence in its worth, since it has been looked at by persons of judgment and taste than ever before - it has been such a profound secret between Herman and myself for so long that I rejoice to have my own prejudice in its favor confirmed by someone in whose appreciation we can feel confidence - for I do not believe you would speak favorably of it, unless you could do so sincerely, for that your letter gives me great satisfaction. 83

In addition to the pleasure which Melville anticipated from a sea voyage in the company of his favorite brother, he

⁸² Charles Scribner rejected the manuscript on June 17, 1860, and returned it to Evert Duyckinck with an interesting letter of explanation. See: Jay Leyda, The Melville Log II, pp. 619-620.

⁸³ Meade Minnigerode, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography, p. 87.

hoped, too, that the trip would do much to improve his health. In this letter expectation, he was disappointed, for, according to his mother, he wrote to his wife, from California, that "he was not at all benefitted by the Voyage."⁸⁴ When he returned home, he had to face another disappointment: the manuscript which he left behind, and expected to see transformed into a printed volume of verse, was still unpublished.

Almost all of Melville's letters to Evert Duyckinck, which were published in a complete or partial form by Mr. Minnigerode in 1922, have since been republished, once or twice, in versions that are more complete and more correct. In addition to these, some of the letters not published by Mr. Minnigerode, have been made available in printed form. In order that all such letters may be examined together, we shall discuss them here, although many of Melville's letters, that were written to other individuals, appeared in print before them.

On January 21, 1847, Melville wrote a letter to Evert Duyckinck, in which he questioned "the propriety of publishing any part" of his new book, Omoo, "so long previous to the publication of the whole."⁸⁵ He indicated, however, that this would not prevent Duyckinck from "publishing a chapter or so

84 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, II, p. 628.

85 Ibid., I, p. 233.

at a more suitable time," should he desire to do so.

Less than two weeks later, on February 1, 1847, he wrote to apologize for not calling at Duyckinck's house, "at the time appointed," and to say that an opera engagement prevented him from calling "at some other time during the evening." This letter also contains a reference to a book which Melville reviewed, a little over a month later, in the Literary World:

I have procured the book you spoke of [Etchings of a Whaling Cruise, by J. Ross Browne] from Harpers - & I shall find much pleasure in making it the basis of an article for your paper. 86

On July 9, 1847, Melville acknowledged Duyckinck's "friendly note & the paper" which he had received two days before. "Upon my soul, Duyckinck," he wrote, "these English are a sensible people. Indeed to confess the truth, when I compare their reception of Omoo in particular, with its treatment here, it begets ideas not very favorable to one's patriotism. But this is almost being too frank."⁸⁷ He accepted Duyckinck's invitation to call upon him, and enquired if he would be at home that evening.

Melville's next letter to Duyckinck, from "[Boston] Feb 24th [1849]," is especially interesting for the statement, which it contains, regarding the time when he first made a

86 Ibid., p. 234.

87 Ibid., p. 250.

"close acquaintance" with Shakespeare; for his favorable comment on Emerson; and for his appraisal of the Shakespearean readings of Mrs. Fanny Kemble Butler. He writes:

. . . I have been passing my time very pleasantly here. But chiefly in lounging on a sofa (a la the poet Gray) & reading Shakespeare. It is an edition in glorious great type, every letter whereof is a soldier, & the top of every 't' like a musket barrel. Dolt & ass that I am I have lived more than 29 years, & until a few days ago, never made close acquaintance with the divine William. Ah, he's full of sermons-on-the-mount, and gentle, aye, almost as Jesus. I take such men to be inspired. I fancy that this mount(?) Shakespeare in heaven ranks with Gabriel Raphael and Michael. And if another Messiah ever comes twill be in Shakespeare's person. - I am mad to think how minute a cause has prevented me hitherto from reading Shakespeare. But until now, any copy that was comestable to me, happened to be in a vile small print unendurable to my eyes which are tender as young sparrows. But chancing to fall in with this glorious edition, I now exult over it, page after page. -

I have heard Emerson since I have been here. Say what they will, he's a great man. Mrs. Butler too I have heard at her Readings. She makes a glorious Lady Macbeth, but her Desdemona seems like a boarding school miss. . . . 88

His further uncomplimentary comments, about the physical characteristics of this "unfeminely masculine" woman, bear no relation to his statement about her histrionic ability; and need not be repeated here.

The short letters, of "March 28th [1849]," was also written from Boston. After informing Duyckinck that he had

88 Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, pp. 370-371.

requested Harper and Brothers to furnish him in advance with the sheets of his new work (Mardi), he devoted the rest of the letter to a complaint about the "interminable rain" in Boston. "This is the Fourth Day of the Great Boston Rain," he said, wittily, " & how much longer it is to last the ghost of the last man drowned by the Deluge only knows. I have a continual dripping sensation; and feel like an ill-wrung towel - my soul is damp, & by spreading itself out upon paper seeks to get dry. Your well saturated, H. Melville."⁸⁹

On the morning of October 10, 1849, Melville took, what he called, a "dramatic" "farewell" of his family, and thought he was off for a voyage to England, but Captain Griswold again postponed the Southampton's sailing, and Melville returned home to spend another night. Evidently he had promised to spend part of the evening at Duyckinck's house, for he wrote him a brief note, after he returned home, and said that he felt as though he had already "accomplished the tour of Europe" and should spend the evening at his "own fireside." Therefore, he said to his friend: "Release me from my promise then, and save what you were going to tell me till tomorrow when we glide down the bay."⁹⁰

On "Thursday Morning [March 7, 1850]," Melville re-

89 Ibid., p. 373.

90 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 317.

turned some unused tickets, which Duyckinck had sent him the night before. In the note which he sent with the tickets, he said, "I should have gone - as I love music - were it not that having been shut up all day, I could not stand being shut up all evening - so I mounted my green jacket & strolled down to the Battery to study the stars."⁹¹

Melville's letter of July 28, 1851, was an invitation. It was first printed by Mr. Luther Mansfield in 1937, as a foot note to his article, "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851: Some Unpublished Letters of Evert A. Duyckinck." Mr. Mansfield writes: "After the work on the new book was finished, Melville sent an urgent invitation to Evert and George Duyckinck to visit him in Pittsfield."⁹² The "new book," of course, was Moby-Dick. In his letter, Melville told his friends that if a visit to Pittsfield did not interfere with any of their other plans, his "entire household" would be "sincerely glad" to see them, "any time after next Tuesday (week from tomorrow) and the sooner after that time the better - say Wednesday. Come, and give yourself a week's holiday on the haymow. 'In fact' come." He said he would meet

⁹¹ Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 379.

⁹² Luther S. Mansfield, "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851: Some Unpublished Letters of Evert A. Duyckinck," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 1, issue of March, 1937, p. 37.

them at the depot, if they would mention the train they would take, and he told Evert, in closing: "By no means let George stay behind. If he does I shall write to Chief of Police Matsell, to send him on."⁹³

The letter to Chief of Police Matsell, which Melville, humorously, threatened to write proved unnecessary. "The two Duyckinck's," writes Mr. Mansfield, "arrived at Arrowhead on the day appointed by Melville, August 6, 1851, and remained as his guests until Friday, August 15."⁹⁴

Portions of the next three letters are found in Mr. Jay Leyda's, Melville Log. In a note, of "January 9? 1852," Melville informed Duyckinck that he would not "be able to see" him "at 11 o'clock," as his friend proposed, but would call at another time, "not very remote in the future, either." Then, perhaps acknowledging a gift, he said, "The nut-crackers are very curious and duly valued."⁹⁵

On February 1, 1862, he wrote to Duyckinck as follows: "For the past week I have been lying here rheumatism-bound, or I should have been to see you to tell you where we are to be found." At the time, Melville was occupying a "temporary New York residence at 150 East 18 Street," preparatory to moving back to the City, permanently, some months later. In this same

93 Ibid., pp. 37-38.

94 Ibid., p. 38.

95 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 444.

letter, he asked Duyckinck to lend him "some of those volumes of the Elizabethan dramatists. Is Decker among the set: And Webster? If so, please wrap them up and let the bearer have them. - Send me any except Marlowe, whom I have read."⁹⁶

Then, he invited Duyckinck to come around the next evening, Sunday, if he had "nothing better to do," and they would "brew some whiskey punch and settle the affairs of the universe over it - which affairs sadly need it, some say."⁹⁷

On December 31, 1863, we find him returning another book, without reviewing it. In his note, accompanying the book, he said:

I return the book, thinking you may want it. I have read it with great interest. As for scribbling anything about it, tho' I would like to please you, I have not spirit enough. 98

Again he invited Duyckinck to visit him. That evening, Allan and his family; a Mrs. Ellen Brittain, of Pittsfield; and a few other friends, would be with them, he said; and added, "If convenient, pray, join us."

On February 14, 1852, Melville wrote the following letter "to the 'Editors of Literary World':"

96 Ibid., II, pp. 644-645.

97 Ibid., p. 645.

98 Ibid., p. 665.

You will please discontinue the two copies of **your** paper sent to J. M. Fly at Brattleboro' (or Greenbush), and to H. Melville at Pittsfield.

Whatever charges there may be outstanding for either or both copies, please send them to me, & they will receive attention. 99

Commenting on the friendship of Melville and Evert Duyckinck, and suggesting two possible interpretations for the meaning of the letter above, Mr. Leyda writes:

. . . After six years of friendship, the relation between M & Duyckinck appears to have been strained & temporarily broken early in 1852, unless M's letter of 14 Feb 1852 should be understood as an economy move. However, in the fall of 1856, in 1860 & on M's return to New York City from the isolation of 'Arrowhead,' these relations were again congenial. Around the publication of Clarel, up until Duyckinck's death in 1878, his blotter of engagements shows M as a frequent visitor . . . 100

Melville, however, was very friendly also, with George Duyckinck, the younger brother of Evert. George accompanied Evert on the visit to Melville at Arrowhead, in August, of 1851, the time when Melville threatened to have the chief of police send him on if he did not come. And although most of Melville's letters were addressed to Evert, seldom did he conclude a letter to the older brother without including a message for the younger one. It was George, too, who obtained, for Melville, the lecture

99 Ibid., p. 665.

100 Ibid., p. xxv.

engagement in New York, and who made an effort to procure other engagements for him. "M's relations & correspondence with George (summer of 1858 & following)," writes Mr. Leyda, "managed to maintain his connection with the Duyckinck family when he was not writing to Evert."¹⁰¹

Two of Melville's letters to George Duyckinck, written during 1858, are concerned with the lecture that Melville delivered before the New York Historical Society on February 7, 1859. In the first one, written from Pittsfield, December 13, 1858, he made an unsuccessful attempt to change the date of the lecture. For the two February dates, he had sent George to choose from, he said he wished to "substitute the 10th & 17th of January . . ., either of which, would, as I now see, be more convenient to me."¹⁰² George, however, in his reply, insisted on February seventh as the date, and the matter was settled.

The second, and more famous, of the two letters, was written, also, from "Pittsfield Dec. 20th - Monday [1858]," and was first published by Mr. Thorp, in his Representative Selections.¹⁰³ This letter contains his often quoted statement about being ready to lecture anywhere for expenses and "a reasonable fee," and we have already referred to it, in the section dealing with Melville as a lecturer.

101 Ibid., p. xxv.

102 Ibid., II, p. 579.

103 Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, pp. 396-397.

Melville's letter of December 14, 1859, was written in reply to George's letter, requesting some information about The Temple, by George Herbert, a poet in whom, both men had a mutual interest. The information sent, was based on the copy of The Temple, owned by Melville, and included: the number of pages, the size, and the price of the book. He must have picked up the copy he owned, at his second hand dealer in Nassau Street, for, regarding the price, he wrote: "Price, 25cts (at least that's all I gave for it) . . ." ¹⁰⁴

5. Letters Written to Children

After the publication of the Melville letters in Mr. Minnigerode's book, the next letters of his, to be printed, appeared in an article entitled, "A Pilgrim by Land and Sea," by his granddaughter, Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf. Written in a very charming style, this essay on Melville, designed for young readers, was published in the Horn Book magazine for February, 1927.

Since the article was written for children and published in a children's magazine, it was only natural that Mrs. Metcalf should have selected, for inclusion in it, two of Melville's letters that were written to children. One letter, given in its entirety, was written to his daughter, Bessie, age seven,

¹⁰⁴ Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, II, p. 609.

at the time; the other letter, given in part, was written to his oldest child, his son, Malcolm, age eleven. Both letters were written from the Pacific Ocean, while Melville was on his voyage around the Horn as a passenger on the Meteor, commanded by his brother, Thomas. Malcolm's letter, a long one, was begun on September 1, 1860; taken up again, and completed, on September 16. Bessie's letter was written on September 2, 1860. "My Dear Bessie," he wrote:

I thought I would send you a letter that you could read yourself - at least a part of it. But here and there I propose to write in the usual manner, as I find the printing style comes rather awkward in a rolling ship. Mamma will read these parts to you. . . . 105

Following this, he gave her a long description of the sea-birds, but he wrote it carefully in language that she could understand. "These birds have no home," he said, "unless it is some wild rocks in the middle of the ocean. They never see any orchards, and have a taste of the apples and cherries, like your gay little friend in Pittsfield, Robin Red Breast, Esq. . . ." He said that he could tell her much more about the sea, but it would have to wait until he got home.

105 Eleanor Melville Metcalf, "A Pilgrim by Land and Sea," in Horn Book, Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of February, 1927, p. 8.

I hope you are a good girl; and give Mama no trouble. Do you help Mama keep house? That little bag you made for me, I use very often, and I think of you every time.

I suppose you have had a good many walks on the hill, and picked the strawberries.

I hope you take good care of little FANNY and that when you go on the hill, you go this way. 106

Here, in his letter, Melville drew a picture of two little figures ascending a hill, hand in hand. He ended, by saying: "That is the way, hand in hand. By-by, Papa."

Mrs. Metcalf gives us the second part of Melville's interesting letter to Malcolm - the part, written "On the line, Sep. 16th, 1860." In this, the author told his son about having seen a whale-ship, a few days before, and how he got into a boat, "sailed over the ocean in it to the whale-ship, and stayed there about an hour." He saw "eight or ten of the wild people aboard," which the Captain had hired "at the island called Rarotonga. He wanted them to help pull in the whale-boat, when they hunt the whale." He told him how his Uncle's crew was "busy making the ship look smart for San Francisco;" and he said he would mail this letter when the ship arrived there. Malcolm, he said, would receive it "in about twenty-five days afterwards." Then, he traced the route of the letter, back to Pittsfield by way of Panama, and told Malcolm to

get out his map and find "Panama, on the Isthmus of Darien." He hoped the letter would find him and the family well when it arrived.

And I hope that you have called to mind what I said to you about your behavior previous to my going away. I hope that you have been obedient to your mother, and helped her all you could, and saved her trouble. Now is the time to show what you are - whether you are a good honourable boy or a good-for-nothing one. Any boy, of your age, who disobeys his mother, or worries her, or is desrespectful to her - such a boy is a poor, shabby fellow; and if you know any such boys, you ought to cut their acquaintance. 107

He closed by saying that he often thought of all four of his children and longed to be with them, but that was not possible now. "The picture which I have of you and the rest, I look at sometimes, till the faces almost seem real."

The first part of this letter, equally as interesting, may be found in Mr. Thorp's Representative Selections, where, as a matter of fact, the complete letter is printed. Melville not only sought to make this part of the letter appealing to his eleven year old son, but he exerted great care to make it educational as well:

It is now three months exactly since the ship "Meteor" sailed from Boston - a quarter of a year. During this long period, she has been continually moving, and has only seen land on two days. I suppose you have followed out on the map (or my globe

were better - so you get Mama to clean it off for you) the route from Boston to San Francisco. The distance, by the straight track, is about 16000 miles; but the ship will have sailed before she gets there nearer 18 or 20000 miles. So you see it is further than from the apple-tree to the big rock. When we crossed the line in the Atlantic Ocean it was very warm; & we had warm weather for some weeks; but as we kept getting to the Southward it began to grow less warm, and then coolish, and cold and colder, till at last it was winter. . . . 108

He described the stormy weather, lasting "about forty or fifty days," which they encountered, and he did not withhold, from the boy, an account of the tragedy which occurred "the very morning" they "were off the Cape." He told him of sailor Ray's death, and of the funeral and burial at sea, with Uncle Tom, the Captain, reading, "a prayer out of the prayer-book;" and how, "at a given word, the sailors who held the plank tipped it up, and immediately the body slipped into the stormy ocean, and we saw it no more." This sailor "had a friend among the crew;" he said, "and they were both going to California, and thought of living there; but you see what happened."¹⁰⁹

One other letter, written by Melville to a child, survives. It was written, over eight years earlier, to the son of one of his well-known friends, and it demonstrates that this adult professional author had "something of a way" with

108 Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 397.

109 Ibid., p. 398.

children; and that his patience, in taking the time to write appropriate letters to them, was not limited merely to the letters which he wrote to his own children.

Early in February, of 1852, Julian Hawthorne, six years old at the time, sent Melville a hand printed letter. On February eighth, Melville took the time to write "Master Julian" a reply. In it, he said:

I was equally surprised and delighted by the sight of your printed note. (At first I thought it was a circular (your father will tell you what that is)). I am very happy that I have a place in the heart of so fine a little fellow as you. 110

Julian's letter - we learn from the next paragraph - had mentioned how deep the snow was in Newton. Melville said he fancied it was still deeper in Pittsfield. Then he told how he "went into the woods the other day," and thought he was going to get stuck there in the drifts, like "a Snow Image," and have to wait "till spring came."

Remember me kindly to your good father, Master Julian, and Good Bye, and may Heaven always bless you, & may you be a good boy and become a great good man. 111 .

6. Correspondence with His Family and Others

In 1929, the most considerable body of Melville's

110 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 447.

111 Ibid., p. 447.

letters, ever to be printed at one time, appeared in "Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904," in volume thirty-three of the Bulletin of the New York Public Library.¹¹² Edited with scholarly care by Mr. Victor Hugo Paltsits, and likewise, by him, abundantly supplied with valuable notes, no less than forty-eight of Melville's letters were published, together with, about sixty letters, drafts of letters, or extracts from letters, by his father; his brother, Gansevoort; his wife; his Uncle Peter Gans^evoort; his brother-in-law, George Griggs; his cousins, Henry Gansevoort and Catherine Gansevoort Lansing; and the husband of his cousin, Abraham Lansing. All of these letters, and selections from letters, edited by Mr. Paltsits, came from the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection of the New York Public Library.

Of the forty-eight letters, written by Melville, he addressed: nine to his Uncle Peter Gansevoort; three to his sister, Catherine; one to Susan Gansevoort, his uncle's second wife; one to his Uncle Peter and wife, jointly; one to Dix and Edwards, Publishers; twenty-three to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing; one to his mother; seven to Abraham Lansing; one to Abraham Lansing and his wife, jointly; and one to his brother-in-law, John C. Hoadley.

¹¹² Victor Hugo Paltsits, Editor, "Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904," in the Bulletin of the New York Library, Vol. 33, Nos. 7 and 8, issues of July and August, 1929, pp. 507-525 and 575-625.

The earliest letter written by Melville, which Mr. Paltsits prints, was written from "Pittsfield Dec 31st 1837,"¹¹³ and addressed to his Uncle Peter Gansevoort, of Albany. Melville, at eighteen, was a country school teacher in Pittsfield, and this was the letter that he promised to write his uncle **when he left Albany**, in the fall, to begin his work. He told his uncle that he had about thirty "scholars," and they were of all ages, and sizes, ranks, characters, and education. He described the location of the school, and the surrounding rural scenery; described the "Yankee character" of the man with whom he was living; and thanked his uncle for the books he had given him. The books had been very useful to him, he said, especially John Taylor's District School, which he discussed at some length - so much so, that he added, humorously: "But I have almost usurped the province of the Edinburgh Review."¹¹⁴ His misspelling of the word, review, was only one of many such errors, made by the young pedagogue in his rather long, but not uninteresting letter.

The other eight letters to his uncle were written over a period of twenty-five years, and cover a wide variety of subjects. The one from "Lansingburgh June 13, 1846," was concerned with the financial arrangements for the funeral of

113 Ibid., p. 509. The Letter is "Postmarked at Pittsfield, Mass., 'Dec. 30'."

114 Ibid., p. 511.

his brother, Gansevoort, who had died in London on May 12, 1846.

Yesterday I received a letter from the Secretary of State - stating that Mr. McLane was authorized to charge £ 50 (\$250) to the contingent expenses of the Legation for the funeral expenses of Gansevoort. - This will cover every thing, & leave enough to bestow some testimonial of an esteem upon Mrs. Mansfield, & to remunerate the colored man who tended Gansevoort during his illness. - So that all that matter, I rejoice to think is happily settled. . . . 115

Several times during his lifetime Melville made energetic, but unsuccessful, attempts to obtain appointments to government positions at home and abroad. In 1847, five months before his marriage to Elizabeth Shaw, he made an effort to secure a post in the Treasury Department at Washington; in 1853, he tried for a consular appointment; and again, in 1861, he made a bid for a consulship while Lincoln was president. All of these efforts proved in vain, and it was not until early in December, of 1866, that he succeeded in obtaining a comparatively minor, but much appreciated post, as District Inspector of Customs at the port in New York City.

His letter from "New York Feb 3d '47," informed his uncle that he had heard "that by the passage of the new Loan Bill a number of additional officers" would "be at once created in the Treasury Department at Washington . . ." Therefore,

he had decided to go to the nation's capital and apply for one, and if he did "not succeed in this specific object," he would "express such claims as" he had "upon some other point."¹¹⁶

From "Pittsfield March 15th 1861," he wrote that it "had suggested" to him that "he might procure some foreign appointment under the new Administration - the consulship at Florence, for example." He said that "in many respects such an appointment would be desirable" for him, "altho' the emoluments are not very considerable." Nevertheless, he intended to apply, and he was writing to his uncle "for the purpose of enlisting" his "kind offices, which," he said, he knew his uncle would cheerfully render . . ."¹¹⁷ He said that he planned to stop at Albany, on his way to New York, in order to consult with his uncle concerning the matter.

When Melville arrived in New York and enquired at the Astor for Mr. Thurlow Weed, whom he hoped might help him, he learned that Mr. Weed had returned to Albany. He then wrote Mr. Weed a letter and asked his aid in obtaining the appointment at Florence. This letter, bearing the same date as the one he wrote to his uncle, from "New York March 20th 1861," was enclosed in his uncle's letter, with the request that his Uncle Peter write Mr. Weed a note and enclose his. "I think you can thus greatly aid me," he wrote. "But it ought to be

116 Ibid., p. 515.

117 Ibid., pp. 520-521.

done immediately. A very brief note will answer, so it be strong & urgent."¹¹⁸ He told his uncle that he was leaving for Washington, the next day, and letters would reach him there "any time during the next ten days."

From "Gansevoort Aug. 10th 1861," where Melville and his wife were visiting for a few days with his Uncle Herman, who was ill, he wrote his Uncle Peter that they were returning to Pittsfield, on ~~Wed~~nesday, and wished to spend the time between trains, in Albany, with them, "if you and Aunt Susan will let us," he said. Then he gave the following report on his Uncle Herman's condition: "I am glad to say, that Uncle Herman, although feeble, and almost entirely confined to his sofa during the day, is yet, for the most part, free from pain, has a pretty good appetite, and sleeps well."¹¹⁹

Melville and his wife missed seeing his Uncle Peter and family, in passing through Albany; so Melville wrote, hurriedly, from "Pittsfield, Aug. 15th 1861," to express their regrets, and to say that he was not "able, at present, to fix upon a time for a visit to Albany, with Lizzie," as his uncle had kindly proposed.

From what Melville said in the last paragraph of his letter, it appears that he and his wife missed seeing the Gansevoorts because they were at hockaway. Melville concluded

118 Ibid., p. 521.

119 Ibid., p. 522.

this paragraph with a touch of his humor - drawn, it might be said, from the sea:

. . . I hope, My Dear Uncle, that you will find good weather, good company, and good wine, where you are. Tell Aunt Susan & Kitty that I wish them a continuation of clear cheeks and sparkling eyes, & that the best way to insure it, is to roll night and morning in the surf at Rockaway. Owing to this sort of exercises, the porpoises, they say, have very fine skin, & enjoy admirable health. 120

In November, of 1867, Thomas Melville was elected Governor of Sailor's Snug Harbor on Staten Island. From this time until Tom's death, sixteen years later, Melville, as well as other members of the family, spent many pleasant hours visiting and being entertained at Tom's house. He had not long returned from such a visit when he wrote to his uncle from "New York, June 12, '70," to thank him for "a handsomely painted engraving of the hero of Fort Stanwix," Colonel Peter Gansevoort, Jr. He told his uncle that Tom had handed him the engraving, "saying that he was acting upon your request & that I was to regard it as a gift from Uncle Peter." Therefore, he said, "I write this to offer my acknowledgments for your kindness, and to say how much I prize it."¹²¹

On Christmas Day, 1871, Melville learned from his sister, Augusta, that on her last visit to their uncle's house,

120 Ibid., p. 522.

121 Ibid., p. 577.

he had enquired why Melville did not come to see him and did not write to him. Almost immediately, Melville wrote to his uncle to offer an explanation. He wrote the letter from his office in New York, on the "Day after Christmas, 1871," and he explained that he only had two weeks' vacation, which he took in the summer. Last summer he spent his vacation at North Conway with his wife; thus, he did not pass through Albany. "During the coming season," however, he hoped "to have the pleasure of revisiting Albany." Then, he gave his uncle a description of the family Christmas party at Tom's house:

Yesterday (Christmas) we all dined on Staten Island at Tom's who gave us a bountiful and luxurious banquet. It was a big table, belted round by big appetites and bigger hearts, but the biggest of all the hearts, was at the head of the table - being big with satisfaction at seeing us enjoying ourselves. Mamma looked uncommonly well; and Helen, Augusta, Kate, (two Kates), Fanny, Minnie, Lottie, Frankie, Bessie, Fanny, Stanny, Mr. Hoadley, Mr. Griggs, not excluding the present modest writer - we all looked well indeed.

Among the toasts Uncle Peter was remembered, Aunt Susan & Cousin Kate; nor was Henry forgotten. Tom offered that toast to his memory. 122

The Henry, to whose memory Tom offered the toast, was the late Colonel Henry Sanford Gansevoort, first cousin to Melville and Tom, and the son of their Uncle Peter. Melville's letter to his Aunt Susan, written from "New York Jan. 15, '71" - about a year before the one above, to his uncle - is concerned

with the serious state of Henry's health during his last illness, on the island of Nassau, where he had gone in December, 1870. Melville had unpleasant news to report, which he had received from Ellen Marett Gifford, and his letter to Susan Gansevoort was not an easy one to write, especially since other reports had been favorable:

When Henry left here I gave him a note of introduction to Mrs. Gifford, a cousin of Lizzie's now spending the winter at Nassau for her health. She has very kindly written me in reply.

I enclose the letter to you. I felt some reluctance in so doing until Allan happened to inform me this evening of Abraham Lansing's leaving here for Havana, and that you had heard so favorable things of Henry from some passenger in the last steamer from Nassau. . . . 123

In one of his very helpful footnotes, Mr. Paltsits writes:

"It was soon determined by the family to send his [Henry's] sister, Catherine, to him. She arrived at Nassau on January 16th, and found her brother in the throes of consumption, from which he died on the way home, on April 12, 1871. While they were at Nassau, Abraham Lansing paid them a visit, as shown in her diary of 1871." 124

Melville's letter "To Uncle Peter and Aunt Susan," jointly, was really a note, left at the Gansevoort house, in Albany, on "Tuesday 18th Sep. 1855 2½ P. M." It was a stormy day, and the occasion was another one of those stop-over-visits,

123 Ibid., p. 578.

124 Ibid., p. 578.

between trains - this time, Melville and his mother were the travellers. They too, had the misfortune of finding the Gansevoorts absent from home. "However," wrote Melville, "your people have kindly cared for the travellers, so after a pleasant lunch we are off on the afternoon train, spite the storm."¹²⁵

From New York City, on "Jan^y 20th 1845," Melville wrote a long, delightful letter to his sister, Catherine, whom he always called, "Kate." The letter, which begins as follows, is really a little essay on his sister's name:

What a charming name is yours - the most engaging I think in our whole family circle. - I don't know how it is precisely, but I have always been partial to this particular appellation & can not avoid investing the person who bears it, with certain quite captivating attributes; so, when I hear of Kate such a one - whether it be Kate Smith or Kate Jones, or Kate Any Body Else I invariably impute to the said Kate all manner of delightful characteristics. - Not, that terms of general admiration will do at all, when applied to the Clan - Kate - for the Kates, D'you see, are a peculiar race, & are distinguished by peculiar attributes. - Thus, the Kates as a general rule are decidedly handsome, but if we may not speak of this beauty in terms of unqualified admiration, they still will be found to incline towards good looks, and at any rate, they are never positively ugly. . . . 126

However, he said, "'Fine Feathers dont make fine birds' & 'Handsome is, that handsome does';" thus, if Kates only had beauty and nothing else, he "would not give a fig for a Kate, any more than" he "would for a Gloriana Arabella Matilda," but,

125 Ibid., pp. 515-516

126 Ibid., p. 511.

he said, "mere beauty is among the least of the manifold merits of the Kates."

Melville continued, in this manner, for almost another page, praising the Kates for beauty, modesty, good cheer, and amiability. Then, he said: "Come, Come, . . . and confess that the Kates are better than the Pollies, & you the best of the Kates."¹²⁷

This sister, Catherine, married John C. Hoadley on September 15, 1853, and they became the parents of two daughters. Melville's next two letters to her - given by Mr. Paltsits - were written nearly twenty years after her marriage. From New York, on the "3d day after Xmas, 1881," he wrote to thank her for a "little vase" - no doubt, a Christmas present. "It is on my mantle," he said, "and contributes much to the embellishments thereof, and I value it as your gift." He closed the letter "with kind regards to John & love to the girls," but it is in the first short paragraph, that we find a touch of Melville's humor, in the reference to his bad handwriting:

Dont be alarmed by these beautiful flourishes of mine; I have been recently improving my penmanship by lessons from a High Dutch professor who teaches all the stylish flourishes imaginable. 128

The last letter was written on "April 12 '82," and told

127 Ibid., p. 512.

128 Ibid., p. 613.

his sister that he had just learned that she and her husband planned to visit in the New York vicinity during the coming week, and he wanted them to spend some time with them. "Well," he said, "I write at once to say that, altho', I suppose, you will spend days with Tom, you must not fail - you & John - to spend a portion of the time with us."¹²⁹

The single letter to a publishing firm, included by Mr. Paltsits, was written by Melville to Dix and Edwards. He mailed it from "Pittsfield, March 24th [1856]," during the time when The Piazza Tales was going through the press. In it, he sent the proofs and a copy of the publishing agreement. Although it is a business letter, it is particularly interesting for Melville's comment on punctuation, which it contains. Of the proofs, he wrote:

There seem to have been a surprising profusion of commas in these proofs. I have struck them out pretty much; but hope that some one who understands punctuation better than I do, will give the final hand to it. 130

Anyone who reads the "Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904," must soon observe that Melville was very fond of his first cousin, Catherine Gansevoort, and that this feeling, on his part, was reciprocated by her. About nineteen years younger than he, she was his Uncle Peter's daughter, and

129 Ibid., p. 613.

130 Ibid., p. 516.

the sister of Henry Canford Gansevoort. In 1873, she married Abraham Lansing. She enjoyed Melville's company; was very friendly with his wife, Elizabeth; and was a rather frequent visitor to their New York home, during the years after Melville obtained his post at the customhouse. "In her diary of 1868," writes Mr. Paltsits, "Catherine Gansevoort made these observations:"

"Saturday Aug 15th Cousin Herman Melville arrived this A. M. from Gansevoort . . . Herman is so interesting in conversation." . . . 131

We have noted, already, that of the forty-eight Melville letters, edited by Mr. Paltsits, twenty-three, or nearly half, of them were written to Catherine Gansevoort. These letters are on many subjects, naturally, but Melville's fondness for his cousin is plainly evident in all of them. Not infrequently, he addresses her as "Incomparable Kate," or "Inimitable Kate," but even when this is not the case, the general tone of his expression indicates that he is writing to a person whom he admires very much.

The first and second letters in the series, were somewhat typical of many of the others that followed. In the first one, written from "Pittsfield Feb. 17th 1863," he thanked her for sending him pictures of their Gansevoort grandparents; gave

his frank opinion of each photograph; and mentioned having visited her brother, Henry, who was a lieutenant in the army, at that time.

Upon returning from New York I was made happy by finding your note enclosing the pictures. The one of our grandmother is clear and admirable. But alas for the Hero of Fort Stanwix!

Photographically rendered, he seems under a net of eclipse, emblematic perhaps of the gloom which his spirit may feel in looking down upon this dishonorable epoch - But dont let us become too earnest. A very bad habit.

The other day, be it known unto you, Incomparable Kate, I went with Allan and his wife to Fort Hamilton, where we saw Lieutenant Henry Gansevoort of the U. S. Artillery. He politely led us to the ramparts, pointing out all objects of interest. He looked well and war-like, cheerfully embarked in the career of immortality. I saw him upon two other occasions, and dined with him at Allan's one Sunday. 132

The second letter, written from "Arrowhead," now owned by his brother, "Aug 18th 1868," contained an apology for rushing off, from Albany, without bidding her good-bye. "However," he wrote, "here-in- if you have the faith to perceive - you will find enclosed a cousinly salute, which I entreat you to appropriate." The ride to Pittsfield was pleasant, he said, and he found his wife and children there when he arrived. Allan's family was away "for a few days, leaving only Kate to preside. "But", said he, "Kate, like all the Kates, inherits

the good old Dutch talent for house-keeping, and takes good care of us." He sent his "affectionate remembrances" to her parents; hoped Uncle Peter enjoyed his ride; and said that he would "not soon forget" his "most agreeable visit to Albany, full of diversified pleasure." Then, in a lighter manner, he wrote:

The country hereabouts is looking as fresh as - yourself. I was going to say a rose, but chose the more appropriate comparison. However, I must cease this strain, for Lizzie just sat down by me and may catch me at it, and consider that I slightly (as) it may be, exceed the due limits of cousinly compliments. So here is the end of the page, and my note. 133

His letter of "Sep^t 9th [1868], from New York, opened and closed with her being addressed as, "Inimitable Kate." He said he was unable to find "the newspaper account of our Cousin Guert." This cousin, a son of Leonard Gansevoort, had died in July, of 1868. "During my two week's absence," Melville wrote, "the apartment underwent a horrible cleaning & setting-to-rights, which means putting things where one can't find 'em."¹³⁴ The rest of the letter contained references to his son, Stanny, who was suffering with a cold, and, his daughter, Lizzy-Ann, whom, he said, was wilful, and he couldn't make mind.

On "May 29th [1870?] 4 P. M.," he hurriedly dispatched a note to tell Kate that he and his wife would "be glad indeed

133 Ibid., pp. 523-524.

134 Ibid., p. 524.

to have" her "stay with them" as long as she pleased. "We shall be a little crowded," he said, "but on these occasions, the more the merrier, you know."¹³⁵ He told her that he had just met his mother at the station, and learned from her, of Kate's plans to visit them.

In his letter, of "Dec. 9, '72," he called Kate an angel, in thanking her for the silver soup ladle which she gave them as a memorial of their Silver Wedding Anniversary. "Lizzie and I will ever think of you at our soup;" he wrote, "and I shall always pour out a libation from the tureen to the angelic donor, before helping a mere vulgar broth-bibling mortal like myself."¹³⁶

From "Gansevoort, Aug. - '75," Melville wrote Kate a frank letter, criticising the photograph of Henry, which she had selected for use in his biography, A Memorial of Henry Sanford Gansevoort, which John C. Hoadley was preparing. "Now let me say, that the engraving you showed me of Henry, meant for a book, is detestable," he wrote. He said that a photograph which he had just seen in the parlor, that had been his mother's, was just the one to be used. "It is he, and is not bad-looking, and it has character." To this, he added:

135 Ibid., p. 577.

136 Ibid., p. 581.

Michael, the angel of truth, inspired me to write this to you on the instant. - Take it for what its worth, and so good bye. 137

But after learning, from his sister, Fanny, that John C. Hoadley also disliked the engraving, he added a postscript to his letter, to tell her this, and to say: "There's confirmation. - Stop tinkering, and do the right thing, I pray you, and impute to the right motive my outspokenness."¹³⁸

His brief note, from New York, "Oct. 8, '75," expressed his happiness in learning that she had been "pleased with the book of the sainted queen." The book he was referring to, was "an inscribed copy . . . of The Life of St. Elizabeth, of Hungary, by Montalembert, translated by Mary Mackett," which Melville himself had given to her.¹³⁹

On his way to Gansevoort for a two-week vacation, Herman Melville stopped in Albany on the morning of August 8, 1875, for a brief visit with his Uncle Peter and family. He remained a day longer than he had planned, and did not arrive in Gansevoort until the evening of August ninth. It was during this brief visit, evidently, that his Uncle Peter volunteered to pay, in full, the publication cost of Clarel, and soon after Melville's return to New York, he received, through Mr. Lansing, his uncle's check for \$1200, which must have been the amount

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 586.
Footnote, p. 588

¹³⁸ Ibid., p. 586. ¹³⁹ Ibid.,

estimated as being sufficient to cover all expenses. In a letter to his uncle, written from "New York, Aug. 26 '75," he acknowledged the receipt of the gift, with deep appreciation.

This particular letter to his uncle does not appear among those printed by Mr. Paltsits, but it is found in Mr. Thorp's Representative Selections. We quote from it here, rather than later, because of its definite bearing upon, and relationship to, other letters written during the months that followed:

Last evening I received through a note from Mr. Lansing a check for \$1200, which he says you requested him to send me. - I shall at once deposit the money in a savings Bank, there to remain till needed for the purpose designed.

And now, my Dear Uncle, in receiving this generous gift from you, so much enhanced by the circumstances, I feel the same sentiments which I expressed to you in person at Albany when you so kindly made known your intention. I will not repeat them here; but only pray God to bless you, and have you in His keeping. 140

Peter Gansevoort did not live to see a printed copy of the book, made possible by his generosity. He died on January 4, 1876, almost exactly five months before Clarel, came from the press, "justly and affectionately . . . inscribed with his name."

The precise date of Clarel's publication, is found in

140 Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 403.

a letter, written by Melville's wife, from "New York June 4 1876," to Catherine Gansevoort:

Congratulate us, for the book was published yesterday after a series of the most vexatious delays - I have only been waiting to reply to your note, to be able to say this - Herman will write you and I hope, send you a copy - (or perhaps he will by-and-by if he does not now) for I know you will value it -
 . . ." 141

Elizabeth's letter, on its way to Albany, crossed one written by Kate, in which she mentioned a visit to New York, planned for the middle of June, while her husband was away. Elizabeth answered this, on "June 6th 1876," and invited Kate to "pass all the time of Abe's absence" with them. Since she failed to mention Clarel's title, in her previous letter, she wrote:

The name of the book, I enclose, and am sorry I omitted it yesterday - Should have written you before but wanted to be able to say the book was published -

. . .

As soon as you see the book, let us know how you like the dedication - and if you do not think it what would have been pleasing to your dear father - How I wish he could have lived to hold the volumes in his hand! 142

Having supplied - from the letters of Elizabeth Shaw

141 Victor Hugo Paltsits, Editor, "Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904," p. 590.

142 Ibid., p. 591.

Melville - some important facts regarding the publication of Clarel, we now return to Melville's correspondence with his cousin, Kate, during the summer of 1876. Since Clarel was published in June, we are not surprised to find, that many of the letters, of this period, are concerned with that event.

Although her father, before his death, had provided Melville with the full amount of the estimated publishing cost of Clarel, Catherine Gansevoort insisted on paying for all additional charges that might arise, and exceed the estimated sum. She believed that her father meant to pay the complete actual publication cost of Clarel, and she was determined that his intentions should be carried out. She mentioned this to Melville, verbally, and in writing, and his letter to her, of "June 5, '76," in which he stated, "you do not know how deeply I felt the sincere tone of your note to me, Cousin Kate," was his reply to orally and written statements, of this kind, that she had recently made. He continued:

You repeat, and with added emphasis, what you verbally said to me at the depot here last April, as to carrying out your father's intention: I appreciate your fidelity, my cousin. - But though the matter is not developed into a clear statement rendered, I think now, as before, that nothing more is necessary. - When are we to see you here next? Come down before the heat fairly begins. 143

Kate would not be satisfied with this; so, in his

letter of "July 25, '76," Melville had to give her the following, more specific statement:

As it turned out, the 1200 covered the printing expenses, with a fraction to spare. But the supplementary charges - not long ago brought to my attention - against the account of the book - advertising &c, and customary copies distributed for advertising purposes - will make a difference with me in any receipts to come, of about one hundred dollars.

Whether this comes within the scope of Uncle Peter's design or not, I do not venture to determine. But enough. 144

Melville meant, by his, "But enough" - enough about the cost of Clarel, for there is much more in his long letter. He thanked her for her "repeated invitation" to them, to visit her; mentioned his recent visit to Tom's, at Sailors' Snug Harbor; commented on "how tragical a thing that oversetting of the yacht," was; and said, on his way to Tom's, "We passed the wreck in the boat - the two masts projecting from the water." Then, after sending "kindest remembrances to Abraham," and love to Fanny, he closed with: "And now, accept this note in testimony that as regards your cousinly interest in me I am neither insensible nor incredulous." 145

From "(Albany, July 31, 1876)," Kate made immediate answer, and enclosed her check for one hundred dollars. "Cousin H.," she said:

144 Ibid., p. 592.

145 Ibid., p. 592.

Herewith I send a check to meet the balance due for Clarel's publication.

I beg you to receive it as a contribution of my father's to that object. He desired it, & for that reason I am the more earnest in having his wishes fulfilled. 146

On "Aug. 2, '76," Melville thanked her for her letter "of July 31 enclosing check for the \$100." He said the postman had just handed it to him, "and, while the first impulse stirs me, I square round to my desk to tell you - however briefly - how deeply I feel the frank and affectionate spirit which penetrates it. I wont say anything more - only this: that I heartily reciprocate your wish that we may always be true and sincere friends. Amen!"¹⁴⁷

Kate's husband, Abraham Lansing, had a genuine interest in books and was continually adding volumes to his private collection. Melville, being familiar with the second-hand book dealers in Nassau Street, was often asked to be on the look-out for books which Lansing desired. His letter, of "Aug. 27. - P. M. [1876]," is concerned with some volumes of "the venerable Chaucer," which Kate had commissioned him to purchase for Abraham, if he saw them. Hence, he wrote, as follows:

146 Ibid., p. 592.

147 Ibid., p. 593.

Passing thro' Nassau st. to-day I chanced upon a good set of the poet, at a very moderate price - (\$4) and, as these things are fugitive, I snapped it up immediately, and ordered it to be sent by express to 115 Wash. Ave. Albany. - What with his other volumes Chaucerian, Abraham will now have quite a variorum library of the old poet who didn't know how to spell, as Artemus Jard said. 148

The second part of the letter was addressed to Lansing, and concerned the proposed change in the name of an Albany hotel, owned by the Gansevoort family, from "Stanwix Hall" to "Fort Stanwix Hotel." Melville said he thought "that 'The Fort Stanwix Hotel'" was "the right thing. You need a change." The old name was indefinite, he said. "'Fort Stanwix Hotel'. That is genuine, historic, natural, and purely American. It avoids the snobbish imitation of English names to our N. Y. Hotels. It sets a good example. It is the thing."¹⁴⁹

The letter, of "Sep. 8 [1876]," was about another Chaucer volume, which Lansing wanted, but did "not wish to pay the 'Scribner' price for the book." Melville told Kate that he would "keep a look out for a fair copy at the Nassau St prices, & secure it,"¹⁵⁰ if he found it. If he did not find a suitable copy before their October visit to New York, all three of them could, he said, "take council together touching the matter and doubtless hit upon some wise decision."

148 Ibid., p. 593.

149 Ibid., pp. 593-594.

150 Ibid., p. 594.

In the next letter, dated "Sep. 13, '76," we learn that the matter, regarding who should pay for the supplementary charges of Clarel, is brought up again. Evidently, Melville had never been quite pleased with himself for accepting Kate's check for the additional one hundred dollars; thus, he wrote:

I have upon consideration determined that as touching the provision for the publication of "Clarel," it is best to restrict myself to what Uncle Peter so kindly presented me with in person, as I may say. By your subsequent supplemental act you faithfully carried out what, as you averred, was your father's directions or wishes: you are irreproachable there; and anything that I can do or have now done, does not and can not revoke that affectionate act of yours, while yet my action operates in a way favorable to the unembarrassed freedom of mutual good will. (Rather 'tall writing,' that last clause). 151

What Melville had done, was this: he dared not insult his cousin by returning her check; so, he had contributed it, in her name, to a charitable organization, The New York Society for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled, and had enclosed the receipt for her contribution in this letter to her.

On "Sept. 17th 1876," Kate answered this letter, and said: "I should have been glad to have you allow Papa to pay the whole expense of 'Clarel,' but as you have thought best to assume part you(r) self I thank you for the gift you have bestowed on me, in giving me the credit for your own 'sweet charity' to the destitute & suffering. May it do good & give

comfort to those unfortunates for whose good it has been bestowed. . ."¹⁵²

In his letter, of "Sep. 26, '76," Melville said he was glad to learn that Kate, Abe, and Fanny, planned to stop with his family on their "way to the Centennial" in Philadelphia. He told her, also, that "A man in Nassau St." could procure for him, a new Bell edition of Chaucer for six dollars. "What say you? If yes, I will invest. I think Abe will hardly do better."¹⁵³ He thanked her for the pears, she had sent; and said they were very good at breakfast.

The next letter, "Oct. 12, '76," mentioned the Chaucer set again. It "is in eight vols. - good print," he said, "same edition as mine - Bell's - but it is perfect." However, since "the Nassau St. man" could get it for him any time, he would let it wait until they stopped on their "return from the Centennial." He said that he spent yesterday at the Centennial - "went & returned same day; you will be much impressed with it; it is immense - a sort of tremendous Vanity Fair."¹⁵⁴ He closed with a favorable comment on an unnamed poem, written by Alfred Killings Street, of Albany.

Sometime before "March 7th '77," when Melville's next letter was written, Catherine Gansevoort Lansing reimbursed

152 Ibid., pp. 595-596.

153 Ibid., p. 597.

154 Ibid., p. 597.

him for the one hundred dollars he had contributed, in her name, to the charitable organization, and thereby reopened the contest between them as to who should make the final payment on Clarel's publication cost. Her action caused Melville to write her as follows:

. . . You should have let that matter of the \$100 rest where it was left for a finality last summer. Your subsequent letter - not very long ago - re-inclosing the money, made such an appeal to me, and placed the matter on such grounds as to make declination difficult without an appearance of obstinacy and rudeness. But I repent my assent. - And I revoke it. Be prepared therefore, sooner or later I beg you, to receive the money back without comment. Should you return it, some Charity will receive it, and down goes your name again for the Lady Bountiful of Albany. 155

He said that if she desired his "cousinly disposition" toward her to remain unimpaired, she would have to indulge him in his whim, if she wished to call it such. "Indeed," he said, "you are welcome to almost any opinion, except that I am prompted by the remotest thought of wounding you, or any absurd idea of setting up for myself a spurious dignity."¹⁵⁶

Sixteen days later, Catherine Gansevoort Lansing wrote the following note in the margin of Melville's letter:

Saturday June 23d 1877 - Cousin Herman gave me the 100-Dollars which he in this note said he would refund to me. Given to me at his house 104 E. 26th St N. Y. City & ack by me by mail a few days afterward. K. G. L. 157

155 Ibid., p. 600. 156 Ibid., p. 600 157 Ibid., p. 600

From Melville's letter, of "Sep. 5, '77," we learn that Abraham Lansing finally received his set of Chaucer, for Melville was acknowledging two letters from Kate: in one, she said the set had come; and in the other, she enclosed the price of the set.

Melville had just returned from his vacation, and he told Kate that he found her letter of August ninth, awaiting him. He said it must have arrived the day he left; so, he was replying to that letter also. In this letter of hers, Kate had expressed some objection to being classified as a person of leisure, and this not only amused Melville, but caused him to make the following comment:

. . . So it appears that I used in my letter to you the expression 'people of leisure.' If I did, it was a faulty expression - as applied in that case. I doubtless meant people the disposition of whose time is not subject to another. But it amused me - your disclaiming the thing, as if there was any merit in not being a person of leisure. Whoever is not in the possession of leisure can hardly be said to possess independence. They talk of the dignity of work. Bosh. True work is the necessity of poor humanity's earthly condition. The dignity is in leisure. Besides 99hundredth of all the work done in the world is either foolish and unnecessary, or harmful and wicked. But bless my heart! I am scribbling here at a pretty rate. I will stop at once; and promise never to do so again. 158

Prior to "Aug 1, '78," Kate had told Melville of her desire to present a copy of A Memorial of Henry Sanford Gansevoort to the Lenox Library, in New York. In his brief

letter, of above date, he informed her that he would gladly act as her agent, and take the book to the library, if she sent it to him by express.

By "Aug. 6, '78," when he wrote to her again, he had received the "Memorial Volume" and had taken it to the library. He reported that the library closed for the season, and he did not see Mr. Moore, the librarian, but the janitor admitted him, and the book was left with this custodian "in perfect security." He said, also, that he left "a brief note for Mr. Moore," stating that he would "call again & say something to him especially about the gift." Then, he added: "By the way, it is a beautiful copy; and upon my first opening the parcel in the janitor's presence, he exclaimed admiringly at the binding."¹⁵⁹ In closing, he gladly accepted her invitation to stay over "Saturday & Sunday next" at her home, in Albany. He said he would take the Thursday night boat, and probably arrive in time for breakfast.

On returning from his brief visit, he wrote, on "Aug. 12 [1878]," as follows: "I enjoyed myself very much while with you - in fact, so much, that upon returning to this solitary house the loneliness is enhanced. I dont know that I shall visit you & Abraham again, if the eventual result is but an augmentation of the blues."¹⁶⁰ He said that he found two

159 Ibid., p. 607.

160 Ibid., p. 608.

letters, when he returned: "one from Lizzie & one from a young gentleman by the name of Thomas. The latter dated his note from Cops (?) Hill. Curious coincidence - Fanny is there." This "curious coincidence" of his, was perhaps a touch of Melville's humor, for the "Fanny," mentioned by him, was his daughter, and the "young gentleman by the name of Thomas," two years later became his son-in-law.

In his letter, of "Nov. 26 [1878]," he expressed regrets for himself, Bessie, and Fanny, that they could not accept Kate's Thanksgiving invitation, "seeing that it is arranged already," he said, "that we are to have a little Thanksgiving affair here, of which 'the young man' will of course be the central figure."¹⁶¹ Mr. Thomas, the "young gentleman," of the previous letter, was, without doubt, "the young man," to whom he was referring in this one.

The final letter, written by Melville to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, which Mr. Paltsits included in his edition of the "Family Correspondence," was dated, "April 15, '80," and was a reply to Kate's "note announcing the decease of Mr. John Lansing," the older brother of her husband, Abraham. "How sudden the event," wrote Melville. "Express to Abraham the true sympathies of all of us. - Though I met Mr. John Lansing but two or three times, yet each time I was most

161 Ibid., p. 609.

agreeably impressed with his intelligence and social disposition."¹⁶² Melville was sorry that the restrictions imposed upon him by his job at the customhouse, would make it impossible for him to attend the funeral. "Even on the occasion of the 5th," he said, "I was not at perfect liberty for the day."¹⁶³ On April 5, 1880, the marriage of his younger daughter, Fanny, to Mr. Henry B. Thomas, had occurred, and this was "the occasion of the 5th," to which he referred.

Mr. Paltsits gives us one letter, that was written by Melville to his mother. He wrote it, from "New York, May 5, '70," in response to a wish which she expressed, in her last letter to hear from him again before she left Albany. Melville told his mother that he "had not been dilatory about the portrait;" he had "already had two sittings;" and it was "getting on." He told her that Stanwix had not written since they received "his London letter in February," but they expected, daily, to hear from him again, "tho' boylike he may not think how anxiously we await it;" and he said that "Lizzie and the girls" were well, "and for some time past" had been devoting "themselves to the shrine of Fashion."

Such were the details regarding family matters, which the letter contained, but of wider interest and import was the following account - accompanied by his comment - which he gave

162 Ibid., p. 612.

163 Ibid., p. 612.

of a recent experience:

The other day I visited out of curiosity, the Gansevoort Hotel, corner of "Little twelfth Street" and West Street. I bought a paper of tobacco by way of introducing myself: Then I said to the person who served me: "Can you tell me what this word 'Gansevoort' means? is it the name of a man? and if so, who was this Gansevoort?" Thereupon a solemn gentleman at a remote table spoke up: "Sir," said he, putting down his newspaper, "this hotel and the street of the same name are called after a very rich family who in old times owned a great deal of property hereabouts." The dense ignorance of this solemn gentleman, - his knowing nothing of the hero of Fort Stanwix, aroused such an indignation in my breast, that disdainingly to enlighten his benighted soul, I left the place without further colloquy. Repairing to the philosophic privacy of the District Office, I then moralized upon the instability of human glory and the evanescence of many other things. 164.

The seven letters, given by Mr. Paltsits, which Melville wrote to Kate's husband, Abraham Lansing, are concerned with: matters pertaining to various business transactions; books, other than the "set" by the "Venerable Chaucer;" and invitations, visits, and other social topics.

When Melville's Uncle Peter and family learned that he would stop over for a brief visit, in Albany, on his way to Gansevoort for his vacation, in August of 1875, Abraham Lansing sent Melville a note stating that he would meet him at the wharf. Melville's reply to him, from "New York, Aug. 5, '75," is interesting for its revelation of the author's

modesty and humor:

. . . I thank you for the prospective welcome. But as for meeting me on the wharf - dont mention it. When the Shah of Persia or the Great Khan of Tartary comes to Albany by the night-boat - him meet on the wharf and with salvoes of artillery - but not a Custom House Inspector. 165

He said, also, that he should have informed Kate, that he would "not appear upon the scene till some time after breakfast - since on Sunday morning" his appetite would "be clamorous at an hour too early for any rational household to satisfy." And his next statement seems to indicate that, as usual, he was travelling light. "As for my plunder or impedimenta," he said, "I shall carry nothing but what I take in my hand."¹⁶⁶

Melville's unusual travelling habits had amazed Hawthorne back in 1856, when the two friends saw each other in England, where Melville made a brief stop on his way to the Holy Land. "He sailed on Tuesday," wrote Hawthorne, "leaving a trunk behind him, and taking only a carpet-bag to hold all his travelling-gear. This is the next best thing to going naked . . ." ¹⁶⁷ Then, Hawthorne seemed to feel that he could explain how such an amazing thing was possible, and added: "He learned his travelling habits by drifting about, all over the South

165 Ibid., p. 587.

166 Ibid., p. 587.

167 Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, II, p. 136.

Seas, with no other clothes or equipage than a red flannel shirt and a pair of duck trousers. Yet we seldom see men of less criticisable manners than he."¹⁶⁸

Melville's second letter to Abraham, "New York, Aug. 26, '75," thanked him for the letter, with the draft enclosed which he had received the night before. He thanked Lansing and Kate, too, for their "great hospitality and kindness" to him during his Albany visit, and he enclosed a note for his uncle, about which, he said: "Herewith is a note for my uncle, which you - or Cousin Kate will be kind enough to read to him; or seal and deliver; you know best."¹⁶⁹ This brief letter is important because the references, in it, to the draft and the note to his uncle, pertain, no doubt, to the check from his uncle for the publication cost of Clarel, and the letter of thanks, which he wrote to his uncle, and which we have already discussed.

In the next letter, written at the beginning of a new year, "Jan. 2, 1877," a book, a Christmas story, a New Year cake, and an old almanac, are mentioned. The book, one by Beranger, had been sent to Abraham, by Melville, and he said that he was glad to know it pleased him. Of the outside

168 Ibid., p. 136.

169 Victor Hugo Paltsits, Editor, "Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904," p. 567.

appearance of the book, he wrote, "-the volume: a shabby looking little cask, but then, the contents!"¹⁷⁰

Of the Christmas Story, which Abraham had sent to him, he said that he liked it, "especially in the opening portion - the good old Dutch Saint's lamentation over these 'degenerate days' which we account such an 'advance.'"¹⁷¹

He asked Abraham to tell Kate that he and Lizzie received her New Year Cake, "and that we duly appreciated her Christmas kindness. By we I mean Lizzie and myself, the special donees, and also Bessie & Fanny, assistant eatees."¹⁷² Regarding a "venerable almanac," which Abraham, evidently, had sent him, also, he said that he enjoyed looking over it so much, that: "It has set me to getting from Boston a similar almanac which still continues to be published there."

From "Gansevoort Aug. 14 [1877]," he wrote to Kate and Abraham, jointly, to thank them for their "genial hospitality and great kindness" during his "brief visit in Albany." He said that he stopped over for "about three hours or so" at Saratoga Springs, after leaving Albany, and he gave them a concise description of what he did during that time. He added a postscript to apologize for rushing off without calling to pay his "respects to Miss Lansing and Miss Anna. But

170 Ibid., p. 597.

171 Ibid., p. 598.

172 Ibid., p. 598.

apologies are awkward," he said, "and inçredulity is but natural in some circumstances." So, he begged Lansing: "Pray, Abraham, so the fitting thing for me, and redeem me in the good opinion of the ladies."¹⁷³ Another postscript, a common thing in Melville's letters, followed the first one. In this, he had a kind word to say about another poem, by Alfred Billings Street:

I have just been reading in a copy of Frank Leslie's illustrated paper, 'The Old Garden' by Mr. Street. How beautiful, and poetically true to nature it is! It is like a flower-and-fruit piece by some mellow old Fleming. - There, I wont bore you any more. 174

He thanked Lansing for the invitation to visit Albany at Christmas time, in his letter, from "New York Nov. 17, '79," but said they would not be able to accept. "The truth is," he added, "Lizzie is not very robust - and the journey northward at midwinter - why, she rather dreads it."¹⁷⁵

Over a year later, on "Dec. 8, '80," he wrote to say that no member of the family could accept Lansing's "polite invitation to the Reception by the Fort Orange Club." Melville thanked him for the family; then said, "Lizzie is in Boston & Bessie is keeping house, and I am an - old foggy; so none of us can comply, much as we regret it."¹⁷⁶

173 Ibid., p. 604.

175 Ibid., p. 611.

174 Ibid., p. 605.

176 Ibid., p. 612.

His last two letters to Abraham Lansing were business letters. Priscilla Frances Melville, the author's unmarried sister, died on July 9, 1885. Lansing, who was the administrator of her estate, sent Melville her will and a "waiver," on the nineteenth of August. Melville's letter, from "New York Aug. 21st '85," acknowledged the receipt of both, and stated that he had signed the "waiver" and was returning it.

On "March 16 [1889]," Melville sent Lansing, as requested, "the duplicate receipts and the first cheque." This brief letter, and the last one to Abraham Lansing, included by Mr. Paltsits, was concerned also with the business of settling the accounts of his sister's estate. At the bottom of the letter, on the left hand side, Melville added the following statement, proving that one of his old habits remained unbroken: "The first receipt I have destroyed."¹⁷⁷

One interesting letter, from Melville to his brother-in-law, John C. Hoadley, is included in the "Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904," edited by Mr. Paltsits. With our examination of this letter, we conclude our discussion of the forty-eight Melville letters found in this collection.

Professionally, John Chipman Hoadley was a brilliant

177 Ibid., p. 616.

mechanical engineer, but, in a more private way, he was also a man of letters. He and Melville had many intellectual interests in common, and a fine relationship existed between them. In 1853, Hoadley married Catherine Melville, the sister, Kate, upon whose name, Melville wrote the epistolary essay, in 1845. And, in 1870, when Melville wrote his mother that he had "already had two sittings," and the portrait was "getting on," he was referring to a portrait of himself, in progress, which Hoadley had commissioned the artist, Joseph O. Eaton, to paint.

Melville's friendly, good-humored letter to Hoadley, was written on "Saturday in Easter week [March 31] 1877," and opened with the informal greeting, "My Dear fellow." Then, by way of apologizing for his "remissness in allowing" Hoadley's last letter "to remain unanswered so long," he threatened to buy a hair shirt and a scourge, and put "them to use for a week or so, as a penalty." But immediately, he said:

And yet, I might say something in palliation of my incivility. You are young; but I am verging upon three-score, and at times a certain lassitude steals over one - in fact, a disinclination for doing anything except the indispensable. At such moments the problem of the universe seems a humbug, a epistolary obligations mere moonshine, and the - well, nepenthe seems all-in-all. 178

Just how much of this Melville expected his brother-in-law

to take seriously, is not known, but no one could better appreciate the humor at the beginning of the second sentence, than Hoadley. John C. Hoadley was one year older than Melville.

As the letter continued, Melville said that he "had never previously met with" a "legend from Marco Polo" which Hoadley had brought to his attention. He displayed considerable enthusiasm for the piece:

How full of significance it is! And beauty too. These legends of the Old Faith are really wonderful both from their multiplicity and their poetry. They far surpass the stories in the Greek mythologies. Dont you think so? See, for example, the life of St. Elizabeth of Hungary. 179

The Life of St. Elizabeth, of Hungary had impressed Melville to such an extent that he had presented an inscribed copy of the book to his Cousin Kate, and, as we have seen, had said to her, in his letter, of "Oct. 8, '75": "I am glad you were pleased with that book of the sainted queen."

Melville derived a tremendous amount of intellectual exhilaration from his comradeship with men who knew books and had an appreciation for literature. He enjoyed his informal discussions with such men, whether they were engaged in, verbally or through the pages of his letters. He liked a man, of his brother-in-law's cultural stature, to whom he could direct,

in a familiar manner, the following question: "He wins who highest aims': whose translation is that? Tell me."¹⁸⁰

Earlier in the year, Hoadley had sent him an engrossed copy of a poem of twenty-one lines, and, due to Melville's "remissness," he had not before acknowledged it. Therefore, he now said: "Thank you for sending me so beautiful a thing engrossed by your deft & dexterous digits. (The alliteration there was irresistable)"¹⁸¹

But Melville went further than this to show his appreciation for the past favors of his brother-in-law. He sent him one of his original poems, "The Age of the Antonines," which later was to appear, in a much revised form, in Timoleon. His statement, informing Hoadley that he was enclosing the poem, contains a mixture of casual modesty; humble apology; and pretended ignorance of the meaning of his own creation:

In return for your N. S. yarns I send you something I found the other day - came across it in a lot of papers. I remember that the lines were suggested by a passage in Gibbon (Decline & Fall) Have you a copy? Turn to "Antonine" as in index. What the deuce the thing means I dont know; but here it is. 182

The poem was enclosed, but not here; the letter was continued, from this point, with the writer mentioning that there was a

180 Ibid., p. 601.

181 Ibid., p. 601.

182 Ibid., p. 601.

ship on his District, at the customhouse, from Girgate, in Sicily - "The ancient Agrigentum." He said that he heard that the captain of the vessel, whom he had not yet seen, had in his "possession some stones from those magnificent Grecian ruins, and," he said to Hoadley, "I am going to try to get a fragment, however small, if possible, which I will divide with you."¹⁸³

Melville closed his letter, the first time, with: "Best love to Kate & your two Princesses of India;" but immediately, he added a "Side Note," to say that his wife and daughters were well, and, if they knew he was writing, "would send their affectionate remembrances to all." After this, the poem - consisting of three stanzas of ten lines each - was given. Then followed, what Melville called, the "P. S. to the Note -"

Just looked over the accompanying letter which I wrote this morning. It is a queer sort of an absurd scribble, but if it evidences good-fellowship and good feeling, it serves the purpose. You are young (as I said before) but I aint; and at my years, and with my disposition, or rather constitution, one gets to care less and less for everything except downright good feeling. Life is so short, and so ridiculous and irrational (from a certain point of view) that one knows not what to make of it, unless - well, finish the sentence for yourself.

Thine

In these inexplicable fleshly bonds

H. M.

184

183 Ibid., p. 601.

184 Ibid., p. 603.

One other emphatic final note followed: "W. B. I aint crazy."¹⁸⁵

No, Melville was not crazy, despite anything the Julian Hawthornes have said to the contrary, and there was certainly nothing crazy about this letter, written to his personal friend, and brother-in-law, John C. Moadley. It is not even "a queer sort of an absurd scribble," which Melville himself called it; but rather an interesting, informal letter, concerned with literary, quasi-philosophical, and miscellaneous topics; and written by one intellectual friend to another. It is mildly humorous, and amiable throughout, and it definitely "evidences good-fellowship, and good feeling."

After the publication, by Mr. Victor M. Paltsits, in 1929, of the large body of well-edited Melville letters, which we have just discussed, the next letter of Herman Melville to appear, was printed by Mr. Thomas O. Mabbott, in Notes and Queries, in 1932. Actually, this letter was a reprint of an early Melville letter, the text of which, Mr. Mabbott found in "Catalogue 100 of Dauber and Fine, booksellers of New York."

Melville wrote the letter, from "Lansingburgh, July 24, '46," to Dr. William Sprague, minister, author, and collector of autographs. "Being told that you particularly

185 Ibid., p. 603.

desire my autograph," he wrote, "I cheerfully send it . . . But believe me, Dear Sir, I take you to be indeed curious in these autographs, since you desire that of Herman Melville, Lansingburgh, July 24, '46. Now that I think of it, I was charged to write two of them - you remember someone woke one morning and found himself famous. And here ~~am~~ I, just come from hoeing in the garden, writing autographs. . . ." ¹⁸⁶

Melville's tone, in the next letter to be discussed, is not so carefree and gay, but it is witty, nevertheless. In Notes and Queries for December 4, 1937, Mr. John H. Birss published a reprint of an extract from one of Melville's letters, written by him when he was abroad, in 1849, trying to find a publisher for White-Jacket. Mr. Birss states that the extract was pointed out to him by Mr. George Kummer, and that it "appears under the caption, 'Light Touchings,' in Morris and Willis's Home Journal, Jan. 12, 1850, p. 2, cols. 2-3." ¹⁸⁷

On the occasion when the extract from Melville's letter appeared in "Light Touchings," the topic, under discussion in the article, was "International Copyright." Mention was made of the recent English repudiation of copyright, and of the fact

¹⁸⁶ Thomas O. Mabbott, "Herman Melville," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 162, No. 9, issue of February 27, 1932, p. 152.

¹⁸⁷ John H. Birss, "International Copyright: A New Letter of Herman Melville," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 173, No. 23, issue of December 4, 1937, p. 402.

that Herman Melville was one of the first American authors to feel the effect of this action. Melville **went** abroad about the time the action was taken, the article stated, "But knowing nothing of it," was "relying on the proceeds of the English editions of his books for the means of prolonged travel. He writes us that he has abandoned his more extended plans with this disappointment, and will return sooner than he expected -" At this point, in the article, preparation was made for the insertion of the quotation from his letter. The article continues "- but there is one passage of his letter so characteristic that we cannot forbear giving it to the admirers of Typee and Omoo. He says:-"

I very much doubt whether Gabriel enters the portals of heaven without a fee to reter the porter - so i possible is it to travel without money. Some people (999 in 1,000) are very unaccountably shy about confessing to a want of money, as the reason why they do not do this or that; but for my part, I think it such a capital clincher of a reason for not doing a thing, that I out with it, at once - for who can gainsay it? And, what more satisfactory or unanswerable reason can a body give, I should like to know? Besides - though there are numbers of fine fellows, and hearts of blood, in the world, whom Providence hath blessed with purses furlongs in length - yet the class of wealthy people are, in the aggregate, such a mob of gilded dunces, that, not to be wealthy carries with it a certain distinction and nobility. 188

"Light Touchings" was concluded with words of consolation and

encouragement for Melville. The article stated that if he had "but enough to eat and wear, his genius" would "do more for him in England than the largest fortune of New York would do, without it," for money, usually was "most profusely spent for . . . distinction," which, as a man of genius, he already possessed.

Mr. Birss, in reprinting the extract above, gave the title of the journal in which it appeared, and dated the issue, but he made no attempt to give the precise date of Melville's letter, nor to identify the person to whom it was addressed. Mr. Jay Leyda, however, in his more recent studies, 189 has concluded that the Melville letter, from which the extract was quoted, was written, from "[London, 14 December 1849]," and addressed "To Nathaniel Parker Willis."

7. To Elizabeth Melville and Samuel May

The next work published, in which letters written by Melville appeared, was Mr. Willard Thorp's Herman Melville: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes, in 1930. Twenty-one of Melville's letters are printed in Mr. Thorp's book, and they are excellently edited and accompanied by very good notes. Twelve of the letters were written to Evert Duyckinck; three to Hawthorne; and one each,

189 Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, p. 394; and The Melville Log, I, p. 347.

to George Duyckinck, Malcolm Melville, Elizabeth Melville, Samuel Shaw, Peter Gansevoort, and James Dillson. Three of the letters to Evert Duyckinck, and the single letters to George Duyckinck, Elizabeth Melville, Samuel Shaw, and Peter Gansevoort, had not previously been printed until Mr. Thorp's book appeared. In addition to this, Mr. Thorp gave the complete versions and made corrections in the other letters to Evert Duyckinck, which Mr. Linnigerode had published sixteen years before; and he gave the complete letter to Malcolm, part of which Mrs. Metcalf had published, eleven years before.

Of the twenty-one letters published by Mr. Thorp, we have discussed nineteen of them, elsewhere in this study. Only two, then, remain to be considered here: Melville's letter to his wife, Elizabeth; and the letter which he wrote to his wife's brother, Samuel Shaw.

Melville's letter to his wife - which, by the way, is his only letter to her, known to be extant - was written on a "Sunday afternoon," from Washington [March 24, 1861]," while the author was in the nation's capital trying to get a consular appointment under the Lincoln administration. Although he was unable to report any good news with respect to his real mission in Washington, his letter is made interesting by the lively account which he gave his wife of his other experiences in the city. "In the first place," he wrote, "I must say that as yet I have been able to accomplish nothing in the matter of

the consulship." Charles Sumner, whose assistance he planned to solicit in person, he had been unable to see; "in fact," he said, he had not been able "to see any one on the subject."

However, he had attended "a little sort of a party given by the wife of a man connected with one of the Departments," and "had quite a pleasant evening." Some senators, their wives and daughters, and the Vice President and his wife were there. The Vice President's wife, "Mrs. Hamlin is in appearance something like you," he said, "so she struck me at least. I need not add that she was very pleasing in her manner."¹⁹⁰

The night before this, he had attended "the second levee at the White House," and his description of this event and especially what he said about President Abraham Lincoln, are particularly interesting:

There was a great crowd, & a brilliant scene. Ladies in full dress by the hundred. A steady stream of two-&-twos wound thro' the apartments shaking hands with "Old Abe" and immediately passing on. This continued without cessation for an hour & a half. Of course I was one of the shakers. Old Abe is much better looking than [sic] I expected & younger looking. He shook hands like a good fellow - working hard at it like a man sawing wood at so much per cord. Mrs. Lincoln is rather good-looking I thought. The scene was very fine altogether. Superb furniture - flood of light - magnificent flowers - full band of music etc. 191

¹⁹⁰ Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 400.

¹⁹¹ Ibid., pp. 400-401.

He saw or heard "nothing very interesting" on his two visits to the Senate, but was impressed by the beauty of "the two new wings of the Capital." He had spent this Sunday morning "in the park opposite the White House, sunning" himself "on a seat." He said that he was "boarding in a plain home - plain fare plain people - in fact all plain but the road to Florence." Florence was the European city to which he aspired to be appointed consul. "But if nothing else comes of it," he said, "I will at least derive good from the trip at this season. Though, to tell the truth, I feel home-sick at times, strange as it may seem." He did not know how long he would remain in Washington; until some letters arrived, which he was expecting, he could "do little or nothing." He told of his visit to the Washington Monument, and described it as a: "Huge tower some 160 feet high of white marble." Much of his time seems to have been spent in the company of a "Dr. Mourse," whom his wife must have known, for he told her that he "is as facetious as ever." He too, was an office-seeker, but "I venture to say, he will not succeed," said Melville.

On "Monday morning," before mailing the letter, Melville, in keeping with one of his epistolary practices, added a little more to it, but what he added was not important. He said that he felt "overdone this morning - overwalked yesterday. But the trip will do me good." He seemed determined to convince himself that he would "derive good" of some kind from

his trip to Washington and his sight-seeing tours of the city, even if his mission failed. It was well, perhaps, that he could fortify himself with this type of compensation, for his mission was a failure.

Melville's letter to his brother-in-law, Samuel Shaw, was written, from "Pittsfield Dec. 10th 1862," during the time when he was recovering from a serious and painful accident, which Mr. J. E. A. Smith, his Pittsfield biographer, describes as follows:

. . . A few days after he removed from Arrowhead, he had occasion for some household articles he left behind, and, with a friend, started in a rude wagon to procure them. He was driving at a moderate pace over a perfectly smooth and level road, when a sudden start of the horse threw both occupants from the wagon; probably on account of an imperfectly secure seat. Mr. Melville fell with his back in a hollow of the frozen road, and was very seriously injured. Being conveyed to his home by Col. George S. Willis, near whose farm on Williams street the accident happened, he suffered painfully for many weeks. . . . 192

Soon after hearing of Melville's accident, Samuel Shaw had written a letter to his sister, Elizabeth, which later she had read to her husband. The author's letter was written to thank his brother-in-law for his kindness. Although his left arm was in a sling, and neuralgic pains were giving him "a love-pinch in the cheek now and then," Melville still possessed

192 J. E. A. Smith, Herman Melville, written for The Evening Journal, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 1891, p. 10.

his sense of humor and was able to exercise his usual wit. "This recovery," he wrote, "is flattering to my vanity. I begin to indulge in the pleasing idea that my life must needs be of some value. Probably I consume a certain amount of oxygen, which unconsumed might create some subtle disturbance in Nature."¹⁹³ He followed this with an amusing statement on longevity, to which he added a comment on death in hot and cold climates:

I once, like other spoonies, cherished a loose sort of notion that I did not care to live very long. But I will frankly own that I have now no serious, no insuperable objections to a respectable longevity. I don't like the idea of being left out night after night in a cold church-yard. - In warm and genial countries, death is much less of a bugbear than in our frozen latitudes. A native of Hindostan takes easily and kindly to his latter end. It is but as a stepping round the corner to him. He knows he will sleep warm. 194

Then, after saying, "Pretty topics these for a friendly note," he drew a skull and crossed bones, and said: "(By the way, Death, in my skull, seems to tip a knowing sort of wink out of his left eye. What does that mean, I wonder?)" Soon after asking this bizarre rhetorical question, he said that "he must stop this trifling," and concluded his letter with a few

193 Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 402.

194 Ibid., p. 402.

words about his family, and by extending best regards to the members of the Shaw family.

In 1939, Mr. Thomas O. Abbott published, in Notes and Queries, a brief Melville letter, which he said had been "recently presented to the British Museum." The letter was written from "Boston Nov. 27th 1857," during Melville's first season as a lecturer, and simply expressed his regrets for not being able to accept an offered engagement, which the person - whose name is not mentioned in the letter - wished to schedule in the month of December. Melville closed his letter with the following statement - which has the tone of an answer to a question, which, perhaps, had been asked him in a previous letter: "Mr. Mackay's lectures have, I hear, given very great pleasure."¹⁹⁵

In his note, preceding the text of the letter, Mr. Abbott states that the letter "has apparently not before been published, and unfortunately I have not been able to guess the person addressed. But it is pleasant to find Melville recommending another lecturer to fill an engagement which he felt he could not himself undertake."¹⁹⁶

Recently, Mr. Jay Leyda¹⁹⁷ has identified the person

¹⁹⁵ Thomas O. Abbott, "A Letter of Herman Melville," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 176, No. 4, issue of January 28, 1939, p. 60.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 60.
Log, pp. 584-585.

¹⁹⁷ Jay Leyda, The Melville

to whom Melville was writing, as "H. D. Lamson," and the place, to which he was invited to lecture, as "Malden," Massachusetts.

8. To Richard Henry Dana, Jr.

In March, of 1944, Mr. Harrison Hayford¹⁹⁸ published in the Journal of English Literary History, two letters, written by Melville to Richard Henry Dana, Jr., which had not before been published. These letters, Mr. Hayford informs us, "are now preserved among the Dana family papers in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society."

Melville wrote the first letter from "New York Oct 6th 1849," less than a week before he sailed for England, on the Southampton, to find a publisher for White-Jacket. In it he thanked Dana for his "very kind letter" of introduction to Edward Moxon, one of the prominent English publishers. "From his connection with Lamb, & what I have chanced to hear of his personal character," wrote Melville, "he must be a very desirable acquaintance."

Then he informed Dana that his "hint concerning a man-of-war has, in anticipation, been acted on." He told him that he had written such a book, and had "a printed copy of" it before him, but asked him to "consider this communication

¹⁹⁸ Harrison Hayford, "Two New Letters of Herman Melville," in Journal of English Literary History, Vol. II, No. 1, issue of March, 1944, pp. 76-85.

confidential" because the book would not be released for another "two or three months."

He was, of course, referring to White-Jacket, and he proceeded to give Dana a general description of it, accompanied by his misgivings as to how it might be received by some readers. "This man-of-war book, my Dear Sir, is in some parts rather man-of-warish in style - rather aggressive I fear. - But you, who like myself, have experienced in person the usages to which a sailor is subjected, will not wonder, perhaps, at any thing in the book. Would to God, that every man who shall read it, had been before the mast in an armed snip, that he might know something himself of what he shall only read of."¹⁹⁹

Melville then asked Dana to say a word in defense of White-Jacket, if the book should be "taken hold of in an unfair or ignorant way," while he was abroad. "I do not mean to bore you with a request to do any thing in this thing - only this: if you feel so inclined, do it, & God bless you."²⁰⁰

He closed by again thanking Dana for his kindness, and signed himself: "fraternally yours - a sea-brother, H. Melville."

Since, however, Melville, in this letter to Dana, had not mentioned the title of his "man-of-war" book, and since he did not want Dana to confuse it, in any manner, with Redburn, he added a customary postscript. His reference to Redburn, as

199 Ibid., p. 76.

200 Ibid., p. 77.

usual, is uncomplimentary:

A little nursery tale of mine (which, possible, you may have seen advertised as in press) called "Redburn" is not the book to which I refer above. 201

Melville's second letter to Dana was written, from "New York May 1st 1850," about three months after his return from England. During the months which came between his first and second letters, the American editions of Redburn and White-Jacket had appeared. "Dana, it seems, read both of these books," writes Mr. Hayford, "and sent Melville a friendly letter of commendation. Melville acknowledged this with a long and characteristic letter . . ."202

Always sincerely appreciative of any favorable comments, which he received from other literary men, Melville thanked Dana "very heartily for" his "friendly letter," and said that he was "more pleased than" he could "well tell, to think," he continued, "that any thing I have written about the sea has at all responded to your own impressions of it. Were I inclined to undue vanity, this one fact would be far more to me than acres & square miles of the superficial shallow praise of the publishing critics."203

Then followed a passage, in the letter, which is

201 Ibid., p. 77.

202 Ibid., p. 77.

203 Ibid., p. 77.

particularly important for what Melville says, in it, about Dana's Two Years Before the Mast:

And I am specially delighted at the thought, that those strange, congenial feelings, with which after my first voyage, I for the first time read "Two Years Before the Mast," and while so engaged was, as it were, tied & welded to you by a sort of Siamese link of affectionate sympathy - that these feelings should be reciprocated by you, in your turn, and be called out by any white Jackets or Redburns of mine - this is indeed delightful to me. In fact, my Dear Dana, did I not write these books of mine almost entirely for "lucre" - by the job, as a wood Sawyer saws wood - I almost think, I should hereafter - in the case of a sea book - get my M. S. S. neatly & legibly copied by a scrivener - send you that one copy - & deem such a procedure the best publication 204

It seems that Dana, in his letter, must have asked Melville if the "white jacket" had been a real garment, and he must have requested the true names of the officers of the naval ship upon which Melville served; for Melville in his reply, assured him that "'the jacket' . . . was a veritable garment," and he begged to be excused "from putting on pen-&-ink record over my name, the real names of the individuals who officered the frigate. I am very loath to do so," he said, because I have never indulged in any ill-will or disrespect for them, personally; & I shrink from any thing that approaches a personal identification of them with characters that were

204 Ibid., p. 78.

only intended to furnish samples of a tribe - characters, also, which possess some not wholly complimentary traits. . . ."205

After this, Melville turned to an account of his "adventure with the letter" of introduction, which Dana had given him to Moxon. He described the room into which he was ushered to meet the formal Mr. Moxon. "It was a small, dim, religious looking room - a very chapel to enter. Upon the coldest day you would have taken off your hat in that room, tho' there were no fire, no occupant, & you a Quaker."206 Moxon, he said, was icy, until Lamb's name was mentioned; then he warmed up. He said Moxon asked about Dana, and spoke with admiration of Two Years Before the Mast. He closed with an interesting reference to Moby-Dick, which he was then in the process of writing.

About the 'whaling voyage' - I am half way in work, & am very glad that your suggestion so jumps with mine. It will be a strange sort of a book, tho', I fear; blubber is blubber you know; tho' you may get oil out of it, the poetry runs as hard as sap from a frozen maple tree; - & to cook the thing up, one must needs throw in a little fancy, which from the nature of the thing, must be ungainly as the gambols of the whales themselves. Yet I mean to give the truth of the thing, spite of this. 207

Of this important letter, Mr. Mayford writes: "This second letter to Dana can take its worthy place with the superb letters Melville wrote to Evert Duyckinck and to Hawthorne, and

205 Ibid., p. 78.

206 Ibid., p. 78.

207 Ibid., n. 79

in the broader world of literature, with the letters of Lamb and Keats."²⁰⁸ Mr. Hayford also thinks that both of these letters are valuable in illuminating certain "aspects of Melville's life and works." Although he does not argue that the reading of Dana was the specific influence that caused Melville to go to sea in 1841, he does think that since "the influences were complex . . . that Dana's Two Years Before the Mast may without impropriety be at least mentioned among them."²⁰⁹

He feels too, that the letters give us "some new light . . . on Melville's personal relationship with Dana." We now know that Dana had read more of Melville's books than it was previously believed that he had; and we know that there was, "on Melville's side, a feeling of friendly esteem for Dana and of warm admiration for his book. Thus, although still no intimate friendship is revealed, it is evident that, at this period at least, Melville and Dana regarded each fraternally, as 'sea-brothers.'"²¹⁰

In 1937, Mr. James D. Hart²¹¹ published, for the first time, another Melville to Dana letter, one of a later date than the two, discussed above. Melville wrote it from "New York March 20th, 1861," the day before he left for Washington to

208 Ibid., p. 79.

209 Ibid., p. 80.

210 Ibid., p. 80.

211 James D. Hart, "Melville and Dana," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 1, issue of March, 1937, pp. 49-55.

try to obtain the appointment to the consulship at Florence. The purpose of the letter was to ask Dana to assist him in accomplishing this objective. He wrote, in part, as follows:

I am persuaded, from all I hear, that if Senator Sumner could be earnestly enlisted in the cause, I should in all likelihood succeed. May I therefore ask your good services in that quarter. 212

Not only did he ask Dana for "a strong letter:," but he asked him to procure for him "other strong letters from suitable persons in Boston."

When Mr. Hart published the letter, in 1937, he labored under one mistaken impression concerning it. "This letter," he wrote, "is the only one from Melville to Dana preserved in the Dana family papers and is previously unpublished."²¹³ From Mr. Hayford's later study, which we examined, just prior to our discussion of Mr. Hart's, we now know that, at least, two other letters, written by Melville to Richard Henry Dana, Jr., exist and are preserved among the Dana family papers.

9. Correspondence with Editors and Publishers

In 1947, Mr. Zoltan Haraszti²¹⁴ published, for the first time, an interesting Melville letter, that is "now in the

212 Ibid., p. 53.

213 Ibid., p. 54.

214 Zoltan Haraszti, "Melville Defends Typee," in More Books, Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, Vol. 22, No. 6, issue of June, 1947, pp. 203-208.

Boston Public Library." From the reference to "Mrs. Bradford," the letter has been identified as one, written by Melville "to Alexander Warfield Bradford, the New York lawyer and a close friend of the family." It was sent from "Lansingburgh - May 23, 1846," at a time when many American critics refused to accept Typee as a true account of Polynesian life, although the English critics "were ready to accept the truthfulness of the narrative," especially since it had been written by an American.

"At most," writes Mr. Maraszti, "they thought that the coloring of the scenes may have been 'over-charged,' but 'the minuteness and novelty of the details could only have been given by one who had before him nature for his model.' . . . Most of the American papers, on the other hand, were violent in their denunciation of Melville's mendacity. In its April 17 issue the Morning Courier and New York Enquirer printed this piece:"

We have accidentally omitted to notice Typee, or a Peep at Polynesian Life, a work recently published by Messrs. Wiley & Putnam, in their series of American books. The author is Herman Melville, and this, we believe, is his first published production. It is written in an exceedingly racy and readable style, and abounds in anecdote and narrative of unusual interest. We should not express our candid opinion, however, did we omit to say that in our judgment, in all essential respects, it is fiction, - a piece of Luchausenism, - from beginning to end. 215

Angered by the attitude of the American critics, in general, and, as Mr. Haraszti states, "infuriated" by this particular article in the Morning Courier and New York Enquirer Melville "decided to combat the mischief." He wrote, therefore, an anonymous article, which he hoped, through the influence of Mr. Bradford, might be accepted by, and published in the paper which had published the attack upon him and his work. He had previously discussed the matter with Mr. Bradford, and when his article was ready, he sent it to his friend, accompanied by the letter, "hitherto unpublished," until printed by Mr. Haraszti.

In his letter, Melville stated that the article enclosed, was the one they had spoken of. Then continued:

I have endeavored to make it appear as if written by one who had read the book & believed it - & moreover - had been as much pleased with it as most people who read it profess to be. Perhaps, it may not be exactly the right sort of thing. The fact is, it was rather an awkward undertaking any way - for I have not sought to present my own view of the matter (which you may be sure is straightforward enough) but have only presented such considerations as would be apt to suggest themselves to a reader who was acquainted with, & felt friendly toward the author. - Indeed, I have moddled some of my remarks upon hints suggested by some reviews of the book. 216

He went on to say that, he had on that day received a copy of the Edinburgh Journal, which contained "an abridged account of

the adventure - & I could not but feel vexed," he wrote, "that while the intelligent Editors of a publication like that should thus endorse the genuineness of the narrative - so many num-skulls on this side of the water should heroically avow their determination not to be 'gulled' by it. The fact is, those who do not believe it are the greatest 'gulls' - full fledged ones too."²¹⁷

He said that he thought that what he had written would impress the public, if the article could be released through the right channel. "That channel," he said, "is the *Courier and Enquirer*, as it contained the obnoxious review. - I feel confident that unless something of this kind appears the success of the book here as a genuine narrative will be seriously impaired."²¹⁸

He said that he had heard that, "that malicious notice" had been copied by other papers "in the Western part of the state," and that it would "do mischief unless answered." He spoke of Mr. Bradford's kindness in expressing his willingness to do what he could in the matter, and said he was confident that Mr. Bradford could do all that was necessary. He also invited Mr. Bradford to make any changes in the article that he thought would improve it, as Bradford knew more about such things than he did. And he said that if he could not get it in

217 Ibid., pp. 205-206.

218 Ibid., p. 206.

the paper, as an article, he might "procure its insertion as a communication."

He closed with a request for "a single line as soon as" anything was done about the matter, and with his "renewed compliments to Mrs. Bradford."

The article, written by Melville, Mr. Haraszti informs us, has not been found. It never appeared in the Morning Courier and New York Enquirer. But, as it turned out, it was not needed, for the real Toby, of Typee, made his appearance and verified Melville's narrative in a much more effective manner than any anonymous article ever could have done.

Soon after this, Melville had a meeting with Richard Tobias Greene, and wrote his sequel to Typee, "The story of Toby." Later, he prepared a revision of the novel with many substantial changes, and omissions. "As there have been few writers less prurient than Melville," writes Mr. Haraszti, "the mutilations resulted in a real loss."²¹⁹

In The New Colophon for July, 1948, Mr. John H. Birss²²⁰ published twelve letters, all of which dealt with Melville's negotiations about the publication of his works in London. Eight of these letters were written by Herman Melville; two,

219 Ibid., p. 208.

220 John H. Birss, "'A Mere Sale to Effect' with Letters of Herman Melville," in The New Colophon, Vol. I, part 3, issue of July, 1948, pp. 239-255.

by John R. Brodhead; and two, by John Murray. The first letter, in the series, was written on December 30, 1846; the last one, on April 16, 1852.

After the death of his brother, Gansevoort, who had arranged for the London publication of Typee, Melville had no one to transact his business in England. His first letter, dated December 30, 1846, and addressed to John Romeyn Brodhead, of the American ministry in London, was written to request this gentleman to act as his agent while negotiations were being carried on with John Murray for the publication of Omoo. In asking such a favor of a person with whom he had but "slight acquaintance," Melville was careful to explain that there was really "little to be done - a mere sale to effect - that accomplished, the rest remains with the publisher;"²²¹ but, at the same time, he did not fail to express his sincere appreciation, in advance, by stating that he would not soon forget the favor, which he was sure would be granted.

The next four letters, in the series, were not written by Melville, but concern the business under discussion. The proof-sheets of Omoo were held up by the Custom House at Liverpool, which provoked Mr. Brodhead's letter of February 18, 1847, to Messrs Harnden and Company, which secured their release. On February 20, 1847, Mr. Brodhead sent Omoo to

221 Ibid., p. 241.

John Murray with a letter requesting that he give his "early attention" to it. On February 26, 1847, John Murray wrote to Brodhead; informed him that he was "much pleased with *Omoo*;" and that he would pay one hundred and fifty pounds for the English copyright. Then, on March 1, 1847, after the offer had been accepted and a cash payment requested, Murray wrote to Brodhead and stated his willingness to pay in cash, and the matter was settled.

The second Melville letter, printed by Mr. Birss, was written to John R. Brodhead, on March 31, 1847. In it, Melville informed Brodhead that he had "drawn bills" on him for one hundred and forty pounds of the sale price of *Omoo*, leaving him a few pounds to take care of his expenses. Then he asked a second "little favor" of him, namely, that he collect the reviews of the new work and send them to him.

Melville's third letter, of this group, was written, over two years later, to Richard Bentley, on June 5, 1849. *Mardi* had been published and had not been favorably received; hence, Melville's opening sentence: "The critics on your side of the water seem to have fixed a broadside into 'Mardi'; but it was not altogether unexpected."²²² He said that *Mardi* was the type of book "to attract compliments of that sort from some quarters." Then he placed the blame for much of the adverse criticism upon

222 *Ibid.*, pp. 245-246.

the fact that Mardi had been "brought out in England in the ordinary novel form," which led the readers to expect entertainment, and to be disappointed. He gave some other reasons why Mardi might not have met with popular favor in England, namely, its political thoughts and "metaphysical ingredients (for want of a better term)," but never did he admit that there was anything really wrong with Mardi itself. It was not a book for those who only read for amusement. "However," he said, "it will reach those for whom it is intended; and I have already received assurances that 'Mardi,' in its larger purposes, has not been written in vain."²²³

He said that Bentley might consider him "unwise" and "indiscreet" for writing such a book, when he could easily have written a popular one. "But some of us scribblers, my Dear Sir," he said, "always have a certain something unmanageable in us, that bids us do this or that, and be done it must - hit or miss."

Then followed a description of Redburn, though he did not call the work by any name. He said that he had "now in preparation a thing of a widely different cast from 'Mardi': - a plain, straightforward, amusing narrative of personal experience - . . . no metaphysics, no conic-sections, nothing but cakes & ale."²²⁴ Then after a few other descriptive statements,

223 Ibid., p. 246.

224 Ibid., p. 246.

he said that Harpers would publish the book in America, and he valued "The English copyright at one hundred and fifty pounds, and" suggested that it be published "in a manner, admitting of a popular circulation."

He closed by requesting three copies of Bentley's edition of Mardi, saying, with typical Melville humor, that he supposed that the reason Bentley had not sent him any copies before, was due "to the fact of the prodigious demand for the book. . ."

Melville wrote to Bentley again, on July 20, 1849, in reply to Bentley's letter of a month earlier, in which the publisher had further discussed his losses on Mardi, and had made Melville an offer of one hundred pounds for Redburn. Melville expressed his deep concern with respect to Bentley's report on the slow sale of Mardi, but said, "you know perhaps that there are goodly harvests which ripen late, especially when the grain is remarkably strong."²²⁵ He was sorry that Bentley was suffering a temporary loss, but refused to believe that Mardi would not pay for itself in the end. However, conditions being such as they were, he was inclined to accept Bentley's reduced offer for his work, and promised to send it to him "in the course of three weeks or so."

Bentley had indicated his great uneasiness over the

225 Ibid., p. 247.

decision reached by the House of Lords that foreigners could not hold copyrights in Great Britain, but Melville could "hardly imagine" that the decision would "occasion any serious infringement of any rights" that Bentley had "in any American book." And he expressed the opinion, somewhat optimistically, that "ere long, doubtless, we shall have something of an international law . . ."²²⁶

Melville's next letter was written in August [?], 1849, and addressed to the Secretary of the American Legation, in London. It was to this office that he sent the proof-sheets of Redburn, to be, in turn, delivered to Bentley.

In his letter to Bentley, of June 27, 1850, Melville offered the publisher "a new work," which he said would be ready during "the latter part of the coming autumn." He placed a price of two hundred pounds on the work, and said if Bentley could "be positively put in possession of the copyright, it might be worth . . . a larger sum - considering its great novelty; for I do not know that the subject treated of has ever been worked up by a romancer; or, indeed, by any writer, in any adequate manner. . . ."²²⁷

The "new work," referred to, though unnamed, was, of course, Moby-Dick. He described it to Bentley as follows: "The book is a romance of adventure founded upon certain wild

226 Ibid., p. 247.

227 Ibid., p. 249.

legends in the Southern Sperm Whale Fisheries, and illustrated by the author's own personal experience, of two years & more, as a harpooner."²²⁸

Since Moby-Dick was not actually completed until more than a year later, some students of Melville feel that the author changed his original plans, regarding the book, and either rewrote it, or thoroughly revised it.

On July 20, 1851, Melville wrote to Bentley and accepted his "offer for the work; but not without strong hope," he added "that before long, we shall be able to treat upon a firmer basis than now, & heretofore; & that with the more assurance you will be disposed to make overtures for American books."²²⁹

This letter also contains a discussion of the copyright problem, but Melville's outlook for a satisfactory solution is not nearly so bright as it seemed to be in an earlier letter to Bentley. "And here let me say to you," he wrote, "since you are peculiarly interested in the matter - that in all reasonable probability no International Copyright will ever be obtained - in our time, at least - if you Englishmen wait at all for the first step to be taken in this country. Who have any motive in this country to bestir themselves in this thing? Only the authors. -Who are the authors? - a handful. And what influence have they to bring to bear upon any question

228 Ibid., p. 249.

229 Ibid., p. 251.

whose settlement must necessarily assume a political form?

- They can bring scarcely any influence whatever."²³⁰

He **said**, however, that if the English people took the lead; came out strong for the protection of foreign authors; then, that would make an impression here; and America would be all eager to reciprocate. "For, be assured," said he, "that my countrymen will never be outdone in generosity."²³¹

Melville's last letter, in the series published by Mr. Birss, was also written to Richard Bentley. It was written on April 16, 1852, and is a rather long letter, buttressed, at the end, by two of Melville's customary postscripts. On this occasion, his letter needed all the support that he could give it, for he was offering Bentley another "new book," and just a few weeks, too, after Bentley had sent him a full report of the losses that he had suffered on the other Melville books which he had published. Melville admitted that Bentley's "statement touching" his "previous books," certainly, did not "look very favorably for the profit side of" the publisher's account, but his argument again, was "that by subsequent sales the balance-sheet may yet be made to wear a different aspect." He stressed the fact also, that if Bentley published another one of his books, the sale of that book "would tend to react upon those previous books" in a very favorable manner.

230 Ibid., p. 251.

231 Ibid., p. 251.

Then, he emphasized the fact that what he had just said would be especially true in the case of his new book, because it was a work "possessing unquestionable novelty, as regards my former ones, - treating of utterly new scenes & characters: - and, as I believe, very much more calculated for popularity than anything you have yet published of mine - being a regular romance, with a mysterious plot to it, & stirring passions at work, and withall, representing a new & elevated aspect of American life - - all these considerations," said he, "warrant me strongly in not closing with terms greatly inferior to those upon which our previous negotiations have proceeded."²³²

The unnamed book, which Melville described in such glowing terms, was Pierre. He said, in the first postscript, that he would "suspend the publication at the Harpers' till" he had "concluded some satisfactory negotiations in London;" thus Bentley, if he took the book, could be assured that his copies would be available first.

In the second postscript, he indicated that he was willing, if Bentley thought it a good idea, to publish this book "anonymously, or under an assumed name." He suggested two pseudonyms: "By a Vermonter say, or By Guy Winthrop." Melville indicated, however, that he was "prompted in throwing

232 Ibid., p. 254.

out the idea, merely in regard to" Bentley's "advantage as publisher."²³³

A portion of a letter, written by Melville to his father-in-law, Chief Justice Shaw, appeared, for the first time, in 1951, in Mr. Gilman's Melville's Early Life and "Redburn". Melville wrote the letter, from New York on October 6, 1849, less than a week before he sailed for London. In the first part of the letter,²³⁴ not given by Mr. Gilman, he said good-bye to his father-in-law; mentioned the fact that his wife, Elizabeth, was becoming "more reconciled to the idea" of his departure, since she would have Malcolm for company, and would be among her Boston friends; said that the length of his absence would depend upon his purse; stated that Redburn had already been published in London; and said that he was taking the "plate-proofs" of "the other book" with him. By "the other book," he meant White-Jacket, which he hoped to sell to a London publisher.

The final portion of the letter - the part printed by Mr. Gilman - contains an interesting and revealing statement by Melville, in which he gives again his opinion of Redburn, and adds to it, a similar opinion of White-Jacket; gives his reasons for writing both works; and makes known to his wife's father, the kind of books he really wished to write:

²³³ Ibid., p. 255. ²³⁴ For the complete letter see Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, pp. 284-285.

For Redburn I anticipate no particular reception of any kind. It may be deemed a book of tolerable entertainment; - and may be accounted dull. As for the other book, it will be sure to be attacked in some quarters. But no reputation that is gratifying to me, can possibly be achieved by either of these books. They are two jobs, which I have done for money - being forced to it, as other men are to sawing wood. And while I have felt obliged to refrain from writing the kind of book I would wish to; yet, in writing these two books, I have not repressed myself much - so far as they are concerned; but have spoken pretty much as I feel. - Being books then written in this way, my only desire for their "success" (as it is called) springs from my pocket, & not from my heart. So far as I am individually concerned, & independent of my pocket, it is my earnest desire to write those sort of books which are said to "fail."

Pardon this egotism. 235

The last two sources for the printed letters of Herman Melville, that we shall consider, are the recent monumental works, of Mr. Jay Leyda: his massive two-volume study, entitled The Melville Log, published late in 1951; and his compact one-volume work, entitled The Portable Melville, published early in 1952. Every known letter, as well as, every other accessible record, pertaining to Melville's life, is presented, as a whole or in part, in The Melville Log, a day-by-day, documentary account of the author's life. The letters, therefore, though all known ones are referred to, and their vital passages usually printed, are not always given in full. In The Portable Melville, however, almost all of the thirty-five selected

235 William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life, pp. 243-244.

Melville letters that are presented, are given in their complete versions, unless, of course, they only exist in a fragmentary form, like the letter to Nathaniel Parker Willis, for example.

Many of the Melville letters in Mr. Leyda's two works have been published before, on one or more occasions. Such letters have been discussed elsewhere in our study, and we shall not again consider them. However, a goodly number of the letters are presented, for the first time, in The Melville Log and The Portable Melville. These are the letters which we shall discuss here, and, in doing so, we shall take them up, in the chronological order in which Melville wrote them.

The first letter - a fragment of which is given - was written from Pittsfield, in the autumn of 1837, to an unidentified "Albany friend." In it, after saying that he had been "digressing from the beginning" of his letter, Melville, then a young country school teacher, said, "my object is to know the existing situation of the [Philo Logos] society; whether it is on the rapid decline I left it in, or whether like the Phoenix it hath risen from its ashes. . ."²³⁶

The next two messages were actually notes, rather than letters. Both were written from Lansingburgh, and addressed to

236 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 71.

his brother, Allan; and both were added to letters written by his mother to Allan. In these notes, Melville, apparently, was trying, in a youthful sort of way, to be "funny." The first one, dated November 10, 1838, possesses all of the stiff elements of form, which characterized the old-fashioned letter, but consists only of the following:

Allan Melville

Sir

I am with the profoundest regard

Your obdt Serv^t

Herman Melville 237

In a postscript - Melville having begun his postscript habit early - he sent his regards to Eli Fly, and told Allan to tell him that he would be down to Albany in a few days.

In the second note, dated December 7, 1839, Melville, straining to achieve some kind of ill-conceived humor, employs such language as the following: "How is you? Am you very well? How has you been? - As to myself I haint been as well as husual. . . ."238

Mr. Gilman, who included this note in his study of Melville's early life, makes this comment about it: "He seems to have been mimicking both Negroes and the Cockneys he had listened to aboard the 'St. Lawrence' as well as the tireless

237 Ibid., p. 81.

238 Ibid., p. 98.

banalities of social converse."²³⁹

On "Friday, June [May] 29th 1846," from Lansingburgh, Melville wrote, what may be called, a "get well" letter, to his brother, Gansevoort. The pitiful thing about the letter is, that Gansevoort had been dead seventeen days before it was written, but no member of the Melville family had received word of it. Melville's intentions were good, therefore, and he worded his letter in such a way as to make his brother as cheerful as possible, and to encourage him to get well.

From the last report which Mr. Mac Henry Boyd had sent on Gansevoort's condition, the family was led to believe that his "removal to the country . . . would be attended with the happiest effects." Thus, in his first paragraph, Melville visualized his letter being read by Gansevoort, about three weeks later, in one "of those pleasant hamlets roundabout London, of which we read in novels," and "mending rapidly." He reminded him of the importance of mental composure, and cautioned him not to think about conditions at home until he had recovered. Then he added that, as far as he knew, things were "in good train" at home. The members of the family were well, and busy "dress making" as Augusta was "one of the bride-maids to Miss C. Van R. & her preparations" were in progress.

²³⁹ William H. Gilman, Melville's Early Life and "Redburn," p. 148.

The Mexican War was the big news of national interest, and Melville discussed this in a serio-comic manner. He said this war was "nothing of itself - but 'a little spark kindleth a great fire' . . . and who knows what all this may lead to - will it provoke a war with England? Or any other great power?"²⁴⁰ Then, he concluded with a prophecy that had real and fearful meaning for the twentieth century if not for his own:

Lord, the day is at hand, when we will be able to talk of our killed & wounded like some of the old Eastern conquerors reckoning them up by thousands; - when the Battle of Monmouth will be thought child's play - & canes made out of the Constitution's timbers be thought no more of than bamboos. . . . 241

He said he was at the end of his sheet, and concluded suddenly by asking God to bless his brother and bring him to his feet again. But, end of sheet or not, there was room for one postscript, and Melville did not miss the opportunity to add it. He told his brother that Typee was doing well; that a second edition was "nearly out;" and asked him to send him "every notice of any kind" that he saw or heard of.

After Gansevoort's death became known to the members of his family, they were faced, not only with the sadness which accompanied the event, but with certain debts which Gansevoort incurred during his illness, and with the expenses

240 Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, p. 341.

241 Ibid., p. 341.

of his funeral. The family felt that, since Garsevoort died in the services of his country, the government should assume the financial responsibility of clearing these debts. To this end, Melville, on June 6, 1846, wrote letters to President Polk, "(cited in M's letter to James Buchanan, this date)";²⁴² James Buchanan, Secretary of State; and William L. Marcy, Secretary of War. Portions of these letters are given by Mr. Leyda in The Melville Log. In his letter to the Secretary of State, Melville quoted "an extract" from his letter to President Polk, and this is the passage given us, by Mr. Leyda. The first paragraph of this extract will illustrate the manner in which Melville presented the case:

Our family are in exceedingly embarrassed circumstances, and unless the measure which Mr. McLane recommends is carried out, a great part of the expenses attendant on my brother's last illness and funeral will have (for some time at least) to remain unpaid. - The claims of a widowed mother, four sisters, and a younger brother, are paramount even to the duties we owe the dead. - I should feel most bitterly the reproach, to which the country in some measure, and the memory of my poor brother would be subjected, should these debts remain long uncanceled. But I can not think that this will be the case. ²⁴³

Melville's efforts produced the desired results. On June 9, 1846, Mr. Buchanan informed him, "that Mr. McLane has been

242 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 217.

243 Ibid., p. 217.

authorized to charge the sum of fifty pounds in his account of the contingent expenses of the Legation for the funeral expenses of Mr. Melville . . ." ²⁴⁴ And in a letter (which we have discussed elsewhere) that Melville wrote to his Uncle Peter Gansevoort, four days later, he said that the amount allowed would "cover everything . . . - so that all that matter, I rejoice to think is happily settled."

Melville's next letter - from "Lansingburgh Sept. 2^d 1846" - was written to the London publisher, John Murray, and concerned his second book, Omoo. He informed Murray that the book was still in progress; though he had "not done much to it lately." However, he promised to send enough of it to the publisher for him to judge its nature, and said, he might be able to send it all. He warned him, however, not to "expect another Typee - The fates," he said, "must send me adrift again ere I write another adventure like that exactly." ²⁴⁵

This letter was also a reply to another matter, mentioned in Murray's letter of August 3, namely, the publisher's request for "documentary" proof of the author's visit to the Marquesas. Whenever this matter came up, Melville became vexed, and he permitted some of his feeling to show here, but he was quick to word his reply so that it would not offend

244 Ibid. p. 218.

245 Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, p. 341.

his publisher:

You ask for "documentary evidences" of my having been at the Marquesas - in Typee. - Dear Sir, how indescribably vexations, when one really feels in his very bones that he has been there, to have a parcel of blockheads question it! - Not (let me hurry to tell you) that Mr. John Murray comes under that category - Oh no - Mr. Murray I am ready to swear stands fast by the faith, beleiving "Typee" from Preface to Sequel - He only wants something to stop the mouths of the senseless sceptics - men who go straight from their cradles to their graves & never dream of the queer things going on at the antipodes. 246

Then he said, half-humorously that he knew not how "to set about getting the evidence;" he could not "subpoena the skipper of the Dolly . . . or Kory-Kory." However, he said, seriously, he had written to the owners of the ship, and requested "a copy of that part of the ship's log which makes mention of two rascals running away at Nukuheva - to wit Herman Melville and Richard T. Greene." He said that he had received no reply, and if he thought of anything else, he would send it. "Typee, however must at last be beleived on its own account," he said, "they beleive it here now - a little touched up they say but true."²⁴⁹

Melville is not known to have delivered a lecture any where until 1857, but he had invitations extended to him ten years earlier at the beginning of his fame as an author. His

246 Ibid., p. 344.

247 Ibid., p. 345.

letter, of January 19, 1847, was written in reply to such an invitation from Cooper C. Van Voorst, who wished to engage him for an appearance before the Albany Young Men's Association on January 29th. Van Voorst, evidently, had mentioned that he had learned that Melville was lecturing in Troy and Schenectady, for Melville explained that he gave the Troy Association "a conditional promise," and that he "declined" the invitation from Schenectady. "But in case I lecture anywhere, or at all," he wrote, "I shall be most happy to lecture before your association in Albany."²⁴⁸ This reply is polite and courteous, but it reveals no interest, on Melville's part, in lecturing; ten years later he was eager to go anywhere, for a fee, and mount the lecture platform.

On January 29, 1847, Melville wrote John Murray to inform him that the proof sheets of Omoo were being sent to John R. Brodhead, but he had much to say, also, in favor of the book he had written. "Of the book itself," he said, "of course, you will judge for yourself. . . . But I think you will find it a fitting successor to 'Typee'; inasmuch as the latter book delineates Polynesian Life in its primitive state - while the new work, represents it, as affected by intercourse with the whites. It also describes the 'man about town' sort

²⁴⁸ Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 233.

of life, led, at the present day, by roving sailors in the Pacific - a kind of thing, which I have never seen described anywhere. . . ."²⁴⁹

On March 31, 1847, Melville wrote to Murray again, and expressed his hope that the predicted reception for Omoo would materialize. "If it succeed," he said, "the two books cannot fail to sell together, & thus assist each other." Then, said he, "If 'Omoo' succeeds I shall follow it up by something else, immediately."²⁵⁰

Melville wrote to Edwin Croswell,²⁵¹ of the Albany Argus, on "April 2? 1847," and requested him to say "something, editorially," in the Argus about his new book, Omoo, which would soon be published.

Melville, on April 26, 1847, sent Augustus Van Schaick, in Rio de Janeiro, an advance copy of Omoo, accompanied by a letter,²⁵² in which he encouraged Van Schaick to "keep up a valiant heart," which he felt sure, with "the beautiful climate of Rio" would "reinvigorate" him, and make him "a robust fellow after all."

On June 11, 1847, Melville sent another letter to Van Schaick, in which he told him that many of the names of places, mentioned by Van Schaick, in letters, were familiar

249 Ibid., p. 233.

250 Ibid., pp. 239-240.

251 Ibid., p. 240.

252 Ibid., p. 242.

to him. "Rio harbor," he wrote, "you must certainly confess the most glorious sheet of water in the universe. As a sailor I cannot sufficiently admire it."²⁵³

Two more letters to John Murray come next. In the one, dated October 29, 1847, Melville expressed his "gratification at the reception" Omoo was being "honored with in England." Then, almost immediately, he began a discussion of the merits of his new work, which was in progress:

. . . AS you may possibly imagine, I am engaged upon another book of South Sea Adventure (continued from, tho' wholly independent of, "Omoo") - The new work will enter into scenes altogether new, & will, I think, possess more interest than the former; which treated of subjects comparatively trite . . . I can not but be conscious, that the feild where I garner is troubled but with few & inconsiderable intruders (in my own peculiar province I mean) - that it is wide & fresh; - indeed, I only but begin, as it were to feel my hand. . . . 254

Melville, young as he was and comparatively "new" as an author, was, for his day, a fairly good business man. He was, except for occasional assistance, his own agent, and he always strove "to drive a good bargain." It was not without meaning and intended effect that he passed on to Murray the following information: "In anticipation of any movement on my part, I have recently received overtures from a house in London concerning the prospective purchase of the English copyright of

253 Ibid., p. 247.

254 Ibid., p. 263.

a third book."²⁵⁵

Having informed his publisher that his third book, possessing "more interest than the former," was in progress; and having also apprised him of the fact that he had already received an unsolicited bid for it; he did not fail to stress the one point that was most important to him:

With regard to the new book, let me say that my inclinations lead me to prefer the imprimature of "John Murray" to that of any other London publisher; but at the same [time] circumstances paramount to every other consideration, force me to regard my literary affairs in a strong pecuniary light. ²⁵⁶

But Melville was dealing with no inexperienced publisher, and, in his reply, of December 3, 1847, John Murray gave the author some cold statistical facts, which revealed that Typee and Omoo, though praised and widely discussed, had not as yet provided him with a profit from their sales. "I should not willingly have entered into such details with an author," wrote the publisher, "but that it is evident from your manner of writing that you and your friends suppose me to be reaping immense advantages in which you ought to be participating."²⁵⁷ Murray indicated that he did not expect to lose on the books, in the end, but he had not gained on them so far.

255 Ibid., p. 259.

256 Ibid., p. 264.

257 Ibid., p. 265.

He said he would like to remain Melville's publisher, and he might try a different format for the new book, and charge more per copy, which might enable him to realize a profit from the sale of fewer copies.

Melville, in his answer to this letter, dated January 1, 1848, did not retreat from his former position in this business discussion. "The arrangement you propose for my next book," he said, "is not altogether satisfactory to me. At least I should want the advance doubled." He followed this with a further discussion of the merits of the new work. The first two books had not exhausted the material and made the South Seas "barren of novelty." His new work had a new plan which clothed the "whole subject in new attractions," and made it contain "in one cluster all that is romantic, whimsical & poetic in Polynesia." And, said he, "I doubt not that - if it makes the hit I mean it to - it will be counted a rather bold aim; but nevertheless, it shall have the right stuff in it, to redeem its faults, tho' they were legion. . . ." ²⁵⁸

On February 12, 1848, Melville sent a note ²⁵⁹ to Wiley and Putnam, which was delivered by his brother, Allan. The note requested the firm to pay the balance due him, to his brother, and receive a receipt.

On January 17, 1848, John Murray, in answering Melville's

258 Ibid., p. 269.

259 Ibid., p. 271.

last letter, again asked proof regarding the author's experiences in the South Seas. Melville's reply to this letter was written in March 25, 1848, and after apologizing for his delay in answering, he said: "Will you still continue, Mr. Murray, to break seals from the Land of Shadows - persisting in carrying on this mysterious correspondence with an imposter shade, that under the fanciful appellation of Herman Melville still practices upon your honest credulity? Have a care, I pray, lest while thus parleying with a ghost you fall upon some horrible evil, peradventure sell your soul ere you are aware. . . ." ²⁶⁰

He then informed Murray that his new book, would not be "a bona-fide narrative of" his "adventures in the Pacific," as he had previously implied. He was writing now to tell him of his change in plan:

To be blunt: the work I shall next publish will be downright & out a "Romance of Polynesian Adventure" - But why this? The truth is, sir, that the reiterated imputation of being a romancer in disguise has at last pricked me into a resolution to show those who may take any interest in the matter, that a real romance of mine is no Typee or Omoo, & is made of different stuff altogether. This I confess has been the main inducement in altering my plans - but others have operated. I have long thought that Polynesia furnished a great deal of rich poetical material that has never been employed hitherto in works of fancy; and which to bring out suitably, required only that play of freedom & invention accorded only to the romancer & poet. . . . 261

260 Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, p. 346.

261 Ibid., p. 346.

Melville went on to state that he had thought of postponing writing a romance until later in his career, but, he was "fettered by plodding along with dull common places" in his "narrative of facts", so gave it up. Then followed a long description of the merits of the new work, and also a statement to the effect that, what might be thought of his following two books of travel with a romance, did not worry him at all.

Evidently irritated by being harassed by requests for proof of his experiences in the South seas, he ended this letter with a statement which seemed intended as his last word on the subject:

By the way, you ask again for "documentary evidence" of my having been in the South seas, wherewithall to convince the unbelievers - Bless my soul, Sir, will you Britons not credit that an American can be a gentleman, & have read the Waverley Novels, tho every digit may have been in the tar-bucket? - You make miracles of what are commonplaces to us. - I will give no evidence - Truth is mighty & will prevail - & shall & must. 262

John Murray was no lover of romances, and we learn from Melville's next letter, June 19, 1848, that Murray's reply to the letter, above, was anything but warm. "In spite of the Antarctic tenor of your epistle," Melville's reply began, "I still adhere to my first resolution of submitting the sheets of my new work to your experienced eye. - I fear you abhor

romances; But fancy nevertheless that possibly you may for once relent."²⁶³

Then, oddly enough, Melville sent, by the same mail, some of the "documentary evidence" that Murray had been demanding, and the author had, in the letter before, strongly implied that he would not send. If "the Antarctic tenor" of Murray's letter had anything to do with this change of mind, Melville would not admit it, though he must have been conscious of the fact that Murray might draw such a conclusion, for he was quick to add:

The "documentary evidence" above mentioned very recently came into my possession (all but one) Hence the change in my decision respecting furnishing you with any thing of that sort, 264

Melville and John Murray did not reach an agreement regarding the publication of Mardi; so Richard Bentley became his London publisher. On April 3, 1849, he wrote to Bentley as follows:

By the last steamer letters from yourself & Mr. Brodhead apprised me of the arrangements having been concluded for the publication of "Mardi." I assure you it is with pleasure that I enter into this connection with you . . . 265

263 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 278.

264 Ibid., p. 278.

265 Ibid., pp. 295-296.

10. To Chief Justice Shaw and Others

The next two letters were written by Melville to his father-in-law, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw. The first one is concerned with Mardi, and was written on April 23, 1849. "I see that Mardi has been cut into by the London Atheneum," he wrote, "and also burnt by the common hangman in the Boston Post." Some of the other papers, in both countries, including the London Examiner & Literary Gazette, "have done differently," he said. Then followed an important statement, made by the author, for his high personal opinion of Mardi is implied in it, despite what the critics were saying:

These attacks are matters of course, and are essential to the building up of any permanent reputation - if such should ever prove to be mine - - "There's nothing in it!" cried the dunce, when he threw down the 47th problem of the 1st Book of Euclid - - "There's nothing in it! -" - - Thus with the posed critic. But time, which is the solver of all riddles, will solve "Mardi." 266

The second letter was written on September 10, 1849, when Melville was making preparations for his voyage to London and the Continent, and was concerned with letters of introduction, which his father-in-law was assisting him to procure. In a previous letter, which he had written to Judge Shaw on the subject, he said, "I forgot to say, that could you conveniently procure me one from Mr. Emerson to Mr. Carlyle, I should

be obliged to you . . ." ²⁶⁷ And he added that he "should be pleased" if Mr. Emerson would supply him with other letters.

On April 25, 1851, Melville wrote to Harper and Brothers, ²⁶⁸ his American publishers at that time, and requested an advance on his novel, Moby-Dick (The Whale). He received a reply, which contained a statement of his account, dated April 29, showing that the author already owed the company "nearly seven hundred dollars." On this basis, Melville's request was refused.

In Melville's letter, written in "Pittsfield, Friday Morning [September (?) 1851]," to Mrs. Sarah Morewood, his neighbor and friend, we find a strong element of the old charm, always sincerely and effectively employed by him, when writing to persons whom he liked, or whom he felt were friendly disposed toward him. Such letters of his are real works of art and read like familiar essays.

On this occasion he was thanking Mrs. Morewood for some neighborly gifts she had sent. Gifts are pleasant to receive from persons "upon whom self-delusion whispers we have some claims," he said, but "how far more delightful, to be the recipient of amiable offices from one who has claims upon ourselves, not we upon them. This indeed is to sow the true seed of Christianity among all the asperities of mankind; this

267 Ibid., p. 312

268 Ibid., p. 410.

converts infidels, & gives misanthropy no foot to stand on."²⁶⁹

Two books were among the gifts. "'Zanoni,' is a very fine book in very fine print," he said, with a reference to his eyes, "but I shall endeavor to surmount that difficulty." However, he could not promise to read either of the books now; he was too busy. "So I shall regard them as my Paradise in store, & Mrs. Morewood the goddess from whom it comes."

Then, he wrote, as follows, about Moby-Dick, but called it by no name:

Concerning my own forthcoming book - it is off my hands, but must cross the sea before publication here. Don't you buy it - don't you read it, when it does come out, because it is by no means the sort of book for you. It is not a piece of fine feminine Spitalfields silk - but is of the horrible texture of a fabric that should be woven of ship's cables and hawsers. A Polar wind blows through it, & birds of prey hover over it. Warn all gentle fastidious people from so much as peeping into the book - on risk of a lumbago & sciatics. 270

From "New York Jan: 8th 1852", Melville wrote a letter to Sophia Hawthorne, in answer to, what he described as, her "flattering letter of the 29th Dec." Her letter was in praise of Moby-Dick, we gather from Melville's reply; and also, from this same source, we are able to obtain some hints of the details her letter must have contained. Her reference to the

269 Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, p. 449.

270 Ibid., pp. 449-450.

"Spirit spout," for instance, called forth Melville's discussion - only in a general way, of course - of the allegorical nature of Moby-Dick, and this is one of the most significant passages in his letter. As a whole, this letter ranks with those in his finer class. The passage in which the general reference is made to Moby-Dick's allegory, is preceded by some words in praise of the brilliant Mrs. Hawthorne:

. . . It really amazed me that you should find any satisfaction in that book. It is true that some men have said they were pleased with it, but you are the only woman - for as a general thing, women have small taste for the sea. But, then, since you, with your spiritualizing nature, see more things than other people, and by the same process, refine all you see, so that they are not the same things that other people see, but things which while you think you but humbly discover them, you do in fact create them for yourself - therefore, upon the whole I do not so much marvel at your expressions concerning Moby Dick. At any rate, your allusion for example to the "Spirit Spout" first showed to me that there was a subtle significance in that thing - but I did not, in that case, mean it. I had some vague idea while writing it, that the whole book was susceptible of an allegoric construction, & also that parts of it were - but the specialty of many of the particular subordinate allegories, were first revealed to me, after reading Mr. Hawthorne's letter, which, without citing any particular examples, yet intimated the part-&-parcel allegoricalness of the whole. - But, my **Dear** Lady, I shall not again send you a bowl of salt water. The next chalice I shall commend, will be a rural bowl of milk. 271

By "a bowl of salt water," he meant, no doubt, Moby-Dick, his novel of the sea; and by "a rural bowl of milk," he was

alluding to Pierre, the novel he was then engaged in writing.

Following a paragraph of genial small talk about Mr. Hawthorne and the Hawthorne children, Melville said that, had Mrs. Hawthorne and her husband not said anything about Moby-Dick, he would have said something "about another Wonder-(-full) Book. "But as it is," he said, "I must be silent. How is it, that while all of us human beings are so entirely dis-embarrassed in censuring a person; that so soon as we would praise, then we begin to feel awkward? I never blush after denouncing a man; but I grow scarlet, after eulogizing him. And yet this is all wrong; and yet we can't help it . . ." ²⁷² Having once become launched upon a discussion with a philosophical coloring, Melville followed it, pleasantly to the end of his letter.

11. Concerning Books and Lectures

From "Pittsfield, February 20, 1854," Melville wrote to Harper and Brothers, ²⁷³ and offered an unnamed "variety of causes" as his reasons for not completing a "work [Tortoises & Tortoise Hunting]", promised for the month of January. He said that it still needed more work before it would be ready. "But in no sense," he added, "can you lose by the delay."

272 Ibid., p. 456.

273 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, I, p. 485.

Also from "Pittsfield, June [?] 7, 1854," Melville wrote a letter to George Palmer Putnam, informing him that he was sending to him "prepaid by Express" that day, "some sixty and odd pages of MSS. The manuscript," he said, "is part of a story called 'Israel Potter,' concerning which a more particular understanding need be had . . ." ²⁷⁴

In his next paragraph, Melville proceeded to state his terms: When completed, the story would run to 300 or more pages; it would run in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, serially, at five dollars per page; Melville would retain the copyright; and, if the terms were accepted, he would receive one hundred dollars "as an advance." After he had submitted enough material to cancel the advance payment, he should be paid for future material by the issue.

He said that he would guarantee to submit enough material "for at least ten pages in ample time for each issue." And, he said: "I engage that the story shall contain nothing of any sort to shock the fastidious. There will be very little reflective writing in it; nothing weighty. It is adventure. As for its interest, I shall try to sustain that as well as I can . . ." ²⁷⁵

This was in 1854, and by that time Melville had experienced his share of troubles from being attacked on both

274 Ibid., p. 488.

275 Ibid., pp. 488-489.

scores, mentioned: material of the "sort to shock the fastidious;" and "reflective writing" of the "weighty" type.

After being notified, by Dix and Edwards of their willingness to publish a volume of his stories, Melville, on January 7, 1856, wrote a reply,²⁷⁶ suggesting that "a written agreement" be prepared and sent to him for his signature. After calling attention to a correction in the royalty rate, he asked the publishers to send him two back numbers of Putnam's Monthly Magazine, in which the stories to be used, had appeared, so that he could do his "share of the work without delay."

The title, The Piazza Tales, was sent to Dix and Edwards,²⁷⁷ on February 16, 1856, by Melville, as the one he had chosen for his volume of stories. He enclosed also, the title piece, "The Piazza," which was new, and had been written by him, especially for this book; and he sent an "amended" order for the arrangement of the stories in the volume.

On August 25, 1856, Melville wrote to Dix and Edwards to enquire "about the progress of sales on The Piazza Tales."²⁷⁸ In reply, the company sent a statement and a letter, on August 30. The statement revealed that, to that date, the book "had not yet paid expenses."

276 Ibid., II, p. 511.

277 Ibid., p. 512.

278 Ibid., p. 520.

A few days before sailing for his journey to the Holy Land, Melville, on October 7, 1856, wrote to his Uncle Peter Gansevoort,²⁷⁹ to inform him of his expected day of departure, and to say good-bye to him, his wife, and his children, Catherine and Henry.

The greater portion of Melville's letter, of September 15, 1857, to G. W. Curtis, was concerned with the disposition of the plates of The Confidence-Man, but it also, contained a humorous reference to his preparations for his first lecture season, which was then in prospect. "I have been trying to scratch my brains for a lecture," he wrote. "What is a good, earnest subject? 'Daily progress of man towards a state of intellectual & moral perfection as evidenced in history of 5th Avenue & 5 points.'"²⁸⁰

In October, of 1857, Melville received an invitation to lecture, from the Clarksville Literary Association, of Clarksville, Tennessee. On the letter of invitation, he wrote a draft²⁸¹ of his reply, on October 20, 1857, which stated: that he would accept the invitation; that the latter part of January would be the time; that a fifty dollar fee was average; and that he would write again when other arrangements had been completed.

279 Ibid., p. 523.

280 Ibid., p. 582.

281 Ibid., p. 583.

On November 6, 1858, Melville wrote to his friend, George Duyckinck, and thanked him for his gift of a five-volume set of Chapman's translation of Homer, which he had received earlier. "Indisposition," he said, "has prevented me from writing you ere now." Then, he expressed his critical opinion of Pope's translation, in the following unique manner: "As for Pope's version (of which I have a copy) I expect it, - when I shall put Chapman beside it - to go off shreiking, like the bankrupt deities in Milton's hymn. . . ." ²⁸²

On December 1, 1858, Mr. James G. Wilson invited Melville to lecture in Chicago for the Young Men's Association. Melville wrote his reply on December 8, and stated that he would come for a fifty dollar fee, "the amount which the other lecturers you name receive." ²⁸³ He expressed the hope, however, that Wilson could obtain other engagements for him, in that area, as he suggested.

From Mr. W. H. Barry, of Lynn, Massachusetts, Melville received an invitation to lecture, on February 2, 1859. On February 12, the author replied that he had two lectures, and was willing to come and deliver both of them, as Barry had intimated. He named "The South Seas" and "Statues in Rome" as the lectures, and said, with respect to fees: "I should think that, in the present case, thirty dollars for each lecture

282 Ibid., p. 596.

283 Ibid., p. 597.

would not be too much."²⁸⁴

12. Final Letters of Herman Melville

We know, from references to them in the letters of other, that Melville wrote a number of letters, which have not survived, while making the voyage with his brother, Tom, on the Meteor. In addition to the letters to his children, which do exist and have been discussed, there is a note to his brother-in-law, Samuel Shaw, which also has survived. It was written, from San Francisco, on October 16, 1860, and enclosed in the author's letter to Lemuel Shaw, his father-in-law. Oddly enough, though the note exists, the letter, in which it was enclosed, does not, or if it does, has not been found.

Melville thanked Sam for an interesting letter which he had received from him, and said, it "merits a longer & more communicative reply than I shall be able to make." Then he closed with a reference to his eyes, which troubled him frequently and with an appeal to Sam's Christianity which was cleverly employed to make his brother-in-law willingly accept a mere note, when he was entitled to a much longer reply: "Indeed, as I write by night (rather unusual for me)", he said, "and my eyes feel tired, all I can add here is, that I hope you are a good enough Christian in this matter of correspondence to be willing

284 Ibid., p. 602.

cheerfully to give much and receive little."²⁸⁵

Through the letter of Oliver Russ,²⁸⁶ we learn that Melville wrote to his old sailor friend, on December 18, 1860, but we do not have Melville's letter. From "Pittsfield End of December?"²⁸⁷ 1860, Melville wrote to his old friend, Richard Tobias Greene, "Toby", and informed him of the engraved spoons that he would send as gifts to Herman Melville Greene and Richard Melville Hair, Toby's son and nephew, respectively, and both named, in part, after the author.

During the early part of 1861, when Melville was seeking a government appointment to a consulship, he wrote many letters to persons whom he felt were influential enough to assist him. We have discussed his letters to his Uncle Peter and to Richard Dana, Jr.; and, we have mentioned a letter which he wrote to Mr. Thurlow Weed, after he missed seeing him at the Astor, on the morning of March 20, 1861. To Mr. Weed, he wrote in part:

I have thought that you might remember me sufficiently to justify my asking your friendly aid. -
I desire to obtain the appointment of Consul at Florence.

I have taken steps to secure strong letters to Senator Sumner of Massachusetts - the state of my present residence. But, above all, an earnest letter from yourself to Gov. Seward would further my design. . . . 288

285 Ibid., p. 630.

286 Ibid., p. 630.

287 Ibid., p. 631.

288 Ibid., p. 635.

In Washington, on the morning of March 28, 1861, Melville saw, and talked with Charles Sumner. After leaving the Senator, Melville received a letter which made it necessary for him to leave Washington early the next day. He tried to find Sumner again, during the afternoon and evening, but without success. Therefore, he wrote the Senator a letter, which contained the explanation above, and the following, as well:

Permit me to thank you very much for your friendliness, and to hope that you may yet efficaciously exert it in my behalf.

I desire to be considered as an applicant for the consulship at Glasgow.

My affair has thus far been pretty much entirely in your hands, and with you I must now leave it. 289

Melville's mentioning his "desire to be considered as an applicant for the consulship at Glasgow," is worthy of brief consideration. Up to this point, all references, by himself and others, had been to Florence as the seat of the desired consulship. Perhaps, in his talk with Senator Sumner, that morning, he learned that a Florence appointment was no longer available, or was impossible of attainment for him. If this were the case, Sumner may have mentioned other posts that were still open, and Melville may have been given a little time to think of the one that he preferred to make a bid for. When

called home suddenly, because of the illness of Judge Shaw, and being unable to see Sumner again, in person, he may have been informing him, that he preferred, of the remaining posts, the consulship at Glasgow.

On April 8, 1864, Herman Melville and his brother, Allan, were issued a pass, by order of the Secretary of War Stanton,²⁹⁰ to visit the Virginia camp, of the Army of the Potomac, where their cousin, "Colonel Henry S. Gansevoort, was stationed with his cavalry regiment."²⁹¹ From "New York May 10th 1864," Melville wrote his cousin a letter of thanks, in which he explained the reason for his delay, as follows: "I embrace the earliest opportunity afforded by my recovery from an acute attack of neuralgia in the eyes, to thank you for your hospitality at the camp, and make known the fact that I have not forgotten you. I enjoyed my visit very much, & would not have missed it on any account . . ."²⁹²

He asked to be remembered to many of the officers, whom he met there: Captain Brewster, whose flannel shirt he brought away with him; Edwin Lansing; and "Dr Wolf (savage name, but sweet man) . . ."

290 Ibid., p. 666.

291 Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, p. 606.

292 Ibid., pp. 606-607.

And Gen Tyler, too. Pray, give my respects to him, & say that I agree with him about "Titan." The worst thing I can say about it is that it is a little better than "Mardi". The Terence I highly value; indeed both works, as memorial of the hospitality of an accomplished General & jolly Christian. 293

He closed his letter by giving to his final words the tone of a farewell military salute to a hero - the hero being, none other than his own cousin, Henry Sanford Gansevoort.

On his visit to the military camp of his cousin, Colonel Gansevoort, Melville met and spent some pleasant hours with Brigadier-General Robert O. Tyler, whom he mentioned in the letter to Henry, discussed above. On July 21, 1864, Melville wrote a letter to this general, who, at the time, was wounded, and in this letter, the author revealed his ability to express himself in a cheerful and witty manner, without saying anything inappropriate on such an occasion. He wrote as follows:

When I read of you at Cold-Harbor, I recalled your hospitality at Fairfax, and the agreeable evening I spent with you there . . .

Though I hope I am patriotic - enthusiastically so - yet I will not congratulate you, General, upon your wound, but will reserve that for the scar, which will be equally glorious and not quite so irksome. . . .294

Then he said, seriously, that he was glad the General

293 Ibid., p. 607.

294 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, II, p. 670.

was no worse, and was improving; and, in another gay manner, spoke of how the ladies, who "have a natural weakness for heroes" must be hovering over him. Considering this, he said, "I don't know but that I ought to congratulate you at once, after all."

Not desiring, however, to make his letter too lengthy, he closed it wittily as follows: "But methinks I hear somebody say, Dont bore him with too long a yarn."²⁹⁵

In 1865, T. B. Peterson and Brothers, a publishing firm in Philadelphia, having previously purchased the plates of Israel Poëter from the G. P. Putnam and Company, issued this novel under the title of "The Refugee, by Herman Melville, Author of 'Typee,' 'Omoo,' 'The Two Captains,' 'The Man of the World,' etc. etc."²⁹⁶ This action, on the part of Peterson and Brothers vexed Melville, in the extreme, and caused him to publish a protest against it in the New York World. The letter which he sent to the Editor of The World, in "March? 1865," said:

Permit me through your columns to make a disavowal. T. B. Peterson & Brothers, of Philadelphia, include in a late list of their publications "The Refugee; by Herman Melville."

I have never written any work by that title. In connection with that title Peterson Brothers employ

295 Ibid., p. 670.

296 Ibid., p. 672.

my name without authority, and notwithstanding a remonstrance conveyed to them long ago. 297

In his own room and with the door locked, on September 11, 1867, Malcolm Melville, the author's son, committed suicide by shooting himself in the head with a pistol. The following passage, from a letter written by Melville to his brother-in-law, John C. Hoadley, "September 13? 1867," is concerned with an aspect of this sad event:

I wish you could have seen him as he lay in his last attitude, the ease of a gentle nature. Mackie never gave me a disrespectful word in his life, nor in any way failed in filialness. 298

In "December? 1867," Melville, having received a volume of verse and a letter from Charles Warren Stoddard, expressed, in his reply, the pleasure which he had received from "the printed verses," and stated that, "among others," he "was quite struck with the little effusion entitled 'Cherries and Grapes.'" And, evidently in reply to something, on the subject, in Stoddard's letter, Melville added: "I do not wonder that you found no traces of me in the Hawaiian Islands."²⁹⁹

If the accounts are true, of Melville's experiences as a beachcomber in the Hawaiian Islands, while awaiting an

297 Ibid., p. 672. See also: Minnigerode, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville, pp. 167-168.

298 Ibid., p. 689.

299 Ibid., p. 693.

opportunity to get back home; he may have been thinking of such experiences, with an inward smile, when he made this statement to Stoddard.

On "May 13, 1869," Melville wrote a brief business note "to Elias Dexter, framer, at 562 Broadway," about a picture, "that mezzotint, The Healing of the Blind [by Rembrant],"³⁰⁰ which the author had left at Dexter's place.

The author's letter to his Uncle Peter Gansevoort, written on June 9, 1869, contained, among the usual news of his family, a special invitation to Catherine Gansevoort to be sure to stop at "26th St.," when she visited New York, as he had heard she planned to do soon. "We have a vacant room at her service," he said, "and expect her to occupy it ere long. All she has to do, is to notify us a day or two beforehand."³⁰¹

In reply to a request from Samuel Drake, for information on his grandfather, Major Thomas Melville, Herman Melville, on April 30, 1872, replied that all the information that he possessed was "of that familiar sort hardly adapted to historical use;" and expressed his "regret at being forced to send" the historian, "so barren a response."³⁰²

On October 29, 1874, Melville wrote his Uncle Peter

300 Ibid., p. 701.

301 Ibid., p. 702.

302 Ibid., p. 725.

a letter of condolence, on the occasion of the death of his wife, Susan Gansevoort, who died in Albany on the day before. After assuring his uncle of his own and his wife's "true sympathies," he said: "May God keep you, and console you."³⁰³

Fourteen months and six days later, Melville wrote a letter of condolence to Abraham Lansing, in reply to Lansing's telegram which informed him of Peter Gansevoort's death. The author had, on that same day, just completed arrangements with G. P. Putnam and Sons for the publication of Clarel, financed by his uncle. In his reply to Lansing, he made a specific reference to this:

. . . Uncle is released from his suffering. - In peace. - The event happened at a time which brings it home to me most sensibly, since, as it happened, only to-day I made arrangements for that publication which he (inspired by the spirit of Aunt Susan) enabled me to effect. ³⁰⁴

From "N. Y. 10⁴ E. 26th St. Oct. 5, '85," Melville wrote the only letter, that survives - of at least several, no doubt - to Ellen Marett Gifford, his wife's cousin. This letter "(sent with a photograph)," writes Mr. Leyda, "gives us a glimpse of a pleasant intimacy of thoughts & feelings - as background to the several gifts & encounters whose traces have not been erased. Ellen Martha Marett, who married Arthur N. Gifford in 1858, was the semi-invalid daughter of Philip Marett . . ."³⁰⁵

303 Ibid., p. 739.

304 Ibid., p. 746.

305 Ibid., I, p. xxvi.

In his letter, Melville said that he was sending his photograph, which she had, sometime ago, requested,,and he referred to it as, "the veritable face . . . of your now venerable friend - venerable in years." Then he continued with:

What the deuse makes him look so serious, I wonder. I thought he was of a gay and frolicsome nature, judging from a little rhyme of his about a Kitten, which you once showed me. But is this the same man? Pray, explain the inconsistency, or I shall begin to suspect your venerable friend of being a two-faced old fellow and not to be trusted. 306

In mentioning "a little rhyme of his about a Kitten," Melville was referring to a poem, written by him, entitled, "Montaigne and His Kitten," which is "gay and frolicsome" in nature. In it, the philosophical essayist, Montaigne, is depicted talking to his kitten, Blanche, about their forgetting the serious things of life, and surrendering themselves to a night of care-free play. Although "play," and not "love," is the dominant element, there is a Robert Herrick-like spirit in the tone and texture of the poem. The last stanza illustrates this well:

Preaching, prosing - scud and run,
Earnestness is far from fun.
Bless me, Blanche; we'll frisk to-night,
Hearts be ours lilt and light -
Gambol, skip, and frolic, play:
Wise ones fool it while they may! 307

306 Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, p. 622.

307 Herman Melville, "Montaigne and His Kitten," in Collected Poems of Herman Melville, Edited by Howard P. Vincent, Chicago, Packard and Company-Hendricks House, 1947, p. 382.

The remainder of Melville's letter to Mrs. Gifford contained news, for her, about his daughter, Bessie, and his wife, Lizzie; and expressed the sincere hope that Mrs. Gifford, at present, was exempt from her "more serious pain, I mean," he said, "the neuralgia." Then, as he frequently did, in many of his letters to other persons, he begged her not to exert herself, "out of courtesy, in the unnecessary matter of answering this note;" and ended with this interesting complimentary close: "I am always, in one respect at least, like yourself-Friendly to the friendly . . ."308

From a Melville postscript, which was added to this letter, it appears as though Melville made a practice of enclosing rose leaves (petals) in all of his letters to this friend:

You see the rose-leaves have not yet given out. I shall always try and have a rose-leaf reserved for you, be the season what it may. 309

Mention already has been made of the friendships, which Melville established, during his later years, through correspondence alone, with several English admirers of his works; and his letters to James Billson have been discussed. In addition to James Billson, John W. Barrs, and Henry S. Salt,

308 Jay Leyda, The Portable Melville, p. 623.

309 Ibid., p. 623.

another English admirer was the sea author, W. Clark Russell, to whom Melville dedicated his privately printed volume of verse, John Marr and Other Sailors, in 1888.

Over two years before the appearance of John Marr, on April 7, 1886, Melville had written a letter to Russell, which was delivered to him by Peter Toft, in which he endorsed the Englishman's praise of Richard Henry Dana, Jr.³¹⁰

On June 22, 1886, Melville wrote a sarcastic reply to a question asked him by Leonard G. Sanford. "No," he said, "I did not go [on] a voyage round the world in 1863. - The Cyclopedias are not infallible, no more than the Pope."³¹¹ In other sentences, in the letter, he told Sanford that he was "glad to know that" he liked "some of the books;" and he congratulated him "upon the honor of having been a whale-hunter in" his "time."

Late in 1889, one of Melville's English friends, Henry S. Salt, desired to bring out a new edition of Typee in the Camelot Series, and wrote to the author proposing the plan. On January 12, 1890, Melville wrote, in reply: "The proposition to reprint 'Typee' somewhat embarrasses me, since the circumstances are such, that I can not feel myself at liberty to entertain it without first seeking light from Mr. Murray."³¹²

310 Jay Leyda, The Melville Log, II, p. 799.

311 Ibid., p. 800

312 Ibid., p. 820.

He then spoke of Salt's Life of James Thomson and said he would try to obtain a copy of the book in America. Following this, he made one of his brief, but penetrating critical comments on a literary work - in this instance, on a work which he genuinely admired: "The 'City of Dreadful Night' is the modern Book of Job, under an original poem duski~~ly~~ looming with the same aboriginal verities. Much more might be said; but enough . . ."313

On the same date, January 12, 1890, Melville wrote to John Murray about the proposition submitted to him by Henry S. Salt. Wherein we have seen, in letters discussed previously, that Melville was a good bargainer with his publishers when he had a manuscript to sell; the following paragraph, from this letter to Murray, reveals how strictly ethical he was in his dealings after a bargain had been made:

I have no exact knowledge as to the bearing at this present time of the Copyright Law on the matter. But even if that set the book free, I should, under the circumstances, still feel myself bound to write you this note, and say that my consent to the proposition in question must be contingent upon yours. 314

On February 25, 1890, Melville wrote to Henry S. Salt again, and this time, informed him that his reply from Murray

313 Ibid., p. 820.

314 Ibid., p. 821.

was of such a nature, "that I consider myself bound, by considerations both of right & courtesy," he said, "not to sanction any English issue of the book - (during my lifetime) other than that of the original purchaser and publisher."³¹⁵

To his cousin, Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, Melville, on May 23, 1890, sent, enclosed in a letter, "a P. O. order [for \$134]" as "his share of expenses in the lot in Albany Cementary."

"For the interest you have shown in overseeing the work,-" he wrote, "an interest whereof Kate (my sister) and Lottie (at present both here in N. Y.) have told me, I, for one, am by no means unappreciative."³¹⁶

The last Melville letter, recorded and quoted from by Mr. Leyda in The Melville Log, is dated August 10, 1890. On that date, Melville wrote a reply to a letter which he had received from Havelock Ellis, requesting information regarding the races to which he traced himself back on his father's side and on his mother's side. Melville supplied the English author with the following information:

My great grandfather on the paternal side was a native of Scotland. On the maternal side, and in the same remove, my progenitor was a native of Holland; and, on that side, the wives were all of like ancestry.

As to any strain of other blood, I am ignorant,

315 Ibid., p. 823.

316 Ibid., p. 825.

except that my paternal grandfather's wife was of Irish Protestant stock. 317

Herman Melville was a superb letter writer. Great artist that he was, he could never write anything without stamping it with his own powerful and decidedly individualistic personality. He was a man with deep feelings, deep emotions, and deep convictions. Furthermore, this man Melville knew a great deal, for he had seen much and experienced much, and he was a reader and a thinker. His knowledge was broad, almost encyclopedic in scope, though not formalized; and he was, notwithstanding this, a sincere and earnest man; and he was open and outspoken.

But there was another side to Melville; he was decidedly human. He had an intense love for family and friends. He loved good cheer; good food; good drink; and good company. He was a fun loving, pipe smoking, talkative man; witty and genial, and possessed of a deep sense of humor. Of course, this was not the case always and everywhere, for Melville was also shy and sensitive; but among his family and friends, and in his books and in his letters, his many-sided personality revealed itself. Thus the letters of Herman Melville possess an almost infinite variety. In him, the creative process was perpetually at work, and he could no more write an ordinary letter than he could write an ordinary book.

CONCLUSION

No one would dare claim for Melville's journals, lectures, and letters, a major place in his literary canon. As a writer, Herman Melville was a novelist, mainly; a great novelist, whose fame is still on the rise; and his major works are definitely his long pieces of prose fiction - his novels. His journals, his lectures, and his letters, though very important in many respects, distinctly belong among his lesser works.

Melville, as we have seen, first won popular acclaim, abroad and at home, with Typee, which he followed quickly with Omoo, another sensational success. Two years later, he published both Mardi, for which his personal opinion was high and his hopes great, but which the public completely misunderstood and disliked, and Redburn, which the public accepted with favor, but which Melville himself either scoffed at, in earnest, or pretended to scorn. During the next year, White-Jacket made its timely appearance and had a good reception by its readers, though its author considered it not the type of book that he wished to continue to write. Then, in 1851, came a truly great book, his masterpiece, Moby-Dick, which was followed, the next year, by Pierre, his great failure. Three years later, Israel Potter was published in book form, after having appeared previously as a serial in Putnam's Magazine; and two years after this, The Confidence-Man, another one of

his misunderstood and unappreciated books, was published. A year before this, he had issued a volume of short stories and sketches, The Piazza Tales; thus, The Confidence-Man became the last book of prose that Melville saw through the press during his lifetime.

Excluding The Piazza Tales, the other nine books, mentioned above, are all novels, and they, together with his tenth novel, the much later written and posthumously published Billy Budd, form the major works in the Melville canon. With them Melville earned his literary fame during his lifetime, and upon them, mainly rests his great reputation today.

The full story of Melville as poet has not yet been told, though Clarel and his other three volumes of verse are beginning to receive the careful study and evaluation which they deserve.¹ What will be the final outcome of these scholarly investigations remains to be seen, but until his poetry has been thoroughly analyzed, better understood, and

¹ Among several recent studies, see Walter E. Bezanson's studies on Clarel, and Chapters XV and XVI in Ronald Mason's The Spirit Above the Dust: A Study of Herman Melville. A new edition of Clarel, edited by Mr. Bezanson, has been announced by Hendricks House.

"William Bysshe Stein has been awarded a Bolligen fellowship for the next three years to study Melville's poetry and its imagery." (The Melville Society Newsletter, Vol. 10, No. 1, issue of Spring, 1954, p. 3.)

"Dan Vogel is preparing at New York University a doctoral dissertation to be entitled: 'A Critical Study of Melville's Shorter Published Verse.'" (The Melville Society Newsletter, Vol. 11, No. 2, issue of Summer, 1955, p. 3.)

fully interpreted, and until all of the complex facets of its complete story have been revealed, it must yield rank, in the Melville canon, not only to his great novels, but likewise to many of his shorter pieces of prose fiction, which long have received their just share of critical attention and appreciation. Pieces like "Benito Cereno," "Bartleby," "The Encantadas," and the others, which appeared in The Piazza Tales, as well as, "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs," "The Paradise of Bachelors and the Tartarus of Maids," "The Two Temples," and others, which remained uncollected or unpublished until the twentieth century, are worthy and representative works of the great novelist, and the recognized artistic qualities which they possess, have caused them to add to, rather than detract from, his eminence as a man of letters.

That Melville's journals, lectures, and letters should occupy a minor place among his complete works, and rank below his novels, short stories, and poems, is quite understandable and expected. Journals, lectures, and letters, by their very natures, are minor forms of literature, and never do they - no matter how excellent they may be - surpass the other more complex and artistic productions of great authors.

This fact, however, does not prevent journals, lectures, and letters from becoming, in many respects, very valuable additions to an author's canon, nor does it prohibit an author - if he chooses to do so - from achieving relatively high standards

of excellence in his production of these minor literary forms. All three forms, as we have seen, are certainly important additions to Melville's works, for besides having provided us with further concrete evidence of his versatility as a man of letters, they have served to supply us with many vital facts - biographical, historical, and critical in nature, which have enabled us better to understand and appreciate Melville, the man; the times in which he lived; and the other literary works which he produced.

But when it comes to an author choosing to achieve high standards of excellence in the production of these minor forms of literature, we know that Melville, in the case of two of the forms, did not noticeably exert himself in this regard. As a matter of fact, if there was any exertion on his part at all, in these two cases, it seems to have been directed toward his attitude of indifference. And this, no doubt, is another reason why his journals, at best, are fragmentary, and why he failed to succeed as a lecturer.

Many authors, down through the ages, have found it particularly advantageous to jot down notes on their day-to-day experiences, observations, and thoughts. Later, such notes, containing their spontaneous reactions to aspects of the outer and inner world, often have served them as sources of material for important literary works. As we have seen, the nineteenth century in which Melville lived, was an age when literary men

made quite a practice of making such notes and of keeping them in journals, diaries, and notebooks. In a great many cases, these writers took a serious attitude toward this literary activity, and methodically recorded something of interest, almost daily, in the private books which they kept for this purpose.

Although Melville, after writing five books, finally proved himself to be a typical nineteenth century author, in this regard, by keeping three journals, he never seems to have been able to take the activity as seriously as he should, nor to have proceeded with it in a methodical manner. As far as we know, he kept no journal of his early and exciting voyages to Liverpool and the South Seas, but, after writing five books based upon these experiences, he became "acutely aware that such a journal would have saved him a considerable amount of trouble and expense in collecting the reference books that he actually used to supplement his memory of details."² His three journals deal with the three voyages which he took as a gentleman traveller, but even after becoming an author five times, and after realizing how valuable journals might be to a professional writer, he did not leave us the type of carefully prepared documents of these trips that one would expect.

Nevertheless, Melville found two of these journals very

2 Leon Howard, Herman Melville: A Biography, p. 139.

useful to him later, for he drew upon the material in them rather extensively for some of his short stories; for certain scenes in a novel; and for a considerable number of his poems, including the two-volume narrative poem, Clarel. Students of Melville, also, have found all of his journals valuable in some respects. Especially have these documents been helpful in casting additional light upon some facts about his life, about his poetry and prose, and about his creative process or method of writing.

Still, by comparison with his literary contemporaries, Melville can claim no laurels as a keeper of journals. Perhaps he began keeping journals too late to master the techniques and discipline of this literary form. By 1849 and 1850 his old habit of seeing and enjoying the world, unmolested by notebook and pen, might have had too strong a hold on him. If this is true, he could have thoroughly appreciated the value of the activity, but still have found the practice of it tedious. It was perhaps much easier for him simply to trust everything to his memory as he had done in the past, than to interrupt his enjoyment of an experience to record it in a journal or notebook. But, be this as it may, we do know, from the facts as we have them, that Herman Melville was only an occasional, unmethodical keeper of journals, and that he left to posterity only three brief journals - all fragments, and one of these, the merest of fragments. Yet these journals, fragments though they

are, were very useful to the author during the middle and late years of his life, and since his death, they have served posterity exceedingly well, so far, and are continuing to do so.

There is no reason to doubt that, by 1857, Herman Melville was ready to follow the example of many of his literary contemporaries and world travellers, and mount the lecture platforms of the nation. In November of that year he launched his career as a lecturer in Lawrence, Massachusetts, and had a second engagement, the following evening, at Concord, New Hampshire. During December, he appeared in Boston, Montreal, New Haven, and in Auburn, New York. In January and February, of 1858, he made his first tour of the Midwest, and had a rather busy season in the East, after he returned home. He was a "veteran" lecturer of over one year's experience when he wrote the now famous and frequently quoted letter to George Duyckinck and proclaimed: "I should be glad to lecture (in Jersey City) - or anywhere. If they will pay expenses, and give a reasonable fee, I am ready to lecture in Labrador or on the Isle of Desolation off Patagonia."³

It is the serious portion of this serio-comic statement that should be stressed, and that part is: "I should be glad to lecture there - or anywhere" for expenses and "a reasonable

³ Herman Melville, "Letter to George Duyckinck, Pittsfield Dec. 20th - Monday (1858)," in Willard Thorp, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, p. 397.

fee." Melville needed the money, for his last novel, The Confidence-Man, had not succeeded, and after his return from a trip abroad, he had no other good prospects for earning a living, immediately in view. Lecturing was in vogue, and many writers were taking advantage of the opportunities that came to them to earn extra money by appearing on the lecture platform. Thus, if he could earn his expenses and receive additional fees by this means, Melville was certainly in earnest about being willing to do so.

Between the early winter of 1857 and the late winter of 1860, he prepared and delivered lectures on three topics: "Statues in Rome," "The South Seas," and "Travelling." No manuscript copies of these speeches are known to exist, but many accounts of them have been found in the newspapers of some of the towns and cities in which he lectured, and in the letters of his cousin, Henry Sanford Gansevoort. From these reports, it definitely appears that Melville was a dull and unsuccessful lecturer. In the first place, his lecture subjects appear either to have been ill-chosen, or if not ill-chosen, certainly not treated in a manner which would make them appeal to the general public. Melville's audiences came to hear an exciting speech delivered by a famous author who had once been a traveller and adventurer in distant and strange parts of the world, but the pseudo-academic discussion which they heard was a great disappointment to them. Furthermore,

he seems to have been deficient in most of the other qualities of a popular lecturer, including above all things, the lack of force in delivery.

Evidently, Melville was quite serious about being willing to earn some much-needed money by lecturing, but obviously, speech-making as an art, did not appeal to him, and he seems not to have exerted himself to succeed in it. If he had, he certainly would have noticed the reactions of his audiences; he would have read and been concerned about the unfavorable newspaper reports; and, from lecture to lecture, he would have corrected noticeable faults and gradually improved. But Melville apparently did none of these things. He merely continued to lecture, in his usual listless manner, until he had made twenty-eight or more appearances, and until an opportunity came for him to escape, gracefully, from the whole business of speech-making, once and for all. This opportunity came in the form of an invitation from his brother, Captain Thomas Melville, who invited the author to sail with him around the Horn to San Francisco and across the Pacific, on the clipper ship, Meteor. They did not sail until May 30, 1860, but Melville abruptly ended his third season of lecturing on February 21, after an appearance at the Dowse Institute in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts.

Herman Melville was a superb letter writer. The salient faults and shortcomings, the dullness and lack of enthusiasm

which he displayed in his journals and lectures, are conspicuously absent from all of his letters, whether long or short, business or social. Whatever it was that caused him to adopt - what appears to have been - a careless and indifferent attitude toward his journals, and whatever it was in his lectures that prevented him from establishing rapport between his audiences and himself, completely disappeared and left him unhampered when he sat down to write a letter. The Melville of the letters is a totally different man from the author of the journals and lectures. In the letters we see a Melville who is alive and sensitive, warm-hearted and human, personal and self-revealing; we see an excellent writer of prose who is a master of the correct phrase and who carefully selects and controls it; and we see a creative artist who is master of an effective epistolary style possessing both charm and elegance.

Because of his journals, lectures, and letters, we know a great deal more about Herman Melville than we should have known had he not produced these lesser forms of literature. Specifically, they enable us better to understand many more aspects of his complex personal life; to analyze and interpret, with a greater degree of clarity and accuracy, an increased number of the other major and minor works in his literary canon; to obtain a vivid picture of many phases of the stirring period in American history in which he lived; to see and appreciate the actual extent to which he was an active participant in the

events of his age; and to understand better his relationships with the men, women, and children of the times - his relatives, his friends, and his business associates.

In a broad general sense, the journals, lectures, and letters, deepen our appreciation for the versatility of Melville's genius. And though they must always remain among his minor works, with no chance of ever rivalling Moby-Dick and the other major works in his literary canon, this much may be said for the excellent letters, that if Melville had written no major works, the superb qualities of these very same letters would have assured him of attaining recognition and a place of standing among the men of literature.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aaron, Daniel, "Melville and the Missionaries," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 3, issue of September, 1935, p. 404-408.

Aaron, Daniel, "An English Enemy of Melville," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 4, issue of December, 1935, p. 561-567.

Adams, Frederick B., Jr., "The Crow's Nest," in Colophon, New Series, Vol. 2, No. 1, issue of Autumn, 1936, p. 148-154.

Aderman, Ralph M., "When Melville Lectured Here," in (Milwaukee) Historical Messenger, Vol. 9, issue of June, 1953, p. 3-5.

Adkins, Nelson F., "A Note on Herman Melville's Typee," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 1, issue of April, 1932, p. 348-351.

Ament, William S., "Bowdler and The Whale: Some Notes on the First English and American Editions of Moby-Dick," in American Literature, Vol. 4, No. 1, issue of March, 1932, p. 39-46.

Ament, William S., "Some Americanisms in Moby-Dick," in American Speech, Vol. 7, No. 5, issue of June, 1932, p. 365-367.

Anderson, Charles R., "With Melville in the South Seas," Dissertation, Columbia University, 1935.

Anderson, Charles R., "A Reply to Herman Melville's White-Jacket by Rear-Admiral Thomas O. Selfridge, Sr.," in American Literature, Vol. 7, No. 2, issue of May, 1935, p. 123-144.

Anderson, Charles R., Editor, Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844, in the Frigate United States, With Notes on Herman Melville, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1937, VI-143 pages, illustrated.

Anderson, Charles R., "Contemporary American Opinions of Typee and Omoo," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 1, issue of March, 1937, p. 1-25.

Anderson, Charles R., Melville in the South Seas, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939, XII-522 pages.

Anderson, Charles R., "Melville's English Debut," in American Literature, Vol. 11, No. 1, issue of March, 1939, p. 23-38.

Anderson, Charles R., "The Genesis of Billy Budd," in American Literature, Vol. 12, No. 3, issue of November, 1940, p. 329-346.

Andrews, Roy Kevin V., "Prometheus and Ahab: A Study in Clarity and Chaos," Honors Thesis, Harvard University, 1947.

Anonymous, "A Trio of American Sailor-Authors," in Dublin University Magazine, Vol. 47, No. 277, issue of January, 1856, p. 47-54. (Reprinted in Littell's Living Age, Vol. 48, issue of March 1, 1856, p. 560-566.)

Anonymous, "Moby-Dick," in Critic, New Series, Vol. 19, No. 582, issue of April 15, 1893, p. 232.

Anonymous, "Neglected American Classic," in Literary Digest, Vol. 70, No. 3, issue of July 16, 1921, p. 26.

Anonymous, "Mystery of Herman Melville," in Current Opinion, Vol. 71, No. 4, issue of October, 1921, p. 502-503.

Anonymous, "Herman Melville's Silence," in Times Literary Supplement, Vol. 23, No. 1173, issue of July 10, 1924, p. 433.

Anonymous, "Journal of Melville's Voyage in a Clipper Ship," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 1, issue of January, 1929, p. 120-125.

Anonymous, "Herman Melville's Pierre," in Times Literary Supplement, Vol. 29, No. 1500, issue of October 30, 1930, p. 884.

Anonymous, "Melville and His Public," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 5, issue of August, 1942, p. 67-71.

Anonymous, "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 7, issue of October, 1942, p. 111-112.

Anonymous, "Melville's Journey: The Conflict of Heart and Mind," in Times Literary Supplement, Vol. 45, No. 2293, issue of January 12, 1946, p. 18.

Anonymous, "Notes on Melville," in Newsweek, Vol. 38, No. 20, issue of November 12, 1951, p. 110-112.

Anonymous, "An Opera Text," in London Times Literary Supplement, No. 2601, issue of Friday, December 7, 1951, p. 785.

Arms, George, "Moby-Dick and 'The Village Blacksmith'," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 192, No. 9, issue of May 3, 1947, p. 187-188.

Arvin, Newton, "A Note on the Background of Billy Budd," in American Literature, Vol. 20, No. 1, issue of March, 1948, p. 51-55.

Arvin, Newton, Editor, Moby-Dick or The Whale, by Herman Melville, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1948, XXXIII-566 pages.

Arvin, Newton, "Melville and the Gothic Novel," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 1, issue of March, 1949, p. 33-48.

Arvin, Newton, "Melville's Mardi," in American Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 1, issue of Spring, 1950, p. 71-81.

Arvin, Newton, Herman Melville, New York, William Sloane Associates, 1950, XIII-316 pages. (American Men of Letters Series.)

Ashley, Clifford W., "The Original Crew List of the Acushnet," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 2, issue of May, 1942, p. 20.

Auden, W. H., "Herman Melville," a poem in Another Time, London, Faber and Faber, 1940, p. 33-34.

Auden, W. H., "The Christian Tragic Hero," in New York Times Book Review, Vol. 50, No. 50, issue of December 16, 1945, p. 1, 21.

Auden, Wystan Hugh, The Enchafed Flood, New York, Random House, 1950, 154 pages.

Babcock, C. Merton, "Melville's Backwoods Seamen," in Western Folklore, Vol. 10, No. 2, issue of April, 1951, p. 126-133.

Babcock, C. Merton, "The Language of Melville's 'Isolatoos'," in Western Folklore, Vol. 10, No. 4, issue of October, 1951, p. 285-289.

Babcock, C. Merton, "Archaisms in Moby-Dick," in Word Study, Vol. 27, No. 2, issue of December, 1951, p. 7-8.

Babcock, C. Merton, "The Vocabulary of Moby Dick," in Journal of American Speech, Vol. 28, No. 2, issue of May, 1952, p. 91-101.

Babcock, C. Merton, "Melville's World Language," in Southern Folklore Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 3, issue of September, 1952, p. 177-182.

Babcock, C. Merton, "Melville's Proverbs of the Sea," in Western Folklore, Vol. II, issue of 1952, p. 254-265.

Babcock, C. Merton, "Melville's 'Moby Dictionary'," in Word Study, Vol. 29, No. 2, issue of December, 1953, p. 7-8.

Baird, James R., "Herman Melville and Primitivism," Dissertation, Yale University, 1947.

Baker, Carlos, "Of Art and Artifacts," in New York Times Book Review, Vol. 52, no number, issue of August 10, 1947, p. 2.

Barrett, Laurence N., "Fiery Hunt: A Study of Melville's Theory of the Artist," Dissertation, Princeton University, 1949.

Barry, Sister Marie of the Trinity, "The Problem of Shifting Voice and Point of View in Melville's Early Novels and Moby-Dick," Dissertation, Catholic University of America, 1951.

Beharriell, Stanley Ross, "The Head and the Heart in Melville," Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1954.

Belgion, Montgomery, "Heterodoxy on Moby Dick?" in Sewanee Review, Vol. 55, No. 1, issue of January-March, 1947, p. 108-125.

Bell, Millicent, "Pierre Bayle and Moby Dick," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 66, No. 5, issue of September, 1951, p. 626-648.

Bell, Millicent, "Melville and Hawthorne at the Grave of St. John (A Debt to Pierre Boyle)." in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 67, No. 2, issue of February, 1952, p. 116-118.

Benet, William Rose, "Poet-in-Prose," in Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 30, No. 31, issue of August 2, 1947, p. 17.

Bennett, Arnold, The Savour of Life: Essays in Gusto, London, Cassell and Company, 1928, p. 248-249.

Berti, Luigi, "Melville viaggiatore o no," in La Fiera Letteraria (Italy), No. 26, issue of June 29, 1952, p. 1.

Berti, Luigi, "Fra Melville e Poe una affascinante parentela," in La Fiera Letteraria, No. 43, issue of October 26, 1952, p. 1.

Beverly, Gordon, "Herman Melville's Confidence," in London Times Literary Supplement, No. 2493, issue of Friday, November 11, 1949, p. 733.

Bewley, Marius, "A Truce of God for Melville," in Sewanee Review, Vol. 61, No. 4, issue of Autumn, 1953, p. 682-700.

Bezanson, Walter E., "Herman Melville's Clarel," Dissertation, Yale University, 1943.

Bezanson, Walter E., "Melville's Clarel: The Complex Passion," in A Journal of English Literary History, Vol. 21, No. 2, issue of June, 1954, p. 146-159.

Bezanson, Walter E., "Melville's Reading of Arnold's Poetry," in Publications of the Modern-Language Association, Vol. 68, No. 3, issue of June, 1954, p. 365-391.

Birrell, Augustine, "The Great White Whale," in Athenaeum, no volume number, No. 4735, issue of January 28, 1921, p. 99-100. (Reprinted in Littell's Living Age, Vol. 308, No. 4001, issue of March 12, 1921, p. 659-661.)

Birss, John H., "A Letter of Herman Melville," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 162, No. 3, issue of January 16, 1932, p. 39.

Birss, John H., "A Note on Melville's Mardi," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 162, No. 23, issue of June 4, 1932, p. 404.

Birss, John H., "An Obscure Melville Letter," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 163, No. 16, issue of October 15, 1932, p. 275.

Birss, John H., "Moby-Dick under Another Name," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 164, No. 12, issue of March 25, 1933, p. 206.

Birss, John H., "A Satire on Melville in Verse," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 165, No. 23, issue of December 9, 1933, p. 402.

Birss, John H., "Herman Melville Lectures in Yonkers," in American Book Collector, Vol. 5, No. 2, issue of February, 1934, p. 50-52.

Birss, John H., "Herman Melville and the Atlantic Monthly," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 167, No. 13, issue of September 29, 1934, p. 223-224.

Birss, John H., "'Travelling': A New Lecture by Herman Melville," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 4, issue of December, 1934, p. 725-728.

Birss, John H., "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of April, 1943, p. 11-12.

Birss, John H., "The Story of Toby, A Sequel to Typee," in Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol. 1, No. 1, issue of Winter, 1947, p. 118-119.

Birss, John H., "Another, but Later Redburn," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 6, No. 10, issue of January, 1947, p. 150.

Birss, John H., Editor, "'A Mere Sale to Effect' with Letters of Herman Melville," in The New Colophon, Vol. 1, part 3, issue of July, 1948, p. 239-255.

Blackmur, Richard P., "The Craft of Herman Melville: A Putative Statement," in The Expense of Greatness, New York, Arrow Editions, 1940, p. 139-166.

Blanck, Jacob, "News from the Rare Book Sellers," in Publishers' Weekly, Vol. 152, No. 8, Section 2, issue of August 23, 1947, p. B122.

Boynton, Percy H., "Herman Melville," in More Contemporary Americans, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1927, p. 29-50.

Braswell, William, "A Note on 'The Anatomy of Melville's Fame'," in American Literature, Vol. 5, No. 4, issue of January, 1934, p. 360-364.

Braswell, William, "Herman Melville and Christianity," Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1934.

Braswell, William, "The Satirical Temper of Melville's Pierre," in American Literature, Vol. 7, No. 4, issue of January, 1936, p. 424-438.

Braswell, William, "Melville as a Critic of Emerson," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 3, issue of November, 1937, p. 317-334.

Braswell, William, "Melville's Use of Seneca," in American Literature, Vol. 12, No. 1, issue of March, 1940, p. 98-104.

Braswell, William, Melville's Religious Thought: An Essay in Interpretation, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1943, IX-154 pages.

Braswell, William, "The Early Love Scenes of Melville's Pierre," in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 3, issue of November, 1950, p. 283-289.

Braswell, William, "Melville's Opinion of Pierre," in American Literature, Vol. 23, No. 2, issue of May, 1951, p. 246-250.

Britten, Benjamin, Billy Budd, An Opera in Four Acts, for Male Cast and Chorus, with Libretto by E. M. Forster and Eric Crozier, (London, 1951), New York, Boosey and Hawks, 1953.

Britten, Benjamin, Billy Budd, An Opera in Four Acts, American Television Premiere, NBC-TV, Sunday, October 19, 1952.

Brooks, Van Wyck, "A Reviewer's Notebook," in Freeman, Vol. 6, issue of February 14, 1923, p. 550-551, Vol. 7, issue of May 9, 1923, p. 214-215, issue of May 16, 1923, p. 238-239, issue of May 23, 1923, p. 262-263, issue of May 30, 1923, p. 286-287.

Brooks, Van Wyck, "Notes on Herman Melville," in Emerson and Others, New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1927, p. 171-205.

Brooks, Van Wyck, "Herman Melville," in Dictionary of American Biography, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, Vol. 12, p. 522-526.

Brooks, Van Wyck, The Times of Melville and Whitman, New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1947, 489 pages.

Brooks, Van Wyck, "Melville in the Berkshires," in Tiger's Eye, Vol. I, No. 1, issue of October, 1947, p. 47-52.

Brown, E. K., "Hawthorne, Melville and 'Ethan Brand'," in American Literature, Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of March, 1931, p. 72-75.

Buchanan, Robert, "Imperial Cockneydom," in Universal Review, Vol. 4, No number, issue of May-August, 1889, p. 71-91.

Burnam, Tom, "Tennyson's 'Ringing Grooves' and Captain Ahab's Grooved Soul," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 68, No. 6, issue of June, 1952, p. 423-424.

Cahoon, Herbert, "Herman Melville and W. H. Hudson," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 8, No. 9, issue of December, 1949, p. 131-132.

Cahoon, Herbert, "Herman Melville: A Check List of Books and Manuscripts in the Collections of the New York Public Library," in Bulletin of the New York Public Library, Vol. 55, Nos. 6 and 7, issues of June and July, 1951, p. 263-275 and 325-338.

Camillucci, Marcello, "Il grande Dio assoluto," in La Fiera Letteraria, No. 10, issue of March 6, 1953, p. 5.

Camillucci, Marcello, "Un centenario: Moby-Dick," in Vita e Pensiero, Vol. 36, issue of April, 1953, p. 183-189.

Campbell, Harry M., "The Hanging Scene in Melville's Billy Budd, Foretopman," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 66, No. 6, issue of June, 1951, p. 378-381.

Canby, Henry S., "Conrad and Melville," in Definitions: Essays in Contemporary Criticism, First Series, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1922, p. 257-268.

Canby, Henry S., "Hawthorne and Melville," in Classic Americans, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931, p. 226-262.

Canfield, Francis X., "Moby Dick and the Book of Job," in Catholic World, Vol. 174, issue of January, 1952, p. 254-260.

Carpenter, Frederic I., "Puritans Preferred Blondes: The Heroines of Melville and Hawthorne," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, issue of June, 1936, p. 253-272.

Carpenter, Frederic I., "Melville: The World in a Man-of-War," in University of Kansas City Review, Vol. 19, No. 4, issue of Summer, 1953, p. 257-264.

Cecchi, Emilio, "Moby Dick dopo un secolo," in La Riera Letteraria, No. 10, issue of March 8, 1953, p. 3.

Chapin, Henry, Editor, The Apple-Tree Table and Other Sketches, by Herman Melville, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1922, 329 pages.

Chapin, Henry, Editor, John Marr and Other Poems, by Herman Melville, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1922, 205 pages.

Charvat, William, "Melville's Income," in American Literature, Vol. 15, No. 3, issue of November, 1943, p. 251-261.

Chase, Frederic H., Lemuel Shaw, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1918, VI-330 pages.

Chase, Owen, Narrative of the Most Extraordinary and Distressing Shipwreck of the Whale-Ship Essex, of Nantucket, New York, W. B. Gilley, 1821, 128 pages.

Chase, Richard, "An Approach to Melville," in Partisan Review, Vol. 14, No. 3, issue of May-June, 1947, p. 285-295.

Chase, Richard, "Dissent on Billy Budd," in Partisan Review, Vol. 15, No. 11, issue of November, 1948, p. 1212-1218.

Chase, Richard, Herman Melville: A Critical Study, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1949, XIII-305 pages.

Chase, Richard, "Melville's Confidence Man," in The Kenyon Review, Vol. 11, No. 1, issue of Winter, 1949, p. 122-140.

Chase, Richard, Editor, Selected Tales and Poems, by Herman Melville, New York, Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1950, XXIV-417 pages.

Chase, Richard, "Real Melville," Review of The Melville Log, in Nation, Vol. 173, issue of December 1, 1951, p. 478.

Chasles, Philarete, "Herman Melville," in Etudes sur la litterature et les moeurs des Anglo-Américains au XIX^e siecle, Paris, Amyot, 1851, Section 3, p. 185-235. (Translated by Donald MacLeod as Anglo-American Literature and Manners, New York, 1852.)

Chasles, Philarete, "Voyages reels et fantastiques d'Herman Melville," in Revue des deux Mondes, issue of May 15, 1849, p. 541-570. Also see: Literary World, Vol. 5, issue of 1849, pp. 89-90, 101-103.

Coan, Titus M., "Herman Melville," in Literary World, Vol. 22, No. 26, issue of December 19, 1891, p. 492-493.

Colcord, Lincoln, "Notes on Moby Dick," in Freeman, Vol. 5, issue of August 23, 1922, p. 559-562, and issue of August 30, p. 585-587.

Collins, Carvel, "Melville's Moby-Dick," in Explicator, Vol. 5, No. 4, issue of February, 1946, p. 27.

Collins, Carvel, "Melville's Mardi," in Explicator, Vol. 12, No. 7, issue of May, 1954, Item 42.

Colum, Padraic, "Epic of the Sea," in A Half-Day's Ride, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1932, p. 175-179.-

Connolly, Thomas E., "A Note on Name-Symbolism in Melville," in American Literature, Vol. 25, No. 4, issue of January, 1954, p. 489-490.

Connor, C. H., "Moby Dick," in CEA Critic, Vol. 10, No. 1, issue of October, 1948, p. 3.

Cook, Reginald L., "Big Medicine in Moby-Dick," in Accent, Vol. 8, No. 2, issue of Winter, 1948, p. 102-109.

Cournos, John, "Herman Melville - the Seeker," and "The Comparison of Melville with Rimbaud and Doughty," in A Modern Plutarch, Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1928, p. 78-95, 127-134.

Cournot, Michael, "Essai sur Melville," in L'Arche, Vol. 3, Nos. 18-19, issue of August-September, 1946, p. 42-52.

Cowley, Malcolm, "Mythology and Melville," in New Republic, Vol. 123, No. 18, issue 1874, issue of October 30, 1950, p. 24-26.

Coxe, Louis O. and Robert H. Chapman, Billy Budd, A Play in Three Acts, Based on a Novel by Herman Melville, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1951.

Creeger, George R., "Color Symbolism in the Works of Herman Melville: 1846-1852," Dissertation, Yale University, 1952.

Culhane, Mary, "Thoreau, Melville, Poe, and the Romantic Quest," Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1945.

Curl, Vega, "Pasteboard Masks: Fact as Spiritual Symbol in the Novels of Hawthorne and Melville," Radcliffe Honors Thesis, Cambridge, 1931, 50 pages.

Dahl, Curtis, "Moby Dick and Reviews of The Cruise of the Cachalot," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 67, No. 7, issue of November, 1952, p. 471-472.

Dahlberg, Edward, "Laurels for Borrowers," in Freeman, Vol. 2, issue of December 17, 1951, p. 187-190.

Damon, S. Foster, "Pierre the Ambiguous," in Hound and Horn, Vol. 2, No. 2, issue of January-March, 1949, p. 107-118.

Damon, S. Foster, "Why Ishmael Went to Sea," in American Literature, Vol. 2, No. 3, issue of November, 1930, p. 281-283.

Dauner, Louise, "The 'Case' of Tobias Pearson: Hawthorne and the Ambiguities," in American Literature, Vol. 21, No. 4, issue of January, 1950, p. 464-472.

Davidson, Frank, "Melville, Thoreau, and 'The Apple-Tree Table'," in American Literature, Vol. 25, No. 4, issue of January, 1954, p. 479-488.

Davis, Merrell R., "The Flower Symbolism in Mardi," in Modern Language Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 4, issue of December, 1941, p. 625-638.

Davis, Merrill R., "Herman Melville's Mardi: The Biography of a Book," Dissertation, Yale University, 1947.

Davis, Merrell R., Melville's "Mardi": A Chartless Voyage, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1952, XIV-240 pages.

Delano, Amasa, A Narrative of Voyages and Travels in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres, Boston, E. G. House, 1817, 598 pages.

De Voto, Bernard, "Editions of Typee," in The Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 5., No. 18, issue of November 24, 1928, p. 406.

Dichmann, Mary E., "Absolutism in Melville's Pierre," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 67, No. 5, issue of September, 1952, p. 702-715.

Dix, William S., "Herman Melville and the Problem of Evil," in Rice Institute Pamphlet, Vol. 35, No. 3, issue of July, 1948, p. 81-107.

Duffield, Brainerd, "Moby Dick: A Modern Adaptation," in Line, Vol. 1, No. 2, issue of April-May, 1948, p. 32-40.

Duffy, Charles, "A Source for the Conclusion of Melville's Moby Dick," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 181, No. 20, issue of November 15, 1941, p. 278-279.

Duffy, Charles, "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 4, issue of July, 1942, p. 58.

Duyckinck, Evert A., and George L., Editors, "Herman Melville," in Cyclopaedia of American Literature, New York, C. Scribner, 1855, (Two Volumes), Vol. 2, p. 672-676.

Eby, E. H., "Herman Melville's 'Tartarus of Maids'," in Modern Language Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 1, issue of March, 1940, p. 95-100.

Edgar, Pelham, "Herman Melville and Moby Dick," Chapter XII, in The Art of the Novel, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1933, p. 130-135.

Eliot, Alexander, "Melville and Bartleby," in Furioso, Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of Fall, 1947, p. 11-21.

Erskine, John, "Moby-Dick," Chapter 10, in The Delight of Great Books, Indianapolis, Indiana, Bobbs-Merrill, 1928, p. 223-240.

Erskine, John, "A Whale of a Story," in Delineator, Vol. 115, No. 4, issue of October, 1929, p. 15, 68, 71-72.

Fagin, N. Bryllion, "Herman Melville and the Interior Monologue," in American Literature, Vol. 6, No. 4, issue of January, 1935, p. 433-434.

Feidelson, Charles N., Jr., "The Idea of Symbolism in American Writing, with Particular Reference to Emerson and Melville," Dissertation, Yale University, 1948.

Feidelson, Charles, Symbolism and American Literature, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1953, X-355 pages.

Feltenstein, Rosalie, "Melville's 'Benito Cereno'," in American Literature, Vol. 19, No. 3, issue of November, 1947, p. 245-255.

Fenton, Charles A., "'The Bell-Tower': Melville and Technology," in American Literature, Vol. 23, No. 2, issue of May, 1951, p. 219-232.

Ferris, Mary L. D., "Herman Melville," in Bulletin of the Society of American Authors, Vol. 6, No. 10, issue of September, 1901, p. 289-293.

Field, Maunsell B., Memories of Many Men and of Some Women, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1874, p. 201-202.

Fiedler, Leslie A., "Out of the Whale," in Nation, Vol. 169, No. 21, issue of November 19, 1949, p. 494-496.

Fliess, Edward, "Byron and Byronism in the Mind and Art of Herman Melville," Dissertation, Yale University, 1951.

Fliess, Edward, "Melville as a Reader and Student of Byron," in American Literature, Vol. 24, No. 2, issue of May, 1952, p. 186-194.

Firebaugh, Joseph H., "Humorist as Rebel: The Melville of Typee," in Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Vol. 9, No. 2, issue of September, 1954, p. 108-120.

Fiske, J. C., "Herman Melville in Soviet Criticism," in Comparative Literature, Vol. 5, No. 1, issue of Winter, 1953, p. 30-39.

Fogle, Richard H., "The Monk and the Bachelor: Melville's Benito Cereno," in Tulane Studies in English, Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of 1952, p. 155-178.

Fogle, Richard H., Melville's Bartleby: Absolutism, Predestination, and Free Will," in Tulane Studies in English, Vol. 4, No. 1, issue of 1954, p. 125-235.

Fogle, Richard H., "The Unity of Melville's The Encantadas," in Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Vol. 10, No. 1, issue of June, 1955, p. 34-52.

Forster, E. M., Aspects of the Novel, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927, p. 178-190.

Forsythe, Robert S., "Mr. Lewis Mumford and Melville's Pierre," in American Literature, Vol. 2, No. 3, issue of November, 1930, p. 286-289.

Forsythe, Robert S., "Herman Melville in Honolulu," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 8, No. 1, issue of March, 1935, p. 99-105.

Forsythe, Robert S., "Herman Melville's 'The Town-Ho's Story'," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 168, No. 18, issue of May 4, 1935, p. 314.

Forsythe, Robert S., "Herman Melville in the Marquesas," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 1, issue of January, 1936, p. 1-15.

Forsythe, Robert S., "Review of Journal up the Straits," in American Literature, Vol. 8, No. 1, issue of March, 1936, p. 85-96.

Forsythe, Robert S., "Herman Melville's Father Murphy," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 172, No. 15, issue of April 10, 1937, p. 254-258, and No. 16, issue of April 17, 1937, p. 272-276.

Forsythe, Robert S., "Herman Melville in Tahiti," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 16, No. 4, issue of October, 1937, p. 344-357.

Forsythe, Robert S., "More Upon Herman Melville in Tahiti," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 17, No. 1, issue of January, 1938, p. 1-17.

Forsythe, Robert S., "Emerson and Moby-Dick," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 177, No. 26, issue of December 23, 1939, p. 457-458.

Foster, Elizabeth S., "Herman Melville's The Confidence-Man: Its Origins and Meaning," Dissertation, Yale University, 1942.

Foster, Elizabeth S., "Melville and Geology," in American Literature, Vol. 17, No. 1, issue of March, 1945, p. 50-65.

Foster, Elizabeth S., "Another Note on Melville and Geology," in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 4, issue of January, 1951, p. 479-487.

Franciosa, Massimo, "'Taipi' eden realista," in La Fiera Letteraria, No. 10, issue of March 8, 1953, p. 4.

Franklin, Samuel R., Memories of a Rear-Admiral Who Has Served for More than Half a Century in the Navy of the United States, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1898, p. 64-66.

Frear, Walter Francis, Anti-Missionary Criticism with Reference to Hawaii, Honolulu, Advertiser Publishing Company, 1935, p. 25-28.

Frederix, Pierre, Herman Melville, Paris, Gallimard, 1950, 283 pages, illustrated.

Freeman, F. Barron, "A Critical and Variorum Edition of Melville's Billy Budd, from the Original Manuscripts," Dissertation, Harvard University, 1942.

Freeman, F. Barron, "The Enigma of Melville's 'Daniel Orme'," in American Literature, Vol. 16, No. 3, issue of November, 1944, p. 208-211.

Freeman, F. Barron, Editor, Melville's Billy Budd, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, XIV-381 pages.

Freeman, John, Herman Melville, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1926, VIII-200 pages. (English Men of Letters Series.)

Fuller, Roy, "Introduction," in The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade, by Herman Melville, London, John Lehmann, 1948, p. v-xiii.

Gabriel, Ralph H., "Melville, Critic of Mid-Nineteenth Century Beliefs," in The Course of American Democratic Thought, New York, The Ronald Press Company, 1940, p. 67-77.

Galland, Rene, "Herman Melville et 'Moby-Dick,'" in Revue Anglo-Americaine, Vol. 5, No. 1, issue of October, 1927, p. 1-9.

Garnett, R. S., "Moby-Dick and Mocha-Dick: A Literary Find," in Blackwood's Magazine, Vol. 226, No. 1370, issue of December, 1929, p. 841-858.

Gary, Lorena M., "Rich Colors and Ominous Shadows," in South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 1, issue of January 1938, p. 41-45.

Gavin, Helena, "The Watches of Ishmael," An original Poem inspired by Moby-Dick, in The Melville Society Newsletter, Vol. 10, No. 2, issue of Summer, 1954, p. 3.

Geiger, Don, "Melville's Black God: Contrary Evidence in 'The Town-Ho's Story'," in American Literature, Vol. 25, No. 4, issue of January, 1954, p. 464-471.

Geist, Stanley, Herman Melville: The Tragic Vision and the Heroic Ideal, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1939, 76 pages.

Gilman, William H., "A Note on Herman Melville in Honolulu," in American Literature, Vol. 19, No. 2, issue of May, 1947, p. 169.

Gilman, William H., "Melville's Early Life and Redburn," Dissertation, Yale University, 1947.

Gilman, William H., Melville's Early Life and "Redburn", New York, New York University Press, 1951, IX-378 pages, illustrated.

Giona, Jean, "Pour Saluer Melville," in Nouvelle Revue Francaise, Vol. 28, No. 319, issue of April 1, 1940, p. 433-458.

Giovannini, G., "Melville's Moby Dick," in Explicator, Vol. 5, No. 1, issue of October, 1946, p. 7.

Giovannini, G., "Melville's Pierre and Dante's Inferno," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 64, No. 2, issue of March, 1949, p. 70-78.

Giovannini, G., "Melville and Dante," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 65, No. 2, issue of March, 1950, p. 329.

Gleim, William S., "A Theory of Moby Dick," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 3, issue of July, 1929, p. 402-419.

Gleim, William S., The Meaning of Moby Dick, New York, The Brick Row Book Shop, Inc., 1938, IV-149 pages.

Glick, Wendell, "Expediency and Absolute Morality in Billy Budd," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 68, No. 2, issue of March, 1953, p. 103-110.

Glicksberg, Charles I., "Melville and the Negro Problem," in Phylon: Atlanta University Review of Race and Culture, Vol. 11, No. 3, issue of the Third Quarter, 1950, p. 207-215.

Gohdes, Clarence, "Gossip About Melville in the South Seas," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 3, issue of September, 1937, p. 526-531.

Gohdes, Clarence, "Melville's Friend 'Toby'," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 49, No. 1, issue of January, 1944, p. 52-55.

Griffith, Frank Clark, "Melville and the Quest for God," Dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1952.

Grimm, Dorothy F., "Melville as Social Critic," Dissertation in American Civilization, University of Pennsylvania, 1948. (Dropped)

Gross, John J., "Rehearsal of Ishmael: Melville's Redburn," in Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 27, No. 4, issue of Autumn, 1951, p. 581-600.

Guidi, Augusto, "Aspetti dell' uomo e del male," La Fiera Letteraria, No. 10, issue of March 10, 1953, p. 3.

Haave, Ethel-Mae, "Herman Melville's Pierre," Dissertation, Yale University, 1948.

Haber, Tom Burns, "A Note on Melville's Benito Cereno," in Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Vol. 6, No. 2, issue of September, 1951, p. 146-147.

Hagen, Victor Wolfgang von, Editor, The Encantadas: or Enchanted Isles, by Herman Melville, Burlingame, California, William P. Wreden, 1940, XXIII-118 pages.

Hall, James B., "Moby Dick: Parable of a Dying System," in Western Review, Vol. 14, No. 3, issue of Spring, 1950, p. 223-226.

Hamalian, Leo, "Melville's Art," in Explicator, Vol. 8, No. 2, issue of December, 1949, p. 40.

Haraszti, Zoltan, "Melville Defends Typee," in More Books, Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, Vol. 22, No. 6, issue of June, 1947, p. 203-208.

Harding, Walter, "A Note on the Title 'Moby-Dick'," in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 4, issue of January, 1951, p. 500-501.

Hart, James D., "Richard Henry Dana, Jr.," Dissertation, Harvard University, 1936.

Hart, James D., "Melville and Dana," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 1, issue of March, 1937, p. 49-55.

Hawthorne, Hildegard, "Hawthorne and Melville," in Literary Review, New York Evening Post, Vol. 2, No number, issue of February 4, 1922, p. 406.

Hawthorne, Julian, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife, Boston, James R. Osgood and Company, 1885, Two Volumes, Vol. 1, 505 pages, and Vol. 2, 465 pages.

Hawthorne, Julian, Hawthorne and His Circle, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1903, XXI-372 pages.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, A Wonder-Book, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1883, IX-637 pages.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, The American Notebooks, Edited by Randall Stewart, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1932, XCVI-350 pages.

Hawthorne, Nathaniel, The English Notebooks, Edited by Randall Stewart, New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1941, XLIV-667 pages.

Hayford, Harrison, Editor, "Two New Letters of Herman Melville," in Journal of English Literary History, Vol. 11, No. 1, issue of March, 1944, p. 76-83.

Hayford, Harrison, "Hawthorne and Melville: A Biographical and Critical Study," Dissertation, Yale University, 1945.

Hayford, Harrison, "The Significance of Melville's 'Agatha' Letters," in Journal of English Literary History, Vol. 13, No. 4, issue of December, 1946, p. 299-310.

Hayford, Harrison, "Hawthorne, Melville, and the Sea," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 4, issue of December, 1946, p. 435-452.

Hayford, Harrison and Merrell R. Davis, "Herman Melville as Office-Seeker," in Modern Language Quarterly, Vol. 10, No. 2, issue of June, 1949, p. 168-183, Vol. 10, No. 3, issue of September, 1949, p. 377-388.

Hayford, Harrison, "The Sailor Poet of White-Jacket," in Boston Public Library Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 3, issue of July, 1951, p. 221-228.

Hayford, Harrison, "Leon Howard's Herman Melville," A Review, in Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Vol. 7, No. 1, issue of June, 1952, p. 61-67.

Heflin, Wilson L., "The Source of Ahab's Lordship Over the Level Loadstone," in American Literature, Vol. 20, No. 3, issue of November, 1948, p. 323-327.

Heflin, Wilson L., "Melville's Third Whaler," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 64, No. 4, issue of April, 1949, p. 241-245.

Heflin, Wilson L., "A Man-of-War Button Divides Two Cousins," in Boston Public Library Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of January, 1951, p. 51-60.

Heflin, Wilson L., "Melville and Nantucket," in Proceedings of the Nantucket Historical Association, issue of 1951, p. 22-30.

Heflin, Wilson L., "Herman Melville's Whaling Years," Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1952.

Hetherington, Hugh W., "The Reputation of Herman Melville in America," Dissertation, University of Michigan, 1933.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Melville and Nineteenth-Century Science," Dissertation, Yale University, 1944.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Taji's Abdication in Herman Melville's Mardi," in American Literature, Vol. 16, No. 3, issue of November 1944, p. 204-207.

Hillway, Tyrus, "A Note on Melville's Lecture in New Haven," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 60, No. 1, issue of January, 1945, p. 55-57.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Melville's Billy Budd," in Explicator, Vol. 4, No. 2, issue of November, 1945, no page number.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Taji's Quest for Certainty," in American Literature, Vol. 18, No. 1, issue of March, 1946, p. 27-34.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Melville's Art: One Aspect," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 62, No. 7, issue of November, 1947, p. 477-480.

Hillway, Tyrus, "The Unknowns in Whale-Lore," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 8, No. 5, issue of August, 1948, p. 68-69.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Some Recent Articles Relating to Melville (January 1947 to September 1948)," in Melville Society News Letter, Vol. 4, Supplement, issue of November 1, 1948.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Melville and the Spirit of Science," in South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 48, No. 1, issue of January 1949, p. 77-88.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Melville's Use of Two Pseudo-Sciences," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 64, No. 3, issue of March, 1949, p. 145-150.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Melville's Geological Knowledge," in American Literature, Vol. 21, No. 2, issue of May, 1949, p. 232-237.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Pierre, the Fool of Virtue," in American Literature, Vol. 21, No. 2, issue of May, 1949, p. 201-211.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Melville as a Critic of Science," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 65, No. 6, issue of June, 1950, p. 411-414.

Hillway, Tyrus, Melville and the Whale, Stonington, Connecticut, Stonington Publishing Company, 1950.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Melville as Amateur Zoologist," in Modern Language Quarterly, Vol. 12, No. 2, issue of June, 1951, p. 159-164.

Hillway, Tyrus, "Billy Budd: Melville's Human Sacrifice," in Pacific Spectator, Vol. 6, No. 3, issue of Summer, 1952, p. 342-348.

Hillway, Tyrus (Compiler), "Doctoral Dissertations on Herman Melville: A Chronological Summary, 1933-1952," Greeley, Colorado, The Melville Society, 1953, 39 pages.

Hillway, Tyrus and Luther S. Mansfield, Editors, Moby-Dick Centennial Essays, Dallas, Southern Methodist University Press, 1953, XIV-182 pages.

Hillway, Tyrus, Captain Ahab, A Three-Act Play based on Moby-Dick, 1953.

Hoffman, Charles G., "The Development of the Short Novel in Hawthorne, Melville, and James," Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1952.

Hoffman, Charles G., "The Shorter Fiction of Herman Melville," in South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 52, No. 3, issue of July, 1953, p. 414-430.

Hoffman, Dan G., "Melville's 'Story of China Aster'," in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 2, issue of May, 1950, p. 137-149.

Hoffman, Dan G., "Melville in the American Grain," in Southern Folklore Quarterly, Vol. 14, No. 3, issue of September, 1950, p. 185-191.

Holden, W. S., Some Sources of Herman Melville's Israel Potter," Master's Thesis, Columbia University, 1932.

Hollis, Sophie, "Moby Dick: A Religious Interpretation," in Catholic World, Vol. 163, No. 974, issue of May, 1946, p. 158-162.

Holt, Achilles Madison, "The Theme of Moby Dick as Developed by Similes," Master's Thesis, Stanford University, 1937.

Homans, George C., "The Dark Angel: The Tragedy of Herman Melville," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 5, No. 4, issue of October, 1932, p. 699-730.

Horsford, Howard C., "Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, October 11, 1856-May 6, 1857," Dissertation, Princeton University, 1951.

Horsford, Howard C., "Evidence of Melville's Plans for A Sequel to The Confidence-Man," in American Literature, Vol. 24, No. 1, issue of March, 1952, p. 85-88.

Horsford, Howard C., Editor, Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, October 11, 1856-May 6, 1857, by Herman Melville, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955, XIV-299 pages.

Hoskins, Katherine, "Continuing Pursuit of Herman Melville," in New Republic, Vol. 126, No. 9, issue of March 3, 1952, p. 18-19.

Howard, Leon, "Melville and Spenser: A Note on Criticism," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 46, No. 5, issue of May, 1931, p. 291-292.

Howard, Leon, "A Predecessor of Moby-Dick," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 49, No. 5, issue of May, 1934, p. 310-311.

Howard, Leon, "Melville's Struggle with the Angel," in Modern Language Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 2, issue of June, 1940, p. 195-206.

Howard, Leon, Herman Melville: A Biography, Berkeley and Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1951, XI-354, pages, illustrated.

Howarth, R. G., "Melville and Australia," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 193, No. 9, issue of May 1, 1948, p. 188.

Hudson, H. H., "The Mystery of Herman Melville," in Freeman, Vol. 3, No. , issue of April 27, 1921, p. 156-157.

Hughes, Raymond G., "Melville and Shakespeare," in Shakespeare Association Bulletin, Vol. 7, No. 3, issue of July, 1932, p. 103-112.

Hull, William, "Moby Dick: An Interpretation," in Etc., Vol. 5, No. 1, issue of Autumn, 1947, p. 8-21.

Hunt, Livingston, "Herman Melville as a Naval Historian," in Harvard Graduates' Magazine, Vol. 39, No. 153, issue of September, 1930, p. 22-30.

Hunter, Christine Hamilton, "A Study in Herman Melville's Sketches and Tales," Master's Essay, Yale University, 1941.

Huntress, Keith, "Melville's Use of a Source for White-Jacket," in American Literature, Vol. 17, No. 1, issue of March, 1945, p. 66-74.

Huntress, Keith, "A Note on Melville's Redburn," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 2, issue of June, 1945, p. 259-260.

Hutchinson, William H., "A Definitive Edition of Moby-Dick," in American Literature, Vol. 25, No. 4, issue of January, 1954, p. 472-478.

Hyman, Stanley E., "Melville the Scrivener," in New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 4, issue of Winter, 1953, p. 381-415.

Izzo, Carlo, "Vita silenziosa di Bartleby," in La Fiera Letteraria, No. 10, issue of March 8, 1953, p. 4.

Jacoby, J. E. "Herman Melville, Gentleman and Scholar," Chapter IV, in Le Mysticisme dans la pensee Americaine, Paris, 1931, p. 206-240.

Jaffe, David, "Some Sources of Melville's Mardi," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 1, issue of March, 1937, p. 56-69.

James, C. L. R., Mariners, Renegades, and Castaways: The Story of Herman Melville and the World We Live In, New York, Published by the Author, 1953, XII-204 pages.

Jerman, Bernard R., "'With Real Admiration': More Correspondence between Melville and Bentley," in American Literature, Vol. 25, No. 3, issue of November, 1953, p. 307-313.

Johnson, Arthur, "A Comparison of Manners," in New Republic, Vol. 20, No. 251, issue of August 27, 1919, p. 113-115.

Jones, A. G., Long Ago and Faraway, New York, Public Library, 1948.

Jones, Joseph, "Humor in Moby Dick," in University of Texas Studies in English, no volume, no number, issue of 1945-1946, p. 51-71.

Jones, Joseph, "Ahab's 'Blood-Quench': Theater or Metallurgy?" in American Literature, Vol. 18, No. 1, issue of March, 1946, p. 35-37.

Jones, Joseph, "Melville: A 'Humorist' in 1890," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 8, No. 5, issue of August, 1948, p. 68.

Josephson, Matthew, "Libertarians and Others," in Portrait of the Artist as American, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1930, p. 26-36.

Josephson, Matthew, "The Transfiguration of Herman Melville," in Outlook, Vol. 150, No. 3, issue of September 19, 1928, p. 809-811, 832, 836.

Kaplan, Sidney, "'Omoo': Melville's and Boucicault's," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 8, No. 9, issue of December, 1948, p. 150-151.

Kaplan, Sidney, "The Moby Dick in the Service of the Underground Railroad," in Phylon, Vol. 12, No. 2, issue of Second Quarter, 1951, p. 173-176.

Kaplan, Sidney, "Can a Whale Sink a Ship? The Utica Daily Gazette vs the New Bedford Whaleman's Shipping List," in New York History, Vol. 32, No. 2, issue of April, 1952, p. 159-163.

Kaplan, Sidney, "Herman Melville and the Whaling Enderbys," in American Literature, Vol. 24, No. 2, issue of May, 1952, p. 224-230.

Kazin, Alfred, "Ishmael in His Academic Heaven," in New Yorker, Vol. 24, No. 51, issue of February 12, 1949, p. 84-89.

Kazin, Alfred, "On Melville as Scripture," in Partisan Review, Vol. 17, No. 1, issue of January, 1950, p. 67-75.

Kemp, Robert, "Les Secrets de Melville," in Nouvelles Littéraires (Paris), Vol. 30, issue of August 23, 1951, p. 3.

Key, Howard C., "The Influence of Travel Literature upon Melville's Fictional Technique," Dissertation, Stanford University, 1953.

Kimpel, Ben Drew, "Melville's Philosophical Thought after 1851," Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1942.

Kimpel, Ben Drew, "Two Notes on Herman Melville," in American Literature, Vol. 16, No. 1, issue of March, 1944, p. 29-32.

Kissane, James, "Imagery, Myth, and Melville's Pierre," in American Literature, Vol. 26, No. 4, issue of January, 1955, p. 564-572.

Koerner, James D., "The Wake of the White Whale," in Kansas Magazine, issue of 1954, p. 42-50.

Kummer, George, "Herman Melville and the Ohio Press," in Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, Vol. 45, No. 1, issue of January, 1936, p. 34-36.

Larrabee, Harold A., "Herman Melville's Early Years in Albany," in New York History, Vol. 15, No. 2, issue of April, 1934, p. 144-159.

Larrabee, Stephen A., "Melville Against the World," in South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 34, No. 4, issue of October, 1935, p. 410-418.

Las Vergnas, Raymond, "Lettres Anglo-Américaines - Melville," in Hommes et Monde (Paris), Vol. 6, issue of March, 1951, p. 461-463.

Lathers, Richard, The Reminiscences of Richard Lathers, New York, The Grafton Press, 1907, p. 51, 328-329, 406-407.

Lathrop, Rose Hawthorne, Memories of Hawthorne, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1897, p. 143, 145, 155-161, 200.

Lawrence, David H., "Herman Melville's Typee and Omoo," Chapter 10, and "Herman Melville's Moby Dick," Chapter 11, in Studies in Classic American Literature, New York, Thomas Seltzer, 1923, p. 193-213, and 214-240.

Leary, Lewis, Editor, Articles on American Literature Appearing in Current Periodicals, 1920-1945, Durham, Duke University Press, 1947, X-337 pages. (For Melville entries, see p. 81-87.)

Lease, Benjamin, "Melville's 'Gally', 'Gallow'," in American Speech, Vol. 25, No. 3, issue of October, 1950, p. 186.

Lease, Benjamin, "Melville and the Booksellers," in The Melville Society Newsletter, Vol. 7, No. 2, issue of June, 1951, p. 2.

Leeson, Ida, "The Mutiny on the Lucy Ann," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 19, No. 4, issue of October, 1940, p. 370-379.

Levin, Harry, "Don Quijote y Moby-Dick," in Realidad, Vol. 2, No. 5, issue of September-October, 1947, p. 254-267.

Lewis, R. W. B., "Melville on Homer," in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 2, issue of May, 1950, p. 166-177.

Lewisohn, Ludwig, Expression in America, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1932, p. 186-193.

Leyda, Jay, "White Elephant vs. White Whale," in Town and Country, Vol. 101, No. 4299, issue of August, 1947, p. 68-69, 114d, 116-118.

Leyda, Jay, "The Army of the Potomac Entertains a Poet," in Twice a Year, Vol. 10, Tenth Anniversary Issue, 1948, p. 259-272.

Leyda, Jay, Editor, The Complete Stories of Herman Melville, New York, Random House, Inc., 1949, XXXIV-472 pages.

Leyda, Jay, "Ishmael Melvill: Remarks on Board of Ship Amazon," in Boston Public Library Quarterly, Vol. 1, No. 2, issue of October, 1949, p. 119-134.

Leyda, Jay, "An Albany Journal by Gansevoort Melville," in Boston Public Library Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 4, issue of October, 1950, p. 327-347.

Leyda, Jay, The Melville Log: A Documentary Life of Herman Melville, 1819-1891, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1951, Two Volumes, XXXIV-899 pages, illustrated.

Leyda, Jay, Editor, The Portable Melville, New York, The Viking Press, 1952, XXII-746 pages.

Leyda, Jay, "Another Friendly Critic for Melville," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 2, issue of June, 1954, p. 243-249.

Little, Thomas A., "Literary Allusions in the Writings of Herman Melville," Dissertation, University of Nebraska, 1949.

Lloyd, Francis V., Jr., "Melville's First Lectures," in American Literature, Vol. 13, No. 4, issue of January, 1942, p. 391-395.

Lombardo, Agostina, "A review of Gabriele Baldini's Melville o le ambiguita," in Lo Spettatore italiano, Vol. 5, issue of June, 1953, p. 275-278.

Longstreth, T. Morris, "Centenary of a White Whale," in The Christian Science Monitor, issue of October 18, 1951, p. 13.

Lucas, Frank L., "Herman Melville," in Authors Dead and Living, London, Chatto and Windus, 1926, p. 105-114. (Reprinted from the New Statesman, Vol. 18, No. 468, issue of April 1, 1922, p. 730-731.)

Lucett, M., or Lucatt, E., Rovings in the Pacific, from 1837 to 1849, with a Glance at California, Two Volumes, London, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1851, Vol. 1, p. 288-297. (This work has been ascribed to M. Lucett and to Edward Lucatt.)

Lueders, Edward G., "The Melville-Hawthorne Relationship in Pierre and The Blithedale Romance," in Western Humanities Review, Vol. 4, No. 4, issue of Autumn, 1950, p. 323-334.

Lundkvist, Artur, "Herman Melville," in Bonniers Litterara Magasin (Stockholm), Vol. 11, No. 10, issue of December, 1942, p. 773-786.

Lutwack, Leonard I., "Herman Melville and Atlantic Monthly Critics," in Huntington Library Quarterly, Vol. 13, No. 4, issue of August, 1950, p. 414-416.

Lynn, Kenneth S., "Cash Nexus; A Study of Melville's Economic Thought," Submitted for the Helen Choate Bell Prize, Harvard University, April 1, 1947.

McCloskey, John C., "Moby-Dick and the Reviewers," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 25, No. 1, issue of January, 1946, p. 20-31.

McCrutcheon, Roger P., "The Technique of Melville's Israel Potter," in South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 2, issue of April, 1928, p. 161-174.

McElderry, B. R., "Three Earlier Treatments of the Billy Budd Theme," in American Literature, Vol. 27, No. 2, issue of May, 1955, p. 251-257.

McEniry, William Hugh, "The Young Melville, 1819-1852," Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 1942.

MacMechan, Archibald McKellar, "The Best Sea-Story Ever Written," in The Life of a Little College and Other Papers, Boston, Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1914, p. 181-197. (This article was published in the Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 2, issue of October, 1899, p. 120-130, and in the Humane Review, Vol. No. 7, issue of October, 1901, p. 242-252.)

Mabbott, Thomas O., "Poem by Herman," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 149, No. 3, issue of July 18, 1925, p. 42-43.

Mabbott, Thomas O., "Herman Melville," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 162, No. 9, issue of February 27, 1932, p. 151-152.

Mabbott, Thomas O., "A Source for the Conclusion of Melville's Moby Dick," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 181, No. 4, issue of July 26, 1941, p. 47-58.

Mabbott, Thomas O., "Melville's 'A Rail Road Cutting Near Alexandria in 1855'," in Explicator, Vol. 9, No. 8, issue of June, 1951, item No. 55, no page number.

Malone, Ted, "Herman Melville," in Should Old Acquaintance, (Formerly, American Pilgrimage), Haddonfield, New Jersey, Bookmark Press, 1943, p. 119-133.

Mansfield, Luther S., "Herman Melville: Author and New Yorker, 1844-1851," Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1936.

Mansfield, Luther S., "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850-1851: Some Unpublished Letters of Evert A. Duyckinck," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 1, issue of March, 1937, p. 26-48.

Mansfield, Luther S., "Melville's Comic Articles on Zachary Taylor," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 4, issue of January, 1938, p. 411-418.

Mansfield, Luther S., and Howard P. Vincent, Editors, Moby-Dick or, The Whale, by Herman Melville, New York, Hendricks House, 1952, LII-851 pages.

Maquet, Jean, "Sur Melville," in Critique, Vol. 1, Nos. 3-4, issue of August-September, 1946, p. 229-238.

Marsden, Walter, "Stories from the Deeps," in John O'London's Weekly, Vol. 60, issue of March 30, 1951, p. 181.

Marshall, H. P., "Herman Melville," in London Mercury, Vol. 11, No. 61, issue of November, 1924, p. 56-70.

Marx, Leo, "Melville's Parable of the Walls," in Sewanee Review, Vol. 61, No. 4, issue of Autumn, 1953, p. 602-627.

Mason, Ronald, The Spirit Above the Dust: A Study of Herman Melville, London, John Lehmann, 1951, XII-13-269 pages.

Mather, Frank Jewett, Jr., "Herman Melville," in Review, Vol. 1, No. 13, issue of August 9, 1919, p. 276-278, and Vol. 1, No. 14, issue of August 16, 1919, p. 298-301.

Mather, Frank Jewett, Jr., "Herman Melville," in Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 5, No. 40, issue of April 27, 1929, p. 945-946.

Matteucci, B., "Herman Melville o delle ambiguita," in Vita e Pensiero, Vol. 25, issue of February, 1952, p. 401-408.

Matthiessen, Francis O., American Renaissance: Art and Expression in the Age of Emerson and Whitman, New York, Oxford University Press, 1941, XXIV-678 pages.

Matthiessen, Francis O., Editor, Herman Melville: Selected Poems, Norfolk, Connecticut, New Directions, 1944, 30 pages.

Matthiessen, Francis O., "Melville: l'urto delle forze," in Delta, N. S. No. 2, issue of August, 1952, p. 1-9.

Maugham, Somerset, "Moby Dick," in The Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 181, No. 6, issue of June, 1948, p. 98-104.

Mayoux, Jean-Jacques, "Le Douanier Melville," in Lettres Nouvelles, Vol. 2, issue of June, 1954, p. 875-885.

Mead, David, "Herman Melville: Solemn Mariner," in Yankee Eloquence in the Middle West: The Ohio Lyceum, 1850-1870, East Lansing, Michigan State College Press, 1951, p. 74-77.

Melville, Herman, "Fragments from a Writing Desk," in The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser, issues of May 4, 1839, and May 18, 1839.

Melville, Herman, Narrative of a Four Months' Residence Among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands or A Peep at Polynesian Life, London, John Murray, 1846, XVI-285 pages.

¹ _____, Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life during a Four Months' Residence in a Valley of the Marquesas ..., New York, Wiley and Putnam, 1846, XV-325 pages.

Melville, Herman, Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas: Being a Sequel to The Residence in the Marquesas Islands, London, John Murray, 1847, XIII-321 pages.

_____, Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1847, XV-389 pages.

Melville, Herman, "Review of Etchings of a Whaling

¹All of Herman Melville's books, published during his lifetime, except his books of poetry, were published almost simultaneously in London and New York. Because of the lack of an International Copyright Law, at the time, Melville obtained contracts at home and abroad before publishing. The London publishers, usually, were permitted to bring out their editions a little earlier than the American publishers. In the bibliography, as a matter of record, both of the editions are listed, and in the manner, indicated above.

Cruise and Sailors' Life and Sailors' Yarns," in The Literary World, Vol. 1, No. 5, issue of March 6, 1847, p. 105-106.

Melville, Herman, "The French Priests Pay Their Respects," and "A Dinner Party in Imeeo," (Chapters 37 and 68 of the novel, Omoo), in The Literary World, Vol. 1, No. 12, issue of April 24, 1847, p. 274-275.

Melville, Herman, "Mr. Parkman's Tour," in The Literary World, Vol. 4, No. 113, issue of March 31, 1849, p. 291-293.

Melville, Herman, "Taji Sits Down to Dinner with Five-and-Twenty Kings," (Chapter 84 of the novel, Mardi), in The Literary World, Vol. 4, No. 114, issue of April 7, 1849, p. 309-310.

Melville, Herman, Mardi: And a Voyage Thither, Three Volumes, London, Richard Bentley, 1849, X-336 pages, X-335 pages, and VIII-348 pages.

_____, Mardi: And a Voyage Thither, Two Volumes, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1849, XIII-365 pages, and XII-387 pages.

Melville, Herman, "Review of Cooper's Sea Lions," in The Literary World, Vol. 4, No. 117, issue of April 28, 1849, p. 370.

Melville, Herman, "Sharks and Other Sea Fellows," (Chapter 18 of the novel, Mardi), in The Literary World, Vol. 4, No. 124, issue of June 16, 1849, p. 519.

Melville, Herman, Redburn: His First Voyage, Being the Sailor-Boy Confessions and Reminiscences of the Son-of-a-Gentleman in the Merchant Service, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1849, XI-390 pages.

_____, Redburn: His First Voyage, Being the Confession of a Sailor-Boy, Two Volumes, London, Richard Bentley, 1849, VIII-316 pages, and VIII-314 pages.

Melville, Herman, "Redburn Contemplates Making a Social Call on the Captain," and "A Living Corpse," (Chapters 14 and 48 of the novel, Redburn), in The Literary World, Vol. 5, No. 145, issue of November 10, 1849, p. 395-397.

Melville, Herman, White-Jacket: or, The World in a Man of War, Two Volumes, London, Richard Bentley, 1850, VI-322 pages, and IV-315 pages.

Melville, Herman, White-Jacket: or, The World in a Man-of-War, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1850, VII-465 pages.

Melville, Herman, "A Shore Emperor on Board a Man-of-War," (Chapter 56 of the novel, White-Jacket), in The Literary World, Vol. 6, No. 162, issue of March 9, 1850, p. 218-219.

Melville, Herman, "A Thought on Book-Binding," in The Literary World, Vol. 6, No. 163, issue of March 16, 1850, p. 276-277.

Melville, Herman, "Nathaniel Hawthorne," in The Literary World, Vol. 6, No. 165, issue of March 30, 1850, p. 323-325.

Melville, Herman, "Hawthorne and His Mosses," By a Virginian Spending a July in Vermont, in The Literary World, Vol. 7, No. 185, issue of August 17, 1850, p. 125-127, and Vol. 7, No. 186, issue of August 24, 1850, p. 145-147.

Melville, Herman, "The Town-Ho's Story," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 17, issue of October, 1851, p. 658-665.

Melville, Herman, The Whale, Three Volumes, London, Richard Bentley, 1851, VIII-312 pages, IV-303 pages, and IV-328 pages.

_____, Moby-Dick: or, The Whale, New York Harper and Brothers, 1851, XXIII-634 pages.

Melville, Herman, Pierre: or, The Ambiguities, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1852, VIII-495 pages.

Melville, Herman, "A Letter," in Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper, New York, G. P. Putnam, 1852, p. 30. (Reprinted in Notes and Queries, Vol. 162, No. 3, issue of January 16, 1932, p. 39.)

Melville, Herman, "Bartleby, the Scrivener: A Story of Wall-Street," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 2, No. 11, issue of November, 1853, p. 546-557, and Vol. 2, No. 12, issue of December, 1853, p. 609-615.

Melville, Herman, "Cock-A-Doodle-Doo! or The Crowing of the Noble Cock Beneventano," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 8, No. 43, issue of December, 1853, p. 77-86.

_____, Pierre: or, The Ambiguities, London Sampson Low, Son and Company, 1852, VIII-495 pages.

Melville, Herman, "The Encantadas or Enchanted Isles," By Salvator R. Tarnmoor, (Pseudonym for Herman Melville), in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 15, issue of March, 1854, p. 311-319, Vol. 3, No. 16, issue of April, 1854, p. 345-355, and Vol. 3, No. 17, issue of May, 1854, p. 460-466.

Melville, Herman, "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 9, No. 49, issue of June, 1854, p. 95-101.

Melville, Herman, "The Happy Failure: A Story of the River Hudson," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 9, No. 50, issue of July, 1854, p. 196-199.

Melville, Herman, "Israel Potter: His Fifty Years' Exile," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, (July, 1854-March, 1855), Vol. 4, No. 19, issue of July, 1854, p. 66-75, Vol. 4, No. 20, issue of August, 1854, p. 135-346, Vol. 4, No. 21, issue of September, 1854, p. 277-290, Vol. 4, No. 22, issue of October, 1854, p. 371-378, Vol. 4, No. 23, issue of November, 1854, p. 481-491, Vol. 4, No. 24, issue of December, 1854, p. 592-601, Vol. 5, No. 25, issue of January, 1855, p. 63-71, Vol. 5, No. 26, issue of February, 1855, p. 176-182, and Vol. 5, No. 27, issue of March, 1855, p. 288-294.

Melville, Herman, "The Lightning-Rod Man," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 4, No. 20, issue of August, 1854, p. 131-134.

Melville, Herman, "The Fiddler," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 9, No. 52, issue of September, 1854, p. 536-539.

Melville, Herman, Israel Potter: His Fifty Years of Exile, New York, G. P. Putnam and Company, 1855, 276 pages.

_____, Israel Potter: His Fifty Years of Exile, London, G. Routledge and Company, 1855, 174 pages.

Melville, Herman, "The Paradise of Bachelors and The Tartarus of Maids," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 10, No. 59, issue of April, 1855, p. 670-678.

Melville, Herman, "The Bell-Tower," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 6, No. 32, issue of August, 1855, p. 123-130.

Melville, Herman, "Benito Cereno," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 6, No. 34, issue of October, 1855, p. 353-367, Vol. 6, No. 35, issue of November, 1855, p. 459-473, and Vol. 6, No. 35, issue of December, 1855, p. 633-644.

Melville, Herman, "Jimmy Rose," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 11, No. 66, issue of November, 1855, p. 803-807.

Melville, Herman, The Piazza Tales, New York, Dix and Edwards, 1856, IV-431 pages.

_____, The Piazza Tales, London, Sampson Low, Son and Company, 1856, IV-431 pages.

Melville, Herman, "I and My Chimney," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 7, No. 39, issue of March, 1856, p. 269-283.

Melville, Herman, "The 'Gees," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 12, No. 70, issue of March, 1856, p. 507-509.

Melville, Herman, "The Apple-Tree Table: or Original Spiritual Manifestations," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 7, No. 41, issue of May, 1856, p. 465-475.

Melville, Herman, The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade, New York, Dix, Edwards and Company, 1857, VI-394 pages.

_____, The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade, London, Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans and Roberts, 1857, VI-354 pages.

Melville, Herman, "Inscription for the Slain at Fredericksburgh," in Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors, Edited by Alexander Bliss and John P. Kennedy, Baltimore, Cushings and Bailey, 1864, p. 189.

Melville, Herman, The Refugee, Philadelphia, T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1865, 286 pages. (An unauthorized edition of Israel Potter with a changed title.)

Melville, Herman, "The March to the Sea," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 32, No. 189, issue of February, 1866, p. 366-367.

Melville, Herman, "The Cumberland," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 32, No. 190, issue of March, 1866, p. 474.

Melville, "Philip," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 32, No. 191, issue of April, 1866, p. 640.

Melville, Herman, "Chattanooga," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 33, No. 193, issue of June, 1866, p. 44.

Melville, Herman, "Gettysburg," in Harper's New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 33, No. 194, issue of July, 1866, p. 209.

Melville, Herman, Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War, New York, Harper and Brothers, 1866, X-272 pages, (This was Melville's first volume of poems; it was not issued in England, nor was it ever reprinted during the author's lifetime.)

Melville, Herman, Clarel: A Poem and Pilgrimage in the Holy Land, Two Volumes, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1876, 300 pages, and IV-(301)-571 pages. (This long poem, in two volumes, Melville's second poetic publication in book form, was not issued in England, nor was it ever reprinted during the author's lifetime.)

Melville, Herman, "Major Thomas Melville," in The History of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, from 1800 to 1876, Springfield, Massachusetts, C. W. Bryan and Company, 1876, p. 399-400.

Melville, Herman, John Marr and Other Sailors, New York, The De Vinne Press, 1888, 4 unnumbered pages-103 pages. (This volume of poems was privately printed and limited to 25 copies. It was not issued in England, nor was it ever reprinted during the author's lifetime.)

Melville, Herman, Timoleon, etc., New York, The Caxton Press, 1891, VI-(7)-70 pages. (This volume of poems was privately printed and limited to 25 copies. It was not issued in England, nor was it ever reprinted during the author's lifetime.)

[Melville, Herman], "Some Melville Letters," Submitted, for publication, by James Billson (to whom they were written), in Nation and Athenaeum, Vol. 29, No. 4763, issue of August 13, 1921, p. 712-713.

[Melville, Herman], The Works of Herman Melville, The Standard Edition in 16 Volumes, London, Constable and Company, 1922-1924.

[Melville, Herman], "An Unpublished Letter from Herman Melville to Mrs. Hawthorne in Explanation of Moby-Dick," in American Art Association-Anderson Galleries Catalogue of Sale, No. 3911, New York, 1931, p. 9.

Melville, Herman, Billy Budd and Other Stories, Introduction by Rex Warren (in The Chilton Library), London, John Lehmann, 1951.

Melville, Herman, The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade, Edited by Elizabeth S. Foster, New York, Hendricks House, 1954, XCV-392 pages.

Melville, Herman, Moby-Dick, A German translation by Richard Mummendey, Berlin, Deutsche Buch-Gemeinschaft, 1954.

Melville Society, "Moby-Dick and the America of 1851," Printed Program of the Celebration of the 100th Anniversary of the Publication of Moby-Dick, Sponsored by the Melville Society in Cooperation with Williams College, September 2-4, 1951.

Melville Society, "Scholars Here for Centennial of Moby-Dick," Full page of text and photographs on the occasion of the meeting of the Melville Society at Williams College, in The Berkshire Evening Eagle, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, September 1, 1951.

Metcalf, Eleanor Melville, "A Pilgrim by Land and Sea," in Horn Book, Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of February, 1927, p. 3-11.

Metcalf, Eleanor Melville, Editor, Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent by Herman Melville, 1849-1850, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948, XX-189 pages, illustrated.

Metcalf, Eleanor Melville, Herman Melville: Cycle and Epicycle, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953, XVII-311 pages.

Meyneil, Viola, "Herman Melville," in Dublin Review, Vol. 166, No. 332, issue of January-March, 1920, p. 96-105. (Reprinted in Living Age, Vol. 304, No. , issue of March 20, 1920, p. 715-720.)

Michener, James A., "Polynesia," in Holiday, Vol. 12, issue of March, 1951, Various paging.

Miller, F. DeWolfe, "Melville, Whitman, and the Forty Immortals," in English Studies in Honor of James Southall Wilson, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1951, p. 23-24.

Miller, James E., Jr., "Hawthorne and Melville: The Unpardonable Sin," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 70, No. 1, issue of March, 1955, p. 91-114.

Miller, Perry, "Melville and Transcendentalism," in Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 29, No. 4, issue of Autumn, 1953, p. 556-575.

Mills, Gordon H., "The Significance of 'Arcturus' in Mardi," in American Literature, Vol. 14, No. 2, issue of May, 1942, p. 158-161.

Mills, Gordon H., "The Castaway in Moby Dick," in University of Texas Studies in English, Vol. 29, no number, issue of 1950, p. 231-248.

Mills, Gordon H., "American First Editions at Texas University: Herman Melville (1819-1891)," in University of Texas Library Chronicle, Vol. 4, No. 3, issue of Summer, 1951, p. 89-92.

Milner, Florence Cushman, "Collection of Melville's Books in British Museum," December, 1924.

Minnigerode, Meade, Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography, New York, The Brick Row Book Shop, Inc., 1922, XII-195 pages.

Moorman, Charles, "Melville's Pierre and the Fortunate Fall," in American Literature, Vol. 25, No. 1, issue of March, 1953, p. 13-30.

Mordell, Albert, "Melville and White-Jacket," in Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 7, No. 50, issue of July 4, 1931, p. 946.

Morison, Samuel E., Editor, "Melville's 'Agatha' Letter to Hawthorne," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 2, issue of April, 1929, p. 296-307.

Morris, Lloyd, The Rebellious Puritan: Portrait of Mr. Hawthorne, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927, VIII-369 pages.

Morris, Lloyd, "Melville: Promethean," in Open Court, Vol. 45, No. 904, issue of September, 1931, p. 513-526, and Vol. 45, No. 905, issue of October, 1931, p. 621-635.

Mumford, Lewis, The Golden Day: A Study in American Experience and Culture, New York, Boni and Liveright, 1926, p. 142-153.

Mumford, Lewis, "The Significance of Herman Melville," in New Republic, Vol. 56, No. 723, issue of October 10, 1928, Part Two, p. 212-214.

Mumford, Lewis, "The Young Olympian," in Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 5, No. 21, issue of December 15, 1928, p. 514-515.

Mumford, Lewis, "The Writing of Moby-Dick," in American Mercury, Vol. 15, No. 60, issue of December, 1928, p. 482-490.

Mumford, Lewis, Herman Melville, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929, VI-377 pages.

Munsterberg, Margaret, "The Journal of a Whaling Voyage," in The Boston Public Library Quarterly, Vol. 7, No. 3, issue of July, 1955, p. 156-160.

Murray, Henry A., "Review of Herman Melville by Lewis Mumford," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 3, issue of July, 1929, p. 523-526.

Murray, Henry A., Editor, Pierre: or, The Ambiguities, by Herman Melville, New York, Hendricks House-Farrar Straus, 1949, CIII-514 pages.

Murray, Henry A., "In Nomine Diaboli," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 24, No. 4, issue of December, 1951, p. 435-452.

Myers, Henry A., "Captain Ahab's Discovery: The Tragic Meaning of Moby Dick," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 1, issue of March, 1942, p. 15-34.

Nash, J. V., "Herman Melville, 'Ishmael' of American Literature," in Open Court, Vol. 40, No. 847, issue of December, 1926, p. 734-742.

Nichol, John W., "Melville's 'Soiled Fish of the Sea,'" in American Literature, Vol. 21, No. 3, issue of November, 1949, p. 338-339.

Nichol, John W., "Melville and the Midwest," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 66, No. 5, issue of September, 1951, p. 613-625.

Nilon, Charles H., "The Treatment of Negro Characters by Representative American Novelists: Cooper, Melville, Tourgee, Glasgow, Faulkner," Dissertation, University of Wisconsin 1952.

Núñez, Estuardo, "Herman Melville en la América latina," in Cuadernos americanos (Mexico), Vol. 68, issue of March-April, 1953, p. 209-221.

[O'Brien, Fitz-James], "Our Young Authors--Melville," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 2, issue of February, -1853, p. 155-164.

[O'Brien, Fitz-James], "Our Authors and Authorship--Melville and Curtis," in Putnam's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 9, No. 52, issue of April, 1857, p. 384-393.

O'Daniel, Therman B., "An Interpretation of the Relation of the Chapter Entitled 'The Symphony' to Moby Dick as a Whole," in Allen University Bulletin, Vol.-2, No. 1, issue of January, 1939, p. 10-16.

Oliver, Egbert Samuel, "Melville and the Idea of Progress," Dissertation, University of Washington, 1939.

Oliver, Egbert S., "Melville's Goneril and Fanny Kemble," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 18, No. 4, issue of December, 1945, p. 489-500.

Oliver, Egbert S., "A Second Look at 'Bartleby'," in College English, Vol. 6, No. 8, issue of May, 1945, p. 431-439.

Oliver, Egbert S., "Melville's Picture of Emerson and Thoreau in The Confidence-Man," in College English, Vol. 8, No. 2, issue of November, 1946, p. 61-72.

Oliver, Egbert S., "'Cock-A-Doodle-Do!!' and Transcendental Hocus-Pocus," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 21, No. 2, issue of June, 1948, p. 204-216.

Oliver, Egbert S., Editor, Piazza Tales, by Herman Melville, New York, Hendricks House-Farrar Straus, 1948, XII-250 pages.

Olson, Charles, "Lear and Moby Dick," in Twice a Year, Vol. 1, No. 1, issue of Fall-Winter, 1938, p. 165-189.

Olson, Charles, Call Me Ishmael, New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1947, 119 pages.

Olson, Charles, "Melville et Shakespeare ou le découverte de Moby-Dick," in Temps Moderne (France), Vol. 7, issue of October, 1951, p. 647-676.

Olson, Charles, "Materials and Weights of Herman Melville," in New Republic, Vol. 127, Nos. 10-11, issue 1971 and 1972, of September 8 and 15, 1952, p. 20-21, 17-18, 21.

Opitz, Edmund A., "Herman Melville: An American Seer," in Contemporary Review, Vol. 170, No. 972, issue of December, 1946, p. 348-353.

Owlett, F. C., "Herman Melville (1819-1919): A Centenary Tribute," in Bookman (London), Vol. 56, No. 335, issue of August, 1919, p. 164-167.

P., B. A., "Ageless and Edible," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 7, No. 9, issue of December, 1947, p. 141.

Pafford, Ward and Floyd C. Watkins, "Benito Cereno: A Note in Rebuttal," in Nineteenth-Century Fiction, Vol. 7, No. 1, issue of June, 1952, p. 68-70.

Paltsits, Victor Hugo, Editor, Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830-1904, New York, New York Public Library, 1929. (Reprinted from the Bulletin of the New York Public Library, Vol. 33, Nos. 7 and 8, issues of July and August, 1929, p. 507-525, and 575-625.)

Paltsits, Victor Hugo, "Herman Melville's Background and New Light on the Publication of Typee," in Bookman's Holiday, New York, New York Public Library, 1943, p. 248-268.

Parkes, Henry Bamford, "Poe, Hawthorne, Melville: An Essay in Sociological Criticism," in Partisan Review, Vol. 16, No. 2, issue of February, 1949, p. 157-165.

Parks, Aileen Wells, "Leviathan: An Essay in Interpretation," in Sewanee Review, Vol. 47, No. 1, issue of January-March, 1939, p. 130-132.

Parrington, Vernon L., "Herman Melville," in Main Currents in American Thought, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1927, Vol. 2, p. 258-267.

Pattee, Fred Lewis, "Herman Melville," in American Mercury, Vol. 10, No. 37, issue of January, 1927, p. 33-43.

Paul, Sherman, "Melville's 'The Town-Ho's Story,'" in American Literature, Vol. 21, No. 2, issue of May, 1949, p. 212-221.

Paul, Sherman, "Morgan Neville, Melville and the Folk-Hero," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 194, No. 13, issue of June 25, 1949, p. 278.

Pavese, Cesare, "Herman Melville," in La Cultura, Vol. 11, No. 1, issue of January-March, 1932, p. 83-93.

Pearce, Roy Harvey, "Melville's Indian-Hater: A Note on the Meaning of The Confidence-Man," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 67, No. 6, issue of December, 1952, p. 942-948.

Pearson, Norman Holmes, "Billy Budd: 'The King's Yarn'," in American Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 2, issue of Summer, 1951, p. 99-114.

Percival, M. O., A Reading of Moby-Dick, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1950, 136 pages.

Perkins, Edward T., Na Motu: or Reef Rovings in the South Seas: A Narrative of Adventures at the Hawaiian, Georgian and Society Islands, New York, Pudney and Russell, 1854, XVI-456 pages.

Piamonte, Guido, "Musica al radio: il mondo di Melville rievocato da Britten," in La Fiera Letteraria (Italy), No. 48, issue of December 16, 1951, p. 6.

Piroué, Georges, "Connaissance et méconnaissance de Melville," in Table Ronde (France), No. 54, issue of June, 1952, p. 156-159.

Pivano, Fernanda, "Moby Dick di Herman Melville," in Convivum, Vol. 15, No. 5, issue of September-October, 1943, p. 209-243.

Pivano, Fernanda, "Alcune fonti del Moby Dick," in La Fiera Letteraria, No. 10, issue of March 8, 1953, p. 4.

Plomer, William, Editor, Selected Poems of Herman Melville, London, The Hogarth Press, 1943, 52 pages.

Plomer, William, Editor, Redburn by Herman Melville, London, Jonathan Cape, 1948, X-314 pages.

Pommer, Henry F., "Melville as Critic of Christianity," in Friends' Intelligencer, Vol. 102, No. 8, issue of February 24, 1945, p. 121-123.

Pommer, Henry F., "Melville's 'The Gesture' and the Schoolbook Verses," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 6, No. 10, issue of January, 1947, p. 150-151.

Pommer, Henry F., "The Influence of Milton on Herman Melville," Dissertation, Yale University, 1946.

Pommer, Henry F., "Herman Melville and the Wake of the Essex," in American Literature, Vol. 20, No. 3, issue of November, 1948, p. 290-304.

Pommer, Henry F., Milton and Melville, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1950, XI-172 pages, illustrated.

Potter, David, "Reviews of Moby-Dick," in Journal of Rutgers University Library, Vol. 3, No. 2, issue of June, 1940, p. 62-65.

Potter, David, "The Brodhead Diaries, 1846-1849," in Journal of Rutgers University Library, Vol. 11, No. 4, issue of December, 1947, p. 21-27.

Powell, Lawrence C., "My Melville" (originally appeared in Hoja Volante), Reprinted in Islands of Books, Los Angeles, Ward Ritchis Press, 1952.

Princeton University, "Melville Issue" of Princeton University Library Chronicle, Vol. 13, No. 2, issue of Winter, 1952.

Proctor, Page S., Jr., "A Source for the Flogging Incident in White-Jacket," in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 2, issue of May, 1950, p. 176-182.

Purcell, James Mark, "Melville's Contribution to English," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 55, No. 3, issue of September, 1941, p. 797-808.

Quennell, Peter, "The Author of Moby Dick," in New Statesman, Vol. 33, No. 852, issue of August 24, 1929, p. 604.

Quinn, Arthur Hobson, "Herman Melville and the Exotic Romance," Chapter VIII, in American Fiction: An Historical and Critical Survey, New York, D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936, p. 149-158.

Quinn, Patrick F., "Poe's Imaginary Voyage," in Hudson Review, Vol. 4, No. 4, issue of Winter, 1952, p. 262-285.

Randall, D. A. and J. T. Winterich, "Moby-Dick, Collations by D. A. Randall, Notes by J. T. Winterlich," in Publishers' Weekly, Vol. 137, issue of January 20, 1940, p. 255-257.

Read, Herbert, English Prose Style, New York, Pantheon Books, 1953.

Reynolds, Jeremiah N., Mocha Dick or the White Whale of the Pacific, With an Introduction by L. L. Balcolm, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, 7-90 pages. (Reprinted from the Knickerbocker-Magazine for May, 1839.)

Riegel, O. W., "The Anatomy of Melville's Fame," in American Literature, Vol. 3, No. 2, issue of May, 1931, p. 195-203.

Ritchie, Mary C., "Herman Melville," in Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 1, issue of Winter, 1930, p. 36-61.

Rizzardi, Alfredo, "La Poesia Melvilliana," in La Fiera Letteraria, No. 10, issue of March 8, 1953, p. 4-5.

Roberts, Morley, "The Sea in Fiction," in Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 37, No. 1, issue of Winter, 1930, p. 18-35.

Robertson, Robert B., Of Whales and Men, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1954, 299 pages.

Roper, Gordon, "Melville's Use of Autobiographical Material in Redburn," Master's Thesis, University of Chicago, 1938.

Roper, Gordon H., "An Index of Melville's Mardi, Moby-Dick, Pierre, and Billy Budd," Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1944.

Roper, Gordon, "Melville's Moby-Dick, 1851-1951," in Dalhousie Review, Vol. 31, issue of Autumn, 1951, p. 167-179.

Roper, Gordon, "Melville's 100 Year Old White Whale," in Peterborough (Ontario) Examiner, issue of December 18, 1951; in Kingston (Ontario) Whig-Standard, issue of December 19, 1951.

Rosenbach, Abraham S. Wolf, An Introduction to Herman Melville's Moby-Dick, New York, Mitchell Kennerly, 1924, 9 pages

Rosenberry, Edward H., "The Comic Spirit in the Art of Herman Melville," Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1953.

Rosenheim, Frederick, "Flight from Home: Some Episodes in the Life of Herman Melville," in American Imago, Vol. 1, No. 4, issue of December, 1940, p. 1-39.

Rourke, Constance, American Humor: A Study of the National Character, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1931.

Rousseaux, André, "Mardi," in Figaro Littéraire (Paris). Vol. 5, issue of December 9, 1950, p. 2.

Rousseaux, André, "À Travers L'oeuvre de Melville," in Figaro Littéraire (Paris), Vol. 6, issue of August 11, 1951, p. 2.

Runden, John P., "Imagery in Melville's Shorter Fiction: 1853-1856," Dissertation, Indiana University, 1952.

Russell, W. Clark, "A Claim for American Literature," in North American Review, Vol. 154, No. 423, issue of February, 1892, p. 138-149.

Sackman, Douglas, "The Original of Melville's Apple-Tree Table," in American Literature, Vol. 11, No. 4, issue of January, 1940, p. 448-451.

Sadleir, Michael, "Herman Melville," in Excursions in Victorian Bibliography, London, Chaundy and Cox, 1922, p. 217-234.

Salt, Henry S., "Herman Melville," in Scottish Art Review, Vol. 2, No. issue of June-December, 1889, p. 186-190.

Salt, Henry S., "Marquesan Melville," in Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. 272, No. 1935, issue of March, 1892, p. 248-257.

Schiffman, Joseph, "Melville's Final Stage, Irony: A Re-examination of Billy Budd Criticism," in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 2, issue of May, 1950, p. 128-136.

Schiffman, Joseph, "Critical Problems in Melville's 'Benito Cereno'," in Modern Language Quarterly, Vol. 11, No. 3, issue of September, 1950, p. 317-324.

Schless, Howard Hugh, "Melville and Dante: A Structural Comparison," Honors Thesis, Harvard University, 1949.

Scott, Sumner W. D., "The Whale in Moby-Dick," Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1949.

Scott, Sumner, W. D., "Some Implications of the Typhoon Scenes in Moby-Dick," in American Literature, Vol. 12, No. 1, issue of March, 1940, p. 91-98.

Scott, Wilmer S., "Melville's Originality: A Study of Some of the Sources of Moby Dick," Dissertation, Princeton University, 1943.

Scudder, Harold H., "Melville's Benito Cereno and Captain Delano's Voyages," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 43, No. 4, issue of June, 1928, p. 502-532.

Sealts, Merton M., "Herman Melville's 'I and My Chimney'," in American Literature, Vol. 13, No. 2, issue of May, 1941, p. 142-154.

Sealts, Merton M., "Herman Melville's Reading in Ancient Philosophy," Dissertation, Yale University, 1942.

Sealts, Merton M., "The Publication of Melville's Piazza Tales," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 59, No. 1, issue of January, 1944, p. 56-59.

Sealts, Merton M., "Melville's Reading: A Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed," in Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 2, issue of Spring, 1948, p. 141-163; Vol. 2, No. 3, Autumn, 1948, p. 378-392; Vol. 3, No. 1, issue of Winter, 1949, p. 119-130; Vol. 3, No. 2, issue of Spring, 1949, p. 263-277; Vol. 3, No. 3, issue of Autumn, 1949, p. 407-421; and Vol. 4, No. 1, issue of Winter, 1950, p. 98-109. (Published together: Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1950.)

Sealts, Merton M., "Melville's Friend Atahualpa," in Notes and Queries, Vol. 194, No. 2, issue of January 22, 1949, p. 37-38.

Sealts, Merton M., "Melville and the Shakers," in Studies in Bibliography, Charlottesville, Virginia, Published annually by the University of Virginia, Vol. 2, no number, issue of 1949-1950, p. 105-114.

Sealts, Merton M., "Did Melville Write 'October Mountain'?" in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 2, issue of May, 1950, p. 178-182.

Sealts, Merton M., "Melville's Neoplatonic Originals," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 67, No. 2, issue of February, 1952, p. 80-86.

Sealts, Merton M., "Melville's Reading: A Supplementary List of Books Owned and Borrowed," in Harvard Library Bulletin, Vol. 6, No. 2, issue of Spring, 1952, p. 239-247.

Sedgwick, William Ellery, Herman Melville: The Tragedy of Mind, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1944, VI-255 pages.

Sherbo, Arthur, "Melville's 'Portuguese Catholic Priest'," in American Literature, Vol. 26, No. 4, issue of January, 1955, p. 563-564.

Sherman, Stuart C., John H. Birss, and Gordon Roper, "Annual Melville Bibliography, 1951: Including Published Works and Research in Progress During the Year 1951," Compiled by the Bibliographical Committee of the Melville Society, Providence, Rhode Island, 1952, 6 pages.

Short, R. W., "Melville as Symbolist," in University of Kansas City Review, Vol. 15, No. 1, issue of Autumn, 1949, p. 38-49.

Shroeder, John W., "Sources and Symbols for Melville's Confidence-Man," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 66, No. 4, issue of June, 1951, p. 363-380.

Simon, Jean, "Recherches Australiennes sur Herman Melville," in Revue Anglo-Américaine, Vol. 13, No. 2, issue of December, 1935, p. 114-129.

Simon, Jean, La Polynésie dans l'Art et la littérature de l'Occident, Paris, Boivin et Cie, 1939, 247 pages.

Simon, Jean, Herman Melville, Marin, Métaphysicien et Poète, Paris, Boivin et Cie, 1939, 623 pages.

Simon, Jean, "Travaux récents sur Herman Melville," in Etudes Anglaises, Vol. 6, issue of February, 1953, p. 40-49.

"Sir Nathaniel", "American Authorship: No. IV - Herman Melville," in New Monthly Magazine, Vol. 98, No. 391, issue of July, 1853, p. 300-308. (Reprinted in Littell's Living Age, Vol. 38, No. 483, issue of August 20, 1853, p. 481-486; and in Eclectic Magazine, Vol. 30, No. issue of September, 1853, p. 46-52.)

Slochower, Harry, "Moby Dick: The Myth of Democratic Expectancy," in American Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 3, issue of Fall, 1950, p. 259-269.

Smith, Joseph Edward Adams, The History of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, from 1800 to 1876, Springfield, Massachusetts, C. W. Bryan and Company, 1876, XI-725 pages, illustrated.

[Smith, Joseph Edward Adams], Taghconic, the Romance and Beauty of the Hills, by Godfrey Greylock, Boston, Redding and Company, 1879, VI-228 pages. (References to Melville on p. 198-199, and 318.)

Smith, Joseph Edward Adams, Herman Melville, Written for the Evening Journal, Pittsfield, Massachusetts, 1891, 31 pages.

Snyder, Oliver, "A Note on Billy Budd," in Accent, Vol. 11, No. 2, issue of Winter, 1951, p. 58-60.

Spangler, Eugene R., "Harvest in a Barren Field: A Counterpoint," in Western Review, Vol. 14, No. 4, issue of Summer, 1950, p. 305-307.

Spiller, Robert E. Willard Thorp, Thomas H. Johnson, and Henry Seidel Canby, Editors, Literary History of the United States, Three Volumes, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1948, Vol. 1, p. 441-471, and Vol. 3, p. 647-654.

Spiller, Robert E., "Problem of Melville," in The Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 32, No. 20, issue of May 14, 1949, p. 19.

Spiller, Robert E., "Melville: Our Tragic Poet," in The Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 33, no. 47, issue of November 25, 1950, p. 24-25.

Starke, Aubrey H., "A Note on Lewis Mumford's Life of Herman Melville," in American Literature, Vol. 1, No. 3, issue of November, 1929, p. 304-305.

Starr, Nathan Comfort, "The Sea in the English Novel from Defoe to Melville," Dissertation, Harvard University, 1928.

Starvig, Richard T., "Melville's Billy Budd: A New Approach to the Problem of Interpretation," Dissertation, Princeton University, 1953.

Stedman, Arthur, "Herman Melville's Funeral," in New York Daily Tribune, issue of October 1, 1891. (Reprinted in Critic - New York - New Series, Vol. 16, No. 406, issue of October 10, 1891, p. 190.)

Stedman, Arthur, "'Marquesan Melville,': A South Sea Prospero who Lived and Died in New York," in New York World, issue of October 11, 1891, p. 26. (Reprinted, in part, in Critic, New Series, Vol. 16, No. 408, issue of October 24, 1891, p. 222-223.)

Stedman, Arthur, "Melville of Marquesas," in Review of Reviews, American Edition, Vol. 4, No. 22, issue of November, 1891, p. 428-430.

Stedman, Arthur, "Poems by Herman Melville," in Century Magazine, New Series, Vol. 22, No. 1, issue of May, 1892, p. 104-105.

Stein, William B., "The Moral Axis of Benito Cereno," in Accent, Vol. 15, No. 3, issue of Summer, 1955, p. 221-233.

Stern, Milton R., "Theme and Craft in Herman Melville: Fine Hammered Steel," Dissertation, Michigan State College, 1955.

Stevens, Harry R., "Melville's Music," in Musicology, Vol. 2, No. 4, issue of July, 1949, p. 405-421.

Stevenson, Robert Louis, The Letters of Robert Louis Stevenson, Edited by Sidney Colvin, Four Volumes, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911, Vol. 3, p. 78 and 185.

Stewart, George R. "The Two Moby-Dicks," in American Literature. Vol. 25, No. 4, issue of January, 1954, p. 417-448.

Stewart, Randall, "Melville and Hawthorne," in South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 51, No. 3, issue of July, 1952, p. 436-446.

Stoddard, Richard H., "Herman Melville," in Mail and Express, (New York), Vol. 20, No. issue of October 8, 1891, p. 5. (Reprinted, in part, in the Critic, New Series, Vol. 16, No. 411, issue of November 14, 1891, p. 272-273.)

Stoddard, Richard H., "My Life in the Custom-House," in Recollections Personal and Literary, New York, A. S. Barnes and Company, 1903, Chapter 10, p. 142-144.

Stoll, Elmer E., "Symbolism in Moby Dick," in Journal of Historical Ideas, Vol. 12, No. 3, issue of June, 1951, p. 440-465.

Stone, Edward, "Melville's Pip and Coleridge's Servant Girl," in American Literature, Vol. 25, No. 3, issue of November, 1953, p. 358-360.

Stone, Geoffrey, Melville, New York, Sheed and Ward, 1949, IX-336 pages.

[Strachey, John St. Loe], "Herman Melville," in Spectator, Vol. 70, No. 3391, issue of June 24, 1893, p. 858-859.

Strachey, John St. Loe, "Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic," in Spectator, Vol. 128, No. 4897, issue of May 6, 1922, p. 559-560.

[Sullivan, John William N.], "Herman Melville," in Times Literary Supplement, Vol. 22, No. 1123, issue of July 26, 1923, p. 493-494. (Reprinted in Aspects of Science.)

Sundermann, Karl H., Herman Melvilles Gedankengut, Berlin, A. Collignon, 1937, II-226 pages.

Sutton, Wallace, "Melville's 'Pleasure Party' and the Art of Concealment," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 30, No. 3, issue of July, 1951, p. 316-327.

Sweetser, Margaret Susan, "Herman Melville's Conception of the Great Writer and His Experiments in Literary Manners," Dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1952.

"Thersites", "Talk on Parnassus," in New York Times Book Review, Vol. 54, no number, issue of May 24, 1949, p. 7 and 27.

Thomas, Henri, "Herman Melville d'après son Journal de Bord," in Critique, Vol. 8, issue of October, 1952, p. 833-846.

Thomas, Russell, "Melville's Use of Some Sources in The Encantadas," in American Literature, Vol. 3, No. 4, issue of January, 1932, p. 432-456.

Thomas, Russell, "Yarn for Melville's Typee," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 15, No. 1, issue of January, 1936, p. 16-29.

Thompson, Lawrence, Melville's Quarrel with God, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1952, 475 pages.

Thorp, Willard, "Herman Melville's Silent Years," in University Review, Vol. 3, No. 4, issue of Summer, 1937, p. 254-262.

Thorp, Willard, "'Grace Greenwood' Parodies Typee," in American Literature, Vol. 9, No. 4, issue of January, 1938, p. 455-457.

Thorp, Willard, Editor, Herman Melville: Representative Selections, with Introduction, Bibliography, and Notes, New York, American Book Company, 1938, CLXI-437 pages.

Thorp, Willard, "Redburn's Prosy Old Guide Book," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 53, No. 4, issue of December, 1938, p. 1146-1156.

Thorp, Willard, "Did Melville Review The Scarlet Letter?" in American Literature, Vol. 14, No. 3, issue of November, 1942, p. 302-305.

Thorp, Willard, Editor, Moby-Dick: or, The Whale, by Herman Melville, New York, Oxford University Press, 1947, XXXI-532 pages, illustrated.

Thurman, Howard K., "Herman Melville: Humanitarian and Critic of Politics," Dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1950.

Tomlinson, H. M., "A Clue to Moby Dick," in Literary Review, New York Evening Post, Vol. 2, No number, issue of November 5, 1921, p. 141-142.

Tomlinson, H. M., "Preface to Pierre," New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1929, p. vii-xvii.

Van Doren, Carl, "Contemporaries of Cooper," in Cambridge History of American Literature, New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917, Vol. 1, p. 320-323, and 536-537.

Van Doren, Carl, The American Novel, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1921, p. 68-76.

Van Doren, Carl, "Melville before the Mast," in Century Magazine, Vol. 108, No. 2, issue of June, 1924, p. 272-277.

Van Doren, Carl, "Lucifer from Nantucket: An Introduction to Moby Dick," in Century Magazine, Vol. 110, No. 4, issue of August, 1925, p. 494-501.

Van Doren, Carl, "A Note of Confession," in Nation (New York), Vol. 127, No. 3309, issue of December 5, 1928, p. 622.

Van Doren, Carl, "Herman Melville," in The American Novel, Revised Edition, New York, The Macmillan Company, 1940, p. 84-102.

Van Vechten, Carl, "The Later Work of Herman Melville," in Excavations, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926, p. 65-88. (This essay first appeared in Double Dealer, Vol. 3, issue of January, 1922, p. 9-20.)

Vietor, Alexander O., "A Possible Verse Parody of Moby-Dick," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 3, issue of June, 1942, p. 43.

Vietor, Alexander O., "Five Inches of Books," in Yale University Library Gazette, Vol. 22, No. 4, issue of April, 1948, p. 124-128.

Vincent, Howard P., Editor, Collected Poems of Herman Melville, Chicago, Packard and Company-Hendricks House, 1947, XXII-548 pages.

Vincent, Howard P., The Trying Out of Moby-Dick, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1949, XVI-400 pages.

Vincent, Howard P., "White Jacket: An Essay in Interpretation," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 3, issue of September, 1949, p. 304-315.

Vogel, Dan, "The Coming Storm," in The Melville Society Newsletter, Vol. 11, No. 2, issue of Summer, 1955, p. 2-3.

Vogelback, Arthur L., "Shakespeare and Melville's Benito Cereno," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 67, No. 2, issue of February, 1952, p. 113-116.

Von Abele, Rudolph, "Melville and the Problem of Evil," in American Mercury, Vol. 65, No. 287, issue of November, 1947, p. 592-598.

Wagenknecht, Edward, "Our Contemporary, Herman Melville," in English Journal, Vol. 39, No. 3, issue of March, 1950, p. 121-128.

Waggoner, Hyatt Howe, "A Possible Verse Parody of Moby-Dick in 1865," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 1, issue of April, 1942, p. 3-6.

Wainger, B. M., "Herman Melville: A Study in Disillusion," in Union College Bulletin, Vol. 25, No. issue of January, 1932, p. 35-62.

Walcutt, Charles C., "The Fire Symbolism in Moby Dick," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 59, No. 5, issue of May, 1944, p. 304-310.

Warren, Robert Penn, "Melville the Poet," in Kenyon Review, Vol. 8, No. 2, issue of Spring, 1946, p. 208-223.

Watson, E. L. Grant, "Moby Dick," in London Mercury Vol. 3, No. 14, issue of December, 1920, p. 180-186.

Watson, E. L. Grant, "Melville's Pierre," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 3, No. 2, issue of April, 1930, p. 195-234.

Watson, E. L. Grant, "Melville's Testament of Acceptance," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 2, issue of June, 1933, p. 319-327.

Watters, Reginald E., "Melville's Metaphysics of Evil," in University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. 9, No. 2, issue of January, 1940, p. 170-182.

Watters, Reginald E., "Melville's 'Sociality'," in American Literature, Vol. 17, No. 1, issue of March, 1945, p. 33-49.

Watters, Reginald E., "Melville's 'Isolatoos'," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 60, No. 6, issue of December, 1945, p. 1138-1148.

Weeks, Mabel C., Editor, "Long Ago and 'Faraway': Traces of Melville in the Marquesas in the Journals of A. G. Jones, 1854-1855," in Bulletin of the New York Public Library, Vol. 52, No. 7, issue of July, 1948, p. 362-369.

Watters, Reginald E., "The Meanings of the White Whale," in University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 2, issue of January, 1951, p. 155-168.

Weeks, Mabel C., "Some Ancestral Lines of Herman Melville as Traced in Funeral and Memorial Spoons," in New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, Vol. 80, No. 4, issue of October, 1949, p. 194-197.

Weaver, Raymond M., "The Centennial of Herman Melville," in Nation (New York), Vol. 109, No. 2822, issue of August 2, 1919, p. 145-146.

Weaver, Raymond M., Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic, New York, George n. Doran Company, 1921, XIV-399 pages.

Weaver, Raymond M., "Herman Melville," in Bookman, (New York), Vol. 54, No. 4, issue of December, 1921, p. 318-326.

Weaver, Raymond M., Editor, Shorter Novels of Herman Melville, New York, Horace Liveright, Inc., 1928, LI-328 pages.

Weaver, Raymond M., "Herman Melville," in American Writers on American Literature, Edited by John Macy, New York, Horace Liveright, Inc., 1931, p. 190-206.

Weaver, Raymond M., Editor, Journal up the Straits, October 11, 1856-May 5, 1857, by Herman Melville, New York, The Colophon, 1935, XXX-182 pages.

Weber, Walter, Herman Melville, eine stilistische Untersuchung, Basel, Switzerland, Philographischer Verlag, 1937, XVIII-242 pages.

Weeks, Donald, "Two Uses of Moby Dick," in American Quarterly, Vol. 2, No. 2, issue of Summer, 1950, p. 155-164.

Wegelin, Oscar, "Herman Melville as I recall Him," in Colophon, New Series, Vol. 1, No. 1, issue of Summer, 1935, p. 21-24.

Weir, Charles, Jr., "Malice Reconciled: A Note on Billy Budd," in University of Toronto Quarterly, Vol. 13, No. 3, issue of April, 1944, p. 276-285.

Wells, Henry W., "Herman Melville's Clarel," in College English, Vol. 4, No. 8, issue of May, 1943, p. 478-483.

Wells, Henry W., "An Unobtrusive Democrat: Herman Melville," in South Atlantic Quarterly, Vol. 43, No. 1, issue of January, 1944, p. 46-51.

Wells, Whitney Hastings, "Moby Dick and Rabelais," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 38, No. 2, issue of February, 1923, p. 123.

Wernick, Robert Evan, "Man and Society in the Later Works of Herman Melville," Helen Choate Bell Prize Essay, Harvard University, 1938.

Wernick, Robert Evan, "Moby-Dick and Pierre; Society and Solitude," Bowdoin Prize Essay, Harvard University, 1938.

West, R. B., "The Unity of Billy Budd," in Hudson Review, Vol. 5, No. 2, issue of Spring, 1952, p. 120-128.

Whipple, Addison B. C., Yankee Whalers in the South Seas, Garden City, Doubleday and Company, 1954, 304 pages.

White, E. W., "Billy Budd," in Adelphi, Vol. 28, issue of First Quarter, 1952, p. 492-498.

White, Viola C., "Symbolism in Herman Melville's Writing," Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1934.

Whitman, R., "Century on the Sea," in Christian Science Monitor Magazine Section, issue of January 8, 1949, p. 5.

Whitridge, A., "Exploring Some Myths," Review of Leon Howard's Biography, in Saturday Review of Literature, Vol. 35, issue of January 5, 1952, p. 13.

Wilder, Thornton, "Toward an American Language," in Atlantic Monthly, Vol. 180, issue of July, 1952, p. 31-42.

Williams, Mentor L., "Horace Greeley Reviews Omoo," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 27, No. 1, issue of January, 1948, p. 94-96.

Williams, Mentor L., "Park Benjamin on Melville's Mardi," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 8, No. 9, issue of December, 1949, p. 132-134.

Williams, Mentor L., "Two Hawaiian-Americans Visit Herman Melville," in New England Quarterly, Vol. 23, No. 1, issue of March, 1950, p. 97-99.

Williams, Mentor L., "Some Notices and Reviews of Melville's Novels in American Religious Periodicals, 1846-1849," in American Literature, Vol. 22, No. 2, issue of May, 1950, p. 119-127.

Williams, Stanley T., "'Follow Your Leader': Melville's 'Benito Cereno'," in Virginia Quarterly Review, Vol. 23, No. 1, issue of Winter, 1947, p. 61-76.

Williams, Stanley T., "Spanish Influence in American Fiction: Melville and Others," in New Mexico Quarterly, Vol. 22, No. 1, issue of Spring, 1952, p. 5-16.

Wilson, Carroll A., Thirteen Author Collections of the Nineteenth Century and Five Centuries of Familiar Quotations, Two Volumes, New York, Privately Printed for Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950.

Winters, Jerry, Herman Melville's Moby Dick, A half-hour Film, in color, based upon a Series of over 200 Drawings by Gil Wilson, Opened at the Paris Theatre, New York City, on May 23, 1955.

Winters, Yvor, "Herman Melville and the Problems of Moral Navigation," in Maule's Curse: Seven Studies in the History of American Obscurantism, Norfolk, Connecticut, New Directions, 1938, p. 53-89.

Wise, Henry Augustus, Lieutenant, U. S. N., Los Gringos: or An Inside View of Mexico and California, with Wanderings in Peru, Chili, and Polynesia, New York, Baker and Scribner, 1849, XVI-453 pages.

Wolpert, Bernard M., "The Melville Revival: A Study of Twentieth Century Criticism Through its Treatment of Herman Melville," Dissertation, Ohio State University, 1951.

Woolf, Leonard, "Herman Melville," in Nation and Athenaeum, Vol. 33, No. 22, issue of September 1, 1923, p. 688.

Wright, Nathalia, "Biblical Allusion in the Prose of Herman Melville," Master's Essay, Yale University, 1938.

Wright, Nathalia, "Biblical Allusion in Melville's Prose," in American Literature, Vol. 12, No. 2, issue of May, 1940, p. 185-199.

Wright, Nathalia, "Melville's Use of the Bible," Dissertation, Yale University, 1949.

Wright, Nathalia, Melville's Use of the Bible, Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1949, 203 pages.

Wright, Nathalia, "A Source for Melville's 'Clarel': Dean Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine'," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 62, No. 2, issue of February, 1947, p. 110-116.

Wright, Nathalia, "The Head and the Heart in Melville's Mardi," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 66, No. 4, issue of June, 1951, p. 351-362.

Wright, Nathalia, "A Note on Melville's Use of Spenser: Hautia and the Bower of Bliss," in American Literature, Vol. 24, No. 1, issue of March, 1952, p. 83-84.

Wright, Nathalia, "Form as Function in Melville," in Publications of the Modern Language Association, Vol. 67, No. 4, issue of June, 1952, p. 330-340.

Wright, Nathalia, "Mosses from an Old Manse and Moby Dick: The Shock of Discovery," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 67, No. 6, issue of June, 1952, p. 387-392.

Wright, Nathalia, "The Confidence Men of Melville and Cooper," in American Quarterly, Vol. 4, No. 3, issue of Fall, 1952, p. 266-268.

Yaggy, Elinor, "Pierre: Key to the Melville Enigma," Dissertation, University of Washington, 1946.

Yaggy, Elinor, "Shakespeare and Melville's Pierre," in Boston Public Library Quarterly, Vol. 6, No. 1, issue of January, 1954, p. 43-51.

Yates, Norris, "A Traveller's Comments on Melville's Typee," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 69, No. 8, issue of December, 1954, p. 581-583.

Young, James D., "The Nine Gams of the Pequod," in American Literature, Vol. 25, No. 4, issue of January, 1954, p. 449-463.

Zanetti, Emilia, "Berg, il Mahagonny, e il Billy Budd tratto da Melville," in La Fiera Letteraria (Italy), No. 30, issue of September 18, 1949, p. 4.

Zink, Karl E., "Herman Melville and the Forms - Irony and Social Criticism in Billy Budd," in Accent, Vol. 12, No. 3, issue of Summer, 1952, p. 131-139.

ADDENDA

Arvin, Newton, "Toward the Whole Evidence on Melville as a Lecturer," in American Notes and Queries, Vol. 2, No. 2, issue of May, 1942, p. 21-22.

Colum, Padraic, "Moby Dick as an Epic: A Note," in The Measure, Volume not numbered, No. 13, issue of March, 1922, p. 16-18.

Coxe, Louis O. and Robert H. Chapman, Billy Budd, in Theatre Arts, Vol. 36, No. 2, issue of February, 1952, p. 50-69.

Davis, Merrell R., "Melville's Midwestern Lecture Tour, 1859," in Philological Quarterly, Vol. 20, No. 1, issue of January, 1941, p. 46-57.

Forsythe, Robert S., Editor, Pierre or The Ambiguities, by Herman Melville, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1930, XXXVIII-416 pages.

Gilman, William H., "Melville's Liverpool Trip," in Modern Language Notes, Vol. 61, No. 8, issue of December, 1946, p. 543-547.

Sullivan, John William N., "Herman Melville," in Aspects of Science, Second Series, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1926, p. 190-205.

Tomlinson, H. M., "Two Americans and a Whale: Some Fruits of a London Luncheon," in Harper's Monthly Magazine, Vol. 152, No number, issue of April, 1926, p. 618-621.

APPENDIX 1

AN ABSTRACT OF

"A Study of Melville's Journals, Lectures, and Letters"¹

As the title suggests, this "Study of Melville's Journals, Lectures, and Letters," mainly concerns itself with presenting a thorough discussion of all of the important aspects of three minor types of literature produced by the great American writer, Herman Melville. The material of the dissertation is organized and presented in an Introduction; the following numbered chapters: "The Melville Canon," "Herman Melville as a Writer of Journals," "Melville the Lecturer," "The Letters of Herman Melville"; a Conclusion; and an extensive Bibliography. Appended to the dissertation is an Abstract of it; and this is followed by an Analytical Index.

Although the study is limited, as indicated above, the organization and development of the subject matter, and the manner in which the material is treated throughout, give it a broader scope, and fill its pages with much more information than ordinarily would be expected.

For instance, the Introduction, in addition to stating clearly the purpose of the dissertation, briefly sketches the

¹ Therman Benjamin O'Daniel, "A Study of Melville's Journals, Lectures, and Letters," Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1955.

events in Melville's life immediately prior to the publication of his first novel, Typee; refers to the sensational success of this book, and of Omoo, his second novel; and mentions his marriage to Elizabeth Shaw, and his resolution to make professional writing his life's career.

The first numbered chapter, "The Melville Canon," discusses Melville's newspaper and magazine contributions; his fourteen books - nine novels, a volume of short stories, and four books of verse - published during his lifetime; and Billy Budd and his other works that were published posthumously. It presents, in fact, a brief comprehensive survey of all of Melville's known works, together with a discussion of pertinent biographical and historical facts to reveal the conditions under which he produced his literary canon. In doing this, the chapter provides a rich background for the whole study, and makes the later discussions of the journals, lectures, and letters, better understood and appreciated.

The second chapter, "Herman Melville as a Writer of Journals," gives the titles by which his three journals are known; indicates the type of occasional, unmethodical journal writer he was; gives an account of the experiences received from three journeys as a gentleman traveller, which provided the material for the journal entries; and discusses the literary use which he later made of this material in prose and verse.

"Melville the Lecturer," the third chapter, presents

some speculations regarding the contents of Melville's three lectures, as no manuscript copies of them are known to exist; discusses his lecture tours; and reviews the reasons why he failed as a lecturer.

The fourth and longest chapter, "The Letters of Herman Melville," contains an analytical examination of the large body of business and social letters which Melville wrote; discusses the value of the information which these letters contain, and the beauty of their style; and indicates reasons why Melville deserves a place among the great letter writers of all times.

The Conclusion, in presenting a summary of the findings, discusses the nature of major and minor forms of literature; indicates why Melville's journals, lectures, and letters, though very important and valuable in many respects, necessarily must rank among the lesser works in his literary canon; but again points out the excellent qualities of the letters, in contrast to the journals and lectures; and stresses the fact that, had Melville not written his major works, his superb letters would have brought him recognition and given him a place of standing among the men of literature.

ANALYTICAL INDEX

A

Acushnet, 28
Adler, George J., 80, 88
 "Agatha" Letter, 121-26, 142
Albany Argus, 261
Albany Evening Journal, 10-11
Ann Alexander, 163-64
Arvin, Newton, 102
Atlantic Monthly, 133-34

B

Barnum, P. T., 50-58
Barrs, John, 135-141, 287
Baugh, Albert C., 113
Bentley, Richard, 7, 80, 153, 244-51, 267
Bezanson, Walter E., 293
Billson, James, 134-141, 287
Birss, John H., 96-111, 118 ff. 133 ff., 242-51
Boston Journal, 106
Briggs, Charles F., 69-70
Brodhead, John R., 6, 243
Browne, J. Ross, 30-31, 169
Buffalo Commercial Advertiser, 147
Butler, Fanny Kemble, 170

C

Carlyle, Thomas, 268
Century Magazine, 63
Chapman, George, 276
Charleston Advertiser, 103
Chaucer, Geoffrey, 203-06, 212
Chillicothe Advertiser, 100
Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 100
Cincinnati Gazette, 100
Cleveland Daily Herald, 100
Cleveland Morning Leader, 100
Clifford, John, 122-23
Columbian Weekly Register, 104

C

Cortes, 86
Cooper, James F., 118-19, 149
Curtis, George W., 92

D

Daily Wisconsin, 101
Dana, Richard Henry, Jr., 232-238, 278, 288
Davis, Merrell, R., 101-02, 109-10
Dekker, Thomas, 174
Dollar Magazine, 163
Duffy, Charles, 103
Duyckinck, Evert A., 30, 36, 45, 87, 126 ff., 145-175, 225
Duyckinck, George L., 98, 145 ff., 154, 166, 173, 175, 226

E

Edinburgh Journal, 240
Elizabeth Baxter, 86, 90
Ellis, Havelock, 290
Emerson, Ralph W., 76, 149-51, 170, 268-69

F

Field, David Dudley, 126
Fly, Eli, 26-7, 175, 254
Forsythe, Robert S., 82
Freeman, Frederic Barron, 71-3
Freeman, John, 100

G

Gansevoort, Catherine Van Schaik (Grandmother), 142
Gansevoort, Herman (Uncle) 187
Gansevoort, Henry Sanford (Cousin), 107-09, 183, 189, 194-95, 197, 208-09

G

Gansevoort, Peter (Uncle),
107, 183 ff., 226, 285
Gansevoort, Susan (Aunt),
183 ff., 285
Gifford, Ellen Maret, 117,
190, 285
Gilman, William H., vii, 10,
18, 24, 115, 251
Glasgow, 82
Greene, Tobias, 147 ff., 242
Griggs, George, 183

H

Haraszti, Zoltan, 238-42
Harper's New Monthly Magazine,
29, 47, 59-62
Hart, James D., 237-38
Hart, Joseph C., 149
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 76,
82-3, 120 ff., 138, 149 ff.,
213, 225, 272
Hawthorne, Julian, vi-vii, 116,
120, 128, 132, 182, 222
Hawthorne, Sophia, 127, 270-72
Hayford, Harrison, 113, 125,
232-37
Herbert, George, 177
Hillway, Tyrus, 104-05
Hoadley, Catherine Melville
(Sister), 183, 191-93
Hoadley, John C. (Brother-in-
Law), 183, 191-93, 217-22
Hoffman, Charles F., 151-52
Holden's Magazine, 160, 162
Home Journal, 223
Horsford, Howard C., 77-8
Howard, Leon, 8, 27 ff., 296
Hudibras, 154

I

Independence, 79
Ithaca Journal and
Advertiser, 103

K

Keats, John, 136
Kummer, George, 100, 223

L

Lansing, Abraham, 183, 190, 194,
203, 212
Lansing, Catherine Gansevoort
(Cousin), 183, 190, 193, 194-
211, 284
Lathrop, Rose Hawthorne, 120-121,
127, 132
Leyda, Jay, viii, 18, 93 ff.,
115 ff., 251 ff.
Lincoln, Abraham, 185, 227
Lloyd, Francis V., 97, 102, 104
London Examiner and Literary
Gazette, 268

M

Mabbott, Thomas O., 222-23, 231
MacMechan, Archibald, 74, 142,
144
Marlowe, Christopher, 174
Mathews, Cornelius, 155-57
Mansfield, 47, 126, 172 ff.
Melville, Allan (Father), 9, 114,
280
Melville, Allan (Brother), 24,
87, 115, 164, 174, 195
Melville, Augusta (Sister), 189,
255
Melville, Elizabeth ("Bessie" -
Daughter), 64, 178, 210
Melville, Elizabeth Shaw (Wife),
ix, 63-4, 66-7, 81, 115, 117,
143, 164, 166-68
Melville, Gansevoort (Brother),
viii, 9-10, 24, 115, 185,
243, 255-58
Melville, Herman - Letters to:
"Albany Friend," 253
Barry, W. H., 276
Bentley, Richard, 244-51, 267
Billson, James, 134-41
Bradford, Alexander W., 239-42

M

Melville, Herman - Letters to:
 Brodhead, John R., 243-4, 247
 Buchanan, James, 257-58
 Clarksville Literary Association, 275
 Crowell, Edwin, 261
 Curtis, George W., 275
 Dana, Richard Henry, Jr., 113, 232-38
 Dexter, Elias, 284
 Dix and Edwards, 193, 274
 Drake, Samuel, 284
 Duyckinck, Evert, 36, 84, 147-75
 Duyckinck, George, 176-77, 276, 298
 Editor of the New York World, 282-83
 Ellis, Havelock, 290-91
 Gansevoort, Catherine Van Schaick, 142
 Gansevoort, Henry Sanford, 280-81
 Gansevoort, Peter, 184-91, 275, 284-85
 Gansevoort, Susan, 186-87
 Gifford, Ellen M., 285-87
 Greene, Tobias, 278
 Harper and Brothers, 272
 Hawthorne, Julian, 182
 Hawthorne, Nathaniel, vi-vii, 121-28
 Hawthorne, Sophia, 270-72
 Hoadley, Catherine Melville, 191-93
 Hoadley, John C., 218-22, 283
 Lamson, A. D., 231-32
 Lansing, Abraham, 212-17, 285
 Lansing, Abraham and Catherine, 215-16
 Lansing, Catherine Gansevoort, 194-211, 290
 MacMechan, Archibald, 74
 McLaughlin, George, 119, 145
 Melville, Allan, 253-54
 Melville, Elizabeth ("Bessie"), 178-79

M

Melville, Herman - Letters to:
 Melville, Elizabeth Shaw, 226
 Melville, Gansevoort, 255-56
 Melville, Malcolm, 179-181
 Melville, Maria Gansevoort, 211-12
 Melville, Thomas, 143-144
 Morewood, Sarah, 269-70
 Murray, John, 258-61, 262-67, 289
 Polk, President James K., 257
 Putnam, George P., 273
 Russell, W. Clark, 288
 Salt, Henry S., 288-90
 Sanford, Leonard G., 288
 Shaw, Chief Justice Lemuel, 142-43, 251-52, 268-69
 Shaw, Samuel, 229-31, 277-78
 Sprague, Dr. William, 222-223
 Stoddard, Charles W., 283
 Sumner, Charles, 279
 Tyler, Robert O., 281-82
 Van Matre, Sophie, 116
 Van Schaick, Augustus, 261-62
 Van Voorst, Hooper C., 260
 Weed, Thurlow, 278
 Wiley and Putnam, 264
 Willis, Nathaniel P., 223-225
 Wilson, James G., 276
 Melville, Herman - Works of:
 "A Thought on Book-Binding," 30, 37-39
 "Art," 63
 "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack'," 47-58
 "Baby Budd, Sailor," 71-2

M

- Melville, Herman - Works of:
 "Bartleby," 4, 60, 294
Battle-Pieces, 8, 62
 "Benito Cereno," 4, 61, 294
Billy Budd, 1, 63-5, 68-75, 80, 88, 293
 "Chattanooga," 62
Clarel, 8, 83, 88, 92, 95, 135-36, 198-99, 200-202, 204-07, 285, 293
 "Cock-A-Doodle-Do," 60
 "Cooper's New Novel," 30, 36-37
 "Daniel Orme," 70
"Etchings of a Whaling Cruise and Sailor's Life and Sailor's Yarns," 30-33
 "Fragments From a Writing Desk," 18
 "Fruit of Travel of Long Ago," 89
 "Gettysburg," 62
 "Hawthorne and His Mosses," 30, 39-45
 "I and My Chimney," 61
Israel Potter, 4, 7, 29, 61, 80, 88, 273, 292
 "Jimmy Rose," 61
 "John Gentian," 66-7, 69
John Marr, 8, 89, 288
Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, 77, 79, 90, 93, 292-302
Journal on Clipper Ship "Meteor," 77, 84-86, 164, 292-302
Journal Up the Straits, 77, 83, 88, 92-3, 292-302
 "Lamia's Song," 63
Mardi, 4, 6, 7, 35, 46, 73, 114, 135, 154-55, 244-46, 267-68, 292
 "Marquis de Grandvin," 66-7
Moby-Dick, 2, 4, 7, 29, 73, 80-1, 88, 93, 113-14, 129, 163, 172, 247-48, 270-71, 292, 302

M

- Melville, Herman - Works of:
 "Monody," 63
 "Montaigne and His Kitten," 286
 "Mr. Parkman's Tour," 30, 34-5
 "Night-March," 63
Omoo, ix, 4-6, 28, 45-7, 135, 148, 168, 243-44, 258, 260-261, 263, 292
 "Philip," 62
Pierre, 4, 7, 58, 73, 80, 114, 125-26, 250, 272, 292
 "Poor Man's Pudding and Rich Man's Crumbs," 61, 80, 88, 294
Redburn, 4, 7, 25, 46, 153, 233-34, 245-47, 251-52, 292
 "Sheridan at Cedar Creek," 62
 "Statues in Rome," 89, 96-7, 292-302
 "The Age of the Antonines," 220
 "The Apple-Tree Table," 61-62
 "The Bell-Tower," 4, 61
The Confidence-Man, 4, 7, 8, 27, 80, 93, 105, 275, 292, 299
 "The Cumberland," 62
 "The Encantadas," 4, 61, 294
 "The Fiddler," 61
 "The 'Gees," 61
 "The Happy Failure," 61
 "The Lightning-Rod Man," 4, 61
 "The March to the Sea," 62
 "The Paradise of Bachelors and The Tartarus of Maids," 61, 80, 88, 294
 "The Piazza," 4
The Piazza Tales, 4, 7, 8, 80, 193, 274, 293-94
 "The South Seas," 96-7, 109, 292-302
 "The Two Temples," 65, 69, 80, 88, 294
 "The Weaver," 63
Timoleon, 8, 63, 83, 88, 220
 "Travelling," 89, 96, 98, 292-302
Typee, vii-viii, 4-6, 28, 93, 135, 142, 146, 148, 239, 242-243, 256, 263, 288, 292

M

Melville, Herman - Works of:
Weeds and Wildings, 66-7
White Jacket, 4, 7, 46, 79-80, 93, 152-53, 223, 232-35, 251, 292
 Melville, Major Thomas (Grandfather), 284
 Melville, Malcolm (Son), 178-79, 226, 283
 Melville, Maria (Mother), 87, 115, 168, 183, 211, 254
 Melville, Thomas (Uncle), 26-7
 Melville, Thomas (Brother), 84-86, 142-43, 164, 178, 188, 277, 300
 Metcalf, Eleanor Melville (Granddaughter), 64, 77-9, 177-80
Meteor, 84-86, 90, 163-68 ff., 300
 Minnegerode, Meade, 5, 114, 145 ff.
 Morison, Samuel E., 121
Morning Courier and New York Enquirer, 239-40, 242
 Moxon, Edward, 236
 Mumford, Lewis, 100, 105
 Murray, John, vii, 5-6, 8, 91, 243-44, 258, 262-67, 288-89

N

"Nathaniel Hawthorne" (A Review of The Scarlet Letter), 44-5
New Haven Journal and Courier, 104
New York Leader, 62

O

Oliver, Egbert S., 5

P

Paltsits, Victor H., 183 ff.

P

Parker Francis, 34, 149, 154
 Perry, Bliss, 133
Pequod, 163
 Philo Logos Society, 10-17
Pilgrim, 33
Pittsfield Sun, 62
 Putnam, George F. vii, 118, 273
Putnam's Monthly Magazine, 4, 29, 58-61

R

Kingbolt, Captain, 30-32-3
Rockford Register, 109
Rockford Republican, 109
 Russ, Oliver, 278
 Russell, W. Clark, 288

S

Sanitary Fairs, 119-120
 Salt, Henry S., 287-88
 Shakespeare, William, 39-45, 170
 Shaw, Chief Justice Lemuel, viii-ix, 82, 122, 142-43, 251-52, 268, 277, 280
 Shaw, Samuel, 226, 229-31, 277
 Sherburn, George, 113
 Smith, J. E. A., 106, 229
 Southampton, 79, 171, 232
Spiller, Robert E., et al, 77
S. S. North Star, 86
St. Lawrence, 25
 Stedman, Arthur, 62
 Street, Alfred Billings, 206, 216
 Stein, William B., 293
 Stoddard, Charles W., 283-84
 Sumner, Charles, 227, 279

T

Taylor, Franklin, 80
 Taylor, J. Bayard, 80, 92
The Albany Microscope, 5-24
The Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser, 9-24

T

The Literary World, 29-58,
146 ff.
The Refugee, 140
The Scioto Gazette, 100
Thomas, Frances Melville
(Daughter), 64, 210
Thomas, Henry B. (Son-
in-Law), 210-11
Thomson, James, 135-41, 289
Thoreau, Henry David, 76
Thorp, Willard, 30, 44, 62,
134 ff.
Tyler, Robert O., 281

U

Underwood, Francis H., 133
United States, vi, 28

V

Van Loon, Charles, 10-17
Van Schaick, Augustus, 201

V

Vincent, Howard P., 66, 286
Vogel, Dan, 293

W

Walpole, Horace, 113
Weaver, Raymond, 2, 13, 63-8,
77-8, 117 ff.
Webster, John, 174
Weed, Thurlow, 186
Wiley and Putnam's, 140 ff.
Willis, Nathaniel Parker, 92,
223-25

Y

Yankee Doodle, 29, 47-58