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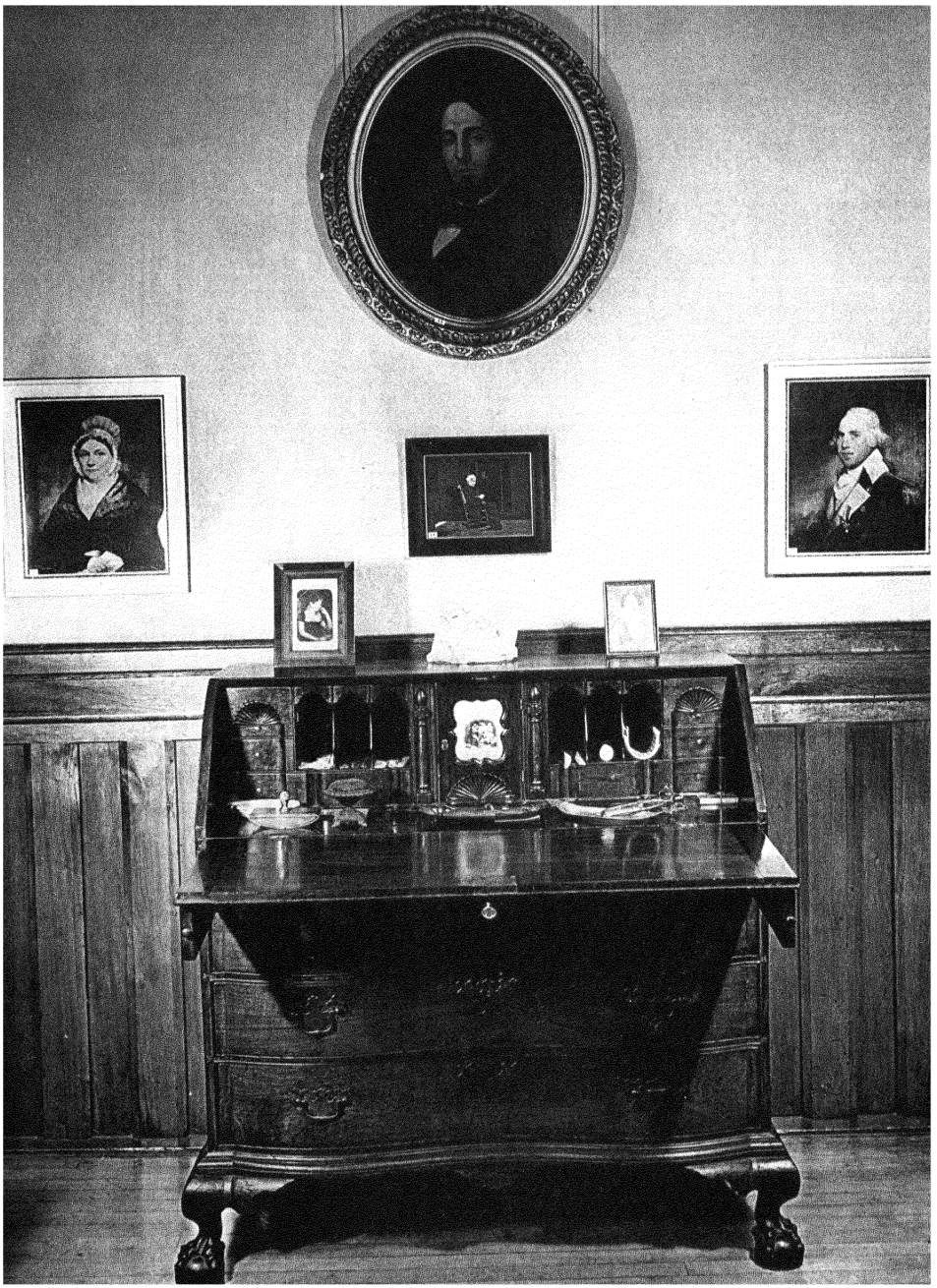
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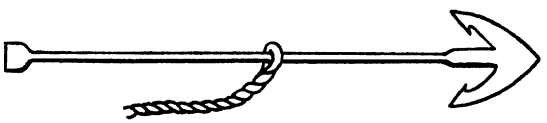
THE LETTERS OF HERMAN MELVILLE



Melville's writing desk

THE LETTERS OF

HERMAN MELVILLE



Edited by MERRELL R. DAVIS

and WILLIAM H. GILMAN

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To Melville scholars of three generations

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS

LEON HOWARD

HARRISON HAYFORD

PREFACE

THE ACCUMULATION of information about Melville in recent years and the publication of new letters in various scattered places has encouraged an edition of his letters that would collect in one place both published and unpublished letters and establish a definitive text for them. Since the plan originated, numerous people have given so much in time and information that the volume is by now something of a collective enterprise. It is a pleasure to acknowledge the assistance of those who have over a period of years made a substantial contribution to its publication.

To Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf we are indebted for permission to publish the letters and for her gracious and generous assistance at all stages. For permission to transcribe the letters in their possession and for numerous other courtesies we are also indebted to the Abernethy Library of American Literature of Middlebury College, the American Antiquarian Society, the officials of the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection of the New York Public Library, the Berkshire Athenaeum, the Boston Public Library, the British Museum, the Butler-Gunsaulus Collection of the University of Chicago, the Columbia University Library, the Library of Congress, the Dartmouth College Library, the officials of the Estelle Doheny Collection of the Edward Laurence Doheny Memorial Library of St. John's Seminary, the Essex Institute, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Houghton Library of Harvard University, the University of Illinois Library, the Manuscript Collection of the New York Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Pierpont Morgan Library, the National Archives, Washington D.C., the University of Rochester Library, the Philip and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation, the Seven Gables Book Shop, the University of Texas Library, and the Yale University Library. The following individuals also have generously permitted us to transcribe the letters owned by them: C. Waller Barrett, Roger Barrett, Robert H. Elias, H. Bradley Martin,

Timothy F. McGillicuddy, Sir John Murray, J. C. Pearson, and Norman Holmes Pearson. We wish to thank Herbert Cahoon for his kindness in calling our attention to new Melville letters in the Pierpont Morgan Library and William H. McCarthy, Jr., for his assistance in making available the letters in the Rosenbach Foundation. Finally, we are particularly indebted to Miss Agnes Morewood of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the granddaughter of Allan Melville, for the privilege of transcribing the Melville letters she subsequently placed in the Berkshire Athenaeum.

The task of compiling and editing the letters has been made easier by the many friends and colleagues, scholars, librarians, and bookdealers who have given us encouragement and direct assistance along the way. For many courtesies and for special assistance in our search we are indebted to Gordan Banks, Josiah Bennett, George S. Crosbiel, David Kirschenbaum, Jay Leyda, Richard Maass, Robert Metzdorf, Howard Mott, and David Randall. We would mention especially the assistance of Arthur Swann of the Parke-Bernet Galleries and his many generosities. In our fruitless search for the Melville letters to Nathaniel Hawthorne, we wish to recall the helpful conversation of Mrs. Gwendolin Mikkelsen and her daughter, Miss Rosemond H. Mikkelsen, of West Redding, Connecticut, and the pleasant moment of hope we experienced through the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Paul W. Howe in allowing us to explore the Julian Hawthorne papers that have since become a part of the Hawthorne papers in the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

In the gathering of information about the letters we had collected, as well as in numerous other ways, we are indebted to several libraries and their staffs: to James T. Babb, Donald Gallup, and the staff of the Yale University Library in whose library stacks the project was first begun; to William A. Jackson and the staff of the Houghton Library of Harvard University, and most especially to Miss Carolyn Jakeman for her repeated kindnesses both professional and personal; to Robert W. Hill and the late Edward B. Morrison of the Manuscript Room of the New York Public Library for continued direction and aid over a long period of time and to John D. Gordan of the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library for his confidence in the project; to Robert G.

Newman, Director of the Berkshire Athenaeum, for his many courtesies; and to Clifford K. Shipton and Clarence S. Brigham of the American Antiquarian Society, the Rev. James W. Richardson of the Edward Laurence Doheny Memorial Library, Miss Mary Elizabeth Fry of the Huntington Library, and Malcolm O. Young of the Princeton Library for their aid in one or more ways; and, finally, to the staff of the University of Washington Library, particularly Miss Madeline Gilchrist and J. Ronald Todd, and the staff of the University of Rochester Library who have served us in countless ways.

The edition has been immeasurably assisted by the granting of funds from the University of Washington and the University of Rochester for research, travel, and freedom from summer teaching, for which we express our separate and collective indebtedness. We are also grateful to Mrs. Annette W. Bristol and to Mrs. Kathleen Freeman for assistance in the typing of the manuscript. To the members of the Yale University Press of both the past and present, Eugene Davidson, Miss Roberta Yerkes, Chester Kerr, and David Horne, we acknowledge the continued interest, encouragement and advice that was necessary to see the project through its slow and sometimes tortuous process to final completion. And to the Ford Foundation we acknowledge the assistance of funds granted to help defray publication costs.

In appropriate places within the volume we have acknowledged the particular contributions of scholars of this and earlier generations, but here we wish to express our general indebtedness to all those who have listened to our questions and responded to our needs, among whom we would include James Beard, Edward E. Bostetter, George P. Clark, Alfred R. Ferguson, Gordon Haight, Joseph Jones, Henry A. Murray, Norman Holmes Pearson, Gordon Roper, Merton M. Sealts, Jr., our friends and colleagues of the University of Washington and the University of Rochester, and those to whom we have dedicated this volume.

August 1959

M.R.D.
W.H.G.

CONTENTS

Preface vii

Illustrations xiii

Introduction xv

Abbreviations xxix

LETTERS

I. 1819–1844 1

II. 1845–1849 19

III. 1850–1863 99

IV. 1864–1891 221

V. Undated 299

Check List of Unlocated Letters 309

Textual Notes 321

Index 387

ILLUSTRATIONS

Melville's writing desk, from 104 East 26th Street, New York City. Now in the Berkshire Athenaeum *frontispiece*

1. To Peter Gansevoort, 30 December 1837 4

2. To Nathaniel Hawthorne, 13 August 1852 154

3. Enclosure to Dix and Edwards, 19 January 1856 178

4. To Malcolm Melville, 1 September 1860 202

5. To Thomas Melville, 25 May 1862 214

6. To Catherine Melville Hoadley, 28 December 1881 272

INTRODUCTION

THE HISTORY of the publication of the letters of Herman Melville begins in 1884 with Julian Hawthorne's two-volume recollections of his father, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife*. In a review of these volumes, Thomas Wentworth Higginson noted that the letters of Hawthorne's American correspondents which had been included betrayed "habitually the tone of secondary minds, not of men meeting him [Hawthorne] on high ground," and added: "In some cases the letters are given so fully as to give an impression of 'padding,' as where we have nine consecutive pages of not very interesting epistles from Herman Melville."

It is not unlikely that Higginson's charge of padding was accurate, for Julian Hawthorne had visited Melville two years before in an unsuccessful attempt to get Hawthorne's side of this correspondence for his memoirs. The Melville letters thus appear to have been offered as a substitute for the Hawthorne letters which Melville admitted having destroyed. Such, at any rate, is the attitude that greeted the first publication of any sequence of letters by Melville.[1]

No attempt to collect and publish Melville letters was in fact made until after the revival of interest that began with the criticism of F. J. Mather, Jr., in 1919 and the publication of Raymond Weaver's biography in 1921. Besides the immediate publication of Melville's letters to James Billson (1921) and Meade Minnegerode's selection of Melville's letters in the Duyckinck Collection of the New York Public Library (1922), Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf published in 1927 extracts from two letters of Melville to

1. Extracts of Melville's letters had been published as early as 1850 in *The Home Journal* (see letter 70 below) and by George Parsons Lathrop in 1876 in his *A Study of Hawthorne* (letter 83 below) but no full letter and no sequence of letters had been published before Julian Hawthorne's *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (2 vols. Boston, Ticknor, *ca.* 1884), except his youthful "letters to the editor."

his children; Victor H. Paltsits published in 1929 a selection of Melville letters from the Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, also in the New York Public Library; and in the same year S. E. Morison published the important "Agatha" letter to Hawthorne. Finally, in 1938 Willard Thorp published a selection of twenty-one letters, including five letters previously unpublished, from Melville's correspondence with his family, Evert Duyckinck, and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

Scattered letters continued to be published in numerous books and articles during these and the subsequent twenty years. Admittedly scarce, new letters were uncovered and published, sometimes separately and sometimes in brief sequences or in volumes of selections by T. O. Mabbott, John H. Birss, Luther Mansfield, James D. Hart, Charles R. Anderson, Harrison Hayford, Merton M. Sealts, Jr., Bernard R. Jerman, and the present editors. Jay Leyda's *The Melville Log* (1951) and *The Portable Melville* (1952) included extensive extracts and some full texts of letters, and Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf's *Herman Melville, Cycle and Epicycle* (1953) also included selections and full texts from many of these letters.

The present edition is an attempt to collect all the available letters into one convenient edition with appropriate commentary and careful transcription for each letter. The edition includes all recoverable letters, whether in manuscript or in printed form; it omits Melville's inscriptions on presentation copies of books, his signature on official documents, and joint family letters signed but not written by him. Melville's "letters to the editor" and all fragments of letters or first drafts that we could find are also included. The edition presents 271 letters. Of these, fifteen are fragments and two are reconstructions of fragmentary drafts. Although the majority, 174 letters, have been published elsewhere previous to their inclusion in the present volume, fifty-five are here published in full for the first time and forty-two are new letters previously unpublished.

The present collection is limited, inevitably, to the letters preserved by members of the family, relatives, friends, publishers, business associates, or autograph dealers. A little more than a third (ninety-eight letters) are written to members of the immediate

family or to uncles and aunts, cousins, and relatives by marriage. Besides the single letter to Melville's wife that survives, this family correspondence includes only one letter to his mother, fourteen letters to his seven brothers and sisters, and four letters to his own children, two of these being but fragments. The full evidence indicates that these are a small part of the total correspondence with members of his family. There are no surviving letters to his sister Augusta and only one to his sister Helen, for example, although both were closely tied to Melville's intimate family world. Only one letter survives of those written to his aunts and uncles on the Melville or fraternal side of the family. Although a comparatively wide selection of letters to his uncle Peter Gansevoort is included, the editors have found no letters to his uncles Herman and Wessel and to his aunts on the Gansevoort or maternal side of the family. A few letters have been preserved of those written to Melville's father-in-law, Judge Lemuel Shaw, and to various other relations of Melville's wife, but again these are but small samples of a larger correspondence. Only the letters of Melville to his first cousin, Catherine Gansevoort (Lansing), and one letter to his cousin Henry Sanford Gansevoort survive to represent the large cousinly world that surrounded him. The two good letters written to his second cousin Augustus Van Schaick are but tantalizing reminders of the possibilities of Melville's lost correspondence in that family world. To these can be added the five good letters he wrote Mrs. Sarah Morewood, a friend and neighbor of his Pittsfield years and the mother-in-law of his niece Maria Gansevoort.

The other two-thirds of the letters in this collection (173 letters) can be conveniently grouped under the general heading of personal and business letters to friends and acquaintances. They include seventy-five letters to such personal and literary friends, both early and late in Melville's life, as Evert and George Duyckinck, Richard H. Dana, Jr., Nathaniel Hawthorne, Richard H. Stoddard, E. C. Stedman, and James Billson; and also sixty-one letters to his English and American publishers: John Murray, Richard Bentley, Wiley and Putnam, Harper Brothers, Dix and Edwards, and the various associates of this publishing world. Thirteen letters are written to personal and family friends, such as Alexander W. Bradford, Daniel Shepherd, Thurlow Weed, Edwin Croswell,

and General Robert O. Tyler. Finally, twenty-four letters can be grouped together as responses to requests for autographs or as formal replies of a business nature, including five letters concerned specifically with Melville's lecture engagements. The whole group presents a representative sampling of his full correspondence, personal and literary. It includes many letters that bear the true stamp of his interests and enthusiasms as well as cursory notes and formal business replies that are useful in completing the full record of his life through his correspondence.

No edition of Melville's letters can be considered full or complete, however, since many were destroyed and cannot be recovered. When asked to send his autograph for a Cincinnati "Fair" in 1863, Melville himself commented on that "vile habit of mine to destroy all my letters." Even more important is the fact that this habit was shared by so many others. Only one of Melville's letters to his wife has been recovered, although a collection of some forty-six clipped autograph signatures handed down to Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf testifies to the previous existence of many more. Some of these signatures are from envelopes that Melville addressed to his wife, now cut down—apparently for the autograph signatures—from "Mrs. Herman Melville" to "Herman Melville." By the use of paper evidence, one might establish that at least three of these were written sometime in 1860 or shortly thereafter (about the time of letter 146 below) during Melville's trip around the Horn, and that another was written after 1882 (the date of the manufacturer's mark on the paper). Hesitant guesses might be made about the others, but all the signatures represent positive evidence of letters that have been destroyed.[2]

Although the editors have been painstaking in their own search over a period of years and have benefited from the search of others interested in Melville, they are aware that the gaps remaining may

2. Another collection of nine clipped autograph signatures is in NYPL-GL. Not all the signatures are on envelopes. One is the complimentary close "Sincerely and Affectionately / H. Melville" on thin, off-white, square-lined paper exactly like the stationery Melville and his wife used between 1871 and 1878; another is the close "Ans oblige Yours &c / Herman Melville" on blue paper of the 1849 or 1850 period; still another, "Herman Melville / Apl 7. 1847 / New York," appears to be from a book mark rather than a letter.

be closed by further inquiry. The present collection is, in fact, a selection from a check list of over 400 letters that Melville can be shown to have written. The one-time existence of many of the unlocated letters is substantiated by Melville's own statement in his journals or letters that he has written a letter or by a statement of a Melville correspondent that a letter has been received. The list includes letters to members of the family, to his mother, brothers, sisters, wife, and children, and to his cousins and relatives, most of which must be lost and unrecoverable. Many were written on those occasions when Melville was away from his family in 1849, 1856–57, 1860, and on numerous short trips in other years. The list also includes a number of correspondents from whom no letters appear to have survived: friends of his earlier years, Eli James Murdock Fly, William E. Cramer, Richard Tobias Greene (Toby), and Oliver Russ (Edward Norton); literary and personal friends of his New York and Pittsfield years, Cornelius Mathews, George J. Adler, Dr. Augustus Kingsley Gardner, Thomas Powell, and Richard Lathers; and perhaps later correspondence with Robert Barry Coffin and Robert J. Garnett.[3] The evidence also indicates that additional letters were written to correspondents represented in this volume, such as George and Evert Duyckinck, George William Curtis, and Melville's English and American publishers. Besides the five letters about lecturing that have been recovered, others must have been written on this subject to the various presidents and secretaries of Young Men's Societies and civic organizations sponsoring lectures. No evidence has been found, however, to show the continued existence of any of them.

3. See the Parke-Bernet Catalogue for sale No. 140 (16 November, 1939) of the "Library of Efrem Zimbalist," item 251: a "Presentation copy of Omoo (New York, 1875)" with the inscription "To Robert Barry Coffin with regards of H. Melville." With this volume is the addressed portion of a wrapper in which the volume was sent. This implies at least one letter to Coffin. For Garnett, see *Blackwood's, 226* (December 1929), 842, in an article entitled "Moby-Dick and Mocha-Dick" by R[obert] S. Garnett: "Next, I think, my recollection is of the postman at our door with a letter written on a piece of yellowish paper from Herman Melville. . . . its tenor was: 'Your suggestion comes too late, and it astonishes me, for I had thought my books long forgotten. All the same, I thank you for asking me to write my life and adventures.' "

The last group of lost or unlocated letters represents those for which we have transcripts only from copies made by others or from published sources and letters that have been sold at auction within recent years but whose present owner has not been found. The most interesting and valuable letters in this group are the ones Melville wrote to Nathaniel Hawthorne. Of the ten letters to Hawthorne included in the edition, four have been transcribed from surviving manuscripts, and six have been presented either from the transcripts of Julian Hawthorne, Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, George Parsons Lathrop, or from versions published by them. The originals of these six letters have not turned up, but the editors believe that they and perhaps other letters to Hawthorne still exist.[4]

In addition to the letters to Hawthorne, the text of eleven letters has been established from either printed sources or copies made by others. They are bare fragments or full copies of letters in newspaper clippings and in magazines, copies from autograph catalogues, and letters transcribed earlier but now unlocated.[5] Three potentially interesting letters for which we have no copy were sold at auction within recent years, but the present owner is unknown. By coincidence all three were written in the month of June with no year designated, one from Pittsfield to George Palmer Putnam, 12 June [1854?],[6] and the others to an undesignated correspondent,

4. The six unlocated letters are: 83, 84, 85, 87, 93, and 103. Letter 80, now in the University of Texas Library, was at one time tipped in Hawthorne's copy of *Redburn* and sold with it for $35.00 in the "Wakeman Sale" of 28 April, 1924, apparently to the New York firm of Miller-Beyer dealing in autographs. The records of this firm have not been located, but interestingly William T. H. Howe wrote Julian Hawthorne on 30 November and 16 December, 1930 informing him of the "association library" of Nathaniel Hawthorne which he had begun with the "Wakeman Sale" (Julian Hawthorne papers, University of California Library). It is possible that Miller-Beyer were agents for Howe and it is also possible that in filling out his "association library" Howe later bought the Melville letters that are missing. Their provenance ends, however, with that supposition.

5. Letters 22, 38, 70, 109, 112, 172, 175, 253, 262, 265, 270. See textual notes for each of these letters.

6. Listed in the Samuel T. Freeman and Co. catalogue of sale for 19 February, 1941 of the "Libraries of Walter Peirson and of Charlotte D. M. Cardeza," item 247. "Collection of First and Other Editions, including *Typee*,

one dated simply "25 June" [7] and the other "Lansingburgh, 25 June." [8]

Melville's Hand

Melville could write deliberately and carefully with an eye to clear and understandable penmanship, but very often, even in formal or business letters, haste or carelessness or enthusiasm produced characteristics of his hand that make his manuscripts difficult to read. Recognizing that such difficulties existed, we early decided to make transcripts as nearly literal as possible, copying the letters line by line, indicating Melville's caret or marginal insertions, his false starts and deletions, approximating the spacing of his headings, complimentary closes and signatures, and keeping his punctuation and spelling. Although photostats were to be obtained of as many letters as possible, the transcripts were to be made from the available original manuscripts. We have followed this practice consistently, with the additional safeguard of later rechecking transcripts against photostats and in most instances

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Omoo, Mardi, White-Jacket and *Redburn,* 12mo, uniform three-quarter calf. New York 1849–50. First editions, except for the first two titles. Tipped in the copy of *White Jacket* is an A.L.S. of the author, Pittsfield, June 12 [n. y.] to G. P. Putnam regarding cash advance and copyright matters for certain of his writings."

7. Listed in the Samuel T. Freeman and Co. catalogue of sale for 20 September, 1933, from the "Estates of Benjamin Alexander and of Charles Wharton Stork," item 317. "A. L. S. 1½ pages, 8vo. June 25th n.d. Interesting friendly letter."

8. Listed in the American Art Association–Anderson Galleries catalogue, sale No. 4201 for 13, 14 November, 1935 of "First Editions Autograph Letters & Manuscripts," item 254. "Log book. Original Autograph MS of a 'Journal of a Whaling Voyage in the Ship Hope of New Bedford to the South Atlantic & Indian Oceans. Arlington Wilcox, Master. Sailed May 23rd, 1844. By David Carrick.' 225 pp., folio. Together with a 'Journal of a Voyage in the Brig Delaware of Portland from New York to Honduras and back to New York . . . commencing May 18 '47 and ending the 2nd of Dec. 1847.' 33 pp., folio. Both in one vol., leather-backed boards. Laid in is an A. L. S. by Herman Melville, 2 pp., 8vo., Lansingburgh, June 25, n. y[ear]." This letter may, of course, be the same as the preceding "June 25" letter, except that the catalogues generally listed full information from letter headings and thus have probably distinguished here two letters by the "Lansingburgh" place name.

against the original manuscripts as well. In the letters that had previously been published, the transcripts were compared with the published versions and variations noted. The result was the establishment of as exact a transcript of each letter as possible upon which to base the text of the edition.

From the close and detailed study of the letters came also a recognition of three major characteristics of Melville's hand, perhaps best defined by the terms elision, fusion, and expansion.[9] Much, if not all, of the difficulty in reading the letters was reduced by keeping in mind these three general peculiarities. Melville's characteristic elisions, for example, include the omission of certain letters of the alphabet singly or in groups (generally vowels) in numerous combinations. Occasionally, an actual abbreviation is intended and understood by an elimination of vowels in the writing of such words as *Edinbrgh* for Edinburgh, *Prce Albert* for Prince Albert, *acct* for account, *recvd* for received, or *Mondy Eveng* for Monday Evening. More often, the same or a similar process creates a word that is not intended as an abbreviation but is a condensed word that has resulted from haste or carelessness in the formation of letters. The distinction between actual abbreviations and condensed words with omitted letters or syllables, however, is not always clear, since there is no final consistency in Melville's elisions. It would be difficult to say, for example, whether Melville intended an abbreviation or simply produced a condensed word when he wrote *almst* for almost, *strngly* for strongly (clearly omitting the *o* in both), *mentned* for mentioned (omitting the *io*), *affectntly* for affectionately (omitting the vowels) *endeavrd* for endeavored (again omitting the vowels), or *frnd* for friend (omitting the *ie*). The habit of elision, then, may be either an intentional abbreviation or a kind of shorthand, but whichever it is, the habit is exhibited so often as to require special consideration both in transcribing and in reproducing such words typographically.

It is Melville's habit of combining or fusing individual strokes

9. Although more detailed, our description agrees generally with that of Howard Horsford in his introduction to *Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant . . . by Herman Melville,* ed. Howard C. Horsford (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1955), 43–46.

(either ascending or descending) that causes the most difficulty. Here even a painstaking transcript cannot always distinguish between omitted letters and fused strokes of letters, but the recognition of both this and his habit of elision often permits an accurate transcript of a word that might otherwise be misinterpreted. Here also Melville's fused letters very often produce the same effect as an abbreviation, for example when he writes *every, never, send, leaves,* and *several* so that they appear to be *evry, nevr, snd, leavs, severl.* A close review will demonstrate that Melville has combined the ending stroke of one letter with the beginning stroke of another to make his characteristic fused letter. It should be emphasized that these are not condensations or elisions, they are actual fusions of strokes in the letter by which fewer strokes stand for the fully written-out letter through being combined with the strokes for the preceding or following letter. A careful examination will generally distinguish fused from elided letters.

Although not always as systematic as this description may imply, Melville's elisions and fusions of letters or syllables do represent a kind of method. On many occasions the same word or words in a similar group may illustrate the full word, the word with fused letters, or the word with elided letters. Examples are readily found, for instance, in the "Agatha" letter on the facsimile page below,[10] where in words ending with final *-ing* the different constructions appear in the word *talking* (spelled out with dotted *i,* full *n,* and final *g*); the words *visiting, concerning,* and *making* (fusion of the *n* with the open loop of final *g*), and the word *arriv*[*i*]*ng* (elision of undotted *i*) or the words *uncomplain*[*in*]*gly* and *hav*[*in*]*g* (elision of both *i* and *n*). A complete list of such words is unnecessary here, even if it were possible, but it may be useful to point out that examples of both elisions and fusions occur often in the following groups of words ending with:

-ance: acquaintance, advance, (dis)appearance, obeisance, remembrance(s)
-er: brother, dinner, ever(y), however, never, other, power(s), sincere(ly)
-ed: behaved, derived, furnished, happened, occurred, received
-est: earliest, earnest(ly), interest(ingly), request(ed)
-e(ie)nce: absence, coincidence, commence, conscience, experience(d), presence

10. See p. 154.

-e(ie)nt:	convenient, different, permanent, present, subsequent, sufficient
-ment:	acknowledgment(s), agreement, arrangement(s), moment, punishment
-e(ie)nd:	friend(ly), send
-ing:	being, bring(s), evening, nothing, something, standing
-ion:	affection(ately), attention, commission, imitation, invitation
-ious:	curious, glorious(ly), obnoxious, previous(ly), serious(ly)
-out:	about, out, without

For purposes of illustration this list emphasizes groups of words in which the terminal syllable is elided or fused. The same combination of letters, however, when they appear medially receive similar treatment from Melville's pen. In addition, the words containing diphthongs or digraphs *ou* (would, should), *ea* (great), *ua* (adequate), and the large group of *ei* and *ie* words may also be fused or elided. When Melville wrote out the word *believe* he consistently misspelled it by reversing the vowels, but he also elided or fused the letters in what appears to be an abbreviation (*Belvd*), particularly in the complimentary close of a letter, so that it is not always possible to distinguish in each instance what his intention was.

A third characteristic, although not as frequent or misleading, is Melville's expansion of letters and gratuitous addition of strokes. Occasionally, as when he writes *possesss* with three final consonants, his pen has clearly misspelled the word through haste or carelessness. Melville also adds a stroke, especially before final *d, r,* or *rd,* in what is clearly a peculiarity of his penmanship. The words *apprised, aggravated, promenaded, paid,* and such words as *affair, regard, roads,* often have a clear but unnecessary stroke before the final consonant. Thus Melville's word *had* may appear to be written *hard.* If the sense of the context permits either meaning, as in Melville's comment on *Mardi,* "I had worked at it under an earnest ardor," the recognition of his habit of expansion is necessary to the accurate reading, *had* rather than *hard.*

Certain other characteristics in Melville's formation of letters need comment. He often leaves the letters *a* and *o* as well as the loop of his *g* open, failing to bring the stroke around to meet the preceding stroke. Although not an unusual characteristic of handwriting generally, it causes difficulty when combined with his fused or elided letters. Thus the open or unclosed *o* in *most* may

produce what appears to be *must* and when fused with the last minim of the *m* will appear to be *mst,* which could be either word. Various other letters must be observed carefully. Melville does not always dot his *i,* so that in certain combinations confusion may exist between *i* and *o* (in account; on account) or between *i* and *u* (infatuate, unfortunate; immediate, unmerited). His medial *s* may appear to be *r* or *z* when written hastily, and his final *s* may be merely a return concave down-curl of the pen fused to the preceding letter and difficult to recognize at all (circumstance, circumstances). His final *g* and *y* may both be an unlooped or uncurled letter with a downstroke below the line (busy, being). His introductory *b* may be fragmented and fused with a following *r* to confuse the words *bought* and *brought.* His habit of fusing *e* on the final stroke of a preceding *v* may make for difficulty in differentiating between *instinctively* and *instinctually* or *effectively* and *effectually.* These and other combinations may produce such alternative readings as *feverishly-fervently, feel-find, invitation-imitation, pinions-powers,* and *rudely-widely.*

When the demons directed him, Melville's hand deteriorated, so that a direct correlation may be observed between a full and spontaneous flow of idea and the roughness of the hand that tried to keep up with his thought. The "Agatha" letter may serve as an illustration of this process (and consequently has been chosen for facsimile), for as the letter continues, Melville's fusions and elisions increase under the impact of writing what is uppermost in his mind. On the other hand, in the letters Melville wrote his brother Tom or his brother Allan, an informality of relationship is suggested by the casualness of the hand. Although Melville himself recognized the difficulties and occasionally inserted letters or rewrote a word to clarify it, still a general familiarity with his habits of eliding, fusing, or expanding strokes and a recognition of the peculiarities in his formation of letters will remove most doubtful readings even in those letters written hastily, casually, or spontaneously.

The Text

No edition of Melville's letters could reproduce his orthography without typographical obtrusiveness and a resulting irritation to

tion has been reserved primarily for identifying persons mentioned or addressed and allusions or contexts of the letters helpful in understanding Melville's intention. Correspondents are identified at the first letter to them, and other persons are identified also, on their first appearance.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAS: American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

BA: Berkshire Athenaeum, Pittsfield, Mass.

Barrett: Collection of Clifton Waller Barrett, New York.

Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect": John H. Birss, " 'A Mere Sale to Effect,' with Letters of Herman Melville," *New Colophon, 1* (July 1948), 239–55.

BPL: Boston Public Library.

COL-S: Steadman Collection, Columbia University Library.

Davis: Merrell R. Davis, *Melville's Mardi, A Chartless Voyage,* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1952.

Doheny: Estelle Doheny Collection of the Edward Laurence Doheny Memorial Library, St. John's Seminary, Camarillo, California.

Essex: Collection of the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

Fields: Collection of Dr. Joseph E. Fields, Joliet, Illinois.

Gilman: William H. Gilman, *Melville's Early Life and Redburn,* New York, New York University Press, 1951.

Hayford-Davis: Harrison Hayford and Merrell R. Davis, "Herman Melville as Office-Seeker," *Modern Language Quarterly, 10* (1949), 168–83, 377–88.

HCL-A: Autograph File, Harvard College Library.

HCL-D Dix Collection, Harvard College Library.

HCL-M: Melville Collection, Harvard College Library.

Howard: Leon Howard, *Herman Melville, A Biography,* Berkeley, University of California Press, 1951.

HSP: Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

HSP-Gratz: Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

HSP-Greer: Greer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

Jerman, "More Correspondence": Bernard R. Jerman, " 'With Real Admiration': More Correspondence between Melville and Bentley," *American Literature, 25* (November 1953), 307–13.

LC: Library of Congress.

Leyda, *Log:* Jay Leyda, *The Melville Log, A Documentary Life of Herman Melville,* 2 vols. New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1951.

Leyda, *Portable: The Portable Melville,* ed. with an introduction by Jay Leyda, Viking Portable Library, No. 58, New York, Viking, 1952.

Mansfield-Vincent: *Moby-Dick or, The Whale,* by Herman Melville, ed. Luther S. Mansfield and Howard P. Vincent, New York, Hendricks House, 1952.

Martin: Collection of H. Bradley Martin, New York.

McGillicuddy: Collection of Timothy F. McGillicuddy, Worcester, Mass. (1954).

Metcalf, *Cycle:* Eleanor Melville Metcalf, *Herman Melville, Cycle and Epicycle,* Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1953.

Metcalf, *Journal: Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent, by Herman Melville, 1849–1850,* ed. Eleanor Melville Metcalf, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1948.

MHS-D: Dana Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

MHS-S: Shaw Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Minnegerode: Meade Minnegerode, *Some Personal Letters of Herman Melville and a Bibliography,* New York, Brick Row Book Shop, 1922.

Morgan: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

Murray: Collection of Sir John Murray, London.

NA: National Archives, Library of Congress.

NA-S: Charles Sumner Collection, National Archives.

NYPL-A: Autograph Collection, New York Public Library.

NYPL-B: Berg Collection, New York Public Library.

NYPL-D: Duyckinck Collection, New York Public Library.

NYPL-GL: Gansevoort-Lansing Collection, New York Public Library.

NYPL-MSS: Collection of the Manuscript Division, New York Public Library.

NYPL-P: Putnam Collection, New York Public Library.

NYPL-RB: Collections of the Rare Book Room, New York Public Library.

Paltsits: *Family Correspondence of Herman Melville, 1830–1904,* ed. Victor Hugo Paltsits, New York Public Library, 1929.

Rochester: Rush Rhees Library, University of Rochester, Rochester, New York.

Rosenbach: Collection of the Philip H. and A. S. W. Rosenbach Foundation, Philadelphia and New York.

Sealts, "Melville's Reading": Merton M. Sealts, Jr., "Melville's Reading, a Check-List of Books Owned and Borrowed," *Harvard Library Bulletin,* 2 (1948), 141–63, 378–92; 3 (1949), 119–30, 268–77, 407–21; 4 (1950), 98–109; 6 (1952), 239–47.

Texas: Humanities Research Collection, The University of Texas, Austin, Texas.

Thorp: *Herman Melville, Representative Selections* . . . ed. Willard Thorp, New York, Chicago, etc., American Book Company, *ca.* 1938.

Weaver: Raymond M. Weaver, *Herman Melville, Mariner and Mystic,* New York, George H. Doran, 1921.

YUL: Yale University Library.

Unless otherwise indicated, references to Melville's published works are to the Standard Edition in sixteen volumes, London, Constable, 1922–24, and are cited under individual titles of Melville's books.

I

1819-1844

BORN 1 August, 1819, at 6 Pearl Street, New York, Melville grew up in the city and attended the New-York Male High School from 1826 to 1830. When his father, Allan Melvill, suffered financial reverses in 1830, the family moved to Albany and for two years Herman went to the Albany Academy. On his father's death in 1832, his older brother Gansevoort opened a fur and hat store and Herman helped the family by working for two years in the store and in an Albany bank. He went to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, probably in 1834, to work on the farm of his uncle Thomas Melvill, returned to Albany for more schooling, and began to take part in the debates of the Philo Logos Society. During the winter of 1837–38 he taught school in Pittsfield, went back to Albany, and was elected president of the Philo Logos Society. When Gansevoort's business failed, Maria Gansevoort Melville moved her family up the Hudson to Lansingburgh, where Herman studied surveying and engineering. Failing to find a job in the spring of 1839, he sailed as an ordinary seaman on the *St. Lawrence* to Liverpool, returned in September to teach several months in Greenbush, New York, and went on fruitless job hunts in the spring of 1840 to Galena, Illinois, and to New York. On 3 January, 1841 he sailed as a seaman on the Fairhaven whaler *Acushnet,* deserted with Richard ("Toby") Greene at the Marquesas Islands in 1842, and spent a little less than four weeks with the natives of the Typee valley. He escaped to serve on the whaler *Lucy Ann,* got involved in a comic opera mutiny at Tahiti, sailed on a third whaler, the *Charles and Henry,* and after being discharged at the Hawaiian Islands, signed on as a sailor on the U.S.S. *United States.* Discharged from the navy in Boston in October 1844, he returned to his mother's home in Lansingburgh.

TO CATHERINE VAN SCHAICK GANSEVOORT
11 OCTOBER 1828
1 NEW YORK

11th of October, 1828.

Dear Grandmother

This is the third letter that I ever wrote so you must not think it will be very good. I now study Geography, Gramar, Arithmetic, Writing, Speaking, Spelling, and read in the Scientific class book. I enclose in this letter a drawing for my dear Grandmother.[1] Give my love to Grandmamma,[2] Uncle Peter, and Aunt Mary. And my Sisters and also to allan.

Your affectionate Grandson,
Herman Melvill.

2 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
30 DECEMBER 1837
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Dec 31st 1837[3]

My Dear Uncle

At my departure from Albany last fall with Robert[4] you expressed a desire that I should write you when my school should

1. The enclosure does not exist. Melville is referring to his studies in the Introductory Department of the New-York High School, which he seems to have entered sometime in 1826.

2. "Grandmamma" is apparently an error for "Mamma," Maria Gansevoort Melville (1791–1872), who had married Allan Melvill (1782–1832) in 1814. After his death the family added an "e" to the name. "Uncle Peter" was Peter Gansevoort (1789–1876), second oldest son of Catherine Van Schaick Gansevoort (1751–1830). "Aunt Mary" was Mary Ann Chandonette Gansevoort (1789–1851), widow of Peter's brother Leonard (1783–1821). Melville's sisters were Helen Maria (1817–1888), Augusta (1821–1876), Catherine (1825–1905), and Priscilla Frances (1827–1885). Besides Allan (1823–1872), his brothers were Gansevoort (1815–1846) and Thomas (1830–1884). For genealogies of the Melville and Gansevoort families, consult Leyda, *Log,* xxvi, xxviii–xxx; Gilman, end papers; or Metcalf, *Cycle,* end papers.

3. The letter was postmarked from Pittsfield, Mass., 30 December.

4. Robert Melvill (1817–1881), Herman's first cousin, was a son of Thomas Melvill, Jr. (1776–1845), by his second wife.

Pittsfield Dec 31st 1837

My Dear Uncle

At my departure from Albany last fall with Robert you expressed a desire that I should write you when my school should have gone into operation, — but, when in a few weeks I again returned, you did not repeat your request: still, however, I considered my promise binding — & it is with pleasure that I now proceed to redeem it.

I should have taken up my pen at an earlier day had not the variety & importance of the duties incident to my vocation been so numerous and pressing, that they absorbed a large portion of my time.

But now, having become somewhat acquainted with the routine of business, — having established a system in my mode of instruction, — and being familiar with the characters & dispositions of my scholars: in short, having brought my school under a proper organization — a few intervals of time are afforded me, which I improve by occasional writting & reading

My scholars are about thirty in number, of all ages, sizes, ranks, characters, & education; some of them who have attained the ages of eighteen can not do a sum in addition, while others have travelled through the Arithmatic: but with so great simplicity that they can not recognize objects in the road on a second journey: & are about as ignorant of them as though they had never passed that way before.

My school is situated in a remote & secluded part of the town about five miles from the village, and the house at which I am

(over)

1. Heading page of Letter :

have gone into operation,[5]—but, when in a few weeks I again returned, you did not repeat your request; still, however, I considered my promise binding—& it is with pleasure that I now proceed to redeem it.

I should have taken up my pen at an earlier day had not the variety & importance of the duties incident to my vocation been so numerous and pressing, that they absorbed a large portion of my time.

But now, having become somewhat acquainted with the routine of buisness,—having established a systim in my mode of instruction,—and being familiar with the charactars & dispositions of my schollars: in short, having brought my school under a proper organization—a few intervals of time are afforded me, which I improve by occasional writting & reading.

My scholars are about thirty in number, of all ages, sizes, ranks, charaterrs, & education; some of them who have attained the ages of eighteen can not do a sum in addition, while others have travelled through the Arithmatic: but with so great swiftness that they can not recognize objects in the road on a second journey: & are about as ignorant of them as though they had never passed that way before.

My school is situated in a remote & secluded part of the town about five miles from the village, and the house at which I am now boarding is a mile and a half from any other tenement whatever—being located on the summit of as savage and lonely a mountain as ever I ascended. The scenery however is most splendid & unusual,—embracing an extent of country in the form of an Amphitheatre sweeping around for many miles & encircling a portion of your state in its compass.

The man with whom I am now domicilated is a perfect embodiment of the traits of Yankee character,—being shrewd bold & independant, carrying himself with a genuine republican swagger, as hospitable as "mine host" himself, perfectly free in the expression of his sentiments, and would as soon call you a fool or a

5. According to J. E. A. Smith, the school was located "in the 'Sykes district,' under Washington mountain," which is in the southeastern section of the township of Pittsfield (J. E. A. Smith, pamphlet, "Herman Melville," Pittsfield, 1897, p. 8).

scoundrel, if he thought so—as, button up his waistcoat.—He has reared a family of nine boys and three girls, 5 of whom are my pupils—and they all burrow together in the woods—like so many foxes.

The books you presented me (and for which I am very gratefull) I have found of eminent usefulness, particularly John O Taylors "Dristict School" [6]—an admirable production by the by, which if generally read is calculated to exert a powerful influence and one of the most salutary & beneficial charactar.—

I have given his work a diligent and attentive perusal: and am studying it, to the same advantage,—which a scholar traveling in a country—peruses its hystory,—being surrounded by the scenes it describes.

I think he has treated his theme in a masterly manner, and displays that thourough knowledge of his subject—which is only to be obtained by Experience.

Had he been perfectly familiar with the circumstances of this school,—the difficultys under which it labours, and in short with every thing pertaining to it,—he could not have sketched it in a more graphic manner, than he has, in his description of the style in which schools of this species are genneraly conducted.

Intimatly am I acquainted with the prevalence of those evils which he alledges to exist in Common-Schools.

Orators may declaim concerning the universally-diffused blessings of education in our Country, and Essayests may exhaust their magazine of adjec[tives] in extolling our systim of Common School instruction,—but when reduced to practise, the high and sanguine hopes excited by its imposing appearance in *theory*—are a little dashed.—

My Taylor has freely pointed out its defects, and has not been deterred from reproving them, by any feelings of delicasy.—If

6. J. Orville Taylor, *The District School, or, National Education,* 1st ed. Harper, 1834. Melville's copy is unlocated and the exact edition unidentified. Melville also received a book described as "Self Teacher—1834" (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 456A), which was inscribed "Herman G. Melville from his aff Uncle Peter Gansevoort Albany Nov. 1837." The middle initial is not supported by any other evidence and may have been derived from Peter's association of Melville with Herman Gansevoort (1779–1862), Melville's uncle and namesake.

he had, he would have proved a traitor to the great cause, in which he is engaged.—But I have almost usurped the province of the Edinburgh Reveiw—so as I am approaching the confines of my sheet I will subscribe myself

Your affectionate nephew
Herman Melville

My love to Aunt Mary, & a kiss to Henry—Remember me to Uncle Herman [7]

H M

3 TO CHARLES VAN LOON [8]
DECEMBER? 1837?
PITTSFIELD?

. . . but I have been digressing from the beginning of my letter my object is to know the existing situation of the society; whether it is on the rapid decline I left it in, or whether like the Phoenix it hath risen from its ashes

4 TO THE EDITOR OF THE ALBANY *Microscope* [9]
24? FEBRUARY 1838
ALBANY

Mr. EDITOR:—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. And where a number of men having labored in the erection of some commendable institution are tendered the applause which their actions deserve, their breasts swell with envy,

7. "Uncle Herman" is Herman Gansevoort. "Aunt Mary" is Peter Gansevoort's wife, Mary Sanford Gansevoort (1814–1841), whose oldest child, Melville's first cousin, was Henry Sanford Gansevoort (1834–1871).

8. President of the Philo Logos Society, the debating club in Albany which Melville had joined sometime before 15 April 1837. He was a contemporary of Melville at the Albany Academy, which he left to become apprentice to an apothecary. At this time he was preparing to become a Baptist minister (Gilman, 91).

9. Melville's reply to a letter in the *Microscope* 17 February 1838, signed "Sandlewood," whom Melville identifies wrongly as Charles Van Loon (Gilman, 91–2 and 251–2).

and they endeavor to villify and abuse what, if they could partake the admiration paid these, they would be as extravagant in eulogising and applauding as they were before clamorous in traducing and decrying.

Fortunate is it, however, for society, that their malignant efforts are generally powerless and feeble, and are not accompanied with that gratifying success, which in the accomplishment of a good object, is the source of the highest felicity.

Indeed, in the majority of instances the world is supremely indifferent as to which side of a cause they espouse, since they are frequently more annoying to their friends than troublesome to their enemies. They may be considered as a band of moral outlaws. The interdicted weapons they employ are falsehood and deceit, but so blunted and dulled by long service and ill-usage, that it is with extreme difficulty that they can be made to inflict a serious injury. Truly, so harmless have they become, that society with a mildness and lenity quite praiseworthy, tolerates them in all their inoffensive doings and smiles with derision at their ineffectual attempts to wound the sanctity of private reputation, or to plunge their wooden daggers in the side of public virtue.

Nor does their impotency proceed from the lack of ingenuity to plan, or the will to perform, but from their utter destitution of the ability to do. Surely were their weapons as sharp as their purpose, the number of murdered reputations would exactly correspond with the stabs of their slanderous poignards.

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.

I have only to remark in relation to this interesting production, that it is not more inelegant in style than wanting in truth and veracity. It is a complete tissue of infamous fabrications, and is as destitute of a single fact as is the author of parts. I refrain from enlarging upon what probable motives induced the writer to the publication of his miserable effusion. I will not say it proceeded from the pique of mortified pride, or from an unhallowed and foolish envy, but will merely remark that from whencesoever it

derived its origin, it is contemptible, dastardly and outrageous.

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,) [1] 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.

PHILOLOGEAN.

5 TO THE EDITOR OF THE ALBANY *Microscope* AND TO CHARLES VAN LOON [2]

17? MARCH 1838

ALBANY

Mr. EDITOR:—I had not intended again to obtrude myself upon your columns, when I penned my last communication, but circumstances which I need not mention having altered my determination. I beg of you to excuse the liberty I take, when I request you to insert the following epistle, which, if it be rather long you must not demur, as it is the last I shall inflict upon your patience. I am at a loss to account for the avidity with which Mr. C* * * * * *s V*n L* *n seeks to drag before the public a distorted narrative of the transactions of a private society; unless it be a mere feint or

1. The Albany *Evening Journal* (13 February 1838), listed the following officers as "unanimously elected to serve for the following year": President, Herman Melville; Vice President, Lotus Niles; Secretary, Daniel E. Bassett; and Treasurer, Alfred Greene (Gilman, 321).

2. In the *Microscope* (10 March), Van Loon had replied to Melville's attack with a mixture of refutation and abuse, calling him "Hermanus Melvillian . . . a moral Ethiopian, 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." He charged that Melville had disrupted the Society, that the members had declared " 'the conduct of Hermanus Melvillian was disgraceful to himself, discreditable to the society, and insulting to the chair,' " and that he had secured the presidency by calling "an unauthorized and unconstitutional meeting." (For the texts of the letters in the Melville–Van Loon controversy, see Gilman, appendix A.)

stratagem, under which he advances towards the overthrow of my reputation. However, as he lays down many grave and serious charges, I am constrained to reply thereto, in the hope of exculpating myself from allegations the most unfounded and malignant. I am aware that my communication is somewhat long and tedious, but as Mr. C* * * * *s V*n L* *n intimates his design of publishing a series of articles upon the subject, and being unwilling to parade myself before the public in a subsequent number—I have seen fit to obviate the necessity alluded to by giving a faithful account of the affair, together with a few reflections thereon, in one comprehensive survey.

To Mr. "Sandle Wood" alias "Ex-President" alias
C* * * * *s V*n L* *n.

Sir,—Without venturing to criticise the elegance of your composition, the absurd vagaries of your imagination, or impeaching the taste you have displayed in the abundance, variety and novelty of your scopes [tropes] and figures, or calling into question the accuracy of your mode of Latinising English substantives, I shall without further delay, proceed to consider the merits of your late most fanciful performance. And I cannot but sincerely deplore the rashness with which you have published a production evidently composed in the heat and turmoil of passion, and which must remain without the sanction of your cooler judgement, and the approval of your otherwise respectable understanding. To no other cause can I impute that vile scurrility, that unholy defamation, and that low and groveling abuse which are the distinguishing characteristics of your late unfortunate attempt to asperse, through its chief officer, the institution over which I have the honor to preside. In all your ribaldry and villification there lurks a spirit of implacable rancour and hate, which afford the most delightful commentaries upon the dignity of your christian character. Alas! that your discretion should have been so little consulted when this evidence of the rabidness of your vindictive nature should have been suffered to escape in the moment of your unguarded wrath, which must ever remain to demonstrate the hollowness of your religious professions of meekness, forbearance and love. Nor can I pass over without comment, the multitude of those blackguard epithets,

which dance in sweet confusion throughout the whole exent of your recent production. *Here,* sir, are you upon vantage ground! I will not contend with you for the palm of vulgarity, nor seek to emulate the Billingsgate volubility of abuse in which you practice to perfection. Ah! what toilsome hours of study, what turning over of the leaves of Bee's Slang Dictionary,[3] what studious attention to the lessons of the most accomplished masters of this divine art must have been required, ere you could have made way to that wonderful proficiency, which you seem to have attained in your late most brilliant communication. I have understood that the fish-women of Paris and the Thames were considered as the models of a regular blackguard style, as the standard and criterion by which all excellence in that department of polite literature was to be judged; and that for a readier flow of insolence, shamelessness and scurrility they proudly challenged the world. But I doubt whether the annals of Billingsgate itself, the posthumous papers of the renowned Peter Porcupine, or any of those interesting works which have been burned by the hands of the common hangman can match in purity of style and delicacy of phraseology, that valuable article which if it be destitute of every other excellence, must still be considered as the *chef-d'ouvre* of loafer eloquence. In this respect, I renounce, if ever I cherished all claims to superiority; and surely if laurels are to be reaped in such encounters—your brow is crowned with many a sprig. In regard to the hatred which you express twards me—I return it with no kindred detestation, but contemplate it with that mild and frigid contempt which it so richly deserves, and in common with the few who perused your

3. *Slang. A Dictionary of the Turf, the Ring, the Chase, the Pit, of Bon-Ton, and the Varieties of Life, Forming the Completest and Most Authentic Lexicon Balatronicum Hitherto Offered to the Notice of the Sporting World, For Elucidating Words and Phrases that are necessarily, or purposely, cramp, mutative, and unintelligible, outside their respective Spheres. Interspersed with Anecdotes and Whimsies, with Tart Quotations, and Rum-Ones; with Examples, Proofs, and Monitory Precepts, Useful and Proper for Novices, Flats, and Yokels.* By John Bee, Esq. [John Badcock] Editor of the *Fancy, Fancy Gazette, Living Picture of London,* and the like of that. London, T. Hughes, 1823. While the editor prided himself on omitting many of the indecent words in his model, Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue,* he defined and glossed enough slang words, cant, and vulgarisms to make very spicy reading indeed.

performance, smiled at the folly which could prompt the utterance of personal dislike, and commiserate the headlong inconsiderateness which hurried you prematurely on to so public an avowal. If, however, you flatter yourself that you have bullied me into silence, or that the menaces which hang in terrorum over my devoted head, are objects of annoyance; I pray you to undeceive yourself, and rest assured, that I hold your abusive calumnies to be the outpourings of a causeless animosity, and your threats of defiance, as an idle and empty bravado. Under the dominion of temper and transported with fury, you have indulged in a vein of remarks, which with all the malice and acrimony of Junius, possess nought of that brilliancy of wit, that pugnancy [pungency?] of satire, and force, and beauty of expression which redeemed him from the charge of vulgarity. His malevolence, his rancour and vindictiveness, were in a manner assuaged by the polished elegance of his style and the splendor of his diction. Instead of knocking down his man with savage ferocity, he skillfully parries his furious lounges, watches his opportunity, and runs him through the body, to the satisfaction of every beholder. But you have neither the bravery nor the strength to perform the one, nor the address and dexterity to achieve the other. Again, sir, I beg of you to accept my condolements upon your pitiable failure to substantiate your infamous allegations; my regret that so much good stationary should have been squandered in the prosecution of your charges; and my utter and profound indifference to all your professions of hatred, hostility and revenge. 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.

PHILOLOGIAN.

Startle not, most amiable sir, when I inform you of what you are already apprised, that in your animadversions upon the relations which subsist between myself and the Philo Logos Society, you have shown yourself a stranger to veracity, to the truth of genuine narrative, and utterly disregardful of the feelings of my fellow members, and careless of the best and truest interests of the institution which you ostensibly defend. Now, therefore in behalf of the society, its members and myself, I feel bound by

imperative necessity, to undertake your many fallacious positions, and to tear up and destroy that puny breast-work of sophistry and error, behind which you entrench the poverty and nothingness of your pretensions. At the solicitation of several of the Philo Logos Society, I became a member. Things proceeded with the utmost tranquility and order, until yourself indulging in a train of bitter and caustic personalities, drew upon yourself the bolts of my indignation, whereas frantic with rage, and burning with resentment, you moved that "the conduct of H——— M——— be considered as disgraceful to himself, &c."—Abortive attempt! Your motion was rejected, *viva voce* and yourself condemned to the pangs of mortified pride and foiled ambition. And yet with a hardihood, unparrellelled and barefaced, you endeavor to palm upon the public a palpable misrepresentation of the facts of this transaction, if mention whereof be made, it must redound to your lasting discredit. Thus much for the vote of censure which you allege was passed upon my conduct by the P.L.S. Called from town for a few months, I left the society in an apparently healthful and prosperous condition; on my return, however, my astonishment was unlimited, when I beheld our institution, which whilom flourished like a young cedar, in the last stages of a rapid decline. Immediately I instituted vigorous efforts for its resusitation, in which I was assisted by several prominent members, who all co-operated in the laudable design of reviving the ancient spark; we succeeded; obstacles were brushed aside, difficulties surmounted, and our labors crowned with gratifying success. In the midst of our generous endeavors, yourself being president of the P.L.S. was repeatedly importuned to unite with us in our operations—and having uniformly held yourself aloof—hereby showing none of that interest for the society which was to be expected from its chief officer, was tacitly and virtuously deposed and the few who then stood by the Assistant, resolved, to hold a new election; to that end they called meeting after meeting, but in vain! so few attended that the project was almost thrown up in despair. As a last attempt, however, it was decided, that if a certain number should be present at the next session, hereafter ensuing—the election should be proceeded with. Our expectations were realized, and at the first meeting of the society, subsequent to its restoration, the present incumbent was unanimously preferred to the presidency.—Through my endeavors, a large and elegant room

was obtained in Stanwix Hall, together with suitable furniture to the same, free from all expenses to the society. By virtue of my office, I convened the As[sociation] at an early day, to adopt measures for the future course of the institution. My invitation was responded to, with alacrity by all the members of the society, which mustered in strong force as to a grand military review. The meeting progressed with the utmost harmony and good feeling, when yourself stung with dissapointment, smarting with envy, and boiling with wrath, sailed with all the majesty of offended pride into the midst of the assemblage, and pronounced t[his] recent election to have been unconstitutional and corrupt, becoming, however, rather unruly, you were called to order, and mildly requested to resume your seat; deeming this an outrage upon your dignity, with stentorian lungs you bellowed forth an appeal from the decision of the chair; when the society, disgusted with your insolence, by a large and triumphant majority vindicated the course of its president, ratified his election, and freely censured your intemperate and ungentlemanly behavior.

Frustrated then in your every endeavor to gratify the pique of private hostility—in order still to accomplish your iniquitous designs, you published under the signature of "Sandle Wood" a vile calumny upon the Ass., to which I indignantly rejoined, denying the slanderous accusations prefered, and insinuating yourself to be the author of the malignant effusion. Detected then, where you had every reason to suppose entire secresy would be observed, your anger knew no bounds, and disdaining all concealment and throwing off the mask entirely you hastened to give free vent to it, through the columns of the *Microscope,* in a tirade of obscenity and abuse, in which it is your peculiar province to excel.

It has not been, I can assure you, without reluctance that I have been drawn into any public disputation with one of your stamp, but a regard for my own reputation impelled me to expose the malevolence of your intentions; my only motive being then removed, I cheerfully bid a long good night to any further newspaper controversy with you, and subscribe myself,

Very respectfully

Your obedient servant

PHILOLOGEAN.

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.

6 TO THE EDITOR OF THE ALBANY *Microscope*
31? MARCH 1838
ALBANY

Mr. EDITOR:—Aware that your paper is read by a large portion of the young men of Albany, I have been induced to solicit a small space, for the purpose of directing their attention to an institution, with which their honor as well as interest is deeply involved, I allude to the debating society attached to the Young Mens' Association. It is unnecessary to say that the Association, (as a whole) is sustained in a manner highly creditable to the young men of this city. The public spirit and laudable ambition that effected its organization, has increased with its onward progress, and we feel fully assured that the Young Mens' Association, is destined to awaken deeper and deeper interest, as years more and more develop its happy and benign influences. But we regret that what can be told of the whole cannot be said of its parts; the debating society does not receive that attention which its importance demands. It is unnecessary to speak of its advantages; they must be familiar to all, what doth it avail a man? though he possesses all the knowledge of a Locke or a Newton, if he know not how to communicate that knowledge. What? though he holds in his hand, "the sword of his country's defence" if he know not how to wield the "trusty steel." The former would be often [of] more practical use, than a true honored volumn reposing in eternal obscurity, and the latter of no greater prowess than a man of straw. We ask no higher testimony in favor of its advantages, than the recorded opinions of all great men. Burke, the English Orator and Statesman acknowledged that the first spring which moved him on in a career of fame and honor, was the fostering encouraging effect of a literary club, our own Clay had revealed to him the latent powers of a giant mind in a like institution, and Franklin the philosopher and sage attributed the early development of his natural resources to the same mind stirring soul animating cause, but why specify?

The learned are as one man, in their opinion of the importance of debating societies in developing the mind, and prompting to greater and higher efforts. May we not entertain then a confident hope that the young men of Albany, true to their interest and jealous of their honor, will devote that attention to this branch of the Association, which its importance so richly deserves; and may we not confidently anticipate the uniform attendance and efficient co-operation of our newly elected managers in reviving the society, and multiplying its usefulness.

PHILOLOGEAN.

7 TO ALLAN MELVILLE
10 NOVEMBER 1838
LANSINGBURGH

Nov 10th 1838

Allan Melville
Sir

I am with the profoundest regard

Your obdt Servt
Herman Melville

P[.S.] My complements to Eli James Murd[oc]k tell him I shall be down in a few days [4]

Herman Melville

8 TO GANSEVOORT MELVILLE?
MAY? 1839
LANSINGBURGH

When I woke up this morning, what the Devel should I see but your cane along in bed with me I shall keep it for you when you come up here again [5]

4. Eli James Murdock Fly (1817–1854?) had attended Albany Academy with Melville and then gone into Peter Gansevoort's law office as a clerk. From his home in Greenbush he probably set out in the spring of 1840 to accompany Melville on a job-hunting trip to Illinois. He was his companion again in the fall of 1840 when Gansevoort Melville was supporting them both while they looked for employment in New York (Gilman, 104, 151, 153–4).

5. This brief message accompanied the first of Melville's "Fragments from a Writing Desk" in the *Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser* (4 May, 1839).

TO ALLAN MELVILLE
7 DECEMBER 1839
LANSINGBURGH

9

Lansingburgh Dec. 7th 1839.

My Dear Sergeant [6]

How is you? Am you very well? How has you been?—As to myself I haint been as well as husual. I has had a very cruel cold for this darnation long time, & I has had and does now have a werry bad want of appetisement.—I seed Mrs Peebles tother day and she did say to me to not fail to tell you that she am well [7]

No more at present
from your friend
Tawney [8]

6. An honorific term, to dignify Allan's position as clerk in Peter Gansevoort's law office.

7. Maria Van Schaick Peebles (1782–1865), a first cousin of Maria Melville, lived two streets away and occasionally helped her pay her bills.

8. Melville may have been called Tawney (colloquial for Indian, or Negro) because of the deep tan he must have acquired in his four months as a sailor on a voyage to and from Liverpool in the preceding summer.

II

1845-1849

LIVING in Lansingburgh, Melville began writing *Typee* in 1845. When his brother Gansevoort was appointed Secretary of the American Legation in London, Melville sent the manuscript with him to England, where it was sold to John Murray, who published it in February 1846. In March it was published in New York by Wiley and Putnam, with one of whose editors, Evert A. Duyckinck, Melville began a correspondence that led to a long friendship. On May 12 Gansevoort died in London. When "Toby" Greene confirmed the veracity of Melville in *Typee,* Melville added a sequel. By December he had finished another novel, *Omoo,* which was published in March 1847, in England, and in May in New York. On 4 August Melville married Elizabeth Shaw of Boston, daughter of the Chief Justice of Massachusetts, and after a wedding trip to the White Mountains and Canada, they settled down at 103 Fourth Avenue, New York, sharing a household with Melville's younger brother Allan and his new wife, and Melville's mother and some of his sisters. Melville began to read heavily, joined Evert Duyckinck's literary circle, and contributed reviews to the *Literary World,* which Duyckinck edited. Through most of 1848 he continued the writing of *Mardi,* begun in the spring of 1847. In January 1849 the family went to Boston, where Melville's first son, Malcolm, was born. *Mardi* was published in England by Richard Bentley in March and by Harper's in New York in April. By August, Melville had completed both *Redburn* and *White-Jacket,* and before the former was published in November he sailed for London, where he finally concluded negotiations with Richard Bentley to publish *White-Jacket.* After a trip to Paris and the Rhineland he returned to London and sailed for New York from Portsmouth on Christmas.

10 TO CATHERINE MELVILLE
20 JANUARY 1845
NEW YORK

New York, Jan^{y} 20th 1845

My Dear Sister:—What a charming name is yours—the most engaging I think in our whole family circle.—I dont' know how it is precisely, but I have always been very partial to this particular

appellative & 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 their 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.—But, "Fine feathers dont' make fine birds" & "Handsome is, that handsome does" & all that sort of thing;—& so if the Kates were only distinguishable by their beautiful plumage, why, I would not give a fig for a Kate, any more than I would for a Gloriana Arabella Matilda—Not I,—for mere beauty is among the least of the manifold merits of the Kates. Besides loveliness of form & face, the Kates are always amiable, with fine feelings, a little too modest at times, but wondrous sly, always in good humor, sometimes in regular mad-cap spirits, & once in a while (I am *sorry* to say it) rather given to romping & playing Miss Billy—But then I love them all the better for that, for they romp with such grace & vivacity, that I verily beleive they are more dangerous then, than at other times; tho' to say truth, Kate demure, in a neat little apron & sitting in the corner marking a pockethandkerchief—for all her hypocritical pretensions—is as murderous a little elf as the biggest of the Tom-Boys

—Now, I saw a girl in Broadway yesterday, & I'll lay you a rosebud her name was Kate—Why, I'm sure of it.—Did'nt she have two sweet merry eyes & a round merry face, and a merry smile, & even a kind of a merry little walk—and then it was just as plain as day that she was amiable, kind-hearted, full of sensibility & all that —& it was just as plain that her name was Kate.—But I suppose you laugh & cry Pooh! at my theory of the Kates, & say it is all nonsence, a mere whim, a notion—Well, suppose it is—it is not the less true, & if you deny that, I will adduce an argument in proof, that will fairly make you blush, it is so forcible & to the point,—For, will I not bring your own sweet self in evidence? to prove my doctrine. And, say, Do you not possess all the qualities I have

ascribed to this particular class,—& then, pray Miss, what is your name but Kate?—Oh, Now! In Heaven's name—Dont' look so abashed! What! Face, neck & bosom all bathed in glowing floods of vermillion!—Verily, Modesty is the cheifest attributes of the Kates —Come, Come, up with those drooping eye-lids & that down cast head, and confess that the Kates are better than the Pollies, & you the best of the Kates.—

I was overjoyed to hear My Dear Kate (Now, is it not a pretty name) that your visit to Albany has been productive of the most beneficial results to your health—I predicted as much—& knew that when I laid my commands upon your cousin-friend Miss Kate Van Vecthen [9] to restore the rose to your cheeck, that she would accomplish the behest.

—I congratulate you upon your recovery, & hope that y[ou] will not permit inattention to diet & exercise to bring on [a] relapse.—I got a long & delightful letter from Augusta the other day—the morning previous to receiving it, I had sent one to her, & could not avoid thinking, when I read her communication, what a poor thing she received in exchange for it.—This morning Ganst got a letter from Hellen—They are all well.—Ganst is well, & so is the Sergeant.[10] They send much love.—Oh, I want you to find out—but never mind—Now I want you to write me a long letter, dont' take pattern after mine & fill it with nonsence, but send me a sober sheet like a good girl

—You know you can put this letter of mine, among your things —Can't you? My respects to all the Van Vecthens.

Your loving brother

Herman

9. Catherine Van Vechten (b. 1831) was a second cousin by descent from Melville's great uncle, Leonard Gansevoort (1751–1810). His daughter, Melville's Aunt Catherine Gansevoort (1789–1853), married Teunis Van Vechten (1785–1854) in 1810 and lived at this time on Montgomery Street in Albany, where Melville's sister Kate was visiting. With at least three Kates in the household, Melville's good humor over the name could be enjoyed by all. Although this is only one of two references to Kate Van Vechten in Melville's letters (see below, p. 267), there must have been other associations as well as letters between the two families both before and after Catherine's marriage to Elisha P. Hurlbut in 1847.

10. Gansevoort, Helen, and the "Sergeant," Allan Melville.

TO LEMUEL SHAW
19 MARCH 1846
11 LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh March 19. 1846

My Dear Sir—Herewith you have one of the first bound copies of "Typee" I have been able to procure.—The dedication is very simple, for the world would hardly have sympathised to the full extent of those feelings with which I regard my father's friend and the constant friend of all his family.[1]

I hope that the perusal of this little narrative of mine will afford you some entertainment. Even if it should not possess much other merit your knowing the author so well, will impart some interest to it.

—I intended to have sent at the same time with this, copies of "Typee" for each of my aunts—but have [been] disappointed in receiving as many as I expected.—I mention, however, in the accompanying letter to my Aunt Priscilla that they shall soon be forthcoming.[2]

Remember me most warmly to Mrs Shaw & Miss Elizabeth, & to all your family, & tell them I shall not soon forget that agreeable visit to Boston.

With sincere respect, Judge Shaw,
I remain gratefully and truly Yours
Herman Melville

Chief Justice Shaw,
Boston.

1. Judge Lemuel Shaw (1781–1861), to whom Melville dedicated the first edition of *Typee,* "affectionately" in the English edition and "gratefully" in the American edition, had been for years a friend and adviser of the Melville family and was soon to become Melville's father-in-law (see Davis, 6–7). Melville inscribed the copy of *Typee:* "Chief Justice Shaw With the sincere respects of the author March 19th 1846" (in HCL-M).

2. Priscilla Melville (1784–1862), of Boston, one of the five Melville aunts, the others being Mary Melville D'Wolf (1778–1859) of Brighton?, Mass., Jean Melville Wright (1788–1866) of Boston?, Lucy Melville Nourse (1795–1877) of Hallowell, Maine, and Helen Melville Souther (1798–1864) of Hingham, Mass. Melville also sent a copy of *Typee* to his Aunt Susan Gansevoort (1804–1874) of Albany, New York (Leyda, *Log,* 207).

10 WILEY AND PUTNAM [3]
7 MAY 1846
12 LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh May 7, 1846

Gentlemen—Herewith you have a corrected copy of Typee. Besides correcting mere typographical errors, I have made two or three slight alterations.

—I do not know exactly to what extent you can, without incurring much expence, alter the plates—But I hope that you will see, that all my alterations are attended to, except such as would be attended with any considerable trouble or expence. Of course, all the mere verbal corrections can be easily made.[4]

I remain, Gentlemen, respectfully
Your Obt Sevt
Herman Melville

Mess Wiley & Putnam
Broadway

13 TO ALEXANDER W. BRADFORD[5]
23 MAY 1846
LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh—May 23, 1846

Dear Sir—Herewith you have the article we spoke of. I have endeavored to make it appear as if written by one who had read the book & beleived it—& morover—had been as much pleased with it as most people who read it profess to be. Perhaps, it may not be

3. Wiley and Putnam published *Typee* in their "Library of American Books" in March 1846.

4. This letter may explain the existence of one or more of the different issues of *Typee* which appeared between the first and the revised edition: Bernard De Voto, "Editions of *Typee*," *Saturday Review of Literature* (24 November, 1928), 406.

5. Alexander Warfield Bradford (1815–1867) became a co-editor of the *American Review* in 1845. He was the son of the Reverend John M. Bradford, the Melvilles' minister in Albany, and a classmate of Gansevoort Melville at the Albany Academy. Admitted to the bar in 1837, shortly after his

exactly the right sort of thing.[6] 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 straitforward enough) but have only presented such considerations as would be apt to suggest themselves to a reader who was acquainted with, & felt freindly toward the author.—Indeed, I have moddled some of my remarks upon hints suggested by some reviews of the book.—Bye the by, I received to day among other papers, a number of Chambers's Edinbrgh Journal[7] containing an abridged account of the adventure—& I could not but feel heartily vexed, that while the intelligent Editors of a publication like that should thus endorse the genuineness of the narrative—so many numskulls on this side of the water should heroically avow their determination not to be "gulled" by it. The fact is, those who do not beleive it are the greatest "gulls".—full fledged ones too.—

What I have written embodies some thoughts which I think will tell with the public if they are introduced thro' the proper channel. —That channel is the C[ourier] & Enquirer, as it contained the obnoxious review.[8]—I feel confident that unless something of this

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marriage to Marianne Gray (d. 1875), he was of assistance in the beginning of Gansevoort's law studies, was active in Whig politics, and published one of the earliest studies of American ethnology, *American Antiquities and Researches into the Origin and History of the Red Race,* Boston and New York, 1841. For fuller details, see Gilman, p. 331, and the sources there cited. Although the Bradford papers have not survived, Mrs. DeWitt Clinton Baker, Jr., of Larchmont, New York, has kindly shown the editors the family genealogy and some of Bradford's books, descended through Clara Bradford, A. W. Bradford's granddaughter.

6. Melville's article has not been located and may not have been published, except for the brief comment on 9 July 1846 (see below, p. 37, n. 1).

7. *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal,* 5, n.s., No. 121 (25 April, 1846), 265–9, published a first notice giving a straightforward summary of *Typee,* and a week later published a second notice in the same journal (5, n.s., No. 122, 2 May), 282–4.

8. *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* (17 April, 1846), reprinted in Zoltán Haraszti, "Melville Defends *Typee*," *More Books, the Bulletin of the Boston Public Library,* 22 (June 1947), 203–8. This review and another in the *Evangelist* (9 April, 1846) both objected to the claims of authenticity made for the book (Davis, 17–18).

kind appears the success of the book here as a genuine narrative will be seriously impaired. I am told that, that malicious notice (for it certainly has that sort of edge to it) has been copied into papers in the Western part of the state.—It will do mischief unless answered.—But I need say no more on this head, since you are as well aware of this as I can be. You have been so kind as to express your willingness to do what you can in this matter, & I rely so fully upon your having the ability to do all that is requisite that I will not add a word more.—Now that I think of it, however, if they should demur at inserting the accompanying article on account of its contradicting a previous notice, you might in that case procure its insertion as a communication.[9] But you understand how to manage it best.

Will you have the kindness to write me a single line as soon as you shall make any arrangements? Present my renewed complements to Mrs Bradford [1] for the honor of her letter, and beleive me to be

Yours Truly
Herman Melville

As you know best in what sort of style such an article as is needed ought to be written—I beg of you, that you will make any alterations you see fit in the accompanying document.—I am wholly unused to this sort of work—& therfore, if it be not asking too much, I hope you will prepare it to suit yourself.—But what I have written contains the substance of what, I think, ought to appear

H M.

9. Bradford appears to have suggested publishing a reply to the *Courier and Enquirer* review. In addition, as co-editor of the *American Review,* he may have indicated his general willingness to correct the impression made by the abusive review of G. W. Peck in the April issue of that magazine. For this review see the *American Review: A Whig Journal, 3* (April 1846), 415–24, and Charles R. Anderson, "Contemporary American Opinions of *Typee* and *Omoo,*" *American Literature, 9* (March 1937), 1–25.

1. Little is known of Marianne Gray Bradford (d. 1875).

TO GANSEVOORT MELVILLE
29 MAY 1846
14 LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh Friday, June 29th 1846[2]
My Dear Gansevoort—I look forward to three weeks from now, & think I see you openning this letter in [one] of those pleasant hamlets roundabout London, of which we read in novels. At any rate I pray Heaven that such may be the case & that you are mending rapidly.[3] Remember that composure of mind is every thing. You should give no thought to matters here, until you are well enough to think about them. As far as I know they are in good train.

Mr Boyd's[4] second letter announcing your still continued illness was a sad disappointment to us. Yet he seemed to think, that after all you were in a fair way for recovery—& that a removal to the country (then it appears intended shortly) would be attended with the happiest effects. I can not but think it must be;—& I look for good tidings by the next arrival.—Many anxious enquiries have been made after you by numerous friends here.—

The family here are quite well—tho' very busy dressmaking. Augusta is one of the bridesmaids to Miss C. Van. R. & her preperations are now forwarding.[5]

2. Melville dates this letter incorrectly, 29 June for 29 May, 1846 (see below, textual note, p. 324).

3. Gansevoort Melville, who had gone to London on 31 July, 1845 as Secretary of Legation under Louis McLane and had acted as Melville's agent for the sale of *Typee* to John Murray, was unwell in March, wrote his last letters home to Augusta and to Melville on 3 April, and made the last entry in his diary the following day (Gansevoort Melville, "Diary," NYPL-GL, printed in part in Victor H. Paltsits, "Herman Melville's Background and New Light on the Publication of *Typee*," *Bookmen's Holiday, Notes and Studies Written in Tribute to Harry Miller Lydenberg*, New York, 1943, 1–21).

4. Mr. Mac Henry Boyd, attached to the Legation on Louis McLane's arrival in London, performed the duties of Secretary of Legation during Gansevoort's illness (Louis McLane to James Buchanan, London, 18 May, 1846, NA).

5. Miss Cornelia Paterson Van Rensselaer (1823–1897), a particular friend of Augusta Melville, was the daughter of General Stephen Van Rensselaer (1789–1868) and married Nathaniel Thayer (1808–1883), a Boston merchant, on 10 June, 1846 in Albany (*Genealogical and Family History of Southern New York and the Hudson River Valley*, comp. Cuyler Reynolds, New York, 1914).

People here are all in a state of delirium about the Mexican War. A military ardor pervades all ranks—Militia Colonels wax red in their coat facings—and 'prentice boys are running off to the wars by scores.—Nothing is talked of but the "Halls of the Montezumas" And to hear folks prate about those purely figurative apartments one would suppose that they were another Versailles where our democratic rabble meant to "make a night of it" ere long.—The redoubtable General Veile "went off" in a violant war paraoxysm to Washington the other day.[6] His object is to get a commission for raising volunteers about here & taking the feild at their head next fall.—But seriously something great is impending. The Mexican War (tho' our troops have behaved right well) is nothing of itself—but "a little spark kindleth a great fire" as the well known author of the Proverbs very justly remarks[7]—and who knows what all this may lead to—Will it breed a rupture with England? Or any other great powers?—Prithee, are there any notable battles in store—any Yankee Waterloos?—Or think once of a mighty Yankee fleet coming to the war shock in the middle of the Atlantic with an English one.—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.—I am at the end of my sheet—God bless you My Dear Gansevoort & bring you to your feet again.

Herman Melville

[P.S.] Typee is coming on bravely—a second edition is nearly out.[8]—I need not ask you to send me *every notice of any kind* that you see or hear of.

6. Possibly Major General J. J. Viele, who delivered the welcome address at the ceremony in Troy, N.Y., celebrating the triumphant homecoming of General John E. Wool in August 1848: A. J. Weise, *History of the City of Troy* (Troy, 1876), p. 202.

7. The quotation is not in Proverbs; Melville is probably thinking of James 3:5, "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth."

8. Melville probably means a reprinting of the first issue, though he may refer to the variant of the first Wiley and Putnam edition, existing in a unique copy at Harvard. The variant was made up of sheets "not already bound up in the first editions, changed hurriedly to dilute the passages that

TO JAMES BUCHANAN[9]
6 JUNE 1846
LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh Rensselaer Co. New York,
June 6th 1846.

The Honorable
James Buchanan
Secretary of State,

Sir—You have ere this, I presume received a letter from the Hon Louis McLane referring to certain urgent pecuniary claims upon government connected with the sudden decease of my brother Mr Gansevoort Melville late Secretary of Legation in London.—In a most friendly letter to the family of the deceased Mr McLane refers to having written such a communication.[1] I earnestly hope, Sir, that this is not only so, but that you have favorably considered the subject to which Mr McLane alludes.—

Permit me Sir, here to submit to you an extract from a letter, addressed by me this day to the President.

"Our family are in exceedingly embarrassed circumstances, and

had provoked criticism and issued [in July] with the 'Sequel' in place of the highly objectionable 'Appendix' ": De Voto, "Editions of *Typee*," p. 406.

9. James Buchanan (1791–1868), Secretary of State under President Polk.

1. Louis McLane wrote James Buchanan the details of Gansevoort's illness and death, enclosed copies of letters from two of those in attendance, Mr. Edward Moore and Dr. W. F. Chambers, indicated the arrangements he had made for the remains to be returned to the United States on the packet-ship *Prince Albert,* Captain Sebor, sailing 20 May, and gave a financial accounting. Gansevoort's total means consisted of the balance of his salary from 30 April to 12 May, "in the hands of the bankers, £19.0.6, £1.10.0 in his house, and the proceeds of the [sale of his] Court-costume £8.0.0 amounting in all to £28.10.6." The bills outstanding included that of the physicians (£26.16.0) and of placing the remains aboard ship (£24.9.0), "leaving only the freight out (not supposed to exceed £2.0.0) and the expense of final interment in the United States to be provided for." Since the expenses of interment in London "could not have been less than £50." and since the government had no provision for such a calamity, McLane recommended that the government pay a "quarter's salary" (as customary for a Minister or Chargé d'Affaires in such a situation) or pay the funeral and medical expenses, "provided they do not in the whole exceed one hundred pounds." Louis McLane to James Buchanan, London, 18 May, 1846, NA.

unless the measure which Mr McLane reccommends 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 uncancelled. But I can not think that this will be the case.

"The services which so many of my family in many ways have rendered the country—my noble brother's own short but brilliant public career, and the universally-acknowledged and signal services he rendered the Democratic party in the last memorable general election [2]—all these, Sir, will surely lend great weight to the urgent claims of the case itself."

I hardly think Sir, that I need say one word more. I rely upon the justice of government, and upon Mr Buchanan's giving his favorable consideration to a subject, so peculiarly deserving of it.

I have the honor to be, Sir,

Most Respectfully
Herman Melville.

16 TO WILLIAM L. MARCY[3]
6 JUNE 1846
LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh June 6th 1846

The Hon W L Marcy
Secretary of War
Sir,

Your personal acquaintance with my late brother Mr Gansevoort Melville will I think justify me in addressing you on a subject,

2. A young and ardent Democrat of the New York "Loco-Focos," Gansevoort had campaigned through Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Western New York, and Massachusetts for the election of Polk and Dallas in 1844.

3. William Learned Marcy (1786–1857), Secretary of War under President Polk, was one of the original members of the "Albany Regency," which had included Martin Van Buren. In 1844 Marcy had broken with Van Buren to

very nearly concerning his memory, and with regard to which, your official influence can not but be of great service.

Accompanying this is an extract from a letter of the Hon Louis McLane to the relatives of the deceased.—As also an extract from a letter written by me this day to the President.—After perusing these extracts you will clearly perceive my object in writing you.

I need not enlarge upon the claims of the case itself—they are most obvious. Nor need I allude to the powerful claims my late brother's family have upon the best consideration of government. His own short but distinguished public career is familiar to you, as well as the noble service he rendered the Democratic Party.—

I have sought to secure no parade of influence in this matter, for I firmly beleive, that its nature is such as to insure its receiving the earnest attention & prompt action of government,—But Sir, I can not but hope, that this personal appeal of a mourning family, to whom Providence has brought unspeakable & peculiar sorrows, will not be without effect upon you

I have the Honor to be, Sir

Most Respectfully
Herman Melville

Mr McLane has written to the Secretary of State on the subject. I have myself taken the liberty to address that officer as well as the President.

17 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
13 JUNE 1846
LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh June 13. 1846

My Dear Uncle—Yesterday I received a letter from the Secretary of State—stating that Mr McLane was authorized to charge £50 ($250) to the contingent expences of the Legation for the funeral ex-

become a leader of the "Hunkers," the conservative wing of the New York Democrats, and it appears that in appointing Marcy over the candidates recommended by Van Buren, President Polk had taken the word of young New York Democrats, like Gansevoort Melville, who were opposed to Van Buren and the radicals. The extracts of letters mentioned by Melville have not been found.

pences of Gansevoort.[4]—This will cover every thing, & leave enough to bestow some testimonial of our 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.—I have written to Mr McLane & Mr Boyd instructing the latter as to the disposal of the amount which will remain after paying the bills mentioned in his letter to us.[5]—I have also strongly acknowledged our gratitude to both for their many attentions to the deceased.

Augustus Peebles told me yesterday by your request that Mr Pruyn was leaving for Europe [6]—We have nothing to send, as the letters spoken of above were sent by mail.—

—I think it more than probable that the Prince Albert will not arrive before the latter part of next week.—I shall defer my departure for New York until Wednesday P.M.—Of course I shall see you before I go—

Beleive Me Dear Uncle
Affectntly

Herman

My Love to Aunt Susan,[7] and the children. Mama & the girls send their love to them.

4. On 6 June, 1846, Buchanan wrote McLane that £50 could be charged to the expenses of the Legation to pay for Gansevoort's funeral expenses and that this money could be used to pay the medical bills left unpaid from Gansevoort's funds. The following day, 7 June, he wrote Melville the same information. See letters in NA, and Hayford–Davis, 169–70.

5. After all bills were paid, the amount left as a gift for Mrs. Mansfield, probably Gansevoort's rooming-house owner, and the "colored man" would have been less than £20.

6. Anthony Augustus Peebles (1822–1905) and Robert Hewson Pruyn (1815–1882) were both cousins of Melville. Augustus Peebles' mother, Maria (Van Schaick) Peebles, was a daughter of John Gerritse Van Schaick and a niece of Catherine (Van Schaick) Gansevoort, wife of General Peter Gansevoort, Melville's grandfather. Robert Pruyn had married Jane Ann Lansing in 1841; she was a niece of Peter Gansevoort's second wife, Susan Lansing.

7. Susan Lansing Gansevoort (1804–1874), whom Peter Gansevoort married in 1843 after the death of his first wife, Mary Sanford Gansevoort (1814–1841).

TO PETER GANSEVOORT
22 JUNE 1846
18 NEW YORK

New York June 22d 1846

My Dear Uncle—On Friday afternoon last I called at your office three times, but without seeing you. My only object was, to tell you that I was going down that afternoon to New York, & that I would write you as soon as I heard of the ship's arrival.—Up to this hour the Prince Albert has not been reported at the Exchange.—She may be looked for now every moment, as she has been due now several days.—I shall remain here until she arrives, & until I can ascertain when the remains can be got ashore, & a day is fixed for removing them to Albany.—I shall then go up the river at once (so as to avoid the possibility of a letter's miscarrying) & final arrangements can be made for receiving the body at your house,—In all probability I shall arrive the morning preceeding that, on which the remains will.[8]

I beleive that nothing can be done until the remains arrive.

Mama asked me to tell you that she intends to come down <the morning> after dinner of the day on which the funeral takes place, & go up the same evening.

I saw Mr Ten Eyck [9] on Friday, & he said that every thing necessary for the funeral could be arranged the morning of the day on which it takes place.—

I hope the ship may arrive soon as this delay is most unpleasant every way.

Remember me to Aunt Susan, And

Beleive Me, My Dear Uncle
Yours
Herman Melville

8. When the *Prince Albert* arrived, Melville placed Gansevoort's remains aboard the *Hendrik Hudson* and on 27 June accompanied them to Albany for the burial from Peter Gansevoort's house on 28 June: Albany *Argus* 29 June, 1846), and diaries of Susan and of Peter Gansevoort, NYPL-GL.

9. The Ten Eycks lived in the famous mansion "Whitehall" near Albany, bought from the British General Bradstreet by Leonard Gansevoort, Melville's great-uncle. The "Mr Ten Eyck" was undoubtedly Melville's cousin, any one of the five brothers of Hester Ten Eyck (1796–1861), who had inherited "Whitehall" from Jacob and Magdalena (Gansevoort) Ten Eyck.

TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK[1]
3 JULY 1846
LANSINGBURGH

19

Lansingburgh July 3d 1846

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,[2] vouching for the truth of all that part (what has been considered the most extraordinary part) of the narative, where he is made to figure.[3]—Give ear then, oh ye of little faith—especially thou man of the Evangelist[4]—and hear what Toby has to say for himself.—

Seriously, My Dear Sir, this resurection of Toby from the dead —this strange bringing together of two such places as Typee & Buffalo, is really very curious.—It can not but settle the question of the book's genuineness. The article in the C.A. with the letter of Toby can not possibly be gainsaid in any conceivable way— therefore I think it ought to be pushed into circulation. I doubt

1. Evert Augustus Duyckinck (1816–1878), whose relationship with Melville began when as editor of Wiley and Putnam's Library of Choice Reading in 1846 he saw to the details of *Typee's* publication. The importance of Duyckinck to Melville, first demonstrated by Luther Mansfield (doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1934), has recently been discussed by Perry Miller, *The Raven and the Whale,* New York, 1956.

2. Melville talked with Duyckinck during the week of 21–26 June, when in New York waiting for the arrival of the *Prince Albert.* On 1 July the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* published an article which identified Melville's companion "Toby" in *Typee* as a Buffalo "house and sign painter," whose father was a farmer of Darien, Genesee County, New York, and included a communication signed "Toby," that offered to "testify to the entire accuracy of the work [*Typee*]." This article was reprinted in the Albany *Argus* and the Albany *Evening Journal* (3 July, 1846): Davis, 20–1.

3. Richard Tobias Greene (1819–1892), who sailed on the *Acushnet* with Melville, jumped ship at the Marquesas, and returned to become a painter and later a journalist in a newspaper career outlined by Clarence Gohdes in "Melville's Friend Toby," *Modern Language Notes, 59* (1944), 52–5. His wife, Mary J. (Derby) Greene, and a son, Melville's namesake, Herman Melville Greene, survived him (Leyda, *Log,* xxvii).

4. The New York *Evangelist, 17* (9 April, 1846), 60, containing the notice of *Typee* which Toby said caused him to write his communication.

not but that many papers will copy it—Mr Duycknck might say a word or two on the subject which would tell.—The paper I allude to is of the 1st Inst. I have written Toby a letter & expect to see him soon & hear the sequel of the book I have written (How strangely that sounds!)

Bye the bye, since people have always manifested so much concern for "poor Toby," what do you think of writing an account of what befell him in escaping from the island—should the adventure prove to be of sufficient interest?—I should value your opinion very highly on this subject.—

I began with the intention of tracing a short note—I have come near writing a long letter

Beleive me, My Dear Sir
Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville

Pardon me, if I have unintentionally translated your patronymick into the Sancrit or some other tongue—"What's in a name?" says Juliet—a strange combination of vowels & consonants, at least in Mr Duycknck's, Miss, is my reply.[5]

H M

P.S. No 2. Possibly the letter of Toby might by some silly ones be regarded as a hoax—to set you right on that point, altho' I only saw the letter last night for the first—I will tell you that it alludes to things that no human being could even [ever?] have heard of except Toby. Besides the Editor seems to have seen him.[6]

20 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
15 JULY 1846
NEW YORK

Wednesday Afternoon [7]

Mr Melville is sorry that he goes out of town this evening without again seeing Mr Duyckinck.

Typee has come out measurably unschathed from the fiery ordeal

5. Besides the errors in spelling Duyckinck's name in the letter, Melville addressed the envelope, "Mr Duyckincke."

6. "Mr. Foote" of the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser.*

7. For the dating of this letter see below, textual note, p. 326.

of Mr Wiley's criticisms. I trust as it now stands the book will retain all those essential features which most commended it to the public favor.[8]

I shall see Toby before I return & obtain all the materials for the proposed Sequel; which with the new preface, & the notices of the book which are proposed to be prefixed to it—will have to remain to be settled until my return in the course of 6 or 7 days.

Very Truly Yours
My Dear Mr Duyckick
Herman Melville

21 TO JOHN MURRAY[9]
15 JULY 1846
NEW YORK

New York July 15th 1846

Mr John Murray,

Dear Sir—The decease of my brother Mr Gansevoort Melville leaving me without any correspondant in London thro' whom to communicate with you, I waive cerimony & address you at once by letter.—My object in so doing, is to inform you of certain matters connected with "Typee" which you ought to be made acquainted with, & to allude breifly [cheifly?] to one or two other subjects.

In the first place I have to inform you that "Toby" who figures in my narrative has come to life—tho' I had long supposed him to be dead. I send you by this steamer several papers (N.Y. Courier & Enquirer, N.Y. Morning News, & Albany Argus) containing allusions to him. Toby's appearance has produced quite a lively sensation here—and "Truth is stranger than Fiction" is in every body's mouth.[1]

8. This refers to the "Revised Edition" of *Typee,* published in August 1846, with chapter 3 and the appendix omitted, several other chapters severely cut and revised, and a new "Preface to the Revised Edition" added. It also contained the "Sequel," which Melville is here preparing to write.

9. John Murray III (1808–1892), English publisher, who published *Typee* in February and April 1846.

1. This is a quotation from the Albany *Argus* and the Albany *Evening Journal* (6 July, 1846). The papers Melville sent included notices of Toby's ap-

—In Buffalo where he "turned up" the public curiosity was so great that "Toby" was induced to gratify it by publishing the draught of a letter which he had originally sent to me.[2] This is not the letter however, which appears in the papers I send you. —I was sorry for this on some accounts, but it could not be helped. However the impression which Toby's letter has produced is this —i e—that every thing about it bears the impress of truth.—Indeed, the whole Typee adventure is now regarded as a sort of Romance of Real Life.—You would be greatly diverted to read some of the comments of our Western Editors and log-cabin critics. —But to the point.—I am now preparing a short Sequel to Typee containing a simple account of Toby's escape from the valley as related to me by himself. This Sequel will be bound up with all subsequent editions of the book here.—The curiosity of all readers has been awakened as to what became of him—& now that he has appeared & his story is so interesting, it naturally belongs to the narrative that a sequel like this should be supplied. At any rate the public are apprised of Toby's resurrection & are looking for it.—Besides, it is so strange, & withal so convincing a proof of the truth of my narrative *as I sent it to London* that it can not be gainsaid.—

Were it not for the long delay it would occasion, I should take no steps towards the publication of any Sequel until I had sent the M.S.S. to you. But as matters are, this can not be done—for there is a present demand for the book which the publishers can not supply—a new edition is in preperation—& after what has happened, this can not come out very well without the story of Toby.—Still, if you publish the Sequel (which as a matter of course I suppose you will) no one will interfere with the publication, since it will be quite brief (perhaps not exceeding eight or ten pages) & depends altogether upon the narrative which precedes it. —Besides, I shall take care that you receive a copy of it by the earliest possible oportunity.

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pearance: the *Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer* (9 July) reprint from the *Argus* (3 July); the New York *Morning News* (unidentified, but probably 9 July; the Albany *Argus* (3, 6, and 9 July).

2. The "draught of a letter" refers to "Toby's Own Story," Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* (1 July, 1946), which was reprinted in the Albany *Argus,* the Albany *Evening Journal,* and the New York *Morning News.*

—I have just said that a new edition of the book was forthcoming. —This new edition will be a Revised one, and I can not but think that the measure will prove a judicious one.—The revision will only extend to the exclusion of those parts not naturally connected with the narrative, and some slight purifications of style. I am pursuaded that the interest of the book almost wholly consists in the *intrinsick merit of the narrative alone*—& that other portions, however interesting they may be in themselves, only serve to impede the story. The book is certainly calculated for popular reading, or for none at all.—If the first, why then, all passages which are calculated to offend the tastes, or offer violance to the feelings of any large class of readers are certainly objectionable.

—Proceeding on this principle then, I have rejected every thing, in revising the book, which refers to the missionaries. Such passages are altogether foreign to the adventure, & altho' they may possess a temporary interest *now,* to some, yet so far as the wide & permanent popularity of the work is conserned, their exclusion will certainly be beneficial, for to that end, the less the book has to carry along with it the better.—Certain "sea-freedoms" [3] also have been modifyed in the expression—but nothing has been done to effect the general character & style of the book—the narrative parts are untouched—In short—in revising the work, I have merely removed passages which leave no gap, & the removal of which imparts a unity to the book which it wanted before.—The reasons which will be given to the public for this step are set forth in the enclosed paper [4]—Something like this will be published in the shape of a "Preface to the Revised Edition."—

The new edition containing the Sequel of Toby will be out soon.[5] This day the printers take it in hand, & will hurry it. A copy of it will be forwarded to you by the first steamer through the house of Wiley & Putnam. I would send you the M.S.S. of the Sequel, but it is by no means yet finished.

From the widely extended notices of "Typee" which have ap-

3. The London *Spectator* (28 February, 1846), had commented on "certain sea freedoms" in the book "that might as well have been removed before issuing it."

4. This "enclosed paper" has not survived.

5. The "Revised Edition" was published by Wiley and Putnam in August 1846 (see above p. 37 n. 8).

peared in England I am led to suppose that it has met with the most flattering success there. If this be so—it can not be deemed premature in me to remind Mr Murray, of his having assured my deceased brother that in case the book met with "unusual success" he would still further remunerate the author.—Therefore, if you feel every way warranted in so doing (of which of course you are left sole judge) your early consideration of this subject will for special reasons be most gratifying to me.

—As for the matter of the revised edition—if you publish one from the copy I shall send to you, I leave it to yourself to decide, whether I should be considered as entitled to any thing on account of it.—But however that part of the matter may appear to you—I earnestly trust that you will issue a Revised Edition. Depend upon it Sir, that it will be policy so to do. Nor have I decided upon this revision without much reflection and seeking the advice of persons every way qualifyed to give it, & who have done so in a spirit of candor.

—I entertain no doubt but that the simple story of Toby will add very much to the interest of the book, especially if the public are informed of the peculiar circumstances connected with it.—If you publish it, you will reap this benefit, whatever it may be in a pecuniary way; and altho' you will not be bound to pay me any thing for the Sequel, still, should you make use of it, I rely not a little upon your liberality.

—I had almost forgotten one thing—the title of the book.—From the first I have deeply regretted that it did not appear in England under the title I always intended for it [6]—"Typee" It was published here under that title & it has made a decided hit. Nor was any thing else to be expected—that is, if the *book* was going to succeed at all, for "Typee" is a title *naturally suggested by the narrative itself,* and not farfetched as some strange titles are. Besides, its very strangeness & novelty, founded as it is upon the character of the book—are the very things to make "Typee" a popular

6. *Typee* was issued in London as Numbers 30 and 31 of Murray's Home and Colonial Library, under the title *A Narrative of a Four Months' Residence among the Natives of a Valley of the Marquesas Islands; or, a Peep at Polynesian Life.*

title. The work also should be known by the same name on both sides of the water.—For these and other reasons I have thought that in all subsequent editions of the book you might entitle it "Typee"—merely prefixing that single but eloquent word to the title as it now stands with you. If you try out the revised edition with the Sequel—that would be the time to make this very slight but most important alteration.—I trust that Mr Murry will at once consider the propriety of following this suggestion.

This is an unconscionable letter for a first one, but I must[?] elongate it a little more.

I have another work now nearly completed which I am anxious to submit to you before presenting it to any other publishing house.[7] It embraces adventures in the South Seas (of a totally different character from "Typee") and includes an eventful cruise in an English Colonial Whaleman (A Sydney Ship)[1] and a comical residence on the island of Tahiti. The time is about four months, but I & my narrative are both on the move during that short period. This new book begins exactly where Typee leaves off—but has no further connection with my first work.—Permit me here to assure Mr Murry that my new M.S.S. will be in a rather better state for the press than the M.S.S. handed to him by my brother. A little experience in this art of book-craft has done wonders.

—Will you be so good as to give me your views about this proposed publication (it will be ready the latter part of the Fall—*autumn* I beleive it is with you) as early as possible.

—Mr Murray must pardon the evident haste in which this long letter has been written—it was unavoidable.—With much respect & esteem, Dear Sir, Beleive me

Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville

7. The first mention of *Omoo: A Narrative of Adventures in the South Seas,* published by John Murray in London and by Harper, New York, 1847.

1. The *Lucy Ann,* Captain Henry Ventom, of Sydney, Australia.

*

TO DR. WILLIAM SPRAGUE[2]
24 JULY 1846
22 LANSINGBURGH

Being told that you particularly desired my autograph I cheerfully send it, and the author of "Typee" looks forward with complacency to his joining that goodly fellowship of names which the taste and industry of Dr. Sprague have collected. 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. Again I am, Dear Sir,

Herman Melville.

23 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
28 JULY 1846
NEW YORK

It seems to be understood (from what has happened heretofore)[3] that I should leave a little legacy of a note for Mr Duycknck every time I leave town—In conformity with which understanding, I now bequeath you these few lines, on the eve of my departure for another, & I trust, a cooler land.—

You remember you said something about anticipating the piracy[4] that might be perpetrated on the "Sequel," by publishing an extract or two from it—which you said you would attend to.—I

2. The Reverend William Buell Sprague (1795–1876), minister of the Second Presbyterian Church of Albany (1829–1869) and avid collector of autographs.

3. Melville left Duyckinck a note on Wednesday, 15 July, and after seeing Toby and preparing the sequel to *Typee* returned to New York, 27 July (Davis, 22–6).

4. Melville and his publishers were particularly concerned about piracy because "Toby's Own Story" had been printed in the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* (1 July) and reprinted in other papers. Through his brother Melville had already advised Duyckinck on 22 July to delay advertising the revised edition until his arrival in town (Davis, 25).

meant to speak to you again about it—but forgot so to do.—However, be so good, as to consider yourself now reminded of it by these presents.—I take this to be a matter of some little moment.

The *Revised* (Expurgated?—Odious word!) Edition of Typee ought to be duly announced—& as the matter (in one respect) is a little delicate, I am happy that the literary tact of Mr Dyckнck will be exerted on the occasion.—

Do forgive this boring you forever, and Beleive me My Dear Mr Duyckicke

Very Faithfully Yours
Herman Melville

Thursday Afternoon
July 28th '46

24 TO JOHN MURRAY
30 JULY 1846
NEW YORK

Mr Murray
Dear Sir

By this Steamer I forward you the Sequel to "Typee" alluded to in my last. The Steamer sails on the 1st August, & the sequel will not be published here, until at least ten days hence—owing to the backwardness in getting out the Revised Edition in which the Sequel will first appear. For the same reason, I am now unable to forward you a copy complete of the book as revised—which I would much wish to do. However, I will see that it is forwarded by the first possible oportunity.

Trusting that you will consider the subjects treated of in the letter I wrote you a week or two since, and write me your views as soon as you conveniently can,[5] I remain, Mr Murray

Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville

New York July 30. 1846.

I am more than ever impressed with the thought, that the per-

5. Before this letter could reach London, John Murray wrote Melville that he would offer an "additional £50 at the end of the year for his [Melville's] *corrections* & his *Sequel*": note, dated 3 August, 1846, in John Murray's Letter-book (Davis, 26).

manent reputation as well as the present popularity of Typee will be greatly promoted by the revision to which it has just been subjected. This remark applies equally to both countries.

25 TO THURLOW WEED [6]
15 AUGUST 1846
ALBANY

Mr Melville takes great pleasure in presenting to M^r^ Weed the accompanying copy of Typee—and much regrets not seeing him this morning.
Albany Aug 15. 1846.

26 TO JOHN MURRAY
2 SEPTEMBER 1846
LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh Sept 2^d^ 1846
My Dear Sir—Your very friendly and welcome letter of the 3^d^ ult [7] was forwarded to me from New York a few days since—Before alluding to any thing else I can not forbear expressing to you how sensible I am of the sincere sympathy you express in the decease of my noble and lamented brother.

I am extremely happy that you acquiese in the propriety of the revision of Typee, and only fear that possibly you may not fully approve the extent to which it has been carried. Nevertheless I think I have done right.—

The Preface is very short—I made it so purposely—I could not go into particulars without being prosy & egotistic, & so I settled the matter in one or two compendious paragraphs.

—As to the Sequel,[8] I only fear that your expectations, might have been too high—of its interest—& hence you may be disappointed—However, more than to satisfy the reader's curiosity as to

6. Thurlow Weed (1797–1882), journalist and political leader, who was at this time editor of the Albany *Evening Journal,* which had been caught up by Toby's reappearance.

7. See above p. 43, n. 5.

8. John Murray published the "Sequel" as a separate pamphlet (16 pages) in an edition of 1250 copies in September or October 1846, and in 1847

Toby's escape could not be expected from it—& it is written as simply as possible.

—The introductory note is brief. Aside from the consideration that Toby's resucitation had been bruited over the country here, so as to render any particular statement needless—I considered that were I to make any such statement it would lead me into divers disenchanting and unromantic details, which at the very close of the story would show as awkwardly as the clumsy frame of a scene[?] peeping into view just as the curtain falls on the last act of the drama.

—I have seen Toby. have his dargurrtype [9]—a lock of those ebon curls.—I had intended by this steamer to write & send you a brief account of my manner of treating of him—our interview &c —I shall do so by the next Steamer.

Rejoiced am I, My Dear Sir, that the magic, cabilistic, *tabooistic* "Typee" will hereafter grace the title-page of all subsequent English editions of the book [1]—Its judiciousness will be justifyed by the result.

With reference to the payment you promise me at the end of the year I have no doubt it is a fair compensation and I will add that circumstances will make it peculiarly acceptable—You will perhaps [want?] some sort of receipt for the money—any thing of that kind I will send you on its reception.

—Concerning the book on the stocks (which bye the by must'nt fall to peices there, since I have not done much to it lately) I will forward you enough of it to enable you to judge therof.—(Perhaps the whole)—However, you must not Dear Sir expect another Typee—The fates must send me adrift again ere I write another adventure like that exactly.—You ask for "documentary evidences" of my having been at the Marquesas—in Typee.—Dear Sir, how indescibably vexatious, when one really feels in his very bones that he has been there, to have a parcel of blockheads question it!

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appended it to the "Enlarged Edition" of *Typee:* John Birss, "The Story of Toby," *Harvard Library Bulletin, 1* (1947), 118–19.

9. The daguerreotype of "Toby," Buffalo, 1846, is now in HCL-M.

1. John Murray's "Enlarged Edition" of *Typee* (1847) changed the title page by adding the word "Typee: or . . ." to the title as it had first appeared, but the edition was printed from the plates of the first edition.

—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.—

I know not how to set about getting the evidence—How under Heaven am I to subpeona the skipper of the Dolly who by this time is the Lord only knows where, or Kory-Kory who I'll be bound is this blessed day taking his noon nap somewhere in the flowery vale of Typee, some leagues too from the Monument.

Seriously on the receipt of your welcome favor, Dear Sir, I addressed a note to the owners of the ship,[2] asking if they could procure for me, 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. As yet I have nothing in reply —If I think of any other kind of evidence I will send it, if it can be had & despatched.

—Typee however must at last be beleived on its own account— they beleive it here now—a little touched up they say but *true*.

—Accompanying this you will receive a paper (formerly conducted by Mr P Willis) which contains an article with regard to the genuineness of Typee which I wish you to observe.[3]—

I wish you would send me any further notices of the book you may see—I have no other mode of getting them. I have only seen the Sp[e]ctat[o]r, Times Sun Joh[n] Bull, Athen[ae]um, Critic, Ecle[c]tic, Simmon[d']s, Shill[in]g M'zin[e] & one or two others [4]— Possibly there may be a stray one that I have not seen.—

2. Melvin O. Bradford, Philemon Fuller, and others of Fairhaven, Massachusetts, owners of the *Acushnet* (Leyda, *Log*, 111–12), and see below, p. 72, for Melville's receipt of this evidence.

3. Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806–1867) had been associated with Gansevoort Melville in London when *Typee* was going through the press (Davis, 5–6). At this time he ended his connection with the New York *Mirror* (1823–60), which he had previously edited with George Pope Morris (1802–1864), and when he returned to Boston in February 1846, he joined Morris in a new venture that became the *Home Journal*. The article Melville sent thus appears to have been a reprinting of "Toby's Own Story" in the New York *Mirror* (1 August, 1846).

4. These notices included the *Spectator* (28 February), the London *Times* (6 April), the *Sun* (14, 29 April), *John Bull* (7 March), the *Athenaeum* (21, 28

You must pardon this terrific scrawl—I write fast, to save the mail for Boston which leaves now within 20 minutes.—Address me Care of Allan Melville Wall Street New York City.

And now with many thanks for your friendly letter, and cordial wishes for your health & prosperity Beleive me, My Dear Mr Murray

Very sincerely Yours
Herman Melville.

27 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
8 DECEMBER 1846
NEW YORK

My Dear Mr Duyckinck

I arrived in town last evening from the East.[5] As I hinted to you some time ago I have a new book in M.S.—Relying much upon your literary judgement I am very desirous of getting your opinion of it & (if you feel disposed to favor me so far) to receive your hints. —I address you now not as being in any way connected with Messrs W & P. but presume to do so confidentially & as a friend.

In passing thro' town some ten days since I left the M.S. with a particular lady acquaintance of mine; at whose house I intend calling this evening to obtain it.[6] The lady resides up town. On my way down I will stop at your residence with the M.S. & will be very much pleased to see you—if not otherwise engaged.—I will call, say at 8½.

With sincere regard
Beleive Me, My Dear Sir
Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville

Wall Street, Tuesday Morning.
If you are to be engaged this evening pray inform me by the bearer.

February), the *Critic* (7, 14, 28 March), *Eclectic Review* (April), *Simond's Colonial Magazine* (unlocated), *Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine* (April) and probably other British notices in the London *Examiner, Tait's Edinburgh Magazine,* and the *Gentleman's Magazine,* all of which were quoted in the advertising end papers of *Omoo* (see Peter Gansevoort's copy in NYPL-RB).

5. Melville was in Boston visiting Elizabeth Shaw and her family from 28 November to 7 December.

6. This lady is unidentified.

TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
10 DECEMBER 1846
28 NEW YORK

My Dear Sir

Herewith you have the remaining chapters Those marked in the Table of Contents as N^os^ V. VII. & XVII. have been rejected altogether [7]—but this does not break the continuity of the book. I have not as yet altered the numbers of the chapters as thus affected.

I beg you to pay particular attention to the following chapters —Chapters 33.34—& 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50.[8]—They all refere more or less to the missions & the condition of the natives.

Very Faithfully Yours
Herman Melville

Thursday Afternoon.

29 TO JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD [9]
30 DECEMBER 1846
NEW YORK

New York Dec 30th 1846

John Romeyn Brodhead Esq

Dear Sir:—The longstanding acquaintance between our families, and particularly that between my late brother M^r^ Gansevoort Melville and yourself, induce me to solicit a favor which my slight acquaintance with you would not perhaps warrant. By granting it, as I think you will, you will confer that which I shall not forget.

7. These rejected chapters are difficult to conjecture and the first two may have been restored, since the chapter numeration here when compared with *Omoo* shows only a discrepancy of one: Charles R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939), 239.

8. Melville underlined chapter numbers "33" and "49.50" twice for emphasis. The first concerns "Proceedings of the French at Tahiti" (chapter 32) and the last two discuss "Tahiti As It Is" and the "Same Subject Continued" (chapters 48–9).

9. John Romeyn Brodhead (1814–1873), lawyer and historian, though born in Philadelphia, practiced law in New York (1835–37) and was a nephew of Harmanus Bleecker, a friend of Peter Gansevoort. A family friend and school chum of Gansevoort Melville, he was appointed Secretary of Legation in London under George Bancroft, following Gansevoort's death.

I have recently made an arrangement with the Harpers to bring out a new work of mine.[1] But altho' it has just gone to press, they are to defer publication until I have concluded arrangements to bring out the work in England. This is for the express purpose, as you will perceive, of securing a copyright there.—Now, I have no correspondent in London who can act for me—is it too much to solicit your friendly offices?—There is little to be done—a mere sale to effect—that accomplished, the rest remains with the publisher.

Presuming that you will not refuse what I ask, permit me, Dear Sir, to take it for granted.

M^r^ Murray of Albemarle Street has by letter informed me, that upon receiving the proof sheets of my new book he would make me a liberal offer therefore.—I, of course, guarenteeing the integrity of the copyright for England, which I will do.

Now, relying upon your friendly consent to do what I ask of you, I shall write M^r^ Murray to the effect, that I shall empower M^r^ Brodhead to treat with him for the sale of the book, & that I will also send the proof sheets under cover to you by the steamer of the 1^st^ of February, & that you will upon their arrival at once submit them to him for an offer.

Do not, I pray you, entertain the slightest apprehension or delicacy as to any responsibility you may think you will assume by acting for me in this matter. For by the steamer which carries over the proof sheets I will give you such instructions as will remove all scruples upon this head.

I will write you fully by the steamer of the 1^st^ of February.

You see, I rely upon your granting this favor [2]—Your declining so to do will not only place me in a very unpleasant predicament, but will occasion me no small pecunary loss.

With high consideration and true regard,
Beleive Me, Dear Sir

Your obedn^t^ Servant
Herman Melville

1. Melville signed the agreement with Harper on 18 December to publish "Omoo: a Narrative of Adventure in the South Seas" (HCL-M).

2. Brodhead received and answered Melville's letter on 14 January, 1847, agreeing to act as agent for the sale of *Omoo*.

Should there be any probability of your being out of town upon the arrival of the proof sheets, I must beg of you to leave directions for having them forthwith forwarded to M[r] Murray. I shall write him to this effect.

30 TO JOHN MURRAY
30 DECEMBER 1846
NEW YORK

New York December 30[th] '46

My Dear Sir—The new work which I sometime ago informed you I was employed upon is at length finished. I have made an arrangement with the house of Harper & Brothers to stereeotype & publish the same. But it is an express condition that after furnishing me with a complete proof, they shall defer publication until I have time to make arrangements to bring out the book in England. They are not to publish until I notify them so to do. Thus the English copyright can be secured.[3]

The work has gone to press; and by the steamer of the 1[st] of February (the next after that of the 1[st] of January) I shall send the proof sheets in the U.S. Despatch Bag to M[r] John Romyn Brodhead (with whom I am acquainted) the present American Secretary of Legation. I will also empower him to treat for the sale of the book.

Of course I should much prefer your publishing it, & I think that as it has a certain connection with "Typee" you will be desirous of so doing. The two books will sell together.

M[r] Brodhead will at once submit the proof sheets to you, and I trust that no difficulty will be in the way of making an arrangement satisfactory to all concerned.

My purpose in writing you *now* is merely to apprise you that the proof sheets are forthcoming. By the steamer of the 1[st] of February I shall write more fully if necessary.

3. Melville was recommending the procedure followed in the publication of *Typee* and the accepted practice of Cooper, Emerson, and other American writers. Although England extended its national copyright law in 1837 to foreign works on condition of reciprocity, the accepted practice for British publishers was to print as nearly simultaneously as possible in both countries.

On this point you may rely: that the work will not be published here <until a day or two> except simultaniously with its publication abroad.

I expect to have the pleasure of hearing from you by the steamer which leaves England on the 4th January next.

With much regard
Beleive Me, Dear Sir,
Yours
Herman Melville

Mr John Murray
Albemarle Street.

P.S. Should, by any chance Mr Brodhead be out of town upon the arrival of the proof sheets, he will by my directions cause them to be at once forwarded to you unconditionally. To provide for which contigency I will write you further by the steamer of the 1st of February.

31 TO HOOPER C. VAN VORST[4]
19 JANUARY 1847
NEW YORK

Hooper C Van Vorst Esq
&c &c &c

Dear Sir—Yours of the 14 Inst was forwarded to me from Lansingburgh.—The Troy Association received a conditional promise from me, upon the strength of which they have advertised my name.—The invitation from Schenectady I declined.

It will be impossible for me to be in Albany on the 29th Inst (the day you mention). But in case I lecture anywhere, or at all, I shall be most happy to lecture before your association in Albany.

I shall be in your city in the early part of next month

Very Faithfully Yours
Herman Melville

New York Jan 19, '47.

4. Hooper Cummings Van Vorst (1817–1888), an Albany lawyer, was president of the Albany Young Men's Association, to which Melville had belonged in 1835–38.

TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
21 JANUARY 1847
32 NEW YORK

My Dear Sir

Upon reflection I question the propriety of publishing any part of the book I am about bringing out so long previous to the publication of the whole.

However, this will not prevent your publishing a chapter or so at a more suitable time, should you desire to [5]—

Yours Truly
Herman Melville

Thursday Morning—Broadway.

33 TO JOHN MURRAY
29 JANUARY 1847
NEW YORK

New York January 29th 1847.

My Dear Sir—I presume that before this you have received my letter by the steamer of the 1st of January. By the steamer which carries you this, I send to Mr John Romeyn Brodhead of the American Legation the proof sheets of my new work. He will immediately cause them to be placed in your hands; and I have fully authorised him to treat in my behalf for the sale of the book.[6] In case you would like to publish it, I anticipate no difficulty in Mr Brodhead's making an arrangement with you satisfactory to all concerned. I preferred having some one to act for me in London, thinking that it would be much better, all round.—

I beleive that I informed you in my last that I had made it a positive condition with the Harpers—my publishers here—that the work should not be published by them until I advise them so to do. Of course, this is with the view of securing a copyright for the English publisher. And I shall not instruct them to publish until I hear definitively from England as to the day upon which pub-

5. Evert Duyckinck had signed a contract with Wiley and Putnam to edit the *Literary World* and had asked Melville for advance chapters of *Omoo*, but no extracts appeared until the 24 April issue.

6. The day after writing Murray, Melville signed the legal papers empowering Brodhead to sell the English copyright of *Omoo* and sent these and the proof sheets by the *Hibernia*, sailing 1 February (Davis, 32).

lication will take place in that country. It is most important, however, that the work should be published as soon as possible. The stereeotype plates are cast, & publication held *here* in suspence.—The steamer which carries out the proof sheets to Mr Brodhead, will arrive about the 20th of February—perhaps before that time —leaving ample time for arrangements for publication to be made in London, so as to send me definite advices by the steamer which leaves your shores on the 4th of March next.—Should you come to an understanding with Mr Brodhead, & agree to publish, I confidently rely upon hearing from you by that opportunity—& that you will then *name the day* upon which publication will take place—so that as little delay as possible may be occasioned in bringing the work out here.—I deem it proper to state that every possible precaution has been taken to prevent the getting abroad of any of the proof sheets—& that not the slightest apprehension is to be entertained that it will come out *here* before it does in London.—Of course, owing to the before-mentioned understanding with the Harpers, the proof sheets which I send to London, are as valuable to a publisher there, as the M.S.S. of the book would have been, transmitted to England direct, & previous to making any arrangements here for publication.—I send Mr Brodhead a power of attorney, which makes him, in this matter, my authorized agent.—

Of the book itself, of course, you will judge for yourself. So I will not say, what opinions of it have been given here by persons competent to judge of its merits as a work calculated for popular reading.—But I think you will find it a fitting successor to "Typee"; inasmuch as the latter book delineates Polynisian 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 of life, led, at the present day, by roving sailors in the Pacific —a kind of thing, which I have never seen described anywhere.—The title of the work, may be thought a curious one—but after reading the narrative no one will doubt its propriety as explained in the Preface.—It might, however, be advisable to add to the title as it now stands, the following:—"Including Some Account of a Sojourn on the Island of Tahiti"—But whether this be added or not, I desire the title (as it now appears) to remain untouched—its oddity, or uniqueness, if you please conveys some insight into

the nature of the book. It gives a sort of Polynisian expression to its "figurehead."—At any rate, no one questions the right of a parent to dub his offspring as he pleases;—the same should be accorded to an author.[7]

—You will perceive that there is a chapter in the book which describes a dance in the valley of Tamai.[8] This discription has been modified & adapted from a certain chapter which it was thought best to exclude from Typee. In their dances the Tahitians much resembled the Marquesans (the two groups of islands are not far apart) & thus is the discription faithful in both instances.

—In the early part of the work, I make free use of nautical terms without, in all cases, explaining their use. But I am well warranted in so doing by the practice of the most successful writers—Marryatt, Cooper, Dana &c.—With the proof sheets, I send a map, a draught of the one which will appear with the book here. I have had it drawn expressly for the work.—I think it essential. The dedication, of course, I wish to appear in the English edition.[9]—I am desirous that the book shall appear in England, just as I send it: altho' there may be some minor errors—typographical—as the plates have been hurried in order to get them ready in time for the steamer. They will be gone over & corrected before publication here.—However, there is no error, which any proof reader might not correct.—the omitting of a figure in the pageing &c.

—In case any thing unforseen should prevent M[r] Brodhead from acting in my behalf, the proof sheets will be placed in your hands, unconditionally—in which case, as prompt action is imperative, I rely upon your at once going forward with the publication of the book (should you be pleased with it) & giving me (to use the language of your letter to me) "as liberal an offer as you can" which offer, under the circumstances, you will have to consider accepted, should the above contingency occur.—

Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville

7. Melville emphasized here that the title *Omoo* not be changed because he recalled the change in the title in the English edition of *Typee*.

8. *Omoo*, chapter 63, which describes the "Lory-Lory," the "dance of the backsliding girls of Tamai."

9. *Omoo* was dedicated to Melville's Uncle Herman Gansevoort, of Ganse-voort, Saratoga County, New York. Both the dedication and the map appeared in the American and the English edition.

I expected to have heard from you by the last steamer (4th Jan.) but have not heard from you.

You may address me at New York "Care of Allan Melville No 10 Wall Street."

34 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
2 FEBRUARY 1847
NEW YORK

My Dear Sir

I sincerely regret that an unforseen circumstance should have prevented me from being at your house at the time appointed. I should have called at some other time during the evening, but I had previously engaged to go the Opera.[1]

I have procured the book you spoke of from the Harpers—& shall find much pleasure in making it the basis of an article for your paper [2]

Yours Very Truly
Herman Melville

Tuesday Morning.

35 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
3 FEBRUARY 1847
NEW YORK

My Dear Uncle

I hear that by the passage of the New Loan Bill [3] a number of additional officers are to be at once created in the Treasury Department at Washington.—I have determined upon going on there, with a view of making an application for one—or, if I do not succeed

1. The opera was Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor,* sung by Ferdinando Beneventano and Clotilde Barili, at Palmo's Opera House (Leyda, *Log,* 234).

2. John Ross Browne, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise, with Notes of a Sojourn on the Island of Zanzibar. To Which Is Appended a Brief History of the Whale Fishery* . . . New York, Harper, 1846. Melville's review, *Literary World, 1* (6 March, 1847), 105–6, reprinted in Thorp, 320–6, was important to the beginning of *Mardi* and provoked an "expostulatory letter" from Browne to his publishers (Davis, 48–50).

3. An act of 28 January, 1847, which authorized an issue by the President of Treasury notes to the amount of $23,000,000, at 6 per cent for government expenses.

in this specific object, to press such claims as I have upon some other point.

I have obtained several strong letters from various prominant persons here to the most influential men at the seat of government.[4] And my purpose in writing you is to obtain from you another letter to Gen: Dix,[5] which would be of great service to me.—As I leave here tomorrow, if you will immediately write & enclose the letter to my address at Washington it will reach me there very shortly after my arrival.—

My best remembrances to my Aunt & cousins, and Beleive Me, Very Sincerely,

Yours
Herman Melville

New York Feb 3d '47

36 TO JOHN ROMEYN BRODHEAD
31 MARCH 1847
NEW YORK

N° 10 Wall Street, New York
March 31st 1847

My Dear Sir—Your letter by the Hibernia of the 3d of March enclosing copies of notes between Mr Murray & yourself & informing me of the sale of "Omoo" was duly received.[6]

4. One of the "influential" men was Secretary of War William L. Marcy, to whom Peter Gansevoort asked Melville to present his respects (Hayford–Davis, 170–1).

5. John Adams Dix (1798–1879), a personal friend of Peter Gansevoort and a senator from New York at this time, was a member of the "Barnburner" or radical faction of the New York Democrats, which was in the midst of a feud with William L. Marcy and the "Hunkers" or conservative wing of the party, over the defeat of Silas Wright for governor of New York. Although Peter Gansevoort wrote Dix and did what he could for Melville, there were only two new Treasury clerkships created and these went to Democrats on the spot and not to an applicant caught up by wrangling factions (Hayford–Davis, 171).

6. Brodhead's letter of 3 March, 1847, is not extant, but his London correspondence over the sale of *Omoo* has survived (Martin), and has been printed in Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect," 242–4. It includes Brodhead's reprimand of the Liverpool customs officer and his negotiations with Murray over the sum to be paid.

You authorise me to draw on you for £144. 3. 4 as the proceeds of the sale.[7] I have accordingly, thro' the house of Plune Ward & Co, drawn bills on you at one day's sight (payable at Barings) for £140—thus deducting from the original sum a small item for the expences you were put to in rescuing from the Vandals of the Liverpool Custom House "The American pirated copy of 'Typee' " [8]—& also to provide for any little outlay which may be occasioned by your granting me a little favor I have yet to beg of you.

The precise pecuniary value of most unpublished works is so uncertain & hard to be estimated (especially, under the circumstances, with respect to my new work) that I hardly (between you & me) know how liberal to consider Mr Murray's offer which you accepted after due consideration.—At any rate, I have a high opinion of his general liberality in these matters;—and, My Dear Sir, you may beleive me, when I assure you, that I have no doubt you have done all that you could do—for which I need hardly add, you have my best & sincerest thanks.[9]

The book will be out here about the 10th or 12th of April.

You may naturally suppose that I have much curiosity to see how "Omoo" will be received by the sagatious Critics of the English press; & as I have not, now, that intimate correspondence with London which I had not very long since, may I beg of you the favor, to have an eye, occasionaly, upon the Reviews, & to cause

7. Murray first offered (26 February) £150 for the book, "payable £100. by note at eight months from the day of publication, & £50. by cheque at 12 months date from the first publication." Three days later, when Murray was informed by Brodhead that Melville wanted to conclude the sale on an immediate cash basis, Murray then offered to pay "at once, on the publication £144..3..4 in cash," thus deducting the customary interest.

8. The proof sheets which had been "wrongfully seized" by the Liverpool customs officer as being "an American reprint of an English Author, entitled *'A Narrative of a voyage to the North Seas, by Melville.'* "

9. On 26 February, Brodhead commented: "I think the terms not liberal enough, & yet I shall have to take them I suppose." The next day Murray convinced him that "so far from Melville's first Book helping the sale of the second, he [Murray] hoped the reverse would be true, for he had not yet sold enough of the first to pay expenses." David Potter, "The Brodhead Diaries, 1846–1849," *Journal of the Rutgers University Library, 11* (December 1947), 23–4.

to be collected & sent me, in their original form, whatever notices may appear of the book.—Mr Miller,[1] I beleive, used to assist my late brother in these matters.—In a letter, which I am just about to address to Mr Murray I am going to request him to put up a package for me of several copies of his edition of the book—& I have taken the liberty to suggest that he might send the same to the office of the Legation to be, thence forwarded to me.—I shall also tell Mr Murray that if there is any thing to be paid, you will attend to it.

Once more, permit me, My Dear Mr Brodhead to tender you my hearty thanks for your friendly agency in my behalf—& to express the hope that I may hear from you whenever your diplomatic engagements admit of epistolary recreation.

With great consideration
& True Regard
I am Yours
Herman Melville.

J Romeyn Brodhead Esq
Secretary of Legation.

37 TO JOHN MURRAY
31 MARCH 1847
NEW YORK

N° 10 Wall Street, New York.
March 31st 1847.

Dear Sir—By the steamer of the 4th Inst Mr Brodhead informed me that he had disposed of the English copyright of "Omoo" to you for £150, subject, however, to a deduction on account of a cash payment.—As Mr Brodhead advises me that the money will be paid over to him on the day of publication (April 1st) I have accordingly (at his suggestion) drawn bills on him at one day's sight. I suppose that this will be all right.—The book will not be out here until about the 10th or 12th of April—thus securing your copyright effectually.

—I trust that the reception which has been predicted for "Omoo" may be verifyed by the event. If it succeed, the two books can not

1. Mr. John Miller, the "Despatch Agent" of the American Legation.

fail to sell together, & thus assist each other. At any rate, I hope that the sagatious Critic of the London Literary Gasette[2] will hereafter abate something of his incredulity. I can assure him, that I am really in existence. Bye the by, will you be so good as to send me the reviews which may appear of "Omoo"—also, if it be not too much trouble, a few copies—say six—of your edition of the book.[3] Mr Brodhead will defray all expences & the package, if you please, may be sent to his care at the office of the Legation, & so come to me by the Despatch Bag. You may likewise enclose in the package, if convenient, some of your monthly circulars announcing the book as forthcoming.—

If "Omoo" succeeds I shall follow it up by something else, immediately.—I trust you will not fail to write me should any thing of interest to me turn up.

With Sincere Regard
Beleive Me, Dear Sir
Yours
Herman Melville

Mr John Murray
Albemarl[e] Street.

38 TO EDWIN CROSWELL[4]
2 APRIL 1847
NEW YORK

10 Wall Street, New York.
April 2nd, 1847

My Dear Sir—

After considerable delay I have completed arrangements for the simultaneous publication of a new work in this country and in

2. The London *Literary Gazette* (12 December, 1846), good-humoredly reproved reviewers for treating *Typee* as "real and authentic" and by way of apology for not "noticing this clever and entertaining production" invited Melville "to dine with us on the 1st of April next: we intend to ask only a small party,—Messrs. Crusoe, Sinbad, Gulliver, Munchausen, and perhaps Pillet, Thiers, Kohl, and a few others."

3. A note on the letter indicates that six copies were sent to Melville through Wiley and Putnam.

4. Edwin Croswell (1797–1871), one of the original "Albany Regency," was at this time editor of the Albany *Argus* and was the State Printer. Gansevoort

England. I will direct to be sent to your address this day from the office of publication a number (marked 'private' of the 'Literary World') announcing in an advertisement the book as forthcoming. Glance at the advertisement, if you please, and do me the honor of saying something, editorially, in your paper. Mr. Murray (who has purchased the copyright for England) speaks of the book in a very high strain of compliment in a note to Mr. Brodhead of the Legation. But he paid the work a still better and more satisfactory compliment in the offer he made for it. With high consideration and true regard, Believe me,

Yours,
Herman Melville

39 TO HARPER BROTHERS
23? or 30? APRIL 1847
NEW YORK

Dear Sir—Will you put up a couple of bound copies of Omoo for the bearer—of course they are ready by this time [5]

Yours Truly
Herman Melville

Friday morning.

Melville had sent copies of English reviews of *Typee* to Croswell as well as to his younger associate and Gansevoort's close friend, William E. Cramer. Melville was repeating this procedure in advertising his new work.

5. These were copies intended either for close friends and relatives or reviewers. Although Melville expected Harper to publish *Omoo* on 10 or 12 April and announcements appeared then that the book was "just ready," the publication date was delayed and became a matter of some entertainment. *Yankee Doodle* announced (10 April): "IMPORTANT IF TRUE—MR. HERMAN MELVILLE's forthcoming work, Omoo." Advance extracts did not appear until 24 April and the book itself was not announced as "now ready" until 1 May.

TO AUGUSTUS PLATT VAN SCHAICK[6]
26 APRIL 1847
NEW YORK

40

New York April 26, 1847

My Dear Augustus

Topping[7] told me the other day that a ship was about to sail for Rio to day or tomorrow—& thereupon I gave orders to the Harpers to prepare a copy of my new work for you in anticipation of the day of regular publication.—I now take great pleasure in sending it to you & trust its perusal may afford you some pleasure.[8]

When I was last in Lansingburgh Cousin Maria[9] read me a considerable portion of one of your last letters & I was much pleased to see that you had by no means lost that pleasantry of humor you had when here—From this I infer that you are not quite cast-down & indeed I think you have no reason to be, seeing that the beautiful

6. Augustus Platt Van Schaick (1822–1847), the son of Gerard and Araminta Platt Van Schaick, and the grandson of John Gerritse Van Schaick, brother to Melville's grandmother, was Melville's second cousin. After graduating from Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in 1839, he worked as an engineer, as Melville wanted and failed to, on the Erie Canal, and on the Troy and Schenectady Railroad. For a period he was a grain-dealer in Lansingburgh. As early as April 1846 Augusta Melville noted how miserable he was looking and feared that his constitution could not stand the voyage to China he was reported to be planning for his health. He went to Rio de Janeiro instead and died at sea 10 September, 1847, on his way home. He is said to have been "the author of many figurative pieces, descriptive, religious, and humorous," and a surviving letter reveals some talent for writing, but there is no record of published work, though it may have appeared, like Melville's juvenilia, in the Lansingburgh or other local papers. See Cuyler Reynolds, *Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memoirs* (New York, 1911), *3*, 994; *Biographical Record of the Officers and Graduates of the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 1824–1886*, ed. Henry B. Nason (Troy, 1887), 236–7; Augusta Melville to Catharine Van Schaick, 6 April, 1846, and Augustus P. Van Schaick to Catharine Van Schaick, 16 June, 1843, in Van Schaick-Baldwin-Walter Papers, New York State Library.

7. Unidentified.

8. On p. 4 of the letter is the acknowledgment: "Herman Melville with copy of 'Omoo' Recd July 6. 47 per,[?] 'Z. Ring' Ans[d] July 6. 47—"

9. Augustus' aunt, Maria Van Schaick Peebles (1782–1865), sister of Gerard Van Schaick. She married Gerrit Peebles (d. 1841) in 1820.

climate of Rio must reinvigorate you & make you a robust fellow after all. That this will prove to be the case is my sincere & fervent wish. If you will take the advice of one who loves you you will keep up a valiant heart—Nil Desperendum—So as to come back to us again & send a challenge across the water to fight Bendigo for the Champion's Belt of all England.[1]—All whom I see desire much happiness for you & send regard

With true regard
I am yours
Herman Melville

41 TO AUGUSTUS PLATT VAN SCHAICK
11 JUNE 1847
LANSINGBURGH

Lansingburgh / June 11th '47

My Dear Fellow—I have but time to write you a single line—I hear that young Storer [2] leaves to day for New York.—Cousin Maria read me [a] good part of your last letter home.[3] I was much amused with your account of the delightfully according terms upon which you lived with your invalid friend. I have heard many of your letters read—& your descriptions & the names of various localities you mention are quite familiar to me. Preya Grande &c &c.—Rio harbor you must certainly confess the most glorious sheet of water in the universe. As a sailor "I can not sufficiently admire it."

—What think you of tropical climes My Dear Augustus? But you are a little too far South (on the very border indeed of the South Temperate Zone) to feel the full general warmth of the Torrid Zone—I envy you your retreat in the country, tho I must acknowledge that if you had an acquaintance—a countryman—to

1. "Bendigo" was the English fighter William Thompson (1811–1880) of Nottingham, who on 9 September 1846, won a 93-round bout and the champion's belt from Benjamin Gaunt.

2. Most probably a son of Captain George Washington Storer, mentioned below, and perhaps the midshipman Robert B[lount?] Storer, who died at sea, 4 July 1847 (*General Navy Register, 1775–1900*).

3. The letters from Augustus also encouraged Helen Melville to open a correspondence with him (see Helen Melville to Augustus Van Schaick, Lansingburgh, 11 June, 1847, in Leyda, *Log*, 247).

accompany you in your excursions you would find <it> still more pleasant. You will no doubt, hail with extreme joy the arrival of a friend from Lansingburgh in the person of the gruff Captain's son.[4]—Pray write me without fail & beleive me

With earnest prayers for your recovery
Very Faithfully
Herman Melville

42 TO RICHARD BENTLEY[5]
19 JUNE 1847?
NEW YORK

New York June 19th

Dear Sir—I am much obliged to you for your note of the 17 ult: and its friendly overtures;[6] and I regret that at present I am not at liberty to meet them—a partial understanding with another publisher forbidding.[7]

—Should any thing occur, however, to alter my present views

4. The "gruff" Captain is George Washington Storer (1789–1864), born at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, who married Mary S. Blount and had four children, one of whom may have been the Robert B. Storer above. He was commissioned a captain 9 February, 1837, commanded the receiving ship *Constellation* (Boston, 1839), the *Potomac* (Brazil station, 1840–42), was stationed at the navy yard, Portsmouth (1843–46), and was appointed Commander in Chief of the Brazil squadron (1847–50) at exactly the time of this letter. He was retired in 1862 with the rank of Rear Admiral and died 8 January, 1864. See Malcolm Storer, *Annals of the Storer Family* . . . (Boston, 1927), p 56.

5. Richard Bentley (1794–1871), born in London, joined his brother Samuel in a printing business in 1819, became a partner of Henry Colburn in 1829 in a publishing business, and after Colburn's retirement in 1832 remained as head of the firm at New Burlington Street, London. Besides publishing Dickens, Cooper, Longfellow, and others, Bentley issued a popular series entitled Standard Novels.

6. The letter of 17 May, 1847, the first letter in a correspondence that was to eventuate in the publication of *Mardi, Redburn, White-Jacket,* and *Moby Dick,* is unlocated. For the dating see below, textual note, p. 330.

7. John Murray, to whom Melville wrote (31 March) when *Omoo* was published that he would "follow it up by something else, immediately" (Letter 37, above).

and arrangements, I will not fail to write you; or perhaps, communicate with you thro' the agency of a friend.

Yours Very Truly
Herman Melville

Richard Bentley Esq.

P.S. If you see fit, I would be obliged to you, if you would inform me at what value you would hold the English copy right of a new work of South Sea adventure, by me, occupying entirely fresh ground.

H. M.

I would receive such a communication [8] in confidence, as, of course, you receive this.

43 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
10? OR 31? JULY 1847
NEW YORK

My Dear Sir

Day before yesterday I received your friendly note & the paper with frankincense enclosed.[9] Upon my soul, Duyckinck, these English are a sensible people. Indeed to confess the truth, when I compare their reception of Omoo in particular, with its treatment here,[1] it begets ideas not very favorable to one's patriotism. But this is almost being too frank.

Your note should have received an answer sooner—but my associations just now, touch much upon my personal liberty.[2]

With pleasure I comply with your invitation to call upon you—will you be in this evening? for I meditate a visit.

Yours Truly
Herman Melville

Saturday Morning.

8. No correspondence between Bentley and Melville has been located after this letter until Melville's letter of 3 April, 1849.

9. One of the early English reviews of *Omoo,* probably the notice in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (June 1847), which was widely quoted in American papers and received considerable attention from Melville and his family.

1. The unfavorable review in the *Evangelist* (27 May) and G. W. Peck's severe attack in the *American Review* (July).

2. Preparations for his wedding on 4 August.

TO LEMUEL SHAW
6 AUGUST 1847
44 CENTRE HARBOR

Friday Morning
My Dear Sir. At my desire Lizzie has left a small space for a word or two.[3]—We arrived here last evening after a pleasant ride from Franklin the present terminus of the Northern Rail Road. The scenery was in many places very fine, & we caught some glimpses of the mountain region to which we are going. Centre-Harbor where we now are is a very attractive place for a tourist, having the lake for boating & trouting, & plenty of rides in the vicinity, besides Red-Hill, the view from which is said to be equal to any thing of the kind in New England. A rainy day however, has thus far prevented us from taking an excursion, to enjoy the country.—To morrow, I think we shall leave for Conway [4] & thence to M[t] Washington. & so to Canada.—I trust in the course of some two weeks to bring Lizzie to Lansingburgh, quite refreshed & invigorated from her rambles.—Remember me to Mrs Shaw & the family, & tell my Mother that I will write to her in a day or two.

Sincerely Yours
Herman Melville

Letters directed, within four or five days from now, will probably reach us at Montreal or Quebec[.]

TO JOHN MURRAY
45 29 OCTOBER 1847
NEW YORK

New York Oct: 29[th] 1847.
Dear Sir—I beleive we have not communicated since Omoo was published. I have therefore to express to you my gratification at the reception it has been honored with in England. But I can hardly conceal my surprise & diversion[?] at the solemn incredulity respecting the author which would seem to obtain so widely.—

3. Melville's note is added to Elizabeth Melville's letter to Hope Savage Shaw, written from Center Harbor, New Hampshire, on Lake Winnipesaukee.

4. Conway is on the Saco River, north and east of Center Harbor, New Hampshire.

Old Maga [5]—God bless his cocked hat!—shakes his venerable head sagatiously, notwithstanding his keen relish for the humorous. Verily, could he survey the portly figure & substantial Dutch bearing of "mine honored Uncle" he would, perforce, confess that a little flesh & blood entered into the composition of my "avuncular relative"—whom Heaven preserve!—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.

—In anticipation of any movement on my part, I have recently received overtures from a house in London [6] concerning the prospective purchase of the English copyright of a third book. From this house the offer would be a liberal one, I am confident. But I have declined trammeling myself in any way—&, from considerations of courtesy, address you now, to learn what you may feel disposed to offer in advance for the book in question.—The signal success of two books, & other considerations peculiar to the case, leave little doubt as to the success of a third:—a fact evidenced by the overtures I have received.—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.

—I can not say certainly when the book will be ready for the press—but probably the latter part of the coming Spring—perhaps later—possibly not until Fall—but by that time, certainly.—However, I am very desirous of arranging for the sale of the book *now*, (since I perceive it can be done) so as to preclude delay when the M.S. is in readiness.——Permit me, here, frankly to say, that I was disappointed at the pecuniary value you set upon "Omoo"— tho' from the circumstances of the negotiation, I could not very well—or very courtiously to my friend M[r] Brodhead—express my

5. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (June 1847). Although humorously skeptical of the authenticity of *Omoo* and of "the reality of Mr Melville's avuncular relatives," especially "Uncle Gansevoort," the reviewer considered the book "excellent, quite first-rate, the 'clear grit,' as Mr. Melville's countrymen would say."

6. Perhaps Richard Bentley, the London firm that published *Mardi*.

disappointment at the time.—Surely, if the probable sale of Omoo in England is to be estimated by the notices of it which have appeared there, & also by its known sale *here,* you can not be surprised, that to say the least, the book in my estimation brought less than it has proved to be worth, in a merely business point of view.—Under the circumstances I can hardly say with Shylock that "I am content" [7]—nor would it be a happy allusion, while thus upon money matters, likening myself to a Jew.—Nevertheless, in the sale of the book—Omoo—there was no reservation for the benefit of the author as in "Typee"—unless there was one in your own mind—I have therfore nothing further to say on the subject.——Now that it strikes me, do you not think that a third book would prove more remunerative to both publisher & author, if got up independent of your library, in a different style, so as to command, say, double the price. Afterwards it might be incorporated into your series of cheap books—a mere suggestion, which may go for what it is worth.

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.

Yours, My Dear Sir, Very Truly
Herman Melville

John Murray Esq.

46 TO JOHN MURRAY
1 JANUARY 1848
NEW YORK

New York Jan: 1st '48

Dear Sir—I duly received your letter of the 3d ult: and am obliged to you for the frankness of its tenor. The arrangement you propose for my next book is not altogether satisfactory to me.[8] At the least, I should want the advance doubled.—I do not think—

7. *Merchant of Venice,* IV. i. 394.

8. John Murray's letter of 3 December, 1847, gave a realistic accounting of the sales of *Typee* and *Omoo* and offered 100 guineas on publication and one-half the profits from sales of the new work (Davis, 60–1).

permit me to say—that you can very well judge of the merits of the work in question—Very naturally indeed, you may be led to imagine that after producing two books on the South Seas, the subject must necessarily become somewhat barren of novelty. But the plan I have pursued in the composition of the book now in hand, clothes the whole subject in new attractions & combines in one cluster all that is romantic, whimsical & poetic in Polynusia. It is yet a continuous narrative. I doubt not that—if it makes the hit I mean it to—it will be counted a rather bold aim; <& its authentic> but nevertheless, it shall have the right stuff in it, to redeem its faults, tho' they were legion. All This to be sure, is confidential—& egotistical—decidedly the latter.

Upon the whole, allow me to suggest, that possibly, you may not form as high an idea of the book *now,* as you may, when you see it.

And therefore, unless something unforseen occurs, I may decide to allow the whole matter to rest where it is. And without seeking the *direct* offers of any other London publisher, wait till the book is completed—then forward it to you, & see whether your offer is not increased by the sight—materially. Thus much is due to you in courtesy, & I will cheerfuly do as I say should nothing intervene. But should your views of the book, not coincide with mine in reference to its pecuniary value, of course, I shall then pursue such other course as may seem advisable.

In Some Haste
Very Truly Yours, Dear Sir
Herman Melville

John Murray Esq
Albemarle Street.

47 TO WILEY AND PUTNAM
12 FEBRUARY 1848
NEW YORK

Saturday Feb 12th

Gentlemen

I have recd your account—but have had no time to examine it; & I see that it is "subject to corrections"

—You will have the goodness to pay over to my brother the balance due as appears from the acc[t] for which he will give you a receipt on account.—If you can not pay me the cash deducting three months interest which I should prefer; I suppose you will give me your note at 3 mos frm Jan[y] 1[st]

Yours Truly
Herman Melville

If you settle by note please have the note payable to my brother's order.[9]

H. M.

48 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
8 MARCH 1848
NEW YORK

Wednesday Morning

My Dear Duyckick

If you happen to be disengaged this evening, come round and make up a rubber of whist—about ½ past seven.[1]

Yours Truly
Herman Melville

49 TO JOHN MURRAY
25 MARCH 1848
NEW YORK

New York March 25[th] 1848

My Dear Sir—Nothing but a sad failing of mine—procrastination—has prevented me from replying ere this to yours of the 17 Jan[y] last, which I have just read over.[2]—Will you still continue,

9. When Allan Melville presented this note, John Wiley wrote Melville a check for $154.37 (see below, textual note, p. 332).

1. In a letter to George Duyckinck, 9–10 March, 1848 (NYPL-D), Evert Duyckinck commented: "Melville the other night brought me a few chapters of his new book which in the poetry and wildness of the thing will be ahead of Typee & Omoo. I played the longest rubber of whist last night at his house I ever encountered. It was like his calm at sea—in the new book. What a punishment for a gambler in the next world—an interminable game of whist.—"

2. John Murray's letter of 17 January, 1848, has not been located.

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 Melvill still practices upon your honest credulity?—Have a care, I pray, lest while thus parleying with a ghost you fall upon some horrible evel, peradventure sell your soul ere you are aware.—But in tragic phrase "no more!" [3]—only glancing at the closing sentence of your letter, I read there your desire to test the corporeality of H—M—by clapping eyes upon him in London.—I beleive that a letter I wrote you some time ago—I think my last but one [4]—gave you to understand, or implied, that the work I then had in view was a bona-vide narrative of my adventures in the Pacific, continued from "Omoo"—My object in now writing you—I should have done so ere this—is to inform you of a change in my determinations. To be blunt: the work I shall next publish will <be> in downright earnest [be] a "Romance of Polynisian 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 Polynisia 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.—However, I thought, that I would postpone trying my hand at any thing fanciful of this sort, till some future day: tho' at times when in the mood I threw off occasional sketches applicable to such a work.—Well: proceeding in my narrative of *facts* I began to feel an incurible distaste for the same; & a longing to plume my pinions for a flight, & felt irked, cramped & fettered by plodding along with dull common places,—So suddenly standing [abandoning?] the thing alltogether, I went to work heart & soul at a romance which is now in fair progress, since I had worked at it under an earnest ardor.—Shout not, nor exclaim "Pshaw! Puh!"—My romance I assure you is no dish water nor its model borrowed from

3 *Hamlet*, III. i. 61.

4. Letter 45, above, 29 October, 1847.

the Circulating Library. It is something new I assure you, & original if nothing more. But I can give you no adequate idea, of it. You must see it for yourself.—Only forbear to prejudge it.—It opens like a true narrative—like Omoo for example, on ship board—& the romance & poetry of the thing thence grow continually, till it becomes a story wild enough I assure you & with a meaning too.

—As for the policy of putting forth an acknowledged *romance* upon the heel of two books of travel which in some quarters have been recvd with no small incredulity—That, Sir, is a question for which I care little, really.—My *instinct* is to out with the Romance, & let me say that instincts are prophetic, & better than acquired wisdom—which alludes remotely to your experience in literature as an eminent publisher.—Yet upon the whole if you consider the thing, I think you will unite with me in the opinion, that it is possible for me to write such a romance, that it shall afford the strongest presumptive evidence of the truth of Typee & Omoo by the sheer force of contrast—not that the Romance is to sink in the comparison, but shall be better—I mean as a literary acheivement, & so essentially different from those two books.—But not to multiply words about it, I shall forward the proof sheets to you, & let you judge of it for yourself, for I have the utmost confidence in you.—Supposing that you should decide to undertake the publication of this work;—if you rec^{d} the sheets by the middle of July next, could you have it out in thirty days from that time? And would you, under the circumstances, deem it advisable to publish at that season of the year,—bearing in mind, that there are reasons that operate with me to make as early a publication as possible, a thing of much pecuniary importance with me?—If you say *yea* to these questions, then I think I should be ready to propose the following arrangement:—that upon the receipt of the sheets & your decision to publish, you substitute £150 for the 100 guineas set down in your letter of Dec ^{3d} '47—forwarding upon publication the former sum, & agreeing to pay me ½ the profits of all future editions (should there be any) when *all* expences of outlay on your part shall have been defraid by the book itself; & remitting some specific memorandum to that effect, in case of accidents.—If upon the receipt of the sheets you should agree to this, then without waiting to communicate with

me, you might consider the matter closed at once & proceed to business at once;—only apprising me immediately of the very earliest day upon which I could publish here. This would save time. In your next, will you point out the safest method of forwarding to you my book; seeing that Omoo met with such adventures at your atrocious Custom Houses

—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 Waverly Novels, tho every digit may have been in the tar-bucket?—You make miracles of what are common-places to us.—I will give no evidence—Truth is mighty & will prevail—& shall & must.

In all sincerity Yours
Herman Melville.

50 TO JOHN MURRAY
19 JUNE 1848
NEW YORK

New York June 19th

My Dear Sir—Yours of the 20th May last was duly received.[5] And I should apologise for so long postponing a reply.—In spite of the Antarctic tenor of your epistle, 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.—By this mail I purposed sending you one or two original documents, evidencing the incredible fact, that I have actually been a common sailor before the mast, in the Pacific. But most unfortunately, this morning I am unable to lay hand on the most important of the documents alluded to.[6] It has been mislaid. But with the rest I will remit it to you as soon as I recover it.

Beleive Me My Dear Sir
Yours Trly
Herman Melville

5. John Murray's letter of 20 May, 1848, has not been located.

6. Probably an affidavit from the owners of the *Acushnet* which Melville had sought almost two years earlier (see Letter 26, above).

John Murray Esq.
Albemarle Street.

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.

H. M.

51 TO WILEY AND PUTNAM [7]
19 AUGUST 1848
NEW YORK

John Wiley Esq or
Wiley & Putnam.

The terms of the agreement by which Typee is published by your house containing the proviso that sixty days notice proceeding from either party to the agreement may at any time at the expiration of the sixty days be terminated, I hereby give you such notice to take effect from this date. At the expiration of the sixty days I will be obliged to you for a full account to that date of all matters growing out of the above mentioned agreement

Yours &c
H. Melville

New York 19. Aug 1848.

52 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
14? NOVEMBER 1848
NEW YORK

Tuesday Morning

What the deuce does it mean?—Here's a book positively turned wrong side out, the title page on the cover, an index to the whole in more ways than one.[8]—I open at the beginning, & find myself

7. A note drawn up by Allan Melville but signed by Melville.

8. Here and in the following passage Melville accurately summarizes the general order and digressiveness of Joseph C. Hart's *The Romance of Yachting: Voyage the First,* New York, Harper, 1848. The book was reviewed in the *Literary World* (2 December, 1848), with some of Melville's phrases from this letter appearing gratuitously (Thorp, 429).

in the middle of the Blue Laws & Dr. O'Callaghan.[9] Then proceeding, find several extracts from the Log Book of Noah's Ark—Still further, take a hand at three or four bull fights, & then I'm set down to a digest of all the commentors on Shakspeare, who, according "to our author" was a dunce & a blackguard—Vide passim.[1]

Finally the books—so far as this copy goes—wind up with a dissertation on Duff Gordon Sherry & St Anthony's Nose, North River.[2]—

You have been horribly imposed upon, My Dear Sir. The book is no book, but a compact bundle of wrapping paper. And as for Mr Hart, pen & ink, should instantly be taken away from that unfortunate man, upon the same principle that pistols are withdrawn from the wight bent on suicide.

—Prayers should be offered up for him among the congrega-

9. In his first two chapters Hart discusses generally the advantages of Knickerbocker New York over Puritan New England, including a contrast between the municipal privileges of New York and the restrictive Puritan laws of New England (a "disgrace" to the age) and cites as authority "Dr. O'Callaghan, an able historian of New-York." This was Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan (1797–1880), physician and historian, whose study of the Dutch land grants in the Albany anti-rent disputes led to the *History of New Netherland*, 2 vols. 1846–48.

1. After introducing the reader to "yachting" as the "true Dolce far Niente," Hart presents a "Log" of his voyage to Spain aboard the *J. Doolittle Smith*. Then, in the chapter "Yachting to Port St. Mary," he describes three "Bull Fyttes" and among other digressions discusses the failure of English commentators in their attempt to build Shakespeare's reputation.

2. From the title, "Voyage the First," Melville assumes a second volume or book, but ends his summary with chapter 16. There Hart describes his visit at festival time to "the land of Sherry," the "Pasada of St. Mary's" and the vaults of "Duff Gordon," where "St. Mary keeps the keys; and Duff Gordon is the custodier, the porter of Paradise, resident among the church-militant at Port St. Mary." This is immediately followed by a title heading, "ST. ANTHONY'S NOSE" and a digressive section ("But of that more anon.") which describes a steersman, "Antonio," and the agreement of Hart and his companions to meet again "on top of *St. Anthony's nose,* upon the Hudson· And while astride of that fine and striking resemblance to his eminent proboscis" to "crack a bottle of righteous Sherry from the foundation butt of St. Peter, in honor of St. Antonio the immaculate . . ."

tions. and Thanksgiving Day postponed untill long after his "book" is published. What great national sin have we committed to deserve this infliction?

—Seriously, Mr Duyckincke, on my bended knees, & with tears in my eyes, deliver me from writing ought 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 asafetida, & by the hand that wrote it.

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

Yours Sincerely

H. M.

53 TO JOHN MURRAY
28 JANUARY 1849
NEW YORK

New York January 28th 1849

My Dear Sir:

Herewith you will receive the sheets of "Mardi."[3] After full consideration, I must explicitly state, that I can hardly consent to dispose of the book for less than 200 <pounds> guineas, in advance, on the day of publication, & half the profits of any editions which may be sold after the book shall have paid for itself—of course, including the outlay of the 200 <pounds> guineas[4]— Upon these terms should you feel disposed to undertake it, I

3. Augusta Melville wrote on 27 January: "The last proof sheets are through. 'Mardi's' a book. . . . 'Ah my own Koztanza! child of many prayers.' Oro's blessing on thee." Ten days later Allan Melville sent the proof sheets to John Murray with a covering letter and also "duplicates" to John R. Brodhead (Davis, 97–8).

4. By substituting "guineas" for "pounds," Melville requests more than double Murray's original offer of 3 December, 1847, and registers his confidence that his reputation has reached the status of "guinea author."

should feel exceedingly gratified to continue our connection, & should equally regret to be obliged to leave you.—Should you publish, you will, of course, write me at once formally notifying your acceptance of the terms; stating the earliest day upon which publication could take place here without interfering with your interests; & authorizing me to draw on you for the above-mentioned sum.

It would form part of an agreement, also, that your edition is to be an exact transcript of the copy forwarded you;—unless, you should see fit to alter the spelling of a few words (spelt according to Webster) in conformity with some other standard.—I swear by no particular creed in orthography; but my printers here "go for" Webster.[5]—I would here beg to remind you of your own suggestion:—that it would be advisable to publish the book in handsome style, & independently of any series.—Unless you should deem it *very* desirable do not put me down on the title page as "the author of Typee & Omoo." I wish to separate *"Mardi"* as much as possible from those books.[6]

Should you decline publication, I trust you will loose no time in placing the sheets of the book into Mr Brodhead's hands, at the "United States Legation"

I earnestly hope that we shall join hands in this matter.

Sincerely Yours
H. Melville.

John Murray, Esq.

54 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
24 FEBRUARY 1849
BOSTON

Feb 24th

Dear Duyckinck

Thank you for satisfying my curiosity. Mr Butler's a genius, but between you & me, I have a presentiment that he never will sur-

5. Melville bought two copies of Webster's *Dictionary* (on 10 April, 1847, and 16 November, 1848).

6. John Murray had agreed a year earlier with Melville's objections to the "cheap" form of publication used for *Typee* and *Omoo* and had then offered to print the next time in a more expensive format (Davis, 61).

prise me more.[7]—I have been passing my time very pleasurably here,[8] But cheifly in lounging on a sofa (a la the poet Grey)[9] & reading Shakspeare. It is an edition[1] 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 moment Shakspeare in heaven ranks with Gabriel Raphael and Michael. And if another Messiah ever comes twill be in Shakesper's person.—I am mad to think how minute a cause has prevented me hitherto from reading Shakspeare. But until now, every copy that was come-atable 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.[2] Say what they will, he's a great man. Mrs Butler too I have heard at her Readings.[3] She makes a glorious Lady Macbeth, but her Desdemona

7. Melville refers to William Allen Butler (1825–1902), a brilliant New York lawyer and a member of the "Knights of the Round Table." His column, "The Colonel's Club," had been running for two years in the *Literary World.* Later Butler wrote witty satirical poems and unsuccessful novels, as well as memorial biographies of Evert Duyckinck, Samuel Tilden, and Martin Van Buren, but Melville's estimate of his power to surprise is accurate: William Allen Butler, *A Retrospect of Forty Years,* New York, 1911.

8. The home of Judge Shaw on Mount Vernon Street, Boston, where Malcolm Melville had been born on 16 February.

9. Probably Thomas Gray (1716–1771). Melville was doubtless thinking of Gray's self-confessed "spirit of laziness" and "indolence" when he was at Cambridge: Thomas Gray to Dr. Wharton, 11 Dec., 1746, and 25 April and 8 August, 1749, in *Correspondence of Thomas Gray,* ed. Paget Toynbee and Leonard Whibley (Oxford, 1935), *1,* 255, 317, 322.

1. *The Dramatic Works of William Shakespeare . . .* (7 vols. Boston, Hilliard, Gray, 1837), extensively scored and annotated (HCL-M).

2. On 5 February Melville attended one of the course of five lectures Emerson was then delivering on "Mind and Manners in the Nineteenth Century" at the Freeman Place Chapel on Beacon Street.

3. On 12 and 19 February Melville went to the readings of *Macbeth* and *Othello* given by Fanny Kemble Butler (1809–1893), daughter of the English actor Charles Kemble, and herself a celebrated Shakespearean actress. Pierce

seems like a boarding school miss.—She's so unfemininely masculine that had she not, on unimpeckable authority, borne children, I should be curious to learn the result of a surgical examination of her person in private. The Lord help Butler—not the poet—I marvel not he seeks being amputated off from his matrimonial half.

My respects to Mrs Duycknk & your brother [4]

Yours
H Melville

Evert A Duycknk Esq

55 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
3 MARCH 1849
BOSTON

Mount Vernon Street Saturday, 3d.

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. Swear he is a humbug—then is he no common humbug. Lay it down that had not Sir Thomas Browne [5] lived, Emerson would not have mystified—I will answer, that had not Old Zack's father begot him, Old Zack would never have been the hero of Palo Alto.[6] The truth is that we are all sons, grandsons, or nephews or great-nephews of those who go before us. No one is his own sire.—I was very agreeably disappointed in Mr Emerson. I had heard of him as full of tran-

Butler's successful attempt to divorce her for abandonment was a *cause célèbre* in 1848–49.

4. The first reference among these letters to George Long Duyckinck. For a biographical note see below, p. 191, n. 7.

5. Melville borrowed from Duyckinck's library in February 1848 two volumes of Thomas Browne, *Works* (4 vols. London, William Pickering, 1835–36), and was certainly familiar with the *Religio Medici* and *Vulgar Errors*.

6. Zachary Taylor (1784–1850) defeated a Mexican force three times the size of his own at Palo Alto in 1846. Melville had written seven comic articles entitled "Authentic Anecdotes of 'Old Zack.'" for *Yankee Doodle* (24 July to 11 September 1847). Two days after Melville wrote this letter Taylor was inaugurated as twelfth president of the United States.

scendentalisms, myths & oracular gibberish; I had only glanced at a book of his once in Putnam's store [7]—that was all I knew of him, till I heard him lecture.—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, instinctuly perceptible. This I see in M[r] 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.—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; & if he dont attain the bottom, why, all the lead in Galena [8] can't fashion the plumet that will. I'm not talking of M[r] Emerson now—but of the whole corps of thought-divers, that have been diving & coming up again with bloodshot eyes since the world began.

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. And this pulling down is easy enough—a keg of powder blew up Block's Monument [1]—but the man who applied the match, could not, alone, build such a pile to save his soul from the shark-maw of the Devil. But enough of this Plato who talks thro' his nose. To one of your habits of thought, I confess that in my last, I seemed, but only *seemed* irreverent. And do not think, my boy, that because I, impulsively broke forth in jubillations <at discovering> over Shakspeare, that, therefore, I am of the number of the *snobs* who burn their tuns of rancid fat at his shrine. No, I would stand afar off & alone, & burn some pure Palm oil, the product of some overtopping trunk.

—I would to God Shakspeare had lived later, & promenaded in Broadway. Not that I might have had the pleasure of leaving my card for him at the Astor, or made merry with him over a

7. The bookshop of G. P. Putnam and Co., 155 Broadway, New York.

8. Galena, Illinois, where Melville visited his Uncle Thomas in the summer of 1840, was famous for its lead mines.

1. Unidentified.

bowl of the fine Duyckinck punch; but that the muzzle which all men wore on their souls in the Elizebethan day, might not have intercepted Shakspers full articulations. For I hold it a verity, that even Shakspeare, was not a frank man to the uttermost. And, indeed, who in this intolerant Universe is, or can be? But the Declaration of Independence makes a difference.—There, I have driven my horse so hard that I have made my inn before sundown.[2] I was going to say something more—It was this.—You complain that Emerson tho' a denizen of the land of gingerbread, is above munching a plain cake in company of jolly fellows, & swiging off his ale like you & me. Ah, my dear sir, that's his misfortune, not his fault. His belly, sir, is in his chest, & his brains descend down into his neck, & offer an obstacle to a draught of ale or a mouthful of cake. But here I am. Good bye—

H. M.

56 TO HARPER BROTHERS
26 MARCH 1849
BOSTON

New York. March. 26th 1849.

Messrs. Harper & Brothers.

Gentle.

Mr Bentley who publishes "Mardi" in England having informed me by note dated 5th inst that he proposed to publish that work on the 15th inst nothing can prevent your publishing here immediately—I notify you accordingly

Respct yours
Herman Melville
per Allan Melville[3]

2. Melville saw that he was approaching the end of the page and in order to make his final comments tightened the spacing.

3. Remaining in Boston with his family until 11 April, Melville instructed his brother Allan to write necessary letters for him.

TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
28 MARCH 1849
57 BOSTON

March 28th Boston

Dear Duyckinck—When last in New York, you expressed a desire to be supplied in advance with the sheets of that new work of mine. Yesterday in a note to Cliff Street I requested them to furnish you with the sheets, as ere this they must have been printed. They are for your private eye.[4] I suppose the book will be published now in two or three weeks. Mr Bentley is the man in London.[5]—Rain, Rain, Rain—an interminable rain that to seek elsewhere than in Boston would be utterly vain—Rhyme by Jove, and spontaneous as heart-beating.—This is the Fourth Day of the Great Boston Rain, & 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

58 TO RICHARD BENTLEY
3 APRIL 1849
BOSTON

Boston April 3d 1849

Dear Sir—By the last steamer letters from yourself & Mr Brodhead apprised me of the arrangements having been concluded

4. Duyckinck received the first volume of *Mardi* on 29 March along with a note from J. W. Harper, Jr., saying that Melville wished no extracts to be published in advance "except in the 'Literary World,'" and received the second volume shortly thereafter. On 7, 14, and 21 April he printed substantial extracts in the *Literary World,* pp. 309–10, 333–6, and 351–3. The American edition was published on 14 April, 1849 (Davis, 98–9).

5. When John Murray refused *Mardi* because it was "fiction," John R. Brodhead immediately negotiated the sale of the book to Richard Bentley for 200 guineas, Melville's asking price, and it was published in London, 17 March, 1849, in three volumes.

for the publication of "Mardi." [6] I assure you it is with pleasure that I enter into this connection with you.

As authorised, I have drawn upon you at sixty & ninety days.

I am indebted to you for your frank & friendly letter, & trust you will not fail to write me again, should anything interesting turn up.

Very Truly Yours, Dear Sir,
H Melville

59 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
5 APRIL 1849
BOSTON

Boston April 5th 1849

Dear Duyckinck—Thank you for your note, & the paper which came duly to hand. By the way, that "Smoking Spiritualised" is not bad. Doubtless it has improved by age. The quaint old lines lie in coils like a sailor's pigtail in its keg.[7]

—Ah this sovereign virtue of age—how can we living men attain unto it. We may spice up our dishes with all the condiments of the Spice Islands & Moluccas, & our dishes may be all venison & wild boar—yet how the deuce can we make them a century or two old?—My Dear Sir, the two great things yet to be discovered are these—The Art of rejuvenating old age in men, & oldageifying youth in books.—Who in the name of the trunk-makers would think of reading *Old* Burton were his book published for the first to day?[8]—All ambitious authors should have ghosts capable of revisiting the world, to snuff up the steam of adulation, which begins to rise straightway as the Sexton throws

6. Letters and a Memorandum of Agreement between Brodhead and Bentley (HCL-M) as well as Brodhead's diary reveal the terms of the sale of *Mardi* for 200 guineas (Davis, 97–8).

7. The poem was one of the few secular pieces written by the Reverend Ralph Erskine (1679–1752), whose *Gospel Sonnets* (1720), a kind of versified theology, went through twenty-five editions by 1797. Thorp has shown that Melville's simile aptly describes the verses (Thorp, 430).

8. Melville owned two editions of Robert Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, a selection bought in 1847 and formerly belonging to his father, and a full edition bought in 1848 (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 102, 103).

his last shovelfull on him.—Down goes his body & up flies his name.

Poor Hoffman [9]—I remember the shock I had when I first saw the mention of his madness.—But he was just the man to go mad —imaginative, voluptuously inclined, poor, unemployed, in the race of life distanc[d] by his inferiors, unmarried,—without a port or haven in the universe to make. His present misfortune—rather blessing—is but the sequel to a long experience of unwhole habits of thought.—This going mad of a friend or acquaintance comes straight home to every man who feels his soul in him,—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. What sort of sensation permanent madness is may be very well imagined—just as we imagine how we felt when we were infants, tho' we can not recall it. In both conditions we are irresponsible & riot like gods without fear of fate.—It is the climax of a mad night of revelry when the blood has been transmuted into brandy.—But if we prate much of this thing we shall be illustrating our own propositions.—

I am glad you like that affair of mine.[1] But it seems so long now since I wrote it, & my mood has so changed, that I dread to look into it, & have purposely abstained from so doing since I thanked <g> God it was off my hands.—Would that a man could do something & then say—It is finished.—not that one thing only, but all others—that he has reached his uttermost, & can never exceed it. But live & push—tho' we put one leg forward ten miles —its no reason the other must lag behind—no, *that* must again distance the other—& so we go till we get the cramp & die.—I bought a set of Bayle's Dictionary the other day, & on my return to New York intend to lay the great old folios side by side & go to sleep on them thro' the summer, with the Phaedon in one hand &

9. Charles Fenno Hoffman (1806–1884), a member of Duyckinck's literary and social set and editor of the *Literary World* at a time when Melville was a contributor (May 1847, through September 1848). The magazine noted on 17 March, 1849, that Hoffman had become "deranged." Except for a brief interlude in 1849, Hoffman spent the rest of his life in the state hospital at Harrisburg, Pennsylvania.

1. *Mardi: And a Voyage Thither.*

Tom Brown in the other.[2]—Good bye I'm called.—I shall be in New York next week—early part.

H Melville

60 TO LEMUEL SHAW
23 APRIL 1849
NEW YORK

New York April 23d

My Dear Sir—Mrs Sullivan [3] returns to Boston conveying the intelligence of Lizzie's improving strength, & Malcolm's precocious growth. Both are well.

We all expect Samuel to honor us with his presence during the approaching vacation; [4] and I have no doubt he will not find it difficult to spend his time pleasantly with so many companions.

I see that Mardi has been cut into by the London Atheneum, and also burnt by the common hangman in the Boston Post.[5] However the London Examiner & Literary Gazette; & other papers this side of the water have done differently.[6] These attacks are matters of course, and are essential to the building up of any

2. Although not listed in Duyckinck's notebook of "Books Lent" at this time, Melville may have borrowed Sir Thomas Browne again, as he had in 1848, for he is not known to have bought his own copy until December 1849, when he was in London (Metcalf, *Journal,* 76). Melville's set of Pierre Bayle's *An Historical and Critical Dictionary* has not been located. A new edition of Madame Dacier's translation of Plato's *Phaedon* was advertised in the *Literary World* (17 March, 1849).

3. Mrs. Ellen Sullivan, a domestic in the Shaw household for some time, had been in New York since 10 April to assist Elizabeth with the baby, Malcolm.

4. Samuel Savage Shaw (1833–1915), Elizabeth Melville's half-brother, graduated from the Boston Latin School in the spring of 1849 and entered Harvard University that fall.

5. The review by Henry Fothergill Chorley in the *Athenaeum,* No. 1117 (24 March, 1849), 296–8, considered *Mardi* a "strange book" in which were "mingled many madnesses" compounded of Carlyle, Emerson, and the "vapid philosophy of Mr. Fenimore Cooper's 'Monikins.' " The opening scenes were the only "good pages of this provoking book." The notice in the Boston *Post* (18 April, 1849) considered *Mardi* "not only tedious but unreadable."

6. The London *Examiner,* No. 2148 (31 March, 1849), 195–6, and the London *Literary Gazette,* No. 1679 (24 March, 1849), 202–3. Both of these reviews were ready to accept *Mardi's* departure from its predecessors. The *Examiner* recognized the "sly hits at mortal absurdities" in the conversations of the

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."

I trust that you will be able so to arrange your affairs as to afford us a more lengthened visit this summer than you did last year.

All the family beg to be kindly remembered.

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

61 TO RICHARD BENTLEY
5 JUNE 1849
NEW YORK

New York June 5th 1849

Dear Sir—The critics on your side of the water seem to have fired quite a broadside into "Mardi"; but it was not altogether unexpected.[7] In fact the book is of a nature to attract compliments of that sort from some quarters; and as you may be aware yourself, it is judged only as a work meant to entertain. And I can not but think that its having been brought out in England in the ordinary novel form must have led to the disappointment of many readers, who would have been better pleased with it, perhaps, had

characters and complimented the major digressions in the book as "examples of thoughtful writing, and very extensive reading, much in the manner of Sir Thomas Browne, and with a dash of old Burton and Sterne." The *Literary Gazette* found in the book an "allegorical theme, singularly dressed up with those pieces of scenic and personal description, of which the author is master in regard to this part of the world, and yet allusive (though we must say, to our apprehension, too vaguely) to matters of universal note and the business of life."

7. Besides the reviews in the *Athenaeum* and the *Literary Gazette* (24 March), the early English reviews to which Melville refers included the *Critic, John Bull,* the *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* (all of April), the *Spectator* (21 April), *Sharpe's London Magazine* (15 May), the *Morning Chronicle* (19 May), and the *Illustrated London News* (26 May). Even *Bentley's Miscellany* (April), the publishing house organ, made reservations about the book and could only advise that it was one which "the reader will probably like very much or detest altogether, according to the measure of his imagination."

they taken it up in the first place for what it really is.[8]—Besides, the peculiar thoughts & fancies of a Yankee upon politics & other matters could hardly be presumed to delight that class of gentlemen who conduct your leading journals; while the metaphysical ingredients (for want of a better term) of the book, must of course repel some of those who read simply for amusement.—However, it will reach those for whom it is intended; and I have already received assurances that "Mardi," in its higher purposes, has not been written in vain.[9]

You may think, in your own mind that a man is unwise,—indiscreet, to write a work of that kind, when he might have written one perhaps, calculated merely to please the general reader, & not provoke attack, however masqued in an affectation of indifference or contempt. But some of us scribblers, My Dear Sir, always have a certain something unmanageable in us, that bids us do this or that, and be done it must—hit or miss.

I have now in preparation a thing of a widely different cast from "Mardi":—a plain, straightforward, amusing narrative of personal experience—the son of a gentleman on his first voyage to sea as a sailor—no metaphysics, no conic-sections, nothing but cakes & ale.[1] I have shifted my ground from the South Seas to a different quarter of the globe—nearer home—and what I write I have almost wholly picked up by my own observations under comical circumstances. In size the book will be perhaps a fraction smaller than "Typee"; will be printed here by the Harpers, & ready for them two or three months hence, or before. I value the English Copyright at one hundred & fifty pounds, and think it would be wise to put it forth in a manner, admitting of a popular circulation.[2]

8. A reference to the three-decker style in which *Mardi* was published in England, the orthodox form for popular novels, such as those of James Fenimore Cooper.

9. The "assurances" from reviews in such magazines as the *Literary World,* where Evert Duyckinck spoke favorably of the book.

1. The first known allusion to *Redburn.* In *Mardi,* Babbalanja is rebuked by King Media through the observation, "Away with your logic and conic sections." *Mardi, 2,* 340.

2. When published by Bentley late in September, *Redburn* was larger than *Typee* and appeared in a handsome two-volume edition aimed to attract a popular audience, but Melville received £50 less than he asked.

Write me if you please at your earliest leisure; and as you have not yet sent me any copies of your edition of "Mardi"—(which of course I impute to the fact of the prodigious demand for the book with you)—I will thank you to forward me three copies.[3] A note dropped to my friend Mr Brodhead of the Legation, will be the means of informing you whether he can send them to me in the Despatch Bag. If he cannot, the parcel would reach me by Harnden's Express,—addressed to Care of Allan Melville No 14 Wall Street, New York.

Very Faithfully, Dear Sir,
Herman Melville

Richard Bentley Esq
New Burlington Street.

62 TO RICHARD BENTLEY
20 JULY 1849
NEW YORK

New York July 20th '49

Dear Sir—I am indebted to you for yours of the 20th June.—Your report concerning "Mardi" was pretty much as I expected; but you know perhaps that there are goodly harvests which ripen late, especially when the grain is remarkably strong. At any rate, Mr Bentley, let us by all means lay this flattering unction to our souls,[4] since it is so grateful a prospect to you as a publisher, & to me as an author.—But I need not assure you how deeply I regret that, for any period, you should find this venture of "Mardi" an unprofitable thing for you; & I should feel still more greived, did

3. Melville did not receive copies until he called personally on Bentley in December 1849. Two of these copies have survived: presentation copies to Allan Melville, 2 February, 1850 (NYPL-A) and to Evert Duyckinck, also 2 February, 1850 (NYPL-RB). Melville gave a copy of the American edition to Thomas Powell, June 1849 (HCL-M).

4. The Shakespearean phrase "flattering unction," was used in an English review of *Mardi* and was later used by the *American Review* (September 1849) to explain Melville's failure: "And the particular 'flattering unction' which did the mischief . . . was the astonishment expressed [by English reviewers] that a common sailor should exhibit so much reading and knowledge of literature."

I suppose it was going to eventuate in a positive loss to you.[5] But this can not be in the end.—However, these considerations—all, solely with respect to yourself—prevail upon me to accept your amendment to my overtures concerning my new work:—which amendment, I understand to be this—£100 down on the receipt of the sheets, an account of half profits; & that you shall be enabled to publish a few days previous to the appearance of the book in America—and this, I hereby guarantee.

The work is now going thro' the press, & I think I shall be able to send it to you in the course of three weeks or so.[6] It will readily make two volumes got up in your style, as I have enlarged it somewhat to the size of "Omoo"—perhaps it may be a trifle larger.

Notwithstanding that recent decision of your courts of law, I can hardly imagine that it will occasion any serious infringement of any rights you have in any American book.[7] And ere long, doubtless, we shall have something of an international law—so much desired by all American writers—which shall settle this

5. Bentley's "Profit & Loss" statement (Martin), sent to Melville in March 1852, listed *Mardi* with a deficit of £68.7.6 and Melville's four books, *Mardi, Redburn, White-Jacket,* and *The Whale,* as having at that time a deficit of £453.4.6 and a "Probable eventual loss" of £350.

6. The title of *Redburn* was registered in New York, 18 August, 1849, and soon after, the book was sent to Brodhead for submission to Bentley.

7. Following an Act of Parliament (1844) that empowered Her Majesty by Order in Council to grant copyright for foreigners of countries that agreed to reciprocal copyright, Sir Frederick Pollock ruled in the case of *Boosey* v. *Purday,* 5 June, 1849—*Exchequer Reports* (London, 1851), *4,* 145–58—that no foreigner could gain a copyright in Great Britain by priority of publication. As John Walker wrote Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 22 June, 1849, the court held that "a foreigner cannot . . . convey to *another* that which he is not possessed of; and that Priority of Publication is of no effect in law," but, Walker added, "Priority is . . . of *use* in obtaining the best chance of selling": Clarence Gohdes, "Longfellow and His Authorized British Publishers," *PMLA, 55* (1940), 1167, n. 9. Thus Bentley could reassure James Fenimore Cooper (20 June, 1849) that the "decision of our sapient Sir F[rederick] Pollock declaring that no foreigner had a copyright here . . . shall not interfere with my course of business, for I rely upon the common sense of the matter and the principle of justice"—Robert Spiller and Philip C. Blackburn, *A Descriptive Bibliography of . . . Cooper* (New York, 1934), p. 244—and could write Melville encouraging words on the same day (Bentley to Herman Melville, 20 June, 1849, in Jerman, "More Correspondence," 308–10).

matter upon the basis of justice. The only marvel is, that it does not now exist.[8]

The copies of "Mardi" have not yet come to hand, tho' I sent to the Harnden & Co, to inquire.

Yours Sincerely
H Melville.

Richard Bentley Esq
New Burlington Street

63 TO THE SECRETARY OF THE AMERICAN LEGATION[9]
LONDON
AUGUST 1849
NEW YORK

New York, August

Dear Sir—If this letter is opened by Mr Brodhead, he will be at no loss to know what it means; since, he has most kindly furthered some affairs of mine in London. In the present case, however, *all* I desire, is, that the accompanying parcel for Mr Bentley the publisher, be retained at the Legation, till that gentleman calls or sends for it; which will be immediately; as he is advised of its transmission, & through what channel.—

If, however, Mr Davis[1] should open this letter (and I do not know, exactly, which gentleman will hold the seals at the time it reaches its destination) I have then to beg a favor, of a gentleman, who is personally unacquainted with me.—Will Mr Davis be so kind, as simply to take care of the parcel, & deliver it to Mr Bentley when he calls?

To Mr Brodhead, it would be unnecessary to state, that my

8. Although Melville signed a petition along with Cooper, Bryant, Irving, Putnam, Griswold, and others that was belatedly submitted to the Senate in 1852, the general movement for an international copyright continued unsuccessful to the close of the century: Thorvald Solberg, "International Copyright in Congress, 1837–1886," *Library Journal*, 2 (1886), 250–80.

9. Melville addressed this letter to the office of Secretary of Legation because he knew that John R. Brodhead was to be succeeded by John C. B. Davis, but he did not know when.

1. John Chandler Bancroft Davis (1822–1907), son of Senator John Davis of Massachusetts and nephew of George Bancroft, was Secretary of Legation under Abbott Lawrence, minister to Great Britain, and succeeded John R. Brodhead on 31 August, 1849.

reason for sending the parcel through the Despatch Bag (as in previous cases) is the apprehension, that if forwarded by Express, it would be almost certain of seizure, or protracted detention at the Custom House.

Very Truly
Herman Melville.

The Secretary of the
American Legation
London.

64 TO LEMUEL SHAW
10 SEPTEMBER 1849
NEW YORK

Thursday Sep[t] 10[th]

My Dear Sir—In writing you the other day concerning the letters of introduction, I forgot to say, that could you conveniently procure me one from M[r] Emerson to M[r] Carlyle, I should be obliged to you.[2]

—We were concerned to hear that you were not entirely well, some days ago; but I hope you will bring the intelligence of your better health along with you, when you come here on that promised visit, upon which you set out the day after tomorrow. Lizzie is most anxiously expecting you—but Malcolm seems to await the event with the utmost philosophy.—The weather here at present is exceedingly agreeable—quite cool, & in the morning, bracing.

My best rememberances to Mrs Shaw & all.

Most Sincerely Yours
H Melville

If, besides a letter to M[r] Carlyle, M[r] Emerson could give you *other* letters, I should be pleased.[3] The Board of Health have ceased making reports—the Cholera having almost entirely departed from the city.

2. There is no evidence that Emerson wrote either the letter to Carlyle or any other letters, and Melville did not see Carlyle on his journey.

3. At Shaw's request Edward Everett wrote letters of introduction to Samuel Rogers, Richard Monckton Milnes, and Gustave de Beaumont. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., also supplied one to Edward Moxon. Melville visited with all of these literary figures except Gustave de Beaumont during his stay in London (Metcalf, *Cycle*, 198).

TO LEMUEL SHAW
6 OCTOBER 1849
65 NEW YORK

New York Oct 6th 1849

My Dear Sir—

On Monday or Tuesday next the ship is to sail, and I must bid you the last good-bye.

On looking over the letters of introduction again, I am more than ever pleased with them; & would again thank you for your kindness. A few days ago, by the way, I received a letter of introduction (thro' the post) from Mr Baldwin [4] to his son in Paris.

Lizzie is becoming more reconciled to the idea of my departure, especially as she will have Malcolm for company during my absence. And I have no doubt, that when she finds herself surrounded by her old friends in Boston, she will bear the temporary separation with more philosophy than she has anticipated. At any rate, she will be ministered to by the best of friends.

It is uncertain, now, how long I may be absent; and, of course, my travels will have to be bounded by my purse & by prudential considerations. Economy, however, is my mottoe.

"Redburn" was published in London on the 25th of last month; & will come out here in the course of two weeks or so.[5] The other book I have now in plate-proofs, all ready to go into my trunk.[6]

For Redburn I anticipate no particular reception of any kind. It may be deemed a book of tolerable entertainment;—& 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

4. Possibly Roger Sherman Baldwin (1793–1863), senator from Connecticut from 1847 to 1851 and later governor. Elizabeth Melville's cousin, Ellen Marett Gifford, was a good friend of the Baldwin family and may have procured the letter, but the identification is dubious.

5. Despite Melville's positive assertion, 29 September is the date of publication for *Redburn* in the *List of Principal Publications Issued from New Burlington Street, London, during the Year 1849,* which was the official report of Richard Bentley's firm. The date of publication in the United States was 15 or 16 November (Gilman, 274).

6. The other book is *White-Jacket.*

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.

Mama has quite recovered from her temporary indisposition; & all the family are well. They beg to be most kindly remembered to yourself, & Mrs Shaw, & all. Add my own best rememberances to theirs, and beleive me, My Dear Sir,

Sincerely Yours
H Melville.

Chief Justice Shaw.

If you please, bid Mrs Sullivan good bye for me.

66 TO RICHARD HENRY DANA, JR.[7]
6 OCTOBER 1849
NEW YORK

New York Oct 6th 1849.

My Dear Mr Dana—If I have till now deferred answering your very kind letter by Judge Shaw, it has been only, that I might give additional emphasis to my reply, by leaving it to the eve of my departure. Your letter to Mr Moxon is most welcome.[8] From his connection with Lamb, & what I have chanced to hear of his personal character, he must be a very desirable acquaintance.—Your hint concerning a man-of-war has, in anticipation, been acted on. A printed copy of the book is before me.[1] As it will not appear for

7. Richard Henry Dana, Jr. (1815–1882), whom Lemuel Shaw had introduced to Melville in July 1848, at Shaw's request wrote a letter to Edward Moxon, 12 September, 1849 (Leyda, *Log*, 313).

8. Edward Moxon (1801–1858) had published Dana's *Two Years before the Mast* in London in 1840.

1. The sheets of the American edition of *White-Jacket*, which was to be published in London in January 1850 and in New York in March of the same year.

some two or three months, may I beg of you, that you will consider this communication confidential? The reason is obvious.

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 ship, that he might know something himself of what he shall only read of.—I shall be away, in all probability, for some months after the publication of the book. If it is taken hold of in an unfair or ignorant way; & if you should possibly think, that from your peculiar experiences in sea-life, you would be able to say a word to the purpose—may I hope that you will do so, if you can spare the time, & are generous enough to bestow the trouble?—Your name would do a very great deal; but if you choose to keep that out of sight in the matter, well & good.—Be not alarmed,—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.[2]

Accept my best thanks for your kindness & believe me fraternally Yours—a sea-brother—

H Melville.

Richard H Dana Jr Esq.

A little nursery tale of mine (which, possibly, you may have seen advertised as in press) called "Redburn" is not the book to which I refer above.

67 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
10 OCTOBER 1849
NEW YORK

Wednesday Evening

My Dear Duyckinck

Having taken so dramatic a farewell of my kindred this morning, and finding myself among them again this evening, I feel almost as if I had indeed accomplished the tour of Europe, &

2. There is no record of any public comment from Dana on *White-Jacket*, but he subsequently wrote Melville a letter which praised that book and *Redburn* (see below, Letter 75).

been absent a twelvemonth;—so that I must spend my first evening of arrival at my own fireside. Release me from my promise then, and save what you were going to tell me till tomorrow when we glide down the bay.[3]

Herman Melville.

68–69 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
2 AND 14 DECEMBER 1849
PARIS AND LONDON

Paris Dec 2d 1849

My Dear Mr Duycknk,

I could almost whip myself that after receiving your most kind & friendly letter, I should suffer so long an interval to go by without answering it. But what can you expect of me? I have served persons the nearest to me in like manner. Traveling takes the ink out of one's pen as well as the cash out of one's purse.—Thank you for the papers you sent me.

—The other evening I went to see Rachel—& having taken my place in the *"que"* (how the devel do you spell it?) or tail—& having waited there for full an hour—upon at last arriving at the ticket-box—the woman there closed her little wicket in my face—& so the "tail" was cut off.[4]

—Now my travelling "tail" has been cut off in like manner, by the confounded state of the Copyright question in England. It has prevented me from receiving an immediate supply of cash [5]—I am going home within three weeks or so.—But I have not failed to enjoy myself & learn somewhat, notwithstanding.

Give my best remembrances to your brother. Tell him I stum-

3. After the unexpected delay of a day, Melville sailed for London on 11 October, but rainy weather apparently prevented Duyckinck and others from accompanying him to Sandy Hook as anticipated.

4. Elisabeth-Rachel Félix was a celebrated French tragedienne. Melville recorded in his journal his attempt to see her in *Phèdre* on 1 December, her first appearance in any performance since 13 October. In describing his failure to Duyckinck, Melville's spelling difficulty with "que" may have led him on to the Rabelaisian pun in "little wicket."

5. For the cause of the immediate difficulties over copyright, see above, Letter 62, n. 7. Bentley was himself irritated at the state of the copyright, but he eventually concluded an agreement with Melville on 17 December, enabling Melville to cash a note of £200.

bled upon an acquaintance of his—a book dealer in the Strand. Tell him that Davidson proved a good fellow, & that we took some punch together at the Blue Posts.[6]—Mr Delf I was not so happy as to see when I called there.[7]

But I may see him on my return.

My compliments to Mrs Duyckнck & all your pleasant family, & Beleive me Sincerely yours

H Melville.

London, Dec 14, 49.

My Dear Duyckнck—I meant to send this to you by a Havre packet—but learning more about her—did not. So I have kept the note by me, & send it to you now with a supplement, a sequel, & my "last convictions," which as an author, you will duly value. —I sail hence on the 21st Inst:—and am only detained now by reason of some business.[8] Yesterday being at Mr Bentley's I enquired for his copies of the last "Literary Worlds"—but they had been sent on to Brighton—so I did not see your say about the book Redburn, which to my surprise (somewhat) <has> seems to have been favorably received. I am glad of it—for it puts money into an empty purse.[9] But I hope I shall never write such a book again—Tho' when a poor devil writes with duns all round him, & looking over the back of his chair—& perching on his pen & diving in his inkstand—like the devils about St: Anthony—what can you expect of that poor devil?—What but a beggarly "Redburn!" And when he attempts anything higher—God help him &

6. David Davidson was the London agent of Wiley and Putnam. The "Blue Posts" was in Cork Street. Melville also dined with Davidson at the Mitre Tavern in Fleet Street.

7. Thomas Delf, to whom Evert Duyckinck had written a letter of introduction for Melville, was an export bookdealer at 16 Little Britain Street, London. This is possibly the same Thomas Delf (1810–1865) who published, under the pseudonym of "Charles Martel," two books on art: *The Principles of Colouring in Painting* (1855) and *Principles of Form in Ornamental Art* (1856); trans. M. E. Chevreul, *The Principles of Harmony and Contrast of Colours* (3d ed. 1859); he also edited *Love Letters of Eminent Persons* (2d ed. 1859) and wrote a novel, *Henry Arden* (1866) that was published posthumously.

8. The sale of *White-Jacket* to Bentley.

9. See Iago's repetition of the phrase, "Put money in thy purse," *Othello*, I. iii.

save him! for it is not with a hollow purse as with a hollow balloon —for <any> a hollow purse makes the poet *sink*—witness "Mardi" But we that write & print have all our books predestinated—& for me, I shall write such things as the Great Publisher of Mankind ordained ages before he published "The World"—this planet, I mean—not the Literary Globe.—What a madness & anguish it is, that an author can never—under no conceivable circumstances—be at all frank with his readers.—Could I, for one, be frank with them—how would they cease their railing—those at least who have railed.—In a little notice of "The Oregon Trail" I once said something "critical" about another's man's book—I shall never do it again.[1] Hereafter I shall no more stab at a book (in print, I mean) than I would stab at a man.—I am but a poor mortal, & I admit that I learn by experience & not by divine intuitions. Had I not written & published "Mardi," in all likelihood, I would not be as wise as I am now, or may be. For that thing was stabbed *at* (I do not say *through*)—& therefore, I am the wiser for it.—But a bit of note paper is not large enough for this sort of writing—so no more of it. Pardon it, & know me to be yours,

H Melville.

I this morning did myself the pleasure of calling on Mrs: Daniel for the first.[2] I saw her, & also two very attractive young ladies. Had you seen those young ladies, you would have never told Mrs: Duycknk of it.

You must on no account tell Mrs Welford of this; for those nymphs were her sisters.

H. M.

1. Melville's review of Parkman's *The California and Oregon Trail,* in the *Literary World* (31 March, 1849), complained at length that the title was misleading, the book having nothing to do with California or Oregon, and that in depicting the Indians as brutes Parkman ignored the fact that all men are created in the image of God.

2. Mrs. Daniel was the mother of the Mrs. Welford mentioned below, whose husband was probably the bookseller, Charles Daniel Welford (1815?–1885), associated at this time in the firm of Bartlett and Welford in importing books for Bangs and Co. (Boston *Evening Transcript,* obituary, 20 May, 1885). Melville called on Mrs. Daniel and her two daughters, sisters of Mrs. Welford, on 14 December and again on 15 December for an evening of "coffee, music, dancing . . ."

TO NATHANIEL P. WILLIS [3]
14 DECEMBER 1849
LONDON

70

I very much doubt whether Gabriel enters the portals of Heaven without a fee to Peter the porter—so impossible is it to travel without money. Some people (999 in 1000) 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—tho' 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 & nobility.

3. Nathaniel Parker Willis (1806–1867), editor at this time of the *Home Journal*. This letter is known to exist only in the form of this extract, which Willis printed in his *Home Journal* (12 January, 1850), as characteristic of Melville and as an illustration of one of the embarrassments American authors faced without an international copyright.

III

1850-1863

MELVILLE spent the early months of 1850 in New York but moved to Pittsfield for the summer, and in the fall he bought "Arrowhead," a farm. He formed a strong friendship with Nathaniel Hawthorne, who lived in nearby Lenox, and with John and Sarah Morewood, owners of his uncle's old farm, "Broadhall." He worked at *Moby Dick* through 1850, finished it in 1851, and had it published in October in London and November in New York. His second son, Stanwix, was born in October. In 1852 he finished his seventh novel, *Pierre,* which appeared in New York in August and in London in November. On a trip to Nantucket with his father-in-law, Chief Justice Shaw, in the summer, he discovered the "Agatha" story and urged Hawthorne to write it. In the next five years he published a number of stories in *Harper's* and in *Putnam's Magazine,* a selection of them called *The Piazza Tales* (1856), and the novels *Israel Potter* (1855) and *The Confidence Man* (1857). His daughter Elizabeth was born in 1853 and Frances in 1855. In 1856 and 1857 he traveled to Scotland, England, the eastern Mediterranean, and Italy. Drawing on these and earlier travels he ranged the eastern and midwestern states as a lecturer in 1858 and 1859. His interests turned to poetry but his first attempt to publish was abortive. He spent the latter part of 1860 on a voyage to San Francisco in the *Meteor,* with his brother Thomas as captain, and returned to Pittsfield in November. An effort to secure a consular post in Florence failed in 1861. The winter of 1861–62 he spent in New York, and in the fall of 1863 he moved to 104 East 26th Street, his residence for the rest of his life.

71 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
2 FEBRUARY 1850
NEW YORK

Saturday Evening, Feb 2d

My Dear Duyckinck—Tho' somewhat unusual for a donor, I must beg to apologize for making you the accompanying present of "Mardi." [1] But no one who knows your library can doubt, that

1. Now in NYPL-RB.

such a choice conservatory of exotics & other rare things in literature, after being long enjoyed by yourself, must, to a late posterity, be preserved intact by your descendants. How natural then—tho' vain—in your friend to desire a place in it for a plant, which tho' now unblown (emblematicaly, the leaves, you perceive, are uncut) may possibly—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 work, which almost everywhere else has been driven forth like a wild, mystic Mormon into shelterless exile.

—The leaves, I repeat, are uncut—let them remain so—and let me supplementaryly hint, that a bit of old parchment (from some old Arabic M.S.S. on Astrology) tied round each volume, & sealed on the back with a Sphynx, & never to be broken till the aloe flowers—would not be an unsuitable device for the bookbinders of "Mardi."—That book is a sort of dose, if you please—(tho', in the present case, charitably administered in three parts, instead of two) and by way of killing the flavor of it, I hurry to follow it up with a fine old spicy duodecimo mouthful in the shape of "Hudibras" which I got particularly for yourself at Stribbs's in the Strand [2]—& a little marvel that your brother George overlooked so enticing a little volume during his rummagings in the same shop.—Pray, glance at the title page, & tell me, if you can, what "Black Boy" that was in Paternoster Row. My curiosity is excited, and indeed aggravated & exacerbated about that young

2. *Hudibras / The First Part. / Written in the Time of the / Late Wars. / Corrected and Amended. / With Several Additions and Annotations. / Adorned with Cuts* / London. / Printed for John Baker, / at the Black-Boy in Pater-noster- / Row. 1710 / (NYPL-D). The book is inscribed:

L Duval
R. Miles
1765

Evert A Duyckinck
from H. M.
Feb 2d 1850.

85 years after Mr. Miles the old Englishman, in silk small clothes, bought the book at some stall—*you* own it now—who will own it next?

negro. Did the late Mr Baker have a small *live* Nubian standing at his shop door, like the moccasined Indian of our Bowery tobacconists? I readily see the propriety of the Indian—but in that "Black Boy" I perceive no possible affinity to books—unless, by the way, Mr Baker dealt altogether in black-letter,—Thomas the Rhymer, Lydgate, & Battle Abbey Directories.—Are they not delicious, & full flavored with suggestiveness, these old fashioned London imprints?

So much for No: 1 & No: 2.—No: 3 is a bronze medal which I mean for your brother George, if he will gratify me by accepting such a trifling token of my sense of his kindness in giving me an "outfit" of guide-books. It comes from a mountainous defile of a narrow street in the Latin Quarter of Paris, where I disinterred it from an old antiquary's cellar, which I doubt not connected, somehow, with the Catacombs & the palace of Thermes.[3]

Numbers 4 & 5 are two medals (warranted *not* silver) which I wish little Evert & George  to keep by way of remembrances that I remembered them, even while thirty feet under water. They come from the Thames Tunnel.

 Erratum: for "George" read "Henry."

No: 6 (which brings up the rear of this valuable collection) is a bottle-stopper from Cologne, for yourself. Do not despise it—there is a sermon in it. Shut yourself up in a closet, insert the stopper into a bottle of Sour Claret, & then study that face.

Wishing you a merry Saturday night, & a serene Sunday morrow, I am, My Dear Duyckinck

Truly Yours
H Melville.

I return, with my best thanks, to your brother, *three* of the books he loaned me. I can not account for "Cruchley" 's accident in the back.[4]—The Guide books for Northern & Central Italy are neither stolen, lost, sold, or mislaid. I will, I think, satisfactorily account for them when I see your brother. They are safe.

3. Melville recorded in his journal that on 5 December he "Descended into the vaults of the old Roman palace of Thermes," and in *Moby Dick* he referred to "those vast Roman halls of Thermes" (Mansfield–Vincent, 183).

4. George F. Cruchley, *Cruchley's Picture of London . . .* 11th ed. London,

TO HOPE SAVAGE SHAW [5]
3? FEBRUARY 1850
72 NEW YORK

Sunday Afternoon

My Dear Mrs. Shaw

I am sure you will not refuse to gratify me, by accepting a little present which Sammie brings with him. I thought of you while away, and hope you will receive it as a token of my having remembered you.—It is called a "University Bread Trencher" and has recently been generally introduced among English families.[6] Some three or four centuries ago this article was used in the University Dining Halls. So that the present fashion is only the revival of a very ancient one; I shall feel myself very much flattered if you will occasionally use it—(if it be only once a year.)

Samuel will instruct you more particularly touching the mode of using it.

That interesting young Collegian [7] has given us all great pleasure from his visit, which I hope he will often renew. Lizzie joins with me and the family in begging to be remembered to all under your roof.

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

I send Lemuel [8] a little medal (not silver) which I bought in the famous cathedral of Cologne.

Cruchley, 1847. The two guidebooks have not been identified (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 77, 78, 166).

5. Hope Savage Shaw (1793–1879), daughter of Samuel Savage of Barnstable, Mass., married Lemuel Shaw in 1827, five years after the death of his first wife, Elizabeth Knapp Shaw, Elizabeth Melville's mother.

6. On 15 December, 1849, Melville noted in his journal that he had seen "many pretty things for presents—but could not afford to buy. Bought a bread trencher & bread knife near Charing Cross. 'The University bread trencher' used of old at Commons, now restored. A fine thing, & English—Saxon." On the day before Christmas, his last day in London, he bought a "bread trencher & knife for Mrs Shaw (£3.10.)." Presumably he gave her both the knife and the trencher, or flat piece of wood on which bread or meat was cut up (Metcalf, *Journal*, 70, 82).

7. Samuel Savage Shaw, a sophomore at Harvard at this time.

8. Lemuel Shaw, Jr. (1828–1884), Samuel's older brother and Elizabeth Melville's half-brother.

TO AUGUSTUS KINSLEY GARDNER [9]

4? FEBRUARY 1850

73 NEW YORK

Monday Morning

Dear Gardiner—Will you do me the favor to accept the accompanying set of "Redburn" as a slight token of my having remembered you while away.[1]—I lodged with Madame Capelle [2] in Paris & will tell you what I saw in that gay city, when I am so happy as to see you again

Sincerely Yours
H Melville.

74 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK

7 MARCH 1850[?]

NEW YORK

Thursday Morning

My Dear Duyckinck

I hasten to return you the tickets which you were so good as to send last evening. I should have gone—as I love music—were it not that having been shut up all day, I could not stand being shut

9. Although Melville misspelled the name, this is Augustus Kinsley Gardner (1821–1876), a New York physician and son of Samuel Jackson Gardner (1788–1864), a New Jersey editor, contributor ("Decius") to Duyckinck's *Literary World,* and author of *Autumn Leaves* (1859). Augustus Gardner graduated from Harvard and spent three years studying medicine in Paris (1844–47), specializing in obstetrics, and returned to become Professor of Diseases of Women and Children and Clinical Midwifery at the New York Medical College. A man of varied interests, he published several books in the general field of obstetrics and gynecology, imported English sparrows to kill off insect larvae, and wrote a book entitled *Ships and Shipbuilders of New York.* He had given Melville a copy of his book, *Old Wine in New Bottles: or, Spare Hours of a Student in Paris* (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 129), and had apparently made recommendations for Melville's stay there. At a later time he appears to have been the family physician, for he was called in when Malcolm Melville died in 1867.

1. This was undoubtedly one of the two sets of *Redburn* that Melville procured from Richard Bentley during his London trip (Metcalf, *Journal,* 85).

2. Madame Capelle, whom Melville described in his journal (27 November, 1849) as "my most polite, pleasant, and Frenchified landlady," kept a lodging house at "No. 12 & 14 Rue de Bussy" (Metcalf, *Journal,* 50).

up all the evening—so I mounted my *green* jacket & strolled down to the Battery to study the stars.[3]

Yours
H Melville

75 TO RICHARD HENRY DANA, JR.
1 MAY 1850
NEW YORK

New York May 1st 1850

My Dear Dana—I thank you very heartily for your friendly letter; and am more pleased than I can well tell, to think that any thing I have written about the sea has at all responded to your own impressions of it.[4] 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. 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 woodsawyer 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.

3. Melville had taken the jacket to England with him in 1849 and worn it regularly, but even before he left the *Southampton* to go to London someone dropped him a "mysterious hint . . . about [his] green coat." Two days later, as he walked along London Streets, "the green coat attracted attention." But though he called on the publisher John Murray in the "*green* jacket," he later found it expedient to buy "a Paletot in the Strand, so as to look decent—for I find my green coat plays the devil with my respectability here" (Metcalf, *Journal,* 18, 23, 31, 69).

4. Dana had evidently expressed enthusiasm for *Redburn* or *White-Jacket* or both.

You ask me about "the jacket." [5] I answer it was a veritable garment—which I suppose is now somewhere at the bottom of Charles river. I was a great fool, or I should have brought such a remarkable fabric (as it really was, to behold) home with me. Will you excuse me from telling you—or rather 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, because I have never indulged in any ill-will or disrespect for them, personally; & shrink from any thing that approaches to a personal identification of them with characters that were only intended to furnish samples of a tribe—character[s], also, which possess some not wholly complimentary traits. If you think it worth knowing,—I will tell you all, when I next have the pleasure of seeing you face to face.

Let me mention to you now my adventure with the letter you furnished me to M[r] Moxon.[6] Upon this, as upon some other similar occasions, I chose to waive cerimoney; and so arranged it, that I saw M[r] Moxon, immediately after his reception of the letter.—I was ushered into one of those jealous, guarded sanctums, in which these London publishers retreat from the vulgar gaze. 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.—You have heard, I dare say, of that Greenland whaler discovered near the Pole, adrift & silent in a calm, with the frozen form of a man seated at a desk in the cabin before an ink-stand of icy ink. Just so sat M[r] Moxon in that tranced cabin of his. I bowed to the spectre, & received such a galvanic return, that I thought something of running out for some officer of the Humane Society, & getting a supply of hot water & blankets to resuscitate this melancholy corpse. But knowing the nature of these foggy English, & that they are not altogether impenetrable, I began a sociable talk, and happening to make mention of Charles Lamb, and alluding to the warmth of feeling with which that charming punster is

5. The "outlandish garment of my own devising" which Melville contrived when he was a sailor on the *U.S.S. United States* and described in *White-Jacket,* chapter 1.

6. In recording this visit to Edward Moxon in November 1849, Melville wrote in his journal that he found him "stiff" and "clammy" but finally thawed him out "by clever speeches."

regarded in America, Mr Moxon brightened up—grew cordial—hearty;—& going into the heart of the matter—told me that he (Lamb) was the best fellow in the world to "get drunk with" (I use his own words) & that he had many a time put him to bed. He concluded by offering to send me a copy of his works (not Moxon's poetry, but Lambs prose) which I have by me, now.[7] It so happened, that on the passage over, I had found a copy of Lamb in the ship's library—& not having previously read him much, I dived into him, & was delighted—as every one must be with such a rare humorist & excellent hearted man. So I was very sincere with Moxon, being fresh from Lamb. He enquired particularly concerning *you*—earnestly spoke in admiration of "Two Years Before the Mast"—& told me of the particular gratification it had afforded[?] particular persons of his acquaintance—including Mr Rogers,[8] the old Nestor, who poetically appreciated the scenic sea passages, describing ice, storms, Cape Horn, & all that.

About the "whaling voyage"—I am half way in the work, & am very glad that your suggestion so jumps with mine.[9] 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.

Give my compliments to Mrs Dana, and remember me to your father.

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

7. *The Works of Charles Lamb,* London, Moxon, 1848, and *Final Memorials of Charles Lamb; Consisting Chiefly of His Letters Not Before Published . . .* by Thomas N. Talfourd, 2 vols. London, Moxon, 1848 (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 316 and 317).

8. Samuel Rogers (1763–1855), the poet, with whom Melville had twice breakfasted in London.

9. Melville's first reference to the composition of *Moby Dick.*

TO RICHARD BENTLEY
27 JUNE 1850
NEW YORK

76

New York June 27th 1850

My Dear Sir,—In the latter part of the coming autumn I shall have ready a new work; and I write you now to propose its publication in England.

The book is a romance of adventure, founded upon certain wild legends in the Southern Sperm Whale Fisheries, and illustrated by the author's own personal experience, of two years & more, as a harpooneer.[1]

Should you be inclined to undertake the book, I think that it will be worth to you £200. Could you be positively put in possession of the copyright, it might be worth to you 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.

But as things are, I say £200, because that sum was given for "White-Jacket"; and it does not appear, as yet, that you have been interfeared with in your publication of that book; & therefore there seems reason to conclude, that, at £200, "White Jacket" must have been, in some degree, profitable to you.

In case of an arrangement, I shall, of course, put you in early & certain possession of the proof sheets, as in previous cases.

Being desirous of early arranging this matter in London,—so as to lose no time, when the book has passed thro' the Harpers' press here—I beg, Mr Bentley, that you at once write me as to your views concerning it.

Circumstances make it indispensable, that if the book suits you at the sum above-named, that on the day of sale, you give your note for that sum—at four months say—to whomever I depute to ratify the arrangement with you.

1. At best Melville's claim to two years' experience as a harpooner is an exaggeration. There is no evidence that he ever hurled a harpoon in the eighteen months he spent on the *Acushnet* or the six or seven weeks on the *Lucy Ann*. On his third and last whaling voyage aboard the *Charles & Henry* he may possibly have been a boat-steerer and harpooner, but the trip lasted only six months. (Howard, 63–4.)

Will you be so good as to tell me when you write, what has been the sale of "White Jacket" thus far?—And also will you immediately send me four copies of that book & one copy of Redburn,—addressed to Harper & Brothers, New York (for me); and the parcel can be left at Sampson Low's N° 169 Fleet Street, who is the Harpers' agent, & who will forward it to them.

So much for business.—I had a prosperous passage across the water last winter; & embarking from Portsmouth on Christmas morning, carried the savor of the plumb-puddings & roast turkey all the way across the Atlantic. But tho' we had a good passage, yet, the little mail of letters with which you supplied me (& by reading the superscriptions of which, I whiled away part of the voyage) hardly arrived in time to beat Her Majesty's Mail by the Cunard Steamer.

I have not forgotten the very agreeable evening I spent in New-Burlington Street last winter. Pray, remember me to M^r^ Bell & Alfred Crowquill when you see them.[2]

With compliments to Mrs Bentley & Miss Bentley, Beleive Me

Very Truly Yours

H Melville

Richard Bentley Esq
London.

77 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
16 AUGUST 1850
PITTSFIELD

Banian Hall Aug 16^th^ 1850

I call it Banian Hall, My Dear Duyckinck because it seems the old original Hall of all this neighborhood—besides, it is a wide-

2. Melville had had a very pleasant dinner at Bentley's on 19 December, 1849, with Robert Bell (1800–1867), Alfred Henry Forrester, or "Alfred Crowquill" (1804–1872), and ten or eleven others. Bell was a journalist who Melville though was "connected with Literature in some way or other," and who later got out an edition of Chaucer that Melville bought. Melville had found "Alfred Crowquill," who wrote comic pieces, caricatures, and children's stories, "a good fellow—free and easy—and no damned nonsense, as there is about so many of these English." On Crowquill's invitation he went to see "the Pantomine rehearsal at the Surrey Theatre" 20 December but arrived too late to do anything but wander around in the scenery (Metcalf, *Journal*, 76, 78, and 155).

spreading house, and the various outhouses seem shoots from it, that have taken root all round.[3]—I write you this from the *garret-way,* seated at that little embrasure of a window (you must remember it) which commands so noble a view of Saddleback.[4]—My desk is an odd 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 day light, 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 & softened by both. But I could not avoid a real feeling of grief, to think of you, once more in those dreary regions which are *Trans-Taconic* to me.[5]—What are you doing there, My Beloved, among the bricks & cobble-stone *boulders?* Are you making mortar? Surely, My Beloved, you are not carrying a hod? [6]—That were a quizzical sight, to see any godly man, with a pen behind his ear, and a hod on his shoulder. —I have a horrible presentment that you are even now hanging round the City-Hall, trying to get a contract from the Corporation to pave Broadway between Clinton Place & Union-Square. For heaven's sake, come out from among those Hittites & Hodites —give up mortar forever.—There is one thing certain, that, chemically speaking, mortar was the *precipitate* of the [?] Fall; & with a brickbat, or a cobble-stone *boulder,* Cain killed Abel.—Do you

3. Banyan trees send out roots from the central trunk which grow into other banyan trees. Melville had described them in *Mardi,* chapter 115, where they stand for the elusiveness and ambiguity of truth.

4. From 2 to 12 August Duyckinck and Cornelius Mathews had visited Melville at Broadhall, still being run as an inn by Robert Melvill, though it had already been sold for fall occupancy (Leyda, *Log,* 383). Duyckinck wrote his brother George later that Melville had insisted on treating him and Mathews like guests, refusing to let them pay (ibid., 388). "Saddleback" was one of the two saddle-shaped summits of Mount Graylock, North of Pittsfield, and the highest mountain in Massachusetts.

5. The Taconic mountain range runs west and southwest of Pittsfield. Melville may be ironically echoing Poe's "regions which / Are Holy Land!" in "To Helen."

6. Melville seems to be parodying the Song of Solomon.

drink Lime-water in the morning by way of a stomachic? Do you use brick-bats for paper-weights in the office? Do you & Mathews pitch paving-stones, & play ball that way in the cool of the evening, opposite the Astor-House?——How do they sell mortar by the quart now? Cheaper than ice-cream, I suppose.—A horrible something in me tells me that you are about dipping your head in plaster at Fowler's for your bust.[7]—But enough—the visions come too thick for me to master them.

Twelve more beautiful babies than you sent me in that wicker cradle by Express, I have never seen.[8] Uncommon intelligence was in their aspect, and they seem full of animation & hilarity. I have no doubt, if they were let alone awhile, they would all grow to be demijohns. In a word, My Dear Fellow, they were but too well thought of you,—because so much more than I deserved.

—Let me now tell you how that precious basket was carried in state to the farm—something like the Flitch of Bacon.[9]

—A gentleman & a lady arrived here as boarders yesterday morning. In the afternoon in four carriages a party of us went to

7. Orson S. Fowler and his brother Lorenzo were immensely successful phrenologists, doing business at 131 Nassau Street in New York. Like James Deville of London and other practitioners of their form of quackery they took plaster casts of willing customers, which they used for comparative study and lectures. Melville may have known about the Fowlers as early as 1835, when Lorenzo lectured in Albany. The brothers had examined the heads of such dignitaries as Bryant, Halleck, Willis, and of course Walt Whitman, who was fascinated as a youth by the Fowlers' exhibition of busts, and who much approved the analysis made of his "bumps." See Orson S. and Lorenzo N. Fowler, *Phrenology Proved, Illustrated, and Applied,* 13th ed. (New York, 1844), 254, 261; J. M. Severn, *The Life Story and Experiences of a Phrenologist* (Brighton, 1929), 268; Henry B. Binns, *Life of Walt Whitman* (New York, 1905), 66–7.

8. The morning after he returned to New York Duyckinck spent $19 to send Melville a dozen quarts of Heidseck champagne in a basket and some cigars (receipted bill, NYPL-D).

9. In Dunmow, Essex, a flitch of bacon was given annually to any couple who could prove they had lived in conjugal harmony for a year and a day. Following the elaborate ceremony of presentation, the couple (or the husband alone) were carried triumphantly through the town with the flitch before them. The custom had lapsed after 1751 but was revived a hundred years later: W. Carew Hazlitt, *Faiths and Folklore* (London, 1905), *1*, 198, and C. Pavey, *Dunmow Flitch of Bacon,* 1855, reprinted Dunmow, 1923.

Leabanon.[1] Returning, we stopped at the Express office in the village; and then, with the basket borne before me at my feet, I drove off full speed followed by the whole galloping procession. To day, at dinner, we cracked the Champaigne, & our first glass (all round the table) was Mr Duyckneck & Mr Mathews.

But the cigars!—The Oriental looking box! and the Antilles smell of them! And the four different thrones & dominations of bundles,[2] all harmonizing together like the Iroquois. Had there been two more bundles, I should have called them the Six Nations.

I received the "Literary World." [3] Under the circumstances the printing is far more correct, that [than] I expected; but there are one or two ugly errors.[4] However, no one sees them, I suppose, but myself.—Send me the other proof, if you can; but dont, if it will be the least inconvenience. If it is a fair day, I shall drive to

1. Lebanon, a few miles west of Pittsfield, had a Shaker settlement frequently visited by Melville.

2. For "thrones & dominations" see Milton, *Paradise Lost,* III, 320; V, 601, 772, 840; X, 86–7 and 460; and see Henry F. Pommer, *Milton and Melville* (University of Pittsburgh, 1950), pp. 34–5, who contrasts Milton's phrasing with that of Ecclesiastes 1:16.

3. Melville had probably just read the first installment of his notable criticism, "Hawthorne and His Mosses," which was to appear in the *Literary World* (17 August). The evidence is conflicting as to whether Melville wrote the essay before or after he met Hawthorne. Harrison Hayford has pointed out that Melville may have written the essay rapidly during an interim in the visit of the Duyckincks and after the celebrated expedition up Monument Mountain which Hawthorne joined (dissertation, Yale University, 1945, and see Howard, 159). Melville himself printed the review anonymously and observed in it that he had not met Hawthorne ("for I never saw the man, and . . . perhaps never shall"), and Sophia Hawthorne wrote later that year: "We have discovered who wrote the Review in the Literary World. . . . He [Melville] had no idea when he wrote it that he should ever see Mr. H—. I had some delightful conversations with him [about Hawthorne] after we discovered him to be the author" (Metcalf, *Cycle,* 91–2).

4. Besides four minor misprints, the essay contained one mistake which encouraged Melville to inform Sophia Hawthorne "that the Review was too carelessly written—that he dashed it off in great haste & did not see the proof sheets, & that there was one provoking mistake in it. Instead of 'the same madness of truth' it should be 'the *sane* madness of truth' " (Metcalf, *Cycle,* 91–2). "The other proof" he refers to shortly is undoubtedly that for the second installment, which was published 24 August.

Hawthorne's to morrow, & deliver his parcels.—Mrs H. Melville & others too numerous to enumerate send their best remembrances to you.—When you write, tell me that you are coming on for a second visit. Dont' forget it.—Good bye

H Melville

78 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
6 OCTOBER 1850
PITTSFIELD

Sunday Evening 1850.

My Dear Duyckinck—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. It has been a most glowing & Byzantine day—the heavens reflecting the tints of the October apples in the orchard—nay, the heavens themselves looking so ripe & ruddy, that it must be harvest-time with the angels, & Charle's Wain be heaped high as Saddle-Back with Autumn's sheaves.—You should see the maples—you should see the young perennial pines—the red blasings of the one contrasting with the painted green of the others, and the wide flushings of the autumn air harmonizing both. I tell you that sunrises & sunsets grow side by side in these woods, & momentarily moult in the falling leaves.—A hammer! Yes a hammer is before me—the very one that so cruelly bruised the very finger that guides my pen. I can sentimentalise it no more.

Until to day I have been as busy as man could be. Every thing to be done, & scarcely any one to help me do it. But I trust that before a great while we shall be all "to rights," and I shall take my ease on mine mountain. For a month to come, tho', I expect to be in the open air all day, except when assisting in lifting a bedstead or a bureau.[5]

Thank you for your letter with the paper the other day. I am

5. Melville had just moved his family from "Broadhall" to the adjoining farm, which he named "Arrowhead."

offering up devout jubilations for the abolition of the flogging law.[6]

My love to Adler, & tell him I hope to have him behind a cigar one of these days & talk over old times.[7] Remember me to your brother—& take this meagre letter for lack of a longer & a better one—and beleive me to be what I am

Truly Yours
H Melville.

79 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
13 DECEMBER 1850
PITTSFIELD

Friday Evening (Dec 12. 1850)[8]
Pittsfield.

My Dear Duyckinck, If you overhaul your old diaries you will see that a long period ago you were acquainted with one Herman Melvill[e]; that he then resided in New York; but removing after a time into a remote region called Berkshire, and failing to answer what letters you sent him, you but reasonably supposed him dead; at any rate did not hear anything of him again, & so by degrees you thought no more about him.

I now write to inform you that this man has turned up—in short, My Dear Fellow in spite of my incivility I am alive & well, & would fain be remembered.

6. Flogging in the United States Navy was abolished by act of Congress 28 September, 1850: C. R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939), p. 431. Melville's interest stemmed, of course, from his own observations as a sailor on the *United States*, and from his violent attacks on flogging in *White-Jacket*.

7. George J. Adler (1821–1868), philologist and Professor of Modern Languages at New York University, published a *Dictionary of the German and English Language* in 1849 and, his health shattered, sailed for Europe as Melville's fellow traveler in October of that year. In spite of resistance, he was committed to the Bloomingdale Asylum in 1853, where he remained until his death in 1868. Melville and Duyckinck were among the few friends who attended his funeral (Leyda, *Log*, 480–1, 697).

8. Melville's bracketed date is in error since "Friday" fell on 13 December in 1850.

Before I go further let me say here that I am writing this by candle light—an uncommon thing with me—& therefore my writing wont be very legible, because I am keeping one eye shut & wink at the paper with the other.

If you expect a letter from a man who lives in the country you must make up your mind to receive an egotistical one—for he has no gossip nor news of any kind, unless his neighbor's cow has calved or the hen has laid a silver egg.—By the way, this reminds me that one of my neighbors has really met with a bad accident in the loss of a fine young colt. That neighbor is our friend Mrs Morewood.[9] Mr Doolittle—my cousin—was crossing the R.R. track yesterday (where it runs thro the wooded part of the farm.) in his slay—*sleigh* I mean—and was followed by all three of Mrs Morewood's horses (they running at large for the sake of the air & exercise). Well: just as Doolittle got on the track with his vehicle, along comes the Locomotive—whereupon Doolittle whips up like mad & steers clear; but the frightened horses following him, they scamper off full before the engine, which hitting them right & left, tumbles one into a ditch, pitches another into a snow-bank, & chases the luckless third so hard as to come into direct contact with him, & break his leg clean into two peices.—With his leg "in splints" that is done up by the surgeon, the poor colt now lies in his straw, & the prayers of all good Christians are earnestly solicited in his behalf. Certainly, considering the bounding spirit and full-blooded life in that colt—how it might for many a summer have sported in pastures of red clover & gone cantering merrily along the "Gulf Road" [1] with a sprightly Mrs Morewood on his back, patting his neck & lovingly talking to him—considering all this, I say, I really think that a broken leg for him is not one jot less bad

9. Sarah Huyler Morewood (see below, p. 137, n. 2), who had bought and moved into "Broadhall" in late September or early October. In what way Mr. Doolittle of the following story was Melville's cousin remains a mystery, upon which neither genealogies, local histories, nor family reminiscences have yet thrown any light.

1. "A woody defile, wild, strange, and primeval" about twelve miles west of Pittsfield, along which Melville, Duyckinck, Sarah Morewood, Cornelius Mathews, and others had driven to a picnic on 10 August, 1850 (Leyda, *Log*, 387).

than it would be for me—tho' I grant you, even as it is with him, he has one more leg than I have now.

I have a sort of sea-feeling here in the country, now that the ground is all covered with snow. I look out of my window in the morning when I rise as I would out of a port-hole of a ship in the Atlantic. My room seems a ship's cabin; & at nights when I wake up & hear the wind shrieking, I almost fancy there is too much sail on the house, & I had better go on the roof & rig in the chimney.

Do you want to know how I pass my time?—I rise at eight—thereabouts—& go to my barn—say good-morning to the horse, & give him his breakfast. (It goes to my heart to give him a cold one, but it can't be helped) Then, pay a visit to my cow—cut up a pumpkin or two for her, & stand by to see her eat it—for it's a pleasant sight to see a cow move her jaws—she does it so mildly & with such a sanctity.—My own breakfast over, I go to my work-room & light my fire—then spread my M.S.S on the table—take one business squint at it, & fall to with a will. At 2½ P.M. I hear a preconcerted knock at my door, which (by request) continues till I rise & go to the door, which serves to wean me effectively from my writing, however interested I may be. My friends the horse & cow now demand their dinner—& I go & give it them. My own dinner over, I rig my sleigh & with my mother or sisters start off for the village—& if it be a Literary World day, great is the satisfaction thereof.—My evenings I spend in a sort of mesmeric state in my room—not being able to read—only now & then skimming over some large-printed book.—Can you send me about fifty fast-writing youths, with an easy style & not averse to polishing their labors? If you can, I wish you would, because since I have been here I have planned about that number of future works & cant find enough time to think about them separately.—But I dont 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. And taking a book off the brain, is akin to the ticklish & dangerous business of taking an old painting off a panel—you have to scrape off the whole brain in order to get at it with due safety—& even then, the painting may not be worth the trouble.—I meant to have left more room for something else besides my own concerns. But I cant help

it.—I see Adler is at work—or has already achieved a German translation.[2] I am glad to hear it. Remember me to him.

—In the country here, I begin to appreciate the Literary World. I read it as a sort of private letter from you to me.

Remember me to your brother. My respects to Mrs Duyckinck & all your family. The "sad" young lady desires[?] her regards.[3]

H Melville.

Mrs Melville with Malcolm is in Boston—or that lady would send her particular regards.

80 TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE [4]

29 JANUARY? 1851

PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Wednesday,

That side-blow [5] thro' Mrs Hawthorne will not do. I am not to be charmed out of my promised pleasure by any of that lady's syrenisims. *You,* Sir, I hold accountable, & the visit (in all its original integrity) must be made.—What! *spend the day,* only with us?—A Greenlander might as well talk of spending the day with a friend, when the day is only half an inch long.

As I said before, my best travelling chariot on runners, will be at your door, & provision made not only for the accommodation of all your family, but also for any quantity of *baggage.*

Fear not that you will cause the slightest trouble to us. Your bed is already made, & the wood marked for your fire. But a mo-

2. This was *Iphigenia in Tauris. A Drama in Five Acts . . . Translated from the German* by G. J. Adler, A.M. (New York, Appleton, 1850), which Adler sent Melville on 8 January, 1851 (Sealts, "Mellville's Reading," No. 229).

3. Augusta Melville was probably the "sad" young lady, and the "sad One" of Letter 81. Her sisters were mere acquaintances of Duyckinck, but Augusta, having become a close friend, was more likely to send her regards to him.

4. This is the first of the letters in the correspondence of Melville with Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804–1864) that are available or have survived.

5. A note or letter from Sophia Hawthorne postponing a visit of the Hawthornes with the Melvilles at Pittsfield. Such a visit appears to have been agreed upon when Melville drove over to Lenox on 22 January, 1851 (Leyda, *Log,* 403). Hawthorne was then at work completing *The House of the Seven Gables* and Sophia's note of 26 January apparently sent regrets for the change in plans.

ment ago, I looked into the eyes of two fowls, whose tail feathers have been notched, as destined victims for the table. I keep the word "Welcome" all the time in my mouth, so as to be ready on the instant when you cross the threshold.

(By the way the old Romans you know had a Salve carved in *their* thresholds)

Another thing, Mr Hawthorne—Do not think you are coming to any prim nonsensical house—that is nonsensical in the ordinary way. You must be much bored with punctilios. You may do what you please—say or say *not* what you please. And if you feel any inclination for that sort of thing—you may spend the period of your visit *in bed,* if you like—every hour of your visit.

Mark—There is some excellent Montado Sherry awaiting you & some most potent Port. We will have mulled wine with wisdom, & buttered toast with story-telling & crack jokes & bottles from morning till night.

Come—no nonsence. If you dont—I will send Constables after you.

On Wednesday then—weather & sleighing permitting I will be down for you about eleven o'clock A. M.

By the way—should Mrs Hawthorne for any reason conclude that *she,* for one, can not stay overnight with us—then *you* must—& the children, if you please.

H Melville.

81 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
12 FEBRUARY 1851
PITTSFIELD

[*Embossed trademark* "CARSON'S / DALTON MS"]—about 5 miles from here, North East. I went there & got a sleigh-load of this paper. A great neighborhood for authors, you see, is Pittsfield.

Pittsfield, Wednesday, 1851.

My Dear Duyckinck,

"A dash of salt spray"!—where am I to get salt spray here in inland Pittsfield?[6] I shall have to import it from foreign parts.

6. Melville is apparently answering a request for a contribution to *Holden's Dollar Magazine,* of which the Duyckinck brothers were to become editors

All I now have to do with salt, is when I salt my horse & cow—not *salt them down*—I dont mean that (tho' indeed I have before now dined on "salt-horse") but when I give them their weekly salt, by way of seasoning all their week's meals in one prospective lump.

How shall a man go about refusing a man?—Best be roundabout, or plumb 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 beleive that I *have* reasons, or else I would not refuse so small a thing.—As for the Daguerreotype (I spell the word right from your sheet) that's what I can not send you, because I have none. And if I had, I would not send it for such a purpose, even to you.[7]—Pshaw! you cry—& so cry I.—"This is intensified vanity,

beginning with the issue of April 1851, superseding Henry Fowler and William H. Dietz: see the announcements by both parties to the transfer in *Holden's*, 7 (March 1851), 144.

7. The Duyckincks were evidently planning to do a series of articles on contemporary authors, with portraits. They promised for the first issue "An original Portrait and Biography of a Distinguished American in Public Life." Though no such article appeared in the April number, it did have a sketch of George Borrow, and the May issue contained "Our Portrait Gallery—William H. Prescott, the Historian. With an original Portrait by Charles Martin." Duyckinck's request for a daguerreotype may also have some connection with the fact that about the first of March Rufus W. Griswold, editor of the *International Monthly Magazine,* promised his readers portraits and biographical sketches of Melville and other contemporary authors (2, December–March, 1850–1851, preface). Though men like Hawthorne, Cooper, and Halleck were "written up" in this fashion, the sketch of Melville never appeared.

A reflection of Melville's objections to *Holden's* as Fowler and Dietz had conducted it is perhaps seen in the Duyckincks' editorial in the April number. They swore not to "humbug" their readers with the conventional devices—"over-puffery, extravagant promises, parading before them absurd lists of contributors, dazzling their eyes with fashion plates, sheafs of bad engravings, and various other cheap delusions." The magazine would be popular but not cheap, and would cultivate a garden "on American soil, in American air."

For Melville's literary use of Duyckinck's request, see *Pierre,* chapter 17, sec. iii.

not true modesty or anything of that sort!"—Again, I say so too. But if it be so, how can I help it. The fact is, almost everybody is having his "mug" engraved nowadays; so that this test of distinction is getting to be reversed; and therefore, to see one's "mug" in a magazine, is presumptive evidence that he's a nobody. So being as vain a man as ever lived; & beleiving that my illustrious name is famous throughout the world—I respectfully decline being oblivionated by a Daguerretype (what a devel of an unspellable word?)

We are all queer customers, Mr Duycknk, you, I, & every body else in the world. So if I here seem queer to you, be sure, I am not alone in my queerness, tho' it present itself at a different port, perhaps, from other people, since every one has his own distinct peculiarity. But I trust you take me aright. If you dont' I shall be sorry—that's all.

After a long procrastination, I drove down to see Mr Hawthorne a couple of weeks ago. I found him, of course, buried in snow; & the delightful scenery about him, all wrapped up & tucked away under a napkin, as it were. He was to have made me a day's visit, & I had promised myself much pleasure in getting him up in my snug room here, & discussing the Universe with a bottle of brandy & cigars. But he has not been able to come, owing to sickness in his family.—or else, he's up to the lips in the *Universe* again.

By the way, I have recently read his "Twice Told Tales" [8] (I hadnt 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 does'nt 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, & more profound, too, than any other American has shown hitherto in the printed form. Irving is a grasshopper to him—putting the *souls* of

8. Melville borrowed *Twice-Told Tales* (Boston, 1837) from Duyckinck on or after 20 July, 1849, and received two inscribed copies from Hawthorne (First Series, Boston, 1845, and Vol. 2, Second Series, Boston, 1842) on 22 January, 1851 (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 258, 259, and 260).

the two men together, I mean.—But I must close. Enclosed is a note from the "Sad One." [9]

With remembrances to your brother, I am

Truly Yours
H Melville.

5. PM. Wednesday.

I am just on the point of starting a' foot for the village, and have glanced over the previous letter, before, sealing.—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.—

My respects to Mrs Duyckinck. Jog Adler's memory about me now & then.—The society here is very much pleased with Leigh Hunt's magazine.[1]—What a quizzical thing that is of the Duel—the man who was wounded in certain *important* parts.[2]

Adieu again.

H. M.

82 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
26 MARCH 1851
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Wednesday. 1851

My Dear Duyckinck—I have just returned from Springfield, having accompanied an old friend of mine, Mr J. M. Fly, so far on

9. Augusta Melville again.

1. *Leigh Hunt's Journal; A Miscellany for the Cultivation of the Memorable, the Progressive, and the Beautiful,* published in 17 numbers from December 1850, to March 1861.

2. Melville refers to a parody of Carlyle, published in the first issue (7 December, 1850), under the title: "Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago. [From a Waste-Paper Bag of T. Carlyle's.] Introductory." In a duel with Gervase Markham, a "loose-living" "squire-of-dames to the Dowager of Shrewsbury," John Holles "pierced and spitted him, through the lower abdominal regions, in very important quarters of the body, 'coming out at the small of the back!' . . . The Doctor declared that Markham would live; but that—but that—Here, we will suppose, the Doctor tragi-comically shook his head, pleading the imperfections of language! Markham did live long after; breaking several of the commandments, but keeping one of them, it is charitably believed."

his way to Brattleboro'.[3] He has long been a confirmed invalid, & in some small things I act a little as his agent. He subscribed, thro' me, to the "Literary World" & paid something in advance. He will remain in Brattleboro' through the summer. Will you have his paper sent to him there instead of Greenbush. And also will you send him the Dollar Magazine. And when I get to New York, the subscription to both will be duly paid. Send him the March Number of the "Dollar"

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 abroad by twilight, owing to the twilight of my eyes.

Remember me kindly to your Brother & to Adler.

H Melville

83 TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE
16? APRIL? 1851
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Wednesday morning.

My Dear Hawthorne,—Concerning the young gentleman's shoes, I desire to say that a pair to fit him, of the desired pattern, cannot be had in all Pittsfield,[4]—a fact which sadly impairs that metropolitan pride I formerly took in the capital of Berkshire. Henceforth Pittsfield must hide its head. However, if a pair of *bootees* will at all answer, Pittsfield will be very happy to provide them. Pray mention all this to Mrs. Hawthorne, and command me.

"The House of the Seven Gables: A Romance. By Nathaniel Hawthorne. One vol. 16mo, pp. 344." [5] The contents of this book do not belie its rich, clustering, romantic title. With great enjoyment we spent almost an hour in each separate gable. This book

3. J. M. Fly is quite clearly the Eli James Murdock [Fly] referred to in Letter 7, above.

4. The young gentleman was Hawthorne's oldest child Julian, born in June 1846.

5. Melville had visited Hawthorne in Lenox on 11 April, bringing a bedstead and clock with him (Leyda, *Log,* 409). Hawthorne gave him a copy of the newly published *The House of the Seven Gables,* inscribing it: "Herman Melville from Nath^{el} Hawthorne," to which Mrs. Hawthorne added "April 11th 1851 Friday evening." Copy in HCL-M.

is like a fine old chamber, abundantly, but still judiciously, furnished with precisely that sort of furniture best fitted to furnish it. There are rich hangings, wherein are braided scenes from tragedies! There is old china with rare devices, set out on the carved buffet; there are long and indolent lounges to throw yourself upon; there is an admirable sideboard, plentifully stored with good viands; there is a smell as of old wine in the pantry; and finally, in one corner, there is a dark little black-letter volume in golden clasps, entitled "Hawthorne: A Problem." It has delighted us; it has piqued a re-perusal; it has robbed us of a day, and made us a present of a whole year of thoughtfulness; it has bred great exhilaration and exultation with the remembrance that the architect of the Gables resides only six miles off, and not three thousand miles away, in England, say. We think the book, for pleasantness of running interest, surpasses the other works of the author. The curtains are more drawn; the sun comes in more; genialities peep out more. Were we to particularize what most struck us in the deeper passages, we would point out the scene where Clifford, for a moment, would fain throw himself forth from the window to join the procession; or the scene where the judge is left seated in his ancestral chair. Clifford is full of an awful truth throughout. He is conceived in the finest, truest spirit. He is no caricature. He is Clifford. And here we would say that, did circumstances permit, we should like nothing better than to devote an elaborate and careful paper to the full consideration and analysis of the purport and significance of what so strongly characterizes all of this author's writings. There is a certain tragic phase of humanity which, in our opinion, was never more powerfully embodied than by Hawthorne. We mean the tragicalness of human thought in its own unbiassed, native, and profounder workings. We think that into no recorded mind has the intense feeling of the visable truth ever entered more deeply than into this man's. By visable truth, we mean the apprehension of the absolute condition of present things as they strike the eye of the man who fears them not, though they do their worst to him,—the man who, like Russia or the British Empire, declares himself a sovereign nature (in himself) amid the powers of heaven, hell, and earth. He may perish; but so long as he exists he insists upon

treating with all Powers upon an equal basis. If any of those other Powers choose to withhold certain secrets, let them; that does not impair my sovereignty in myself; that does not make me tributary. And perhaps, after all, there is *no* secret. We incline to think that the Problem of the Universe is like the Freemason's mighty secret, so terrible to all children. It turns out, at last, to consist in a triangle, a mallet, and an apron,—nothing more! We incline to think that God cannot explain His own secrets, and that He would like a little information upon certain points Himself. We mortals astonish Him as much as He us. But it is this *Being* of the matter; [6] there lies the knot with which we choke ourselves. As soon as you say *Me,* a *God,* a *Nature,* so soon you jump off from your stool and hang from the beam. Yes, that word is the hangman. Take God out of the dictionary, and you would have Him in the street.

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. You see, I began with a little criticism extracted for your benefit from the "Pittsfield Secret Review," and here I have landed in Africa.

Walk down one of these mornings and see me. No nonsense; come. Remember me to Mrs. Hawthorne and the children.

H. Melville.

P.S. The marriage of Phoebe with the daguerreotypist is a fine stroke, because of his turning out to be a *Maule.* If you pass Hepzibah's cent-shop, buy me a Jim Crow (fresh) and send it to me by Ned Higgins.

6. Is this a mistaken reading of Melville? Perhaps Julian Hawthorne's transcription is an error for Melville's "Being that matters" or "Being that maddens." This would suppose that Julian read Melville's "that" as "of the" and that he did not recognize Melville's final "s," both of which are possible and understandable mistranscriptions of Melville's hand. Either of the two readings proposed here would be more appropriate in the context.

TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

1? JUNE 1851

84 PITTSFIELD

My Dear Hawthorne,—I should have been rumbling down to you in my pine-board chariot a long time ago, were it not that for some weeks past I have been more busy than you can well imagine, —out of doors,—building and patching and tinkering away in all directions. Besides, I had my crops to get in,—corn and potatoes (I hope to show you some famous ones by and by),—and many other things to attend to, all accumulating upon this one particular season. I work myself; and at night my bodily sensations are akin to those I have so often felt before, when a hired man, doing my day's work from sun to sun. But I mean to continue visiting you until you tell me that my visits are both supererogatory and superfluous. With no son of man do I stand upon any etiquette or ceremony, except the Christian ones of charity and honesty. I am told, my fellow-man, that there is an aristocracy of the brain. Some men have boldly advocated and asserted it. Schiller seems to have done so, though I don't know much about him.[7] At any rate, it is true that there have been those who, while earnest in behalf of political equality, still accept the intellectual estates. And I can well perceive, I think, how a man of superior mind can, by its intense cultivation, bring himself, as it were, into a certain spontaneous aristocracy of feeling,—exceedingly nice and fastidious,— similar to that which, in an English Howard, conveys a torpedo-fish thrill at the slightest contact with a social plebeian.[8] So, when

7. Melville seems to have had in mind the quality pointed out in Menzel's criticism of Schiller as quoted by Longfellow in *The Poets and Poetry of Europe* (Philadelphia, 1845), p. 308: "We turn now to the second secret of the beauty belonging to Schiller's ideal characters. This is their nobleness,—their honorableness. His heroes and heroines never discredit the pride and dignity which announce a loftier nature; and all their outward acts bear the stamp of magnanimity and inborn nobleness. Its perfect opposite is the vulgar character, and that conventional spirit which serves for a bridle and leading-strings to the vulgar nature." "Elevation of mind" was called typical of Schiller's characters in "Aeschylus, Shakespeare, and Schiller," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, 32* (June 1851), 651.

8. Melville may have meant any one of a number of members of the English Howard family, like Charles, the commander-in-chief of the fleet that

you see or hear of my ruthless democracy on all sides, you may possibly feel a touch of a shrink, or something of that sort. It is but nature to be shy of a mortal who boldly declares that a thief in jail is as honorable a personage as Gen. George Washington. This is ludicrous. But Truth is the silliest thing under the sun. Try to get a living by the Truth—and go to the Soup Societies. Heavens! 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. It can hardly be doubted that all Reformers are bottomed upon the truth, more or less; and to the world at large are not reformers almost universally laughingstocks? Why so? Truth is ridiculous to men. Thus easily in my room here do I, conceited and garrulous, reverse the test of my Lord Shaftesbury.[9]

It seems an inconsistency to assert unconditional democracy in all things, and yet confess a dislike to all mankind—in the mass. But not so.—But it's an endless sermon,—no more of it. I began by saying that the reason I have not been to Lenox is this,—

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destroyed the Spanish Armada, or Henry, collaborator with Wyatt and others in the songs and sonnets that achieved fame when published as *Tottel's Miscellany*. This family, which held the earldoms of Surrey, Effingham, and Carlisle, was a symbol of the English aristocracy.

9. Julian Hawthorne prints "revere the test of my Lord Shaftesbury." Shaftesbury maintained that one test of truth was its power to survive ridicule. "Truth," he wrote in "An Essay on the Freedom of Wit and Humour," "'tis supposed, may bear *all* Lights: and *one* of those principal Lights or natural Mediums, by which Things are to be view'd, in order to a thorow Recognition, is *Ridicule* it-self, or that Manner of Proof by which we discern whatever is liable to just Raillery in any Subject. So much, at least, is allow'd by All, who at any time appeal to this *Criterion*. The gravest Gentlemen, even in the gravest Subjects, are suppos'd to acknowledge this: and can have no Right, 'tis thought, to deny others the Freedom of this Appeal; whilst they are free to censure like other Men, and in their gravest Arguments make no scruple to ask, *Is it not ridiculous?*" *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (6th ed. 1737), *1*, 161. He cites, too, the fact that Socrates' character and doctrines seemed only the more "solid and just" after they had "stood the Proof" of Aristophanes' ridicule (*1*, 31). But whereas Shaftesbury is saying that you can know a thing is true if it survives ridicule, Melville is saying that you can know a thing is true because it is considered ridiculous. Melville may have revered Shaftesbury's test, but here he is reversing it.

in the evening I feel completely done up, as the phrase is, and incapable of the long jolting to get to your house and back. 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 circumstances. 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 wood, 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. So the product is a final hash, and all my books are botches. I'm rather sore, perhaps, in this letter; but see my hand!—four blisters on this palm, made by hoes and hammers within the last few days. It is a rainy morning; so I am indoors, and all work suspended. I feel cheerfully disposed, and therefore I write a little bluely. Would the Gin were here! If ever, my dear Hawthorne, in the eternal times that are to come, you and I shall sit down in Paradise, in some little shady corner by ourselves; and if we shall by any means be able to smuggle a basket of champagne there (I won't believe in a Temperance Heaven), and if we shall then cross our celestial legs in the celestial grass that is forever tropical, and strike our glasses and our heads together, till both musically ring in concert,—then, O my dear fellow-mortal, how shall we pleasantly discourse of all the things manifold which now so distress us,—when all the earth shall be but a reminiscence, yea, its final dissolution an antiquity. Then shall songs be composed as when wars are over; humorous, comic songs,—"Oh, when I lived in that queer little hole called the world," or, "Oh, when I toiled and sweated below," or, "Oh, when I knocked and was knocked in the fight"—yes, let us look forward to such things. Let us swear that, though now we sweat, yet it is because of the dry heat which is indispensable to the nourishment of the vine which is to bear the grapes that are to give us the champagne hereafter.

But I was talking about the "Whale." As the fishermen say,

"he's in his flurry" when I left him some three weeks ago. I'm going to take him by his jaw, however, before long, and finish him up in some fashion or other. What's the use of elaborating what, in its very essence, is so short-lived as a modern book? Though I wrote the Gospels in this century, I should die in the gutter. —I talk all about myself, and this is selfishness and egotism. Granted. But how 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.—By the way, in the last "Dollar Magazine" I read "The Unpardonable Sin." [1] He was a sad fellow, that Ethan Brand. I have no doubt you are by this time responsible for many a shake and tremor of the tribe of "general readers." It is a frightful poetical creed that the cultivation of the brain eats out the heart. But it's my *prose* opinion that in most cases, in those men who have fine brains and work them well, the heart extends down to hams. And though you smoke them with the fire of tribulation, yet, like veritable hams, the head only gives the richer and the better flavor. 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. (You perceive I employ a capital initial in the pronoun referring to the Deity; don't you think there is a slight dash of flunkeyism in that usage?) Another thing. I was in New York for four-and-twenty hours the other day, and saw a portrait of N.H. And I have seen and heard many flattering (in a publisher's point of view) allusions to the "Seven Gables." And I have seen "Tales," and "A New Volume" announced, by N.H.[2] So upon the whole, I say to myself, this N.H. is in the ascendant. My dear Sir, they begin to patronize. All Fame is patronage. Let me be infamous: there is no patronage in *that.*

1. Hawthorne's story was reprinted in *Holden's Dollar Magazine* for May 1851.

2. Melville might have seen some such announcement as early as 10 May in the *Literary World,* when the "Publisher's Circular," an editor's column,

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.[3] I did not think of Fame, a year ago, as I do now. My development has been all within a few years past. I am like one of those seeds taken out of the Egyptian Pyramids, which, after being three thousand years a seed and nothing but a seed, being planted in English soil, it developed itself, grew to greenness, and then fell to mould.[4] So I. Until I was twenty-five, I had no development at all. From my twenty-fifth year I date my life. Three weeks have scarcely passed, at any time between then and now, that I have not unfolded within myself. But I feel that I am now come to the inmost leaf of the bulb, and that shortly the flower must fall to the mould. It seems to me now that Solomon was the truest man who ever spoke, and yet that he a little *managed* the truth with a view to popular conservatism; or else there have been many corruptions and interpolations of the text.—In reading some of Goethe's sayings, so worshipped by his votaries, I came across this, *"Live in the*

noted that "Ticknor, Reed & Fields have in Press . . . [a] New Volume of Stories by Hawthorne" and "a new volume by Hawthorne." A Ticknor, Reed and Fields advertisement containing these two items ran from 17 May to 9 August.

3. See *Moby Dick:* "The truest of all men was the Man of Sorrows, and the truest of all books is Solomon's, and Ecclesiastes is the fine hammered steel of woe. 'All is vanity.' ALL. This wilful world hath not got hold of unchristian Solomon's wisdom yet." (Mansfield–Vincent, 42.)

4. At about this time, G. P. R. James carried on an experiment at Stockbridge south of Pittsfield of planting some Egyptian wheat seed taken from the inside of a mummy case. His son, Charles Leigh James describes the planting, saw it come up, and observed that "it did not seed 'worth a continental.' " See S. M. Ellis, *The Solitary Horseman, or the Life and Adventures of G. P. R. James,* as cited in *American Notes and Queries,* 7 (December 1947), 41.

all." [5] That is to say, your separate identity is but a wretched one,—good; but get out of yourself, spread and expand yourself, and bring to yourself the tinglings of life that are felt in the flowers and the woods, that are felt in the planets Saturn and Venus, and the Fixed Stars. What nonsense! Here is a fellow with a raging toothache. "My dear boy," Goethe says to him, "you are sorely afflicted with that tooth; but you must *live in the all,* and then you will be happy!" As with all great genius, there is an immense deal of flummery in Goethe, and in proportion to my own contact with him, a monstrous deal of it in me.

H. Melville.

P.S. "Amen!" saith Hawthorne.

N.B. This "all" feeling, though, there is some truth in. You must often have felt it, lying on the grass on a warm summer's day. Your legs seem to send out shoots into the earth. Your hair feels like leaves upon your head. This is the *all* feeling. But what plays the mischief with the truth is that men will insist upon the universal application of a temporary feeling or opinion.

P.S. You must not fail to admire my discretion in paying the postage on this letter.

5. Melville's exact source remains to be discovered. The idea is general in Goethe; the particular thought is doubtless a translation of a phrase in stanza four of "Generalbeichte":

> Willst du Absolution
> Deinen Treuen geben,
> Wollen wir nach deinem Wink
> Unablässlich streben,
> Uns von Halben zu entwohnen
> Und im Ganzen, Guten, Schonen
> Resolut zu leben,

Carlyle, in whom Melville was well read, translates it "To live . . . in the Whole. . . ."—"Death of Goethe," *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays* (Boston, 1839), *3,* 205, and John S. Dwight renders it ". . . living" "In the Whole . . ."—George Ripley, ed., *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature,* Vol. *3* . . . *Select Minor Poems from the German of Goethe and Schiller* (Boston, 1839), p. 48. One of Ripley's notes on Goethe may have helped give currency to the idea Melville was lampooning: "Total occupation of himself, heart and soul, in the subject nearest him,—living *in* it, and identifying himself with it for the time,—left no room for sick yearnings, made each little sphere a world, each moment an eternity. This is evidently what he meant by 'Living in the Whole,' by finding 'All in One, and One in All' " (ibid., p. 365).

TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE
29 JUNE 1851
85 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield June 29th 185[1]

My dear Hawthorne—The clear air and open window invite me to write to you. For some time past I have been so busy with a thousand things that I have almost forgotten when I wrote you last, and whether I received an answer. This most persuasive season has now for weeks recalled me from certain crotchetty and over doleful chimearas, the like of which men like you and me and some others, forming a chain of God's posts round the world, must be content to encounter now and then, and fight them the best way we can. But come they will,—for, in the boundless, trackless, but still glorious wild wilderness through which these outposts run, the Indians do sorely abound, as well as the insignificant but still stinging mosquitoes. Since you have been here, I have been building some shanties of houses (connected with the old one) and likewise some shanties of chapters and essays. I have been plowing and sowing and raising and painting and printing and praying,—and now begin to come out upon a less bustling time, and to enjoy the calm prospect of things from a fair piazza at the north of the old farm house here.

Not entirely yet, though, am I without something to be urgent with. The "Whale" is only half through the press; for, wearied with the long delay of the printers, and disgusted with the heat and dust of the babylonish brick-kiln of New York, I came back to the country to feel the grass—and end the book reclining on it, if I may.—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, though 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, though, but incidentally and without premeditation.—But I am falling into my old foible—preaching. I am busy, but shall not be very long. Come and spend a day here, if you can and want to; if not, stay in Lenox, and God give you long life. When I am quite free of my present engagements,

I am going to treat myself to a ride and a visit to you. Have ready a bottle of brandy, because I always feel like drinking that heroic drink when we talk ontological heroics together. This is rather a crazy letter in some respects, I apprehend. If so, ascribe it to the intoxicating effects of the latter end of June operating upon a very susceptible and peradventure feeble temperament.

Shall I send you a fin of the *Whale* by way of a specimen mouthful? The tail is not yet cooked—though the hell-fire in which the whole book is broiled might not unreasonably have cooked it all ere this. This is the book's motto (the secret one),—Ego non baptiso te in nomine—but make out the rest yourself.[6]

H. M.

86 TO RICHARD BENTLEY
20 JULY 1851
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Berkshire County, Mass:
July 20th 1851.

My Dear Sir—I promptly received your note of the 3d Inst: in reply to mine concerning the publication of my new book.[7]

6. The phrase appears in fuller form when Captain Ahab uses the blood of the pagan harpooneers to baptize the harpoon with which he plans to kill Moby Dick and speaks the words "Ego non baptizo te in nomine patris, sed in nomine diaboli" (Mansfield–Vincent, 485). It also appears in even more detail in a sketch labeled "Devil as Quaker" which Melville jotted down, apparently in 1849, in Volume 7 of his set of Shakespeare (HCL-M):

> Ego non baptizo te in nominee Patris et
> Filii et Spiritus Sancti—sed in nomine
> Diaboli. Madness is undefinable—
> It & right reasons extremes of one.
> Not the (black art) Goetic but Theurgic magic—
> seeks converse with the Intelligence, Power, the
> Angel.

Thus Melville associated the Latin phrase with various forms of seeking illicit power, presumably including the Sabbat, or perverted worship of the devil, in which infants and others were baptized: Montague Summers, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology* (New York, 1926), pp. 84–5.

7. On 3 July Bentley had written Melville offering him £150 on account of half profits for his new work. "I think," he added, with obvious misgivings, "that, as we shall be in the same boat, this mode of publication is the most

I accept your offer for the work; but not without strong hope 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. And here let me say to you,—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 whose settlement must necessarily assume a political form?—They can bring scarcely any influence whatever. This country & nearly all its affairs are governed by sturdy backwoodsmen—noble fellows enough, but not at all literary, & who care not a fig for any authors except those who write those most saleable of all books nowadays —i e—the newspapers, & magazines. And tho' the number of cultivated, catholic men, who may be supposed to feel an interest in a national literature, is large & every day growing larger; yet they are nothing in comparison with the overwhelming majority who care nothing about it. This country is at present engaged in furnishing material for future authors; not in encouraging its living ones.

Nevertheless, if this matter by any means comes to be made nationally conspicuous; and if you in England come out magnanimously, & protect a foreign author; then there is that sort of stuff in the people here, which will be sure to make them all eagerness in reciprocating. For, be assured, that my countrymen will never be outdone in generosity.—Therefore, if you desire an International Copyright—hoist your flag on your side of the water, & the signal will be answered; but look for no flag on this side till then.

I am now passing thro' the press, the closing sheets of my new work; so that I shall be able to forward it to you in the course of two or three weeks—perhaps a little longer. I shall forward it to you thro' the Office of the Legation. And upon your receipt of it,

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suitable to meet all the contingencies of the case" (Jerman, "More Correspondence," 310).

I suppose you will immediately proceed to printing; as, of course, publication will not take place here, till you have made yourself safe.—You say you will give me your notes at three & six months; I infer that this means from the time of receiving the book.

Very Truly Yours
H Melville.

87 TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE
22 JULY 1851
PITTSFIELD

Tuesday afternoon.

My dear Hawthorne:

This is not a letter, or even a note—but only a passing word said to you over your garden gate. I thank you for your easy-flowing long letter (received yesterday) which flowed through me, and refreshed all my meadows, as the Housatonic—opposite me—does in reality. I am now busy with various things—not incessantly though; but enough to require my frequent tinkerings; and this is the height of the haying season, and my nag is dragging me home his winter's dinners all the time. And so, one way and another, I am not yet a disengaged man; but shall be, very soon. Meantime, the earliest good chance I get, I shall roll down to you, my good fellow, seeing we—that is, you and I—must hit upon some little bit of vagabondism, before Autumn comes. Graylock—we must go and vagabondize there. But ere we start, we must dig a deep hole, and bury all Blue Devils, there to abide till the Last Day.

Goodbye,
his x mark.

88 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
28 JULY 1851
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield July 28th

Dear Duyckinck

I do not know what little plans you & your brother may have made concerning the rest of the summer—but if it will not intere-

fere with your other arrangements,—then our entire household will be sincerely happy to see you two here any time after next Tuesday (week from tomorrow) and the sooner after that time the better—say Wednesday.[8] Come, and give yourself a week's holyday on the hay-mow. "In fact," Come.

If you will advise me of the day of your starting, I shall have our waggon at the Depot in time for you—as we are three miles from there. Mention whether you take the morning or afternoon train. I recommend, by all means, the *morning* train. By no means let George stay behind. If he does, I shall write to Chief of Police Matsell, to *send* him on.

Thine
H Melville

89 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
29 AUGUST 1851
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield. Friday.

Dear Duyckinck—

Your letter to me announcing your happy arrival home; and your very acceptable present of a thermometer (which, if you will make haste to come & see it here before October, will show you that the temperature of this house's welcome has not fallen very much) both arrived here safely. The letter is in the file & the thermometer on the wall.—

We shall [be] glad to see yourself & M^r^ Beekman here, as soon as you please.[9] You can stay here overnight & go to see M^r^ Hawthorne the next morning & come back here to a 4 or five o'clock

8. Evert and George Duyckinck arrived in Pittsfield on Wednesday, 6 August, the day Melville suggested, and left 14 August, after a week of picnics, a visit to Hawthorne and to the Shaker settlement at Lebanon, and an excursion up Saddleback Mountain.

9. Duyckinck's friend James W. Beekman (1815–1877) was the wealthy owner of the historic Beekman Mansion and other family property on the East River in New York. His fortune enabled him to forego the law, for which he had been trained, and to travel extensively on the Continent, where he had studied the effects of various forms of government upon the popular welfare. At this time he was a New York State senator.

dinner, & then be your own masters after that—for this house belongs to travellers, & we occupants but stewards.

Remember me to all.

H Melville

If you will foretell me the day & *train* of your coming, I shall see that you are provided with a conveyance to bring you here [hence?]

Augusta tells me to say that she has received your letter together with the Household Words, and is very much indebted to you.[1]

90 TO SARAH HUYLER MOREWOOD[2]
12? SEPTEMBER 1851
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Friday Morning

If to receive some thoughtful kindness from one, upon whom self-delusion whispers we have some claims,—if this be so agreeable to us; then 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 converts infidels, & gives misanthropy no foot to stand on.

Most considerate of all the delicate roses that diffuse their blessed perfume among men, is Mrs: Morewood; (I say it not in "bitterness"—I appeal to all the Sweet-Briars if I do;)[3] for the little box contained nourishment for both body & soul; and the two flasks of Cologne—why, I have not done smelling of them yet.

1. *Household Words* was edited from 1850 to 1859 by Charles Dickens.

2. Sarah Huyler Morewood (1824–1863), the wife of John Rowland Morewood (1821–1903). Sarah Morewood was a lively and volatile person whose energies often directed the parties, picnics, and excursions of the Melvilles' Pittsfield years. She died of tuberculosis before she was forty. Her oldest son, William Barlow Morewood (1847–1923), married Melville's niece, Maria Gansevoort Melville (1849–1935), Allan Melville's oldest daughter.

3. Melville's pun may have been clear in the semisecret language he seems to have sometimes used to communicate with Mrs. Morewood but its meaning is probably lost to the general reader (more wooed? or a badly stretched play on wormwood?). The "Sweet-Briars," deriving their name from the European rose or eglantine, may have been the coterie of women, including Melville's sisters and wife, who revolved socially around Mrs. Morewood.

The "Hour & the Man" is exceedingly acceptable to me.[4] "Zanoni" is a very fine book in very fine print—but I shall endeavor to surmount that difficulty.[5] At present, however, the Fates have plunged me into certain silly thoughts and wayward speculations, which will prevent me, for a time, from falling into the reveries of these books—for a fine book is a sort of revery to us—is it not?—So I shall regard them as my Paradise in store, & Mrs Morewood the goddess from whom it comes.

Concerning my own forthcoming book [6]—it is off my hands, but must cross the sea before publication here. Dont you buy it—dont you read it, when it does come out, because it is by no means the sort of book for you. It is not a peice of fine feminine Spitalfields silk—but is of the horrible texture of a fabric that should be woven of ships' cables & hausers. 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.

My best remembrances and sympathy to Mrs Pollock, who, I trust, is convalescent now. Fail not to remind Miss Henderson also, that I desire she will not entirely forget me: and present my regards to Mr: Morewood.[7]

H Melville

To
Mrs: Morewood
Augusta tells me to remember her to you.

4. Harriet Martineau's historical romance *The Hour and the Man* was published in 1841 and not republished until 1855.

5. *Zanoni* was another historical romance, by Bulwer-Lytton. The edition is probably that of Harper's, 2 vols. 1842. The type would probably not have seemed "very fine print" to the average reader.

6. *Moby Dick.*

7. Mrs. Pollock, an English lady, and Miss Henderson, from Cincinnati, had been members of two of Mrs. Morewood's picnic- and mountain-climbing parties early in August, in which Melville joined (Leyda, *Log*, 420).

TO LEMUEL SHAW
22 OCTOBER 1851
91 PITTSFIELD

Wednesday 3. P.M.

My Dear Sir

Your daughter is the mother of another little boy[8]—a fine fellow—born between 1 & 2 o'clock P.M. to day. Mother & child are doing very well.

Truly Yours
H Melville

92 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
7 NOVEMBER 1851
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Friday Afternoon.

Dear Duyckinck—Your letter received last night had a sort of stunning effect on me. For some days past being engaged in the woods with axe, wedge, & beetle, the Whale had almost completely slipped me for the time (& I was the merrier for it) when Crash! comes Moby Dick himself (as you justly say)[9] & reminds me of what I have been about for part of the last year or two. It is really

8. Stanwix, Melville's second son.

9. Duyckinck had obviously enclosed in his letter a newspaper or magazine clipping that described the sinking of the *Ann Alexander* by a whale on 20 August in the Pacific. Originally printed in the Panama *Herald* of 16 October the story was reprinted in the New York *Daily Tribune* (2 November), and in other papers. Melville's excitement about the disaster is easy to understand in view of its similarity to the sinking of the *Pequod* in *Moby Dick*. One of the *Ann Alexander's* boats had harpooned a whale, which turned and crushed it in its huge jaws to fragments the size of a chair. When another boat joined the chase it turned and crushed that also. Captain Deblois got the survivors of each boat into his own and continued the pursuit from the ship. He avoided one attack, but as he stood in the bow ready to harpoon the whale he suddenly discovered it approaching at the rate of fifteen knots. "*In an instant,*" the story reads, "*the monster struck the ship with tremendous violence, shaking her from stem to stern.*" She sank quickly, barely giving the men a chance to flee into the remaining boats. Unlike the doomed crew of the *Pequod,* however, the sailors of the *Ann Alexander* lived to tell the story.

& 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.[1]— Ye Gods! What a Commentator is this Ann Alexander whale. What he has to say is short & pithy & very much to the point. I wonder if my evil art has raised this monster.

The Behrings Straits Disaster, too, & the cording along the New Foundland coast of those scores & scores of fishermen, and the inland gales on the Lakes.[2] Verily the pot boileth inside & out. And woe unto us, we but live in the days that have been. Yet even then they found time to be jolly. Why did'nt you send me that inestimable item of "Herman de Wardt" before?[3] Oh had I but had that pie to cut into! But that & many other fine things doubtless are omitted. All one can do is to pick up what chips he can buy[?] round him. They have no Vatican (as you have) in Pittsfield here.

The boy you enquire about is well. His name will probably be "Stanwix" for some account of which, Vide *Stone's Life of*

1. No ship named *Pequod* appears in the records of the American whaling industry prior to the writing of *Moby Dick*. Nor has Melville apparently transferred the name of his fictional ship to a real one, for the only other vessels known to have undergone the *Ann Alexander's* fate were the *Essex* in 1820 and the *Parker Cook* in 1850 (cf. Alexander Starbuck, "History of the American Whale Fishery," in *Report of the Commissioner* [of Fish and Fisheries], *Part IV, 1875–1876,* Washington, 1878). What Melville has apparently done is to pretend, though without deceptive intent, that the imaginary *Pequod* was just as real as the *Ann Alexander,* even assigning its "sad fate" to a point in historical time, just as he insists in *Moby Dick* upon the reality of the story he is telling.

2. The New York *Daily Tribune* of 18 October reported that the whole northern whale fleet, in attempting to make its spring passage through Behring Straits, had got caught in the ice, with loss of or damage to nearly seventy ships. The same issue and others described a gale near Prince Edward Island which sank many vessels and piled up nearly a hundred on the shore (no such disaster at Newfoundland was reported in the New York papers in October or early November). On 23 October a succession of hard gales on Lake Erie sank the *Henry Clay* and did much damage to shipping, but there seem to be no reports of gales in the Great Lakes generally.

3. The allusion is unlocated. Leyda conjectures a reference to Wynkyn de Worde's "Booke of Kervynge," from which an extract appears in *Moby Dick* (Leyda, *Log,* 431).

Brandt,[4] where mention is made of how this lad's great grandfather spent his summers in the Revolutionary War before Saratoga came into being—I mean Saratoga Springs & Pavilions.

And now what is the news with you? I suppose the Knights of the Round Table still assemble over their cigars & punch, & I know that once every week the "Literary World" revolves upon its axis. I should like to hear again the old tinkle of glasses in your basement, & may do so, before many months.

For us here, Winter is coming. The hills & the noses begin to look blue, & the trees have stripped themselves for the December tussle. I have had my dressing-gown patched up, & got some wood in the wood-house, &—by the way,—have in full blast our great dining-room fire-place, which swallows down cords of wood as a whale does boats.

Remember me to all our friends.

My compliments to Mrs Duycknk & your family

& Beleive me Thine

H Melville

93 TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

17? NOVEMBER 1851

PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Monday afternoon.

My Dear Hawthorne,—People think that if a man has undergone any hardship, he should have a reward; but for my part, if I have done the hardest possible day's work, and then come to sit down in a corner and eat my supper comfortably—why, then I don't think I deserve any reward for my hard day's work—for am I not now at peace? Is not my supper good? My peace and my supper are my reward, my dear Hawthorne. So your joy-giving and exultation-breeding letter is not my reward for my ditcher's work with that book, but is the good goddess's bonus over and above what was stipulated for—for not one man in five cycles, who is wise, will expect appreciative recognition from his fellows, or any one of them. Appreciation! Recognition! Is love appreciated? Why, ever

4. William L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant-Thayendanegea* . . . , New York, 1838.

since Adam, who has got to the meaning of this great allegory—the world? Then we pygmies must be content to have our paper allegories but ill comprehended. I say your appreciation is my glorious gratuity. In my proud, humble way,—a shepherd-king,—I was lord of a little vale in the solitary Crimea; but you have now given me the crown of India. But on trying it on my head, I found it fell down on my ears, notwithstanding their asinine length—for it's only such ears that sustain such crowns.

Your letter was handed me last night on the road going to Mr. Morewood's, and I read it there. Had I been at home, I would have sat down at once and answered it. In me divine maganimities are spontaneous and instantaneous—catch them while you can. The world goes round, and the other side comes up. So now I can't write what I felt. But I felt pantheistic then—your heart beat in my ribs and mine in yours, and both in God's. A sense of unspeakable security is in me this moment, on account of your having understood the book. I have written a wicked book, and feel spotless as the lamb. Ineffable socialities are in me. I would sit down and dine with you and all the gods in old Rome's Panthcon. It is a strange feeling—no hopefulness is in it, no despair. Content—that is it; and irresponsibility; but without licentious inclination. I speak now of my profoundest sense of being, not of an incidental feeling.

Whence come you, Hawthorne? By what right do you drink from my flagon of life? And when I put it to my lips—lo, they are yours and not mine. I feel that the Godhead is broken up like the bread at the Supper, and that we are the pieces. Hence this infinite fraternity of feeling. Now, sympathizing with the paper, my angel turns over another page. You did not care a penny for the book. But, now and then as you read, you understood the pervading thought that impelled the book—and that you praised. Was it not so? You were archangel enough to despise the imperfect body, and embrace the soul. Once you hugged the ugly Socrates because you saw the flame in the mouth, and heard the rushing of the demon,—the familiar,—and recognized the sound; for you have heard it in your own solitudes.

My dear Hawthorne, the atmospheric skepticisms steal into me now, and make me doubtful of my sanity in writing you thus.

But, believe me, I am not mad, most noble Festus! [5] But truth is ever incoherent, and when the big hearts strike together, the concussion is a little stunning. Farewell. Don't write a word about the book. That would be robbing me of my miserly delight. I am heartily sorry I ever wrote anything about you—it was paltry.[6] Lord, when shall we be done growing? As long as we have anything more to do, we have done nothing. So, now, let us add Moby Dick to our blessing, and step from that. Leviathan is not the biggest fish;—I have heard of Krakens.[7]

This is a long letter, but you are not at all bound to answer it. Possibly, if you do answer it, and direct it to Herman Melville, you will missend it—for the very fingers that now guide this pen are not precisely the same that just took it up and put it on this paper. Lord, when shall we be done changing? Ah! it's a long stage, and no inn in sight, and night coming, and the body cold. But with you for a passenger, I am content and can be happy. I shall leave the world, I feel, with more satisfaction for having come to know you. Knowing you persuades me more than the Bible of our immortality.

What a pity, that, for your plain, bluff letter, you should get such gibberish! Mention me to Mrs. Hawthorne and to the children, and so, good-by to you, with my blessing.

Herman.[8]

P.S. I can't stop yet. If the world was entirely made up of Magians, I'll tell you what I should do. I should have a paper-mill

5. See Acts 26:24–25, "And as he thus spake for himself, Festus said with a loud voice, Paul, thou art beside thyself; much learning doth make thee mad. But he said, I am not mad, most noble Festus; but speak forth the words of truth and soberness."

6. "Hawthorne and His Mosses," *Literary World* (17, 24 August, 1850).

7. Cf. Joseph C. Hart, *Romance of Yachting: Voyage the First* (New York, 1848), p. 209: "Oh Shakespeare—Immortal bard—Mighty genius—Swan of Avon—thou Unapproachable! Are there no more fish, no more krakens in that wondrous sea from which thou wert taken? Shall there be no more cakes and ale?" See Perry Miller, *The Raven and the Whale* (New York, 1956), pp. 241–2, and Mansfield–Vincent, *Moby Dick*, 277 and n. 753: "There seems some ground to imagine that the great Kraken of Bishop Pontoppodan may ultimately resolve itself into Squid."

8. The one occasion in his letters, except those to members of his family, when Melville signs his first name only.

established at one end of the house, and so have an endless riband of foolscap rolling in upon my desk; and upon that endless riband I should write a thousand—a million—billion thoughts, all under the form of a letter to you. The divine magnet is on you, and my magnet responds. Which is the biggest? A foolish question—they are *One.* H.

P.P.S. Don't think that by writing me a letter, you shall always be bored with an immediate reply to it—and so keep both of us delving over a writing-desk eternally. No such thing! I sh'n't always answer your letters, and you may do just as you please.

94 TO RUFUS WILMOT GRISWOLD [9]
19 DECEMBER 1851
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Dec: 19th 1851.

Rufus W Griswold Esq:

Sir,—I have been honored by receiving an official invitation to attend the Cooper Demonstration to be held in New York on the 24th of this month.[1]—My very considerable distance from the city,

9. Rufus Wilmot Griswold (1815–1857), born in Vermont, at fifteen worked in a newspaper office in Albany and settled in New York in 1837, where he worked for Park Benjamin and Horace Greeley. He published *Poets and Poetry of America* (1842), *The Prose Writers of America* (1847), and *The Female Poets of America* (1848), and gained a reputation as "the foremost advocate of 'Americanism' in literature." He had many friends but made many enemies, especially as a result of his biography abusing Poe, for whom he was literary executor. He attacked the Duyckincks through his abusive review of their *Cyclopaedia* (New York *Herald,* 13 February, 1856).

1. Shortly after Cooper's death on 14 September a committee headed by Washington Irving, Rufus Griswold, and Fitz-Green Halleck planned a commemorative demonstration. Postponed from the originally planned date of 24 December because of the arrival of Louis Kossuth in New York, it was set for 24 or 25 February and finally held on the 27th. Melville's letter was read to the gathering, along with those of Emerson, Longfellow, Hawthorne, Prescott, Sumner, Samuel F. B. Morse, Simms, John Pendleton Kennedy, and others. See *Memorial of James Fenimore Cooper* (New York, 1852), passim, esp. p. 30, where Melville's letter, though printed correctly, is misdated 20 February, 1852.

Melville's "other reasons" for not attending the demonstration seem to have included an engagement for Christmas day at the Morewoods and concentrated labor on *Pierre.* Still, he visited New York for about two weeks shortly after Christmas (See below, textual note to Letter 96, pp. 347–48).

connected with other reasons, will prevent my compliance. But I rejoice that there will not be wanting many better, tho' not more zealous, men than myself, to unite on that occasion, in doing honor to a memory so very dear, not only to American Literature, but to the American Nation.

I never had the honor of knowing, or even seeing, Mr Cooper personally; so that, through my past ignorance of his person, the man, though dead, is still as living to me as ever. And this is very much; for his works are among the earliest I remember, as in my boyhood producing a vivid, and awakening power upon my mind.

It always much pained me, that for any reason, in his latter years, his fame at home should have apparently received a slight, temporary clouding, from some very paltry accidents, incident, more or less, to the general career of letters. But whatever possible things in Mr Cooper may have seemed, to have, in some degree, provoked the occasional treatment he received, it is certain, that he possessed no slightest weaknesses, but those, which are only noticeable as the almost infallible indices of pervading greatness. He was a great, robust-souled man, all whose merits are not even yet fully appreciated. But a grateful Posterity will take the best of care of Fennimore Cooper.

Assured that your Demonstration can not but prove a noble one, equally worthy of its illustrious object, & the numerous living celebrities who will partake in it,—

I am, Very Respectfully,
Yours,—
Herman Melville

95 TO SOPHIA HAWTHORNE [2]
8 JANUARY 1852
NEW YORK

[*Embossed trademark,* "BATH"]

New York Jan: 8th 1852

My Dear Mrs Hawthorne

I have hunted up the finest Bath I could find, gilt-edged and stamped, whereon to inscribe my humble acknowledgment of your

2. Sophia Amelia Peabody (1811–1871) married Nathaniel Hawthorne, 9 July, 1842.

highly flattering letter of the 29th Dec:—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" [3] first showed to me that there was a subtile 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 speciality 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.[4]

And now, how are you in West Newton? Are all domestic affairs regulated? Is Miss Una content? [5] and Master Julien satisfied with the landscape in general? And does Mr Hawthorne continue his series of calls upon all his neighbors within a radius of ten miles? Shall I send him ten packs of visiting cards? And a box of kid gloves? and the latest style of Parisian handkerchief?—He goes into society too much altogether—seven evenings out, a week, should content any reasonable man.

Now, Madam, had you not said anything about Moby Dick, & had Mr Hawthorne been equally silent, then had I said perhaps, something to both of you about another Wonder-(-full) Book.[6]

3. Cf. *Moby Dick,* chapter 51, "The Spirit Spout."

4. The first reference to *Pierre.* The phrase might have been appropriate to an early stage of the story. Applied to the full novel it could only be ironic.

5. Hawthorne's first child, born 3 March, 1844, and named after Spenser's heroine.

6. Hawthorne's *The Wonder Book,* which had just been published.

But as it is, I must be silent. How is it, that while all of us human beings are so entirely disembarrased 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; and so we see how true was that musical sentence of the poet when he sang—

"We can't help ourselves" [7]

For tho' we know what we ought to be; & what it would be very sweet & beautiful to be; yet we can't be it. That is most sad, too. Life is a long Dardenelles, My Dear Madam, the shores whereof are bright with flowers, which we want to pluck, but the bank is too high; & so we float on & on, hoping to come to a landing-place at last—but swoop! we launch into the great sea! Yet the geographers say, even then we must not despair, because across the great sea, however desolate & vacant it may look, lie all Persia & the delicious lands roundabout Damascus.

So wishing you a pleasant voyage at last to that sweet & far countree—

Beleive Me
Earnestly Thine—
Herman Melville

I forgot to say, that your letter was sent to me from Pittsfield—which delayed it.

My sister Augusta begs me to send her sincerest regards both to you & Mr Hawthorne.

96 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
9? JANUARY 1852
NEW YORK

Friday Afternoon
14 Wall Street [8]

Dear Duyckinck

I am engaged to go out of town tomorrow to be gone all day. So I wont' be able to see you at 11 O'clock as you propose. I will

7. Unlocated.
8. The address of Allan Melville's law office.

be glad to call though at some other time—not very remote in the future, either. The nut-crackers are very curious and duly valued.

Yours
H Melville

97 TO JULIAN HAWTHORNE [9]
8 FEBRUARY 1852
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Monday,
February 8th 1852.

My Dear Master Jul[ian]

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.

You tell me that the snow in Newton is very deep. Well, it is still deep*er* here, I fancy. I went into the woods the other day, and got so deep into the drifts among the big hemlocks & maples that I thought I should stick fast there till Spring came, [–a Snow] Image.[1]

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.

Herman Melville

Master Julian Hawthorne.

9. Julian Hawthorne (1846–1934), born in Boston, Mass., the second child of Nathaniel and Sophia Hawthorne, met Melville in the summer of 1851, at the age of five.

1. See "The Snow-Image," the title piece of Hawthorne's *The Snow-Image, and Other Twice-Told Tales,* published between 1 November, 1851, and the end of the year.

TO THE EDITORS OF THE *Literary World*[2]
14 FEBRUARY 1852
PITTSFIELD

98

Pittsfield
Feb: 14th 1852.

Editors of Literary World:

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.

Herman Melville

TO RICHARD BENTLEY
16 APRIL 1852
NEW YORK

99

New York April 16th 1852.

My Dear Sir:—I have deferred my reply to your last note till I could send you the book concerning which we are negotiating: that so you might be better enabled to come to a satisfactory decision upon the amended terms I am about to submit.[3]—In the first place, however, let me say that though your statement touching my previous books do not, certainly, look very favorably for the profit side of your account; yet, would it be altogether inadmissible to suppose that by subsequent sales the balance-sheet may yet be made to wear a different aspect?—Certainly,—without reference to the possible future increased saleableness of at least some of those books, on their own independent grounds. The success, (in a business point of view) of any subsequent work of mine, published by you, would

2. Evert and George Duyckinck, whose editorship of the *Literary World* continued until 31 December, 1853.

3. On 4 March Bentley had written Melville thanking him for the offer of his "new work [*Pierre*]," and suggesting he publish on a joint account with Melville, with payments of half profits as they arose. He felt he could not afford to pay a lump sum for the copyright, as he had for *Mardi, Redburn, White-Jacket,* and *The Whale* [*Moby Dick*], because they had brought him a loss of £453.4.6 which he did not expect to reduce by more than £100. "I fear," he wrote, "your books . . . are produced in too rapid succession" (Jerman, "More Correspondence," 311–12).

tend to react upon those previous books. And, of course, to your advantage.—I do not think that this view of the matter is unreasonable. Now, with these and other considerations in my mind, I can not possibly bring myself to accede to the overtures contained in your last note:—overtures, based upon arguments, which, as above shown, do not seem absolutely conclusive to me. And more especially am I impelled to decline those overtures upon the ground that my new book possessing unquestionable novelty, as regards my former ones,—treating of utterly new scenes & characters;—and, as I beleive, 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 warrant me strongly in not closing with terms greatly inferior to those upon which our previous negotiations have proceeded.—Besides,—if you please, Mr Bentley—let bygones be bygones; let those previous books, for the present, take care of themselves. For here now we have a *new book,* and what shall we say about *this?* If nothing has been made on the old books, may not something be made out of the new?—At any rate, herewith you have it. Look at it and see whether it will suit you to purchase it at the terms I shall state below. It is a larger book, by 150 pages & more, than I thought it would be, at the date of my first writing you about it. Other things being equal, this circumstance,—in your mode of publication—must of course augment its value to you.

—I can not but beleive, that as the overtures you made me in your last note were based upon an almost entire ignorance as to the character of the new book (because, you could have no means of knowing what it was going to be) *now* that you see it before you, you will, upon a reconsideration, be induced not to decline the ultimate terms which I here submit, as follows:—£100 (you buying the book—for England—out-&-out) to be drawn for by me at thirty days' sight, immediately upon my being apprised of your acquiescence.—I trust that our connection will thus be made to continue, and that on the new field of productions, upon which I embark in the present work, you & I shall hereafter participate in many not unprofitable business adventures.

Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville.

P.S. If, Mr Bentley, you accede to the before-mentioned terms, you might then go on and publish without further hearing from me. For the book will reach you, I think, in the prime of the season. *At all events,* I shall suspend the publication at the Harpers' till I have concluded some satisfactory negotiation in London. So you may be sure that if you undertake the book, your publication will not be anticipated here by the Harpers. I send you the proofs from the type instead of the plates, for which I should have to wait some few days.

I presume that ere this sheet comes to your hand, Mr Lemuel Shaw [4] will have arrived in London. I furnished him with a letter to you. And would here again invoke for him any attention you may be able to bestow.—

H. M.

One more P.S.—I have thought that, on several accounts, (one of which is, the rapid succession in which my works have lately been published) it might not prove unadvisable to publish this present book anonymously, or under an assumed name:–* *"By a Vermonter"* say. I beg you to consider the propriety of this suggestion, but defer the final decision to your own better experience in such matters, since I am prompted in throwing out the idea, merely in regard to your advantage as publisher.[5]

H. M.

* or *"By Guy Winthrop."*

4. Lemuel Shaw, Jr.

5. Bentley answered Melville's letter on 5 May with a firm refusal to go ahead with *Pierre* unless Melville agreed not only to accept the half-profits arrangement but also to let Bentley "make or have made by a judicious literary friend such alterations as are absolutely necessary to 'Pierre' being properly appreciated here . . ." Both *Mardi* and *The Whale,* he felt, would have profited by such revision. If in them, he went on bluntly, "you had . . . restrained your imagination somewhat and had written in a style to be understood by the great mass of readers—nay if you had not sometimes offended the feelings of many sensitive readers you would have succeeded in England" (Jerman, "More Correspondence," 312–13). This apparently terminated the negotiations, and *Pierre* appeared in England as "an issue of the American sheets under the imprint of the Harpers' London agent, Sampson, Low, Son, and Company" (Howard, 198).

TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE

17 JULY 1852

100 PITTSFIELD

[*Embossed trademark,* "BATH" with a crown above and two garlands below.]

By the way, here's a crown. Significant this. Pray, allow me to place it on your head in victorious token of your "Blithedale" success.[6] Tho' not in strict keeping, I have embellished it with a plume.[7]

Pittsfield, July 17th

My Dear Hawthorne:—This name of *"Hawthorne"* seems to be ubiquitous. I have been on something of a tour lately, and it has saluted me vocally & typographically in all sorts of places & in all sorts of ways.—I was at the solitary Crusoeish island of Naushon (one of the Elisabeth group) and there, on a stately piazza, I saw it gilded on the back of a very new book, and in the hands of a clergyman.[8]—I went to visit a gentleman in Brooklyne,[9] and as we were sitting at our wine, in came the lady of the house, holding a beaming volume in her hand, from the city—"My Dear," to her husband, "I have brought you *Hawthorne's* new book." I entered the cars at Boston for this place. In came a lively boy *"Hawthorne's* new book!"—In good time I arrived home. Said my lady-wife "there is Mr *Hawthorne's* new book, come by mail" And this morning, lo! on my table a little note, subscribed *Hawthorne* again.—Well,

6. *The Blithedale Romance,* published 14 July 1852.

7. Melville has drawn two "X" marks beside the trademark and circular lines over the crown.

8. Melville visited Naushon with Lemuel Shaw during a trip to Nantucket, 6–14 July. The clergyman was almost certainly Ephraim Peabody (1807–1856), born in New Bedford, minister of the Unitarian Church in New Bedford (1838–46) and of King's Chapel, Boston (1846–56).

9. Probably George Griggs, a lawyer of Brookline, Mass., presumably living with his parents before his marriage to Melville's sister Helen in January 1854. According to Maria Melville, "Judge [Lemuel] Shaw has known him many years. About eight years since Helen became acquainted with him at Judge Shaw's house. Mr Griggs has visited us often since our removal to this place [Pittsfield]" (Maria Melville to Peter Gansevoort, Pittsfield, 23 September, 1853—NYPL-GL, extract in Leyda, *Log,* 480).

the Hawthorne is a sweet flower; may it flourish in every hedge.

I am sorry, but I can not at present come to see you at Concord as you propose.—I am but just returned from a two weeks' absence; and for the last three months & more I have been an utter idler and a savage—out of doors all the time. So, the hour has come for me to sit down again.

Do send me a specimen of your sand-hill, and a sunbeam from the countenance of Mrs: Hawthorne, and a vine from the curly arbor of Master Julian.

As I am only just home, I have not yet got far into the book but enough to see that you have most admirably employed materials which are richer than I had fancied them. Especially at this day, the volume is welcome, as an antidote to the mooniness of some dreamers—who are merely dreamers———Yet who the devel aint a dreamer?

H Melville

My rememberances to Miss Una & Master Julian—& the "compliments" & perfumes of the season to the "Rose-bud." [1]

101 TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE
13 AUGUST 1852
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Aug: 13th 1852.

[*Salutation torn off*] [2]— While visiting Nantucket some four weeks ago, I made the acquaintance of a gentleman from New Bedford, a lawyer,[3] who gave me considerable information upon several matters concerning which I was curious.—One night we were talking, I think, of the great patience, & endurance, & resignedness of the women of the island in submitting so uncomplainingly to

1. Hawthorne's third child, Rose, born 20 May, 1851.

2. The torn section is the upper left-hand corner of the letter.

3. As Metcalf notes (*Cycle*, 136), this is most probably John H. Clifford (1809–1876), a practicing lawyer in New Bedford since 1830, and district attorney for the Southern District of Massachusetts in 1842 at the time of the case Melville is writing about. When Melville met him, he was Attorney General for Massachusetts, and within a few months he was to become the successful Whig candidate for governor. In 1850 he had prosecuted Professor John W. Webster of Harvard for the murder of his colleague Professor George Parkman.

the long, long abscences of their sailor husbands, when, by way of anecdote, this lawyer gave me a leaf from his professional experience. Altho' his memory was a little confused with regard to some of the items of the story, yet he told me enough to awaken the most lively interest in me; and I begged him to be sure and send me a more full account so soon as he arrived home—he having previously told me that at the time of the affair he had made a record in his books.—I heard nothing more, till a few days after arriving here at Pittsfield I received thro' the Post Office the enclosed document.[4]—You will perceive by the gentleman's note to me that he assumed that I purposed making literary use of the story; [5] but I had not hinted anything of the kind to him, & my first spontaneous interest in it arose from very different considerations. I confess, however, that since then I have a little turned the subject over in my mind with a view to a regular story to be founded on these striking incidents. But, thinking again, it has occurred to me 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.—Besides the thing seems naturally to gravitate towards you (to spea[k] . . . [*half a line torn*] should of right belong to you. I cou[ld] . . . [*half a line torn*] the Steward to deliver it to you.—

The very great interest I felt in this story while narrating to me, was heightened by the emotion of the gentleman who told it, who evinced the most unaffected sympathy in it, tho' now a matter of his past.—But perhaps this great interest of mine may have been largely helped by some accidental circumstance or other; so that, possibly, to you the story may not seem to possess so much of pathos, & so much of depth. But you will see how it is.———

In estimating the character of Robinson [6] Charity should be allowed a liberal play. I take exception to that passage from the Diary which says that *"he must have received a portion of his punishment in this life"*—thus hinting of a future supplemental castigation.—I do not at all suppose that his desertion of his wife was

4. The enclosure is a copy of an entry in Mr. Clifford's journal (Melville calls it a "diary"). It is printed after Melville's letter, below pp. 158–61.

5. The note Mr. Clifford sent with the document has not survived.

6. Robertson, in Clifford's account.

Uttoxeter, Aug: 13th 1852.

— While visiting Rowlinches some
few weeks ago, I made the acquaintance of a gentleman from
Nov. Bedford, a Lawyer, who gave me considerable information
upon several matters concerning which I was curious. — One
night we were talking, I think, of the great patience, & endurance,
& resignedness of the women of the island on submitting so uncomplainingly
to the long, long absences of their earlier husbands, when, by way
of anecdote, the Lawyer gave me a leaf from his professional
experience. Altho' his memory was a little confused with regard to
some of the items of the story, yet he told me enough to awaken
the most lively interest in me; and I begged him to be sure
and send me a more full account so soon as he arrived home
— he very promptly told me that at the time of the affair
he had made a record in the books. — I heard nothing
more, till a few days after arriving here at Uttoxeter I received there
the Post Office the enclosed document. — You will perceive
by the gentleman's note to me that he promised making literary use of the story; but I had not looked anything
like to him, & my first spontaneous impression on it alone from my
different considerations. I suppose, however, that since then I have
a little loosed the subject in my mind and a new to an
regular story to be founded on those striking incidents. But, thinking
again, it has occurred to me that they may lose very much
in a new, with which you are perhaps familiar. To be plain,
I think that in this matter you would make a better hand
at it than I could. — Besides the story seems evidently

2. Page 1 of the "Agatha Letter"

a premeditated thing. If it had been so, he would have changed his name, probably, after quitting her.—No: he was a weak man, & his temptations (tho' we know little of them) were strong. The whole sin stole upon him insensibly—so that it would perhaps have been hard for him to settle upon the exact day when he could say to himself, "*Now* I have deserted my wife["]; unless, indeed upon the day he wedded the Alexandran lady.—And here I am reminded of your *London husband;*[7] tho' the cases so rudely contrast.—Many more things might be mentioned; but I forbear; you will find out the suggestiveness for yourself; & all the better perhaps, for my not intermeddling.—

If you should be sufficiently interested, to engage upon a regular story founded on this narration [narrative?]; then I consider you but fairly entitled to the following tributary items, collected by me, by chance, during my strolls thro the islands; & which—as you will perceive—seem legitimately to belong to the story, in its rounded & beautified & thoroughly developed state;—but of all this you must of course be your own judge—I but submit matter to you—I dont decide.

Supposing the story to open with the wreck—then there must be a storm; & it were well if some faint shadow of the preceding *calm* were thrown forth to lead the whole.—Now imagine a high cliff overhanging the sea & crowned with a pasture for sheep; a little way off—higher up,—a light-house, where resides the father of the future Mrs Robinson the First. The afternoon is mild & warm. The sea with an air of solemn deliberation, with an elaborate deliberation, ceremoniously rolls upon the beach. The air is suppressedly charged with the sound of long lines of surf. There is no land over against this cliff short of Europe & the West Indies. Young Agatha (but you must give her some other name) comes wandering along the cliff. She marks how the continual assaults of the sea have undermined it; so that the fences fall over, & have need of many shiftings inland. The sea has encroached also upon

7. Wakefield, the hero of Hawthorne's story of that name, included in *Twice-Told Tales.* He deserts his wife on an impulse and lives for twenty years in the next street, unable, in his morbid vanity, to return. When he finally crosses his own threshold again it is as though he is descending into the grave.

that part where their dwelling-house stands near the light-house.— Filled with meditations, she reclines along the edge of the cliff & gazes out seaward. She marks a handful of cloud on the horizon, presaging a storm tho' [thro'?] all this quietude. (Of a maratime family & always dwelling on the coast, she is learned in these matters) This again gives food for thought. Suddenly she catches the long shadow of the cliff cast upon the beach 100 feet beneath her; and now she notes a shadow moving along the shadow. It is cast by a sheep from the pasture. It has advanced to the very edge of the cliff, & is sending a mild innocent glance far out upon the water. Here [There?], in strange & beautiful contrast, we have the innocence of the land placidly eyeing the malignity of the sea. (All this having poetic reference to Agatha & her sea-lover, who is coming in the storm: the storm carries her lover to her; she catches a dim distant glimpse of his ship ere quitting the cliff)———

P.S. It were well, if from her knowledge of the deep miseries produced to wives by marrying seafaring men, Agatha should have formed a young determination never to marry a sailor; which resolve in her, however, is afterwards overborne by the omnipotence of Love.—P.S. No 2. Agatha should be active during the wreck, & should, in some way, be made the saviour of young Robinson. He should be the only survivor. He should be ministered to by Agatha at the house during the illness ensuing upon his injuries from the wreck.—Now this wrecked ship was driven over the shoals, & driven upon the beach where she goes to pieces, all but her stem-part. This in course of time becomes embedded in the sand—after the lapse of some years showing nothing but the sturdy stem (or, prow-bone) projecting some two feet at low water. All the rest is filled & packed down with the sand.—So that after her husband has disappeared the sad Agatha every day sees this melancholy monument, with all its remindings.———

After a sufficient lapse of time—when Agatha has become alarmed about the protracted abscence of her young husband & is feverishly expecting a letter from him—then we must introduce the mail-post—no, that phrase wont' do, but here is the *thing*. —Owing to the remoteness of the lighthouse from any settled place no regular ⟨male⟩ mail reaches it. But some mile or so dis-

tant there is a road leading between two post-towns. And at the junction of what we shall call the Light-House road with this Post Rode, there stands a post surmounted with a little rude wood box with a lid to it & a leather hinge. Into this box the Post boy drops all letters for the people of the light house & that vicinity of fishermen. To this *post* they must come for their letters. And, of course, daily young Agatha goes—for seventeen years she [?] goes thither daily [.] As her hopes gradually decay in her, so does the post itself & the little box decay. The post rots in the ground at last. Owing to its being little used—hardly used at all—grass grows rankly about it. At last a little bird nests in it. At last the post falls.

The father of Agatha must be an old widower—a man of the sea, but early driven away from it by repeated disasters. Hence, is he subdued & quiet & wise in his life. And now he tends a light house, to warn people from those very perils, from which he himself has suffered.

Some few other items occur to me—but nothing material—and I fear to weary you, if not, make you smile at my strange impertinent officiousness.—And it would be so, were it not that these things do, in my mind, seem legitimately to belong to the story; for they were visably suggested to me by scenes I actually beheld while on the very coast where the story of Agatha occurred.—I do not therefore, My Dear Hawthorne, at all imagine that you will think that I am so silly as to flatter myself I am giving you anything of my own. I am but restoring to you your own property—which you would quickly enough have identified for yourself—had you but been on the spot as I happened to be.

Let me conclude by saying that it seems to me that with your great power in these things, you can construct a story of remarkable interest out of this material furnished by the New Bedford lawyer.—You have a skeleton of actual reality to build about with fulness & veins & beauty. And if I thought I could do it as well as you, why, I should not let you have it.—The narrative [narration?] from the Diary is instinct with significance.—Consider the mention of the *shawls*—& the inference derived from it. Ponder the conduct of this Robinson throughout.—Mark his trepidation &

suspicion when any one called upon him.—But why prate so—you will mark it all & mark it deeper than I would, perhaps.

I have written all this in a great hurry; so you must spell it out the best way you may.[8]

P.S. The business was settled in a few weeks afterwards, in a most amicable & honorable manner, by a division of the property. I think Mrs. Robinson & her family refused to claim or recieve anything that really belonged to Mrs. Irwin, or which Robinson had derived through her.—

[*Enclosure:* Mr. Clifford's story of Agatha]

May 28th 1842 Saturday. I have just returned from a visit to Falmouth with a M^r^ Janney of M^o^ on one of the most interesting and romantic cases I ever expect to be engaged in. —The gentleman from Missouri M^r^ Janney came to my house last Sunday evening and related to myself and partner that he had married the daughter of a M^rs^ Irvin formerly of Pittsburgh Pa. and that M^rs^ Irvin had married a second husband by the name of Robertson. The latter deceased about two years since. He was appointed Adm^r^ to his Estate which amounted to $20 000—about 15 months afterwards M^rs^ Robertson also died and in the meantime the Adm^r^ had been engaged in looking up heirs to the Estate—He learned that Robertson was an Englishman whose original name was Shinn —that he resided at Alexandria D.C. where he had two nephews —He also wrote to England and had ascertained the history and genealogy of the family with much accuracy, when on going to the Post Office one day he found a letter directed to James Robertson the deceased, post marked Falmouth Mass^tts^—On opening it he found it from a person signing herself Rebecca A. Gifford and addressing him as "Father." The existence of this girl had been known before by M^rs^ Robertson and her husband had pronounced her to be illegitimate The Adm^r^ then addressed a letter to M^rs^ Gifford informing her of the decease of her father. He was surprized soon after by the appearance in S^t^ Louis of a shrewd Quaker from Falmouth named Dillingham with full powers and fortified by letters and affidavits shewing the existence of a wife in Falmouth

8. Mr. Clifford's story of Agatha follows at this point, and Melville's postscript is added at the end of it.

whom Robertson married in 1807 at Pembroke M[a]ss & the legitimacy of the daughter who had married a M[r] Gifford and laying strong claims to the entire property.

The Adm[r] and heirs having strong doubts arising from the declarations of Robertson during his lifetime & the peculiar expressions contained in the letters exhibited, as to the validity of the marriage & the claim based upon it, determined to resist and legal proceedings were at once commenced. The object of the visit of M[r] Janney was to attend the taking of depositions, upon a notice <o> from the claimants—The Minister Town Clerk and Witnesses <estab[lished]> present at the ceremony established the fact of a legal marriage and the birth of a child in wedlock, beyond all cavil or controversy all of the witnesses were of the highest respectability and the widow and daughter interested me very much.

It appeared that Robertson was wrecked on the coast of Pembroke where this girl, then Miss Agatha Hatch was living—that he was hospitably entertained and cared for, and that within a year after, he married her, in due form of law—that he went two short voyages to sea. About two years after the marriage, leaving his wife *enciente* [*sic*] he started off in search of employment and from that time until *Seventeen* years afterwards she never heard from him in any way whatsoever, directly or indirectly, not even a word. Being poor she went out nursing for her daily bread and yet contrived out of her small earnings to give her daughter a first rate education. Having become connected with the Society of Friends she sent her to their most celebrated boarding school and when I saw her I found she had profited by all her advantages beyond most females. In the meantime Robertson had gone to Alexandria D.C. where he had entered into a successful and profitable business and married a second wife. At the expiration of this long period of 17 years which for the poor forsaken <widow> wife, had glided wearily away, while she was engaged away from home, her Father rode up in a gig and informed her that her husband had returned and wished to see her and her child—but if she would not see him, to see her child at all events—They all returned together and encountered him on the way coming to meet them about half a mile from her father's house. This meeting was described to me by the mother and daughter—Every incident seemed

branded upon the memories of both. He excused himself as well as he could for his long absence and silence, appeard very affectionate refused to tell where he was living and persuaded them not to make any inquiries, gave them a handsome sum of money, promised to return for good and left the next day—He appeared again in about a year, just on the eve of his daughter's marriage & gave her a bridal present. It was not long after this that his wife in Alexandria died—He then wrote to his son-in-law to come there—He did so—remained 2 days and brought back a gold watch and three handsome shawls which had been previously worn by some person—They all admitted that they had suspicions then & from this circumstance that he had been a second time married.

Soon after this he visited Falmouth again & as it proved for the last time—He announced his intention of removing to Missouri & urged the whole family to go with him, promising money land and other assistance to his son-in-law. The offer was not accepted He shed tears when he bade them farewell—From the time of his return to Missouri till the time of his death a constant correspondence was kept up money was remitted by him annually and he announced to them his marriage with M^rs^ Irvin—He had no children by either of his last two wives.

M^r^ Janney was entirely disappointed in the character of the evidence and the character of the claimants. He considered them, when he first came, as parties to the imposition practised upon M^rs^ Irvin & her children. But I was satisfied and I think he was, that their motives in keeping silence were high and pure, creditable in every way to the true M^rs^ Robertson. She stated the causes with a simplicity & pathos which carried that conviction irresistibly to my mind. The only good(?) it could have done to expose him would have been to drive Robertson away and forever disgrace him & it would certainly have made M^rs^ Irvin & her children wretched for the rest of their days—"I had no wish" said the wife "to make either of them unhappy, notwithstanding all I had suffered on his account"—It was to me a most striking instance of long continued & uncomplaining submission to wrong and anguish on the part of a wife, w^ch^ made her in my eyes a heroine.

Janney informed me that R. and his last wife did not live very happily together and particularly that he seemed to be a very jealous suspicious man—that when a person called at his house he

would never enter the room till he knew who it was & "all about him."] He must have recieved a portion of his punishment in this life. The fact came out in the course of examination that they had agreed to give Dillingham one half of what he might obtain deducting the expenses from his half—After the strength of the evidence became known Mr Janney commenced the making of serious efforts to effect a compromise of the claim. What the result will be time will shew—This is, I suspect, the end of my connexion with the case—

102 TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE
25 OCTOBER 1852
PITTSFIELD

Monday Morning
25th Oct: 1852.

My Dear Hawthorne—

If you thought it worth while to write the story of Agatha,[1] and should you be engaged upon it; then I have a little idea touching it, which however trifling, may not be entirely out of place. Perhaps, tho', the idea has occurred to yourself.—The probable facility with which Robinson first leaves his wife & then takes another, may, possibly, be ascribed to the peculiarly latitudinarian notions, which most sailors have of all tender obligations of that sort. In his previous sailor life Robinson had found a wife (for a night) in every port. The sense of the obligation of the marriage-vow to Agatha had little weight with him at first. *It* was only when some years of life ashore had passed that his moral sense on that point became developed. And hence his subsequent conduct—Remorse &c. Turn this over in your mind & see if it is right. If not—make it so yourself.

If you come across a little book called "Taughconic"—look into it and divert yourself with it. Among others, you figure in it, & I also. But you are the most honored, being the most abused, and having the greatest space allotted you.—It is a "Guide Book" to Berkshire.[2]

1. See Letter 101.

2. The guide book was Godfrey Greylock [J. E. A. Smith], *Taghonic; or Letters and Legends about Our Summer Home,* Boston, 1852. The book included several chapters by Smith's friends. Smith wrote the three brief and

I dont know when I shall see you. I shall lay eyes on you one of these days however. Keep some Champagne or Gin for me.

My respects and best remembrances to Mrs: Hawthorne & a reminder to the children.

H Melville

If you find any *sand* in this letter, regard it as so many sands of my life, which run out as I was writing it.

103 TO NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE
AFTER 25 NOVEMBER 1852
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. Will you therefore enclose the whole affair to me; and if anything of your own has occurred to you in your random thinking, won't you note it down for me on the same page with my memorandum? I wish I had come to this determination at Concord, for then we might

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flattering notices of Melville (pp. 13, 16, and 211); his friend "Mr. Buckham of Lenox" wrote six pages on Hawthorne, laying stress upon "his secluded life," and the "unsympathising morbid spirit" of his work. "Perhaps all his better sympathies," conjectured Mr. Buckham, "were chilled in those speculations with his dreamy brethren of the Brook Farm Community; perhaps he and Emerson, enraptured with the mystic perfections of their own fantasies, abjured all communion with this our gross humanity; he certainly could not have had his feelings frozen into hate by contact with the genial and sympathizing intellect of Ellery Channing, or at the warm hearthstone of Longfellow" (103). The honor Buckham pays to Hawthorne's work and style is considerably overbalanced by these and other rebukes. At the bottom of his "abuse" was resentment at Hawthorne's treatment of the Puritans and Calvinism, and he went out of his way to point out that though the Calvinists of the local church in Lenox were sincere and pious, "the shadows of [Hawthorne] seldom, if ever, darken a church door" (p. 104). Other contributors to *Taghonic* were Sarah Morewood and John C. Hoadley, who later married Melville's sister Catherine; but "Herman," as his mother wrote to Peter Gansevoort, "has not contributed one line, tho often requested to do so" (Leyda, *Log*, 461).

have more fully and closely talked over the story, and so struck out new light. Make amends for this, though, as much as you conveniently can. With your permission I shall make use of the "Isle of Shoals," as far as the name goes at least.[3] I shall also introduce the old Nantucket seaman, in the way I spoke to you about. I invoke your blessing upon my endeavors; and breathe a fair wind upon me. I greatly enjoyed my visit to you, and hope that you reaped some corresponding pleasure.

H. Melville

Julian, Una, and Rose,—my salutations to them.

104 TO ELIZABETH DOW [4]
10 JANUARY 1853
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Jan 10th 1853.

Miss Lizzie Dow:

I was very much pleased when your namesake brought home the picture of the "old gentleman." [5] You have succeeded much

3. The Isles of Shoals are a group of eight barren and rocky islands some ten miles southeast of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, inhabited largely by fishermen, though popular at the time as summer resorts. Celia Thaxter, who lived on one of the islands, thus describes them: "In a series of papers published not many years ago, Herman Melville made the world acquainted with the 'Encantadas,' or Enchanted Islands, which he described as lying directly under the equator, off the coast of South America, and of which he says: 'It is to be doubted whether any spot of earth can, in desolateness, furnish a parallel to this group.' But their dark volcanic crags and melancholy beaches can hardly seem more desolate than do the low bleached rocks of the Isles of Shoals to eyes that behold them for the first time. Very sad they look, stern, bleak, and unpromising, yet are they enchanted islands in a better sense of the word than are the Great Gallipagos of which Mr. Melville discourses so delightfully"—*Among the Isles of Shoals* (Boston, 1873), p. 7. For Hawthorne's record of his visit to the islands with Franklin Pierce, 3–16 September, see Randall Stewart, ed., *The American Notebooks by Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1932), pp. 256–75.

4. Elizabeth Dow of Milton, Mass., was a first cousin of Elizabeth Melville, through her mother Elizabeth Knapp Shaw (1784?–1822) and her aunt Dorothy Knapp Dow (1788–1868). In accordance with the invitation in the letter, she visited the Melvilles in Pittsfield the following summer, traveling from Boston with Samuel Shaw (Leyda, *Log*, 477–8).

5. Elizabeth Melville had just returned from a visit with her family in Boston. The picture was of her father.

better than I had thought it possible. And I take this mode of putting my thankful obligations to you on epistolary record.

If you will come & see us next summer, you shall see how we have disposed of the picture. Consider this note as another renewal of the original invitation—only still more urgent.

Truly Yours
H Melville

105 TO HARPER BROTHERS
24 NOVEMBER 1853
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Nov 24th 1853

Gentlemen:—In addition to the work which I took to New York last Spring, but which I was prevented from printing at that time; [6] I have now in hand, and pretty well on towards completion, another book—300 pages, say—partly of nautical adventure, and partly—or, rather, chiefly, of Tortoise Hunting Adventure.[7] It will be ready for press some time in the coming January. Meanwhile, it would be convenient, to have advanced to me upon it $300.

6. This would seem to be the "new work" which according to Maria Melville was "nearly ready for the press" by 20 April, 1853 (Leyda, *Log*, 468). Late in 1852, after a Thanksgiving visit in Boston and a conversation with Hawthorne in Concord, Melville wrote Hawthorne that "immediately upon reaching home" he would begin the "Agatha" story (Letter 103, above). Melville's comment here offers evidence that he had written enough of the "Agatha" story to submit it for publication in the Spring of 1853, though he was "prevented from printing" it then and was never to print it. For the original suggestion that Melville wrote the "Agatha" story and for an excellent discussion of its direction, see Harrison Hayford, "The Significance of Melville's 'Agatha' Letters," *ELH, 13* (December 1946), 299–310.

7. This second manuscript seems to be "The Encantadas," which contained two beginning sections chiefly on tortoises and included in its nine sketches what could be generally labeled "nautical adventure." The series of sketches was not published by Harper Brothers, however, but in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* for March, April, and May 1854 under the title, " 'The Encantadas, or Enchanted Isles,' by Salvator R. Tarnmoor." Whether the manuscript of the book included these and other sketches, or was something quite different, it is impossible to say, but Melville received from the Harpers the $300 advance that he here sought.

—My acct: with you, at present, can not be very far from square.[8] For the abovenamed advance—if remitted me now—you will have security in my former works, as well as security prospective, in the one to come, (The Tortoise-Hunters) because if you accede to the aforesaid request, this letter shall be your voucher, that I am willing your house should publish it, on the old basis—half-profits.

Reply immediately, if you please,
And Beleive Me, Yours
Herman Melville

106 TO HARPER BROTHERS
6? DECEMBER 1853
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Dec: 6th 1853

Gentlemen:

I acknowledge, with pleasure, yours of the 6th, enclosing $300. as an advance upon my new book (Tortoise Hunting.)[9]

Very Truly
Yours
Herman Melville

Harper & Brothers,
Franklin Square.

8. Accompanying this letter is a separate sheet that reviews Melville's sales record with the Harpers Brothers. To the question, "How many copies <of> have been sold of Melville's three last works?" another, a fancy clerk hand, responds:

Typee	1779
Omoo	6328
Mardi	2544
Redburn	4316
White Jacket	4145
Moby Dick	2771
Pierre	1916.

9. Harper's tenth account with Melville, 6 October 1854 (HCL-M), shows he received "Cash [$] 300" on 7 December 1853.

TO E. L. WELLS?
14 DECEMBER 1853
107 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Dec 14th 1853
Mr Melvill takes pleasure in exchanging autographs with Mr E L Wells[?]

Herman Melville

108 TO SARAH HUYLER MOREWOOD
20? DECEMBER? 1853
PITTSFIELD

(Particularly Private and Exclusively Confidential)

The Hill. Tuesday Evening.

My Lady Countess:—Some months ago a rumor was rife of a Christmas Dinner to be given by your Ladyship at your princely seat of Southmount in the heart of the Hemlock Land. Later there came report of a grand Christmas Eve to be celebrated at the same hospitable castle. Latest of all came report that both a Christmas Day Dinner and a Christmas Eve Supper were to be given by your Ladyship of Southmount.

Bewildered by these various rumors I now presume—but only upon the strength of that not disdainful feeling wherewith you have condescended to honor me—I now presume to set before your Ladyship the following considerations as respects myself, concerning these festivities rumored to be coming at your castle; not—beleive me—flattering myself that they will weigh with you to alter aught, but simply to preinform you of what may be anticipated from this loyal knight.

There are, your Ladyship, three hypotheses:

First: The Christmas Dinner.

Second: The Christmas Eve Supper

Third: The Christmas Day Dinner & the Christmas Eve Supper.

If the first, I shall be delighted to attend.

If the second, I shall deeply regret my inability to do so.

If the third, I shall be delighted to attend the Day-Dinner; but deeply regret my inability to attend the night Supper.

All of which is respectfully submitted to your Ladyship of Southmount by the humble Knight on the Hill.

My most Knightly compliments to your lovely guest the Lady Drew and the charming Lady Brittian,[1] and that sweet heiress of your noble name, the infant Countess Hahn-Hahn.[2]

With due obeisance, & three times kissing of your Ladyships hands, & salutes to all your Ladyship's household, I am

Dear Lady of Southmount
Your Ladyship's
Knight of the Hill.

109 TO HARPER BROTHERS
29? FEBRUARY 1854
PITTSFIELD

Harper & Brothers

Gentlemen:—

When I procured the advance of $300 from you upon the "Tortoises" or "Tortoise Hunting," I intimated that the work would be ready for press some time in January.[3] I have now to express my concern, that, owing to a variety of causes, the work, unavoidably, was not ready in that month, & still requires additional work to it, ere completion. But in no sense can you loose by the delay.

1. Ellen Brittain (1814–1897), sister of Sarah Morewood (Leyda, *Log*, xxx).

2. Anne Rachel Morewood, born 10 November, 1853. Melville was thinking of Countess Ida von Hahn-Hahn (1805–1880), sometimes called the German Georges Sand. Early divorced from a faithless husband, she wrote a series of novels in which the heroine is usually separated from her husband and moves through high society, colliding with artificial conventions, and romantically pursuing but never attaining an ideal happiness. The only one of her novels available in English at this time was *Countess Faustina* (London, 1844 and 1845), which Margaret Fuller had reviewed in the New York *Daily Tribune* (12 March, 1845), but two volumes of travels had been translated and also a somewhat polemical apologia, *From Babylon to Jersualem* (London, 1851). In 1850 she had dropped her romantic indulgence and defiance, become a Catholic, and founded a nunnery with which she was associated until her death. One would like to know whether Melville linked Mrs. Morewood with her merely because she was an aristocrat or because he saw in his neighbor something of a female Faust, like both the Countess and her best-known heroine.

3. Probably because of the disastrous fire in Harper's three days later the firm did not press Melville for a final manuscript. Melville was apparently unable to complete the manuscript, or had decided on magazine publication, for at the time this letter was written the "Encantadas" sketches were being prepared for publication in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*. The Harpers did

I shall be in New York in the course of a few weeks; when I shall call upon you, & inform you when these proverbially slow "Tortoises" will be ready to crawl into market.

Very truly yours,
H. Melville

110 TO SARAH HUYLER MOREWOOD
MARCH 1854
PITTSFIELD

Day of Ill Luck—Friday, March &c

Dear Mrs Morewood

(See how my hand improves as the name is traced—compare, I say the writing of the second line with the first)

Madam:—

The Pilgrims come, not as of old with staff and scrip, but splendidly gilt like kings. A superstitious, a fanciful mind might almost, by anticipation, distrust the wisdom taught by a book so bound.[4] But—

The engravings are beautiful, & I have enjoyed them much. No doubt too, pictures equally fine will be found in the text when I come to read it—which will not be long from now.

H Melville

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111 TO HARPER BROTHERS
25 MAY 1854
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield May 25th 1854

Harper & Brothers:—

Gentlemen—

I have receivd your letter enclosing $100 on acct: of the "Paradise of Batchelors &c." [5]

---

not require Melville to repay the advance and appear to have made no effort to encourage the book. (See below, Letters 111 and 113.)

4. This was Edward George Earle Lytton Bulwer-Lytton, 1st Baron, *The Pilgrims of the Rhine* . . . new ed. London, Tilt, 1840. The volume was inscribed "Herman Melville From his Friend S[arah] H[uyler]. Morewood Jan. 1st 1854."

5. Published as "Paradise of Bachelors and Tartarus of Maids" in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* for April 1855.

When you write me concerning the "Tortoises" extract, you may, if you choose, inform me at about what time you would be prepared to commence the publication of another Serial [6] in your Magazine—supposing you had one, in prospect, that suited you.

Yours Very Truly

H Melvill

By writing soon, on the latter subject, you will greatly oblige.

112 TO GEORGE PALMER PUTMAN [7]

7 JUNE? 1854

PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, July 7, 1854 [8]

George P. Putnam, Esq.

Dear Sir: I send you prepaid by Express, to-day, some sixty and odd pages of MSS. The manuscript is part of a story called "Israel Potter," concerning which a more particular understanding need be had. . . .

This story when finished will embrace some 300 or more MS.

6. This suggests that *Israel Potter,* published serially in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* beginning in July 1854, was also offered to *Harper's.*

7. George Palmer Putnam (1814–1872), after working for the publishers Wiley and Long, entered into a partnership with John Wiley in 1840 to form the firm of Wiley and Putnam (dissolved in 1848). Settled in London, he also conducted an agency for selling American books in England and in 1845 arranged with Gansevoort Melville for the publication of an American edition of *Typee.* Returning to New York, he founded *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* (first issue, 3 January, 1853), in which *Israel Potter* and a number of Melville's stories were later published. He was a cousin of Sophia Hawthorne and married in 1841 Victorine Haven. There is evidence that the Putnams met Melville on at least one social occasion (see Letter 266).

8. The letter is mistakenly dated "July 7, 1854" in George H. Putnam, *A Memoir of George Palmer Putnam* (New York and London, 1903), p. 219. On 1 October, 1852, Putnam sent a form letter to more than seventy established American authors, describing the proposed magazine and soliciting articles and stories: Putnam's *A Memoir,* 286–7, and James C. Derby, *Fifty Years among Authors, Books, and Publishers* (New York, 1884), pp. 312–13. No such letter to Melville has been discovered, but he must have been invited to contribute to the magazine and have accepted, for in the issues of November and December 1853 *Putnam's* published his "Bartleby, the Scrivener; a Story of Wall-Street." A letter that Melville probably wrote to George Palmer Putnam, 6 February, 1854, was sold at auction in 1864, bringing twenty cents (*History of the Great Western Fair,* Cincinnati, 1864, item 352).

pages. I propose to publish it in your Magazine at the rate of five dollars per printed page, the copyright to be retained by me. Upon the acceptation of this proposition (if accepted) $100. to be remitted to me as an advance. After that advance shall have been cancelled in the course of publication of the numbers, the price of the subsequent numbers to be remitted to me upon each issue of the Magazine as long as the story lasts. Not less than the amount of ten printed pages (but as much more as may be usually convenient) to be published in one number.[9]

On my side, I guarantee to provide you with matter for at least ten printed pages in ample time for each issue. 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

Very truly yours,
Herman Melville.

113 TO HARPER BROTHERS
22 JUNE 1854
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield June 22d 1854

Gentlemen:— You have not as yet favored me with your views as to the Extract from the *Tortoise Hunters* I sent you.[1]

I am desirous to learn your views with regard to that Extract, so as to know whether it be worth while to prepare further Extracts for you, at present.

Though it would be difficult, if not impossible, for me to get the entire Tortoise Book ready for publication before Spring, yet I can pick out & finish parts, here & there, for prior use. But even

9. In nearly every respect *Putnam's* accepted Melville's terms. *Israel Potter* was published in nine installments, July 1854 through March 1855, and ran to 82¼ pages. Five of the installments were less than ten pages. *Putnam's* provided no advance but did make monthly payments at the rate of five dollars a printed page, normally its highest rate to authors; in February it paid $35.00 for five pages (Leyda, *Log*, 490–9). Melville's net return was $421.50. In the same month that saw the last installment of *Israel Potter*, *Putnam's* issued it in book form.

1. See above, Letters 105, 109, 111.

this is not unattended with labor; which labor, of course, I do not care to undergo while remaining in doubt as to its recompence.

Be so good therefore by an early reply to releive my uncertainty.

Very Truly Yours
H. Melville.

Harper & Brothers
New York.

114 TO HARPER BROTHERS
25 JULY [1854?]
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield July 25th

Harper & Brothers:—
Gentlemen—

Tomorrow there will leave here a parcel from me containing M. S. S. for you—by Express.[2]

Yours Truly
H. Melville

115 TO HARPER BROTHERS
13 AUGUST [1854?]
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Aug 13th

Gentlemen:—

Herewith are three articles which perhaps may be found suitable for your Magazine.[3] Be so good as to give them your early attention, and apprise me of the result, and oblige

Yours Very Truly
H Melville

Harper & Brothers,
New York.

2. The manuscript may have been that for "The Fiddler," published in the September 1854 issue of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine,* but some doubts have been raised over Melville's authorship of this sketch (see the note added to the second printing, 1958, of Howard, p. 216).

3. These articles have not been identified from among Melville's published contributions to *Harper's New Monthly Magazine:* "The Paradise of Bachelors and Tartarus of Maids" in April 1855, "Jimmy Rose" in November 1855,

TO HARPER BROTHERS

116 18 SEPTEMBER [1854?]

Pittsfield / Sept: 18th

Gentlemen:

I send you by Express a brace of fowl—wild fowl.[4]

Hope you will like the flavor.

Yours Truly
H. Melville

Harper & Brothers.

117 TO GEORGE PALMER PUTNAM

3 NOVEMBER 1854

PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Nov: 3d 1854

Dear Sir: The returned M.S. is received; [5] also the note accompanying it, in which you allude to I. Potter.—Day before yesterday I wrote you on that subject. But there was an error in my note; which I now rectify, that it may not cause you future trouble.

I said in my note that there would be some 25 more pages of M.S.—It should have been forty five—45.

I will send it all down in a few days.

Truly Yours
H Melville

G. P. Putnam Esq.
New York.

---

and "The 'Gees" in March 1856. It is possible that Melville misdirected these three articles to the Harpers, for a note from Charles Frederick Briggs of Putnam's to the Harpers, dated "Sept 20 [1854?]," comments that "as something was Expected from Mr Melville perhaps he may have misdirected it to you" (Morgan).

4. If Melville thus humorously captioned articles submitted to the Harpers, the "brace of fowl" is still unplucked.

5. If Melville is referring to something other than pages of the *Israel Potter* manuscript, there is no way of determining what it is. The "returned M.S." could be a lost or destroyed work, a work published later, or even the "work" (Agatha story?) which Melville was "prevented from printing" in the spring of 1853 (see above, p. 164). More probably, it was the manuscript of "The Two Temples," which had been submitted to Putnam's the preceding April or

TO DIX AND EDWARDS, PUBLISHERS [6]
1 APRIL 1855
118 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield / April 1st 1855

Gentlemen:—Enclosed is the proof last sent.

It may be well to send the whole as made up in page form.

Truly Yours
H Melville

Dix & Edwards

119 TO DIX AND EDWARDS, PUBLISHERS
7 AUGUST [1855]
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Aug 7th

Gentlemen:—Returning home after a few days abscence I find your letter of Aug 1st enclosing check for $37.50 in payment for article in Aug: no: of Putnam's Magazine.[7] Having previously drawn upon you, and supposing that you have honored the draught, I reenclose your check, regretting that you should have been twice troubled about one affair.

Truly Yours
H Melville

Dix & Edwards
Publishers Putnam's Monthly
No 10 Park Place. New York.

May only to meet the objection from Charles F. Briggs and G. P. Putnam that it would offend the religious sensibilities of church readers. Putnam had expressed interest in the story, however, and had asked Melville whether such difficulty "could be avoided" (Leyda, *Log*, 487–88). He may have failed to return the manuscript until this later date. The work remained unpublished in Melville's lifetime.

6. Sometime before 9 March, 1855, G. P. Putnam sold his magazine to Dix and Edwards, and George William Curtis, though declining full editorship, became literary adviser to the new firm. Melville continued to submit manuscripts to the magazine, including "The Bell-Tower," published in August 1855 and "Benito Cereno," published in October, November, and December 1855. The proof was probably for "The Bell-Tower."

7. The "article" was "The Bell-Tower."

TO DIX AND EDWARDS, PUBLISHERS
10 AUGUST 1855
120 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Aug 10th 1855.

Gentlemen:

I have just received yours of the 8th.—The explanation explains all. The expences are inconsiderable. I have paid them. I was not aware of your arrangement as to sending your check regularly to contributors on the 1st of the month.

Very Truly Yours
H. Melville

Dix & Edwards
Publisher
N° 10 Park Place
New York.

121 TO G. P. PUTNAM AND CO.
21 AUGUST 1855
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Aug 21st / 1855.

Gentlemen: By reference to our Agreement about *Israel Potter*, I see there is to be a payment (by note) during the present month.[8]

Could you conveniently send me the acct: & note by the beginning of next week,[9] and oblige

Yours Faithfully
H Melville

G. P. Putnam & Co
New York

8. The agreement to publish *Israel Potter* has not survived (for some of its terms see Letter 124).

9. Putnam's account of *Israel Potter*, dated "July 1/55" but not drawn up in full until 8 October, shows that three "editions" of the book had been printed, numbering 3,700 copies, of which 2,577 had been sold at 75 cents each by 1 July. Melville's share was wrongly figured at 10 per cent of the total, or $193.27; but figures added to the original account by an unknown hand make his rightful share $241.58, or 12½ per cent, so that $48.31 was still due him (account in HCL-M; and see Howard, 225).

TO GEORGE PALMER PUTNAM
7 SEPTEMBER 1855
122 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Sep: 7th 1855

Dear Sir: I have been honored by an invitation to an Entertainment to be given by the N. Y. Book-Publishers' Association on the 27th Inst:—

If in my power I shall be most happy to be present at so attractive a festival.[1]

Respectfully Yours
H. Melville

G. P. Putnam Esq.
Secretary

123 TO PETER AND SUSAN GANSEVOORT[2]
18 SEPTEMBER 1855
ALBANY

To
Uncle Peter & Aunt Susan

Mama & I, on our return towards home from a few days jaunt, arrived at the depot here this morning, intending to greet you and dine with you, and then take the afternoon train for Pittsfield.[3]

1. The "Entertainment" was a lavish supper to foster good relations between publishers and authors. Invitations went out from George P. Putnam, secretary of the New York Book-Publishers' Association, to every American author of any prominence, from Irving, Bryant, Longfellow, and Emerson to Seba Smith and the Cary sisters. On 27 September six or seven hundred guests assembled at the Crystal Palace on Forty-second Street to dine on cold boned turkey, ham, chicken, and various "ornamental dishes" and pastries designed as a "Monument of Literature," a "Temple of America," and "serpents destroying Bird's Nest." There were long speeches and numerous toasts but no alcoholic drinks. Melville's friends the Duyckincks and Dr. Augustus K. Gardner were at this "attractive . . . festival" but his name appears among a list of guests "who were unable to be present": *American Publisher's Circular and Literary Gazette* (29 September, 1855).

2. Peter Gansevoort's second wife, Susan Lansing Gansevoort (1804–1874).

3. Melville and his mother had left Pittsfield before 14 September, probably to travel in the region of Lake George, Saratoga, and Gansevoort (Leyda, *Log*, 508).

But as it proved very stormy, we thought that, unless it cleared off, we might stay overnight. At any rate, up *here* we came—you were gone—for which, need we say, we felt much regret. However your people have kindly cared for the travelers, so after a pleasant lunch we are off in the afternoon train, spite of the storm.

Affectionately Yours
H. Melville

Tuesday 18th Sep.
2½ P.M.

124 TO DIX AND EDWARDS, PUBLISHERS [4]
7 JANUARY 1856
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Jan 7th / 1856

Gentlemen:—Yours of 3rd Inst. is received. Since you are disposed to undertake the book, were it not well to have a written Agreement? Such, if you please, you may prepare & send me for signature. I am ready to sign one of the same sort made concerning "I. Potter" with Mr Putnam.

In your note you state *12 per cent* as the terms I mentioned. But I meant to say *12 & ½ per cent;* that is, the same terms as I had for

4. This and the next three letters deal with the publication in book form of *The Piazza Tales,* a collection of sketches and stories Melville had published in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine.* G. W. Curtis had written John H. Dix on January 2 that the proposed book would probably not sell well, Melville having lost his prestige. But he would be "a good name on your list," Curtis wrote, and Dix probably would not lose much in publishing him. Dix accordingly wrote the letter Melville is answering.

After receiving the requested numbers of *Putnam's* and talking with Dix, Melville prepared copy for the printer and returned it 19 January, along with a suggested title, "Benito Cereno and Other Sketches," and a table of contents. By February Melville had added an introductory sketch and submitted it, with a suggested new order for his "tales." Dix and Edwards drew up a "Memorandum of Agreement," by which they agreed to publish *The Piazza Tales,* allowing Melville the 12½ per cent he asked for, and stipulating that he was to have "the manuscript book . . . ready for publication by February 20th /856." But this document seems to have languished in New York until 7 March (according to a date inscribed on its back page) before being sent to Pittsfield. Melville signed it 17 March and returned it the 24th (see Letter 127; agreement in HCL-M). The title page was entered for copyright 20 May, and the book appeared about 1 June (Leyda, *Log,* 515).

"I Potter"; which was *12 & ½* as I now find *by reference to the Agreement.* Pray, understand me so now.

Upon looking over my set of the Magazine, I find two Nos., that I want, gone:—Dec. N° 1853, & Ap. N° 1854. Will you be kind enough to send those two Nos. to me by mail, so that I can do my share of the work without delay

Very Respectfully Yours
H. Melville

Dix & Edwards
N° 10 Park Place
New York

125 TO DIX AND EDWARDS, PUBLISHERS
19 JANUARY 1856
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Jan 19th 1856.

Gentlemen: Agreeably to our understanding, I have prepared for republication the Articles agreed upon,—which herewith you have.

Aside from ordinary corrections, some few other improvements have been made, and a desirable note or two added.

During my talk with Mr Dix I voluntcered something about supplying some sort of prefatory matter, with a new title to the Collection; but upon less immature consideration, judge that both those steps are not only unnecessary, but might prove unsuitable.[5]

Enclosed is the Title and Table of Contents. [*See below, p. 178.*]

I have numbered the magazine pages, so as to correspond with the order of the Table of Contents.

About having the author's name on the title-page, you may do as you deem best; but any appending of titles of former works is hardly worth while.

I have not yet recevd the agreement to be signed.

Very Truly Yours
H Melville

5. The visit to New York between 7 and 19 January produced an understanding with Dix about the volume, but Melville was to change his mind again about the "prefatory matter" and write "The Piazza" for his collection of "Tales."

Dix & Edwards
New York

/ *Title* /

Benito Cereno

&

Other Sketches

/ *Table of Contents* /

Benito Cereno

Bartleby

Bell-Tower

Encantadas

Lightning-Rod Man.

3. Enclosure in Letter 125 (slightly reduced)

TO DIX AND EDWARDS, PUBLISHERS
16 FEBRUARY 1856
PITTSFIELD

126

Pittsfield Feb. 16. 1856

Gentlemen:—

The new title selected for the proposed volume is *"The Piazza Tales"* and the accompanying piece (*"The Piazza"*) as giving that name to the book, is intended to come first in order. I think, with you, that *"Bartleby"* had best come next. So that, as amended, the order will be

The Piazza
Bartleby
Benito Cereno
Lightning-Rod Man
Encantadas
Bell Tower.[6]

In the corrected magazine sheets I sent you, a M.S. note is *appended to the title* of 'Benito Cereno'; but as the book is now to be published as a collection of *'Tales'*, that note is unsuitable & had better be omitted.

I should like to have a proof sent to me of *'The Piazza'*. Please send by *mail.*

The blank agreements I have not received.

It was understood that the copyright was to stand in my name. You can take it out, & charge the cost to me.

With much respect
Truly Yours
H Melville

Dix & Edwards
Publishers
N.Y.

6. The stories appeared in the order given here. Presumably it was the publisher who altered the title of the fifth story to "The Encantadas; or, Enchanted Islands" in the table of contents. The title of the piece in the actual book was "The Encantadas; or, Enchanted Isles"—*The Piazza Tales* (1856), p. 287.

TO DIX AND EDWARDS, PUBLISHERS
24 MARCH 1856
127 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, March 24th

Gentlemen:—Enclosed is Copy of Agreement, with proofs.—

There seems 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.[7]

Yours Truly
H Melville.

Dix & Edwards
New York.

128 TO JOSEPH MUNT LANGFORD[8]
5 APRIL 1856
PITTSFIELD

Dear Sir:—Allow me to introduce to you Mr Samuel Shaw of Boston, Massachusetts,—son of Chief Justice Shaw of that state—who, being on a European tour, proposes to spend some time in London.

7. A limited and random count of the commas in the stories as printed in the magazine and in the book suggests that not only was nothing done about giving a "final hand" to the job but also that Melville's own deletions were ignored. In the instances compared the number of commas in the book version always exceeded those in the magazine version, and in the first paragraph of "Bartleby the Scrivener" the respective totals were thirty as against twelve. See also Egbert Oliver, ed., *The Piazza Tales* (New York, Hendricks House, Farrar Straus, 1948), 251–2.

8. Melville had met Joseph Munt Langford (1809–1884) in London in 1849 through a letter of introduction furnished by the wife of a New York bookseller. Langford had given him a "very civil reception" and taken him to hear MacCready in *Othello* at the Haymarket Theater, where they "went into the critics' boxes." A few days later he invited Melville to supper at his lodgings and introduced him to Albert Richard Smith, the humorist, "Tom Taylor, the Punch man & Punch poet," and five or six congenial young fellows. It was a "plain supper—no stiffness," with lots of porter, gin, brandy, whiskey, cigars, and funny stories (Metcalf, *Journal*, 37, 41–42). Langford was head of the London branch of William Blackwood and Sons from 1845 to

He is of that temper and those tastes, which, I am sure, will not prove uncongenial to you and your friends; while from your acquaintance, he could not fail to reap, as a traveller, both pleasure and profit.

Whatever you may be able to do for him, in the way of directing his attention to interesting objects or persons in London, will be gratefully remembered by,

His brother-in-law
Yours Very Truly
Herman Melville

Mr. Langford.
Furnival's Inn.

Pittsfield, Mass. April 5th 1856

129 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
7 OCTOBER 1856
NEW YORK

New York, Oct. 7th 1856

My Dear Uncle—I think of sailing for the other side of the ocean on Saturday next, to be gone an uncertain time.[9] Ten days ago I went to Gansevoort to bid Mama good bye, and in returning from thence would have stopped to bid *you* also good bye & Aunt Susan,

1881 and for many years dramatic critic of the London *Observer*. As a bookman he knew Thackeray and Dickens, George Eliot and Charles Reade, and many other mid-Victorian literary figures. He dabbled in playwriting too; only four days after Melville wrote this letter, *Like and Unlike,* which Langford and W. J. Sorrell translated and adapted from a French play, was presented at the Adelphi Theater in London. See the *Athenaeum* (6 September, 1884), p. 306, and *Like and Unlike . . . as first performed at the Theatre-Royal, Adelphi, on Wednesday, April 9th, 1856,* London, Webster [n.d.].

9. According to reports emanating largely from his wife and his mother, the strains of authorship combined with care of his farm and his family had worn Melville down to the point where he had been "advised strongly to break off the labor for some time & take a voyage or a journey & recuperate" (Lemuel Shaw to Samuel Shaw, 1 September, 1856, quoted in Metcalf, *Cycle,* 159). His father-in-law advanced the funds necessary for the trip (Leyda, *Log,* 525), and after visiting his mother and his Uncle Herman at Gansevoort, Melville went to New York on 29 September for two weeks of preparations and parties. He sailed for Glasgow on the steamer *Glasgow* Saturday, 11 October.

had not engagements forbid. Pray, make my adieus to Aunt Susan & to Kate & Henry, and beleive me, affectionately

Yours
H. Melville

Gen. Peter Gansevoort.

130 TO ALLAN MELVILLE
10, 13, 14, NOVEMBER 1856
LIVERPOOL

Liverpool—Nov 10th / 1856
Monday evening.

My Dear Allan—I have been ashore about two weeks, and as my plans of further travel are now beginning to mature, I proceed to write you. But first let me speak of my movements thus far.—As for the voyage over, it was upon the whole not disagreeable, though the passengers were not all of a desirable sort. There was, I think, but one American beside myself. The rest were mostly Scotch with a sprinkling of English. Among others there were some six or seven "commercial travellers," a hard set who did little but drink and gamble the whole way over. With these fellows of course I had precious little to do. But there was one man, who interested me considerably, one who had been an officer of the native troops in India, and besides was a good deal of a philosopher and had been all over the world.[1] With him I had many long talks, and we so

1. Melville's "philosopher" was George Campbell Rankin (1801–1880), listed in two of the three journals Melville used in 1856, the first of which he had also used in 1849 (MSS Journals, HCL-M). There the name reads: "George C. Rankin Esq 25th Reg. Nat. Inft Hodgeepore, Punjab." This is clearly the gentleman listed in *The East-India Register and Army List* for 1851 as the surgeon of the Twenty-fifth Regiment of Native Infantry, which arrived at its station of Hajeepore in December 1849. Because Rankin had been attached to this regiment only since March 1849, Melville could scarcely have met him on his trip to London in November and December of that year, as implied in Leyda (xxxi). Melville's second listing, in a journal he bought in Constantinople, is:

G. C. Rankin Author of *"What is Truth?"*
E. I. U. S. Club [East India United Service Club]
14 St James Square

It is dubious if Rankin authored any such essay or book; the phrase probably reflects the experience Melville noted opposite his first entry in his record of the 1856 crossing of the Atlantic: "Conversations with the Colonel on fixed

managed to kill time. The weather was pretty good with the exception of a gale which lasted about 36 hours, which obliged us to "lay to" about 18.—I staid in Glasgow three or four days. It is a very fine commercial city, with a great commerce, noble streets, and an interesting old cathedral. I went to Dumbarton Castle, some twenty miles distant and to Loch Lomond near by. From Glasgow I went to Edinburgh, remaining there five days, I think. I was much pleased there. I went to Abbottsford & Melrose. And I went to Perth & Stirling.—Of some Scotchmen on board the steamer, I enquired about "Scoonie" (How is it spelt?) and learned there was such a place, and that was all.[2] I endeavored to find out more about it; but though I consulted the books containing lists of all the clergy in Scotland, I could find no clergyman or parish called "Scoonie." But even if I had learned more, I do not know as I would have sought out the place to make a personal call upon any one; because, unfortunately, the evening we arrived at Greenock I received an ugly hurt upon the bridge of my nose, which by no means improved my appearance. A sailor was lowering a boat by one of the tackles; the rope got foul; I jumped to clear it for him, when suddenly the tackle started, and a coil of the rope (new Manilla) flew up in my face with great violence, and for the moment, I thought my nose was ruined for life. But the wound has now healed, and I hope that in a few days little or no scar will remain. —But for the week succeeding the accident I presented the aspect of one who had been in a bar-room fight.

—From Edinburgh I finally went to York, by way of Berwick & Newcastle, on the east coast, and after a day's stay in York to view the minster, I came here.—I have, with one small exception, travelled entirely in the "Parliamentary" trains, that is, the cheapest ones. Travelling any distance by the first class or even the second, is exceedingly dear. And yet it is not easy to travel in the "Parlia-

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fate &c. during the passage." See Metcalf, *Journal,* 88, and *Journal of a Visit to Europe and the Levant, October 11, 1856 – May 6, 1857, by Herman Melville,* ed. Howard C. Horsford (Princeton, 1955), pp. 56, 269.

2. The parish of Scoonie, district of Leven, Fifeshire, was the ancestral home of the Melville family, containing, in the words of Melville's father, "the ground where once stood the dwelling & Birth[place] of my venerable progenitor" (Allan Melvill to Thomas Melvill, 31 May, 1818, in Gilman, 12). Melville's great-great-grandfather had been minister of the parish for many years.

mentary," because only one such train runs a day on any road, & [it] generally [usually?] starts before day-light in the morning; and the Parliamentary trains on different roads do not connect.—I propose calling to see Mr. Hawthorne here.[3]

—About my further travel, at present I think that, if no obstacle interpose, I shall take a steamer to Constantinople from this port. I can go for $100; which is cheaper than the transatlantic steamers. The steamers hence for Constantinople touch at Gibraltar & Malta. If I go by this route to Constantinople, I shall save money. The only difficulty is about getting my passport in order for the various places afterwards. From Constantinople I should go to Alexandria by steamer, & so to Cairo, & from thence by steamer to Trieste, Venice, and bring up at Rome for a considerable stay. I may be mistaken, but I think that what funds I have, will enable me to accomplish this, though my absence from home will not probably be prolonged beyond March at the furthest. So at least I think now.—I have been ashore now two weeks, and spent in all about thirty five dollars. But this has been by the strictest economy, both in R.R. lodging, & eating.—Concerning my enjoyment of the thing, it is rather solitary business, poking about the world without a companion. Still, my health is benefited. My hip & back are better, & also my head. But I find that in walking I have pretty often to rest.—All this is about myself. How are you? And Sophia? and the small ones? I hope all goes well. I have written Mama.

—About the trunk, it is as I told you—I am going to store it here at Liverpool till I return from the continent. I shall take nothing but the carpet-bag.—Part of my tour in Scotland I had with me a M^{r} Willard of Troy (you remember the name at the steamer office) a theological student, very uninteresting, but better than nobody.[4]

3. For an account of Melville's visits with Hawthorne see Randall Stewart, ed., *The English Notebooks of Nathaniel Hawthorne* (New Haven, 1941), pp. 432–7.

4. Henry Willard, born in Troy, N.Y., in 1830, had finished Dartmouth in 1851, studied medicine a year, taught in a country grammar school another year, and then taken two years of theological study at Andover Theological Seminary before transferring to Princeton Theological Seminary, where he had graduated only a few months before Melville met him. Following this journey he studied two more years at Andover and after ordination in the Congregational Church supplied the pulpits of a number of Presbyterian and Congregational churches in Ohio, Minnesota, and Illinois. From 1885 to his

He left me for London at York. I am now alone, & expect to be for some time.

—I shall write to Lizzie the day I leave here for good, (which will probably be in about a week, as no suitable steamer for the Mediterranean sails previous to then) and in that letter to her, I will endeavor to state, where letters from home will reach me; though I doubt whether I shall be in the way of getting any letters after quitting England.—Thinking that letters might have been sent for me to the care of Murray or Bentley at London, I have written to them to forward such letters to me at this place.

Thursday Nov 13th
Evening.

Ere you get this you will have been pained to hear of the serious accident to George Duyckinck on one of the rail roads near London. I only heard of it day before yesterday from Mr Hawthorne in the cars as we were going out to his place. My first feeling was to go on at once to London to see Mr Duyckinck, thinking that possibly he might have no acquaintance near him; but Mr Hawthorne told me that upon reading an account of the affair in the paper (containing G. Duyckinck's name among others) he had at once written to a friend in London to interest himself in Mr Duyckinck's behalf; and had obtained a reply to the effect that no one was allowed to see him where he lay at St. Thomas' Hospital, I think. But this morning Mr H. received another letter saying, that Mr D. was getting on well, and had friends about him; which I was the more rejoiced to hear, since as matters have turned out, I could not have gone to London without the utmost disarrangement of my plans. Nevertheless, did I suppose that my presence would be particularly welcome to Mr Duyckinck, or give him ease, I would go on to see him as it is. But the extent of my acquaintance with him hardly justifies me in supposing that such would be the case. There are probably those about him now; whom he would rather have than me. May God grant him a speedy recovery. I have not written to him, thinking of course that letters he does not read.—

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death in 1904 he lived in Chicago. He may very well have suggested some of the ideas and qualities with which Melville invests the unnamed Scotch Presbyterian minister in *Clarel*. See Charles H. Pope, ed., *Willard Genealogy* (Boston, 1915), pp. 322, 488; and the *Necrological Report . . . of Princeton Theological Seminary . . .* (Princeton, 1906), pp. 414–15.

I have now as good as determined upon sailing hence in the screw-steamer "Egyptian" for Constantinople, on Monday next. I have been on board the ship. I think this voyage is the best thing I can do—it is certainly the cheapest way in which I can spend the coming 26 days—for such will be the length of the voyage, including stoppages. I shall miss much however in going at this season of the year—June is so much better. But that can't be helped.

By the way, you had better (after reading it) send this letter on to Lizzie, as it may contain items omitted in my letters to her. And Lizzie can send it to Helen &c, if it be worth while.

Li[ver]pool
Friday evening, 14th Nov.

The "Persia" sails tomorrow early. This will go in her. I am going to take the Mediterranean tour—will start on Monday early. You will not probably hear from me again in some time. But I will write when I can. God bless you,

My love to Sophia & kisses for children.

Affectionately Your Brother
Herman.

Saw Mr Hawthorne this morning—but heard nothing further of Mr G. Duyckinck. It is not improbable—, I suppose, that ere this reaches you his brother may have crossed the seas to him.

Hm.

131 TO HENRY ARTHUR BRIGHT [5]
18 NOVEMBER 1856
LIVERPOOL

Tuesday Morning

I am sure I am much obliged to you for your kind perseverance concerning "Blanco White." [6]

5. Melville met Bright (1830–1884) at Hawthorne's on 14 November, and Bright gave him lunch at his club and being an ardent Unitarian took him to the Unitarian Church—Horsford (above, n. 1), 63. Bright had been a warm friend of Hawthorne's since 1852, when Emerson had introduced him in Concord. He was later to become an editor, a writer for religious magazines, a literary critic, and the center of the literary circles in Liverpool.

6. Joseph Blanco White (1775–1841), Spanish priest, skeptic, member of the Anglican Church, and finally a somewhat uncertain Unitarian, whose

Not forgetful of your civilities and hoping to meet you again upon my return. Beleive Me

Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville

Henry A. Bright Esq
Liverpool

132 PHILLIPS SAMPSON AND CO.[7]
19 AUGUST 1857
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Aug 19th 1857.

Gentlemen—Your note inviting my contributions to your proposed Magazine was received yesterday.

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continual religious and spiritual crises and oscillations between faith and doubt that contributed to chronic physical illness would have aroused deep interest in Melville. Among his many books were *Observations on Heresy and Orthodoxy* (1835), and *Second Travels of an Irish Gentleman in Search of Religion* (1833). He was buried in the cemetery of the Renshaw Street Unitarian Chapel in Liverpool, very possibly the one to which Bright took Melville. Bright's "kind perseverance" may have had to do with procuring *The Life of . . . Joseph Blanco White, Written by Himself,* ed. John H. Thom, 3 vols. 1835; or more probably *Extracts from Blanco White's Journal and Letters,* printed for the American Unitarian Association (Boston, 1847), since Melville's reference in quotations sounds like a shortening of this title.

7. In the spring of 1857 Francis H. Underwood, in the employ of the Boston publishers Phillips, Sampson, and Co., revived the proposal he had advanced four years before to establish a new magazine, for which the name *Atlantic Monthly* was finally chosen. Letters inviting contributions went out to major writers, largely in New England, and Underwood was shortly sent abroad by the firm to attract English contributors. When he returned in midsummer, the panic of 1857 raised such doubts about the success of the magazine that Underwood, though apparently expecting to be editor, voluntarily proposed Lowell, who accepted. Presumably Underwood continued to solicit contributions, and Melville is answering what appears to have been a form letter from the publishers. The "laudable enterprise" envisioned both "articles of abstract and permanent value" and the satisfaction of the "healthy appetite of the mind for entertainment" (*Atlantic Monthly,* first issue, November 1857); or as Underwood wrote later, the aim was to concentrate "the efforts of the best writers upon literature and politics, under the light of the highest morals": M. A. De Wolfe Howe, *The Atlantic Monthly and Its Makers* (Boston, 1919), p. 27. Melville's name appeared in a list of "literary persons interested in [the publisher's] enterprise" which was printed in the first two

I shall be very happy to contribute, though I can not now name the day when I shall have any article ready.

Wishing you the best success in your laudable enterprise, I am

Very Truly Yours

H Melville

Phillips Sampson & Co.
Boston

133 TO GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS [8]
15 SEPTEMBER 1857
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Sep 15th 1857

My Dear Sir—I said the other day in my note that I would soon tell you about the plates.[9] Well, I have now to say that I can not at present conveniently make arrangements with regard to them.

It strikes me, though, that under the circumstances (copyright &c) they can bring but little at the Trade Sale, or any other sale. Whereas, if held on to for a while, they might be transferred to me to the common advantage of all concerned. But I do not wish to

issues; after that the list was discontinued, and though authors of articles were not identified until the issue of November 1862, it does not appear that Melville ever published in the magazine.

8. George William Curtis (1824–1892), a friend of Nathaniel Hawthorne, had been editorial advisor for *Putnam's Magazine* in 1855 when the magazine published some of Melville's short stories. He began the "Editor's Easy Chair" in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* and was one of the main writers for *Harper's Weekly Magazine* when it was established in 1857.

9. The stereotype plates of *The Confidence Man* and *The Piazza Tales.* When Dix, Edwards, and Co. dissolved on April 27, these had been acquired by Miller and Co. (Miller and Curtis after 1 June), who took over the old firm's advertisements, featuring *The Confidence Man,* and continued to bring out new books. But the new firm failed, apparently in August, and decided to sell all its books and plates at the annual auction sale conducted by the New York Book-Publishers' Association. On 19 September the plates of the two books were offered and then withdrawn (the only ones to receive this treatment). Although some plates went at phenomenally low prices—$15 for works of Parke Godwin and J. W. De Forrest—no one would risk a dollar on Melville: *American Publisher's Circular and Literary Gazette, 3* (2, 9 May, 6 June, 22 August, 19 and 26 September, 1857). Melville's contract for *The Confidence Man* gave him joint ownership and the right, if the firm failed, to purchase the plates at 25 per cent of their first cost (contract in HCL-M).

suggest anything in the way of a prompt settling up of the affairs of the late firm. Do with the plates whatever is thought best.

—I have been trying to scratch my brains for a Lecture. 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"* [1]

Yours Truly
H Melville

134 TO GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS
26 SEPTEMBER 1857
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Sep. 26th

My Dear Sir—I will try and do something about the plates as soon as I can.[2] Meantime if they bother you, sell them without remorse. To pot with them, & melt them down.

I have received two or three invitations to lecture,—invitations prompted by you—and have promptly accepted. I am ready for as many more as may come on.

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

George Wm Curtis Esq.

135 TO CLARKSVILLE LITERARY ASSOCIATION [3]
20 OCTOBER 1857
PITTSFIELD?

Octr 20th

Accepted—cannot name precise day but it will probably be some time in the latter part of January—$50 is considered average sum—will write again—as soon as arrangements are completed

H. M.

1. A corrupt district in New York City.

2. See above, n. 9. The ultimate disposal of the plates mentioned is unknown.

3. The Association had invited Melville to address them during the fall or winter in Clarksville, Tennessee. Melville delivered a lecture on "Statuary in Rome" to the Society on 22 January, 1858, for a fee of $75.00 (Leyda, *Log*, 583, 590).

TO A. D. LAMSON? [4]
29 NOVEMBER 1857
136 BOSTON

Boston Nov. 29th 1857.

Dear Sir—Yours of the 23rd has been handed to me.—I am sorry that it will be quite impossible for me to be with you in Dec. and must therefore regret that our negotiation must, for this season at least, fall through.

Mr Mackay's lectures have, I hear, given very great pleasure.[5]

Truly Yours,
H Melville

137 TO LEWIS JACOB CIST [6]
13 FEBRUARY 1858
BOSTON

Boston Feb 13th 1857

Dear Sir—Yours of the 1st Inst, is received, and I beg leave to subscribe myself

Very Truly Yours
H Melville

L J. Cist Esq
St. Louis

4. This may be A. D. Lamson of Malden, Mass. In a notebook labeled by Melville "Lectures 1857–8–9–1860" (HCL-M) he first entered possible engagements as they were offered, then wrote "fixed," with a date, when the engagement was established. The last of these entries for 1857 reads: "Malden Dec 28th? Call on A. D. Lamson—70 State st. after 1st Jan—see note"; later he canceled the date. His expense sheets, included in "Lecture Engagements," may reveal the reason for the cancellation. He spent Christmas with his mother and sister Augusta at Gansevoort, which he left 28 December for a brief visit home in Pittsfield before lecturing in New Haven on the 30th. The implication is that he turned down the Malden engagement because he planned to spend most of the Christmas period with his mother.

5. Charles Mackay (1814–1889), Scotch poet, journalist, and songwriter, who came to the United States for an eight months' lecture tour in October 1857.

6. Lewis Jacob Cist (1818–1885), a western banker who published a volume of verse, *Trifles of Verse* (Cincinnati, 1845), and collected autographs. For the date, see textual note, below, p. 358.

TO GEORGE LONG DUYCKINCK [7]
6 NOVEMBER 1858
138 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Nov. 6th

My Dear Duyckinck—

Indisposition has prevented me from writing you ere now. Your gift is very acceptable—could not have been more so. I am glad to have a copy of Chapman's Homer.[8] As for Pope's version (of which I have a copy) I expect it,—when I shall put Chapman beside it—to go off shrieking, like the bankrupt deities in Milton's hymn.[9]

—Thus far I have been mostly engaged in cutting the leaves by way of pastime—as it wont do to read at present.[1] Remember me to your brother & household. Mrs. M. joins

H Melville

7. George Long Duyckinck (1823–1863), editor and biographer, and younger brother of Evert Duyckinck, with whom he edited the *Literary World* and the *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. He also prepared an edition of Shakespeare in eight volumes, and at this time as an officer in the Episcopal Church Sunday School he was writing biographies for the Church Book Society. Only slightly acquainted with Melville when *Typee* was published (he doubted its "sober verity") he was on a tour of Europe with William A. Butler in 1847 and 1848 when Melville moved to New York. He was a member of the party that climbed Saddleback in 1851, but as late as 1856 Melville did not feel that his "acquaintance" with George Duyckinck justified an interruption of travel plans to visit him in a London hospital.

8. A five-volume set of Chapman's translation of Homer's *Iliad, Odyssey,* and related pieces (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 276, 277, and 278). This was Duyckinck's way of thanking Melville for his three-day visit in the Berkshires in September on Melville's invitation (Leyda, *Log,* 594–5).

9. Milton's "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," line 178, mentions exiled Apollo's "hollow shriek"—and see Henry F. Pommer, *Milton and Melville* (Pittsburgh, 1950), p. 25.

1. Evidently suffering again from chronic eye-trouble, Melville appears not to have read Chapman thoroughly until nearly two years later when he carried the five volumes with him on his trip around Cape Horn (see the inscriptions in the annotated volumes in HCL-M, Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 276, 277, and 278).

TO JAMES GRANT WILSON [2]
8 DECEMBER 1858
139 NEW YORK

New York Dec 8th

Dear Sir: Yours of the 1st Inst. has just been forwarded to me.

I am willing to come for the amount which the other lecturers you name receive—$50; hoping, that, as you suggest, you will be able to make additional appointments for me in your quarter; for which I shall be much obliged to you.

Of the two vacant evenings you name, I select that of Feb. 24th[.] I am not sure whether in my former note I named my subject.

It is *The South Seas.*

Yours Very Truly
H Melville

James G. Wilson Esq.
Chicago.

140 TO GEORGE LONG DUYCKINCK
13 DECEMBER 1858
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Dec. 13th

My Dear Duyckinck—

Would it make too much trouble if for the two days in February I named to you (to choose from) for my lecture before your Society,[3] I should substitute the 10th & 17th of January? either of which, would, as I now see, be more convenient to me.—

But if such change would involve troublesome change in other quarters—of course I would not think of it. In that case, consider the above unwritten.

2. James Grant Wilson (1832–1914), best known as co-editor of *Appleton's Encyclopaedia of Biography,* was at this time editor and proprietor of the *Church Record* (later the *Chicago Record*) and a member of the lecture committee of the Chicago Young Men's Association. Besides Melville his committee had invited Horace Greeley, Holmes, and Lowell to lecture in the 1858–59 season: *Church Record, 2* (1 November, 1858), 121. Melville delivered his lecture "The South Seas" on 24 February, 1856, for a fee of $50 ("Lecture Engagements," HCL-M).

3. The New-York Historical Society.

I called to see Mr Davidson the day I saw you in Clinton Place, but he was out. After waiting for him awhile, I went away. If by chance you should meet him, wont' you mention that I called?

I should like to procure an engagement through Mr Davidson, especially if it could be made to fall about the time of my lecture before The Historical Society.

Upon getting home, I was greeted by your note.—My regards to your brother, and Beleive me

Truly Yours
H Melville

141 TO GEORGE LONG DUYCKINCK
20 DECEMBER 1858
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Dec. 20th—Monday.

My Dear Duyckinck—Your note (received on Saturday) is unaccountably among the missing.—Some one must have pilfered it for the autograph. I can't otherwise account for its mysterious disappearance.

But, as I remember, you have named *Feb. 7th* for my day, and deprecate any change.—Well & good. Let that be the day—only, is it certain that I can get to Baltimore the day following in time to immortalise myself there also? But I suppose I can.[4]

Touching Mr Davidson & Jersey City, I am sure I am most obliged to you for your good offices in speaking to him. I don't know that I can do anything about it at present, further at least than to let the matter alone, and dispose myself according to the event.—I should be glad to lecture there—or anywhere. If they will pay expences, & give a reasonable fee, I am ready to lecture in Labrador or on the Isle of Desolation off Patagonia.

Bear with mine infirmity of jocularity (which, I am aware should hardly intrude into a semi-business letter like this) and Beleive me

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

George Duyckinck Esq.
New York.

4. Melville lectured to the New-York Historical Society 7 February and in the Universalist Church in Baltimore on 8 February (Leyda, *Log*, 601).

TO WILLIAM H. BARRY [5]
12 FEBRUARY 1859
142 PITTSFIELD?

Absence from home has prevented an earlier reply to your notes of the 2nd and 8th inst. I should be very happy to lecture at Lynn, if we can agree upon the time &c. . . . Upon my return I shall be able to name an exact day (of course, a near one) to be with you.

I have two lectures: "The South Seas"
"Statues in Rome"

If, as you intimate, you should like me to deliver both, well and good.[6]

My terms, of course, I find it necessary to adapt to the means of various Societies. I should think that, in the present case, thirty dollars for each lecture would not be too much.

143 TO THE EDITOR OF HARPER'S MAGAZINE? [7]
18 MAY 1859?
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield May 18th

Gentlemen:

Here are two Pieces, which, if you find them suited to your Magazine I should be happy to see them appear there.—In case of publication, you may, if you please, send me what you think they are worth.

Very Truly Yours
H Melville.

5. William H. Barry was listed as a member of the Lynn Young Men's Debating Society, 1852–54. The last regular meeting was reported to have been on 6 January, 1859: David N. Johnson, *Sketches of Lynn,* Lynn, 1859.

6. On 16 March, 1859 Melville lectured at the Sagamore Hall, Lynn, Mass., on the South Seas; either then or shortly afterwards he gave his second lecture, "Statues in Rome": Merton M. Sealts, *Melville as Lecturer* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959), p. 91.

7. Identification of the editor of Harper's as the recipient is uncertain.

TO DANIEL SHEPHERD [8]

6 JULY 1859

144 PITTSFIELD

To Daniel Shepherd:

Come, Shepherd, come and visit me;
Come, we'll make it Arcady;
Come, if but for charity.
Sure, with such a pastoral name,
Thee the city should not claim.
Come, then, Shepherd, come away,
Thy sheep in bordering pastures stray.

Come, Daniel, come and visit me;
I'm lost in many a quandary;
I've dreamed, like Bab'lon's Majesty;
Prophet, come expound for me.
—I dreamed I saw a laurel grove,
Claimed for his by the bird of Jove,
Who, elate with such dominion
Oft cuffed the boughs with haughty pinion.
Indignantly the trees complain,
Accusing his afflictive reign.
Their plaints the chivalry excite
Of chanticleers, a plucky host;
They battle with the bird of light.
Beaten, he wings his Northward flight,
No more his laurel realm to boast,
Where now, to crow, the cocks alight,
And—break down all the branches quite!
Such a weight of friendship pure
The grateful trees could not endure.
This dream, it still disturbeth me;
Seer, foreshows it Italy? [9]

8. Melville and Shepherd (d. 1870) had been friends for about ten years, and Shepherd had been Allan Melville's law partner for a period. He had written anonymously, *Saratoga, A Story of 1787* (Leyda, *Log,* passim).

9. Melville is thinking of the Italian uprising against Austria, master-minded by Cavour, which had recently broken out into warfare.

But other visions stir my head;
No poet-problems, fancy-fed—
Domestic prose of board and bed.
I marvel oft how guest *unwined*
Will to this farm-house be resigned.
Not a pint of ruby claret
  Cooleth in our cellar-bin;
And, ripening in our sultry garret,
  Otard glows no flask within.
(Claret and Otard here I name
Because each is your fav'rite flame:
Placed 'tween the two decanters, you,
Like Alexander, your dear charmers view,
And both so fair you find, you neither can eschew;
—That's what they call an Alexandrine;
Don't you think it very damn'd fine?)
—Brackets serve to fence this prattle,
Pound for episodic cattle.—

I said that me the Fates do cripple
In matter of a wholesome "tipple."
Now, is it for oft cursing gold,
  For lucre vile,
The Hags do thus from me withold
  Sweet Bacchus' smile?
Smile, that like other smiles as mellow,
Not often greets Truth's simple fellow:—
For why? Not his the magic Dollar?
You should know, you Wall-Street scholar!
—Of bourbon that is rather new
I brag a fat black bottle or two.—
Shepherd, is this such Mountain-Dew
As one might fitly offer you?
Yet if cold water will content ye
My word, of that ye shall have plenty.
Thanks to late floods, our spring, it brims,—
Will't mind o'ermuch of goblet-rims?

—I've told some doubts that sadly pose me;
Come thou now, and straight resolve me.

Come, these matters sagely read,
Daniel, of the prophet breed.

Daniel Shepherd, come and rove—
Freely rove two faery dells;
The one the Housatonic clove,
And that where genial Friendship dwells.

Pittsfield July 6th 1859.

145 TO GEORGE LONG DUYCKINCK
14 DECEMBER 1859
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Dec. 14, 1859

My Dear Duyckinck:

Certainly:—Pages, 384: Price, 25 cts (at least that's all I gave for it) Publisher, Willis P. Hazard, Phil.—Date, 1857.[1]

As to the size—there you have me. But by *rule*, it is 5½ In. by 4¼, and 1 In. thick. I am a sorry arithmetician; but, seems to me, if you figure this up by cord-measure and compound reduction, the result will be the size of the book, technically expressed.

My regards to your brother, and Beleive Me

"In spite of winter & rough weather" [2]

Yours Truly
H Melville

George Duyckinck Esq.

146 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
21 MAY 1860
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, May 21st. 1860

Dear Duyckinck: If you have met Allan lately he has perhaps informed you that in a few days I go with my brother Tom a voyage around Cape Horn. It was only determined upon a short time

1. In number of pages and in width Melville's bibliographical description fits George Herbert's *The Temple,* published by Hazard originally in 1855. Duyckinck's inquiry and interest are undoubtedly related to his publication in 1858 of *The Life of George Herbert.*

2. *As You Like It,* II. v. 47.

since; and I am at present busy, as you may imagine in getting ready for a somewhat long absence, and likewise in preparing for type certain M.S.S.[3]

Now may I with propriety ask of you, conditionally, a favor? Will you, upon the arrival of the M.S.S. in New York—that is, in the course of two weeks, or less—look over them and if they seem of a sort that you care to be any way concerned with, advice with Allan as to a publisher, and form of volumes, &c. And, since I can hardly summon the impudence to ask you in the midst of better avocations, to go over the proof-sheets; and there appears to be no one, in fact, to attend to that matter but the printer—will you at least see that the printer's proof-reader is a careful and competent hand?—In short, may I, without seeming too confident, ask you, as a veteran & 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?

Remember me with kindest regards to your brother; and answer me as soon as you can; and whether you say yea or nay, Beleive me

Sincerely Yours,

H. Melville.

Evert Duyckinck
New York.

147 TO ALLAN MELVILLE
22 MAY 1860
PITTSFIELD

Memoranda for Allan

concerning the publication of my verses.

1—Don't stand on terms much with the publisher—half-profits after expenses are paid will content me—not that I expect much "profits"—but that will be a fair nominal arrangement—They should also give me 1 doz. copies of the book—

2—Don't have the Harpers.—I should like the Appletons or Scribner—But Duycinck's advice will be good here.

3—The sooner the thing is printed and published, the better—The "season" will make little or no difference, I fancy, in this case.

3. See Letter 147.

4—After printing, dont let the book hang back—but publish, & have done.
5—For God's sake don't have *By the author of "Typee" "Piddledee" &c* on the title-page.
6—Let the title-page be simply,

Poems
by
Herman Melville.

7—Dont have any clap-trap announcements and "sensation" puffs—nor any extracts published previous to publication of book—Have a decent publisher, in short.
8—Don't take any measures, or make inquiries as to expediency of an English edition simultaneous with the American—as in case of "Confidence Man."
9—In the M.S.S. each piece is on a page by itself, however small the piece. This was done merely for convenience in the final classification; and should be no guide for the printer—Of course in printing two or more pieces will sometimes appear on the same page—according to length of pieces &c. You understand—
10—The poems are divided into books as you will see; but the divisions are not *called* books—they are only numbered—Thus it is in the M.S.S., and should be the same in print. There should be a page with the number between every division.
11—Anything not perfectly plain in the M.S.S. can be referred to Lizzie—also have the M.S.S. returned to her after printing.
12—Lizzie should by all means see the printed sheets *before* being bound, in order to detect any gross errors consequent upon misconstruing the M.S.S.—

These are the thoughts which hurriedly occur to me at this moment. Pardon the abruptness of their expression, but time is precious.—

—Of all human events, perhaps, the publication of a first volume of verses is the most insignificant; but though a matter of no moment to the world, it is still of some concern to the author,—as these *Mem.* show—Pray therefore, don't laugh at my *Mem.* but give heed to them, and so oblige

Your brother
Herman—

May 22d
1860

TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
28 MAY 1860
148 BOSTON

Boston, May 29th (?) 1860[4]
On board ship "Meteor"

My Dear Duyckinck: I am glad that the postponement of the ship's day of sailing gives me a chance to answer your letter, recevd in reply to mine, on the eve of my leaving Pittsfield. It was a very welcome one—quite a wind from the feilds of old times.

My wife will send you the parcel in the course of a week or so—there remaining something to be finished in copying the M.S.S.

As my wife has interested herself a good deal in this matter, and in fact seems to know more about it than I do—at least about the *merits* of the performance—I must therefore refer you to her in case of any exigency requiring information further than you are now in possession of.

If your brother George is not better employed, I hope he will associate himself with you in looking over my scribblings.[5]

That is enough in the egotistic way. Now for something else.

I anticipate as much pleasure as, at the age of fourty, 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 both 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.—I wish devoutly you were going along. I think it would agree with you. The prime requisite for enjoyment in sea voyages, for passengers, is 1st health—2d good-nature. Both first-rate things, but not universally to be found.—At sea a fellow comes out. Salt water is like wine, in that respect.

I have a good lot of books with me—such as they are;—plenty of old periodicals—lazy reading for lazy latitudes.—

4. The letter was mailed on 28 May.
5. Nothing came of Melville's attempt to publish at this time.

Here I am called away, & must close.

Good bye to you
& God bless you
H Melville

149 TO MALCOLM MELVILLE [6]
1. 16 SEPTEMBER 1860

Pacific Ocean
(Off the coast of South America
On the Tropic of Capricorn)
Saturday September 1st 1860

My Dear Malcolm: It is now three months exactly since the ship "Meteor" sailed from Boston—a quarter of a year.[7] 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. I wore two flannel shirts, and big mittens & overcoat, and a great Russia cap, a very thick leather cap, so called by sailors. At last we came in sight of land all covered with snow—uninhabited land, where no one ever lived, and no one ever will live—it is so barren, cold and desolate. This was Staten

6. Malcolm Melville (1849–1867), Melville's first-born, who was at this time eleven and a half years old. He later was employed as a clerk by Richard Lathers, president of the Atlantic and Great Western Insurance Company, and died in New York, 11 September, 1867.

7. The *Meteor,* commanded by Melville's brother, Captain Thomas Melville, sailed from Boston, 30 May, 1860.

Land—an island. Near it, is the big island of Terra del Fuego. We passed through between these islands, and had a good view of both. There are some "wild people" living on Terra del Fuego; but it being the depth of winter there, I suppose they kept in their caves. At any rate we saw none of them. The next day we were off Cape Horn, the Southernmost point of all America. Now it was very bad weather, and was dark at about three o'clock in the afternoon. The wind blew terribly. We had hail-storms, and snow and sleet, and often the spray froze as it touched the deck. The ship rolled, and sometimes took in so much water on the deck as to wash people off their legs. Several sailors were washed along the deck this way, and came near getting washed overboard. And this reminds me of a very sad thing that happened the very morning we were off the Cape—I mean the very *pitch* of the Cape.—It was just about day-light; it was blowing a gale of wind; and Uncle Tom ordered the topsails (big sails) to be furled. Whilst the sailors were aloft on one of the yards, the ship rolled and plunged terribly; and it blew with sleet and hail, and was very cold & biting. Well, all at once, Uncle Tom saw something falling through the air, and then heard a thump, and then,—looking before him, saw a poor sailor lying dead on the deck. He had fallen from the yard, and was killed instantly.—His shipmates picked him up, and carried him under cover. By and by, when time could be spared, the sailmaker sewed up the body in a peice of sail-cloth, putting some iron balls—cannon balls—at the foot of it. And, when all was ready, the body was put on a plank, and carried to the ship's side in the prescence of all hands. Then Uncle Tom, as Captain, read a prayer out of the prayer-book, and 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.—Such is the way a poor sailor is buried at sea. This sailor's name was Ray. He had a friend among the crew; and they were both going to California, and thought of living there; but you see what happened.

We were in this stormy weather about forty or fifty days, dating from the beginning. But now at last we are in fine weather again, and the sun shines warm. (See page 5th)

Pacific Ocean
(Off the coast of South America
On the Tropic of Capricorn)
Saturday September 1st 1860

My dear Malcolm: 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 one or two days. I suppose you have followed us 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

4. Heading page of Letter 149

Pacific Ocean
On the Line, Sept. 16th 1860

My Dear Malcolm: Since coming to the end of the fourth page, we have been sailing in fine weather, and it has continued quite warm.—The other day we saw a whale-ship; and I got into a boat and sailed over the ocean in it to the whale-ship, and stayed there about an hour. They had eight or ten of the "wild people" aboard. The Captain of the whale-ship had hired them at one of the islands called Roratonga. He wanted them to help pull in the whale-boat when they hunt the whale.—Uncle Tom's crew are now very busy making the ship look smart for San Francisco. They are tarring the rigging, and are going to paint the ship, & the masts and yards. She looks very rusty now, oweing to so much bad weather that we have been in.—When we get to San-Francisco, I shall put this letter in the post office there, and you will get it in about 25 days afterwards. It will go in a steamer to a place called Panama, on the Isthmus of Darien (get out your map, & find it) then it will cross the Isthmus by rail road to Aspinwall or Chagres on the Gulf of Mexico; there, another steamer will take it, which steamer, after touching at Havanna in Cuba for coals, will go direct to New York; and there, it will go to the Post Office, and so, get to Pittsfield.

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

(Continued from 6th page.)

Now, my Dear Malcolm, I must finish my letter to you. I think of you, and Stanwix & Bessie and Fanny [8] very often; and often long to be with you. But it can not be, at present. The picture

8. Frances Melville (1855–1938), Melville's youngest child, and her sister Elizabeth and brother Stanwix.

which I have of you & the rest, I look at sometimes, till the faces almost seem real.—Now, my Dear Boy, good bye, & God bless you

Your affectionate father

H Melville

I enclose a little baby flying-fish's wing for Fanny

[*enclosure: "wing"*]

150 TO ELIZABETH MELVILLE [9]

2 SEPTEMBER 1860

PACIFIC OCEAN

Sep. 2d 1860

My Dear Bessie: I thought I would send you a letter, that you could read yourself—at least a part of it.[1] But here and there I propose to write in the usual manner, as I find the printing style comes rather awkwardly in a rolling ship. Mamma will read these parts to you. We have seen a good many sea-birds. Many have followed the ship day after day. I used to feed them with crumbs. But now it has got to be warm weather, the birds have left us. They we[re] about as big as chickens—they were all over speckled—and they would sometimes, during a calm, keep behind the ship, fluttering about in the water, with a mighty cackling, and whenever anything was thrown overboard they would hurry to get it. But they never would light on the ship—they kept all the time flying or else resting themselves by floating on the water like ducks in a pond. These birds have no home, unless it is some wild rocks in the middle of the ocean. They never see any orchards, and have a taste of the apples & cherries, like your gay little friend in Pittsfield Robin Red Breast Esq.

—I could tell you a good many more things about the sea, but I must defer the rest till I get home.

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 think of you every time.

9. Elizabeth Melville (1853–1908), Melville's third child and oldest daughter, was seven years old at this time.

1. Melville writes, alternately, in large printed letters and in his normal script.

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:



that is to say, hand in hand.

By-by

Papa.

151 TO SAMUEL SAVAGE SHAW [2]

16 OCTOBER 1860

SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco / Oct. 16th 1860

My Dear Sam: In a few days I shall be at sea again, and as I want to see what I can while here, you may imagine I have not much idle time.[3] I have just written to your father, and slip this little note in, just to say that your letter received here was very interesting

2. Samuel Savage Shaw (1833–1915), son of Lemuel and Hope Savage Shaw, and Elizabeth Melville's half-brother. He was fourteen when his sister married (he later remembered "how disgusting wedding cake got to be!") and afterward he was accustomed to visit with the Melvilles in both New York and Pittsfield. On a European tour in 1856 and 1857, he saw Melville in Rome. In later years he appears to have maintained a comfortable relationship with the Melvilles, acting as trustee of his father's estate or tramping in the woods with Melville.

3. The *Meteor* had arrived in San Francisco 12 October. Almost immediately Melville took passage in the next steamer for Panama, with his ultimate destination New York. His health had not "benefitted by the Voyage," he wrote his wife. Besides, Tom's orders were apparently changed, for the *Meteor* later sailed for England instead of Manila. Melville arrived in New York November 2 and went thence to Boston, where Lizzie and the children had spent the months of his absence (Leyda, *Log*, 628–30).

to me, and merits a longer & more communicative reply than I shall be able to make. Indeed, as I write by night (rather unusual for me) 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 cheerfully to give much and receive little.

Thine
H Melville

152 TO SARAH HUYLER MOREWOOD
2 DECEMBER 1860
BOSTON

Sunday Evening Dec. 2d 1860

My Dear Mrs. Morewood:

Lizzie has written you, I beleive, that we purposed leaving for home on Monday (tomorrow)—but we have changed our plans. Lizzie and the children will remain here till Thursday; and I—in advance,—will go to Pittsfield on *Tuesday,* to get matters in readiness for them—putting up the stoves, airing the bedding—warming the house, and getting up a grand domestic banquet.[4] I shall leave here in *the morning train on Tuesday;* and will be very happy to accept, for myself, your kind & neighborly invitation for a day or two.

Let me take this opportunity of saying that Tom charged me with his best remembrances to you. I think he wrote to Mrs Brittain, thereby sending his remembrances to that lady by his own hand. And to you I, in the same manner, send mine; &, through you, to Mrs Brittian.—

Very Truly & Sincerely
Your Friend & Neighbor
H Melville

—P.S. Very scratchy pen.

4. On page three of the letter Lizzie wrote: "Dear Mrs. Morewood: You see the order of things is completely reversed, since Herman is going on to Pittsfield to get the house ready for *me*—that is, to get Mr. Clark to put the stoves up, and get it *warm* for me to go to work in—A new proverb should be added "Wives propose—husbands dispose"—don't you think so?— . . . with much love E. S. M."

TO PETER GANSEVOORT
15 MARCH 1861
153 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield March 15th 1861
My Dear Uncle: It has been suggested to me that I might procure some foreign appointment under the new Administration—the consulship at Florence, for example.[5] In many respects such an appointment would be desirable for me, altho'the emoluments are not very considerable. At all events, it is my purpose to apply. And I write for the purpose of enlisting your kind offices, which I know, you will cheerfully render;—and also to say, that early next week (perhaps on Monday) I shall leave here for New York, and have thought it advisable to take Albany in my way, for the purpose of seeing & consulting with you, touching my design.—I write in much haste, in order to get this into the mail. I have only time to send love to Aunt Susan & Kitty, and to say that as ever, I am Sincerely & Affectionately Yours

Herman Melville

154 TO RICHARD HENRY DANA JR.
20 MARCH 1861
NEW YORK

New York March 20th 1861
Dear Sir: I beleive you are apprized of my design as to obtaining, if possible, the consulship at Florence.

I am persuaded, from all I hear, that if Senator Sumner[6] could be earnestly enlisted in the cause, I should, in all likelihod, succeed. May I therefore ask your good services in that quarter? I should be greatly obliged to you for a strong letter from yourself, and for procuring for me other strong letters from suitable persons in Boston. It is important that the business should be pressed at

5. For the full details of Melville's attempt to secure a consular post, described in this and the following four letters, see Hayford–Davis, 168–83.

6. As newly designated chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee in a Republican-controlled Senate, Charles Sumner of Massachusetts was in a powerful position to assist Melville.

once. I leave here for Washington tomorrow, and letters will reach me there any time for the next eight or ten days.

Very Truly & Sincerely Yours

H Melville

Richard H. Dana Jr. Esq.

155 TO THURLOW WEED
20 MARCH 1861
NEW YORK

New York March 20th 1861

Dear Sir: 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 [7] would further my design

I am aware, of course, that in your position you must be harassed by similar applications, but yet I am not without hope of your assistance.

Without trespassing upon you further, I will only add—in case you should interest yourself in the matter—that letters will reach me at Washington any time during the next ten days.

Very Truly Yours

H. Melville

Hon. Thurlow Weed
Albany

156 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
20 MARCH 1861
NEW YORK

New York March 20th 1861

My Dear Uncle: Upon inquiring for Mr Weed at the Astor this morning, I find the bird flown back to its perch—Albany.

I have thought it advisable, under the circumstances, to address

7. William Henry Seward (1801–1872), Governor of New York from 1838 to 1842. On 4 March he had become Lincoln's Secretary of State. He was an intimate friend of Thurlow Weed, whose influence with Republican politicians in New York was powerful.

to him a note, which I here enclose to you. Were you as well now, as you will be ere long, I should beg you to deliver the note to him, & urge my suit to him, in person. But as it is, may I ask you to write him a note, enclosing mine? I think you can thus greatly aid me. *But it ought to be done immediately.* A very brief note will answer, so it be *strong & urgent.* I leave here tomorrow for Washington; and letters will reach me there any time during the next ten days.

With love to Aunt Susan and Kitty, I am, always

Truly & affectionately Yours

H Melville

157 TO ELIZABETH SHAW MELVILLE [8]
24, 25 MARCH 1861
WASHINGTON

My Dearest Lizzie:

Sunday Afternoon / Washington

I wrote you the other day from here, and now for another note. In the first place I must say that as yet I have been able to accomplish nothing in the matter of the consulship—have not in fact been able as yet so much as even to *see* any one on the subject. I called last night at Senator Sumner's, but he was at a dinner somewhere. I shall call again tomorrow. After leaving Sumner's I went with Dr Nourse [9] to a little sort of a party given by the wife of a man connected with one of the Departments. Had quite a pleasant evening. Several Senators were there with wives, daughters &c. The Vice President [1] also & wife. Mrs Hamlin is in appearance something like you—so she struck me at least. I need not add that she was very pleasing in her manners.—The night previous to this I was at the second levee at the White House. There was a great crowd, & a brilliant scene. Ladies in full dress by the hundred. A steady stream of two-&-two's 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 Able is much better looking that [than] I ex-

8. This is the only surviving letter of Melville to his wife.

9. Dr. Amos Nourse (1794–1877), husband of Melville's aunt Lucy Melville Nourse.

1. Hannibal Hamlin (1809–1891).

pected & 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. Supurb furniture—flood of light—magnificent flowers—full band of music &c.

I have attended the Senate twice; but nothing very interesting. The new wings of the Capitol are noble buildings, by far the richest in marble of any on the continent. I allude more particularly to the marble of the interior—staircases &c. They are in short palatial. The whole structure taken together is truly immense. It would astonish you to get lost among the labyrinths of halls, passages & splendid corridors.

This morning I spent in the park opposite the White House, sunning myself on a seat. The grass is bright & beautiful, & the shrubbery beginning to bud. It is just cool enough to make an overcoat comfortable sitting out of doors. The wind is high however, & except in the parks, all is dust. I am boarding in a plain home—plain fare plain people—in fact all plain but the road to Florence. But if nothing else comes of it, I will at least derive good from the trip at this season. Though, to tell the truth, I feel homesick at times, strange as it may seem. How long I still remain is uncertain. I am expecting letters every day, & can do little or nothing till they arrive.

This afternoon I visited the Washington Monument. Huge tower some 160 feet high of white marble. Could not get inside. Nothing been done to it for long time.

Dr Nourse is as facetious as ever. I went with him to the White House at the levee. But he is the greater part of the time engaged prosecuting his application for office. I venture to say he will not succeed, & he begins to think so himself, I judge, from what he tells me of his experiences thus far. He leaves here probably on Tuesday.

Monday Morning.

Dearest Lizzie: Feel rather overdone this morning—overwalked yesterday. But the trip will do me good. Kisses to the children. Hope to get a letter from you today

Thine, My Dearest Lizzie

Herman

TO CHARLES SUMNER [2]
28 MARCH 1861
158 WASHINGTON

Washington March 28th

Hon. Charles Sumner:

Dear Sir:

A letter received since my seeing you this morning necessitates my leaving town early tomorrow; and I fear I shall not be able to return very soon.[3]

I have tried to find you this afternoon and evening without success, and learn that you will not be at your rooms again untill it is too late for me to renew my call.

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.

With much respect
I am very truly yours
H. Melville

159 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
10 AUGUST 1861
GANSEVOORT

Gansevoort Aug. 10th 1861

My Dear Uncle: Lizzie and I have been making a visit here for a few days, and we propose returning home on Wednesday next, taking the early morning train from this place, which reaches Albany about nine o'clock. The interval between that hour and the departure of the afternoon train East, we propose to spend at your house—that is to say, if you and Aunt Susan will let us.

I am glad to say, that Uncle Herman, although feeble, and almost

2. Senator Charles Sumner (1811–1874) of Massachusetts.

3. The letter was doubtless from his wife advising him of her father's serious illness. Melville arrived in Pittsfield probably on 29 March, and Judge Shaw died the next day in Boston (Leyda, *Log*, 639).

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.— With love to Aunt Susan and Kitty, Beleive me

Truly and Affectionately Yours

H. Melville

160 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
15 AUGUST 1861
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield, Aug. 15th, 1861

My Dear Uncle:

After thinking over it a day or two, I fear that I will not be able, at present, to fix upon a time for a visit to Albany, with Lizzie, as you kindly propose. We were sorry that it so happened, that we necessarily missed seeing you yesterday, in passing through the city.

I write this in some haste to secure the mail. 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 exercise, the porpoises, they say, have very fine skins, & enjoy admirable health.

Truly and Affectionately
Thine

H Melville

Peter Gansevoort Esq.

161 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
1? FEBRUARY 1862
NEW YORK

150 E. 18th St.[4]

My Dear Duyckinck:

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.

4. The address is very likely that of a boarding house where Melville and his wife were staying temporarily.

I want you to loan me some of those volumes of the Elizabethan dramatists. Is Deckar among the set? And Webster? If so, please put them up and let the bearer have them.—Send me any except Marlowe, whom I have read.[5]

Mrs. Melville and I will be glad to see you & your brother any evening. If you have nothing better to do, come round tomorrow (Sunday) evening, and we will brew some whiskey punch and settle the affairs of the universe over it—which affairs sadly need it, some say.

Thine
H Melville

P.S. Dont fear that the books will get wet, as the bearer travels under cover by rail, all but the unavoidable corners.

162 TO THOMAS MELVILLE[6]
25 MAY 1862
PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield May 25th 1862

My Dear Boy: (or, if that appear disrespectful)

My Dear Captain: Yesterday I received from Gansevoort your long and very entertaining letter to Mamma from Pernambuco. Yes, it was very entertaining. Particularly the account of that interesting young gentleman whom you so uncivilly stigmatise for a jackass, simply because he improves his opportunities in the way of sleeping, eating & other commendable customs. 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 snoose together, under the sod—no

5. Melville bought a volume of "Marlowe's Plays" in London in 1849 (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 348).

6. Thomas Melville (1830–1884), Melville's youngest brother, was at this time captain of the *Bengal* sailing for Hong Kong, China. "Capt. Tom" married Catherine Eliza Bogart (1842–1928) in June 1868, shortly after his election as Governor of Sailors' Snug Harbor, Staten Island, where he remained until his death of heart disease at the age of fifty-four.

quarrels, no imaginary grievances, no envies, heart-burnings, & 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 honor and esteem him.—As for your treatment of those young ones, there I entirely commend you. Strap them, I beseech you. You remember what the Bible says:—

> "Oh ye who teach the children of the nations,
> Holland, France, England, Germany or Spain,
> I pray ye *strap* them upon all occasions,
> It mends their morals—never mind the pain" [7]

In another place the Bible says, you know, something about spareing the strap & spoiling the child.—Since I have quoted poetry above, it puts me in mind of my own doggerel. You will be pleased to learn that I have disposed of a lot of it at a great bargain. In fact, a trunk-maker took the whole stock off my hands at ten cents the pound. So, When you buy a new trunk again, just peep at the lining & perhaps you may be rewarded by some glorious stanza stareing you in the face & claiming admiration. If you were not such a devil of a ways off, I would send you a trunk, by way of presentation-copy. I cant help thinking what a luckless chap you were that voyage you had a poetaster with you.[8] You remember the romantic moonlight night, when the conceited donkey repeated to you about three cables' length of his verses. But you bore it like a hero. I cant in fact recall so much as a single *wince*. To be sure, you went to bed immediately upon the conclusion of the entertainment; but this much I am sure of, whatere were your sufferings, you never gave them utterance. Tom, my boy, I admire you. I say again, you are a hero.—By the way, I hope in God's name that

7. The original lines, in *Don Juan*, II, ll. 1–4, read:

> Oh ye! who teach the ingenuous youth of nations
> Holland, France, England, Germany or Spain,
> I pray ye flog them upon all occasions,
> It mends their morals,—never mind the pain.

8. The poetaster was, of course, Melville himself.

Pittsfield May 25th 1862

My Dear Boy: (Or, if that appear disrespectful)

My Dear Captain: Yesterday I received from Gansevoort your long and very entertaining letter to Mamma from Pernambuco. Yes, it was very entertaining. Particularly the account of that interesting young gentleman whom you so recently shipmated for a fortnight, simply because he imposed the Sportsmanlike way of sleeping, eating & other commendable customs. That's the sort of fellow, seems to me, to get along with. For my part I love sleepy fellows, and like most cordially the latter. 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 how terrible a necessity millions of good fellows all taking a good long friendly snooze together, under the sod — no quarrels, no imaginary affronts, no civil, heart-burnings, & thinking how much better that other chap is off — none of this: but all equally free-&-easy, they sleep away & rest of their sins knock on him, in perfect amity. If you see your sleepy eyed friend Jackson — give again

5. Heading page of Letter 162

rumor which reached your owners (C & P.) a few weeks since—that dreadful rumor is not true. They heard that you had begun to take to———drink?—Oh no, but worse———to sonnet-writing. That off Cape Horn instead of being on deck about your business, you devoted your time to writing a sonnet on your mistress' eyebrow, & another upon her "tourneur [?]." [9]—"I'll be damned" says Curtis (he was very profane) "if I'll have a sonneteer among my Captains."—"Well, if he was taken to poetizing," says Peabody—"God help the ship!"—I have written them contradicting the rumor in your name. What villian & secret enemy of yours set this cursed report afloat, I cant imagine.—Do you want to hear about the war?—The war goes bravely on. McClellan is now within fifteen miles of the rebel capital, Richmond. New Orleans is taken &c &c &c. You will see all no doubt in the papers at your Agents. But when the *end*—the wind-up—the grand pacification is coming, who knows. We beat the rascals in almost every feild, & take all their ports [posts?] &c, but they dont cry "Enough!" [1]—It looks like a long lane, with the turning quite out of sight.—Guert has recently been appointed to the command of a fine new sloop of war.[2] I am rejoiced to hear it. It will do him good in more ways than one. He is brave as a lion, a good seaman, a natural-born officer, & I hope he will yet turn out the hero of a brilliant victory.—I dont write you, My Dear Boy, about family matters, because I know that the girls keep you posted there. But I will just say that of late Lizzie has not being very well, tho' she is now getting better. The children are all well. Macky is studying Latin—"Hic—hei[a]c—hoc"—"horum, horum, horum," he goes it every night.—And now, you boy, if you knew how much laziness I overcame in writing you this letter, you would think me, what I am

Always your affectionate brother

Herman.

9. Melville's misspelling of *tournure,* meaning *bustle.*

1. *Macbeth,* v. viii. 34.

2. Newly appointed as captain of the U.S.S. *Roanoke,* Guert Gansevoort (1812–1868), Melville's first cousin, had entered the navy as a midshipman in 1823, been promoted to lieutenant in 1837, and served in that rank aboard the *Somers* during the famous "mutiny" of 1842. He was appointed commander in 1855, captain in 1862, and he retired the year before his death in 1868.

TO SAMUEL SAVAGE SHAW
10 DECEMBER 1862
163 PITTSFIELD

Pittsfield Dec. 10th 1862

My Dear Sam: I remember that some days after my mishap,[3] when I was able to give the necessary attention, Lizzie read to me the letter you wrote her on that occasion.—I can not help telling you how sensible I am of the kindness you showed, and write you this that you may have the ocular evidence of my recovery. To be sure, I still carry my arm (the left one, happily) in a sling, and the neuralgia gives me a love-pinch in the cheek now and then. But upon the whole I am now in a fair way of being completely restored to what I was before the accident.—This recovery 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. Be that as it may, I am going to try and stick to the conviction named above. For I have observed that such an idea, once well bedded in a man, is a wonderful conservator of health and almost a phophecy of long life. 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 dont 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.—Pretty topics these



3. An accident in Pittsfield, 7 November, when Melville's horse bolted and threw him from his wagon. He either broke or dislocated a shoulder blade and injured several ribs (Leyda, *Log*, 655–6).

for a friendly note, you say. (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?)

But my page is more than half gone, so I must stop this trifling.

Lizzie is quite well, though a little jaded by her manifold cares, we not yet being quite in order yet.[4] The children are flourishing as usual. Tomorrow we expect the gratification of a visit from my mother, whom we hope to be able to keep some time with us.—My best rememberances to your mother, Lemuel, and the rest of the family. Adieu

H. M.

164 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT (LANSING)[1]
17 FEBRUARY 1863
PITTSFIELD

My Dear Cousin Kate:

Upon returning from New York I was made happy by finding your not enclosing the pictures. The one of our grandmother is clear and admirable. But alas for the Hero of Fort Stanwix![2] Photographically rendered, he seems under a sort 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.[3] 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.

4. Probably because of the move in November? from "Arrowhead" to "the square old-fashioned house on South street in the rear of Backus block" in Pittsfield (Leyda, *Log*, 655).

1. Catherine Gansevoort (1839–1918), the daughter of Peter Gansevoort by his first wife, Mary Sanford Gansevoort, was Melville's first cousin. She married Abraham Lansing (1835–1899) in 1873.

2. General Peter Gansevoort, Melville's grandfather.

3. Lieutenant Henry Gansevoort, after seeing service at the second battle of Bull Run and at Antietam, suffered an attack of typhoid fever and was temporarily assigned to Fort Hamilton, in New York Harbor: *Memorial of Henry Sanford Gansevoort,* ed. John C. Hoadley (Boston, 1875), pp. 77–8.

I saw him upon two other occasions, and dined with him at Allan's one Sunday.

With best remembrances to your mother and father, in which Lizzie joins,

Beleive me Incomparable Kate

Affectionately Your Cousin

Herman

Pittsfield Feb. 17th 1863

165 TO SOPHIE VAN MATRE [4]

10 DECEMBER 1863

NEW YORK

New York Dec. 10th 1863

My Dear Miss Van Matre:

Owing to my recent return to this, my native town, after a twelve years' visit in Berkshire, your note was delayed in reaching me.[5]

Though involved in the thousand and one botherations incident to a removal of one's household a hundred & sixty miles, the fitting up & furnishing of a house &c &c, I yet hasten to respond.

I should 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. Such as I have by me would hardly be to your purpose.

With lively remembrance of our pick-nicks, & the warmest wishes for the success of your Fair, Beleive me

Very Sincerely Yours

Herman Melville

Miss Van Matre,
Cincinnati.

4. Undoubtedly the Mrs. D. Van Matre who was on the Fruits and Flowers Committee of the Horticultural and Pomological Department of the "Sanitary Fair" held in Cincinnati in December 1863: *History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair* (Cincinnati, 1864), p. 63. She was probably the "Cincinnati young lady" who went on a picnic with Melville and his group 7 August, 1851, when she was still Miss Henderson (see Letter 90, n. 7).

5. In October 1863 Melville had moved to 60 East 26th St., New York, having bought the house from Allan (Leyda, *Log*, 663). In 1866 or 1867 the house was renumbered 104.

TO GEORGE MCLAUGHLIN [6]
15 DECEMBER 1863
166 NEW YORK

New York, Dec. 15, 1863

Dear Sir:

Owing to my change of residence, back to this, my native place, your letter was delayed in reaching me.

The Sanitary Fairs to be held in several of the larger cities, will do an immense service to our soldiers. God prosper them, and those who work for them, and the great Cause which they are intended to subserve

With much respect
Yours Truly
Herman Melville

Geo. M. Laughlin Esq.
Cincinnati

167 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
31 DECEMBER 1863
NEW YORK

Last Day of 1863

Dear Duyckinck:

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.

We are going to have Allan & his family here to night, with Mrs Britton [7] from Pittsfield, & one or two other friends, who will come early, stay sociably & go early. If convenient, pray, join us.

Thine
H. M.

6. George McLaughlin was on the Committee for Coins and Autographs of the "Sanitary Fair" (*History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair,* p. 62). This letter was sold at the Fair for fifty cents to one R. Clarke, who also bought Melville's letter to George P. Putnam of 6 February, 1854, for 20 cents (ibid., p. 438).

7. Ellen Brittain.

IV

1864-1891

THE WRITTEN RECORD of Melville's last quarter-century is brief. He visited a Civil War battlefield in 1864, and shortly after the fall of Richmond in 1865 began a volume of poems published as *Battle-Pieces* in 1866. Late that year he became a customs inspector in New York and held this position until his retirement in 1885. His first son, Malcolm, died tragically in 1867, and his second son, Stanwix, shortly became a roamer, traveling to China, England, Kansas, Nicaragua, California, back home to New York, and finally to San Francisco, where he died in 1886. In 1876 Melville published in two volumes the narrative poem *Clarel,* based on his trip to the Holy Land in 1857. For years the factual record consists mostly of births, marriages, and deaths, and of family visits. In 1888 Melville visited Bermuda and published privately *John Marr and Other Sailors.* In 1891 he completed *Billy Budd* and published *Timoleon* privately. On 28 September of that year he died.

168 TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL ALEXANDER BLISS [1]
22 MARCH 1864
NEW YORK

Please acknowledge the receipt of this.

New York, March 22d 1864

Dear Sir: In the hurry of despatching my Contribution the other day, I now find that I enclosed to you an uncorrected draught—in fact, the *wrong sheet.* Herewith you have the *right one,* which I trust you will substitute. Or, if that be too late, may I beg of

1. Alexander Bliss (1827–1896) was a lieutenant colonel in the quartermaster corps and with John Pendleton Kennedy a compiler of *Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors* (Baltimore, 1864), a collection prepared for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission (Leyda, *Log,* 666–7).

you, by all means, to suppress the one you have.[2]—I sincerely regret that my carelessness should be the cause of trouble.

With much Respect
Your Obt. Sevt.
Herman Melville

Lt. Col. Alexander Bliss.
Baltimore Md.

[*enclosure:*]

Inscription
For the Dead
At Fredericksburgh.

A dreadful glory lights an earnest end;
In jubilee the patriot ghosts ascend;
Transfigured at the rapturous height
Of their passionate feat of arms,
Death to the brave's a starry night,—
Strewn their vale of death with palms.
Herman Melville

169 TO HENRY SANFORD GANSEVOORT [3]
10 MAY 1864
NEW YORK

New York May 10th 1864

My Dear Henry: 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.[4] I enjoyed my visit very much, & would not have missed it on any account, and can only regret that

2. Melville's letter evidently arrived too late for Bliss to suppress the first version and insert the second. The poem was reproduced in facsimile as "Inscription for the Slain at Fredericksburgh" and had other variations from the version Melville enclosed in the letter (see below, textual note, p. 364). However, Bliss apparently drew upon the second version for the table of contents, where the title reads "Inscription to the dead at Fredericksburg."

3. Henry Sanford Gansevoort (1834–1871), the son of Peter and Mary Sanford Gansevoort, was Melville's first cousin.

4. Herman and Allan had visited Lieutenant Colonel Gansevoort at his camp in Vienna, Virginia, in the first week of April (Leyda, *Log,* 667).

you happened to be away when we arrived. But as when the sun reappears after being hidden; so—&c &c &c. Your imagination and modesty will supply the rest. I missed seeing the Dr at Washington, although I sought him at Willard's. I trust he has got rid of his temporary disfigurement. When in your tent you introduced him to Gen. Tyler, you should have said:—General, let me make you acquainted with my friend here. Dont be frightened. This is not his face, but a masque. A horrible one, I know, but for God's sake dont take it to be the man. General, that horrible masque, my word for it, hides a noble and manly countenance. &c &c &c Your wit & invention render further strumming on this string idle.—How is Captain Brewster? [5] Coke on Lyttleton, and Strap on the Shoulder. My friendly regards & best wishes to the Captain & say to him that I hear the neigh of his war-horse in my dreams, likewise that I have a flannel shirt of his in my keeping; which I hope one day to exhibit as the identical shirt worn by that renowned soldier shortly after his entrance into the army. —Edwin Lansing [6]—remember me to him. Tell him I frequently think of him & his tent & there is pleasure in the thought. Tell him to tell Dr Wolf (savage name, but sweet man) that my prayers ascend for him.

And Gen Tyler, too. Pray, give my respects to him, & say that I agree with him about "Titan." [7] The worst thing I can say about it is, that it is a little better than "Mardi" The Terence [8] I highly

5. Positive identity is uncertain. The *Army Register* for 1864 lists a Captain Charles Brewster, born in New York and commissioned a captain 2 March, 1864. This is possibly the same man as the Charles Brewster of the 13th Cavalry of New York State Volunteers who is listed in *A Record of the Commissioned Officers . . . of the Regiments . . . of New York . . . in the Rebellion* (Albany, 1867), 7, 330, though according to a note he was not mustered with the company and his rank is given as lieutenant. Melville's reference to "Coke on Lyttleton, and Strap on the Shoulder" suggests a legal background for Captain Brewster, and in Leyda, *Log,* he is indexed as George H. Brewster, Henry Gansevoort's law partner, but this identification lacks evidence.

6. Edwin Yates Lansing, younger brother of the man who would later marry Henry Gansevoort's sister Catherine.

7. Presumably, Richter's *The Titan,* though this copy of the book does not survive among books identified as Melville's.

8. Presumably, Terence's *Comedies,* though again Melville's copy has disappeared.

value; indeed both works, as memorials of the hospitalities of an accomplished General & jolly Christian.

And now, Col. Gansevoort of the 13th N. Y. Cavalry, conceive me to be standing some paces from you, in an erect attitude and with manly bearing, giving you the military salute. Farewell. May two small but choice constellations of stars alight on your shoulders. May your sword be a lesson to the despicable foe, & your name in after ages be used by Southern matrons to frighten their children by. And after death (which God long avert, & bring about after great battles, quietly, in a comfortable bed, with wife & children around) may that same name be transferred to heaven—bestowed upon some new planet or cluster of stars of the first magnitude. Farewell, my hero

& God bless you
Herman Melville

Col. Gansevoort.
Lizzie wishes to be remembered to you.

170 TO BRIGADIER GENERAL ROBERT O. TYLER [9]
21 JULY 1864
GANSEVOORT

Gansevoort, Saratoga Co. N. Y.
July 21st 1864

Dear General:

When I read of you at Cold-Harbor, I recalled your hospitality at Fairfax, and the agreeable evening I spent with you there, in company with my cousin, Col. Gansevoort, and would have written you, had I known how to address the note.

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.—I am glad it is no worse with you, and rejoice to learn that you are in a promising way. I trust that you are in a condition

9. Brigadier General Tyler (1831–1874) was wounded at the battle of Cold Harbor on 1 June. Despite the information Melville had received, the General never really recovered from his wound.

to enjoy your book and your cigar, also (but this should have gone before) the sweet eyes of the sympathetic ladies, who, you know, have a natural weakness for heroes. How they must hover over you—the angels!—and how must your dreams be mingled of love and glory. I dont know but that I ought to congratulate you at once, after all.

But methinks I hear somebody say, Dont bore him with too long a yarn.

Of course I shall not look for any reply to this note, or that you will trouble yourself any further about it than to receive it as an expression of respect and good-feeling.

Very faithfully and Sincerely Yours
Herman Melville

Brig. Gen. Robert O. Tyler
Philadelphia.
Should you at any future time desire to know my address, I give it: —60 E 26th St. New York.

171 TO CHARLES WARREN STODDARD [1]
20 JANUARY 1867
NEW YORK

New York. Jan. 20th 1867

Dear Sir: I have read with much pleasure the printed Verses you sent me, and, among others, was quite struck with the little effusion entitled "Cherries & Grapes." [2]

1. Stoddard (1843–1909) had just published his *Poems,* edited by Bret Harte. He had grown up in San Francisco and become friends with Harte, Mark Twain, and other west coast writers. To improve his health he had traveled to Hawaii in 1864, and he went back twice before writing *South Sea Idylls,* with a preface referring several times to Melville. A search for religious satisfaction ended in the year of this letter, when Stoddard became a Catholic. After serving as Mark Twain's secretary in London and living three years in Hawaii, he settled down as a teacher of English literature, first at Notre Dame and then at Catholic University (Leyda, *Log,* 736).

2. In *Poems,* by Charles Warren Stoddard (San Francisco, 1867), p. 73:

> Not the cherries' nerveless flesh,
> However fair, however fresh,

[*cont. on p. 228*]

I do not wonder that you found no traces of me at the Hawaiian Islands

Yours Very Truly
H. Melville

Charles Warren Stoddard Esq.
San Francisco

172 TO JOHN CHIPMAN HOADLEY [3]
BETWEEN 12 AND 18 SEPTEMBER 1867
NEW YORK

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 ever failed in filialness.

May ever hope my love to win
For Ethiop blood and satin skin.

Their luster rich and deep their dye;
Yet under all their splendors lie—
That which I cannot tribute grant—
Their hateful hearts of adamant.

I love the amber globes that hold
That dead-delicious wine of gold;
A thousand torrid suns distill
Such liquors as these flagons fill.

Yet tropic gales with souls of musk
Should steep my grapes in steams of dusk:
And orient Eden nothing lacks
To spice their purple silken sacks.

3. John Chipman Hoadley (1818–1886), manufacturer and engineering designer, first met the Melvilles in Pittsfield where he was associated with Donald McKay in the manufacture of locomotives and textile machinery. He married Charlotte Sophia Kimball in 1847 and after her death married Melville's sister Catherine in 1853 and settled in Lawrence, Mass., as superintendent of a machine shop. His invention of the Hoadley portable engine and his manufacturing enterprises made him wealthy, but later reverses required his return to his engineering profession. His extensive library was sold at auction after his death.

TO MARIA MELVILLE [4]
22 OCTOBER 1867
NEW YORK

173

New York Oct. 22d 1867

My Dear Milie: I was much gratified by your note, and was touched at the way in which you speak of Mackie.[5] That to you, and your sisters, he was—to use your own words—always obliging and affectionate, this was but of a piece with his whole nature and conduct. And no one can sincerly appreciate these qualities in Mackie without shareing them.

We have been getting new photographs made from two tintypes—one representing him in his ordinary dress, and the other in the regimental one. They have been reproduced (on a somewhat enlarged scale) much better than we could have anticipated. We have reserved one for you, and also one of the original tintypes which we learn he had taken for you.

Uncle Tom is about leaving for New Haven on business. Mrs. Shaw and Sam got here from Baltimore last evening. They went as far as Washington—Mrs. Shaw's first visit to the Capitol

Tell your father I have here his notes, and have made inquiry (yesterday afternoon) at the 42d St Depot for the piano, potatoes, & apples. They had not yet arrived—not *there*. This morning I shall inquire at the Center St. Depot. I will look out for them. Give him my thanks for his present.

Flossy & Kitty are well.[6] They dined with us Sunday. I saw them yesterday,—I dont know whether this will be in time to reach you at Pittsfield.

Remember me kindly to your father & mother

And Beleive me Affectionately Yours

H. Melville

4. Maria Gansevoort Melville (1849–1935), oldest daughter of Allan Melville. In 1874 she married William B. Morewood, son of John and Sarah Morewood.

5. Malcolm. Milie's note probably had added poignancy because she was just two days younger than Mackie.

6. Florence Melville (1850–1919) and Catherine Gansevoort Melville (1852–1939), Maria's sisters.

TO THE COLLECTOR OF CUSTOMS?
31 OCTOBER 1867
174 NEW YORK

District Office, No 4 N. R.
Oct 31. 1867

Mr. Henry L. Potter, my associate, is authorised to draw the money in my Pay Roll for the present month.

H. Melville
Dist. Inspector

175 TO THE EDITORS OF *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*[7]
? DECEMBER 1867
NEW YORK?

I feel much complimented. . . . You may include me in the list of probable contributors.

176 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT (LANSING)
29 MAY 1868?
NEW YORK

104 E. 26th St.

104 E. 26th St.
May 29th, 4 P.M.

My Dear Kate:

"Cousin Herman and Cousin Lizzie" will be very glad indeed to have you stay with them so long as you please. We shall be a little crowded, but, on these occasions, the more the merrier, you know.

7. The original *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* lasted only four years before merging with *Emerson's United States Magazine,* in October 1857. The new *Putnam's* was organized by Charles F. Briggs and George Palmer Putnam in 1867, with Edmund Clarence Stedman as associate editor and book reviewer. Contributions were solicited from such writiers as George Henry Boker, Phoebe Cary, George William Curtis, Robert Dale Owen, Charles W. Elliot, Francis Parkman, and Edward M. Stanton. Articles on "home topics"—i.e. life and society in America—were to receive the bulk of the space, but there was to be a fiction section in each issue. The first appeared in January 1868,

I have just brought Mama over from the H.R.R.R Depot. She told me about your plans for coming down &c, so I hasten to despatch this note.

My affectionate rememberances to Uncle Peter & Aunt Susan.

We shall count on having you with us.

Cousin Herman.

177 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT (LANSING)
18 AUGUST 1868
PITTSFIELD

Arrowhead, Aug 18th / 1868

My Dear Cousin Kate:

Unhappy that I am, I went off without bidding you good-bye. But my bundles and my baggage, and the catching of the car, with my desire to be "on time" too much engrossed me. However, herein —if you have the faith to perceive—you will find enclosed a cousinly salute, which I entreat you to appropriate.

I had a very pleasant ride over to Pittsfield, and at the house I found Lizzie and the children, who had arrived a few hours before me, and were well and frisky. Allan's family are all absent for a few days, leaving only Kate to preside. But Kate, like all the Kates, inherits the good old Dutch talent for housekeeping, and takes good care of us.

I hope Uncle Peter enjoyed his afternoon ride yesterday, and was the better for it. My respectful and affectionate rememberances to him, and also to Aunt Susan; and say to both that I shall not soon forget my most agreeable visit to Albany, full of diversified pleasure.

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, it may be,

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the last in November 1870, when the magazine merged with *Scribner's*. Whether or not Melville ever submitted a manuscript, nothing of his appeared in the magazine. *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, n.s. *1* (January 1868), "To Contributors," 1–7; Mott, *History of American Magazine*, *2*, 428–30.

exceed the due limits of cousinly compliment. So here is the end of the page, and of my note.

Adieu
H. Melville

Lizzie sends her love to all, with thanks for the kind invitation.

178 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT (LANSING)
9 SEPTEMBER 1868
NEW YORK

New York Sep^{t} 9th

Inimitable Kate: Thank you for your note. Following it came the photograph. What an imposing mass of masonry. But a critic must needs be fastidious. There appears on the central pediment a sort of dilated sentry-box, which seems to be without due foundation. Look for yourself, and if you agree with me, drop a polite note to the archictect, and quote Vitruvius the great classic authority, —though old as our Era,—in architecture, you know.

About the newspaper account of Cousin Guert, I have diligently searched my room, but in vain.[8] During my two weeks' absence, the apartment underwent a horrible cleaning & setting-to-rights, which means putting things where one can't find 'em. I will look again, & if successful, you will hear of it.

Concerning Stanny—tell Uncle Peter that the main reason why he did not stop at Albany was a violent cold, from which he still suffers in a measure. He sends his love to all. As for Lizzy-Ann[9] and the young ladies, I enjoined upon them not to omit that visit. But Lizzy-Ann is wilful, and I can't make her mind. However, she may obey in this present instance. Best love to Uncle Peter & Aunt Susan. Forget not to remember me kindly to the Lansings.

And so farewell for the time,

Inimitable Katherine
H. Melville

8. Probably a reference to an obituary of Guert Gansevoort, who died 15 July.

9. Presumably, Melville's wife, though nowhere else is she referred to by this name.

TO ?[1]
3 FEBRUARY 1869
179 NEW YORK

New York, Feb. 3, 1869

Dear Sir:

I am happy to comply with your request.

Herman Melville

180 TO ELIAS DEXTER[2]
13 MAY 1869
NEW YORK

Down Town—May 13. '69

Mr. E. Dexter:

Dear Sir—That mezzotint, The Healing of the Blind,[3] which I left at your place—pray, be good enough to cause the Lettering at bottom, when cut off, to be glued upon the back of the frame. —I am glad, by the way, that my chance opinion of that picture receives the confirmation of such a judge as yourself.—Let me thank you for the little print after Murillo.

Respectfully Yours,
Herman Melville

181 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
9 JUNE 1869
NEW YORK

New York June 9th '69

My Dear Uncle: Hearing that Kate thinks of visiting New York, I desire to say, that Lizzie and I will be extremely happy to welcome her in 26th St. We have a vacant room at her service, and expect her to occupy it ere long. All she has to do, is to notify us a day or two beforehand.

By letter from Gansevoort we heard how much Mama enjoyed

1. The letter is apparently to an autograph collector.
2. A picture-framer, with a shop at 564 Broadway.
3. Probably the painting by Nicholas Poussin of Christ healing the blind men of Jericho, painted 1651, and located in the Louvre.

her visit in Washington Avenue.[4]—The weather here is cool and pleasant, though we have had some sultry and unseasonable days.

My love and Lizzie's to Kate, and tell her to hasten her preparations, and come down before the Dog Star rageth.

His Excellency the Governor of the S.S.H.[5] is, I am happy to state, well and happy. So is his wife.[6]

With kindest rememberances to Aunt Susan, Beleive me

Affectionately

H. Melville

182 TO MARIA GANSEVOORT MELVILLE[7]

5 MAY 1870

NEW YORK

New York, May 5. '70.

My Dear Mamma:

As you express a wish in your last letter dated the 2nd inst. to hear from me again before you leave Albany, I accordingly write this; and that you may be satisfied that I have not been dilatory about the portrait, I will say that I have already had two sittings, and it is getting on.[8]

We have not heard from Stanwix since receiving his London

4. 115 Washington Avenue, where Peter Gansevoort lived.

5. Sailor's Snug Harbor, on Staten Island, of which Thomas Melville had become governor 19 November 1867. Incorporated in 1806, the institution was formally opened in 1833 for "Aged, Decrepit and Worn-out Sailors." By 1876 the institution listed 500 "inmates" and assets of 300 acres of land, several buildings, and income from property of $200,000. a year. (See the "Copy of the Last Will and Testament of the Late Robert Richard Randall, Esq., of the Act of Incorporation . . . Respecting the Sailor's Snug Harbor . . ." [New York, Slate and Janes, 1876], pp. 15–19, in NYPL.)

6. Catherine Bogart, daughter of Dr. S. V. R. Bogart, Resident Physician of Sailor's Snug Harbor. The marriage took place on 6 June 1868.

7. A copy by John C. Hoadley of the only surviving letter of Melville to his mother, Maria Gansevoort Melville (1791–1872).

8. Melville's brother-in-law, John C. Hoadley, had made arrangements for Melville's portrait to be painted by Joseph Oriel Eaton (1829–1875). It was completed by 3 June, and now hangs in Houghton Library, Harvard University.

letter in February, but are daily in expectation of one, tho' boy-like he may not think how anxiously we await it.[9]

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, disdaining 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.

Lizzie and the girls are well, and for some time past have devoted themselves to the shrine of Fashion, engaged in getting up the unaccountable phenomina and wonderful circumferential illusions which in these extraordinary days invest the figure of lovely woman.

—I am called away and must close.

My remembrances to Uncle Peter, Aunt Susan, the Superb Kate and the benignant Lansing; and believe me,

Affectionately Your Son,
Herman.

183 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
12 JUNE 1870
NEW YORK

New York, June 12, '70

My Dear Uncle: On a visit to the Harbor the other day, Tom handed me a handsomely framed engraving of the Hero of Fort

9. As early as February 1869 Stanwix had talked his parents into letting him go to sea. Through Uncle Tom, arrangements were made for him to ship on the *Yokohama,* Captain Paul, and he sailed 4 April for Canton. Herman and Elizabeth had letters 28 September from Shanghai, whence he evidently sailed for London (Leyda, *Log,* 700–1, 705).

Stanwix, saying that he was acting upon your request & that I was to regard it as a gift from Uncle Peter.—I write this to offer my acknowledgment[s?] for your kindness, and to say how much I prize it.

Tom and his wife are both well, and their place is looking beautifully at this season.

He told me of the proposed visit of Fanny and Cousin Kate. When do they come? I trust that Tom will not wholly imprison them in his Paradise, but will permit the people of 26th St to have a share of their company.

My kindest rememberances to Aunt Susan & Kate, and best regards to the Lansings,

And Beleive me
Sincerely Yours
H. Melville

184 TO SUSAN GANSEVOORT
15 JANUARY 1871
NEW YORK

New York Jan 15, '71.

My Dear Aunt Susan:

When Henry left here I gave him a note of introduction to Mrs. Gifford,[1] 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 no favorable tidings of Henry from some passenger in the last steamer from Nassau.[2]—I write in much haste to secure the delivery of this at the general Post office to night.

With my best rememberances to Uncle Peter in which Lizzie & the rest unite,

Beleive me
Sincerely
H. Melville

1. Ellen Marett Gifford (18??–1889). See Letter 236.

2. Mrs. Gifford's letter appears to have dealt with Henry's health. He died 12 April, on a boat carrying him from New York to Albany (Leyda, *Log*, 719).

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT (LANSING)
13 NOVEMBER 1871
185 NEW YORK

New York, Nov 13, '71

My Dear Cousin Kate:

This afternoon I received the Intaglio with your accompanying note.[3]

Be assured that I shall sacredly preserve the ring, esteeming it as if it had been given me by the living hand—*his* who now lies so honorably at rest.

Lizzie & the children unite with me in best remembrances to your Mother, Uncle Peter, and yourself.

Affectionately Your Cousin
H. Melville

Promptitude must
atone for brevity

186 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
26 DECEMBER 1871
NEW YORK

New York, / 470 West St.
Day after Christmas, 1871.

My Dear Uncle:

I write this at my office, so you must excuse the paper; it is the best I happen to have at hand here.

Augusta tells me that during her late visit in Washington Avenue you kindly enquired after me, asked why I did not come to see you, and also expressed a desire that I should write you.

About not coming to see you.—I am only allowed two weeks' vacation. This I take in the summer; and last summer I spent it, for a change, at North Conway, with Lizzie. Had I gone to Northumberland as usual, I should not have failed seeing you on the way, going or returning. During the coming season I hope to have the pleasure of re-visiting Albany.

3. Catherine Gansevoort sent the ring to Melville at the request of her brother, who "desired that all his blood Cousins should be given rings in his memory." (Catherine Gansevoort to Herman Melville, before 13 November, 1871, quoted in Leyda, *Log*, 721.)

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. Mama looked uncommonly well; and Helen, Augusta, Kate (two Kates) Fanny, Minnie, Lottie, Frankie, Bessie, Fanny, Stanny, Mr Hoadley, Mr Griggs,[4] not excluding the present modest writer—we all looked very well indeed.

Among the toasts Uncle Peter was remembered, Aunt Susan & Cousin Kate; nor was Henry forgotten. Tom offered that toast to his memory.

Stanny and I were obliged to leave at an early—or rather early hour, in order to take the last boat for New York. We left them still enjoying themselves in the parlors.

With much love to Aunt Susan & sympathy for her illness, and love to Kate, Beleive me

With much respect
Affectionately
Herman Melville

187 TO SAMUEL ADAMS DRAKE[5]
30 APRIL 1872
NEW YORK

New York Ap. 30, '72.

Dear Sir: I am sorry that the little that is peculiar in the information I possess with regard to my grandfather, the late Major Melville of Boston is but of that familiar sort hardly adapted to historical use.

Concerning the more interesting event—his connection with

4. The "two Kates" were Melville's sister Catherine M. Hoadley and his sister-in-law, Katherine Bogart Melville. Minnie, Lottie, and Frankie were the Hoadley children, Maria Gansevoort (1855–1904), Charlotte Elizabeth (1858–1946), and Francis Washburn (1865–1930).

5. A Boston antiquarian (1833–1905), who was apparently collecting information for the Centennial of the Boston Tea Party held in Faneuil Hall in 1873. In the same year he published *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston.*

the "Tea Party," I think I know nothing that has not already received local mention

Permit me to suggest that it might be well for you to mention the subject to the sons of the late Chief Justice Shaw. Their honored father was well acquainted with Major Melville.

I renew my regret at being forced to send you so barren a responce

With great respect
H. Melville

Samuel A. Drake Esq.
Boston.

188 TO STANWIX MELVILLE[6]
JULY? 1872?
NEW YORK?

rejoiced that you have . . .
of going to New Orleans . . .
can not but think th[at?] . . .
To Ellis on the farm . . .
Your affectionate father

H. Melville

189 TO RICHARD HENRY STODDARD
5 JULY 1872
NEW YORK

New York / July 5. '72

My Dear Sir:

I thank you for the sheet you enclose me,—received today.

6. This is one of two fragments (see Letter 268, below) that remain from Melville's correspondence with his second son after childhood and was probably preserved for the complimentary close and the signature. After returning from London in July 1870, Stanwix made two trips to Kansas looking for exactly the right kind of job. The second time he stayed only a few weeks, then thinking he "Could do better South," went down through the Indian Territory and Arkansas to New Orleans, "a lively city, but no work" (Stanwix Melville to Hope Savage Shaw, 23 February, 1873, quoted in Leyda, *Log*, 731–2).

I appreciate the generosity which prompts you to include me in your forthcoming Volume.[7]

Happiness attend you up to the gate of Paradise.

H. Melville

Richard H. Stoddard.

190 TO SUSAN GANSEVOORT[8]
30 NOVEMBER 1872
NEW YORK

New York / Nov. 30, '72

My Dear Aunt Susan:

. . . And now with affectionate rememberances to Uncle Peter Beleive me My Dear Aunt Susan,

Sincerely Yours
Herman Melville

Bessie & Fanny
unite in love.

191 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT (LANSING)
9 DECEMBER 1872
NEW YORK

104 E. 26 St. / Dec. 9, '72

My Dear Cousin Kate: Do you know much about the Natural History of Angels? Well, there is one variety known by this: in the place where they may have tarried for a time, they leave behind them a fragrance as of violets. Another sort, besides bequeathing the fragrance, leave along with it—what do ye think?—Silver soup ladles—But I must alter my tone. It is a serious business receiving presents, and calls for serious acknowledgments. Well then: cordial thanks to you for yourn memorial of the

Silver Wedding.[9]

Lizzie and I will ever think of you at our soup; and I shall al-

7. This was Richard Henry Stoddard's (1825–1903) revision of Rufus W. Griswold's *Poets and Poetry of America,* published in 1873, which included the addition of seven Melville poems.

8. Another fragment, preserved, it seems, for the conventional sentiments and the signature.

9. Melville's twenty-fifth wedding anniversary occurred on 4 August.

ways pour out a libation from the tureen to the angelic donor, before helping a mere vulgar broth-bibbing mortal like myself.

And now so far as this is an acknowledgment of your valued gift, it is the earliest I could make with my own hand and eyes. You know I would not be guilty of the Hottentotishness (word just imported by the Cambria) of a causeless delay.—With affectionate remembrances to my Sister Fanny, Aunt Susan & Uncle Peter, Beleive me

Thy loving cousin
Herman

192 TO M. LAIRD SIMONS? [1]
8 SEPTEMBER 1873
NEW YORK

New York / Sep. 8, '73

Dear Sir: The delay in responding to your note was not intentional.—As to the Article in question I dont remember anything in it which it would be worth your while to be at the trouble of adding to or omitting or amending.

With much respect
H. Melville

193 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
29 OCTOBER 1874
NEW YORK

New York, Oct. 29.

My Dear Uncle: I write this note to assure you of my own and Lizzie's true sympathies, and how we share in feelings which on such an occasion it is hardly for words to express.—May God keep you, and console you.[2]

H. Melville

1. Leyda conjectures that the letter was written to Richard Henry Stoddard (Leyda, *Log*, 735). The volume that Stoddard was editing, however, was advertised as early as 25 October 1873 in the *Publisher's Weekly*. It seems more likely that the recipient was M. Laird Simons, who was to get out a new edition of the Duyckincks' *Cyclopaedia of American Literature* in 1875, with a few additions to the article on Melville.

2. Peter's wife Susan had died 28 October.

TO ABRAHAM LANSING [3]
29 OCTOBER 1874
194 NEW YORK

New York, Oct 29

My Dear Sir: All of us here—Lizzie and I particularly—sympathise and mourn with you. My recollection[s] of Aunt Susan are of a kind to make me keenly alive to the loss which has befallen Uncle Peter as well as all others united by blood or socially to so true a woman.

Lizzie writes to Kate—to whom give my kindest cousinly remembrances.

Sincerely
H. Melville

195 TO ABRAHAM LANSING
5 AUGUST 1875
NEW YORK

New York, Aug 5, '75

My Dear M[r] Lansing: I have just received your note of yesterday. 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.

I should have mentioned in my note to Kate that I should not appear upon the scene till some time after breakfast—since on Sunday morning my appetite will be clamorous at an hour too early for any rational household to satisfy. As for my plunder or impedimenta, I shall carry nothing but what I take in my hand.

Looking forward with pleasure to meeting you all

I remain
Truly yours
H. Melville

3. Abraham Lansing (1835–1899) married Melville's first cousin, Catherine Gansevoort, on 25 November, 1873. The son of Christopher Yates Lansing (1796–1872), a leading Albany lawyer, he was educated at the Albany Boy's Academy, Williams College, and the Albany Law School. At this time he was city attorney of Albany, and later state treasurer and state senator.

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
[9-23?] AUGUST 1875
196 GANSEVOORT

Gansevoort, Aug.—'75

Cousin Kate: Lounging on the sofa after dinner just now in the parlor which was my mother's, my eye chanced to fall on a photograph of Henry in a gilt frame hanging under my mother's portrait.[4] I took it down & brought it to the window, & looked at it.—

Now let me say, that the engraving you showed me of Henry, meant for the book, is detestable.[5] Also, I have seen other pictures, claiming to be he, which do not look like him, and are a caricature of him. The picture for the book is the one that I referred to at the outset. It is he, and is not bad-looking, and it has character.—

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.

H Melville

—P.S. Since writing the foregoing Fanny tells me that Mr Hoadley much dislikes the engraving. There's confirmation.—Stop tinkering, and do the right thing, I pray you, and impute to the right motive my outspokenness.

H. M.

197 TO PETER GANSEVOORT
26 AUGUST 1875
NEW YORK

New York, Aug. 26, '75

My Dear Uncle Peter:

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

4. Maria Melville had died 1 April, 1872.

5. The book was *Memorial of Henry Sanford Gansevoort* (Boston, 1875), then being prepared by John C. Hoadley. When the volume appeared, it contained a portrait (opposite p. 182) from a photograph that shows a troubled face, staring eyes, puckered brows, and unkempt hair. This same portrait is identified as engraved by A. H. Ritchie in Cuyler Reynolds, *Hudson-Mohawk Genealogical and Family Memoirs* (New York, 1911), *1*, 69. It contrasts with the much better three-quarter length portrait, also engraved by A. H. Ritchie from a photograph by Brady, which appeared as the frontispiece in the

once deposite the money in a Savings Bank, there to remain till needed for the purpose designed.[6]

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.

With respect and true affection,

Your nephew
Herman Melville

198 TO ABRAHAM LANSING
26 AUGUST 1875
NEW YORK

New York, Aug. 26, '75

My Dear Mr. Lansing:

I received your note last night, enclosing the draft.—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.

Thanking you again— and, through you, Cousin Kate—for your great hospitality and kindness to me during my Albany visit, Beleive Me

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

199 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
8 OCTOBER 1875
NEW YORK

104 E. 26. / Oct. 8. '75

Cousin Kate:—By all means. Send it down at once.—I am glad you were pleased with that book of the sainted queen.[7]

memorial volume. Here Gansevoort appears in officer's dress uniform, with the expression of the eyes more natural, the hair in place, and the face direct.

6. The publication of *Clarel.*

7. Count de Montalambert, *The Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary,* trans. Mary Hackett (New York, 1870), a gift from Melville (NYPL-GL).

—My best love to my sister Kate, and Fanny, and say that they both must come down & see us before leaving for the East.—

My affectionate regards to your father and Abraham.

Lizzie is writing you, I think; so she will send rememberances for herself.

Thy Cousin
Herman

200 TO ABRAHAM LANSING
4 JANUARY 1876
NEW YORK

104 E. 26. N.Y. / Jan. 4, '76.
6 P. M.

My Dear Mr. Lansing:

I received the despatch not long since. A letter from Augusta received this morning had prepared me for it. Uncle is released from his suffering.[8]—*In pace.*—The event happens at a time which brings it home to me most sensibly, since, as it happens, only to-day I made arrangements for that publication which he (inspired by the spirit of Aunt Susan) enabled me to effect.

Express my truest sympathies to Cousin Kate—my love to Augusta and Fanny; and for yourself—beleive that no one holds you in more sincere esteem than

H. Melville

Abraham Lansing Esq.
I will be up on Saturday, and will have to return that evening.

201 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
5 JUNE 1876
NEW YORK

104 E. 26th St. / June 5, '76.

Aside from your special object in writing it, you do not know how deeply I felt the sincere tone of your note to me, Cousin Kate.

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 intentions: I appreciate your fidelity, my cousin.—But though

8. Melville's uncle Peter Gansevoort died on the day this letter was written

the matter is not yet 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.—Tom & Kate dined with us yesterday. Lizzie & the girls are well, and write in love to you and Abe. Me too remember to him, and warmly.—And now—with my heart upbraiding me for writing so cold a response to so cousinly a note as yours—I hasten to end the sheet—and let it be with a benediction:—

God bless you!
H. Melville

202 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
25 JULY 1876
NEW YORK

104 E. 26 St. / July 25, '76

Cousin Kate:

You have made such earnest assurances to me in reference to that book of mine, and in connection with what, you tell me, were your father's expressed wishes, that I can not doubt your sincerity. And so I make the following statement to you:

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—advertizing &c, and customary copies distributed for advertising purposes—will make a difference with me in any receipts to come, of about one hundred dollars.[9]

Whether this comes within the scope of Uncle Peter's design or not, I do not venture to determine. But enough.—

Lizzie got your note yesterday. I thank you again for your repeated invitation to come up & spend some Sunday with you. I should be most happy so to do if practicable.

Lizzie & Fanny (Fanny the Little) are busily completing their arrangements for the White Mountain campaign.—Lizzie and I went to see Tom at the island the other day (starting in 5 P.M boat, & returning in 9 P.M Quarantine) Found Tom & Kate well.

9. On 31 July Catherine Gansevoort Lansing sent Melville a check for $100 (her annotation on this letter, in NYPL-GL).

—How tragical a thing that oversetting of the yacht.[1] We passed the wreck in the boat—the two masts projecting from the water. —My kindest remembrances to Abraham.—O, Fanny is with you —my love to her, & say I hope to see her yet ere she leaves you. —And now, accept this note in testimony that as regards your cousinly interest in me I am neither insensible nor incredulous.

Herman.

P.S. Lizzie thanks you for your note; and says she will attend to your commissions and write you after getting to the mountains.

203 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
2 AUGUST 1876
NEW YORK

Aug. 2, '76 / 507 West St.[2]

Cousin Kate: The postman has just handed me yours of July 31, enclosing check for the $100; 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!

My best love to my sister Fanny, and kindest remembrances to Abraham.

And Beleive me,
My Dear Cousin Kate,
Always faithful
H. Melville

204 TO CATHERINE AND ABRAHAM LANSING
27 AUGUST 1876
NEW YORK

104 E. 26 / Aug. 27.—P.M.

Dear Cousin Kate:

It was you that charged me with that commission touching the the venerable Chaucer; it is to you therefore that I now address this note.

1. The *Mohawk,* which capsized off Staten Island 19 July, with the loss of three passengers and three crewmen (Leyda, *Log,* 751–2).

2. The address of the customs house office where Melville now worked.

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 wrapped it up immediately, and ordered it to be sent by Express to 115 Wash. Ave. Albany.[3]—What with his other volumes Chaucerian, Abraham will now have quite a variorum library of the old poet who did'nt know how to spell, as Artemus Ward said.

I arrived in N.Y. this morning by Fall River Route from Boston on my way from White Mountains. Lizzie & the girls are jolly. Helen, whom I saw—& also M[r] Griggs—at Brookline, are well & jovial. I myself am ever hilarious, & pray sincerely that you & your Abraham may likewise ever be so.

Your affectionate cousin

Herman

To Abraham: I have been thinking of what you said about changing the name of the Hotel.[4]

—I think that *"The Fort Stanwix Hotel"* is the right thing. You need a change. Besides, "Stanwix Hall" is indefinite—it may (in the opinion of strangers) mean anything or nothing; but the prefix *"Fort"* fixes it, and provokes a question; and the answer is at hand. Then the late celebrations of the Centennial Year are auspicious, and make the new title appropriate and popular.—See if Kate dont agree with me.

Final P.S.—*"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.*

3. This used set of Chaucer is unidentified (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 140).

4. Stanwix Hall, in Albany, which had been built in 1833 by Peter and Herman Gansevoort as a hotel and office building.

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
8 SEPTEMBER 1876
205 NEW YORK

N.Y. 507 West St. / Sep. 8

Cousin Kate: Your note reached me yesterday in the midst of a jumping tooth-ache, which, spite remedies, still clings, tho' now with merciful intimations of letting me off ere long. Nevertheless with one hand to my "jole," with the other I indite this note.—About the Chaucer: I infer that Abraham does not wish to pay the "Scribner" price for the book.[5] Well then, I will keep a look out for a fair copy at the Nassau St prices, & secure it, if I find it. How much it will be, depends upon the seller &c. Should I not succeed in lighting on a copy such as I speak of, before your visit to us in October—then we three—yourself, Abraham & your humble servant—will take council together touching the matter, and doubtless hit upon some wise decision.—

About the pears. Many thanks for your kind intimation. Should your purpose hold, and your pear-harvest admit of the gift without robbery to yourself—you had better defer sending them till Lizzie's return which will be—tho' no day is determined on—some time about the latter part of the month.—Lizzie & the girls have been greatly benefited by the mountain air—entirely escaping the annual cold, &c.

—I am glad you chanced to mention incidentally the present whereabouts of Fanny & Helen, as I purpose a letter to Fanny & hardly knew where precisely she was.—And so, Cousin Kate, I remain always

Affectionately
Herman

5. See Letters 207, 208, and 218.

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
13 SEPTEMBER 1876
206 NEW YORK

New York, Sep. 13, '76

My Dear Cousin Kate:

Your kind note of the 10th announcing the plums, was received on Monday. Last night (Tuesday) the fruit arrived all right in 25th St,[6] giving great pleasure to the Misses Hartnett, and furnishing to me an added example of your cousinly good feeling. Edwin,[7] with Mr Brewster[8] dined with us (at the Misses Hartnett's) last evening, and spent the remainder of it with me in my room at 26th St. I was well pleased to see him again, & looking so well.—About the enclosed slip. You perceive that you have become a contributor, and, in some degree, a priveleged one, to an excellent Charity.—You pause, methinks, and say—"Pray, explain yourself."—Well then—and for sweet charity's sake dont take offence—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 unembarassed freedom of mutual good will. (Rather *"tall writing,"* that last clause.)—Well; but you take nothing back—you receive nothing back—but are FORCED to acquiese in the step I have taken. The result of all is—the benefit of suffering humanity. Let us therefore, My Dear Cousin, congratulate ourselves all round—you, me, and the poor cripples, and say no more about it.[9]—

6. The house of the Misses Hartnett, where Melville was boarding, was on 25th Street (Leyda, *Log*, 754).

7. Edwin Yates Lansing.

8. Probably George Brewster, former law partner of Henry Gansevoort.

9. Melville had given to the New-York Society for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled the $100 Catherine Gansevoort Lansing sent him 31 July to pay for the additional expenses of publishing *Clarel* (see Letters 202 and 207, n. 1).

Lizzie & the girls are coming home next Monday. We confidently expect you to visit us on your way to the Centennial—you and Abraham. Dont forget it. Arms of welcome will be extended to you.—And now, beleive me always faithfully & affectionately, and devoutly Your Cousin Herman

P.S. I send by same mail the last report of the Society, which, I know, will be interesting to you.

207 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
26 SEPTEMBER 1876
NEW YORK

New York / 104 E. 26 St. / Sep. 26. '76

Cousin Kate:

I was glad to get your note of the 17th, and was much gratified with the tone of it.[1] By the way—your rainy Sunday was also experienced by me, alone here as it chanced, to chew the cud of sweet and bitter fancies. I doubt not there was no lack of others—a plentiful sprinkling of them all over the world.—We are all well pleased to know that you and Abe are going to shed your benign presence on us, and Fanny also (from whom we got a letter to day, & likewise from Helen) on your way to the Centennial.—

A man in Nassau St. tells me that he can procure me a copy of Chaucer—Bell's edition, and new—for six dollars.[2] What say you? If yea, I will invest. I think Abe will hardly do better.—

We relish your pears much—good thing at breakfast—and remember you thereby.

With friendlist regards to Abraham

Beleive me, Affectionately

Herman

P.S. W[e] rely & count upon that visit—you & Abe & Fanny; and only regret that my sister Helen is not also one of the party. I write her to day at Gansevoort.

1. Catherine Gansevoort Lansing had thanked Melville for "giving me, the credit for your own 'sweet charity' to the destitute & suffering" (letter of 17 September, 1876, NYPL-GL, in Paltsits, 42–3).

2. See Letters 208 and 218.

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
12 OCTOBER 1876
208 NEW YORK

Oct. 12 '76 / 104 E. 26 St.

Dear Cousin Kate:

In responce to yours of the 1st: The Chaucer is in eight vols.—good print—same edition as mine—Bell's—but it is perfect.[3]—However, as I understand, the Nassau St. man will procure it for me at the price named ($6, I think) at any time I may desire it, it will be better to let it rest until your visit to us ere long, on your return from the Centennial.[4]

By the way, I was there yesterday—went & returned same day; you will be much impressed with it; it is immense—a sort of tremendous Vanity Fair.

I was very much pleased with Mr Street's [5] little poem. It is admirable in its fidelity to nature and happy ensemble.

With kind regards to Abraham

Affectionately
Herman

3. *Poetical Works* . . . ed. with a memoir by Robert Bell, 8 vols. London, Parker, 1854–56 (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 138 and 139). Melville met Robert Bell in London in 1849.

4. The Exposition in Philadelphia to mark the hundredth year of American independence.

5. Alfred Billings Street (1811–1881) was born in Poughkeepsie and, after studying law with his father moved to Albany in 1839, where he edited the *Northern Light* (1843–44), was state librarian from 1848 until his death, and published several volumes of sentimental nature poetry. Melville heard him read a poem at the Pittsfield Young Ladies' Institute in 1852, although, according to his uncle Peter, he failed to favor Street "with a Call or the least attention" on this occasion (Leyda, *Log*, 459–61). In 1864 Street contributed sixteen poems to accompany the etchings of John A. Hows, *Forest Pictures in the Adirondacks* (New York, 1864), and his poems were collected in two volumes in 1866. The specific poem here is unidentified.

TO ABRAHAM LANSING
2 JANUARY 1877
209 NEW YORK

104 E 26, N.Y. / Jan. 2, 1877

My Dear Abraham:

I was glad to get your note, and to know that you were so pleased with Beranger—*the volume:* a shabby looking little cask it is, but then, the contents!—[6]

I liked that Christmas Story you sent me, especially in the opening portion—the good old Dutch Saint's lamentation over these "degenerate days" which we account such an "advance."

Tell *Catherine* that her New Year Cake came along all right, and that we duly appreciated her Christmas kindliness. By *we* I mean, Lizzie and myself, the special donees, and also, Bessie & Fanny, assistant *eatees.*—By the way,—the Almanac—I should have been sorry to have forgotten it—that venerable Almanac,[7] which bears witness to the old times when some imagination yet lingered in this sort of publication. I relish looking over it mightily. It has set me to getting from Boston a similar almanac which still continues to be published there.[8]—Lizzie sends love to Kate and begs her to accept thro' me her acknowledgments for her share of the Christmas hamper. My best remembrances also. Bessy & Fanny join.

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

Oh—A happy New Year to you—
you & Kate
Tell Kate I have not forgotten her commission.

6. Pierre Jean de Béranger, *The Songs of Béranger, in English* . . . (Philadelphia, 1844), inscribed "H. Melville Pacific Ocean Sep 4th 1860 19° S. L." "Abraham Lansing Xmas, 1876" (NYPL-GL, Sealts "Melville's Reading," No. 58).

7. *Webster's Calendar: or, The Albany Almanac* . . . (Albany, 1786–1907), probably for 1877 only (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 553).

8. *The (Old) Farmer's Almanack* . . . established in 1793 by Robert B. Thomas (Boston, 1793)—perhaps for 1877 only (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 388, and Paltsits, 45, nn. 85, 86).

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
4 JANUARY 1877
210 NEW YORK

New York Jan. 4, '77

Cousin Kate: After some delay hardly avoidable, let me acknowledge your note, with enclosure.[9]—What shall I say?—Well, so be it. Yet, in the repetition, how can I otherwise than accept it in the spirit in which it is proffered, and as coming thro' you from Uncle Peter in the carrying out of his kindly purpose.

—About the picture:

It is in the framer's hands, and doubtless you will receive it in a day or two. In the absence of your Mr. Joiner I communicated with another person who seemed not unacquainted with your artistic affairs &c. He was very polite, so much so indeed that, fearing, were the matter left entirely to his discretion, he might enshrine the print too sumptuously, I felt forced to make some humble suggestions. But I hope the result will be satisfactory.

Lizzie sends love. So do Bessie & Fanny.—We all daily munch our New Year Cake;—which reminds me to wish you and Abraham a happy time for the next twelve months. Sincerely & affectionately

H. Melville

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
211 7 MARCH 1877
NEW YORK

My Dear Cousin Kate:

I was disappointed by your not dropping in upon us during your last trip to town—and, chiefly, because I have had something to say to you which I did not want formally to annoy you about in a letter, but meant to say to you then.—However, I will now no longer delay it.—

It was this: You should have let that matter of the $100 rest where it was left for a finality last summer. Your subsequent letter

9. A check for $100, which Catherine Gansevoort Lansing felt compelled to send Melville because he had turned over her first check to charity (see Letters 203 and 206).

—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 repented my assent.—And I revoke it. Be prepared therefore, sooner or later, I beg you, to receive the money back without comment.[1] Should you return it, some Charity shall receive it, and down goes your name again for the Lady Bountiful of Albany.—

Now, my dear Kin, my cousinly disposition towards you may not be worth much to you; still, if you desire me to retain it unimpaired, you must uncomplainingly indulge me in my whims, for such you may call it, if you like. Indeed, 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.—

¶ Now about President Hayes?[2] I chanced to turn over a file of your Albany Argus yesterday, and was all but blown off the stool by the tremendous fulminations of that indignant sheet.—But what's the use? life is short, and Hayes' term is four years, each of 365 days.

Lizzie, the girls, & I anticipate yours & Fanny's visit with pleasure.

With the sincerest regards to Abe, Beleive me

Truly and affectionately

Herman

March 7th '77.

—Dont concern yourself, I implore, as to replying to this note. Simply acknowledge its receipt, if you will, by a newspaper.—

1. The letter is endorsed by Catherine Gansevoort Lansing: "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[nowledged] by me by mail a few days afterwards *K. G. L.*"

2. Rutherford Birchard Hayes (1822–1893) in the disputed election of 1876 was awarded the presidency with 185 electoral votes to 184 for Samuel J. Tilden, Governor of New York and Democratic candidate, on 2 March, 1877, after an agreement with Southern Democrats that was labeled "the bargain." He took the oath of office privately on Saturday, 3 March, and publicly on 5 March, 1877.

TO JOHN C. HOADLEY
31 MARCH 1877
212 NEW YORK

Saturday in Easter Week / 1877

My Dear Fellow:

I propose buying a hair-shirt and a scourge, and putting them to use for a week or so, as a penalty for my remissness in allowing your most friendly note of the 25 ult. to remain unanswered so long.—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 <intellectual> 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, and epistolary obligations mere moonshine, and the—well, nepenthe seems all-in-all.

Your legend from Marco Polo I had never previously met with.[3] How full of significance it is! And beauty too, These legends

3. On 25 March Hoadley had sent Melville a poem entitled "Foundation Stones," based on a legend in Marco Polo. The poem exists in two manuscripts in NYPL-GL, a fair copy, and what appears to be the copy sent to Melville, which reads:

Foundation Stones

Marco of Venice, son of Nicole,
Whose surname was Paul, from far Cathay
Returned, war prisoner in Florence
Told to the ready scribe, Rusticians,
This tale of Orient Wonder.
Ciagati,
Lord of wide lands, brother of Gengis Khan,
Ruler of Samarcand in far Bokara,
Ere Timour the lame, warrior and saint,
Had made of it his gorgeous capital;
Beleived and was baptized.
Great joy thereat
Among the Christians, who, <in> of gratitude
Reared a basilica, named of St. John the Baptist,
Wide its walls, and high; and soarring <up> still
And bending inward like the vaulted sky,
The roof was gathered in a central knot
Poised on a single column.
Tall the shaft,
As some gigantic monarch of the grove

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.[4]

—"He wins who highest aims":[5]—whose translation is that?

In Californian or Australian glen
that props the heavens.
Firm its base reposed
Upon a ponderous stone, owned by the Saracens.
These with anger saw their cherished stone
So desecrate; yet no redress might ask
While lived Ciagatai. He dead, they thought
By force to take their own, since ten to one
Their numbers to the Christians.
But their elders,
First, with imperious meekness, <asked> claimed the Stone.
Most willingly the Christians would restore it,
But that their church would fall. ["]Name then its price,
"Nor gold nor treasure seek we," said the Saracens;
"We ask our own." And the new lord, nephew of Gengis,
Ruler of Samarcand, decreed that in two days,
The stone should be restored. Help was there none
But from the Baptist. Him with tears they prayed
To save his shrine; when lo! A miracle!
The ponderous shaft with all the vaulted roof
Rose, by the power of our Lord, three palms,
And so remained, paired like the rolling spheres
On empty air, by faith sustained no less
Than by the rock.
So Science {may} ask<s> the Stone,
The corner Stone of immortality,
<Will> May take no less; and Reason, time's new lord
Decree<s> the restitution.
Yet can faith
Uplift the pillared fane, the vaulted roof,
And heaven is safe, though earth dissolve and fade,
A house not built with hands eternal
In the skies.

J. C. Hoadley

4. The reference is to de Montalambert, *The Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary* (see p. 244, n. 7).

5. The title of J. C. Hoadley's poem apparently also sent to Melville in his 25 March letter. Two manuscript copies of this poem are in NYPL-GL. The earliest is dated "Monday night Club, / Lawrence [Mass.], Jan. 22, 1877," and is an elaborately hand-printed copy. The second is signed "J. C. Hoadley— / Boston, May 11, 1885" and concludes with the comment "A condensed

Tell me. Thank you for sending me so beautiful a thing engrossed by your deft & dexterous <fi[ngers?]> digits. (The alliteration there was irresistable)

In return for your M.S. favors 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"* &c in index. What the deuce the thing means I dont know; but here it is.

—By the way I have a ship on my District from Girgente.—Where's that? Why, in Sicily—the ancient Agrigentum. Ships arrive from there in this port, bringing sulphur; but this is the first one I have happened to have officially to do with.[6] I have not suc-

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paraphrase from Virgil." There are a few variations in the two copies of the poem but the 1877 version, which is probably the version sent Melville, reads:

He Wins Who Highest Aims.

Far off upon the sand a slender mast:
A-top, with flaxen tether bound, the mark
Of archers, sits a timid dove. Four chiefs
Contend,—the prizes three. Hippocoön
Cleaves the slender mast's fine tip. Mnestheus
Cuts the flazen tie. Eurytion
Strikes the soaring dove, a speck in heaven;
She, falling, brings the arrow back to earth.
What mark for old Acestes now remains,—
What but Athena's shield? Drawing the shaft
Until its feathers touch his swelling breast,
Its barb his out-stretched hand, he aims
Full at the veiléd stars. Shrill twangs the string,
The singing arrow flies, a gleam of light
Athwart the blue, like a resurgent star
Restored to heaven where the Mantuan bard
Hath bid it shine for aye. The highest aim
Hath won the highest prize.
Aim high and do your best:
Then, {though} the mark be hid, the generous deed
Shall ever shine,—itself the noblest prize.

Except for the last lines, the poem is an obvious paraphrase of the *Aeneid,* V, ll. 485–540.

6. The Italian Brig *Carolus,* Captain Muro, from Catania on the eastern coast of Sicily, arrived in New York on 24 March with a load of sulphur (Leyda, *Log,* 759), and may be the ship Melville mentions as from Girgenti, the ancient Agrigentum, on the south coast of Sicily.

ceeded in seeing the captain yet—have only seen the Mate—but hear that he has in possession some stones from those magnificent Grecian ruins, and I am going to try to get a fragment, however small, if possible, which I will divide with you.

Best love to Kate & your two Princesses of India.

H Melville

Lizzie and the girls are well, and if they knew of my writing would send their affectionate remembrances to all.

[*Enclosure:*] The Age of the Antonines.

1.

While hope awaits Millenial years,
  Though dim of late the signs,
Back to the past a glance be cast—
    The Age of the Antonines!
Oh, summit of fate and zenith of time,
  When a pagan gentleman reigned,
And the olive was nailed to the
                inn of the world,
  Nor the peace of the just was feigned.
A halcyon age—afar it shines
The imperial age of the Antonines!

2.

Hymns to the nation's federate gods
  Went up from friendly shrines;
No demagogue beat the pulpit-drum
  In the age of the Antonines!
Ere the sting was dreamed to be
              taken from death—
  Ere the saving of scamps was taught,
They reasoned of fate at the flowing feast
  Nor stifled the fluent thought:
    We sham, we shuffle, while faith declines:
    They were *frank* in the age of
                the Antonines!

3.

Orders and grades and due degree—
None felt how the leveller pines;
Yea, men were better than blatantly free
In the Age of the Antonines!
Under Law, made Will, the world reposed,
And the Ruler's right confessed,
For the Gods elected the Emperor then—
The foremost of men the best!
Ah, might we read in the Future's signs
The Past revived in the Antonines!

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.

N.B. *I aint crazy.*

213 TO LUCY MELVILLE NOURSE [7]
AFTER 7 APRIL 1877
NEW YORK

My Dear Aunt Lucy;

Lizzie has written you above; and I hardly know what I can add unless it be to assure you, with my own hand, of my sincerest sympathy and affectionate remembrance,

H. Melville

7. The only surviving letter to Melville's aunt Lucy Melville Nourse (1795–1877). She married Justin Wright Clark (d. 1833) in 1828 and later Dr. Amos Nourse (1794–1877) of Hallowell, Maine. The Lemuel Shaw papers (MHS-S)

TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
13 APRIL 1877
214 NEW YORK

Corner Jane & West / Ap. 13, noon

My Dear Duyckinck:

Last evening I went down to the Island and anchored for the night in the

"Snug Harbor,"

getting back this morning in an early boat.

Tom was greatly pleased with your proposed gift to the Institution, and charged me to express to you as much—and more. I understood him to say that, pursuant to your suggestion as to time, he will send a proper person for the pictures next Tuesday.— [8]

We visited the new wing,[9] and selected a good place for the Prints, where the old Salts can look up at them from off their dominoes—a favorite game with them.—All you have now to do, is to provide for an annual Lecture, to be delivered before the old veterans in the big hall of the Institution, on the Battle of the Nile, the pictures serving to illustrate the matter.

With Friendliest Regards
H Melville

(not abounding in note-paper in this shanty of an office, I write on the best substitute at hand.)

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indicate the close and friendly relationship between the Nourses and the Shaws as well as the affectionate interest of the Nourses for both Melville and his wife. Dr. Nourse died 7 April, 1877, in Bath, Maine, and his wife the following October, leaving Elizabeth Melville a legacy of $100.00 (Leyda, *Log*, 761, 765, 770).

8. Thomas Melville wrote Evert A. Duyckinck on 15 April, 1877 thanking him for the gift of four pictures to Sailor's Snug Harbor (see below, p. 372). The pictures have not been identified.

9. In 1876 Sailor's Snug Harbor consisted of "a centre or main building, with two wings, a dining-hall building, a hospital and chapel. An additional building for the accommodation of inmates, also a kitchen, are now [1876] being erected." This addition is probably what Melville calls the "new wing" where the pictures are to be hung. See the "Copy of the Last Will and Testament of the Late Robert Richard Randall, Esq., of the Act of Incorporation . . . Respecting the Sailor's Snug Harbor . . ." (New York, Slate and Janes, 1876), p. 16; in NYPL.

TO ABRAHAM LANSING
4 JUNE 1877
215 NEW YORK

New York, June 4, '77

My Dear Mr. Lansing:

I immediately acknowledge the receipt of your note of the 1st Inst.; and, agreeably with your request, sign and return the accompanying paper.[10]

With kindest rememberences to Kate, in which Lizzie & the girls join, Beleive Me

Sincerely Yours
H. Melville

216 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
12 JULY 1877
NEW YORK

104 E 26 / July 12, '77

Dear Cousin Kate:

I heartily thank you for the sleeve-buttons which—it is all but needless to say—I shall always preserve as a lasting memorial of one whom I have more than one reason to remember with love.[11]

—I am glad to note that you have caused the inscription upon them to be made full and complete.—In themselves they are very handsome, and—as a minor matter, I will add—much to my taste.—

Altho' Lizzie acknowledged for me, with my thanks, the receipt of your note to me on your last return home; let me here re-acknowledge it, and also express the pleasure it gave me—only, as regards all that dreadful trouble you lament you give on your travels, I really know nothing about it; and, in fact, have only to say *anent* it, what indeed you are already aware of—namely—that your visits, long or short, are always welcome to all of us. If I, for one, have any fault to find it is that

10. On 1 June Lansing had sent Melville a legacy of $500, his share in Peter Gansevoort's estate (Leyda, *Log*, 762).

11. Peter Gansevoort.

ABRAHAM

dont come along with you.

Kindest regards to him; and with love to yourself in which Lizzie & all join, Beleive me

Your affectionate Cousin

Herman

P.S.—By Lizzie's commands I open my note to say that she thanks you for your letter

—Bessie will write you about the box.

217 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING AND ABRAHAM LANSING
14 AUGUST 1877
GANSEVOORT

Gansevoort / Aug. 14

My Dear Cousin Kate

&

My Dear Fellow, Abraham:

Let me repeat to you my acknowledgments for your genial hospitality and great kindliness during my brief visit in Albany. I enjoyed it right well. And was glad to have seen Judge Hurlburt's place and spent so agreeable an evening there.[1]

I staid over about three hours or so at the Springs. I lunched at a neat little restaurant I found there, and visited the hotels, presenting no doubt a distinguished appearance in my duster, and finally took up a commanding position on the piazza of the Grand Union, and surveyed at my leisure the moving spectacle of fashion and—in some instances—folly. A New York paper also of the day helped to occupy the time.

I found Kate and Fanny and Frankie here—all well and warm in welcome.

To-day is faultless weather, and I shall dedicate it to leisure and the piazza.

To morrow I must break away—as I did from you—and start for

1. The Lansings had taken Melville on 10 August to the home of Judge Elisha P. Hurlbut (see Letter 10, n. 9). From Albany, Melville went on to Saratoga Springs (Leyda, *Log*, 764).

the mountains. Kate & Fanny send abundance of love. Accept as much from me, and Helen, always

& sincerely Yours
H. Melville

P.S.—I go off visiting so seldom, that, really, I omit to do some things I ought to do, and would take pleasure in doing: they, simply, do not occur to me at the time, but reproachfully molest me afterwards in the omission.—Well, I did not call to pay my respects to Miss Lansing and Miss Anna.[2] But apologies are awkward, and incredulity is but natural in some circumstances. Pray, Abraham, do the fitting thing for me, and redeem me in the good opinion of the ladies.

N.B. I will subject myself to any  penance the ladies may be pleased to assign.

( penance)

Final P.S.—Having, at Fanny's request, left this letter open, so that she might add something or enclose, I am tempted to say one word more—namely: I have just been reading in a copy of Frank Leslie's Illustrated paper *"The Old Garden"* by Mr. Street.[3] How

2. "Miss Anna" is Abraham Lansing's oldest sister.

3. Alfred B. Street, the Albany poet. This is the text of the poem, as printed in *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (18 August, 1877), p. 406:

The Old Garden

A garden, a lovely old garden, I see,
As I shut my tired eyes in the night;
With alleys and walks and green groupings of trees!
As a picture it shines to my sight.
Not the picture it shone, but neglected and rude,
Its borders all ragged with moss;
Its beds tracts of weeds, and its blossoms run wild,
As if ruin had driven across.

There stood the old pear—a pagoda of green—
With fruitage like bells covered o'er;
The whole Summer sunshine, its dews and its scents,
Mellowed in from the peel to the core.
And there stood the cherry-tree's rich coral gems,
Where the cherry-thieves pecked might and main;
With the boy in the harvest moon, robbing the boughs,
And mastiff up-leaping in vain.

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.—

H M:

And the peach, with its rich, luscious, velvety globes,
That sensitive child of the sun!
The red down cleft open to show the gold flesh;
And the mounds where the cucumbers run.
The nectarine's smooth sheeny fruit by their side;
The apricot's pin-speckled rust;
The damson's bright blue; the large, oval egg-plum!
And the grape's silver, delicate dust.

Yes, the old fruitful garden plot shone a bouquet,
The richest and rarest of bloom!
When the jewel-eyed May came in youthful array
And shed round her gladsome perfume.
In the hot Summer nights, the dull beetle began,
With its bagpipe, to skim o'er the ground,
Sip the nectar of flowers and honey-dewed plants,
The fire-fly lighting him round.

The glow-worm her green-and gold lanterns held forth
Where the gooseberry sprawled by the wall;
And the fox-fire's pale silver shone out of the black;
The lilac stretched wide like a pall.
And the bat—the winged mouse—left his beam in the barn,
And wheeled in his pathway askance;
While the cricket its shrill, hollow violin scraped
For the fairies to come to the dance.

When the sun, to draw water, his ladder let down,
The garden expanded its breast;
And soon the bright pellets glanced rich on the rose,
And danced on the hollyhock's crest.
The bumblebee's jacket was spangled with drops,
As he tumbled inside the cupped flower,
And the butterfly's fans found their velvet wet through
In the warm, balmy bliss of the shower.

The old crooked quince in a nook of the fence
Its silver-gold product displayed;
And the currant hung out its red tassels of fruit
Where the sunflower kindled the shade.
What wealth of rich health the syringa poured out
When Spring shone again on the scene!
What world of sweet violets, blue, gold and white,
Awoke in their tuftings of green!

The old garden spot has now vanished away;
A dwelling stands forth in its place;

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
5 SEPTEMBER 1877
218 NEW YORK

Jane & West Sts. / Sep. 5. '77.

Dear Cousin Kate:

Your note of the 2d acknowledging the receipt of the set of Chaucer; and also your note of the 3d enclosing the price of the set—Thank you for both of them.[4]

You mention having spent a peaceful Sunday at Gansevoort, enjoying it much, with Abraham. I should have liked it well to have been of the company. I was so sorry that, purposing my main visit among the mountains, I was not able to devote more time to Gansevoort. Helen, Kate, Fanny, & Minnie must be having a pleasant time there together.—Oh, I have to acknowledge the receipt of a note from you of Aug. 9 in responce to mine of a few days before. This note did not come to my hands until after my arrival home from the mountains, it, probably, arriving here the afternoon of the day I left, and was kept for me.—I have just looked over the note again.—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, 99 hundreths 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.

And a street, hard and stony, runs straight by the fence,
Where the roses no longer I trace.
Those pictures of bygones! how lovely they look
In the desert and glare of to-day!
They glow like the mirage with blossoms and streams
That in Eden but flourish and play.

4. See above, Letters 205, 207, and 208.

Bessie & the girls are doing well at the White Mountains, and will remain there yet for a time. Their absence makes it decidedly lonely often in the house. But I take my meals at the Hartnetts', who are all that one can wish as hostesses. There are some agreeable people there too whom I meet.

My kindest regards to Abraham. Tell him not to be rash now, and sit up all night reading Chaucer, and comparing his variorum editions &c.

Always affectionately
Yours
Cousin Herman.

—My kindest regards to Cousin Kate Hurlburt and the Judge, and family, when you see them. I enjoyed my visit to them very much—&, let me add—my entire visit at Albany.—

219 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
26 JANUARY 1878
NEW YORK

New York / Jan 26, '78.

Kate:

The box has arrived in good order.—The Volume in its finally completed state makes a truly beautiful memorial.[5]

Though, of course, neither Lizzie nor I have as yet had opportunity and time to give the book a thorough and deliberate examination; yet, from glimpses here and there, added to previous acquaintance with portions of the sheets, I can not but again praise the taste which it evinces, and also the literary skill and good judgement of M^r^ Hoadley the editor.

Lizzie desires me to express her acknowledgments for her share of the gift, and will write you herself ere long.

We all congratulate you and Abraham upon the re-opening of Stanwix Hall.

We are all well, and write in affectionate remembrances to Fanny, yourself, and Abraham.

H. Melville

5. *Memorial of Henry Sanford Gansevoort,* ed. J. C. Hoadley, Boston, 1875.

TO FRANCES PRISCILLA MELVILLE [6]
13? JUNE 1878
220 NEW YORK

whose end [Charles Thurston's death] by the way may hardly be thought unhappy—the manner of it I mean—since he died in summer and suddenly, and in the open air, and in a garden.

221 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
1 AUGUST 1878
NEW YORK

104 E 26 / Aug 1, '78

Dear Cousin Kate:

Of course—as I said when you broached the matter to me here—I should be very happy to be your agent in presenting to the Lenox Library [7] a copy of Henry's Memorial.

Send it down by Adams Express, to be left and called for there, at their office in 23^{d} St. near 5th Ave. Advise me by mail at the time of sending, and it will be all right.

You refer to the travellers. They were to have left Boston—as Lizzie said in her note received Wednesday—yesterday for the mountains.

Copious showers we have been having here of late, but cooler weather.

Hoping you are well, and with kind regards to Abraham, Beleive me

Sincerely
Your Cousin

6. This quoted fragment concerning the death of Charles M. Thurston, a brother of Allan Melville's first wife, is the only surviving passage from the letters Melville wrote his sister Priscilla Frances Melville (1827–1885). Aunt Fanny, as she was affectionately called, lived with the Melvilles during the New York and Pittsfield years, and then in Gansevoort, in Uncle Herman's home. She made numerous visits to her brothers and sisters in New York and elsewhere, and died at Helen Griggs' home in Brookline, Mass., 9 July, 1885.

7. The Lenox Library was later combined with other libraries to form the New York Public Library.

TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
6 AUGUST 1878
222 NEW YORK

104 E 26 / Aug 6. '78

Dear Cousin Kate: I got yours of the 4th last night, and this morning on my way to my far up-town "District," I took the Memorial Volume to the Lenox Library, hoping to see there Mr Moore the librarian, whom I have met two or three times.[8] Unfortunately he was not there; and the library it seems, is closed for the season. I got in, however, and left the Book with the janitor in perfect security, leaving a brief note for Mr Moore, in which I said I should take an early opportunity to call again & say something to him especially about the gift.—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.

About the invitation to stay over with you Saturday & Sunday next—thank you for your kindness. Yes, I will come with pleasure. I will leave here Friday night in the boat, & will probably be at 115 Wash. Ave. at breakfast time—if convenient to you.

With kind regards to Abraham

Sincerely
Your Cousin

223 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
12 AUGUST 1878
NEW YORK

New York / 104 E. 26 / Aug 12 / P.M.

Dear Cousin Kate:

After two prodigious bumpers of coffee at the depot (from the effect of which I have hardly yet recovered) off we started for New York where we arrived about ½ past 10. Upon unlocking the front door—two letters awaited me (thanks to the "letter-slip") one from Lizzie & one from a young gentleman by the name of

8. George Henry Moore (1823–1892), assistant librarian of the New-York Historical Society from 1841 to 1849, librarian, 1849, superintendent and trustee of the Lenox Library from 1872 until his death (and see Paltsits, 54, n. 101).

Thomas.[9] The latter dated his note from Jefferson Hill. Curious coincidence—Fanny is there.—

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.—Howsomedever, every one manages to rub along; and so, Cousin Kate, with love to yourself and friendliest remembrances to him whom you only a thousandeth part appreciate

I remain
Your Cousin

224 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
26 NOVEMBER 1878
NEW YORK

104 E. 26 / Nov. 26

Dear Cousin Kate:

Your note of yesterday with Fanny's were received this A.M. And I write forthwith as to your kind invitation, regretting for myself, Bessie & Fanny, that we shall not be able to accept it, seeing that it is arranged already that we are to have a little Thanksgiving affair here, of which "the young man" will of course be the central figure But we are well pleased to learn both from you and Aunt Fanny that next Monday you will be on your way hitherward, and that the next day we shall welcome you at 104.—104 reminds me of your trunk. By all means let the Expressman bring it at once to the house.

My kind regards to Abraham, with hopes that he may soon be all right again.

Best love to Fanny, who will, I know, overlook my not writing her in especial, seeing that this note is substantially addressed to you together.

Affectionately
Herman

Lizzie is in the midst of her preperations for tomorrow's de-

9. Henry Besson Thomas (1855–1935), who married Melville's daughter Frances 5 April, 1880.

parture for Boston; and so, I fancy, will hardly have time to write.

She is not at hand just now, or would send love.

225 TO ABRAHAM LANSING
17 NOVEMBER 1879
NEW YORK

New York Nov 17, '79

My Dear Mr Lansing:

We are all very much obliged to you for your Christmas invitation, but upon consideration, hardly think we shall be able to accept it. The truth is Lizzie is not very robust, and the journey northward at midwinter—why, she rather dreads it.—However, we all wish you & Cousin Kate a Merry Christmas (in advance) wherever you or we may happen to be at the time.

With love to Cousin Kate Beleive me

Sincerely Yours
H. Melville.

226 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
15 APRIL 1880
NEW YORK

April 15, '80 / 104 E. 26

My Dear Cousin Kate:

Your note announcing the decease of Mr John Lansing is just received.[1]—How sudden the event. 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 agreeably impressed with his inteligence and social disposition.—

I am sorry that my being at the funeral is hardly possible. Even on the occasion of the 5th I was not at perfect liberty for the day.[2]

Lizzie & the girls and myself unite in love to Abraham and you.

Always sincerely
Herman

1. John Thomas Lansing (1833–14 April, 1880), brother of Abraham Lansing.

2. The wedding day of Melville's daughter Frances to Henry B. Thomas.

TO ABRAHAM LANSING
8 DECEMBER 1880
227 NEW YORK

104 E 26 / Dec. 8, '80

Dear Mr. Lansing:

Many thanks for your polite invitation to the Reception at the Fort Orange Club—thanks in behalf of the family, I mean, myself included. But Lizzie is in Boston & Bessie is keeping house, and I am an—old fogy; so none of us can comply, much as we regret it.

With kind remembrances to Kate—and, by the way, acknowledgments for the paper,—I am, very truly yours

H. Melville

228 TO CATHERINE MELVILLE HOADLEY [3]
28 DECEMBER 1881
NEW YORK

104 E 26th
3d day after Xmas / 1881

My Dear Kate:

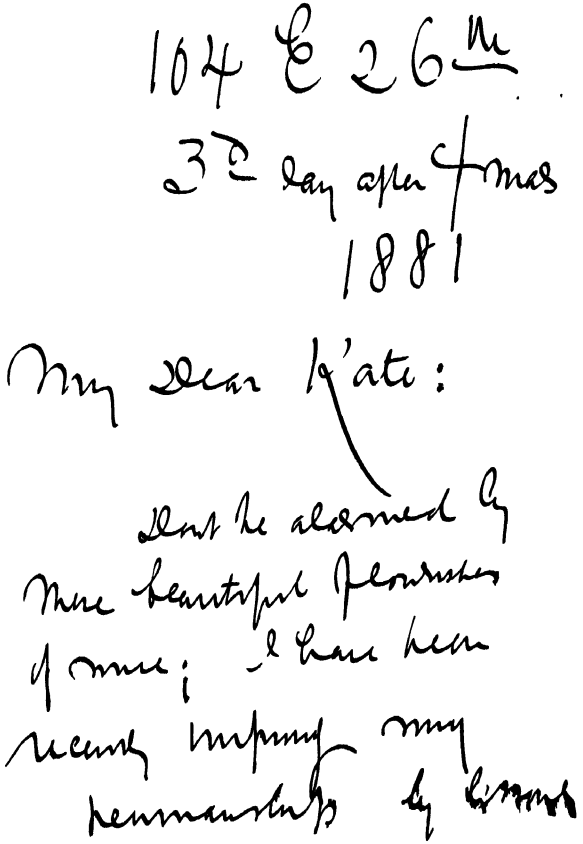
Dont be alarmed by these beautiful flourishes of mine; I have been recently improving my penmanship by lessons from a High Dutch professor who teaches all the stylish flourishes imaginable.—

But my object in dropping you this line is to thank you, My Dear Kate, for your little vase. It is now on my mantle, and contributes much to the embellishment thereof, and I value it as your gift.

We are all as usuel—that is to say, jolly; and trusting that you too are in the same happy case,—with kind regards to John & love to the girls, Beleive me

Affectionately
Herman

3. Melville's sister; see Letter 10 above.



6. Heading page of Letter 228

TO CATHERINE MELVILLE HOADLEY
12 APRIL 1882
229 NEW YORK

104 E. 26 / April 12 '82

Dear Kate:

Just received a note from Minnie,[4]—for the which, pray, give her my affectionate acknowledgments—Wherein, among other interesting matters, she says—what we previously had heard distant rumors of—or did we read it under the head of *"Personal"* in the newspaper?—I say, she says that you and John propose a visit to these parts some time next week. Well: I write at once to say that, altho', I suppose, you will spend some days with Tom, you must not fail—you & John—to spend a portion of the time with us. We should be most happy to greet you. Lizzie—who at present is at Orange helping Fanny to break in the "babby" to going without its nurse [5]—would cheerfully unite with me in this invitation, were she here. Indeed, she was talking with me about making the invitation some days ago.

Lizzie & I recd letters frm Helen & Fanny (jointly to & from) which I acknowledged by paper; & will ere long be happy to reciprocate by letter. With love to them and yourself & all, I remain—*No, I don't,* for I forgot to say we had a pleasant visit from the Lieutenant,[6] who went with Bessie to the Zoo & shook hands with Mr Barnum.—How he has grown! Now then, I *remain*—at 104 E. 26 St. as usual, and am

Affectionately
Herman.

4. Maria Gansevoort Hoadley (1855–1904), oldest daughter of John and Catherine Hoadley, and Melville's niece. Born in Lawrence, Mass., she married William H. Mackintosh of Boston in 1887.

5. Eleanor Melville Thomas, born 24 February, 1882, who married Henry K. Metcalf, and published *Melville's Journal of a Visit to London and the Continent* (Cambridge, 1948) and *Herman Melville: Cycle and Epicycle* (Cambridge, 1953).

6. Unidentified.

TO JULIAN HAWTHORNE
10 AUGUST 1883
230 NEW YORK

Dear Mr. Hawthorne:

I am sorry that circumstances have prevented my answering your note earlier.—It gave me pleasure to receive it, and this for reasons you can readily imagine.

As to the information you seek—little enough, I think, it will prove, at least for the purpose you name—it can be more conveniently conveyed personally than by note.[7] So if you will be kind enough to come & see me, as you propose, I shall be happy to greet you.

My wife & daughter being absent in the country,[8] for the present I am alone at the house 104 E. 26 St.

I am obliged to be away [a] good part of the day, nor, during these summer nights am I much at home except when in bed.—That I may be sure to be in when you call, let me name day & hour—Wednesday next the 15th about 7½ P.M. Should this be inconvenient for you, name your own time—so it be in the evening.

Very Truly Yours
H. Melville

Aug. 10, 83

7. Julian Hawthorne was probably collecting information for his book, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife,* which appeared in 1884. Julian later remembered this visit as one in which he inquired for Hawthorne's letters replying to those Melville had written his father but learned that the letters had been destroyed. For this and other recollections see Leyda, *Log,* 782–3.

8. Mrs. Melville and Bessie were joined by Melville later in the month at Richfield Springs, New York (Leyda, *Log,* 783).

TO JAMES BILLSON [9]
10 OCTOBER 1884
NEW YORK

231

104 E. 26th St. New York.
Oct 10, '84

My Dear Sir: After considerable delay—on this side, I suppose—your note of Aug. 21 reached me but the other day.[1]—I can not but thank you for the kind expressions in it, and really wish that the books you have so patiently disinterred better merited what you say of them.—You ask me to give you the names of any *other* books of mine, with the names of the publishers. The following occur to me:

—"White Jacket" published in London by Bentley.

"Battle Pieces," in verse published in New York by Harper & Brothers.

"Clarel," published by George P. Putnam's Sons, New York—a metrical affair, a pilgrimage or what not, of several thousand lines, eminently adapted for unpopularity.—The notification to you here is ambidexter, as it were: it may intimidate or allure.

9. Charles James Billson (1858–1932) was only twenty-six and three years out of Oxford when he began correspondence with Melville. A student of the classics, in which he had taken honors, he combined law practice with the effort to bring a knowledge of Greek and Roman literature to common Englishmen and at one time taught a class of workers in his native town of Leicester enough Greek to read Aristophanes. His translations of the *Aeneid* (1906) and Pindar (1931) have been considered admirable by some critics. A close friend described him as rooted in the Victorian age and tradition but warmly sympathetic to new ideas and new writers (London *Times,* 10 November, 1932).

1. In a note dated 21 August (the only letter of Billson to Melville that survives) Billson thanked Melville for the good he had received from reading his works and regretted they were so hard to procure. They were "in great request": "as soon as one is discovered (for that is what it really is with us) it is eagerly read & passed round a rapidly increasing knot of 'Melville readers.'" Billson had read *Typee, Omoo, Mardi, Redburn, Moby Dick, Pierre, Israel Potter, The Piazza Tales,* and *The Confidence Man.* In closing he said: "the delight you have given has been the means ever of arousing feelings of affection to yourself emphasized as it is by the intimate acquaintance I have with you although hitherto you have done all the talking—" (HCL-M).

Again thanking you for your friendly note, and with best wishes to yourself and your circle, I am

Very truly yours
Herman Melville

232 TO JAMES BILLSON
1 DECEMBER 1884
NEW YORK

New York / Dec 1st '84

Dear Sir:

I thank you for yours of Oct. 28th, and its kindly expressions. I would have acknowledged it ere now but for reasons which it suffices to say—since you will beleive it—are adequate.

I owe you sincere thanks also for the volume of poems you were so good as to mail me.[2] The "Weddah and Om-el-Bonain" 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 Keats' pieces are; and what can one say more?—You should be happy to think that you personally knew the author of such a poem.—

You say something about my photograph. I should be happy to oblige you, but really, there is none that at present I can lay hold of. However, should I have one taken again, I will take pleasure in causing one to be mailed to you.—

With much respect and kindly wishes, I am

Very Truly Yours
H. Meville

James Billson Esq.

2. James Thomson, *Vane's Story, Weddah and Om-el-Bonain, and Other Poems,* London, 1881 (see Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 521).

TO JAMES BILLSON
22 JANUARY 1885
233 NEW YORK

104 East 26th St. / N.Y.

Dear Sir:

I am grateful for the last volume you kindly sent me, received yesterday.[3]—*"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 his pessimism, altho' neither pessimist nor optomist 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.

—In a former note you mentioned that altho' you had unearthed several of my buried books, yet there was one—"Clarel"—that your spade had not succeeded in getting at. Fearing that you never will get at it by yourself, I have disinterred a copy for you of which I ask your acceptance and mail it with this note.

It is the sole presentation-copy of the issue.

Repeating my thanks for both the rare volumes you have been good enough to send me, and thanking you also for your last note, I am

Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville

Mr. James Billson
Jan. 22d '85

TO ABRAHAM LANSING
234 21 AUGUST 1885
NEW YORK

New York / Aug. 21st '85

My Dear Mr. Lansing

I received yours of the 19th yesterday, inclosing the will and the

3. James Thomson, *The City of Dreadful Night and Other Poems,* London, 1880 (see Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 517).

"waiver"; and herewith you have the latter duly signed and acknowledged.[4]

Yours Truly
H. Melville

235 TO JAMES BILLSON
5 SEPTEMBER 1885
NEW YORK

New York / Sept. 5, '85

Dear Sir:

I have to thank you for two papers received some months ago, one containing an article by your hand on the poet Thomson,[5] the other referring to the South Sea Islands [6] (and was this too written by yourself?) both interesting to me: the first because my interest in the author of The "City of Dreadful Night" was measurably gratified by it.

Moreover, I must thank you for your note of Feb. 18th Beleive me, its friendly proffer of good offices, should occasion occur, this I was, and remain grateful for.

But yet further to bring up arrears, my acknowledgments are due for a copy of "The Academy" received the other day containing a poem by Robert Buchanan—"Socrates in Camden." [7] For more than one reason, this Piece could not but give me pleasure. Aside from its poetic quality, there is implyed 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 overpraise, to be

4. On 19 August Abraham Lansing sent Melville a copy of the will of his sister Priscilla Frances, who had died 9 July (Leyda, *Log*, 793).

5. "James Thomson: Poet, Essayist, and Critic," Liverpool *Daily Post* (10 February, 1885).

6. Possibly an article in the London *Daily Telegraph* (16 January), mentioning the "lovely imaginations" of *Typee* and *Omoo* (Leyda, *Log*, 788).

7. "Socrates in Camden, With a Look Round (Written after first meeting the American Poet, Walt Whitman, at Camden, New Jersey.)," by Robert Buchanan, in the *Academy* (15 August, 1885), pp. 102–3.

sure; but I can't help that, tho' I am alive to the spirit that dictated it.

But a letter on almost any theme, is but an inadequate vehicle, so I will say no more.

With good wishes for you

Very Truly
Herman Melville

Mr James Billson

236 TO MRS. ELLEN MARETT GIFFORD[8]
5 OCTOBER 1885
NEW YORK

N.Y.
104 E. 26 St. / Oct. 5, '85

Dear Mrs. Gifford: It is now quite a time since you first asked me for my photo:—Well, here it is at last, the veritable face (at least, so says the Sun that never lied in his life) of your now venerable friend—venerable in years.—What the deuse makes him look so serious, I wonder. I thought he was of a gay and frolicsome nature, judgeing 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.

~~~~ *That* is to signify an abrupt change in the text.—Bessie returned home from her vacation Saturday last, and Lizzie

8. Ellen Marett Gifford (d. 1889), the daughter of Philip Marett and Martha Bird Knapp Marett (1796–1878), was a niece of Lemuel Shaw by his first wife, Elizabeth Knapp Shaw, and a first cousin of Elizabeth Melville. She was a semi-invalid most of her life. Her father was president of the New England Bank until 1847 when he resigned under scandalous circumstances (Leyda, *Log*, 245). During the Melvilles' first married years in New York, the Maretts lived in Brooklyn and both then and after her marriage to Arthur N. Gifford, a broker of the New York Exchange, Ellen and the Melvilles seem to have maintained a close and affectionate relationship. Melville wrote her many letters, of which this is the only survivor. Mrs. Gifford's mother willed $20,000 to Elizabeth Melville and her children in 1878, and in November 1879 Mrs. Gifford herself willed $10,000 to Elizabeth and $8,000 to Herman, later adding $5,000 to the latter bequest. Thus, when she died in 1889 the family benefited heavily from her generosity (Leyda, *Log*, passim).
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would also have come, but was detained in Boston by an ailment which temporarily keeps her there. But I look for her tomorrow or next day. Trusting that you are at present exempt from your more serious pain, I mean the neuralgia; and begging you not to exert yourself, out of courtesy, in the unnecessary matter of answering this note, I am always, in one respect at least, like yourself—

Friendly to the friendly
H. Melville

P.S.

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.

237 TO JAMES BILLSON
20 DECEMBER 1885
NEW YORK

New York / Dec. 20, '85

Dear Sir: Do not think me indifferent or ungrateful if your last friendly note and gift remain unacknowledged till now.[9]—There are natures that after receiving a certain impression as to another, that *other* need thenceforth hardly ever enter into intricate explanations, happen what may.—This may perhaps be a little obscure to some, but you will understand.

For the two books I thank you much. It is long since I have been so interested in a volume as in that of the "Essays & Phantasies." —"Bumble"—"Indolence"—"The Poet" &c, 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. They would have to be painstakingly diluted for that—diluted with that prudential worldly element, wherewithall M^r^ Arnold has conciliated the conventionalists while at the same time showing the absurdity of Bumble. But for your admirable friend this would have been too much like trimming—if trimming in fact it be. The motions of his mind in the best of his Essays are utterly untrameled and independent, and yet falling

9. On 7 October Billson had sent Melville James Thomson's *Essays and Phantasies* (London, 1881) and *Satires and Profanities* (London, 1884)—Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 519.

naturally into grace and poetry. 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 acheiving "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.—But this "vanity of vanities" has been inimitably touched upon by your friend in one of his Essays.—"Satires & Profanities" are of course written for another plane than that to which the "Essays" are levelled. But many touches are diverting enough. "The Devel in the Church of England," for instance. But I must close.—You asked me for my photograph, but I had none to send you. Now that I *have,* I forward it to you, conditional however upon your reciprocating with your own, and this, permit me to insist on.

Very Truly Yours
H. Melville

238 TO JOHN W. HENRY CANOLL [1]
AFTER 18 JANUARY 1886
NEW YORK

I have just received yours of the 23[d] and beg leave to thank you for it. Your Verse was inspired by the best of feelings, it give[s] me true pleasure to recognize the generous spirit that animates

1. Little can be ascertained about Canoll outside of the details supplied in New York directories. He seems to have settled in New York in 1878–79, when he described himself as a "keramic artist." Two years later he was a "consulting editor." In 1883 he was a "dean of college of archaeology," in 1884 "consulting editor and dean," and until his death in 1891 or 1892 simply "dean." His "college" was the New York College of Archaeology and Aesthetics, before which he read a paper and a poem on Melville on 15 January. The poem was published in the New York *Commercial Advertiser,* 18 January (Leyda, *Log,* 796–7). For the full fragment of the letter see p. 377.

them.—Nor does it at all abate this pleasurable feeling that you gave publication to them, tho' the wisdom of this—from one point of view at least—might admit of a doubt,

For what can one do with the Press. Retaliate? Should it ever publish the rejoinder, they can

239 TO JAMES BILLSON
2 APRIL 1886
NEW YORK

New York, Ap. 2, '86

Dear Sir:—If I am late in acknowledging your last kind note and the receipt of the welcome gifts it announced, it is from any cause but indifference.[2]—I am pleased that you have observed the condition imposed on you, and that, accordingly, you have put me in possession of the photograph of so friendly a correspondent[.]

For the semi-manuscript "Omar"—the text, coming in that unique form to me, imparted yet added significance to that sublime old infidel.—

—The discussion about the 100 best books in the Pall Mall[3] is perhaps more curious and diverting than profoundly instructive.

—For the "Voice from the Nile" containing the added poems of Thomson the memoir and the portrait, pray, give my best thanks to Mr. Barrs.[4] The Pieces having a peculiar interest for

2. On 15 February, Billson sent Melville a "semi-manuscript" copy of *The Rubáiyat of Omar Khayyám* in one of Edward Fitzgerald's translations, and also James Thomson's *A Voice from the Nile and Other Poems,* inscribed: "To Herman Melville from J. W. Barrs as a small tribute of admiration to Typee and Omoo." (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 392 and 522, and Part II, p. 161, n. 86).

3. Probably a reference to an article entitled "The Best Hundred Books. By the Best Hundred Judges," which appeared in the *Pall Mall Budget* (21 January, 1886). However, three continuations of the article were published in the issues for 28 January, 4 and 11 February, and various related articles on the subject also appeared, including one by John Ruskin, "The Best Hundred Books," in the issue for 25 February.

4. John W. Barrs, according to Billson, was a friend of H. S. Salt, another English admirer of Melville (Leyda, *Log,* 798). He was also a friend of James Thomson, who wrote him several letters and visited him at Leicester, his home at Forest Edge, Kirby Muxloe.

that gentleman are extremely pleasing—especially two of them. And yet, if one consider the poet's career, 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 now may sojourn. If they do not, the shabby fellows ought to be ashamed of themselves.

—It pleases me to learn from you that Thomson was interested in W^m^ Blake.—But I must end.

Very Truly Yours
H. Melville

Mr. James Billson

240 TO LEONARD G. SANFORD [5]
22 JUNE 1886
NEW YORK

104 E. 26^th^ St. N.Y.
June 22, '86

Dear Sir: Your note has met with delay, having been forwarded by the P.M. from Pittsfield.—No, I did not go a voyage round the world in 1863.—The Cyclopedias are not infallible, no more than the Pope.[6]

I am glad to know that you like some of the books.

I beg leave to congratulate you upon the honor of having been a whale-hunter in your time

Yours very truly
Herman Melville

Leonard G. Sandford Esq.

5. Leonard G. Sanford, identified by Leyda through correspondence with Sanford's granddaughter, Mrs. Robert T. Tankersley of Cornwall, Connecticut. She owns Sanford's diary from which, she writes, "Howe's story *A Boy Who Went Whaling* was taken."

6. Which encyclopedia Sanford had used is not clear but as early as 1875 the misinformation had been supplied in the new edition of the Duyckincks' *Cyclopaedia of American Literature,* ed. to date by M. Laird Simons, that "In 1860 Mr. Melville made another whaling voyage around the world." The definition of Papal Infallibility had been proclaimed as a dogma of faith by the Vatican Council in 1870.

TO HELEN MELVILLE GRIGGS [7]
BEFORE 15 JULY 1886
241 NEW YORK

that the packers could proportion what each person's charge of material & time should be, and the account should be sent to each.[8]

242 TO WILLIAM CLARK RUSSELL? [9]
BEFORE 21 JULY 1886?
NEW YORK

Praise when merited is not a boon: yet to a generous nature, is it pleasant to utter it. This pleasure[?] have you doubtlessly[?] taken in some recent[?] contributions, citing certain marine[?] authors of the past two of them, I think, still surviving. Now, have you bestowed in an instance that [which] touches me somewhat nearly. You: You have rendered[?] as a serious and admirable marine[?] delineator[?] R H Dn, Jun and offered a warm tribute, none the less just, to RHD [1]
It is his countrymen &c

7. This fragment is the only surviving passage from Melville's letters to his sister Helen Maria (1817–1888), who married George Griggs in 1854 and lived at this time in Brookline, Mass. Long before, during Melville's absence in the Pacific, a firm friendship developed between Helen and Elizabeth Shaw which on Melville's return encouraged his courtship of Elizabeth. The close relationship with the Melvilles continued throughout Helen's life.

8. Helen was disposing of the furniture in the old country house at Gansevoort, New York, where Uncle Herman Gansevoort and Melville's mother lived for many years. Helen notes that she sent the apportioned accounts "To *Herman; Milie; Florence;* and *Fannie*" (see below, textual note, p. 378).

9. W. Clark Russell (1844–1911), an English author, published "Sea Stories" in the *Contemporary Review* (September 1884), praising Melville, R. H. Dana, Jr., Michael Scott, and Captain Cupples, as "the poets of the deep," and ranking Melville the highest. For the full fragment see p. 378.

1. Compare the "Inscription Epistolary to W.C.R." in *John Marr and other Sailors with Some Sea-Pieces* (New York, 1888), p. 5, where Melville compares Russell with "our own admirable" Dana as one who "knows the sea, and the blue water of it; the sailor and the heart of him; the ship, too, and the sailing and handling of a ship."

TO EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN AND ELLEN MACKAY HUTCHINSON [2]
27 JANUARY 1888
NEW YORK

243

104 E. 26 St. / Jan, 27, 1888

To
The Editors &c—

Of course you are at liberty to make the extracts.[3]

Wishing you success
Respectfully Yours
H. Melville

(HM. was born in New York City Aug 1, 1819.) [4]

TO EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN
29 JANUARY 1888
NEW YORK

244

104 E 26 St / Jan 29

Mr Edmund C Stedman

Dear Sir:

I accede with pleasure to your request.[5] Accordingly you will find enclosed a short Piece[.]

2. After graduating from Yale, Stedman (1833–1908) had edited newspapers, published poems, and reported the Civil War. He then became and remained a broker but used his means and social position to promote literature and assist authors, being one of the founders of the Authors Club and president of the National Institute of Arts and Letters. Besides writing several volumes of poetry he edited *Victorian Poets* (1875), *Poets of America* (1885), *A Library of American Literature* (1889–90), *A Victorian Anthology* (1895), and *An American Anthology* (1900). Ellen Mackay Hutchinson (d. 1933) was co-editor of *A Library of American Literature.*

3. On 24 January Stedman had sent a form letter to Melville asking permission to use some extracts from his romances and selections from his poems in *A Library of American Literature* (HCL-M). He printed "The Bell-Tower," and the poems "The Stone Fleet," "Sheridan at Cedar Creek," and "In the Prison Pen," all from *Battle-Pieces.*

4. Stedman had asked for this precise biographical information, which was printed directly after Melville's name in the section devoted to him. This was Stedman's practice for all authors in the collection.

5. On 20 January Stedman wrote Melville asking for one of his best-known shorter poems, in his handwriting, and signed, to be used in "illustrating

As to the engraving, none have been published—to my knowledge[.]

Hoping you may fully realize your pleasant fancy you speak of, I am

Very Truly Yours
H. Melville

[*Enclosure:*] *Ditty of Aristippus*[6]

Noble gods at the board
Where lord meets lord
Light pushes the care-killing wine:
Urbane in their pleasure,
Superb in their leisure—
Lax ease—
Lax ease after labor divine!

Golden ages eternal,
Autumnal, supernal,
Deep mellow their temper serene:
The rose by their gate
Shall it yield unto fate?
They are gods—
They are gods and their garlands keep green.

Ever blandly adore them;
But spare to implore them:
They rest, they discharge them from time;
Yet believing light believe
They would succor, reprieve—
Nay, retrieve—
Might but revellers pause in the prime.

Herman Melville

---

and extending" his own copy of *Poets of America.* He also wanted to know where the best portrait of Melville in steel or wood could be found. "I trust," he said, "that you will assist me in realizing a pleasant fancy"—i.e. to make a unique collection of manuscripts and portraits of the authors published in *Poets of America* (HCL-M).

6. The poem had been published only once, in *Clarel* (1876). In Part III, Canto IV, the Cypriote sings it as a "hymn of Aristippus."

TO JAMES BILLSON
29 MARCH 1888
245 NEW YORK

March 29, 1888
New York / 104 E. 26th St.

Dear Sir: Some time ago I received a paper from you containing matter interesting to me; and now thro' the post I get a volume which I must needs think comes from the same kind quarter.[7] I promise myself much pleasure in its perusal, since it opens in a manner to arrest one's attention.

Trusting that you are in health & happiness I am

Very Truly Yours
H. Melville

To James Billson

246 TO JAMES BILLSON
7 APRIL 1888
NEW YORK

April 7, 1888.
New York / 104 E. 26th St.

My Dear Sir:—I acknowledged—to your previous address—the receipt of the parcel you so kindly sent me; and now, something in the rear, your note turns up which, I suppose, should have accompanied the book.—

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—I know of none such. The names appear, tho', 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.[8]

7. The paper is unidentified; the book was Marcus Andrew Hislop Clarke's *For the Term of His Natural Life,* London, 1885 (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 146).

8. T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 306 Chestnut St., Philadelphia, advertised *The Refugee* "by Herman Melville, Author of 'Typee,' 'Omoo,' 'The Two

I thank you for the very friendly tone of your note, and appreciate it; and I hope that some egg in the "Birds Nest Farm" may hatch the Bird of Paradise for you—happiness.

Sincerely Yours
H. Melville

Mr. James Billson

247 TO EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN
20 OCTOBER 1888
NEW YORK

104 E. 26th St., / Oct. 20th, '88.

Dear Sir:—

I return the books you so kindly sent me.[9]

I have been interested in all of them. And your own book in many of its views has proved either corroborative or suggestive to me. I have not by any means so many external demands upon my evenings as you probably have. I am the one most likely to be at home in the evening. Pray remember this, and give me the pleasure of dropping in again here when you feel like it.

With much respect,
H. Melville.

Captains,' 'The Man of the World,' etc. etc." as early as 11 March, 1865 (Leyda, *Log*, 672) and apparently continued to advertise the book for some time after this (see below, textual note for Letter 265, p. 383).

9. According to Leyda, *Log*, 810, the books were those sent to Melville by Stedman, February 1, i.e. Richard Henry Horne, *Gregory VII, a Tragedy, Prometheus the Fire-Bringer,* and *The Death of Marlowe,* and either George Walter Thornbury's *Lays and Legends; or Ballads of the New World* (Sealts, "Melville's Reading" No. 525) or his *Songs of the Cavaliers and Roundheads, Jacobite Ballads,* etc. (London, 1857). This may be so but there are objections. In his letter of 1 February accompanying the books, Stedman wrote: "as you said so much of Whitman, I will run the risk of showing you my chapter on him" (HCL-M). This sounds like a manuscript, and in fact, Leyda takes it to mean just that. If it was a manuscript Melville undoubtedly returned it shortly afterward, perhaps with a letter which we do not have. One might well doubt if he kept the books for nearly nine months. This letter, then, may refer to another loan of books. On the other hand, by "chapter on [Whitman]" Stedman may conceivably have meant the chapter in his *Poets of America,* and this may be the book Melville refers to in the next paragraph. If so, then it is not impossible that he is here returning it and the other books of 1 February together.

TO JAMES BILLSON
31 DECEMBER 1888
248 NEW YORK

104 E 26th St. N.Y.
The last day of 1888.

My Dear Sir: I have your letter, and thank you for it, and not less for the book accompanying it.[1] 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 overestimate 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 total 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,[2] and forget that.

You did well in giving your superfluous volume of "John Marr" to Mr Barrs, to whom I am indebted for "A Voice from the Nile" &c—an appreciated gift.—May the Powers long keep snug your *Birds Nest!*

Most Truly Yours
Herman Melville

I enclose a slip that will interest you & other appreciators of Thomson, something my wife came across in her newspaper reading.

H. M.

To Mr. James Billson

1. *Shelley, a Poem: With Other Writings Relating to Shelley by the late James Thomson, to Which is Added an Essay on the Poems of William Blake, by the Same Author* (London, 1884), sent to Melville by Billson 4 December (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 520).

2. Undoubtedly a reference to the last section of "He Heard Her Sing"—*The Poetical Works of James Thomson* (London, 1895), 2, 49–55—in which Thomson recorded the transcending power and beauty of a singer's voice. Though unnamed, she was evidently Adelina Patti (1843–1919) the reigning soprano of the nineteenth century.

TO ABRAHAM LANSING
16 MARCH 1889
249 NEW YORK

N.Y. March 16

Dear M. Lansing:

I have your first note, and the telegram following it, and also your second note.[3]

Enclosed herewith you have the duplicate receipts and the first cheque.

Truly Yours
H. Melville

The first receipt I have destroyed.

250 TO DR. JOHN WILLIAMSON PALMER[4]
23 MARCH 1889
NEW YORK

104 E 26th St. / March 23d, '89.

Dear Dr Palmer:

Let me thank you for your friendly note and the gift accompanying it.—To night my wife will conclude the reading to me of *"Up & Down the Irrawaddy."* Those stirring adventures in scenes so orientally novel make the book unique to me, and have interested me more than any volume I have read for a long time. As to that "exuberance" you allege against the work, it is the exuberance of that prime staple—vitality.

"After his Kind" (a significant title) I have as yet, of course,

3. Two days before, Abraham Lansing sent Melville a check for $1216.89, his share in his sister Fanny's estate. Discovering that a mistake had been made, Lansing promptly telegraphed Melville and then sent him a check for $1123.79 (Leyda, *Log,* 813–14).

4. After work as a doctor in San Francisco during the gold rush of 1849, John Williamson Palmer (1825–1906) travelled to Hawaii and India and then settled in New York as a writer, translator, and editor. As correspondent for the New York *Tribune* he reported the Civil War from the Southern point of view. Besides *The Golden Dagon; or Up and Down the Irrawaddi* (1856) and the novel *After His Kind,* published in 1886 under the pseudonym John Coventry, he wrote travel sketches, a comedy, two books on engraving and art, and some poems.

been able but to dip into; but the flavor so obtained bespeaks the ripe wine[.]

Sincerely yours
H. Melville

251 TO PROFESSOR ARCHIBALD MACMECHAN [5]
5 DECEMBER 1889
NEW YORK

104 E. 26 St. / N.Y.

Dear Sir: I beg you to overlook my delay in acknowledging yours of the 12th [*sic*] ult. It was unavoidable.

Your note gave me pleasure, as how should it not, written in such a spirit.

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.

I appreciate, quite as much as you would have me, your friendly good will and shrink from any appearance to the contrary.

Trusting that you will take all this, and what it implies, in the same spirit that prompts it,[6] I am

Very Truly Yours
Herman Melville

To Professor MacMechan
Dec. 5, '89

5. At this time Archibald MacMechan (1862–1933) was Munro Professor of English at Dalhousie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Later he lectured at Harvard, Columbia, and the University of Chicago, wrote for the critical and semipopular journals, and edited some of Carlyle's works. He had expressed his admiration of Melville in a letter dated 21 November, 1889, and had asked for particulars of his life and *"literary methods"* with a view to setting Melville's merits as a writer before the public. His essay on *Moby Dick,* entitled "The Best Sea-Story Ever Written," was published in the *Queen's Quarterly* (October 1899): V. L. O. Chittick, "The Way Back to Melville, Seachart of a Literary Revival," *Southwest Review, 40* (summer, 1955), 238–48.

6. MacMechan replied on 23 December, 1889, to Melville's "cordial" letter and proposed calling on him "in the spring months" (Chittick, p. 243).

TO BEN W. AUSTIN [7]
5 DECEMBER 1889
252 NEW YORK

Ben. W. Austin Esq.
Dear Sir:

In reply to yours of the 26th Inst.—

I inclose you an autograph of Judge Shaw.

For the others, I have none; but refer you to a grand daughter of Gen. Gansevoort of Fort Stanwix—Mrs. Abraham Lansing, 119 Washington Avenue, Albany, N.Y.

Yours &c
H. Melville

N.Y. Dec 5th '89

253 TO HENRY STEPHENS SALT [8]
12 JANUARY 1890
NEW YORK

104 E. 26th St.
New York / Jan 12, 1890

Dear Sir: Illness has prevented an earlier reply to your note.—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.[9]

I shall write that gentleman by the same mail that conveys this and upon receiving his reply, will forthwith communicate with you again.—Yes, "B.V." interests me much. I shall try and procure here that "Life" which you have written. The *"City of Dreadful Night"* is the modern Book of Job, under an original poem duskily

7. Ben W. Austin, of Sioux City, Iowa, started collecting autographs about 1875. In 1884–85 he formed a fictitious society, "The Northwestern Literary and Historical Society," with a fictitious president and with Austin as secretary. He wrote letters to thousands of people informing them of their election as honorary members of the society and received letters in reply. He then asked for their photographs and any letters of men of note they might have: Simon Gratz, *A Book About Autographs* (Philadelphia, 1920), pp. 35–8.

8. After taking a first Classical Tripos at Cambridge in 1875, Henry Stephens Salt (1851–1939) taught nine years at Eton and then wrote biographies of James Thomson and Thoreau, critical studies of Shelley and Tennyson, and other works.

9. See Letter 254.

looming with the same aboriginal verities. Much more might be said; but enough

Yours truly
H. Melville

Mr. H. S. Salt

I have not yet received the "Scottish Art Review" containing your critique, which you say Mr. Barrs was kind enough to mail me.[1]—

254 TO JOHN MURRAY
12 JANUARY 1890
NEW YORK

104 E. 26th St.
New York / Jan. 12, 1890

Dear Sir:

I have received a note from a gentleman writing for the Editor of the *Camelot Series,* asking me whether I would have any objection to the reprinting of *"Typee"* in that Series. To which note I have written to the effect, that I do not feel myself at liberty to entertain such a proposition without first communicating with you.

I have no exact knowledge as to the bearing at this present time of the Copyright Law in 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.

Be good enough to advise me, at your convenience.[2]

Very truly Yours
H. Melville

Mr. John Murray.

1. The *Scottish Art Review* (November 1889), published Salt's article, "Herman Melville," which reviewed Melville's works with the general aim of increasing public appreciation. John W. Barrs wrote Melville, 13 January, 1890, sending him this notice, indicating his disappointment that Salt had not done justice to *Mardi, Moby Dick,* or *Pierre,* and adding appreciative comments of his own on these works and on *John Marr* (Leyda, *Log,* 803, 817–18, 821).

2. According to Arthur Stedman, John Murray refused to allow *Typee* (and *Omoo*) to be published in the Camelot Series (Leyda, *Log,* 821).

TO LEE AND SHEPARD[3]
13 FEBRUARY 1890
255 NEW YORK

To Lee & Shephard.

New York / Feb. 13, '90

Gentlemen:

In reply to yours of the 10th.—

My present address is 104 E. 26th St. New York.

No book of mine has been published since the date you name (1870) but *"Clarel, A Pilgrimage and Poem,"* New York, 1876.

Yours &c
H. Melville

256 TO HENRY STEPHENS SALT
25 FEBRUARY 1890
NEW YORK

104 E. 26th St.
New York / Feb. 25, '90

Dear Sir:

Thanks for your note of the 2d Inst.—with added thanks for the book.[4]

I have read it with the greatest interest, and can sincerely say that I feel under obligations to you as the author of so excellent a biography of a very remarkable poet and man.—

Concerning "Typee."—As I engaged to do, I wrote to Mr. Murray. The information contained in the reply is such, and the manner of conveying it is such, that I consider myself bound, by considerations both of right and courtesy, not to sanction any English issue of the book—(during my lifetime) other than that of the original purchaser and publisher.—

Were matters otherwise, I should be glad to accede to your proposition, especially as it would put me into such good com-

3. Lee and Shepard was a book firm at 10 Milk St., Boston.

4. Salt's *The Life of James Thomson ("B. V.") with a Selection from His Letters and a Study of His Writings* . . . London, Reeves and Turner, 1889 (HCL-M, Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 435).

pany as that embraced in the Camelot Series.[5]—Feeling that you will appreciate the spirit in which I write this, I am

With much respect
Yours very truly
H. Melville.

To Mr. H. S. Salt
London

257 TO CATHERINE GANSEVOORT LANSING
23 MAY 1890
NEW YORK

New York / May 23, '90

Dear Kate:

Agreeably to Lottie's request, in note received the other day, I send you in form of a P.O. order my apportioned quota toward defraying certain expences.[6]

For the interest you have shown in overseeing the work—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.

With kind regards to Abraham

I am, affectionately,
H. Melville

5. The Camelot Series was published by the Walter Scott publishing company of London and included Hazlitt's *Essays,* ed. Frank Carr; Saadi's *Gulistan,* trans. James Ross; and Landor's *The Pentameron,* ed. Havelock Ellis. The series seems to have been assimilated also into "The Scott Library: The World's Literary Masterpieces," which sold for a shilling and included in 1889, among American writers, Thoreau, Lowell, Longfellow, Whitman, Emerson, and Holmes.

6. The P.O. order for $134 was sent to cover Melville's share in the expense of the family burial plot in Albany Rural Cemetery (Leyda, *Log,* 824).

TO HAVELOCK ELLIS [7]
10 AUGUST 1890
258 NEW YORK

104 E. 26th St. N.Y.
Aug 10, '90

Dear Sir: I have been away from town, a wanderer hardly reachable for a time, so that your letter was long in coming to hand.

And now in reference thereto.

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 strains of other blood, I am ignorant, except that my paternal grandfather's wife was of Irish Protestant stock.

Very Truly yours
Herman Melville

To Mr. Havelock Ellis

7. As early as 1789 Havelock Ellis (1859–1939) had developed a belief in the value of search for scientific truth because he saw it as supplying aesthetic satisfaction. From this proceeded his numerous sociological and psychological studies, with which he combined an interest in literature and the creative process. While editing Cesare Lombroso's *Men of Genius* (1891) he came to oppose Lombroso's idea that the genius and the criminal were "complementary forms of degeneration." Convinced that objective, statistical methods would help solve the problem, he began collecting data on "the ancestry of distinguished English & American poets and imaginative writers." He knew Melville's books and as editor of several volumes in the Camelot Series he regretted Murray's refusal to allow publication of *Typee* in it. On July 19 he wrote to ask Melville for information about his racial ancestry. His researches led, *inter alias,* to "The Ancestry of Genius," *Atlantic Monthly, 71* (March 1893), but for some reason he dealt only with English and French writers, and the information gleaned from Melville's letter was not put to use: Houston Peterson, *Havelock Ellis, Philosopher of Love* (Boston, 1928), pp. 187–8; Leyda, *Log,* 825.

TO WILLIAM JOHN BOK[8]
24 NOVEMBER 1890
NEW YORK

259

104 E. 26 St. / Nov. 24, '90

Dear Sir,

Thank you for the "literary letters" you sent me, which was quite interesting, especially the reference to Seba Smith.

Yours Very Truly
Herman Melville

William J. Bock

8. Born in Holland in 1861, William John Bok came to America with his parents in 1870, and with his more illustrious brother Edward he achieved early success in newspaper work. The two brothers founded the Bok Syndicate Press in 1886 and sold their syndicated columns to some 100 papers around the country. In November, Edward had written tributes to both Seba Smith and Melville as one of his "Literary Leaves." He lamented the vicissitudes of literary fame which had left the first in a forgotten grave and the second in a condition so obscure that Bok thought there were more people who believed "Herman Melville dead than there are those who know he is living." As a devoted autograph collector William evidently sent the "literary letters" to Melville, hoping for a reply (Leyda *Log*, 827).

V

UNDATED LETTERS

260 TO EVERT AUGUSTUS DUYCKINCK
AUGUST? 1848?
NEW YORK

Monday Afternoon

Dear Duyckinck—I am verry sorry, but a confounded headache—something that altogether upsets me socially—will prevent me from coming round this evening. You will excuse me, I know. I am sorry not to meet Mr Ward.[1]

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

1. There are several possible candidates for the "Mr Ward" whom Duyckinck could have known, but evidence for final identification is lacking. He may be Samuel Ward (1814–84), the banker-poet of New York, brother of Julia Ward Howe and uncle of F. Marion Crawford. His first wife was a daughter of William B. Astor and he was himself associated in New York with his own father's banking firm of Prime, Ward, and King, both of which connections would have brought him to Duyckinck's attention. After separating from his second wife he joined the gold rush of 1849 and spent the remaining years of his life as a wanderer through South America and Europe, a gourmet in Washington ("King of the Lobby"), and an associate in élite and literary circles. Another candidate is Thomas Wren Ward (1786–1858), the son of a Salem merchant and from 1830 to 1853 resident American agent of Baring Brothers in America. He had been reading Melville in 1847 and, as a friend of Judge Shaw in Boston, is known to have had dinner with Melville in 1853 (Leyda, *Log*, 245, 476). A third is Thomas Ward (1807–1873), poet, playwright, musician, a contributor to the *Knickerbocker Magazine*, and the author of *Passaic, A Group of Poems touching that River: with other Musings, by Flaccus* (1842), one of which celebrated "Sam Patch, the modern hero of the stream." He may readily have associated with Duyckinck in New York literary circles, for he is referred to as a "kindly" man in Duyckinck's *Cyclopedia of American Literature* (1855 ed., 2, 455). Finally, there was Henry Dana Ward (1797–1884), an Episcopal clergyman and educator, who with his wife, a woman of some ability as a linguist, opened a successful private school for girls in New York in 1847. Duyckinck's Episcopalian affiliation may have introduced him to Ward, who was a man of considerable classical attainment.

TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
AUGUST? 1848?
261 NEW YORK

My Dear Sir, I should be very happy to comply with Mrs Cooper['s] [2] friendly invitation, were it not that here are two ladies [3] by my side *already* half shawled for a little excursion in a quite contrary direction, & I am the elected escort.

So give my rememberances to Mrs Cooper, & take my prayers for a happy Pic-nic.

H. M.

I opened your note without observing the superscription—& have this moment discovered that it has a joint address. But Allan is not well to day—& will therefore be forced to decline.

262 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
1848? OR 1849?
NEW YORK

103 4th Avenue

My Dear Duyckinck

I sincerely regret that I shall not be able to be with you this evening—as I have something to attend to that I can not see about at any other time

Yours truly
Herman Melville

Saturday morning

261 TO EVERT A. DUYCKINCK
1848? 1849? 1850?
NEW YORK

Dear Duyckincke

I have just rcvd your package. I will look over the book [4] with

2. Perhaps Sarah W. Cooper, as queried by Leyda, *Log*, 279.

3. Probably Elizabeth Melville and Sophia Melville, his brother Allan's wife, although it could have been his mother, or his sisters—Augusta, Frances, or Helen—all of whom were at one time or another in the New York household.

4. This may be a review copy of Joseph C. Hart's *Romance of Yachting*, which Melville later (14 November, 1848) refused to review for Duyckinck's

pleasure. And will contrive to write something about it, but being much engaged just now, wont' be able to say a very great deal.— I will see you before long.

Sincerely Yours
H Melville

Monday Evening

264 TO SARAH HUYLER MOREWOOD
29 AUGUST 1856[?]
PITTSFIELD

Friday Morning

My Dear Lady Broadhall:—

Forever hereafter be this day thought a fortunate one, instead of a luckless. For has it not brought me some share of a kind invitation from the ever-excellent & beautiful Lady of Paradise— slip of the pen—of Broadhall, I mean?—

But then, unfortunately, I am absolutely compelled to decline my part of the merry summons.[5] It gives me great grief;—but I shall be with you in sympathy.

So Adieu to Thee
Thou Lady of All Delight;
even Thou, The peerless Lady
of Broadhall.

H. M.

Literary World, or it may be any one of the books Melville did review for Duyckinck: Francis Parkman's *The California and Oregon Trail* (reviewed 31 March, 1849), Cooper's *Sea Lions* and *Red Rover* (reviewed 28 April, 1849, and 16 March, 1850). Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 159, 160, 242, and 397; and textual note, p. 382.

5. Although the social occasion cannot be positively identified, it is most probably the fancy dress picnic given by Sarah Morewood on 3 September, 1856. Melville attended a similar affair on 7 September, 1855 (Leyda, *Log,* 507), but he appears to have remained home with Malcolm and Stanwix in 1856, while the women of the household attended. Elizabeth Melville was dressed as "the Genius of Greylock . . . her head shrouded in nests and her dress decorated with leaves, pine cones, and other mountain trophies"; Augusta Melville was costumed in "the leaves of the grove and the flowers of the field"; and the three-year-old Bessie Melville appeared as "Little Bo-Peep" (Berkshire *County Eagle,* 5 September, 1856, in Leyda, *Log,* 521–2).

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK WORLD
AFTER 1865 AND BEFORE 1888
265 NEW YORK

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 my name without authority, and notwithstanding a remonstrance conveyed to them long ago.

266 TO MR. AND MRS. GEORGE PALMER PUTNAM
15 JANUARY 1868?
NEW YORK

Mr. H. Melville is much obliged to Mr and Mrs George P Putnam for their friendly invitation, and accepts it with pleasure.[6]
N.Y. Jan 15th

267 TO NATHANIEL PAINE[7]
13 FEBRUARY 18??
BOSTON

Boston, Feb. 13th

Dear Sir—Yours of Dec. 26 has only just come to hand owing to my prolonged absence.

Truly Yours
H Melville

Nath. Paine Esq.
Worcester

6. See textual note, p. 384.

7. An autograph collector and local antiquarian of Worcester, Massachusetts, who lived 1832–1917.

TO STANWIX MELVILLE [8]
BEFORE 23 FEBRUARY 1886[?]
268 NEW YORK?

Good bye, & God bless you
Your affectionate Father
H. Melville.

269 TO EDWIN ROSSITER JOHNSON [9]
11 DECEMBER 1887?
NEW YORK

Dec. 11th / 104 E. 26th St.

My Dear Sir:

Yours of the 9th is received.—Your friendly proposition I must decline. And this—in part at least—from a sense of incompetence. For I am unpractised in a kind of writing that exacts so much of heedfulness—heedfulness, I mean, of a sort not demanded in some departments.

With best wishes
H. Melville

Rossiter Johnson Esq.

8. Stanwix Melville died in San Francisco, California, on 23 February, 1886, at the age of thirty-five.

9. The long career of Edwin Rossiter Johnson (1840–1931) as editor of various encyclopedias, dictionaries, anthologies, and abridged classics, taken together with the implications of the letter, makes it seem likely that on this occasion Melville was replying to an invitation to undertake some kind of editorial work. Thus the letter could refer to any of the following works which Johnson edited: *American Cyclopaedia* (1873–77), *Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (1886–89), *Annual Encyclopedia* (1883–1902), the condensed editions of selected novels of Scott, Dickens, Bulwer-Lytton, and others begun by Johnson in 1876 and developing into the *Author's Digest* (1908). The letter could have had nothing to do with the *Library of American Literature,* which was edited by E. C. Stedman, not Johnson (see Leyda, *Log,* 766). Nor does it seem to refer to Johnson's publication of Melville's "The Bell-Tower" in Volume 3 of his *Little Classics,* 1874–81 (Scalts, "Melville's Reading," No. 299).

TO UNKNOWN

270 UNDATED

I shall be very happy to call upon you at ½ past seven.

Very truly,
H. Melville

271 TO UNKNOWN

UNDATED

Do you remember Charles Fenno Hoffman's "Monterey"? [1] How fine it is—for example:—

"The foe himself recoiled aghast,
When, striking where he strongest lay,

1. Charles Fenno Hoffman (1806–1884), whom Melville knew in his early New York years, 1847–50, first published the poem "Monterey" anonymously in the *Evening Gazette* (13 November, 1846): Homer F. Barnes, *Charles Fenno Hoffman* (New York, 1930), p. 166. When his nephew collected and edited Hoffman's poetry in 1873, he acknowledged that "Monterey" was one of the poems that had "kept alive" the reputation of his uncle. The full text of the poem follows—from *Poems of Charles Fenno Hoffman,* collected and edited by Edward Fenno Hoffman (Philadelphia, Porter and Coates, 1873), pp. 181–2:

Monterey.

"Pends toi Brave Crillon! Nous avons combattu, et tu n' y etois pas."
—*Lettre de Henri IV. a Crillon.*

We were not many—we who stood
Before the iron sleet that day—
Yet many a gallant spirit would
Give half his years if he then could
Have been with us at Monterey.

Now here, now there, the shot, it hailed
In deadly drifts of fiery spray,
Yet not a single soldier quailed
When wounded comrades round them wailed
Their dying shout at Monterey.

And on—still on our column kept
Through walls of flame its withering way;
Where fell the dead, the living stept,
Still charging on the guns which swept
The slippery streets of Monterey.

The foe himself recoiled aghast,
When, striking where he strongest lay,

We swooped his flanking batteries past,
And braving full their murderous blast,
Stormed home the towers of Monterey."

Herman Melville

We swooped his flanking batteries past,
And braving full their murderous blast,
Stormed home the towers of Monterey.

Our banners on those turrets wave,
And there our evening bugles play;
Where orange boughs above their grave
Keep green the memory of the brave
Who fought and fell at Monterey.

We are not many—we who press'd
Beside the brave who fell that day;
But who of us has not confess'd
He'd rather share their warrior rest,
Than not have been at Monterey?

CHECK LIST OF UNLOCATED LETTERS

THE FOLLOWING LIST brings together the Melville letters that can be grouped as "unlocated," whether lost, destroyed, or simply hidden from the public. It does not repeat those letters specifically cited in the Introduction. Though necessarily incomplete, it is as exhaustive as the editors have been able to make it. The letters are arranged chronologically under the date of their completion, preceded by a check list number that begins with No. 272 (continuing the numbering from where the text ended). In the brief accompanying comment, the word "cited" means that the letter is specifically stated as having been written and the words "mentioned" and "inferred" mean that the letter is either referred to or implied in other correspondence, journals, and supplementary sources of information.

Before 1828

272. Cited in Letter 1.

273. Cited in Letter 1.

1832

274. July–August? To Maria Melville. Cited in Maria Melville to Peter Gansevoort, 7 August (NYPL-GL).

275. July–August? To Maria Melville. Cited ibid.

1839

276. April? "L.A.V." (Herman Melville) to William J. Lamb. Mentioned in *Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser,* 20 April.

276a. 9 July To Maria Melville. Cited in Maria Melville to Allan Melville, 25 September (Metcalf, *Cycle,* 21).

1840 [1]

277. February? To Maria Melville. Cited in Maria Melville to Allan Melville, 5 February (BA).

1. Melville may have written several letters to Mary Parmelee between 1838 and 1840 (Gilman, 326).

1841

278. Before 2 July — To Gansevoort Melville. Cited in Gansevoort Melville to Lemuel Shaw, 5 February (MHS-S).

1845

279. Before 20 January — To Augusta Melville. Cited in 10.

280. 1 September? — To Gansevoort Melville. Cited in Gansevoort Melville to Maria Melville, 16 September (NYPL-GL).

281. September, October? — To Gansevoort Melville. Inferred from Gansevoort Melville to Maria Melville, 26 September, 2 October, and Gansevoort Melville to John Murray 20 October (NYPL-GL; Murray).

282. November? — To Gansevoort Melville. Inferred from Gansevoort Melville to Allan Melville 18 November (NYPL-GL).

283. Before 4 December — To Gansevoort Melville. Cited in Gansevoort Melville to John Murray, 4 December (Murray).

284. Before 3 January — To Gansevoort Melville. Cited in Gansevoort Melville diary, 3 January 1846 (NYPL-GL).

1846

285. 3 January — To Gansevoort Melville. Cited ibid., 16 January.

286. 28 February — To Gansevoort Melville. Cited in Gansevoort Melville to Herman Melville, 3 April (HCL-M).

287. 19 March — To Priscilla Melville. Cited in 11.

288. 27 March to 15 April — To Gansevoort Melville. Postmarked envelope (NYPL-GL).

289. 21 April — To Albany *Argus*. Cited in Davis, 18, n. 8.

290. 6 June — To James K. Polk. Extract in 15.

291. Before 13 June — To Louis McLane. Cited in 17.

292. Before 13 June — To Mac Henry Boyd. Cited in 17.

293. 2 July — To Richard Tobias Greene (Toby). Cited in 19.

294. Before 22 July — To Allan Melville. Cited in Allan Melville to Evert A. Duyckinck, 22 July (NYPL-GL).

295. August? — To Bradford, Fuller and Co., *Acushnet* owners. Cited in 26.

296. Before 7 October — To Allan Melville. Inferred from Wiley and Putnam to Allan Melville, 7 October (HCL-M).

1847

297. Before 19 January — To the Troy Association. Inferred from 31.

298. Before 19 January — To [Young Men's Association] Schenectady. Inferred from 31.

299. 1 February? — To John Romeyn Brodhead. Cited in John Murray to John Romeyn Brodhead, 1 March (Martin).

300. After 6 August — To Maria Gansevoort Melville. Inferred from 44.

301. Before 10 October — To Lemuel Shaw. Cited in Lemuel Shaw to Hope Savage Shaw, 10 October (HCL-M).

1848

302. Before 4 February — To a Berlin publisher. Cited in Elizabeth Shaw Melville to Hope Savage Shaw, 4 February (HCL-M).

303. Before 5 May — To Henry Willcox, owner *Theophilus Chase*, Westport. Cited in Elizabeth Shaw Melville to Hope Savage Shaw, 5 May (HCL-M); see Leyda, *Log*, 275.

304. Before 6 June — To Daniel P. Parker. Cited in Elizabeth Shaw Melville to Hope Savage Shaw, 6 June (HCL-M).

1849

305. 27 March — To Harper Brothers. Cited in 57.

306. After 3 April — To John Romeyn Brodhead. Inferred from 58.

307. Before 28 April — To Evert A. Duyckinck. Inferred from the submission of the review of Cooper's *Sea Lions*.

308. Before 10 September — To Lemuel Shaw. Cited in 64.

309. Before 6 October — To Roger Sherman Baldwin? Inferred from 65.

310. 11 October–4 November — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Cited in Journal, 1 November (Metcalf, *Journal*, 18).

311. Before 10 November — To Richard Bentley. Cited in Journal, 10 November (Metcalf, *Journal*, 25).

312. 10 November — To Richard Bentley. Cited in Journal, 10 November (Metcalf, *Journal*, 25).

313. 13 November — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville and Family. Cited in Journal, 13 November (Metcalf, *Journal*, 30).

314. 16 November — To Allan Melville. Cited in Journal, 16 November (Metcalf, *Journal*, 33).

315. 18–19 November — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Cited in Journal, 18–19 November (Metcalf, *Journal*, 36, 38).

316. 19 November — To Lord John Manners. Cited in Journal, 19 November (Metcalf, *Journal*, 38).

317. 21 November — To Joshua Bates. Cited in Journal, 21 November (Metcalf, *Journal,* 42).

318. 22 November — To Mr. and Mrs. Abbott Lawrence. Cited in Journal, 22 November (Metcalf, *Journal,* 43).

319. 23 November — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Cited in Journal, 23 November (Metcalf, *Journal,* 44).

320. 23 November — To Allan Melville. Cited in Journal, 23 November (Metcalf, *Journal,* 44).

321. 26 November — To Allan Melville. Cited in Journal, 27 November (Metcalf, *Journal,* 52).

322. 29 November — To George J. Adler. Cited in Journal, 29 November (Metcalf, *Journal,* 53).

323. 29 November — To George J. Adler. Cited in Journal, 29 November (Metcalf, *Journal,* 53).

324. 13–14 December — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Cited in Journal, 13–14 December (Metcalf, *Journal,* 68–69).

325. 13–14 December — To Allan Melville. Cited in Journal, 13–14 December (Metcalf, *Journal,* 68–69).

326. 14 December — To Lemuel Shaw. Cited in Journal, 14 December (Metcalf, *Journal,* 69).

327. 17 December — To the Duke of Rutland? Cited in Journal, 16–17 December (Metcalf, *Journal,* 73–4).

328. 18 December — To Mr. Samuel Rogers. Cited in Journal, 18 December (Metcalf, *Journal,* 75).

329. 21 December — To Mr. John Foster. Cited in *Journal,* 21 December (Metcalf, *Journal,* 79).

1850

330. 17 July — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville and Family. Cited in Augusta Melville to Evert A. Duyckinck, 20 July (NYPL-D).

331. After 14 August — To Cornelius Mathews. Inferred from 77.

1851

332. Before 30 April — To Harper Brothers. Cited in Harper Brothers to Herman Melville, 30 April (HCL-M).

333. Before 3 July — To Richard Bentley. Cited in 86.

334. 5 September — To Richard Bentley. Cited in Richard Bentley to Herman Melville, 25 September (HCL-M).

1852

335. January — To Evert A. Duyckinck. Envelope, dated January, 1852 (NYPL-D).

336. Before 4 March — To Richard Bentley. Cited in Richard Bentley to Herman Melville, 4 March (Jerman, 311).

337. Before 7 June — To Lemuel Shaw. Inferred from Lemuel Shaw to Lemuel Shaw, Jr., 7 June (MHS-S).

1853 [2]

338. 22 May — To Judge and Mrs. Lemuel Shaw. Cited in Lemuel Shaw to Lemuel Shaw, Jr., 24 May (MHS-S).

339. Before 11 June — To Robert Cooke. Introduction for Peter Gansevoort. Cited in Herman Melville notes for things to do in London (HCL-M); Robert Cooke to Peter Gansevoort, 28 June; and Peter Gansevoort to Herman Melville, October 9 (NYPL-GL).

340. Before 10 August — To Lemuel Shaw. Inferred from Elizabeth Shaw Melville to Lemuel Shaw, 10 August (HCL-M).

1854

340a. 6 February — To George Palmer Putnam. See above Letter 112, n. 8.

341. 1 November — To George Palmer Putnam. Cited in 117.

1856

342. After 16 June — To Richard Tobias Greene (Toby). Inferred from Greene to Melville, 16 June (HCL-M).

343. Before 15 July — To Henry G. Webber. Inferred from Webber to Melville, 15 July (HCL-M).

344. 25 August — To Dix and Edwards. Cited in Dix and Edwards to Melville, 30 August (HCL-M).

345. Before 10 November — To Maria Gansevoort Melville. Cited in 130.

346. Before 10 November — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Cited in 130.[3]

347. Before 10 November — To John Murray. Cited in 130.

348. Before 10 November — To Richard Bentley. Cited in 130.

349. 18 November — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Inferred from 130 and Hope Savage Shaw to Samuel Shaw, 25–27 December (MHS-S).

2. Other letters than those included in the text must have been written during this and the following two years to Harper Brothers, Putnam's, and Dix and Edwards, publishers of Melville's stories and of *Israel Potter*.

3. Melville wrote his brother: "By the way . . . send this letter on to Lizzie, as it may contain items omitted in my letters to her." This implies more than one letter to his wife, but Lemuel Shaw wrote on 23 November to his son Samuel: "Elizabeth has received but one letter from her husband, written soon after his arrival at Glasgow" (MHS-S).

1857 [4]

350. 3 January? — To Maria Gansevoort Melville and family (see Leyda, *Log*, 543).

351. 3 January? — To the Melville family? (see Leyda, *Log*, 543).

352. 20 February — To the Melville family. Cited in Journal, 20 February (Horsford, *Journal*, 179).

353. 27 February — To the Melville family. Cited in Augusta Melville to Peter Gansevoort, 7 April (NYPL-GL).

354. Before 21 April — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Inferred from Lemuel Shaw, Jr., to Samuel Shaw, 21 April (MHS-S).

355. Before 10 September — To George William Curtis. Cited in 133.

356. Before 10 September — To Allan Melville. Inferred from George William Curtis to Allan Melville, 10 September (BA).

357. Before 19 November — To Lemuel Shaw. Inferred from Lemuel Shaw to Peter Gansevoort, 19 November (NYPL-GL).

1858 [5]

358. After 9 January — To Richard Tobias Greene (Toby). Inferred from Greene to Melville, 9 January (HCL-M).

359. Before 22 January — To the Clarksville Literary Association, Clarksville, Tenn. Cited in 117.

360. After 8 November — To Lemuel Shaw. Inferred from Shaw to Melville, 8 November (HCL-M).

361. Before 1 December — To James Grant Wilson. Cited in 139.

4. At least six additional letters in 1857 can be inferred from Melville's lecture engagements at the Provident Society, Lawrence, Mass. (23 November), Pennacook Lyceum, Concord, Mass. (24 November), Mercantile Library Association, Boston, Mass. (2 December), Mercantile Library Association, Montreal (10 December), Saratoga Springs (21 December), and the Young Men's Institute, New Haven, Conn. (30 December).

5. Eleven additional letters in 1858 can be inferred from Melville's lecture engagements at the Young Men's Association, Auburn, N.Y. (5 January), Ithaca, N.Y. (7 January), Cleveland Library Association, Cleveland, Ohio (11 January), Young Men's Society, Detroit, Mich. (12 January), Mercantile Library Association, Cincinnati, Ohio (2 February), Gymnasium and Library Association, Chillicothe, Ohio (3 February), Mishawum Literary Association, Charlestown, Mass. (10 February), Athenaeum and Mechanics' Association, Rochester, N.Y. (18 February), New Bedford Lyceum, New Bedford, Mass. (23 February), Yonkers Library Association, Yonkers, N.Y. (6 December), Pittsfield, Mass. (14 December).

362. 1858, no month. To ?. Cited in Charles De F. Burus, *Catalogue of Autographs* (New York, 1881), No. 709: "Melville, Herman. Author of Omoo, etc. A.L.S. 1 p. 8 vo. 1858 . . . $.50."

1859 [6]

363. After 1 February To Norman W. Stearns. Inferred from Stearns to Melville, 1 February (HCL-M).

364. After 4 February To Oliver Russ. Inferred from Russ to Melville, 4 February (HCL-M).

1860 [7]

365. After 9 April To Giovanni Spaggiari. Inferred from Spaggiari to Melville, 9 April (HCL-M).

366. Before 15 May To Lemuel Shaw. Cited in Shaw to Melville, 15 May (HCL-M).

367. 16 October? To Lemuel Shaw. Cited in 151.

368. 19 October To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Accompanied Letter 149 (see textual note, p. 360), and cited, but no date given, in Maria Melville to Peter Gansevoort, 5 November (NYPL-GL).

369. 18 December To Oliver Russ. Cited in Russ to Melville, 24 December (HCL-M).

1861

370. Before 4 January To Richard Tobias Greene (Toby). Cited, but no date given, in Greene to Melville, 4 January (HCL-M).

371. 10 January To Richard Tobias Greene (Toby). Cited in Greene to Melville, 6 January (HCL-M).

372. Before 14 January To Oliver Russ. Cited in Russ to Melville, 14 January (HCL-M).

373. Before 12 March To Maria Gansevoort Melville. Cited in Maria Melville to Melville, 12 March (NYPL-GL).

6. Eight additional letters in 1859 can be inferred from Melville's lecture engagements at the Mechanic Apprentices' Library Association, Boston, Mass. (31 January), Mercantile Library, Baltimore, Maryland (8 February), Young Men's Association, Chicago, Ill. (24 February), Young Men's Association, Milwaukee, Wis. (25 February), Young Men's Association, Rockford, Ill. (25 February), Lyceum, Quincy, Ill. (2 March), [W. H. Barry?], Lynn, Mass. (16 March), and Young Men's Association, Flushing, Long Island (7 November).

7. Two additional letters in 1860 can be inferred from Melville's lecture engagements at the Peabody Institute, South Danvers, Mass. (14 February), and the Dowse Institute, Cambridgeport, Mass. (21 February).

374. Before 24 March — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Cited in 157.

375. Before 11 July — To Augusta Melville. Cited in Stanwix Melville to Hope Savage Shaw, 11 July (HCL-M).

1862

376. After 8 August — To Peter Gansevoort. Inferred from Gansevoort to Melville, 8 August (HCL-M).

377. 19 December — To T. Apoleon Cheney. Cited in Cheney to Melville, 7 December, 1869 (HCL-M).

1863

378. After 12 June — To Peter Gansevoort. Inferred from Gansevoort to Melville, 12 June (NYPL-GL).

379. Before 20 October — To Richard Tobias Greene (Toby). Cited, but no date given, in Greene to Melville, 20 October (HCL-M).

1864

380. Before 22 March — To Alexander Bliss. Cited in 168.

381. Before 24 May — To Maria Gansevoort Melville. Cited in Maria Melville to Peter Gansevoort, 24 May (NYPL-GL).

382. After 3 November — To Col. Henry Gansevoort. Inferred from Gansevoort to Allan Melville, 3 November (NYPL-GL).

1865

383. After 24 February — To Bayard Taylor. Inferred from Taylor to Melville, 24 February (HCL-M).

384. Before 7 October — To Augusta Melville and the family. Cited in Augusta Melville to Catherine Gansevoort, 7 October (NYPL-GL).

1866

385. 19? March — To Augusta Melville. Cited in Augusta Melville to Catherine Gansevoort, 23 March (NYPL-GL).

386. February–April? — To the editor of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Inferred from poems published February, March, April.

387. July? — To the editor of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Inferred from poems published July.

388. Before August — To Harper Brothers. Inferred from publication of *Battle-Pieces* in August.

389. December? — To R. H. Stoddard. Possible letter accompanying Melville's gift of the poem "Philip" (see Leyda, *Log*, 684).

1868

390. Before 6 May? — To Maria Gansevoort Melville. Inferred from Maria to Catherine Gansevoort, 6 May (NYPL-GL).

391. Before 14 August — To Catherine Gansevoort. Inferred from Catherine to Henry Gansevoort, 14 August (NYPL-GL).

1869

392. 4 December — To T. Apoleon Cheney. Cited in Cheney to Melville, 7 December (HCL-M).

1870

393. Before 27 January — To Augusta and Maria Gansevoort Melville. Cited in Augusta to Catherine Gansevoort, 27 January (NYPL-GL).

394. Before 2 May — To Maria Gansevoort Melville. Inferred from 182.

395. December — To Ellen Marett Gifford. Cited in 184.

1872

396. Before 22 April — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Cited in Augusta Melville to Hope Savage Shaw, 22 April (HCL-M).

397. Before 10 December — To Elizabeth Shaw Melville. Cited in Elizabeth Melville to Catherine Gansevoort, 10 December (NYPL-GL).

1875

398. Before 30 July — To Frances Priscilla Melville? Cited in Frances Priscilla Melville to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 30 July (NYPL-GL).

399. Before 5 August — To Catherine Gansevoort Lansing. Cited in 195.

400. Before 26 August — To Augusta Melville. Cited in Augusta to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 26 August (NYPL-GL).

1876

401. After 8 September — To Frances Melville. Inferred from 205.

402. 26 September — To Helen Melville Griggs. Inferred from 207.

1877

403. Before 9 August — To Catherine Gansevoort Lansing. Cited in 218.

1878

404. Before 25 May — To John C. Hoadley. Cited in Frances Priscilla Melville to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 28 May (NYPL-GL).

405. Before 10 August — To Frances Priscilla Melville. Cited in Frances to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 10 August (NYPL-GL).

406. Before 26 August — To Frances Priscilla Melville. Cited in Frances to Abraham Lansing, 26 August (NYPL-GL).

407. Before 16 October — To Frances Priscilla Melville. Cited in Frances to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 16 October (NYPL-GL).

1879

408. Before 13 August — To Frances Priscilla Melville. Cited in Frances to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 13 August (NYPL-GL).

1882

409. After 12 April? — To Helen Melville Griggs and Frances Priscilla Melville. Inferred from 229.

410. Before 28 August — To Helen Melville Griggs and Frances Priscilla Melville. Cited in Helen and Frances to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 28 August (NYPL-GL).

1883

411. Before 14 September — To Frances Priscilla Melville. Cited in Frances to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 14 September (NYPL-GL).

1886

412. Before 14 February — To Stanwix Melville. Inferred from power of attorney, signed by Stanwix, 14 February, for Melville to collect Stanwix's share of the estate of Frances Priscilla Melville. (NYPL-GL).

413. Before 7 June — To Helen Melville Griggs. Cited in Helen to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, 7 June (NYPL-GL).

1888

414. Before 10 April — To William Clark Russell. Cited in Russell to Melville, 10 April (HCL-M).

415. 13 December — To Mrs. William H. Mackintosh. Postmarked envelope (BA).

1889

416. Before 19 June — To Harper Brothers. Cited in Harper Brothers to Melville, 19 June (HCL-M).

TEXTUAL NOTES

THE TEXTUAL NOTES which follow give the source from which the text of each Melville letter has been derived, whether from the original manuscript, from a photostat of the manuscript, or, when these were unavailable, from a printed version. The number of pages of the letter in the source is given within parentheses, and the location of the manuscript is indicated (see List of Abbreviations above, p. xxviii). For all letters previously published in full, the first publication of that letter has been listed. The editors have not included, however, a specific acknowledgment of partial printings or excerpts from any letters, even though these were first printings. The notes also give any information that tends to establish the dating of a letter, including the addressing and postmarking of letters and their associated envelopes.

Finally, under the heading "Transcript," the notes indicate what appears to the editors to be the best transcript of what Melville actually wrote whenever this differs from what is here printed in the text. The only exceptions to this general procedure are certain matters of Melville's spacing, punctuation, and spelling which have been normalized in the text without specific indication of this fact in the notes (see Introduction, above, p. xxvi), and even here a word whose spelling has been normalized may on occasion still be cited in the notes. Because of the variations in Melville's practice, actual consistency in this procedure has been difficult to maintain, but any lack of consistency has generally been the result of including in these transcription-notes what otherwise might have been silently normalized.

This information is arranged by printing in italics to the left of a "closed" square bracket all material quoted from the present text and following this by the editors' transcript of what Melville wrote. Thus, for example, if in the text the word is printed "thermometer," but Melville clearly wrote "thermomter," the textual note reads: "*thermometer*] thermomter." Since it is not always possible to be sure what letter or letters Melville intended (see Introduction), the editors have made in such instances a reasonable decision as to the elided or included strokes or letters. Where there is serious doubt about the actual letters that Melville intended by his strokes or minims but no doubt about the word itself, the transcript is followed by a question mark or a queried

alternative, as: *"harmonizing*]harmonising?"; *"disappointed*]disappoited? or disappnted?." In one large group of words which contain two or more letters built together by a single stroke or a combination of strokes, the editors have not tried to indicate a difference between a missing stroke and a missing letter, but have as standard practice omitted the letter in the textual note, as: *"temperature*]temprature." Here, it could be argued that Melville built the *e* onto the *p* and did not omit a letter before *r*. In another group of words where there is a difference between the reading given in the text and the reading of others, the editors have made a careful study of the word and have given a brief explanation or justification, as: *"instinctuly*] Melville's spelling of instinctu[al]ly rather than instinctively." The notes also indicate various kinds of changes, deletions, insertions, and spelling variants of Melville, for which the following signs are used:

< > to enclose Melville's deletions of letters, words, phrases.

{ } to enclose Melville's own insertions, except when these are substitutions for words or letters crossed out. Such substitutions are here made silently, following the sign for deletion < >.

[ ] to enclose all editorial interpolations.

? to indicate either an undecipherable word or a doubtful reading.

In short, the editors have attempted to present in the textual notes an accurate approximation of what Melville wrote. Although admittedly at times only an approximation, it is the best description they can give of the vagaries of Melville's hand. Since the text has in general been guided by the principle of minimum interference with the reader, the textual notes are detailed and lengthy, but by placing such detail in the notes the editors have been able to explain and justify their readings without cluttering up the text of the letters.

1. Original MS (1 p.) in HCL-M. Published Gilman, 30; facsimile in Leyda, *Log*, 35–6.

Transcript. third]t{h}ird *Give*]<g>Give.

2. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 5–7. The letter is addressed on the outside "Peter Gansevoort Esq / Albany" and is postmarked "P[ittsfie]ld Mass [De]c 30," thus correcting Melville's 31 December.

Transcript. writting & reading.]writting & reading *house at which I am*]house at which I am (over) [p. 2 of letter follows] *Amphitheatre*] Amp{h}itheatre *shrewd*]shreud[?] *as hospitable*]{as} hospitable *an admirable*]an<d> admirable *with the prevalence of those*]with

<those> the prevalence of those *Essayests may*]Essayests <made> may *adjec[tives]*]adjec{tives} [added in another hand] *little dashed*]little <di?> dashed *not been deterred*]not <refrained> been deterred.

3. Printed extract in Charles Van Loon to editor, Albany *Microscope* (31 March, 1838). Reprinted in Gilman, 260, where it is tentatively dated December 1837.

4. The Albany *Microscope* (24 February, 1838). Reprinted in Gilman, 251–2. The letter is assigned to Melville through the signature "PHILOLOGIAN," identified as Melville's pseudonym by the reply of "Ex-President" (Charles Van Loon) in the *Microscope* (10 March, 1838), Gilman, 90–4, 253–4. Melville wrote the letter after the publication of a letter by "Sandlewood" on 17 February and before publication of his reply, 24 February.

Transcript. malice. And where]malice: and where *deserve, their breasts*]deserve. Their breasts *outlaws. The*]outlaws, the *smiles*] smile.

5. The Albany *Microscope* (17 and 24 March, 1838). Reprinted in Gilman, 254–8. The letter was printed in two parts, the first part signed "PHILOLOGIAN" and the second part "PHILOLOGEAN." Through these signatures the letter is assigned to Melville because of his reply to "Ex-President" (Charles Van Loon) in the *Microscope* (10 March, 1838).

Transcript. determination. I]determination, I *narrative*]narative *tedious*]tedius *substantives*]substantive *hate, which*]hate. which *unguarded*]ungaurded *shamelessness*]shamelessnes *eloquence. In this*] eloquence, In this *satire, and force*]satire and force *PHILOLOGIAN*] [followed by editor's comment: "To be concluded next week." and *"Concluded."*] *Philo Logos*]Philologos *Philo Logos*]Philologos.

6. The Albany *Microscope* (31 March, 1838). Reprinted in Gilman, 262–3. The letter is assigned to Melville through the signature "PHILOLOGEAN," identified by the earlier communications in the *Microscope* as his pseudonym.

Transcript. assured]assnred *said*]sail *though he possesses*]thhough he possesses *eternal obscurity*]eternat obscurity *great men. Burke*] great men, Burke *efforts. May*]efforts, may *reviving*]reviveing.

7. Original MS (1 p.) in BA. Published in Gilman, 104. This note, written in large flourishes, was added to the letter of Maria Melville to Allan Melville, Lansingburgh, 10 November, 1838, and was ad-

dressed on the outside "Master Allan Melville / (Care of Gen Peter Gansevoort) / Albany."

Transcript. regard]rgared [or regared?] *Murd*[*ock*]] [Paper torn and seal hides letters].

8. The *Democratic Press and Lansingburgh Advertiser* (May 4, 1839), in HCL-M. This note, written in Melville's hand, was added in the margin of the newspaper containing his first "Fragment" and was probably intended for his brother Gansevoort in New York. The newspaper was apparently sent from Lansingburgh some time after 23 May, 1839 (see Leyda, *Log*, 85).

9. Original MS (1 p.) in BA. Published Gilman, 148. Melville's note was added to the letter of Maria Melville to Allan Melville, 7 December, 1839, and was addressed on the outside "M^{r} Allan Melville. / Stanwix Hall. / Albany."

Transcript. appetisement]appetesement *your*]you.

10. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 7–9. The letter is addressed "Miss Catherine Melville / Care of Teunis Van Vechten Esq / Albany / (N^{o} 11. Montgomery Street.)."

Transcript. elf as the]elf a<n[d?]>s the *plain that her name*]plain <as day> that her name *much—& knew*]much—<I> & knew *y*[*ou*] . . . [*a*] *relapse*] [the MS of p. 2 is torn, defacing the words *you* and *a*].

11. Original MS (2 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Weaver, 258. On the outside in Lemuel Shaw's hand "Herman Melville / 19 March 1846."

Transcript. possess]possesss [*been*]] [the MS of p. 2 is torn, defacing the word *been*].

12. Original MS (1 p.) in HSP.

Transcript. considerable]consideable *remain*]reman.

13. Original MS (3 pp.) in BPL. Published Zoltán Haraszti, "Melville Defends *Typee*," *More Books, Bulletin of the Boston Public Library, 12* (June 1947), 203–8. The addressee, Alexander W. Bradford, is identified by the reference to "Mrs. Bradford" in the letter and by information concerning the Bradford and Melville families.

Transcript. fact is, it was]fact is, it it was *awkward*]awkard *themselves*]themslves *Editors*]Editor{s} *many*]may *That channel*]That channl *success*]succss *your having*]you hav<e>ing *not add*]nod add.

14. Original MS (4 pp.) in BA. Published Leyda, *Portable*, 340–1. Melville must have misdated the letter 29 June, 1846, for 29 May, 1846, because the envelope was addressed *"For the Boston Steamer. /* Ganse-

voort Melville Esq / U. S. Secretary of Legation / London /" and was canceled on the back "15 June, 1846."

Transcript. roundabout]<ne[ar]>roundabout *friends*]frnds *Mexican*]<Ne>Mexican *ardor*]arder *commission for*]commissin fr *volunteers*]vonlenters [or vonlunters?] *rupture*]ruptere? *there*] the<ir>re *Atlantic*]Alantic *talk*]ta<k>lk *conquerors*] {conqurors} [or {conqurores}?] *bravely*]bravly *kind*]*kink*. The P.S. is written vertically on the inside of p. 3.

15. Photostat of original MS (3 pp.) in the Department of State, papers, NA. Published Hayford–Davis, 169–70. At the top of p. 1, another hand "H. Melville / June 6— / Answ. 9th June" and the names "Mr. Riddall" and "Mr. Derrick."

Transcript. Mr McLane refers]Mr McLane<e> refers. Melville's repeated quotation marks are reduced to quotation marks around the two paragraphs of his enclosed letter.

16. Original MS (3 pp.) in Doheny.

Transcript. case itself]case itsself *to address*]to <do> address.

17. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 10–11. The envelope is addressed "Gen' Peter Gansevoort / Albany." and is postmarked "Lansingburgh Jun 13."

Transcript. Lansingburgh]Lansingbrgh *to charge*]to to charge *mentioned*]mentned *strongly*]strngly *yesterday by*]yesterday <that> by *Prince*]Prce *Wednesday*]Wednsdy *Beleive*]Belev *their love*] ther love.

18. Original MS (3 pp.) in YUL.

Transcript. heard]head *moment*]momt *ascertain*]as certain *arrangements*]arragemnts *probability*]probabilty *after dinner*] [caret insert for <the morning>] *funeral*]funerl *funeral*]funerel? *every way*]evry way *Beleive*]Belev.

19. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Minnegerode, 14–16, Thorp, 368–9. The envelope is addressed "Mr Duyckincke / —Care of Wiley & Putnam— / New York / ." and is postmarked "Lansingburgh, NY, 3 [July 1846]." The month and year are unreadable but can be determined from the date in Melville's heading.

Transcript. Lansingburgh]Lansingbrgh *were conversing*]wer conversing *Commercial Advertiser*]Commecil Advertser *extraordinary*] extraordy *genuineness*]genuiness *possibly*]possily *conceivable*]conceiable *think it*]think <they> it *many*]may *written*]witten *expect*]expct *written*]*witten strangely*]stragely *manifested*]manifsted *account*]accont *adventure prove*]adventur prv *sufficient interest*]suf-

fint interst *Beleive*]Belev *unintentionally*]unintently *tongue*] tounge *consonants*]consonts *alludes*]alluds *even*]een [or evn?] *except*]excpt *Editor*] [caret insert for <Ed? tor>].

20. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. The letter can be dated New York, 15 July 1846, after the publication of Toby's letter in the Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser* (1 July) and before Melville saw him and returned to New York with the sequel to *Typee*. Melville saw Toby between 3 and 22 July. On 3 July he wrote Evert Duyckinck from Lansingburgh that he had written Toby and expected to "see him soon & hear the sequel." On 22 July Allan Melville in New York wrote Evert Duyckinck (NYPL-D) that Melville had "reached home [Lansingburgh] after having seen 'Toby,' & that he will be in town on Monday [27 July] with the sequel." Between these dates Melville was in New York on Wednesday, 15 July, but still had not seen Toby, for he wrote John Murray on that day without mentioning the fact, although he emphasized Toby's letter and the newspaper accounts of his appearance. Since it is unlikely that Melville made trips to New York on both Wednesday, 8 July, and Wednesday, 15 July, the letter to Duyckinck can be dated 15 July. Thus Melville left New York on 15 July, after writing John Murray and also Evert Duyckinck ("Mr Melville is sorry that he goes out of town this evening. . . ."). He then saw Toby and returned to Lansingburgh to remain there a week beyond the "6 or 7 days" specified in this note.

Transcript. Wednesday]Wednesdy *materials*]materls *to be settled*] [caret insert] *Truly*]Truyly.

21. Photostat of original MS (8 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 201–4.

Transcript. acquainted]acquaited *breifly*]cheifly? *This is not the letter . . . I send you*] [caret insert] *subsequent*]subsequet? [or subsequnt?] *of any Sequel*]of any Sequ{e}l *precedes*]preceds *receive*] recev [or, receiv?] *that the measure*]that <it will> the measure *and some slight purifications of style*] [caret insert] *missionaries*]missionares *to some*] [caret insert] *popularity*]populality *leave no gap*] leave <th?>no gap *Sequel*]Sequl *steamer*]steaner *Sequel*]Sequl *yourself*]yourslf *considered as*]considered <to be> as *account*]accont *reflection and seeking*]reflection and & seeking *doubt but*]doubt <n?> but *especially*]especally *at all*] [caret insert] *that in all*]that <if> in all *subsequent*]subsequnt *must*]muust? *other*]othr *character*]charater *Colonial*]Colonil *of Tahiti*]of <Tahiti> Tahiti *than the M.S.S.*]than <the one> the M.S.S. *views*]veiws?.

22. *Notes and Queries, 162* (27 February 1932), 151–2, a reprint by T. O. Mabbott of a reproduction of the letter in the Dauber and Pine Catalogue No. 100. The original MS is unlocated.

Transcript. Both signatures are here respaced to approximate original position.

23. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D.

Transcript. departure]depature *perpetrated*]perpetatd *I meant*]I <ment> meant *yourself*]yourslf *moment*]momnt *announced*]annoced *Dyckinck*]Duyckink? *exerted*]exersted? *Beleive*]Beelev *Thursday*]Thurdy.

24. Photostat of original MS (2 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 205. Across the front of p. 1, in another hand "July 30. 1846 / Melville Herman."

Transcript. in which]in <h?> which *forward*]forwad *forwarded*] forwaded *and write*]and <?>write *conveniently*]conviently *permanent*]permant *present popularity*]presnt populaity.

25. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-B. Melville addressed the note "Thurlow Weed Esq" / and another hand added "Herman Melville / ("Tommo") / August 16th 1846."

26. Photostat of original MS (8 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 205–7. Across the top of p. 1, in another hand "Sep. 2. 1846 / Melville H."

Transcript. Sept]<A>Sept *extremely*]extremly *purposely*]purposly *not go*]not <and> go *compendious paragraphs*]compendius pargraphs *Sequel*]Sequl *too*]to *disappointed*]dis<p>appinted *introductory*]introductry? [or intoductory?] *which*] <ri[ght?]>which *would*]w<o?>ould *scene*[?]]scener [for scenery?] *account*]accont *subsequent*]subsqut? [or subsqnt?] *have no doubt*]have <litt[le]> no doubt *and I*]and <one> I *circumstances*]cicumstances [*want?*] [verb left out] *forward*]forwad *write*]wrte *adventure like*]adventure <ext> like *Preface*]Precfae *cradles to*]cradles <of> to *never*] nevr *know not how to set*]know {not} how to <under[take]> set *subpoëna*]su<p>bpeona *somewhere*]somwhere *running*]runing *other*]othr *however*]howevr *beleived*]belevd *account*]accont *they beleive*]thy beleve *touched*]tuchd *they say*] [caret insert] *accompanying*]accompaing *receive*]receve *conducted*]condcted *an article*]an articls? *genuineness*]genuinnss *notices*]notics *have only seen*]hav only sen *leaves*]leavs *Address*]Addrss *friendly*]frndly *wishes*]wshes *health*]hea{l}th *Beleive me,*]Belev, me *Very sincerely*] <H?>Very sincerly.

27. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Minnegerode, 28–9. The letter is dated on the outside, in another hand "Dec 8. 1846." For dating, see also Davis, 29.

Transcript. opinion]or opinions? *Messrs*]Mess *thro'*]thr' *acquaintance*]acquantance *if not*]if <at le[isure?]> not *Beleive*]Belev *Tuesday*]Tuedy.

28. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Charles R. Anderson, *Melville in the South Seas* (New York, 1939), 238–9. The letter is addressed on the outside "Evart A Duyckincke Esq / Clinton Place" and has also a faint date on p. 1: "Dec." Also on the outside, probably in Duyckinck's hand "Doddles Writ[in]g[?]." The letter can be dated 10 December, 1846, by its connection with Herman Melville to Evert A. Duyckinck, 8 December, 1846.

Transcript. Thursday Afternoon] [badly blurred but readable].

29. Original MS (4 pp.) in Martin. Published Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect," 240–1. The letter is marked "Recd & ansd / 14 Jany 1847."

Transcript. solicit a]solicit <it> a *acquaintance*]acquantace *of the copyright*]of the copright *I shall write*]I shall {write} *remove*] remve *place me in*]place me {in} *unpleasant predicament*]unplesant predicamnt *consideration*]considratin *arrival*]arrval *directions*] dirctions.

30. Photostat of original MS (3 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 207–8.

Transcript. sometime]Sometime *Harper & Brothers*]Harper<s> &. Brothers *stereeotype*]steree<t?>otype *defer publication*]defer <the>publication *send*] [caret insert] *write*] [marginal insert] *leaves*]leavs *Beleive*]Beleeve *town upon*]town <at> upon *unconditionally*]unconditionaly?.

31. Photostat of original MS (2 pp.) in HSP-Gratz.

Transcript. Inst]int *association in Albany.*]association in Albany. (ov[e]r).

32. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. The letter is addressed on the outside "Evart A Duyckinke" and is marked "H Melville / Recd Jan 21. 1847." It can thus be dated the Thursday morning (21 January, 1847) of the day it was received.

Transcript. prevent]prevnt *Thursday*]Thursdy *Broadway*] Brodwy.

33. Photostat of original MS (4 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 208–10. At the top of p. 2, in another hand "Jan. 29. 1847 / Melville H."

Transcript. immediately]immediatly *And I shall*]A<s>nd I shall

definitively]definitivly *opportunity*]opprtunity? *publication will*] publication <can> will *little delay*]little <day> delay *my authorized*]my<l>authorized *describes*]describe<?>s *never*]nevr *explained*]expland? *the discription faithful*]the discrption faithful *correct*]corrct *pageing*]pag{eing} *behalf, the proof*]behalf, <he w[ill]?>the proof *case, as*]case, <I rely upon your> as *offer as*] offer<"> as *I expected . . . from you*] [added in the margin of p. 4] *You may . . . Wall Street."*] [added in the margin of p. 1].

34. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. The letter is addressed on the outside "Evart A Duyckincke Esq. / At Wiley & Putnam's" and is marked in another hand "Herman Melville / recd Feb. 3, 1847." The letter can thus be dated on the "Tuesday Morning" (viz. 2 February, 1847) which precedes 3 February.

Transcript. appointed]apponted? *Opera*]<o>Opera *it*] [caret insert].

35. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 11. The envelope is addressed "Gen: Peter Gansevoort / Albany," is marked "Paid," and is postmarked "New York, 4 Feb [1847]."

Transcript. Treasury]<?>Treasury *immediately*]immediatly *remembrances*]rememberaces *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

36. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect," 244–5. Across the top of p. 1: "ansd 19 Apl."

Transcript. You authorise]Your author<ity?>ise *"The American"*] "<t>The American *of 'Typee'"*]of "Typee" *provide*]provde *outlay which*]outlay <you may> which *I have no doubt*] [caret insert] *April*]april *I have*]I <am> have *"Omoo"*]'Omoo" *several*]severl.

37. Original MS (2 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 211. Across the top of p. 1 appears this note "I have sent 6 copies thro' Wiley & P by request of Mr Brodhead." The letter is identified on p. 2, in another hand "March 31 1847 / Melville Herman."

Transcript. account]accont *verifyed*]verif<i?>yed *hereafter*] [caret insert] *can assure*]can <assure?> assure *really*]realley *existence*]existance? *me*] [caret insert] *of your*]of <the> your *Despatch*]Despa<c>th *immediately*]immediatly *interest*]interst *Beleive*]Beleiv.

38. A copy furnished to Jay Leyda by the late Lincoln Kirstein. The original MS is now unlocated.

39. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. This brief note, dated only "Friday morning," can be more specifically dated by its association with the publication of *Omoo* in late April or early May, 1847. Leyda dates

the note on Friday "April 23?" probably from the reference to the copy of *Omoo* sent to Augustus Van Schaick in Melville's letter to Van Schaick of 26 April, 1847. The letter may also be associated with the copy of *Omoo* sent to Herman Gansevoort and dated "New York, April 31st 1847." If so, Melville could have written the note on Friday, 30 April, on the same day that he mistakenly inscribed the date as 31 April in the copy given his Uncle Herman.

40. Original MS (3 pp.) in Barrett. On the back, in another hand "Herman Melville / with copy of 'Omoo' / Recd July 6. 47 / per,[?] 'Z. Ring.' / Ansd July 6. 47—"

Transcript. Lansingburgh]Lansingbrgh *considerable*]consideable *prove*]prve *& fervent*]&fervent *advice*]advce *water*]wate[r] *happiness*]happins.

41. Original MS (3 pp.) in Barrett.

Transcript. Lansingburgh]Lansingbrgh *leaves*]leavs *localities*]localites *sufficiently*]suffictly *climes*]clims *Temperate*]Tempert *general warmth*]general [not genial] warth *country*]conty *acknowledge*] acknoledge *acquaintance*]acquantce *countryman*]contryman *find*] fnd <*it*>] [crossed out but needed for sense] *doubt*]dobt *friend*] frnd *Lansingburgh*]Lansngbrgh *beleive*]beleve *prayers*]prays *recovery*]recovey.

42. Photostat of original MS (3 pp.) in the University of Illinois Library. Published Jerman, "More Correspondence," 307–8. Headed "New York June 19th," the letter has been dated in 1848 by Jerman, probably by association with Melville's letter to Murray (see Letter 50), also headed "New York June 19th," for which there is positive evidence supporting the year 1848. The letter is here dated in 1847, however, as better fitting the full evidence of Melville's negotiations with English publishers for the publication of *Mardi*. On 31 March 1847, Melville wrote Murray that he would "follow it [*Omoo*] up by something else, immediately," thus establishing a "partial understanding" with Murray. After his marriage and removal to New York, he wrote Murray again (29 October, 1847) and observed: "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 a third book," which he described as "another book of South Sea Adventure." The recent "overtures" would seem to be those from Bentley in the letter Melville here refers to as "17 ult:" (17 May [1847]). Furthermore, the phrase "a new work of South Sea adventure" is more appropriate to Melville's book in June 1847, than in June 1848. Finally, on 4 February, 1848, Elizabeth Melville wrote Mrs. Shaw that Melville

"has had communications from London publishers with very liberal offers for the book in hand [*Mardi*]" (Davis, 70 and *passim*).

Transcript. overtures]overturers *arrangements*]arrangemts *communicate*]commcate *thro'*]thr' *friend*]frend *P.S.*]PS. *receive*]recev *communication*]commcatin *receive*]receve.

43. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Although the letter is dated only "Saturday Morning," it contains allusions to reviews of *Omoo* and to associations affecting Melville's "personal liberty" (his coming marriage) that suggest July 1847. The favorable English notice ("frankincense") in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* appeared in June and the severe attack of G. W. Peck in the *American Review* in July. Duyckinck's diary (NYPL-D) of 11 July records a visit from Melville (probably on Saturday, 10 July) and also a bachelor supper on Saturday, 31 July, either date being possible occasions for the intended "visit" of this letter (see Davis, 36, n. 4).

Transcript. received an answer]recvd an answer *associations*]assocatns.

44. Original MS (2 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Weaver, 262. Melville's note to Lemuel Shaw is added to the letter (3 pp.) of Elizabeth Melville to Hope Savage Shaw, dated "Centre Harbor. Aug. 6th 1847." The letter is addressed by Melville on the outside "Mrs. Lemuel Shaw / Boston." Mrs. Shaw has acknowledged "Answered— / August 8 47."

Transcript. thing]thng *write*]wrte *Quebec*]Queb<ek?>ec.

45. Photostat of original MS (4 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 212–13. At top of p. 1, in another hand, is the notation "Ansd Decr 3 / 47. See Letterbook." Across the margin of p. 4 is a further notation "Octr 29 1847 / Melville Herman."

Transcript. diversion [?]] [better transcription than derision] *relative*]relativ *continued*]continud *independent*]independnt *into*] [marginal insert] *comparatively*]comparitely] *movement*]movemnt *of a third book*]of <the> {a third} book *considerations*]considertins *considerations*]considertins *overtures*]ovetures *inconsiderable*]inconsideable? [or inconsidrble?] *very*] [marginal insert] *disappointed*]disappoited? [or disappnted?] *pecuniary*]pecunary *disappointment*]disappoitmnt? [or disappntmnt?] *not*] [caret insert] *on the subject*]on <that> {the} subject *both*]b<?>oth *different*]diffent *so as*]so a<t>s *imprimatur*]imprimatur? *paramount*]paramnt *consideration*]consideation *strong*]strng.

46. Photostat of original MS (3 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis. 213–14. The letter, addressed on the outside "John Murray Esq / Albemarle Street / London," is postmarked "JA 1 1848," and is stamped

"America Liverpool JA 16 1847" / —the year being an error. On the back in another hand "Jan 1. 1848 / Melville H."

Transcript. necessarily]necessarly *composition of*]composition {of} *subject*]subjct *combines*]contains? *rather*]rathar? *as you*]as <when> you *should nothing intervene*] [caret insert] *reference*]refercenc *pecuniary*]pecunry *course*]cours? *other*]othr *Melville*]Melvill?.

47. Original MS (2 pp.) in HCL-M. The letter is addressed "Mess[rs] Wiley & Putnam / Bro[a]dway." On the back in Allan Melville's hand is a note "HM's note to / Wiley & Putnam / Feby 12. 1848 / shewed to Wiley / rece[d] check for / $154 37."

Transcript. balance]bal<?>ance *account*]accont *deducting three months interest*] [caret insert] *three months interest*]thre moths interst *which*]whch *brother's*]brthr's.

48. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. The letter can be dated Wednesday, 8 March, 1848, through the comment in the letter of Evert Duyckinck to George Duyckinck, 9–10 March, 1848 (NYPL-D): "I played the longest rubber of whist last night at his [Melville's] house I ever encountered." This comment is in the 9 March part of the letter.

Transcript. Duyckick]Duycknck? *round*]rond.

49. Photostat of original MS (4 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 214–16. On the back page, in another hand "March 25. 1848 / Melville Herman."

Transcript. continue]contine *peradventure*]peradventre [or peredventor?] *sentence*]sentance[?] *will <be> in downright earnest*] [a crux. The phrase was first transcribed (Davis, 215) "will be downright & out." The "be" has been written over, however, substituting the word "in." The word "carnest," with a separation between *e* and "arnest," seems a more probable transcription than "& out," because there are obviously more strokes than "out" permits and, most important, Melville generally separates his *a* from the preceding letter. Thus, the word resembles that in the phrase "with an earnest ardor" which appears also in this letter, except that the *e* has been separated from the *a*. Melville uses a similar phrase, "To be downright and candid" in the "Mosses" manuscript (NYPL-D), but the word here is not "candid"] *interest*]interst *different*]differnt *inducement*]inducmnt *furnished*]furnshd *great*]gret *never*]nevr *employed*]emplyed *suitably*]sutably *occasional sketches*]occasinl sketchs *in*] [marginal insert] *narrative*]narratve? *feel*]feel [or find?] *pinions*]pinions [or powers?] *standing*]standng [or abandng?] *which*]wihc [or wchi?]

had worked] [hard? worked, but Melville elsewhere writes the same word in a context necessitating "had"—for example, "but I had previously engaged to go to the Opera"—in 34, where the "had" has an extra stroke before the *d* exactly as in the "had" here] *adequate*]adequte *yourself*]yourslf *prejudge*]<predjuge> prejudge *continually*] continuly *you*] [caret insert] *travel*]travl *which*]whih *experience*] experice *literature*]literture *romance, that*]romance that *acheivement*]acheivment *essentially different*]essentily diffent *forward*]forwrd *pecuniary*]pecunry *importance*]imprtance *arrangement*]arragemnt *substitute*]substite *future*]futre *there*]ther *effect*]effct *receipt*]recept *sheets*]shets *business*]busins *immediately*]immditly *earliest*]earlest *point*]pont *safest*]safst *forwarding*]forwding *atrocious*]atrocus *documentary*]documtary *wherewithall*]wherewthall *sincerity*]sincerty.

50. Photostat of original MS (2 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 216–17. The letter is addressed on the outside "*Boston Steamer* / John Murray Esq / 50 Albemarle Street / London." It is postmarked "AV / [N]Y / 1848" and marked in another hand "June 19, 1848 / Melville H."

Transcript. experienced]experieced *documents*]documnts *in the Pacific*] [caret insert] *unfortunately*]unfortunatly *important of*]important <one>of *with the rest*] [caret insert] *Beleive*]Belev *Melville*]Melvile or Melvill? *mentioned*]mentind.

51. Original MS (1 p.) in HCL-M. This legal note is not in Melville's hand, but was drawn up by his brother Allan and signed by Melville. On the outside is a memorandum, also in Allan Melville's hand: "Copy of a notice / to Wiley to / discontinue present / arrangement in / sixty days <from> / Aug 19th 1848— / H.M. served the / original of this / notice on Wiley / Aug 19th 1848 in / my presence." In still another hand "Aug. 19—1848."

Transcript. or Wiley]or <Late> Wiley *that sixty*]that <at> sixty.

52. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 369–70. The letter has been dated 14 November 1848, by Minnegerode, Thorp, and Leyda, and can certainly be dated on a Tuesday (14, 21, or 28 November) shortly before 2 December, 1848, when the review of Joseph C. Hart's *Romance of Yachting* that used some of Melville's remarks appeared in the *Literary World.*

Transcript. positively]positivly *& find*]<I>& find *several*]severl *according*]accrding *blackguard*]blac<g>kguard *wind*]winds *Anthony's*]Anthny{s} *bundle*]bundl *unfortunate*]unfortunte [better

than "infatuate" since the first letters are "un" and not "in"] *withdrawn*]withdraw[n] *the wight bent*]<a>the wight <who> bent *among*]amg *committed*]comitted *deserve*]deseve *Seriously, Mr Duyckincke*]Seriusly, M<r>r Duycknckе? *knees*]keens *deserves*] deservs *Seriously*]seriusly *conscience*]concnce *Sincerely*]Sinely? [or Sincly?].

53. Photostat of original MS (2 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 217–18.

Transcript. receive]receve *guineas, in advance,*] [caret insert for <pounds>] *guineas*] [insert for <pounds>] *gratified*]gratifieed *earliest*]earlest *which*] [marginal insert] *above-mentioned*]abovementned *agreement*]agreemt *forwarded*]forwaded *conformity*]conformty *by no*]by <Mr> no *independently*]independntly *earnestly*] earnetly *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

54. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 370–1. At the top of p. 1, in another hand, is the notation "Boston." The envelope is addressed "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / New York" and is postmarked "Boston 24 Feb 5." The year is 1849 when Melville was in Boston for the birth of Malcolm.

Transcript. presentiment]presentimt *pleasurably*]pleasbrly [or pleasberly?] *a la*]a l<as>a *great*]gret *acquaintance*]acquaitace [or acquantnce?] *moment*]mont ["moment" rather than "mount" as Thorp queries (p. 370), for it is like Melville's elisions of "moment" that occur frequently—e.g. in Letters 18, 23, and 251] *Raphael*] Raphel *twill*]tw{i}ll *cause has*]cause <sho[uld?]> has *hitherto*] hitheto *every*]evry [rather than "any" of Thorp (p. 370), for it is like Melville's regular condensation] *unendurable*]unenduabl [or unendurabl?] *young sparrows*]yng sparows? *great*]gret *boarding*]bording *unfemininely*]unfeminely *unimpeckable*]unimpeckibl *authority*]authorty *examination*]examatin *marvel*]marvl *matrimonial*] matrimil [or matrimal] *respects*]respcts.

55. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 371–3. The envelope is addressed "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / 'Literary World' Office / New York," is postmarked "Boston 3 Mar," and is dated by Melville at the top "March 3. 1849."

Transcript. hero]he{r}o *great-nephews*]gret-nephews *disappointed*]disappted *transcendentalisms*]transcedentalisms *heard*]herd *unusually*]unusull<ef?>y *instinctuly*] [Melville's spelling of instinctu[al]ly rather than instinctively] *dont attain*]dont <not> attain *notwithstanding*]notwithding *was, the insinuation*]was, <that> the

<covert> insinuation *Monument*]Monumt *applied*]applid *talks*] ta{l}ks *jubillations over*]jubillatns <at discovering> over *promenaded*]promended *Broadway*]Brodway *might not have*]might {not} have *Shakespers full articulations*] [Thorp (p. 372) transcribes this phrase "intercepted Shakespeare from articulation." The word "full" is a better transcription than "from," however, and there is almost certainly an *s* on the word *articulation,* which would then require a word other than "from" to precede "articulations"; the word "free" is also mechanically possible] *Shakspeare*]Shakspears? *intolerant*]intolrnt *Independence*]Indepdce *difference*]differcene *driven*]drven *horse*] hors *hard*]ha{r}d *before*]befre *is in his chest*] {is} in his chest.

56. Original MS (1 p.) in Morgan. The letter is in Allan Melville's hand, written for Melville who was in Boston. On the verso of this single sheet, another hand has noted "Herman Melville / Mar. 26th, 1849, —".

Transcript. March] <Feby.> March. *work on*] [period omitted after on].

57. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 373. On the outside, the note is addressed "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / New York" and is postmarked "Boston 28 Mar." At the top of p. 1 in Duyckinck's hand is the year "1849."

Transcript. Bentley is]Bentley i<n>s *spontaneous*]spontanous *Fourth*]<f>Fourth *continual*]continul.

58. Original MS (1 p.) in YUL. Published Davis, 224. At the top of p. 1, another hand notes in pencil "Author of Typee Omoo Mardi &c." At the bottom of p. 1, still another hand identifies Melville's signature as "Herman." The letter is addressed by Melville on the outside "For the New York Steamer / Richard Bentley Esq / New Burlington Street / London." The letter is marked "Paid," but the postmark is unreadable.

Transcript. apprised]appreseid *connection*]connction *your*]you{r} *friendly*]frendly *should*]shulld.

59. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 373–5. The letter is addressed on the outside "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / New York" and is postmarked "B[oston] [5?] Apr."

Transcript. sovereign]soveregn *deuce*]dieuce *great*]gret *imaginative*]imaginatve *present*]preset *unwhole*]unwh<o>{le} *friend*] frnd *acquaintance*]acquantance *never*]neve *momentarily*]momentarly *permanent*]permant *transmuted*]trasmuted *thing*]thng [or why?] *own*]on *propositions*]propositns *dread*]dred *purposely ab-*

stained]purposly abstand *God*]<g>God *Dictionary*]Dictary *return*]retrn *great*]gret.

60. Original MS (2 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 62. The letter is addressed on the outside "Chief Justice Shaw / Boston / Mrs. Sullivan." Lemuel Shaw has noted on the outside "Herman Melvi[l]le / 23 April." The letter can be dated in 1849 by its connection with *Mardi* and with Malcolm Melville.

Transcript. approaching]approchng *permanent*]permanet.

61. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect," 245–7, and Davis, 225–6.

Transcript. higher]higer *think, in your*]think, <that a> in your *an affectation*]an <aff> affectation *straightforward*]straightforwad *first*]firt *different*]diffent *observations*]obsevations *hundred*]hundread *it would*]it w<ill>ould *prodigious*]prodigous *friend*]fried [or frnd?] *reach me by Harnden's*]reach {me} by <me> Harnden's.

62. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect," 247–8, and Davis, 226–7.

Transcript. there]threre? *especially*]especilly *positive*]possitive *an account*]on account? *a few days*] [caret insert] *America*]Americ*a* *American*]Amercian *American*]Amercan *have not yet*]have {not} yet *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

63. Original MS (2 pp.) in Martin. Published Birss. "A Mere Sale to Effect," 248. Another hand has added the year "1849" in the heading of the letter.

Transcript. till]<m ?> till *immediately*]immediatly *reaches*] reachs *beg a*]beg <the> a *personally*]personnally.

64. Original MS (3 pp.) in MHS-S. The letter is addressed on the outside "Chief Justice Shaw / Boston." Melville has written "Paid" and there is a postmark "New York 11 Sept" and a postal mark "Paid" on the outside, as well as Lemuel Shaw's notation "Herman / Sept 10." The letter can be dated in 1849 because of its association with Melville's trip to London and the continent.

Transcript. to hear]to <?> hear *you*]your *bring*]bri{n}g *health*] heath *rememberances*]rememberaces *Sincerely*]Sincerly *Health*] Healh *almost*]almst *from*]frm.

65. Original MS (4 pp.) in MHS-S. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 67–8. On the back page is Lemuel Shaw's notation "Herman Melville / Oct. 6."

Transcript. the]<I>the *absence*]abscene *old friends*]old <frnds>

friends *friends*]frends *course, my*]course, <by>my *considerations*] consideatns [or considratns?] *particular*]particuler? *deemed a*]deemd <an> a *have felt*]have <not> felt *in writing these*]in wrting these *concerned*]concerd *individually*]individuly *earnest desire*]earnst desre *write*]wrte *indisposition*]indispsition *remembrances*]remembberces? *beleive*]belev *please*]plasc.

66. Original MS (3 pp.) in MHS-D. Published Harrison Hayford, "Two New Letters of Herman Melville," *ELH, 11* (March 1944), 76–7.

Transcript. hear of his]hear of hi<m>s *acquaintance*]acquaitance [or acquantance?] *rather*]rathar *rather*]rathar *experienced*]experiend *who shall read*]who {shall} reads *himself*]himslf *experiences*] experiens *do not mean*]do not <attempt to> mean *bless*]bl{e}ss *beleive*]beleve *fraternally*]fraterally *little nursery tale*]little <work> {nursery tale} *which*]whch *which*]whch.

67. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 68. The letter is addressed on the outside "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / Clinton Square." The date "Oct 10. 1849" in Duyckinck's hand appears below Melville's signature.

Transcript. first]fir{s}t.

68–69. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 375–7. This letter is in two parts: Part 1, Paris, 2 December, 1849, is on the front and the inside left of a folded sheet, with the concluding sentence on the inside right; Part 2, London, 14 December, 1849, is written in a closer, even cramped hand, beginning on the inside right of the folded sheet and concluding on the back.

Transcript. almost]almst *receiving*]recevng *friendly*]frndly *should*]shuld *interval*]intervl *without*]withot [or withut?] *answering*]ansrng [or answng?] *expect*]expct *evening*]eveg *there*]ther *arriving*]arrvg *manner*]manere [or mannr?] *receiving*]recvg *immediate*] [crux: Thorp, unmerited(?); Leyda, immediate; but the word might be "incidental," spelled "incidetal." The letter *d* is distinct but what precedes and follows is difficult to decipher: there are too many strokes for "inci" and not enough for "imme" before *d;* the ending of the word appears to be "itae" or "etin." Orthographically the best transcription appears to be "immeditae," a metathesis for "immediate," including a fusion of strokes in *m* and *i* and an unclosed *a* after the "*t*"] *within*]withn *failed*]fald *myself*]myslf *somewhat*]somewht *notwithstanding*]notwistadng *remembrances*]remebraces *acquaintance*]acqutance *there*]their *may*]my *compliments*]complmts *pleasant*]pleant *Beleive*]Beleve *me*]m<y>e *Sincerely*]Sincerly

London]<I meant> London *supplement*]supplemet *enquired*]enqurd *Literary*]Litery *which*]whch *favorably received*]favorbly receved *write*]wite *writes*]wrtes *round*]rond *attempts*]attemps *for a hollow*]for <any> a hollow *Publisher*]Publiher *circumstances*]circustances *another*]another's *published "Mardi"*]pubsed [or printed?] "Madi" *would*]wuld *young*]yng *young*]yng *never*]n<?>ver.

70. The *Home Journal* (12 January, 1850), p. 2. Reprinted in *Notes and Queries, 173* (4 December, 1937), 402. The letter can be dated on 14 December, 1849, from Melville's note in his 1849 *Journal* (Metcalf, *Journal,* 69): "wrote Willis, Duyckinck, & the Judge [Shaw]." The article in which this extract from Melville's letter appears is entitled "Light Touchings" and discusses the question of an international copyright. The extract was printed in Leyda, *Log,* 347, with N. P. Willis, editor of the *Home Journal* at that time, as the assumed recipient.

71. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 377–9. After the heading on p. 1, another hand (probably that of Evert Duyckinck) has added the year "1850," which is supported by Melville's inscribing with the date, "Feb 2^{d} 1850," a copy of Samuel Butler's *Hudibras* as a gift for Duyckinck (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 104).

Transcript. apologize]apologise? *choice conservatory*]choice <coll[ection]> conservatory *descendants*]descedants *desire*]desre *Republic*]<r>Republic *everywhere*]everywhre *forth like*]forth <till> like *administered*]adminterd *flavor*]flavr *yourself*]yourslf *title*]tittle *curiosity*]curiosty *standing at*]standing <in>at *suggestiveness*] suggestivness *George*]Gerge *sense*]sene *guide-books*]gude-books *from*]frm *mountainous*]mountanous *Latin*]Latic *connected*]connecated? *Erratum: for "George" read "Henry."*] [written as a correction on the left margin of p. 3] *brings*]brigs *of Sour Claret*]of <s>Sour <c>Claret *Saturday*]Saturdy *My Dear Duyckinck*]My Dear <Sir>Duyckinck *account*]accont *Northern*]Norther *satisfactorily account*]satisfactorly accnt.

72. Original MS (2 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 74. On the back of the letter is an identification apparently in Mrs. Shaw's hand "Melville's note." The letter is headed "Sunday Afternoon" but can be dated early in February 1850 by association with Melville's return from England (1 February, 1850) and his presentation of gifts to members of his family and others, including a copy of *Mardi* to his brother Allan and Butler's *Hudibras* to Evert Duyckinck, both on Saturday, 2 February. If the date for Samuel Shaw's return to Boston were available, an exact date could be established, since he was the

bearer of the gifts to Mrs. Shaw. As early Sundays in February, the 3 or 10 February is equally possible, the latter being the date queried by Leyda, *Log*, 366.

Transcript. given]gien? *which*]whch *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

73. Original MS (1 p.) in Essex. The letter is headed "Monday Morning" but, like Letter 71, can be placed in early February 1850 by its association with Melville's gifts on his return from England 1 February. Thus, the Monday of 4 February or 11 February appear equally possible dates, the former being the date queried by Leyda, *Log*, 366.

Transcript. favor]favr *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

74. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 379. Both Thorp and Leyda, *Log*, 368, date this letter 7 March, 1850, without citing their authority for such a specific date. The reference to the "*green* jacket" would seem to place the letter after Melville's return from England on 1 February, 1850. The letter is written on a single sheet of 4 × 6, off-white paper similar to the paper of Letter 72 but without the "DOBBS" manufacturer's mark. No more definite evidence seems available, however.

Transcript. Morning]Mrng *which*]whch *shut up*]shut <in?>up.

75. Original MS (4 pp.) in MHS-D. Published Hayford, "Two New Letters of Herman Melville," *ELH, 11* (March 1944), 77–9.

Transcript. well]wll *so*]s<t?>o *somewhere*]somwhere *rather*] rathar *approaches*]apprachs *characters*]charactars? *which*]whch *adventure*]advnture *immediately*]immediatly *received*]recivd *running*]runing *is regarded*]is <regarged?> regarded *brightened*] brightnd *many a time*]many <time> a time *found*]find *excellent*] excellentd *from*]frm *particularly*]particulary *afforded*]affored? *persons*]persns *acquaintance*]acquitance? [or acquntance?] *strange*] strage *needs*]neds *which from*]whch frm *compliments*]cmplmts *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

76. Original MS (4 pp.) in Martin. Published Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect," 249–50.

Transcript. of adventure]of <of> adventure *positively*]positivly *must have been*]must have <proved> been *sale, you give*]sale, <of [or if?] the> you give *immediately*]immediatly *Christmas*]Chrstmas.

77. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 379–81.

Transcript. outhouses seem]outhouses see<ms>m *received*]recevd *mortar*] [the "ar"? is covered by an ink blot] *trying*]tr<i>ying *mortar was*]morter? was *the*[?] *Fall*] [Melville has added a stroke before "e"

which, along with the similarity of his initial "th" to "N," makes "the" resemble "Noe," but the best transcription is still "the Fall," as in Thorp, 380 cf. Letter 88, "the Depot"] *mortar*]morter? *about dipping*]about <getting a> dipping *master*] [the "ma" is covered by an ink blot] *they would*]they <a> would *deserved*]desered? *Bacon*] [the "Ba" is covered by an ink blot.] *afternoon*]afternon *in the village*] [caret insert] *drove off*]drove <to> off *Champaigne*] Champagne? *harmonizing*]harmonising? *received*]recvd *Hawthorne's*]Hawthore's *to morrow*] [caret insert] *remembrances*]remembraces.

78. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Minnegerode, 68–9. The letter is addressed on the outside "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / New York." Melville has noted on the outside either "Pub. Doc." or "Pnt. Doc." standing for either "Public Document"? or "Printed Document"? The letter is postmarked "Pittsfield Oct 7 Mass." The letter was thus written 6 October, "Sunday Evening 1850," and mailed the following day.

Transcript. long while]long w<ti?>hile *apples*]app<e>les *flushings of*]flushings <in>of *harmonizing*]harmoning *sunsets*]susets *momentarily*]momentarly *hammer*]hamner *scarcely*]scarcly *before*]befre *jubilations for*]jubilatns <over>for.

79. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 381–4. The letter was misdated 12 December, for "Friday" was 13 December.

Transcript. (Dec. 12. 1850)] [Melville's brackets and date] *acquainted*]acquanted *writing*]wrtng *expect*]expct *from*]frm *news of*]news {o}f *neighbors has*]neighbors has has *young*]yng *neighbor*]neigbor *friend*]frend *yesterday*]yestrday? *Morewood's*]Morewod's *chases*]cha<c?>ses *earnestly solicited*]earnstly solicted *Certainly*]Certanly *have sported*]hav sported *merrily*] [blotted] *considering*]considrng? *ground*]grnd *wind*]wnd *shrieking*]shreekng? *own breakfast*]own brekfat *M.S.S. on*]M.S.S ovr? *squint*]squnt *request*]requst *I rise*]I <ackn[owledge?]> rise *effectively*]effectvly [or effectuly?] *from*]frm *interested*]interest[d] *friends*]frnds *skimming*] skiming *enough*]enogh *separately*]separatly *business*]busness *brain in order*]brain <before you come> in order *trouble*]truble *meant*]ment *concerns*]concrns? *achieved*]achvd? [or ached?] *translation*]tranlatin *Remember*]Rember *country*]contry *Literary*] Litery *from*]frm *Remember*]Remebe? [or Remebr?] *young*]yng *desires*[?]]desirs? [or desres?] Though doubtful, "desires" seems better than the "sends" of Thorp, 384, because the first letters are more probably "de" than "se"] *Mrs Melville . . . regards*] [written up the left margin of p. 4] *particular regards*]particula rgards.

80. Photostat of the original MS (4 pp.) in Texas. A brief extract was printed in the *American Art Association, Anderson Gallery Catalogue,* Wakeman Sale, 28 April, 1924, Item 3911, p. 9. At that time the letter was enclosed in Nathaniel Hawthorne's copy of *Redburn* (New York, 1850) sent to Hawthorne by the publisher. The letter can be tentatively dated 29 January, 1851. The diary of Sophia Hawthorne (NYPL-Berg) records Melville's visit to Lenox on 22 January to invite Hawthorne to Pittsfield and a letter to Melville written on Sunday 26 January, apparently declining the invitation (see Leyda, *Log,* 403). The Hawthornes ended their stay at Lenox on 21 November, 1851, when they departed for West Newton, Mass. (see Randall Stewart, ed., *The American Notebooks,* New Haven, 1932, 140).

Transcript. Wednesday]Wednsday *Hawthorne*]Hawthone? *out*] [caret insert] *original*]orignal *friend*]frnd *provision*]provi<sn>sion *accommodation*]accadatin *family*]famly *slightest trouble*]slightst truble *already*]alredy *moment*]momt *feathers*]feathr *destined*] destnd *know*]kno *carved in*]carved <into> in *think*]thnk *nonsensical house*]nonsensicl huse *nonsensical*]nonsensl *ordinary*]ordnry *inclination*]inclntin *period*]perid *every*]evry *excellent*]excellet *Montado*] [Melville's spelling of Amontillado] *from morning*]frm morng *Wednesday*]Wednesdy *sleighing permitting*]slieghg permttg *be down*]be <aft[er]> down *about eleven*]abt elevn *children*] childrn.

81. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 384–6. At the top of p. 1, in Evert Duyckinck's hand "*Recd Feb 14. 1851.*" The letter can thus be dated "Wednesday," 12 February, 1851.

Transcript. spray here]spry here *Pittsfield*]Pittsfild *from foreign*] frm forigne *friend*]frnd *kind*]knd *would pronounce*[?]]wuld pronoc? [or would [have] proven?] *beleive*]beleve *because*]becaus *almost*]almst *presumptive*]presmptive *beleiving*]bel{e}vng *throughout*]throght *respectfully*]respctlly? [or respctbly? (respectably)] *Daguerretype*]Daguerr{e}type *present itself*]preset itslf *perhaps*]perhps *one has*]one <?>has *distinct peculiarity*]distnct peculiarty *trust*]trst *that's*]tht's *procrastination*]procratntin *I drove*]I drove [blotted but not canceled] *scenery*]sceny *away*]awy *visit*]vist *promised myself*] prmsd myslf *pleasure*]plesur *discussing*]discusing *brandy & cigars*] brandy <.>& cigars *Twice*]Twce *hadnt read*]had nt red *earlier*] earlir *from*]frm *Their deeper*]<t>Their deeper *there*]ther *sphericity*]sphercity *Nevertheless*]Nevetheless *Hawthorne*]Hawthone? *too*]t<wo>oo *souls*]<*sous?*>{souls} *must*]mst *Enclosed*]Enclsd *from*]frm *remembrances*]remebrnce? *Truly Yours*]Trly Yors? *Wednesday*]Wednsdy *previous*]prevs *from*]frm *would deem*]would

<have> deem *well*]w<i>ell *memory*]memry *pleased*]plesd *certain*]cetain?.

82. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. Published Metcalf, 102. Melville has addressed the letter on the outside "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / New York." It is stamped "5" and postmarked "Pittsfield Mar 27 Mass."

Transcript. *Wednesday*]Wednsdy *from*]frm *accompanied*]accompnd *friend*]frnd *been*]ben *subscribed*]subscrbed *through*]thrgh *summer*]sumere? *there*]theres *Pittsfield*]Pittsfied *abroad*]abrod.

83. Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (2 vols. Boston, Ticknor and Co., *ca.* 1884), *1,* 385–9, and from extracts in George Parsons Lathrop, *A Study of Hawthorne* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin, *ca.* 1876), 230–1. This letter has also been printed by Weaver, 315–17, Thorp, 386–9, Metcalf, *Cycle,* 104–6, and Leyda, *Portable,* 426–8. Both Weaver and Thorp reprint Julian Hawthorne's text; Leyda bases his text on that of Julian Hawthorne but substitutes variant readings from Lathrop and occasional emendations of his own. The editors have made a thorough search for this letter, as well as all others known to have been written to Hawthorne by Melville but still unavailable in the original (in particular, this letter and Letters 84, 85, 87, and 93); but the MSS have not been located. The letter can be dated 16? April, 1851, to which Leyda assigns it, since the copy of *The House of the Seven Gables* that Hawthorne gave Melville on Friday, 11 April, 1851 (copy in HCL-M) probably occasioned the critical remarks on the book in this letter. If Melville read the book soon after his visit at Lenox on 11 April, as is most likely, the letter could then have been written on "Wednesday morning," 16 April.

Transcript (variations from Julian Hawthorne's text—the authority for each within parentheses). *Hawthorne,—Concerning*]Hawthorne, Concerning (Leyda) *pattern, cannot*]pattern cannot (Leyda) *its rich, clustering, romantic title*]its clustering romantic title (Lathrop) *abundantly, but still judiciously, furnished*]abundantly but still judiciously furnished (Lathrop) *wherein*]whereon (Lathrop, Leyda) *tragedies! There*]tragedies. There (Lathrop, Leyda) *set out*]set about (Lathrop, Leyda) *buffet*]beaufet (Lathrop) *smell as of*]smell of (Lathrop) *"Hawthorne: A Problem."*]*Hawthorne: A Problem.* (Lathrop) *reperusal*]reperusal (Leyda) *away, in*]away in (Leyda) *book, for*]book for (Lathrop) *interest, surpasses*]interest surpasses (Lathrop) *works*] work (Lathrop) *more drawn*]now drawn (Lathrop, Leyda) *what most*] what has most (Lathrop) *we would*]we should (Lathrop) *moment*] minute (Lathrop) *window to*]window, to (Lathrop) *judge*]Judge (Lathrop) *chair. Clifford*]chair. [¶] Clifford (Lathrop) *say that, did*]

say, that did (Lathrop) *purport*]purpose (Lathrop) *writings*]writing (Lathrop) *humanity which, in*]humanity, which, in (Lathrop) *by Hawthorne. We*]by Hawthorne: we (Lathrop, Leyda) *tragicalness*] tragedies (Julian Hawthorne) tragicalness (Lathrop, Leyda) [the reading "tragicalness" is a better Melville expression than "tragedies"] *unbiassed*]unbiased (Lathrop) *profounder*]profound (Lathrop) *visable*]usable (Julian Hawthorne), whole (Lathrop), visible (Leyda, Metcalf) *visable*]usable (Julian Hawthorne), whole (Lathrop), visible (Leyda, Metcalf). As Harrison Hayford first pointed out, Melville's "visable," with undotted "i" and with the characteristic *-able* for *-ible* misspelling, would readily be mistaken for "usable"; "visable" is the reading adopted here both because it is orthographically probable and because it makes better sense in context. See the spelling "visably" in letter 101, p. 157 and the textual note, p. 351, and see Harrison Hayford, "Melville's *Usable* or *Visible* Truth," *Modern Language Notes,* 74 (December 1959), 702–5.

84. Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (2 vols. Boston, Ticknor and Co., ca. 1884), I, 400–7. Reprinted in Weaver, 321–4, Thorp, 389–93, Leyda, *Portable,* 426–8, and Metcalf, *Cycle,* 107–10. The original MS is unlocated (see textual note for Letter 83). The letter is undated but can be placed in early June 1851. It was written before 14 June, when Melville—then in New York—returned the volumes of Scoresby borrowed from the New-York Historical Society, and after the publication of the May issue of Holden's *Dollar Magazine.* If Melville went to New York in "a week or so" to "work and slave" on *Moby Dick,* as he planned in this letter, 1 June would allow sufficient time before 14 June and would also permit the "three weeks" to pass which Melville cites as the time when he last "left" *Moby Dick* in order to plant corn and potatoes and complete his spring work "out of doors."

Transcript. reverse]revere (Julian Hawthorne, Weaver, Thorp), reverse (Metcalf, Leyda) [for this emendation see p. 127, n. 9].

85. Julian Hawthorne's copy in his "Notebook" in Morgan. The letter was printed in Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife* (Boston, Ticknor, and Co., *ca.* 1884), *1,* 398–400, in Weaver, 318–20, in Metcalf *Cycle,* 110–111, and in Leyda, *Portable,* 434–5. Melville's original MS is unlocated (see textual note for Letter 83).

Transcript (variations from Julian Hawthorne's "Notebook"—the authority for each within parentheses, with JH representing Julian Hawthorne's printed version). *Pittsfield June 29th 185[1]*]Pittsfield, June 29, 1851. (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *My dear Hawthorne—The*]My

Dear Hawthorne,—The (JH) *crotchetty*]crotchety (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *over doleful chimearas*]over-doleful chimeras (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *me and*]me, and (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *for, in*]for in (JH, Metcalf) *of*] [the Morgan MS reads o<r>f] *plowing*]ploughing (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *raising and painting and printing*]raising and printing (JH, Metcalf) *praying,—and*]praying, and (JH, Metcalf) *bustling*]bristling (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *though*]tho' (Leyda) *through*] thro' (Leyda) *delay*]delays (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *babylonish*]Babylonish (JH, Leyda) *grass—and*]grass, and (JH, Metcalf) *may.—I*]may. I (JH, Metcalf) *myself,—for*]myself; for (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *though*] tho' (Leyda) *out with it,—not*]out with it; not (JH, Metcalf) *though*] tho' (Leyda) *premeditation.—But*]premeditation. But (JH, Metcalf) *foible—preaching*]foible,—preaching (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *temperament.* [¶] *Shall*]temperament. Shall (JH, Metcalf) *Whale*]"Whale" (JH, Leyda, Metcalf) *though*]tho' (Leyda) *it all ere this*]it ere this (JH, Metcalf) *(the secret one),—Ego non baptiso te in nomine*](the secret one), *Ego non baptiso te in nomine* (JH).

86. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect," 251–2. The letter is addressed on the outside *"For the Steamer.* / Richard Bentley Esq / New Burlington Street / London." It is postmarked "Pittsfield 29 July Mass" and is cancelled "Paid xc Au 1851."

Transcript. received]recvd *probability*]probabilty *necessarily*]necessarly *country*]contry *backwoodsmen*]backswoodsmen *not at all*]not {at} all *catholic*]Catholic *majority*]majorty *country*]contry *International*]Internatnl *shall forward*]shall forwad *receipt*]recept *immediately proceed*]immdily proced *receiving*]recevg [or receng?].

87. Typescript in HCL-M. The typescript is headed "Herman Melville to Nathaniel Hawthorne. / (Upon which the latter writes: 'Rec'd July 24th, 1851.')." There is no identification of the author of this typescript. The letter was printed by Rose Hawthorne Lathrop in *Memories of Hawthorne* (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1898), 156. She notes also that Nathaniel Hawthorne had dated the letter "Received July 24, 1851." The letter can thus be dated "Tuesday afternoon," 22 July. Reprinted in Metcalf, *Cycle,* 112.

Transcript (variations from the typescript—and the authority for each within parentheses). *Tuesday afternoon.*]"Tuesday afternoon. (HCL-M typescript) *My dear Hawthorne:* [¶]*This*]MY DEAR HAWTHORNE,—This (Lathrop) *note—but*]note, but (Lathrop) *letter (received yesterday) which*] letter (received yesterday), which) (Lathrop)

does in reality]does in reality (Lathrop), does it really (HCL-M typescript, Metcalf) *things—not*]things, not (Lathrop) *dragging me home*]dragging home (Lathrop) drawing me home (Metcalf) *not yet a*]not a (Lathrop) *disengaged man; but*]disengaged man, but (Lathrop) *be, very soon*]be very soon (Lathrop) *down to you, my good fellow, seeing we*]down to you, my good fellow, seeing we (Lathrop), down to you. My dear fellow-being, we (HCL-M typescript, Metcalf) *vagabondism, before Autumn*]vagabondism before autumn (Lathrop) *start, we*]start, we (Lathrop), start we (HCL-M typescript, Metcalf) *hole, and*]hole, and (Lathrop), hole and (HCL-M typescript, Metcalf) *all Blue Devils*]all Blue Devils (Lathrop), all the Blue Devils (HCL-M typescript, Metcalf) *Goodbye,*]Good-by (Lathrop), Goodbye (Metcalf) *his X mark*]HIS X MARK (Lathrop).

88. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Luther S. Mansfield, "Glimpses of Herman Melville's Life in Pittsfield, 1850–1851," *American Literature,* 9 (1937), 37–8. The stamped envelope in NYPL-D, postmarked "Pit[tsfi]eld Mass" and addressed "Evert A. Duyckinck Esq / New York," is probably the postal cover for this letter. Evert Duyckinck has added the year, 1851, at the top of p. 1. This year is correct, since Melville's reference in the letter to "next Tuesday (week from tomorrow)" indicates that he was writing on Monday and since the 28 July of the letter's heading fell on Monday in 1851.

Transcript. arrangements]arrangents *Wednesday*]Wedneday *afternoon*]afternon *recommend*]reccomed *train. By*]train by *Police*]Polic.

89. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 123–4. An envelope, which fits and matches the paper of the letter, is addressed "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / New York" and is postmarked "Pittsfield Aug 30 Mass." The letter can be assigned to the year 1851 through Melville's reference to the recent visit of Duyckinck, which we know took place in August of that year. Melville apparently wrote the letter on "Friday," 29 August, and mailed it the next day.

Transcript. temperature]tempratur *thermometer*]thermomter *Hawthorne*]Hawthorn? [or Hawthrn?] *here* [*hence?*]]heire? [extra loop before *r*? or hence? loop missing in *n*?] *received*]recvd *Household*]Houshold.

90. Original MS (4 pp.) in BA. Printed in part in Leyda, *Portable,* 449–50. The letter is dated only "Pittsfield, Friday Morning" but the statement that the forthcoming book (*Moby Dick*) "is off my hands, but must cross the sea before publication here" places the letter in early September 1851. Melville wrote Bentley on 5 September, probably from New York, where he had gone to arrange for the publication of *Moby*

Dick. He then seems to have returned to Pittsfield, leaving his brother Allan to complete the publishing arrangements, for Allan forwarded the proofs the following Wednesday, 10 September, and shortly thereafter ("in the absence of my brother from the city") wrote Bentley and signed a contract with Harper and Brothers (see Leyda, *Log,* 427–8, and Jerman, "More Correspondence," 310). It is thus probable that Melville, back in Pittsfield, wrote this letter on Friday, 12 September—though it might be later.

Transcript. so agreeable]so <to> agreeable *woven of*]woven <from> of *remembrances*]rememberaces *Augusta tells . . . you.*] [written vertically on the back].

91. Original MS (1 p.) in HCL-M. At the top, written above and below Melville's date of "Wednesday 3. P.M.," and in another hand, is the date "May 1843—" which is obviously wrong. This date was on the paper when Melville wrote on it, since the "Yours" of Melville's close is clearly written over the "1843" which appears as a blotting at the bottom—the result of folding the sheet in the middle. A "5" has been added later in pencil over the "4" and does not appear in the blotting. The letter was written on Wednesday, 22 October, 1851, the date of Stanwix Melville's birth.

92. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 127–8. At the top of p. 1, Evert Duyckinck has noted the date "Nov^{r} 7. 1851," thus establishing the date in the heading of the letter—changed by Melville from "Thursday" to "Friday," on which 7 November fell in 1851.

Transcript (including within brackets variations from the editors' transcription). *Pittsfield, Friday*]Pittsfield, <Thursday> Friday *received*]recvd *being*]being [busy (Leyda)] *completely*]completly *himself, for*]himslf, for *account*]accont *pithy &*]pithy <but?>& *wonder*]wondr *New Foundland*]New Foundlad *Verily*]Verly *live in*] [live on (Metcalf)] *Yet*]Yet [Not (Leyda)] *found*]fond *Herman*] Herman [Norman (Leyda, Metcalf), but cf. "Herman" in the signature of Letter 94] *buy*[?]] [hug (Leyda), lying (Metcalf); br[i]ng is also possible, but "buy" seems the best transcription (cf. "buy" in Letter 90)] *round*]rond *Pittsfield*]Pittsfild *enquire*]enqure *probably*] probarly? *account*]accnt *Revolutionary*]Revolutry *Pavilions*] [Ballston (Leyda); Pavilions (Metcalf) is better—and cf. "Pavilion" on the envelope of Letter 160] *Knights*]Knigts *Round*]Rond *punch*]pnch *once*] [caret insert] *Literary*]Litery *glasses*]glases *Winter*]Wnter *themselves*]themsels *December*]Decenber *dining-room fire-place*]

dinng-room <chim[ney]> fire-place *a whale*]a <wale> {whale} *Remember*]Rember *friends*]frnds *Compliments*]Complnts *family*] famly *Beleive*]Belv [or Belev].

93. Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, *Memories of Hawthorne* (Boston and New York, Houghton, Mifflin, 1898), 156–60. Reprinted in Thorp, 394–6, Leyda, *Portable,* 452–5, and Metcalf, *Cycle,* 128–30. The original has not been located (see textual note for Letter 83). Leyda dates the Letter 17? November, 1851. Melville heads it "Monday afternoon" and states that he received Hawthorne's letter the night before, on his way to the Morewoods', and read it there but could not answer at the time. In a letter to George Duyckinck, Friday, 21 November (NYPL-D), Mrs. Morewood mentions Melville's presence at an evening party not long before. If this is the occasion mentioned in Melville's letter, as it appears, then the probable date is 17 November, 1851.

Transcript (variations from Lathrop within brackets). *this great allegory*]his great allegory [this (Metcalf), his (Weaver, Thorp, Leyda)] *Herman*]Herman. [Herman (Leyda), HERMAN. (Thorp)].

94. Photostat of the original MS (2 pp.) in HSP-Gratz.

Transcript. official] [caret insert] *never had*]never <hard> had *awakening*]awakning *pained*]pain{e}d *his fame*]his <general> fame *things in*]things <may> in *no slightest weaknesses*]no {slightest} <shadow of> weaknesses *noticeable*]noticable *care*]Care[?] *Demonstration*]<d>Demonstration.

95. Original MS (4 pp.) in Martin. At the top of p. 4, in another hand "Mr Melville."

Transcript. inscribe my]inscribe <my> my *acknowledgement*]acknowledgmt *thing*]thng *marvel*]marvl *significance*]significace *writing*]wrting *to me, after*]to me, <when> after *Hawthorne's*] Hawthore's *which, without*]which, <tho'> without *any*]arny *allegoricalness*]allegoriclness *commend*]commed *Newton? Are*]Newton? <all>Are *general*]generl *evenings*]evengs *Hawthorne*]Hawthne *equally*]equaly *something*]smethng *scarlet*]scar<e>let *help ourselves*]he<p>lp ourselves *what it*]what tis[?] *whereof*]wheref *great sea,*]gret sea, *may*]my *roundabout*]rondabut *Beleive*]Beleiv[?] *forgot . . . Mr. Hawthorne*] [written across top of p. 1] *from Pittsfield*] frm Pittsfeld *which*]whch *regards*]rgards.

96. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. The envelope is addressed "Evert A. Duyckinck Esq. / 20 Clinton Place" and the date "Jan 1852" in Duyckinck's hand is written at the top of p. 1 of the letter. Melville heads the letter "Friday Afternoon / 14 Wall Street" and it can be

dated on one of the first three Fridays in January 1852. Although Melville wrote Griswold that he could not attend the Cooper celebration on 24 December, 1851, he appears to have gone to New York between 25 and 29 December, after a Christmas dinner at the Morewoods' and before Sarah and John Morewood themselves returned to New York on 29 December (see Sarah Morewood to George Duyckinck, 24 and 28 December, 1851, and 4 January, 1852: NYPL-D, extracts in Leyda, *Log,* 441–3). He and Elizabeth Melville were in New York at least through 8 January and probably after this—for Sarah Morewood expected to see Elizabeth Melville on 5 January, and Melville wrote Sophia Hawthorne from New York on 8 January. On 10 January, John Oakes Shaw visited his father in Boston and noted that "Mrs Melville and her children are on from Pittsfield." Since Melville informed Duyckinck that he was "engaged to go out of town tomorrow," he may have left for Pittsfield at the same time that his family went to Boston, 10? January, for a month's visit. This would date the letter on Friday, 9 December, the date assigned here tentatively and by Leyda, *Log,* 444. Melville, of course, may have stayed on after his wife left for Boston, but his need to finish *Pierre* ("if he left home to look after Hungary the cause in hunger would suffer—") would seem to have taken him back to Pittsfield. He was almost certainly in Pittsfield before Friday, 21 January, for he left Allan Melville in charge of clearing up his accounts with Harpers before the publication of *Pierre* (Allan Melville to Harper Brothers, 21 January, 1852, HCL-M).

Transcript. Afternoon]Afternon *tomorrow*]tom orrow *future*] futue *very*]vry.

97. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-B. The letter has been folded and burned, so that "Jul[ian]" is partly missing.

Transcript. fellow[?]]fellar[?] (the ending is not like "fellow" of Letters 55 and 77, in which the *w* ends with an upstroke) *among*] amng *fast*] [obscured by fold] [–*a Snow*]] [MS torn] *Remember*] Remembr.

98. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. At the bottom of the page, another hand has noted "Entered Stop .c ox Book" [Stop Account Book?].

Transcript. discontinue]discontine *Whatever*]Whatevr *please*] pleas<d>e.

99. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published Birss, "A Mere Sale to Effect," 254–5, and Davis, 228–30.

Transcript. independent]independant[?] *popularity than*]popularity <that> than *elevated aspect*]elevated <f[a]ct?> aspect *immediately*]immediatly *apprised*]apprized[?] *productions*]productiones *One more P.S. [and following]*] [lighter ink for later addition] *Winthrop."*]Winthrop.

100. Original MS (2 pp.) owned by Norman Holmes Pearson. Published Leyda, *Portable,* 458–9. The letter is addressed on the verso "Nathaniel Hawthorne / Concord / Mass," and "Melville," apparently in Herman's hand, is written vertically to the left of the address. The verso also bears this notation in another hand "Herman Melville / Author of Typee, Omoo, / Mardi, Pierre, White / Jacket, Moby Dick / etc." The letter can be dated in 1852 by its association both with Melville's trip to Nantucket accompanying Lemuel Shaw and with the publication of Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* on 14 July, 1852.

Transcript. visit]visit [or wait [on]?, but Leyda's "meet" is not possible] *beaming*]beaming [or teaming? although the intial letter is more like a *b* than a *t,* as in "been" above] *brought*]brought [or bought? Melville's "br" could be *b*] *arrived*]arrvd *returned*]retrnd *a sunbeam from*]<a?>a sunbeam frm *had*]hard [typical Melville script, with extra stroke before "d" in "had"] *Especially*]Especlly *at*]a<s>t *antidote*]antidtote.

101. Original MS (6 pp.) and MS enclosure (6 pp.) in HCL-M. Published S. E. Morison, "Melville's 'Agatha' Letter to Hawthorne," *New England Quarterly,* 2 (April 1929), 296–307. A note in Elizabeth Melville's hand(?) accompanies the enclosure and reads "The story enclosed herewith is one of / actual facts—told at Nantucket to Herman / by a New Bedford lawyer—He offered / it to Mr Hawthorne to elaborate—with a / letter (here enclosed) of suggestions for the / work—but after a while Mr. H. returned / it—not desiring to undertake it—See / letter concerning it in 'N. Hawthorne and his Wife' by / Julian H. page 475—Vol 1—" A penciled hand has checked and underlined passages in the letter and noted "Seagull Par[a]dise" in pencil opposite the paragraph on the "father of Agatha" (p. 5). Since this comment appears to be in Melville's hand, the other pencil notations may also be his.

Transcript. acquaintance]acquantance *professional*]professionl *experience*]experence *Pittsfield*]Pittsfied [or Pittsfild?] *received*]recevd *perceive*]perceve *literary*]literray *different*]differnt *turned*]turnd [Morison, Metcalf, Leyda give "turned," but could it be "hashed"?—cf. the *h* in "here" above and the *t* in "striking" below, both similar?]

founded]*fonded* [or fondnd?] *occurred*]occurrd [or occured?] *naturally*]naturally [or naturerlly?] *towards*]towads [or towrds?] *spea*[*k*] . . .] [page torn off cutting half a line] *cou*[*ld*] . . .] [page torn cutting off "ld?" and half a line] *Steward*]Stewad *circumstance*]circumstancs [or circumstans? but Melville's final stroke can on occasion be gratuitous, as in "obliges" of Letter 112, and this is likely here; both Morison and Metcalf also give the singular "circumstance"] *liberal*]liberral *punishment*]*punishmt know*]knw[?] *hard*]had[?] *settle upon*]settle <the> upon *Alexandran*] [for "Alexandr[i]an" rather than "Alexandria" of Morison and Metcalf] *reminded*]remded *rudely*]rudely [better than "widely" of Morison and Metcalf] *more things*]more <thngs> things *yourself*]yourslf *sufficiently*]suffictly [or suffntly] *founded*]fonded *narration*]narratin [or narrative?] *islands*]islands [better than "island" of Morison and Metcalf] *perceive*]peceve *legitimately*]legititmly [or legititmely?] *of course*]of couse [or coure?] *decide*]dec<ree>ide *must*]mst *preceding*]prcedng *forth to*]forth <for> to *a little*] <in the> a little *resides*]resdes *afternoon*]afteroon *upon*]upn *suppressedly*] [underlined in pencil, and an X in pencil at the right-hand margin] *Young*] [added (later?) in margin] *but you must give her some other name*] [deleted in pencil] *continual*]continul *undermined*]undermnd *she*]shec *tho'*]thr'[?] *always dwelling*]alwys dwllg *gives*]gvs *thought*]thoght *catches*]catchs *from*]frm *advanced*]adand *very*]vy [or vry?] *upon*]upn *Here* [*There*?]] ["There," Morison, Metcalf; either "H" or "Th" is possible] *innocence*]innocenc *land placidly*]land <& the> placidly *malignity*]malignty *this having*]this <havg> {having} *carries*]carres [or caries?] *catches*]catchs *distant glimpse*]distnt glimps *quitting*]quttng *knowledge*]knwldge *miseries produced to wives by*]miseres producd <by>to wives by *young determination*]yong deterntion [or determtion?] *never*]neve *afterwards*] {afterwds} *omnipotence*]omniptnc *during*]drng *should*] shud *the saviour*]the <savior> {saviour} *young*]yong *only survivor*]only <survior> survivor *ministered to by*]minted to <thro> by *during the*]drng <his> the *upon*]upn *from*]frm *driven*]drven *driven upon*]drven upn *pieces*]pieces [or peicies?] *course*]corse[?] *becomes*]becoms *prow-bone*] [penciled underline and X in left margin] *projecting*]projcting *packed down*] [penciled underline and X in left margin] *disappeared*]disapprd *every*]evry *melancholy monument*] melancly monumt *sufficient*]suffint *protracted absence*]protrted [or protcted?] abscenc [or abscne?] *young*]yng *feverishly*]feverishly [better than "fervently" (Metcalf) and "presently" or "perennially" (Morison)] *from*]frm *introduce*]intrduce *remoteness*]remotenss *reaches*]

reachs *between*]betwen *junction*]junctn *Post Rode*] [error for Post Road?] *surmounted*]surmted *vicinity*]vicinty *of course*]of curs[?] *young . . . daily*[.]] [blurred by the paper fold on this line] *gradually*]grduly *being*]beng [not the "very" of Morison or the "[being] very" of Metcalf] *grows*]grws *about*]abut *driven away from*]drven awy frm *& wise*] [caret insert] *from*]frm *himself*]himslf *suffered*] sufferd *impertinent officiousness*]impertinet officusness *mind*]mnd *seem legitimately*]seen legitntly *visably*] [cf. the spelling of "visable" in "visable truth" (see textual note for Letter 83) that has often been transcribed "usable truth," and also the spelling "visable" in the *Billy Budd* MS (HCL-M), p. 32(1) and "no visable blemish" p. 41(red)] *actually*]actualy *occurred*]occurd *giving*]gvng [or ging?] *anything*] anythng *enough*]enugh *identified for yourself*]identifed for yourslf *Let . . . seems*] [fold of paper blurs this line] *interest*]interst *furnished*]furnshd *Bedford*]Bedfd *actual*]actul *thought I could*]thught I culd *narrative* [*narration?*] *from*]narrativ [or narratn?] frm *significance*]significace *inference derived from*]inferen dervd frm [not the "drawn from" of Morison and Metcalf] *Robinson throughout*]Robnson thrughut *suspicion*]suspcion *written*]wrtten *great*]gret *P.S.*] [added by Melville on the last page of the enclosure after crossing out "<New Bedford July 14th 1852 / Herman Melville / Dr Sir [Dear Sir] / Above I send / you the little story I promised you— / Respectfully Yours.>" This cancellation, written in another hand, is followed by Melville's P.S.]

102. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-B. Published Harrison Hayford, "The Significance of Melville's 'Agatha' Letters," *ELH, 13* (December 1946), 301. The envelope is addressed "Nathaniel Hawthorne / Concord / Mass:" and is postmarked "Pittsfield OCT 25 3 PAID."

Transcript. every port]evry <prt> {port} *marriage-vow*]marrige-vow *developed*]devellped [or develloped?] *subsequent*]subseqnt *over*]ove *mind*]mnd *yourself*]yourslf *"Taughconic"*]another hand identifies this by printing in capitals "TAGHCONIC"] *Among others,*] [caret insert before You] *you*]You *Berkshire*]Berkshre *Champagne*] Champange *remembrances*]rememberaces *regard it*]regard <them> it *writing*]wrtng.

103. Julian Hawthorne, *Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife,* 2 vols. (Boston, Ticknor, and Co., *ca.* 1884), *1,* 475. A copy of this letter transcribed by an unknown hand (Julian Hawthorne?) gives unimportant variants (HCL-M). The letter has been reprinted in Hayford, "The Significance of Melville's 'Agatha' Letters," *ELH, 13* (December 1946),

302. The letter can be placed in 1852 through its connection with the Agatha story and, since it was written from Boston, it can be dated sometime between 22 November, when Melville arrived for Thanksgiving, and 13 December, when he left with Malcolm for Pittsfield (Leyda, *Log*, 464–5). It is probable that Melville did not go to Concord, as he says, until after the Thanksgiving festivities of 25 November.

Transcript. (from Julian Hawthorne, with readings from the MS copy in HCL-M indicated within brackets). *Boston.*]BOSTON. [no place] *The other day, at*] [The other day at] *urged me*] [urged me] *"Isle of Shoals," as*] ["Isle of Shoals" as] *seaman, in*] [seaman in] *H. Melville*] H. MELVILLE *Rose*]those.

104. Original MS (1 p.) in Barrett, formerly in McGillicuddy. The note is addressed on the back "Miss Lizzie Dow."

Transcript. succeeded]succeded *summer*]sumer.

105. Original MS (1 p.) in Morgan. Across the top, another hand has noted in pencil "Declined" and in the margin "Call [Cole?] Harper." On the verso of this folded leaf is the note "Herman Melville / Nov. 24th 1853," and a wax stamp. Enclosed with this letter, as shown by the duplication of folds in both, is a single sheet of blue paper with a listing of the number of copies of Melville's works sold (see above p. 165, n. 8).

Transcript. addition]additon *from*]frm *pretty*] [the *y* has been written over to clarify it] *immediately*]immediatly.

106. Original MS (1 p.) in Morgan. On the verso, in another hand, is the notation "Herman Melville / Dec. 6, 1853." Both this date and Melville's heading may be in error because Harper's tenth account (HCL-M), dated 6 October, 1854, indicates that Melville received the $300 advance on 7 December, 1853.

Transcript. acknowledge]underlined in pencil.

107. Photostat of the original MS (1 p.) in Dartmouth Library.

Transcript. Melvill]Melvill [or Melvile?] *Wells*]Well<e>s [or Well<e>ss or Wele<e?>ss? but "Wells" is better than "Welles"].

108. Original MS (2 pp.) in BA. Another pencil hand has noted on verso of last page "H. M. to Mrs J. R. M." The unstamped envelope accompanying the letter is addressed "For, / The Honorable & Beautiful Lady, / The Countess of Hahn-Hahn. / —Now at her Castle of Southmount.—" and the pencil hand repeats "H. M. to Mrs J. R. M." The recipient is thus identified as Mrs. John Rowland Morewood (Sarah Huyler Morewood). The letter can be dated on a "Tuesday

Evening" after 10 November, 1853, the birth date of Anne Rachel Morewood (the "infant Countess Hahn-Hahn" of the letter), and before Christmas of that year. It has here been dated on the Tuesday (20 December) nearest Christmas as the most probable date.

Transcript. Exclusively]Exclusivly *Christmas*]Christms *given*]gievn *princely*] [stroke missing in "p"] *Christmas Eve*]Chritmas Eve *Christmas Day*]Chritmas Day *Christmas Eve*]Chistms Eve *given*]gievn *Southmount*]Southmont *disdainful*]disdanful *condescended*]condesceded *following considerations*]folloing considetins *festivities*]festivites *anticipated from*]anticipatd frm *Christmas Dinner*]Chritmas Dinnr *Christmas Eve*]Chritmas Eve *Christmas Day Dinner*] Chritmas {Day} Dinnr *Christmas Eve Supper*]Chritms Eve Supper *Day-Dinner*]Day-Dinnr *respectfully*]respectfuly *your Ladyship of Southmount*]yur Ladyship of Southmont *compliments to your*]complints to <the> your *obeisance*]obesiace *household*]houshold *Southmount*]Southmont.

109. Copy made by Leyda from the original MS (1 p.?), formerly in the private library of Dr. A. W. S. Rosenbach. The present location is unknown. Extracts of it were printed in Leyda, *Log,* 485, and in Metcalf, *Cycle,* 153, the former dating the letter 20 February and the latter 29 February, 1854.

110. Original MS (2 pp.) in BA. This letter is headed "Day of Ill Luck—Friday, March &c" and can be dated in March 1854 by its acknowledgment of a gift from Mrs. Morewood (1 January, 1854)—Bulwer-Lytton's *The Pilgrims of the Rhine,* London, Tilt, 1840. The volume is inscribed "Herman Melville From his Friend S[arah] H[uyler] Morewood Jan. 1st 1854." (See Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 333, which queries "Jun.[?] 1st 1854" as the date for what is clearly "Jan. 1st 1854"). No specific day for the letter can be given (the "Day of Ill Luck" here meaning Friday and not Friday the 13th, which latter does not occur in March 1854).

Transcript. pictures]picturs [or pictures?] *from now*]frm now.

111. Original MS (1 p.) in Morgan. On the verso of this single sheet, another hand notes "H. Melville / May 25th, 1854."

Transcript. Pittsfield]Pittsfild *Paradise*]Paradse *commence*]commnce [or, commce?] *Magazine*]Maginze [metathesis] *Yours Very Truly*]Yors Very Trly *H Melvill*] [or, H Melvll?].

112. G. H. Putnam, *A Memoir of George Palmer Putnam* (New York and London, Putnam, 1903), p. 319. An extract from this letter is reprinted in Leyda, *Log,* 488–9, and dated "June [?] 7" 1854,

correcting the mistaken dating of "July 7, 1854," in Putnam. The first installment of *Israel Potter,* referred to in this letter, was published on 1 July, 1854. The original letter has not been located.

113. Original MS (2 pp.) in Morgan. On the verso of this folded sheet is the notation "H. Melville."

Transcript. impossible]impssible *to undergo*]to (over) undergo *doubt*]dou<t>bt *uncertainty*]uncertanty.

114. Original MS (1 p.) in Morgan. Although Melville does not give the year, the letter can be dated 25 July, 1854 by association with the sequence of letters 25 May, 22 June, and 18 September, 1854. All are written in black ink on faded blue paper, with blue lines, and with the same manufacturer's mark in the upper left corner.

Transcript. July 25th]July <24th>25th.

115. Original MS (1 p.) in Morgan. On verso of this folded sheet is the note: "H. Melville." Melville dates this letter "Sept: 18th" with no year, but it appears to be in the sequence of letters to Harper Brothers in 1854. The "three articles" have not been identified and the letter is written on different paper from that of the other letters to the Harpers, so that positive evidence for the year 1854 is unavailable. This year, however, is preferable to 1853 or 1855, the other years in which Melville was both in Pittsfield in August and submitting articles for publication in *Harper's.*

116. Original MS (1 p.) in Morgan. The letter can be dated in 1854 by the notation, in another hand, on the verso of this single sheet: "H. Melville / Sept. 18, 1854."

117. Photostat of original MS (1 p.) in the Butler-Gunsaulus Collection, University of Chicago.

Transcript. Pittsfield]Pittsfiell.

118. Original MS (1 p.) in Rosenbach. On the verso of this single sheet is the notation in ink in another hand: "H. Melville / April 1/5 <6>5." Written sideways on the verso in pencil are the numerals: "15. 49" and "14, 8, 6" totaled with "28," which may represent numbers and totals of manuscript pages.

119. Original MS (1 p.) in Rosenbach. A facsimile of the letter was published in the catalogue *A Privately Owned Collection of Letters, Autographs, and Manuscripts with Many Association Items Classified and Catalogued by Professor Clara Louis Dentler American Visiting Professor and Lecturer at the University of Florence Florence Italy*

(Florence, Stab. Tipo-Litografico G. Spinelli & C., 1947), p. v, verso. Across the top of the page is the comment "I have answered this / *DIX.*" On the verso of this single sheet, another hand has noted "An[swered] / H. Melville / Aug 7/55."

Transcript. Aug 7th] [followed by pencil date, "1855"] *abscence*] abscnce *previously*]previusly *reenclose*]reenclse *should*]shuld.

120. The original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL.

Transcript. received]recevd *inconsiderable*]inconsideable [or inconsidrable?] *arrangement*]arrangemt.

121. Photostat of the original MS (1 p.) in HSP-Greer. Someone has drawn a line through Melville's letter and then used the page as a practice sheet for penmanship "Y Yours / Most respectfully / Yours / Most / Yours Most, / Yours most / respectfully / Yours." At the bottom in another hand "Herman Melville / author & traveller," and still another hand "Herman Melville."

Transcript. conveniently]convenietly *oblige*]obliges *Faithfully*] Fathfully.

122. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-P.

123. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 11–12. Peter Gansevoort has noted on the outside "1855. Sept—18 / Note left at our / House by Herman / Melville in our / absence." The note is addressed "Gen: Peter Gansevoort." At the top of p. 1, in another hand "Sept. 18, 1855."

Transcript. However]Howevr *afternoon*]afternon *Affectionately*] Affectntly *Melville*]Melvill.

124. Original MS (2 pp.) in HCL-D. Published Egbert S. Oliver, ed. *Piazza Tales by Herman Melville* (New York, Hendricks House, Farrar Straus, 1948), 225. The numeral "16." appears at the top of p. 1.

Transcript. received]receivd *now.*[¶] *Upon*]Now. (over) [¶] Upon.

125. Original MS (2 pp., and enclosure) in Rosenbach. This letter was formerly in the James Lorimer Graham Collection. On the back of the folded sheet, in another hand, is the notation: "Author / H. Melville." The accompanying enclosure, Melville's suggested title page and table of contents for his volume of sketches, is reproduced in the text roughly in the size and spacing of the original single leaf.

Transcript. unsuitable.]unsuitable *the magazine*]the (over) magazine *agreement*]agreemnt.

126. Original MS (2 pp.) in YUL. Published Merton M. Sealts, "The Publication of Melville's *Piazza Tales*," *Modern Language Notes,*

59 (January 1944), 56. On the outside in another hand "H. Melville Feby 16 / 56."

Transcript. 1856]185<5>6 *Bell Tower. In*]Bell Tower. (Over) In *Benito*]Bento *published*]publised *collection*]collction *The Piazza*] <*t*>*The* <*p*>*Piazza Please send by mail*] [caret insert] *agreements*] agreemnts *received*]recevd *charge*]chage *respect*]respt *Melville*] Melvillee *Publishers*]Pusbhers.

127. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 12. The year is not given by Melville but, by association with the *Piazza Tales,* is 1856. Another hand has noted on the outside "H Melville / Mch 24 / 56."

Transcript. these proofs]the<re[turned?]>se proofs *understands*] undestands [or undertands?] *Truly*]Trly *Melville*]Melvlle.

128. Original MS (1 p.) in HCL-M. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 155.

Transcript. acquaintance]acquantance.

129. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. An envelope (NYPL-GL) associated with this letter is addressed "Gen. Peter Gansevoort / Albany. / N.Y." It has a three-cent stamp, cancelled with "New York October 8." Although the folds in the paper do not match the outline of the folds on the envelope, the two probably go together.

Transcript. Saturday]Satuday *from*]frm *beleive*]beleve *affectionately*]affectiatly [the close and signature are blurred].

130. Original MS (8 pp.) in BA.

Transcript. passengers]passngers [or pasengers?] *considerably*]considerably *Edinburgh*]Edinbrgh *remaining*]remaing[?] *Stirling.— Of some Scotchmen*]Stirling. ,—Of some Scothchmen *endeavored*]endeavrd *containing*]contanng [or containng?] *clergyman*]clergiman [or clergman?] *unfortunately*]unfortntly [or unfortutly?] *arrived*] arrved *received*]recevd *appearance*]appearace[?] *succeeding*]succeding *Edinburgh*]Edinbrgh *Parliamentary*]Parliametary [or Parliamntary?] *Parliamentary*]Parliametry [or Parliamntary?] *generally*] [g]enerlly [or usully?] *Parliamentary*]Parliamtay *Hawthorne*]Hawthore *Constantinople from*]Constantinple frm *to Constantinople*]to Constantinple *I shall*]I [page 4] I shall *afterwards*]afterards *From Constantinople*]From Constanople *Alexandria*]Alexandia *bring*]brng *considerable*]considerbl [or considerle?] *absence*]abscenc *myself*]my self *trunk*]trnk *from the continent*]frm the contnent *uninteresting*] unintersting *Mediterranean*]Meditterean *sails*]sales *from*]frm *Murray*]Murry *day before*] [caret insert] *yesterday*]yesteday *thinking*] thnkng *acquaintance*]acquaitace *Hawthorne*]Hawthrne *account*]

acct *Duyckinck's name among*]Duyckink's name amng *friend*]frnd *Duyckinck's behalf*]Duyckncks's behalf *obtained*]obtand *effect*]effct *Thomas'*]Th<?>omas' *received*]recevd *presence*]prescence *particularly*]particulaly *Duyckinck*]Duyckcnck *acquaintance*]acquntance *justifies*]justicies[?] *probably*]probaly *rather*]rathar[?] *thinking*]thnkng *Constantinople*]Constantnople *certainly*]certanly *Li[ver]pool*]Li[ver]-pool [sealing wax covers part of this] *tomorrow*]tomorro *I am going*]I amg going *Mediterranean*]Meditteran[?] *tour*]Tour[?] *from*] frm *write*]wrte *children*]childrn *Affectionately Your Brother*]Affectnly Your Brothr *morning*]morng *G. Duyckinck*]G. Duyckcnck *improbable*]imprble *reaches*]reachs [or reach?] *brother*]brothr.

131. Original MS (1 p.) sold in the Parke-Bernet Galleries Sale, 1 May, 1951, now in Barrett(?). The letter can be dated Tuesday, 18 November, 1856, because of Melville's meeting with Henry Bright in Liverpool on 14 November and his departure on the "Egyptian" the following Tuesday.

132. Original MS (1 p.) in Barrett, formerly owned by the Seven Gables Bookshop. Published Bliss Perry, "The Editor Who Was Never the Editor," *Atlantic Monthly, 100* (November 1907), 667.

Transcript. Yours]Yors.

133. Original MS (1 p.) in Barrett, formerly in McGillicuddy. This letter was at one time inserted in a copy of *Israel Potter* (New York, 1855). The addressee is not specified but can be designated as G. W. Curtis through Melville's association with the auction sale of plates by Miller & Curtis on 19 September, 1857.

Transcript. conveniently]convently *regard*]rgard *though*]thugh *circumstances*]circumtances *copyright &c*]copyrght & c *Whereas*] Wheares [metathesis] *advantage*]advantge *affairs*]affars *brains*] brans *intellectual*]*intellecutal evidenced*]evidend *Melville*]Melvile.

134. Original MS (1 p.) in HCL-A.

Transcript. received]recevd *invitations*]invtatins *promptly*]promply *on*]in[?].

135. Original MS (1 p.) in HCL-M. Published Leyda, *Log*, 583. This note is written on the verso of a letter dated 12 October, 1857 to Melville from Clarksville, Tennessee, asking Melville to lecture there. The request is addressed to Melville at Pittsfield and lists the names of G. C. Breed, W. O. Vance, G. G. Poyndexter, E. B. Haskins, and G. A. Henry, and asks Melville to direct his reply to W. O. Vance. On the outside in Melville's hand "Lecture *No. 1* / Clarksville. Tenn. / Octr 12th 1857."

Transcript. H. M.] [does not appear to be in Melville's hand.]

136. Copy made by George P. Clark of the original MS (1 p.) in British Museum. Published T. O. Mabbott in *Notes and Queries, 176* (28 January, 1939), 60. The identification of the recipient as A. D. Lamson is tentative.

Transcript (with variations from above text explained). *29th*]27th (Mabbott) *23rd*]23d (Mabbott) *handed*]<forwarded> handed (Clark, Mabbott) *am sorry*]am very sorry (Mabbott) *H Melville*]H. Melville (Mabbott).

137. Original MS (1 p.) in Barrett. Pasted on the bottom of the MS is a newspaper clipping "Herman Melville returned on the 20th instant [20 May, 1857], in the steamer *City of Manchester*, from Liverpool, after a seven months' absence abroad." Melville's dating the letter "1857" is an obvious mistake for 1858, when he was in Boston.

Transcript. subscribe]subscrbe.

138. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. Published Metcalf, 171. An envelope placed inside this letter is addressed "George L. Duyckinck Esq. / N° 20 Clinton Place / New York" and has a three-cent stamp with the cancellation "Pittsfield Nov 8 PAID." The letter can be dated in 1858 by association with the five-volume set of Chapman's *Homer* (HCL-M) which is inscribed "H. Melville from George Duyckinck Nov. 1858" (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," Nos. 276, 277, 278).

Transcript. to go]to <see?>go *your brother*]yur brther *Remember*]Remeber.

139. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Across the front of p. 1, another hand has noted "Herman Melville / *ALS*." The letter can be assigned to 1858 by evidence in "Lecture Engagements" (HCL-M).

Transcript. forwarded]forwaded *appointments*]appontnts *Feb. 24th I am*]Feb. 24th (over) I am *Yours Very Truly*]Yours <Trul>Very Truly.

140. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-D. The envelope is addressed "George L. Duyckinck Esq. / 20 Clinton Place / New York" and the three-cent stamp is cancelled "Pittsfield Mass Dec 13 PAID." The letter can be dated 1858 by association with Melville's lecture engagements and Letter 141, which was written the following "Monday," 20 December, Monday, falling on this date in 1858.

Transcript. Dec. 13th]Dec. 1<2>3th *January? either*]January<;>? eithr *other*]othr *think*]thnk *Davidson, especially*]Davidsn, especlly *Historical*]Historicl *Beleive*]Beleve.

141. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Thorp, 396–7. The envelope is addressed "George Duyckinck Esq. / —20 Clinton Place—

/ New York" and has a three-cent stamp and a postmark "Pittsfield Mass Dec 21 PAID."

Transcript. received]receivd [or receved?] *Saturday*]Satuday *unaccountably*]unaccontably *account*]accont *disappearance*]disappearce *Beleive*]Belev *Duyckinck*]Duyckнck.

142. Two extracts, printed in Leyda, *Log*, 599, 602, from the original MS (1 p.?) at one time in Fields, and from an extract printed in C. A. Wilson, *Thirteen Authors . . .* (New York, Scribner, 1950), 313. Originally this letter was inserted in a copy of *Moby Dick* (New York, 1851).

143. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. The MS has the notation "Purchased from Ben Bloomfield, Dec. 12, 1940 Gansevoort-Lansing Collection Fund." The addressee is doubtful, although Mr. David Randall of Scribner's Book Store seems to recall that he obtained the letter from the library of one of the Harper associates. Another hand has added in brackets after Melville's date the year, 1859. The letter is written on paper with the same watermark "Albion Mills, London," which Melville seems to have begun using late in 1858. It is the same paper, although a single sheet torn from a folded sheet, which Melville used in Letters 140 and 141 (dated 13 and 20 December, 1858), and also the same paper as that of Letter 145 (dated 14 December, 1859). Such evidence supports the year 1859 as the probable date of the letter, although it might have been written in May of the following year when Melville was arranging for the publication of a volume of poems before he sailed on the *Meteor*.

144. Original MS (4 pp.) owned by Mrs. Eleanor Melville Metcalf. Published Howard Vincent, ed., *Collected Poems of Herman Melville* (Chicago, Packard and Co., 1947), 401–3, and in Metcalf, *Cycle*, 174–5.

Transcript. (based on the MS and including any variations from the texts of Vincent and of Metcalf within brackets). *visit me; /]* [visit me: / (Vincent, Metcalf)] *Arcady; /]* [Melville wrote A[r]cady; / Arcady: / (Vincent, Metcalf)] *then, Shepherd]* [then Shepherd (Vincent, Metcalf)] *visit me; /]* [visit me: / (Vincent, Metcalf)] *quandary; /]* [quandary: / (Vincent, Metcalf)] *Majesty; /]* [Majesty: / (Vincent, Metcalf)] *for me. /]* [for me (Metcalf)] *Of chanticleers]* [Of churlishness (Vincent)] *plucky host; /]* [plucky host: (Vincent, Metcalf)] *Northward]* [northward (Metcalf)] *disturbeth me; /]* [disturbeth me: / (Vincent, Metcalf)] *foreshows]* [forshows (Metcalf)] *But other visions stir my head; /]* [bracketed by Melville to indicate a new stanza. New stanza (Vincent), No new stanza (Metcalf)] *pint of]* [hint of (Vin-

cent)] *can eschew; /]* [can eschew: / (Vincent, Metcalf)] *Don't*] [Melville wrote do'nt] *Fates*] [fates (Metcalf)] *Wall-Street*] [Wall Street (Metcalf)] *or two.— /]* [or two,— / (Vincent)] *Yet if*] [But if (Vincent)] *o'ermuch*] [o'crunch (Vincent), O'crunch (Metcalf)] *pose me; /]* [pose me: / (Vincent, Metcalf)] *straight*] [Melville wrote stra[i]ght] *faery dells; /]* [faery dells, / (Metcalf) fally dells; / (Vincent)] *And that*] [caret insert above cancellation of <And <The one> that>].

145. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. The envelope is addressed "George L. Duyckinck Esq. / 20 Clinton Place / New York" and the three-cent stamp is cancelled with a postmark "Pittsfield Mass Dec 1[5?] PAID."

Transcript. 5½ In. by 4¼]5½ In. <and?>by 4¼ *the size*]the <techn[ical?]> size *Beleive*]Belev.

146. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-D. The envelope is addressed "Evert Duyckinck Esq. / N° 20. Clinton Place / New York" and the three-cent stamp is cancelled with a postmark "Pittsfield Mass May 2[1?] PAID."

Transcript. preparing]prepareing *propriety*]propriiety *over them and if they*]over <it,>them and if <it>they *with*]w{i}th *acquaintance*]acquantance *Beleive*]Belev.

147. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Leyda, *Portable,* 584–6; Metcalf, *Cycle,* 183–4. These "memoranda" are in the hand of Elizabeth Melville, either taken down by dictation or recopied by her to be sent to Evert Duyckinck.

Transcript. their expression]the<se>ir expression<s>.

148. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Leyda, *Portable,* 586–7; Metcalf,*Cycle,* 182. The envelope, bearing a cancelled three-cent stamp, is addressed "Evert A. Duyckinck Esq. / New York / N° 20 Clinton Place" and is postmarked "Boston May 28 Mass." The date corrects Melville's query of 29 May in the heading of the letter.

Transcript. Duyckinck]Duyckik *the eve*]the e<?>ve *quite*]<?> quite *finished*]fin{i}shed *copying the*]copying th<wi?>e *brother*] brothe [or brothr?] *as, at*]as at, at *Captain*]Captan *of both*]of <the>both *Francisco*]Franciso *in sea*]in[on?] sea.

149. Original MS (8 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Thorp, 397–400. An envelope accompanying this letter and Letter 150 is addressed by Melville "Mrs. Herman Melville / Pittsfield / Berkshire Co. / Mass." It is postmarked "San Francisco Oct 1[9]" and marked "Overland." The envelope has been readdressed "Care Justice Shaw," and "Pittsfield /

Berkshire Co." has been crossed out. Elizabeth Melville has noted on the back "On the Meteor / Sept 1– & 16th / 1860 / To the / Children." Accompanying this letter is also a note with a fish's "wing": "Wing of a baby flying-fish / sent to 'little Fanny' by her / father from the Pacific / Ocean in a letter dated / Sept. 22d 1860." For the possibility of another letter of this date, see "Check List," Letter 368, p. 315.

Transcript. and has]and h<?>as *the Line*]the L<l>ine *Southward it*]Southward 2.[Melville's numeral for p. 2] it *Southernmost*] Southermost *The wind*]The [blotted] wind *hail-storms, and*]hail-storms, 3[Melville's numeral for p. 3] and *often*]o<?>ften *then heard a thump*]then {heard} a thump *immediately*]immediatly *see what*]see wht *beginning*]begining *shines warm*]shines warm (see page 5th) 5[Melville's numeral for p. 5] *get it in*]get i<n>t in *Isthmus of*]Isthmus 6[Melville's numeral for p. 6] of *Post Office*]<p>Post Office *boys, you*]boys, <I>you *(Continued from 6th page.)*]Melville's brackets, followed by 7 [Melville's numeral for p. 7] *real.— Now, my Dear*]real.—Now, my <d>Dear *I enclose . . . for Fanny*] [Melville's addition, verso of last page of the letter].

150. Original MS (3 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 188. This letter is marked on the back simply "Bessie" and was enclosed with Letter 149. The letter is partly in printscript and partly in Melville's regular hand.

Transcript. PACIFIC]PACIF{i}C *find the*]find <it> the *cherries*] cherris *strawberries*]strawberris *this way*] [followed by Melville's line drawing of two figures hand in hand as they climb a hill].

151. Original MS (1 p.) in HCL-M. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 189. On the back in the same ink and apparently Melville's hand is the note "d'Halbach.": in pencil and another hand "Samuel Shaw."

Transcript. communicative]communcative *tired*]tired [or tried?].

152. Original MS (1 p.) in BA. Elizabeth Melville has added a note on p. 3 of this letter (see above p. 206, n. 4).

Transcript. charged me with]charged {me} with *best remembrances*]best remenberces [or remenbraces?] *his remembrances*]his remembrces [or rememberes?] *through*]thrugh *Sincerely*]Sincerly *Friend*]Frnd.

153. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 16–17. A stamped envelope is addressed "Hon. Peter Gansevoort / Albany / N.Y." and is postmarked "Pittsfield Mar 15 1861 Ms."

Transcript. appointment]appontment *appointment*]appontment *Sincerely & Affectionately*]Sincerly & Affctntly.

154. Original MS (1 p.) in MHS-D. Published James D. Hart, "Melville and Dana," *American Literature, 9* (1937), 53–5. At the top in pencil is the note "Melville."

Transcript. persons]persnes.

155. Original MS (2 pp.) in Rochester. Published Hayford—Davis, 381. Another hand has noted "Herman Melville / N.Y. March 20. 1861."

Transcript. remember me sufficiently]remembr me sufficitly *similar applications*]similar (over) applications.

156. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 17. A stamped envelope is addressed "Hon. Peter Gansevoort / Albany / N.Y." and postmarked "New York Mar 20 1861." It has a notation by Peter Gansevoort "1861. Mar. 20 / Letter from Herman / Melville at New York / Rec^{d} & ans^{d} / 23^{d} Mar '61."

Transcript. M^{r} Weed] [checked and identified by another hand at bottom of page] *find*]f<o[und?]>ind *circumstances*]circumstancs *Were*]W<a>ere *immediately*]*immediatly affectionately*]affectiontly.

157. Original MS (4 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Thorp, 400–1. The letter can be dated 24 and 25 March, 1861, by its association with Melville's trip to Washington D.C. Another hand has inserted the year "1861" at the top of p. 1.

Transcript. from]frm *Senator*]Senator's *Sumner's,*]Sumer's, *Vice President*]Vice Presidnt *appearance*]appearane *previous*]previus *There*]<On?>There *immediately*]immeditly *without*]withut *magnificent*]magnifict *particularly*]particulrly *labyrinths*]labyriths *passages*]pasages *sunning*]suning *beginning*]beging *from*]frm *Though*]Thogh *uncertain*]uncetain[?] *Washington Monument*] Washngton Monumt *Dr Nourse*]Dr Nouse[?] *application*]appliction *think*]thnk *from*]frm *experiences*]experiencs *leaves*]leavs *probably*]probaly *this morning*]this mrng *yesterday*]yesteday *Kisses*] kises.

158. Photostat of the original MS (2 pp.) in NA-S. Published Hayford-Davis, 384. On the outside, in another hand, is the note "Consul—Glasgow / Herman Melville's / letter / N^{o} 11" and Sumner's comment "I call attent[io]n / to this letter from / Herman Melville. / Charles Sumner."

Transcript. not be]<be>not be *Permit me to*]Permit me <th[e?]> to.

159. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 17–18. The stamped envelope is addressed "Hon. Peter Gansevoort / Albany / N.Y." and is postmarked "Gansevoort Aug 10 NY." Peter Gansevoort has noted on the envelope "Herman Melville / Rec^{d} & Ans^{d} / 12. Aug^{t} 1861—."

Transcript. interval]interal *Affectionately*]Affectionatly.

160. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 18. The stamped envelope is addressed "Hon. Peter Gansevoort / Rockaway / Long Island / At the 'Pavilion'." and is postmarked "Pittsfield Mass Aug 16 PAID."

Transcript. Affectionately]Affectionatly.

161. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 196–7. Evert Duyckinck has added within brackets at the top of p. 1 what appears to be "Febr. 1862." Evidently reading "Feb. 1." for "Febr.", Leyda, *Log,* 644, dates this letter accordingly. The specific date is doubtful, however, for it could be any Saturday during February 1862 ("come round tomorrow (Sunday) evening"), when Melville was in New York "rheumatism-bound," and buying or borrowing books. Melville arrived in New York in January and his book purchases began 14 February (Sealts, "Melville's Reading," No. 279).

Transcript. volumes of] [of is blotted but readable] *up and*]up <among> and.

162. Original MS (4 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Weaver, 359–60 (an extract), in Leyda, *Portable,* 602–5 and Metcalf, *Cycle,* 197–9.

Transcript. received]recevd *stigmatise*]stigmatize[?] *opportunities*] opportunites *humanity*]humanty *snoose*]snooze[?] *grievances*]grivances *ignorant jackass-friend*]ignornat jackass-frnd *think*]thnk *teach*] [caret insert] *night*]ni{g}ht *it*] [caret insert] *immediately*] immediatly *entertainment*]entertanment[?] *whatever*]whatere[?] *tourneur*]tourneur [or tournour? for tournure (bustle)] *"God*]God *written*]wrtten *Agents*]<a>Agents *knows*]knws *but they dont*]but {they} dont *appointed*]appnted *command*]commnd *family*]famly *not being very well*]not being vry well *children*]childrn *hei^{a}c*]hei{a}c *now, you boy, if*]now, <my bro>you boy, if *think*]thnk *affectionate*]affectnate.

163. Original MS (3 pp.) in HCL-M. Published Thorp, 402–3.

Transcript. recovery]recove{e}ry *trifling*]trfling[?] *remembrances*]remembernces.

164. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 18–19. The envelope is addressed "Miss Catherine Gansevoort / —Care of Hon. Peter Gansevoort— / Albany / N.Y." and, besides a cancelled three-cent stamp, is postmarked "Pittsfield Feb 17 PAID." The envelope is also marked in another hand "2–17–1863."

Transcript. eclipse]eclipsse *of the gloom*]of <what> the gloom *Lieutenant*]Liutenant *in the career*]in [on?] the carreer *remembrances*]remembences *Affectionately*]Affectionatly *Feb.*]<?>Feb.

165. Original MS (2 pp.) in Rosenbach. The letter was previously owned by the late Capt. Frank L. Pleadwell, who had purchased it from the Hawaiian Book Exchange on 1 May, 1944. Concerning its provenance, he writes: "On Nov. 28, 1948, Mrs. Walter H. Dillingham informed me that the album containing this letter came to her from her mother, Mrs. Fenley, who was no relation of Miss Van Matre."

Transcript. visit in]visit <to>in *incident*]incidnt *should*]shld *furnish*]furnsh *with*]wth *from*]frm *destroy*]destry[?] *would*] wuld *remembrance*]remenbrnc *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

166. Original MS (1 p.) in Barrett. Published *History of the Great Western Fair* (Cincinnati, C. F. Vent, 1864), 187–8, and reprinted in J. H. Birss, *Notes & Queries, 163* (15 October, 1932), 275.

Transcript. several]severl.

167. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. This letter, written in pencil, is addressed on the outside "Evert A. Duyckinck Esq. / 20 Clinton Place" and another hand, probably Evert Duyckinck's, has noted "Herman Melville."

Transcript. from]frm *friends*]frnds *convenient*]convenit.

168. Photostat of the original MS in the Bancroft-Bliss papers, LC. An "uncorrected draught" of the enclosure with this letter, *"Inscription For the Dead At Fredericksburgh,"* was published in facsimile in *Autograph Leaves of Our Country's Authors,* eds. John Pendleton Kennedy and Alexander Bliss (Baltimore, 1864), 189.

Transcript. (with the facsimile variations). *For the Dead*]For the Slain *A dreadful glory*]A glory *ascend;*]ascend. *Of their*] [no indentation] *Strewn*]Strown.

169. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published *Twice a Year* (New York, 1948), 269–70.

Transcript. reappears]reappeares[?] *disfigurement*]disfiguremnt *likewise*]Likewise *accomplished General &*]accomplishd Genearl <,>{&} *Gansevoort*]Gansevrt *Cavalry*]Cavelry[?] *two small*]two

<ch?>small *shoulders*]shulders *matrons*]matrns *children around*] childn arond *first*]fist *Lizzie . . . you.*] [written sidewise across top of p. 1].

170. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-B. Published in *Twice a Year* (New York, 1948), p. 270.

Transcript. book and]book <&>and *congratulate*]congatulate *yourself any*]yourself <in> any.

171. Original MS (1 p.) in Barrett, formerly in McGillicuddy.

Transcript. Cherries]Cherris *traces*]tracs *Charles*]Charls.

172. Clipping of *Boston Weekly Advertiser*[?] in NYPL-GL. Reprinted in Leyda, *Log,* 689. This is a fragment of Melville's letter to John C. Hoadley, which Hoadley quoted in his letter to the newspaper commenting on the death of Malcolm Melville. The original has not been located. The letter can be dated approximately by the evidence in the clipping. Following Hoadley's letter is an article from the New York *Evening Post,* dated 16 September, 1867, which was the Monday following Malcolm Melville's death on 11 September and burial on 14 September. The clipping can thus be dated on 17 or 18 September, allowing time for the *Evening Post* article to be reprinted. If the phrase "last attitude" alludes to Malcolm's burial, as it appears to, the letter would be dated between 14 September and 17 or 18 September, probably 15 September.

173. Original MS. (2 pp.) in BA. The stamped envelope is addressed "Miss Maria Melville / Care Allan Melville Esq. / Pittsfield / Berkshire Co. / Mass." and is postmarked "New York Oct 22."

Transcript. Oct. 22^{d}]2<1>2 <st>^{d} *from*]frm *here from*]here frm *visit*]vist *inquiry*]inqury[?] *yesterday*]yesteday [or yestrday?] *inquire*]inqure *arrived*]arrivd *morning*]morng *inquire*]inqure *dined*]dind *Sunday*]Suday [or Snday?] *yesterday*]yesteday [or yestrday?] *Pittsfield*]Pittsfild *kindly*]kndly *Beleive*]Belev *Affectionately*]Affectintly.

174. Original MS (1 p.) in YUL. Published Leyda, *Log,* 692.

Transcript. in]in [or on?].

175. Excerpt in *Putnam's Monthly Magazine,* n.s., *1* (January 1868), "To Contributors," 5.

176. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 23. Above the heading another hand (Catherine Gansevoort's?) has bracketed and queried the date "1870." The year is more likely 1868, however, as in Leyda, *Log,* 695, because of the association of this letter with the

marriage of Thomas Melville and Catherine Bogart on 6 June, 1868. The reference to "these occasions" seems to imply the marriage occasion. The letter is written on the same paper as Letters 177, 178, and 181, the first two dated in 1868 and the last in 1869.

Transcript. brought]brught *from*]frm *affectionate*]affectionte *you with*]you. with

177. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 19–20. The stamped envelope is addressed "Miss Kate Gansevoort / —Care of Gen. Peter Gansevoort— / Albany, / N.Y." and is postmarked "Pittsfield Aug 18 [1868] Mass." Another hand (Catherine Gansevoort's) has noted "rec'd Aug 19th 1868."

Transcript. over]overe *rememberances*]remenberances *Lizzie . . . invitation*] [added on verso of p. 2].

178. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 20–1. After Melville's heading, another hand (Catherine Gansevoort's?) has added in pencil the year "1868."

Transcript. sort of]sort {of} *without*]withut[?] *yourself*]yourslf *drop*]drp *authority*]authortiy *account*]accont *things where*]things <out?>where *from which*]frm whch *young*]yong *enjoined*]enjond *remember*]renenber *farewell*]farewll *Melville*]Melvile.

179. Original MS (1 p.) in McGillicuddy.

180. Original MS (1 p.) in BA.

181. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL.

Transcript. letter]letter [or letters?] *unseasonable*]unse{a}sonable *and tell*]and <th?> tell *hasten*]hastern[?] *rememberances*]remembreraces *Beleive*]Beleve *Affectionately*]Affectionatly.

182. The MS copy (2 pp.) of the original made by John C. Hoadley, NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 22–3. The letter is headed "[Copy.]" and is concluded "[Herman Melville.] / [Copied by J. C. Hoadley, Lawrence, May 15. 1870.]." On the envelope enclosing the letter is a note in the same hand "Copy of a Letter from / Herman Melville to / his Mother, Madame / Maria Gansevoort Melville. / May 5, 1870." Associated with this letter is a calling card of "Mr Gansevoort Melville 1. St James Place, St James' " with a note on verso "for K. G. L. / if she wants them."

Transcript. 2nd Inst.]2nd, inst. *daily*]da<y>ily *introducing*]introducting *means? is*]means? "is *"this hotel*]"this "hotel *after a*]after "a *great deal*]great "deal *instability*] [repeated at the top of p. 2]

many other things]many <things>other things *Son, Herman.*]Son, [Signed.] Herman.

183. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 24. The letter was enclosed in a stamped envelope addressed "Gen. Peter Gansevoort / Albany / N.Y." and postmarked "New York June 13 10.30 P.M." Another hand has noted on the envelope "1870."

Transcript. Harbor]<h>Harbor *handsomely framed*]handsomly f{r}amed *acknowledgment[s?]*] [the *s* is blurred by writing over the paper margin] *to have a*]to {have} a.

184. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 24–5. The stamped envelope for this letter is addressed "Mrs. Peter Gansevoort / Albany / N.Y. / [1]15 Washington Av." and is postmarked "New York Jan 15 10:00 AM." It is cancelled "J[an] 1[6?] 8 AM."

Transcript. no favorable tidings] [so (Paltsits) but no seems better orthographically and because Henry Gansevoort died shortly thereafter, 12 April, 1871 (see Leyda, *Log,* 719)] *rememberances*]remembraces *Beleive*]Beleve *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

185. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. The stamped envelope for this letter is addressed "Miss Kate Gansevoort / —Care Gen. Peter Gansevoort— / Albany / N.Y." and is postmarked "New York Nov 13 6 PM."

Transcript. sacredly]sacrdly *remembrances*]remembrancs *Affectionately*]Affectinly[?] *Promptitude must atone for brevity*] [marked off by parenthesis].

186. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 25–6.

Transcript. re-visiting] {re-}visiting *early—or rather*]early—<early—> or rather *Affectionately*]Affectintly[?].

187. Original MS (2 pp.) owned by Mr. J. C. Pearson, Cleveland, Ohio. Samuel A. Drake has written on the MS "He afterwards wrote me to address Mrs Lucy M. Nourse, Bath Me only surviving dau. of Major Melville—& w[ife] of Dr Amos Nourse. At my request the lady received an invitation to be present at the Centennial of the Tea Party in Faneuil Hall."

Transcript. possess]possesss *already*]alredy *Shaw. Their*]Shaw. (over) Their *acquainted*]acquanted[?].

188. Fragment of original MS in BA. Published Leyda, *Log,* 727. The fragment was apparently preserved for the autograph signature, since what remains of the letter is on the verso of the scrap bearing

the signature. It can be dated approximately July 1872, by the evidence that Stanwix was in "Sedgwick, Harvey Co Kansas," until that time (Leyda, *Log*, 726) and then went by way of Arkansas, Vicksburg, Miss., and Jackson, Miss., to New Orleans (see the letter of Stanwix Melville to Hope Shaw, 23 February, 1873, in Leyda, *Log*, 731–2).

Transcript. affectionate]affectinte.

189. Photostat of original MS (1 p.) in Abernethy Library of American Literature, Middlebury College, Middlebury, Vermont.

Transcript. prompts]prmpts.

190. Fragment of original MS in NYPL-GL. The fragment was probably preserved for the autograph signature. It includes two sheets of the same paper, one with the heading, the other, with the complimentary close and signature. Associated with the fragment is an envelope addressed "Mrs. Gansevoort / —Care Gen. Peter Gansevoort— / Albany / N.Y." and postmarked "New York Nov 30 1:30 PM." It is cancelled "Dec 2 8[:00]."

Transcript. My Dear Aunt Susan] [the bottom of this line has been cut off] *affectionate*]affectionte[?] *rememberances*]remembrancs [or rememberancs?].

191. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 27–8. The envelope is addressed "Miss Kate Gansevoort / —Care Gen. Peter Gansevoort— / Albany / N.Y." and is postmarked "New York Dec 10 10:30 AM." It is cancelled on the back "Dec 11," and has the notation in Catherine Gansevoort's hand "Herman Melville Dec. 1872." Another note in pencil comments "17 West 38th."

Transcript. ladles]ladles [or ladle.?] *acknowledgments*]acknowledgmnts *libation from*]libation frm *acknowledgment*]acknowldgmt *affectionate remembrances*]affectnte remembrncs *Beleive*]Belev.

192. Original MS (1 p.) in YUL. In pencil, another hand has identified the signature as "Herman Melville." For the addressee, M. Laird Simons, see p. 241, n. 1.

Transcript. intentional]intentinal.

193. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. The envelope is addressed "Gen. Peter Gansevoort / Albany / N.Y. / 115 Washington Av." and is postmarked "New-York Oct. 29 2 PM." The letter can be dated in 1874 by association with the death of Susan Gansevoort on 28 October, 1874.

194. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Metcalf, *Cycle*, 230. The envelope is addressed "Abraham Lansing Esq. / Albany /

N.Y. / 115 Washington Av." and is postmarked "New-York Oct 29 2 PM." The paper is the same as Letter 193 and is associated with the occasion of that letter, Susan Gansevoort's death.

Transcript. give my kindest]give {my} kindest *rememberances*] [Melville has written over the "n" to clarify it].

195. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 34.

Transcript. mentioned]mentiond *after breakfast*]after <the> breakfast.

196. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 33. This letter, written in pencil, cannot be dated precisely. A date (9? August) is possible because the letter seems to have been written on a sudden inspiration shortly after Melville's arrival in Gansevoort, on that day, from a brief stay with the Lansings in Albany on 8 August. A later date is possible, however, since Melville spent the two weeks of his vacation in Gansevoort.

Transcript. brought]brog{h}t *showed me of*]showed <of> me of *and are a caricature*]a<re>nd are a car<e>icature *I referred to*]I <refer{ed} to> referred to *foregoing*]forgoing *outspokenness*]outspokennes [or outspokennss?].

197. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Thorp, 403. The letter was enclosed in an envelope addressed "Gen. Peter Gansevoort, / Albany." and sent with Letter 198 to Abraham Lansing. The envelope is marked in Catherine Gansevoort's hand "Cousin Herman / Melville acknowledging / *rect. of check* Aug. 26th 1875—."

Transcript. nephew]nephew [or Nephew?].

198. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 34. This letter accompanied Letter 197.

Transcript. received]recevd *draft*]drft *during*]durin{g} *Beleive*] Belev.

199. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 35. The letter is pasted in a copy of Count de Montalembert, *The Life of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary,* trans. Mary Hackett, New York, D. & J. Sadlier Co., 1870, which is marked in pencil "Oct 4th 1875" and inscribed "Kate Gansevoort Lansing / frm / Cousin Herman."

Transcript. affectionate]affectintee[?] *rememberances*]rememberaces [or remembraces?].

200. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. The envelope is addressed "Abraham Lansing Esq. / Albany / N.[Y] / 115 Washington Av." and is postmarked "New York Jan 4."

Transcript. received]recevd *received*]receved *spirit*]spirt [or sprit?].

201. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 37.

202. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 38–9. Catherine Gansevoort Lansing has written across the top of p. 1 "Ans'd / July 31st 1876 / enclosing / check for $100.00."

Transcript. expenses]expen<c>{s}es *returning in*]returning on[?] *remembrances*]remembraces *P.S.*] [P.S. and following are written sideways on p. 4] *for your*]for <h?>your *commissions*]commisins[?].

203. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 40.

Transcript. remembrances]remembracs[?] *Beleive*]Belev.

204. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 40–1. The first page has a bracketed date "[1876?]." The letter has been correctly dated by both Paltsits and Leyda in 1876.

Transcript. [Melville has numbered the pages at the top]; *price* (*$4.*)] price [blot] ($4.) *immediately*]immediatly [? blotted] *it to be*] it to to [repeated at top of p. 2] be *arrived*]arrivd *Route from*]Rute [?] frm *from White Mountains*]frm White Mntans [or Mntains?] *whom*]whom [blotted] *Mr Griggs*—]Mr Griggs—[blotted] *am*]am [blotted] *affectionate cousin*]affectnte cousin [blotted] *To Abraham*] [this and following written sidewise on p. 3] *strangers*]strangrs *celebrations*]celebatins[?] *auspicious*]auspicius *Stanwix*]*Stanwi{x}* *imitation*]imitetion *to our N.Y. Hotels*] [caret insert].

205. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 41. Another hand has dated the letter, apparently correctly "1876."

Transcript. much it will]much it <?> will *council*]concil *your purpose*]you{r} purpose *some time*] [caret insert] *greatly*]great <y>ly *precisely*]precisly *Affectionately*]Affectionatly.

206. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 42.

Transcript. contributor, and]contributor, <to an> and *irreproachable*]irrepr<?>oachable *done, does*]done, <can> does *of mutual*]of <?> mutual *ourselves all*]ourselves <all> all *cripples,*]cripples, [comma is blurred] *beleive*]beleve[?] *affectionately*]affectionatly *P.S.*] [P.S. and following written sideways on the verso of p. 1].

207. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 43–4. Across the first page, in Catherine Gansevoort's hand "Ans'd / Sunday / Oct 1st 1876."

Transcript. sweet]sweet [meet (Paltsits, Metcalf)] *from whom*]frm whom *yea*]yea [yes (Paltsits, Metcalf)] *Beleive*]Belev *Affectionately*] Affectionatly.

208. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 44. The stamped envelope (three cents, 1876) is addressed "Mrs. Abraham Lansing / Albany / N.Y. / *115 Washington Ave.*" and is postmarked "New York Oct 12 7 PM." It is cancelled "13 Oct 8 AM," and is marked in Catherine Gansevoort's hand "Cousin Herman / Melville. 1876 / Cousin Lizzie."

Transcript. return from]return frm *With*]Wit{h} *Affectionately*] Affectntly.

209. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 44–5. The envelope is addressed "Abraham Lansing Esq / Albany / N.Y. / *115 Washington Ave.*" and is postmarked "New-York Jan 2 3 PM F." The postal stamp is dated 1876.

Transcript. along all] along (over) all *By we*]By <*we*> *we the special donees*]the {special} donees *acknowledgments*]acknowledgmnts *remembrances*]remenbrances *Sincerely*]Sincerly *Tell Kate . . . commission*] [written in pencil].

210. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 45. The envelope is addressed "Mrs. Abraham Lansing / Albany / N.Y. / *115 Washington Ave.*", is postmarked "New York Jan 4 NY." and is cancelled on the back "Albany Jan 5 8 AM." Catherine Lansing has noted on the envelope "Herman Melville / Cousin Lizzie S.[haw] M.[elville] / 1877—" and another hand has also dated the envelope, 1877.

Transcript. Yet]Yet [or Yes?] *communicated*]communcated *sumptuously*]sumptuosly *suggestions*]suggestins *a happy time*]a [or A?] happy time *Sincerely & affectionately*]Sincerly & affectiontly.

211. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 46–7. Catherine Gansevoort Lansing has written a note across the top of p. 1 "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[nowledged] by me / by mail a few / days afterwards / *K.G.L.*"

Transcript. subsequent]subsequnt *matter on such grounds*]matter <and placed the thing> on such grounds *sooner or later*] [caret insert] *it, and*]it <{again,}>, and *yesterday*]yestrday[?] *tremendous fulminations of*]tremendous <indignation of> {fulminations} of *affectionately*]affectintly.

212. Original MS (6 pp.) and MS enclosure (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 47–50. The letter can be dated Saturday, 31 March,

1877, since this day would be the "Saturday in Easter Week" in that year.

Transcript. putting]put{ting} *wonderful*]wondeful [or wondrful?] *dexterous* <fi[ngers?]> *digits*]dexterous <fi[ngers?] {di}> digits *irresistable*]irresisable *favors*]favors (Leyda) [or favour?], but not yarns (Paltsits, Metcalf)] *Girgente*]Girgente [misspelling of Girgenti] *Agrigentum. Ships*]Agrigentum. <Plenty of> <s>Ships *from*]frm *happened*]happend *officially*]officilly *stones from*]stones frm *magnificent*]magnificnt *fragment*]fragmnt *Lizzie and . . . all.*] [side note on p. 3] *affectionate remembrances*]affectinte renenbrances [or renenberances?] [*Enclosure:*]] [written on a yellow sheet accompanying the letter] *Millenial*]Millnial *dim of late the*]dim <be now> {of late} the *We sham, we shuffle, while*]We {sham, we} shuffle, <we sham>, while *P.S. to the Note*] [written on verso of yellow sheet of stanza 3, and on a separate yellow sheet] *accompanying*]accompaning.

213. Original MS (1 p.) in HCL-M. Published Leyda, *Log,* 761. This brief note is on the verso of an undated fragment of a letter from Elizabeth Melville to Mrs. Lucy Melville Nourse, referring to the death of her husband. It can thus be dated *after* 7 April, 1877, the day of Dr. Nourse' death. It is written on the same square-lined paper as Letter 207, but a single sheet, torn in half.

Transcript. remembrance,]remembrnce, [or rememberance? the word is blurred].

214. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-D. Published Metcalf, *Cycle,* 247–8. This note is written on the back of a New York Customs' form for the discharging of vessels. The envelope is a business envelope with the printed firm name "Chapman Slate Co. / 505 & 507 West St., N.Y.," crossed out by Melville. It is addressed "Evert A. Duyckinck Esq. / No. 20 Clinton Place / *City*" and is postmarked "New-York Apr 13 3 PM." The two-cent stamp, date of issue 1870–1871, is cancelled and on the verso of the envelope is the postal mark "D[elivered] / 4–13 / 4 P[M]," indicating delivery on the same day the letter was mailed, unless the postal clerk failed to change his stamp from 13 to 14 April. Although Melville dates his letter only "Ap. 13, noon," giving no year, the letter is associated with a letter from Thomas Melville to Evert A. Duyckinck (NYPL-D), which is dated "April 15th 1877," thanking Duyckinck for his gift of pictures to Sailor's Snug Harbor and adding, "Hearing from Herman that they are ready for delivery, I will send the Express men for them on Tuesday the 18th[.]" This date appears to be in error by one day, since 17 April rather than 18 April was a Tuesday in the year 1877. Accompanying this is another note from Thomas Melville to

Evert A. Duyckinck (NYPL-D), also dated "April 17th 1877," which observes "Please deliver to bearer four Pictures & oblige . . ." Since both Melville and his brother refer to "Tuesday" as the delivery date for the pictures and since Thomas Melville repeats the year 1877 in his two notes, the letter can be placed in this year.

Transcript. proposed]p{r}oposed *will send*]will <sent> {send} *delivered*]delivred (*Not . . . hand.*) [Melville's bracketed sentence is on the left verso of the sheet.]

215. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL.

Transcript. immediately]immediatly *Beleive*]Belev.

216. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL.

Transcript. are always]are alwys *for one*]fo[r?] onc *find it*]find <at?> it *in which*]in wh{i}ch *Beleive*]belive *affectionate*]affectinte.

217. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 50–1. The letter, headed "Gansevoort, Aug. 14" can be dated in 1877 through Melville's statements in his *"Final P.S."* that he had "left this letter open" for his sister Fanny and that he had been reading Alfred Street's poem "The Old Garden." This poem was published *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* on 18 August, 1877, so that Melville must have added the P.S. in that year, but some time after the body of the letter was written on 14 August.

Transcript. surveyed]su{r}veyed *to occupy*]to <en[gage?]>occupy *penance*] [blurred, so that Melville footnotes and rewrites the word at the bottom of the page] *At Fanny's*]at Fanny{'s} *Illustrated*] Il{l}ustrated.

218. Original MS (4 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 51–2.

Transcript. disposition of whose]disposition of who<m>se *possession*]po{s}session *possess*]po{s}sess [or po{s}sesns?] *True*] [caret insert] *unnecessary*]unecessary[?] *affectionately*]affectntly.

219. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Metcalf, *Cycle*, 253–4.

Transcript. acquaintance]acquantance *acknowledgements*]acknowledgents *rememberances*]rememberaces.

220. Quoted fragment in original MS letter (6 pp.), Frances Priscilla Melville to Catherine Lansing, 15 June, 1878, in NYPL-GL. Published Leyda, *Log*, 768. The fragment is quoted on p. 3 of the letter. Since Frances Melville "heard" from Melville "yesterday," Melville's letter can be dated, 13? June, 1878.

Transcript. summer]summer [not, saneness (Leyda)].

221. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 54. The envelope is addressed "Mrs. Abraham Lansing / Albany / N.Y. / *115 Washington Av.*" and is postmarked "New York Aug 6 1130 PM." The cancellation on the back is "Albany Aug 7 2 PM N.Y."

Transcript. 5th Ave. Advise]5th Ave. (over) Advise *received Wednesday*]recevd Wednday *mountains*]montains *Beleive*]Beleve.

222. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 54–5.

Transcript. Unfortunately]Unfortntly *however*]howevr *which*] whch *should*]shold *presence*]prescen *Saturday*]Saturdy *kindness*] kndnss *convenient*]convenit *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

223. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 55. This letter can be placed in 1878 by the evidence of the writing paper, which is the same white, blue-lined paper with parallel watermark lines and with the same manufacturer's mark of a scroll and poised pen that Melville used for Letter 222, 6 August, 1878. The letter also refers to a recent visit with Abraham and Catherine Lansing, mentioned in his 6 August letter.

Transcript. front]frnt *from*]frm *from a young*]frm a yong *from Jefferson Hill*]frm Jeffersn Hill *Curious coincidence*]Curius coincdnc[?] *Fanny*]Fany *loneliness*]lonlinnes *augmentation*]augmentatn *rub*] rub [or rut?] *friendliest remembrances*]frndliest renenbrcs[?] *remain*] reman.

224. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 56–7. The year "1878" has been added to the heading by another hand (Catherine Gansevoort Lansing's hand?). Both Paltsits, 56, and Leyda, *Log*, 770, assign the letter to this year. This is probably the correct year because of the references in the letter to: (1) 'the young man,' Henry B. Thomas, recently engaged (April 1878) to Fanny Melville; (2) Kate's expected visit with the Melvilles, confirmed by her diary entry of 5 December, 1878; and (3) Elizabeth Melville's departure for a visit in Boston, confirmed by a letter of Frances Melville to Catherine Lansing, of 19 December, 1878.

Transcript. overlook my]overlook by *her*]here *substantially*]substantally *Affectionately*]Affectntly.

225. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 58. The envelope is addressed "Abraham Lansing Esq. / Albany / New York. / 115 Wash. Ave." The three-cent stamp is cancelled and the envelope postmarked "New York Nov 17 630 PM." The letter is cancelled on the back "Albany Nov 18 6 AM."

Transcript. obliged]oblged *hardly think*]hadly thnk *northward*]

northwad *Christmas*]Chrstmas [or Chrtmas?] *wherever*]whervr [or wherer?] *Beleive*]Belv *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

226. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 59. Catherine Lansing has noted across the top of p. 1 "Ack[nowledged] through / Cousin Lizzie / April 22. 1880." Melville writes the date on a slant at the top of p. 1.

Transcript. agreeably impressed]agreably[?] imprssed *and you*]and <yourself> you.

227. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 59.

Transcript. Reception at the]Receptin <by>at the *acknowledgments*]acknowledgents.

228. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 60.

Transcript. [The heading and complimentary opening are written large, with sweeping flourishes]; *all the*]all <n?>the *object*]objct *contributes*]contributs *embellishment*]embellshment *Beleive*]Belev *Affectionately*]Affectntly [or Affectnly?].

229. Original MS (3 pp.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 60–1.

Transcript. acknowledgments]acknldgmnts [or acknldgemnts?] *Wherein*]Whereein *previously had heard*]previusly {had} heard *rumors*]rumors [or rumours?] *should*]shold *present*]presnt *without*] withut *would cheerfully*]wuld cherfully *about*]abut *invitation*]invtatn *frm*]frm *which*]whch *acknowledged*]acknlgd *long*]lng *yourself*]yourslf *pleasant visit from*]pleasnt visit frm *Bessie*]Bese *with*]wth *affectionately*]affectnly *Herman.*] [Melville here slides through the last syllable of Herm—.].

230. Photostat of original MS (2 pp.) owned by Mr. Roger Barrett, Kenilworth, Illinois. The letter includes a third sheet with heading in Melville's hand "Mr. Julian Hawthorne."

Transcript. answering]answing [or answrng?] *your*]yor *imagine*] img{a}ine[*sic*] *enough*]enugh *conveniently*]convenienly *enough*] enugh *daughter*]daughtr *inconvenient*]inconvenit.

231. Original MS (2 pp.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 712. An inaccurate "copy," presumably in the hand of James Billson and written on stationery with the printed heading "98. Regent Road, / Leicester." is in HCL-M.

Transcript. London by]London <By> by *in verse*] [caret insert].

232. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 712. For the "copy" in HCL-M, see textual note for Letter 231.

Transcript. acknowledged]acknwdged *of modern*]of <a> modern *supremely*]supremly *which*]whch *should*]shuld *should I*]shuld I *mailed*]maild.

233. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 712. For the "copy" in HCL-M, see textual note for Letter 231.

Transcript. faery]faery [or fairy? with undotted i] *sterling*]sterling [orthographically better than starling (Leyda)] *spade*]<?>spade *succeeded*]suceeded *enough*]enugh.

234. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. Published Paltsits, 61.

Transcript. acknowledged]acknowlged.

235. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 712. For the "copy" in HCL-M, see textual note for Letter 231.

Transcript. acknowledgments]acknowldgmts *Piece could*]Piece culd *intuitively*]intuitivly [or intuitivley?] *almost any*]almost <any>any *wishes for*]wishes <to>for.

236. Original MS (4 pp.) in YUL. Published Leyda, *Portable,* 622–3. The letter is accompanied by a photograph of Melville taken by Rockwood, 17 Union Square (West), New York.

Transcript. The Sun]the <s>Sun *returned home from*]returnd home frm *temporarily*]temporarly *tomorrow*]tomorw[?] *unnecessary*]unnecssary[?] *in one respect at least,*] [caret insert] *P.S.*] [P.S. and following written in pencil].

237. Original MS (4 pp.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 712–13. For the "copy" in HCL-M, see textual note for Letter 231.

Transcript. unacknowledged]unacknoledged *enter into intricate*] enter <inticrate> {into intricate} *conventionalists*]conventionalits *this would*]this wuld *especially*]especilly *acquaintance*]acquantance *sometimes*]sometis *has a correspondent*]has <a-c?> a correspondent *journals that*]journals <of>that *than that*]th<t>n that *You asked*] You <have> asked.

238. Original MS draft on the verso of p. 6 of the Daniel Orme MSS, in HCL-M. Versions of this draft were published in *Melville's Billy Budd,* ed. F. Barron Freeman (Harvard University Press, 1948), 369, and in Leyda, *Log,* 797. The draft can be dated shortly after 23 January, 1886, since Melville mentions receiving a letter "of the 23^{d}." [Saturday] and also comments on the printing of J. W. Henry Canoll's poem, pub-

lished in the New York *Commercial Advertiser* on Monday, 18 January (Leyda, *Log*, 797). The letter may possibly be dated on Wednesday, 27 January, because of Melville's use of the word "Wednesday" in the draft. The following transcription, made by the editors and Professor Harrison Hayford, is admittedly tentative, but with the exception of one undecipherable word (venture?) presents the most probable reconstruction of Melville's draft. The transcript is in the main a line by line reconstruction, with what appears to be Melville's final version here printed in italics.

I have just recvd your[s] of the 23d. and
<Wednesday> <It> <that> <beg le[a]v[e] to thank>
for it.—<When my attent[io]n was diverted[? or directed?]>
<to your Lines in the Comm.[ercial] Ad.[vertiser]> and I had
<read them>
{*Verse,*}
<{poem}>
beg ple[a]v[e] to thank yo[u] for it. Your <Lines in>
<the paper> <do honor to> *w*<ere>*as inspired by the*
best of feelings <and execited [executed?, excited?]>,<and>*it*
{*the gen[e]r[ou]s[?]*}
g<ave>*ive[s]*{*me*} *true pleasur[e] to* <know> *recognize* <in>
<such a> *spirit*
<as> *that animates them.*— <Still, you will>
pard[o]n me,> *Nor does it* {*at*} <*all*> *abate this*
pleas[ur]able feel[in]g that you gave publi[cati]on to them,
tho' <this> <was an act of not the clearest> {*the wisdom of this*}—
from one p[oi]nt of v[i]ew at least—might adm[i]t of a dou[b]t,
<as to> *For what can one do w[i]th the*
Press. <You perceive> <they> <they ventnture[? venture?]>
<you> <Write back>? {*Retaliate?*} *Sh[o]uld* <th[e]> *it ever*
<condesc[en]d to> *publish the rejoinder, they can*

239. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 713. For the "copy" in HCL-M, see the textual note for Letter 231. The letter is written in two different inks: brown, at first; blue, beginning with "big sigh for the fatality. . . ." In re-reading the letter Melville used blue ink to correct and clarify, dotting the "i's" in "semi-manuscript," "discussion," and "memoir," and inserting an "o" in "profoundly."

Transcript. acknowledging]acknowldging *text, coming*]text, <conveying> coming *profoundly*]prof{o}undly *Voice from*]Voice frm *especially*]especilly *inverting*] [inverting (HCL-M), investing (Leyda)] *interested*]intrested.

240. Original MS (1 p.) in YUL.

Transcript. I beg leave]I <?>beg leave.

241. The fragment quoted in Helen Melville Griggs' MS letter to Catherine Gansevoort Lansing, Lansingburgh, New York, 15 July, 1886, in NYPL-GL. Published Leyda, *Log,* 800–1.

Transcript. account should be] [caret insert of "should be" by Helen Griggs].

242. The MS draft on a page in the Daniel Orme MSS, to the recto of which Melville pinned a scissored page from an early draft of the story. He used the lower half of the recto to continue the sequence begun on the scissored page, which is designated "7" in the final numbering. A version of the draft is printed in *Melville's Billy Budd,* ed. F. Barron Freeman (Harvard Univ. Press, 1948), pp. 369–70, and in Leyda, *Log,* 799. The text below may well be the raw form of the letter mentioned in W. Clark Russell to Melville, 21 July, 1886, since Russell seems to be reiterating Melville's praise of Dana. The handwriting is even more obscure than that in Letter 238, and Melville failed to delete several variants of words and phrases. The transcription is therefore tentative, but what seems to be Melville's nearly final version is indicated by italics. The line arrangement follows Melville's as closely as possible:

Pra[i]se whe[n] m[e]rited is not a boon: yet
to a gen[e]r[ou]s nature, is it pleas[an]t to
utter it. This pl[e]as[u]r[e] [?] *have you {doubtl[e]ssly[?]}taken*
in s[o]me rec[e]n[t] [?] <articles> *contr[i]b[ut]i[o]ns, citing*
<{m[o]st of them de[a]d}>
<vari[ou]s> *cert[ai]n ma[ri]ne[?] auth[o]rs of the pa[s]t* ∧ <;—such>
Now, have you bestowed in <one> *an*
{[which] touch[e]s me som[e]wh[a]t nearly}
instance that <comes a little> ne[ar] to me.
{rendere[d] [?]}
You: You have <excl[ai]m[e]d[?]> <at his> <{ne[a]rly all of them}>
<except[io]n[al] [?] w[o]rk> *as a serious* <deline[ation] [?]>
<of> *and adm[i]r[a]bel* {manual [?*marine*?]} *deline[ato]r*[?] <of
the> <sea & the seam[an],> *R H Dn, Jun*

<{<on or> *two of them, I th[i]nk, still* <living> *surviving*}
{*and* <made>{*offered*} *a* <tribute &c> {*warm tribute,*} <not> {*none the*} *less* <th[an]> *just, to R H D*}
IT IS *his countrymen &c*

243. Original MS (1 p.) in YUL.

Transcript. course]couse [the concluding sentence is in Melville's hand and within brackets here printed as parentheses.].

244. Original MS (1 p.) in YUL. Associated with the letter in YUL is an autograph signature of Herman Melville on plain blue paper and a photograph by Rockwood, 17 Union Square (West) N.Y. The letter can be dated in 1888 since it is Melville's response to the request of E. C. Stedman, dated 20 January, 1888.

Transcript. Edmund]Edmnd. *Knowledge*]knoledge *realize*]realizes[?]. The text of the poem, "Ditty of Aristippus," enclosed by Melville with his letter, is from the original MS (2 pp.) in AAS. It is written on the same make of paper as the letter.

Transcript. believing]beleiing[?].

245. Original MS (1 p.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 713. A penciled note by Billson on the top margin identifies the "volume" mentioned in Melville's letter "referring / Mrs. Cris[?] Clark's / 'For the Term of His Natural Life.'" The "Mrs Cris[?]" is unidentified, but the volume is Marcus Andrew Hislop Clarke's novel, published in Melbourne, Australia, in 1874, and later in London (see p. 287, n. 7).

Transcript. I get] [caret insert].

246. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 713.

Transcript. should]shuld *hardly admits*]hardly <permits> admits *"Two Captains"*]"Two Captains *The names appear*]The<y> {names} appear *tho', on*]tho', <?>on *publisher arrested*]publisher <stopped> arrested *Sincerely*]Sincerly.

247. Typewritten transcript made by E. C. Stedman in COL-S, Autograph Collection. The same hand, probably Stedman's, has changed the "Oc." in the typed heading to "Oct." made other corrections, and noted at the bottom of the page: "Poem Ditty of Aristippus" (see Letter 244).

Transcript. book] [corrected from bok] *corroborative or*]corroborative <a> or.

248. Original MS (3 pp.) in Martin. Published *Nation and Athenaeum, 29* (13 August, 1921), 713.

Transcript. criticisms]criticims *superfluous*]superfluos *enclose*] <i>enclose *Thomson, something*]Thomson, <a sh?> something.

249. Original MS (1 p.) and enclosure in NYPL-GL. Published

Paltsits, 63–4. The enclosure is a typewritten form prepared as a receipt for Melville's share of the remainder of Frances Priscilla Melville's estate, probated 11 March, 1889. The receipt has been marked *"Duplicate,"* dated 16 March, 1889, the sum of $1123.79 filled in, and signed "Herman Melville." (See Paltsits, 64)

Transcript. The first receipt I have destroyed] [marked off with a parenthesis by Melville].

250. Original MS (2 pp.) in Barrett.

Transcript. any volume] any <pages> volume *you allege*]you<r> allege.

251. A copy in HCL-M of the original MS in the archive of Mrs. C. R. E. Willets, Halifax, Nova Scotia. Published Weaver, 380–1, and in V. L. O. Chittick, "The Way Back to Melville, Sea-Chart of a Literary Revival," *Southwest Review, 40* (Summer, 1955), 243, from Leyda, *Log,* 818–19.

Transcript. 12th ult.] [copyist's or Melville's? error for 21st ult.] (see p. 291, n. 5).

252. Photostat of original MS (1 p.) in AAS.

Transcript. Mrs. Abraham Lansing]Mrs Abraham <Lansing> <{L}> {Lansing} [Melville's changes made to clarify the "L"] *Washington*]Washingtin.

253. Copy made by Leyda from the original MS (1 p.?) formerly in the private library of Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach. The present location is unknown. Extracts of it were printed in Leyda, *Log,* 820, and in Metcalf, *Cycle,* 279. The envelope was addressed "Mr. H. S. Salt / 38 Gloucester Road / Regent's Park / London / Eng."

254. Photostat of original MS (2 pp.) in Murray. Published Davis, 218. On the outside is the note "1890. January 12 / Melville H" of John Murray or his clerk.

Transcript. objection]objection [or objectins?] *proposition*]propositin *Law in*]Law in [or on?] *should*]shuld *question must*]questin <can> must *contingent*]conting<n>ent *me, at*]me, <when> at *Mr. John Murray*] [written on the verso of p. 1, opposite text on p. 3].

255. Original MS (1 p.) in YUL. At the top of the page is the penciled note in another hand "Clarel," and also the letter "h-".

256. Original MS (2 pp.) in Martin. The two-cent stamped envelope is addressed "Mr. H. S. Salt / 38 Gloucester Road / Regent's Park / London / England." It is postmarked "New York Feb [?] 4 PM 90[?]" and is cancelled on verso "London Mar 10 90."

Transcript. the reply]th<is?>e reply *that embraced*]that <of> embraced.

257. Original MS (1 p.) in BA. Diagonally, in the left top corner is the note in Catherine Lansing's hand "ack^{d} & / sent recpt.— / May 27, 1890."

Transcript. affectionately]affectionatly.

258. Original MS (2 pp.) in Barrett. Published in Carroll A. Wilson, *Thirteen Author Collections of the Nineteenth Century and Five Centuries of Familiar Quotations,* ed. Jean C. S. Wilson and David A. Randall (New York, Privately Printed for Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), I, 315. The envelope is addressed "Mr. Havelock Ellis / Earlsbrook Road / Redhill, Surrey / England" and is postmarked "New York Aug 12 12 M 90." It is stamped with a two-cent stamp and both a one-cent and two-cent stamp added.

Transcript. reference]renfence *on the paternal side*] [encircled insert] *wife was*]wife <?> was.

259. Original MS (1 p.) owned by Professor Robert H. Elias, Ithaca, New York.

Transcript. interesting]intresting *especially*]especally *reference*] referenc.

260. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. The letter is addressed on the outside of a folded sheet "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / Clinton Place." and is headed simply "Monday Afternoon." This and Letter 261 which follows cannot be dated exactly but appear to have been written in the same year because they are both written on a single folded sheet of the same brand of paper and with similar dark brown (faded) ink. The reference to "M^{r} Ward" in this letter may refer to Samuel Ward (1814–1884), the banker-poet of New York, who had just recently been appointed one of the trustees for the Astor Library (Evert Duyckinck to George Duyckinck, 4 April 1848, NYPL-D). Since Samuel Ward left for California in late 1848 or 1849 and did not return to New York for a decade, Duyckinck's invitation to meet Ward would be before 1849. The associated letter, a response to an invitation to Allan and Herman Melville to attend a picnic with Duyckinck and Mrs. Cooper (Sarah W. Cooper? one of Duyckinck's friends), was "Carried" by Evert Duyckinck, Jr. (1841–1857), who would have been 7½ years old in the summer of 1848 and able then, but scarcely a year earlier, to perform such a service. No evidence has been found for Mrs. Cooper's activities in 1848. Melville is known to have returned from a two-week's vacation in Boston at the end of July. Leyda dates

the second letter as "early August?" 1848, apparently by its association with Melville's picnic at Fort Lee in late July (Leyda, *Log,* 279), but he does not include this letter. No conclusive evidence exists for either letter, but the weight of evidence seems to indicate that both letters were written in August 1848.

Transcript. something]somethng.

261. Original MS (2 pp.) in NYPL-D. The letter is addressed on the outside "Evert A Duyckinck Esq / C<F>arried by / Evert Duyckinck Jr Esq." For the dating, see textual note for Letter 260.

Transcript. friendly]frndly *direction*]dirction *rememberances*]remembercs [or rememberas?] *Pic-nic*]<p>Pic-nic *H.M.*]H.M.(over) *superscription*]superscption *moment*]momt *discovered*]discovrd *has*]<w>has *therefore*]thefore *forced*]focd.

262. Typed copy of the original MS (1 p.) formerly owned by the late Capt. F. L. Pleadwell, Honolulu, Hawaii, sold 8 October, 1958, in the Parke-Bernet Galleries sale no. 1840, item 350. The present location is unknown. The tentative dating of this note in 1848 or 1849 is based solely on the familiar tone of the heading.

263. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-D. The letter is addressed on the outside "Evert A Duyckincke Esq / Clinton Place." No exact dating is possible, although the letter can be associated with one or another of the reviews that Melville prepared for Evert Duyckinck when he was editor of the *Literary World,* beginning in October 1848. The familiar heading, "Dear Duyckinck," would also suggest a date after 1847, when Melville had become more closely associated with Duyckinck (see Davis, 36, n. 7). Besides the review of 6 March, 1847, Melville's reviews were published in the *Literary World* 31 March, 1849, 28 April, 1849, and 16 March, 1850. In addition, Melville received from Duyckinck, Joseph C. Hart's *Romance of Yachting* for review and wrote him a refusal on 14 November, 1848. Leyda associates this note with Melville's refusal and dates it, therefore, "November 13?" 1848, but the dates in March or April 1849, and March 1850, are also possible.

Transcript. Duycknicke] [or Duyckncke?] *contrive*]cont{r}ive *something*]somethg *you*] [caret insert] *Sincerely*]Sincerly *Monday Evening*]Mondy Eveng.

264. Original MS (1 p.) in BA. The letter is headed "Friday Morning" and can be dated only tentatively. It is written on a single sheet of faded white blue-lined paper with a medallion in the upper corner enclosing the manufacturer's name, which though illegible here

is probably "Carsons"—as it is clearly in Letter 102 (25 October, 1852) and others. Melville appears to have used this brand of paper at least from 1852 through 1860, along with other makes of writing paper, but there is no evidence from this to determine a specific year. If Melville's reference to "this day" (Friday) as a "fortunate one, instead of a luckless" implies Friday the 13th, there are a number of such days between October 1850, when the Morewoods moved into "Broadhall," and Mrs. Morewood's death in 1863. On such evidence, one possible date would be Friday, 13 August, 1852, when Samuel Shaw was visiting in Pittsfield and "Mrs Morewood who is gaiety itself has contributed much to their [Melvilles'] pleasure" (Leyda, *Log*, 457). As it happens, on this date Melville wrote Hawthorne a letter to accompany a copy of *Pierre* which had just been published (9 August) and may have wished to remain home for just such a purpose. There is no evidence of any specific party at the Morewood's "Broadhall" on this date, however. More probably the letter can be associated with the second of Mrs. Morewood's fancy dress picnics, which Elizabeth Melville, Augusta, and the three-year-old Bessie attended, but which Melville seems to have missed (Leyda, *Log*, 521–2). This would date the letter on Friday, 29 August, 1856, before the 3 September picnic.

Transcript. Morning]Morng *fortunate*]<fo?>fortunate *a kind*] a<n> kind *from*]frm *ever-excellent*]ever-excellnt *Broadhall*] Broa<d>dhall *unfortunately*]unfortntly *great grief*]gret grif *Adieu*] Adiu *Broadhall*]Brodhall.

265. Undated clipping pasted on the verso of the title page of Susan Gansevoort's copy of *The Refugee* (Philadelphia [1865]), in NYPL-GL, as published in the *New York World*, and reprinted in Leyda, *Log*, 672. The original MS has not been found. Leyda dates the letter "March? 1865," apparently on the basis of the advertisement by T. B. Peterson & Brothers in the New York *Times* (11 March, 1865), announcing *The Refugee* and other books by Melville. Melville's letter, however, emphasizes that he "conveyed" a "remonstrance" to Peterson and Brothers "long ago," which fact would seem to place the letter some time after 1865, the year in which Peterson's registered the copyright for *The Refugee*. In addition, Melville wrote James Billson on 7 April, 1888 (see Letter 246) disavowing any such book and stating that "A letter to the publisher arrested the publication." Either Melville was not aware that Peterson continued to advertise *The Refugee* after 1865, or he did not write his "remonstrance" that "arrested" publication until a much later date, because *The Refugee* was still being advertised on 15 October, 1866—*American Literary Gazette and Publisher's Circular*

(15 October, 1866), 313. Consequently, the letter is here placed among the undated letters as written some time after 11 March, 1865 and before 7 April, 1888.

266. Original MS (1 p.) in NYPL-GL. The letter is written on a single folded sheet of blue writing paper with a medallion enclosing the manufacturer's mark "Carson's Congress." This is the same brand of paper that Melville occasionally used from at least 1861 through 1867 (as in Letters 160, 163, 164, 165, 169, and 171). There must have been occasions in 1854 and 1855 for Melville to have been in New York to accept an invitation from Mr. and Mrs. George Putnam. During this period Melville was writing short stories and sketches for *Putnam's Monthly Magazine* and publishing *Israel Potter* (10 March, 1855) with the G. P. Putnam firm and could have left Pittsfield for short visits in New York to confer about publishing matters. Melville was not using this writing paper at that time, however, so that a later year is probable. Melville was in New York in January 1862, but he was apparently "rheumatism-bound" and not able to go about, and the following year he was also there, but later in January or early February. The most probable date thus seems to be 15 January, 1868, when George Putnam was reviving his magazine and seeking contributors (see Letter 175, and n. 7).

267. Original MS (1 p.) in AAS. No exact dating of this brief note is possible, though one would guess that it is in the 1870's or 1880's.

268. This MS fragment of a letter (BA) is written on a sheet of lined, off-white paper cut for the signature. It cannot be dated. The fragment has been associated (Leyda, *Log*, 797–8) with the manuscript power of attorney sent by Melville to Stanwix and returned with Stanwix's signature. No final evidence for the association of these two items exists, but it is possible that this fragment of Melville's letter has been preserved only because it was returned with the power of attorney or among Stanwix's effects after his death on 23 February, 1886. The power of attorney, written and dated in Melville's hand, San Francisco, California, February 1886, and signed by Stanwix, who has inserted "14th" (NYPL-GL), reads as follows (with italics for words not in Melville's hand):

San Francisco California

I authorise my Father Herman Melville to receive for me, from the Executor or Admini{s}trator of my Aunt Fanny Melville{s} "will" the sum of one hundred $100.00" therein bequeathed to me—and to give his receipt for the same as if paid to me personally

Feby *14th* 1886 *Stanwix Melville*

269. Original MS (1 p.) in Doheny. The letter cannot be dated exactly. It is written on a single folded sheet of white ribbed paper with a shield-like design, exactly like the paper of Letter 244, which has been dated 29 January, 1888. The letter could have been written any time between 1873 and 1891, with reference to one of the numerous works that Rossiter Johnson edited (see p. 305, n. 9), but the letter has here been dated tentatively as 11 December, 1887? because of the evidence from the writing paper.

Transcript. Dec. 11th] [added later by Melville in a different ink] *9th is received*]9th <?>is received.

270. *Swann Catalogue* (3 April, 1942), sold for $7.00. The present owner has not been located.

271. Original MS (1 p.), in Barrett. Neither the addressee nor the date can be established.

INDEX

The Textual Notes, the citations in the footnotes, and the Check List of Unlocated Letters have not been indexed.

Acushnet (ship), 3, 35 n., 46 n., 72 n., 109 n.
Adler, George J., 115, 118, 122, 123; biographical note, 115 n.
"Agatha" letter to Hawthorne, xvi, xxiii, 101, 153–61
"Agatha" story, HM writes, 162, 164, 172 n.
Albany, N.Y., Melvilles move to, 3
Albany *Argus*, 37, 59, 255
Albany Academy, 3, 7 n., 16 n., 242
Albany *Evening Journal*, 9 n., 37 n., 44 n.
Albany Law School, 242
Albany *Microscope*, letters to, 7–9, 9–15, 15–16
Albany Young Men's Association, 51 n.
Alexandria, HM plans to visit, 184
American Review, 87 n; HM article sent to, 25; review of *Omoo* in, 164 n.
Ann Alexander (ship), 139 n., 140
Appletons (publishers), 198
Appleton's Encyclopaedia of Biography, 192 n.
Arnold, Matthew, 280
"Arrowhead," 114 n., 217 n.; HM buys, 101
Aspinwall, 203
Astor, William B., 301 n.
Atlantic and Great Western Insurance Co., 201 n.
Atlantic Monthly, 187 n.
Austin, Ben W.: biographical note, 292 n.; letter to, 292
Austria, Italian uprising against, 195 n.
Authors Club, 285 n.

Baldwin, Roger Sherman (?), 91
Baltimore, HM lectures in, 193 n.
Bancroft, George, 48 n., 89 n.
Baring Brothers, 301 n.
Barrs, John W., 282, 289, 293
Barry, William H., letter to, 194
Bassett, Daniel E., 9 n.
Bayle, Pierre, 83, 84 n.
Beckman, James W., 136; biographical note, 136 n.
Bell, Robert, 110, 252
Bengal (ship), 213 n.
Benjamin, Park, 144 n.
Bentley, Richard, 66 n., 80, 81, 94 n., 95, 105 n.; publishes *Mardi*, 21; publishes *White-Jacket*, 21; biographical note, 63 n.; letters to, 63–64, 81–82, 85–87, 87–89, 109–10, 133–35, 149–51
Bentley, Samuel, 63 n.
Bentley's Miscellany, 85 n.
Béranger, Pierre Jean de, 253
Bermuda, HM visits, 223
Billson, Charles James: biographical note, 275 n; letters to, 275–76, 276, 277, 278–79, 280–81, 282–83, 287, 287–88, 289
Blackwood and Sons, 180 n.
Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine, review of *Omoo* in, 64 n., 66
Blake, William, 283, 289
Bleecker, Harmanus, 48 n.
Bliss, Alexander, letter to, 223–24
Blount, Mary S., 63 n.
Bogart, Catherine Eliza. *See* Melville, Catherine Bogart
Bogart, S. V. R., 234 n.
Bok, Edward, 297 n.
Bok, William John: biographical note, 297 n.; letter to, 297
Bok Syndicate Press, 297 n.
Boker, George Henry, 230 n.
Boosey v. Purday, 88 n.

Borrow, George, 120 n.
Boston *Post*, 84
Boyd, Mac Henry, 28
Bradford, Alexander W., 27 n.; biographical note, 26 n.; letter to, 25–27
Bradford, John M., 26 n.
Bradford, Marianne Gray, 26 n., 27
Bradford, Melvin O., 46 n.
Bradstreet, General, 34 n.
Brady, Matthew (?), photograph by, 243 n.
Brewster, Charles (?), 225
Brewster, George H., 225 n., 250
Briggs, Charles Frederick, 172 n., 173 n., 230 n.
Bright, Henry Arthur, letter to, 186–87
Brittain, Ellen, 167, 206, 219
Broadhall (Pittsfield inn), 111 n., 114 n.
Brodhead, John Romeyn, 50–53, 66, 75 n., 76, 81, 87, 89; biographical note, 48 n.; letters to, 48–49, 56–58
Brook Farm, 162 n.
Browne, John Ross, *Etchings of a Whaling Cruise*, HM reviews, 55 n.
Browne, Sir Thomas, 78, 84
Bryant, William Cullen, 89 n., 175 n.
Buchanan, James, 32, 33 n.; letter to, 30–31
Buchanan, Robert, 278
Buckham, Mr., 162 n.
Buffalo *Commercial Advertiser*, 36 n., 38 n., 42 n.; prints Greene's letter on *Typee*, 35
Bulwer-Lytton, Edward George, 138 n., 168 n., 305 n.
Burton, Robert, 82
Butler, Fanny Kemble, 77 n.
Butler, Pierce, 77–78 n.
Butler, William Allen, 77; biographical note, 77 n.

Cairo, HM plans to visit, 184
Camelot Series, 293, 295, 296 n.
Canoll, John W. Henry, letter to, 281–82
Cape Horn, HM rounds, 202
Capelle, Mme., 105
Carlyle, Thomas, 122 n., 131 n., 291 n.
Carolus (ship), 258 n.
Cary, Phoebe, 230 n.
Cary sisters, 175 n.
Cavour, Count Camillo Benso di, 195 n.
Centennial Exposition, Philadelphia, 252
Chagres, 203
Chambers, W. F., 30 n.
Chambers's Edinburgh Journal, notice of *Typee* in, 26
Chandonette, Mary Ann. *See* Gansevoort, Mary Ann Chandonette
Channing, Ellery, 162 n.
Chapman, George, 191
Charles and Henry (ship), 3, 109 n.
Chaucer, 247–49, 251, 252, 266, 267
Chicago, University of, 291 n.
Chicago Record, 192 n.
Chicago Young Men's Association, 192 n.
Chorley, Henry Fothergill, 84 n.
Church Book Society, 191 n.
Church Record, 192 n.
Cist, Lewis Jacob, 190 n.
Civil War, 215, 219, 223, 285 n., 290 n.
Clark, Mr., of Pittsfield, 206 n.
Clark, Justin Wright, 260 n.
Clarke, Marcus Andrew Hislop, 287 n.
Clarke, R., 219 n.
Clarksville Literary Association, letter to, 189
Clifford, John H., 153 n., 154 n., 158
Colburn, Henry, 63 n.
Cold Harbor, Battle of, 226
Collector of Customs, letter to, 230
Columbia University, 291 n.
Constantinople, HM plans to visit, 184, 186
Constellation (ship), 63 n.
Cooper, James Fenimore, 86 n., 88 n., 89 n., 120 n., 144, 145, 303 n.
Cooper, Sarah W., 302 n.
Copyright, securing of, 50, 52, 88, 94, 134
Coventry, John, pseudonym of John Williamson Palmer, 290 n.
Cramer, William E., 60 n.
Crawford, F. Marion, 301 n.
Critic, 46, 47 n., 85 n.
Croswell, Edwin, letter to, 59–60
Crowquill, Alfred, pseudonym of A. H. Forrester, 110
Cupples, Captain, 284 n.
Curtis, George William, 173 n., 230; bi-

ographical note, 188 n.; letters to, 188–89, 189
Curtis and Peabody (ship-owners), 215
Cyclopaedia of American Biography, 191 n.
Cyclopaedia of American Literature, 283 n.

Dacier, Madame, trans. Plato, *Phaedon*, 83, 84 n.
Dalhousie University, Halifax, 291 n.
Dana, Richard Henry, Jr., 284; letters to, 92–93, 106–8, 207–8
Daniel, Mrs., HM calls on, 96
Darien, Isthmus of, 203
Davidson, Mr., HM calls on, 193
Davidson, David, 95
Davis, Senator John, 89 n.
Davis, John Chandler Bancroft, 89
De Forrest, J. W., 188 n.
Dekker, Thomas, 213
Delf, Thomas, 95
Derby, Mary J. *See* Greene, Mary J. Derby
Deville, James, 112 n.
Dexter, Elias, letter to, 233
Dickens, Charles, 137 n., 181 n., 305 n.
Dietz, William H., 120 n.
Dix, John Adams, 56; biographical note, 56 n.
Dix and Edwards, letters to, 173 (bis), 174, 176–77, 177–78, 179, 180
Dolly (ship), 46
Don Juan, quoted, 214
Doolittle, Mr., anecdote concerning, 116
Douglas Jerrold's Shilling Magazine, notice of *Typee* in, 46, 47 n.
Dow, Dorothy Knapp, 163 n.
Dow, Elizabeth, letter to, 163–64
Drake, Samuel Adams, letter to, 238–39
Duyckinck, Evert A., 21, 87 n., 149 n., 186, 191 n.; letters to, 35–36, 36–37, 42–43, 47, 48, 52, 55, 69, 73–75, 76–78, 78–80, 81, 82–84, 93–94, 94–96, 101–3, 105–6, 110–14, 114–15, 115–18, 119–22, 122–23, 135–36, 136–37, 139–41, 147–48, 197–98, 200–1, 212–13, 219, 261, 301, 302 (3), 302–3
Duyckinck, Mrs. Evert A., 95
Duyckinck, Evert, Jr., 103
Duyckinck, George Long, 69 n., 78, 94, 102, 103, 111 n., 119 n., 120 n., 136 n., 149 n., 185, 186; biographical note, 191 n.; letters to, 191, 192–93, 193, 197
Duyckinck, Henry, 103
Dwight, John S., 131 n.
D'Wolf, Mary Melville (HM's aunt), 24 n.

Eaton, Joseph Oriel, 234 n.
Eclectic Review, notice of *Typee* in, 46, 47 n.
Edinburgh, HM visits, 183 n.
Editors, letters to: Albany *Microscope*, 7–16; *Harper's Magazine*, 194; *Literary World*, 149; New York *World*, 304; *Putnam's Monthly Magazine*, 230
Eliot, George, 181 n.
Elliot, Charles W., 230
Ellis, Havelock: biographical note, 296 n.; letter to, 296
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 144 n., 175 n., 186 n., 295 n.; HM hears and praises, 77, 78–80
Emerson's United States Magazine, 230 n.
Episcopal Church, 191 n.
Erskine, Ralph, 82 n.
Essex (ship), 140 n.
Eton College, 292 n.
Evangelist, review of *Omoo* in, 64 n.

Faneuil Hall, 238 n.
Félix, Elisabeth-Rachel, 94
Flitch of bacon, custom of carrying, 112 n.
Florence, consulship at, 207, 208
Fly, Eli James Murdock, 16, 122, 123 n., 149; biographical note, 16 n.
Foote, Mr., editor of the *Buffalo Commerical Advertiser*, 36 n.
Forrester, Alfred Henry. *See* Crowquill, Alfred
Fort Hamilton, HM visits, 217
"Fort Stanwix Hotel," Albany, 248
Fowler, Henry, 120 n.
Fowler, Lorenzo, biographical note, 112 n.
Fowler, Orson S., biographical note, 112 n.
Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, 264 n.

Fuller, Margaret, 167 n.
Fuller, Philemon, 46 n.

Galena, Ill., HM job-hunting in, 3
Gansevoort, Catherine (1789–1853). *See* Van Vechten, Catherine Gansevoort
Gansevoort, Catherine (1839–1918). *See* Lansing, Catherine Gansevoort
Gansevoort, Catherine Van Schaick (HM's grandmother), 33 n.; letter to, 4
Gansevoort, Guert (HM's cousin), 215, 232
Gansevoort, Henry Sanford (HM's cousin), 7, 217, 236, 237, 243, 250 n.; letter to, 224–26
Gansevoort, Herman (HM's uncle), 7, 54 n., 181 n., 211, 248 n., 251, 268 n., 284 n.
Gansevoort, Leonard (HM's uncle), 4 n., 23 n., 34 n.
Gansevoort, Maria. *See* Melvill(e), Maria Gansevoort
Gansevoort, Mary Ann Chandonette (HM's aunt), 4
Gansevoort, Mary Sanford (HM's aunt), 7, 33 n., 217 n., 224 n.
Gansevoort, Peter (HM's grandfather), 33 n., 217, 292
Gansevoort, Peter (HM's uncle), 4, 16 n., 48 n., 162 n., 169 n., 207, 217 n., 231, 232, 235, 236, 237, 241, 242, 245, 246, 248 n., 252 n., 262 n.; letters to, 4–7, 32–33, 34, 55–56, 175–76, 181–82, 208–9, 211–12, 212 (bis), 233–34, 235–36, 237–38, 241, 243–44
Gansevoort, Susan Lansing (HM's aunt), 24 n., 33, 207, 212, 231, 232, 234–38, 241, 242, 245; letters to, 175–76, 236, 240
Gansevoort Hotel, 235
Gardner, Augustus Kinsley, 175 n.; biographical note, 105 n.; letter to, 105
Gardner, Samuel Jackson, 105 n.
Gaunt, Benjamin, 62 n.
Gentleman's Magazine, notice of *Typee* in, 46, 47 n.
Gibbon, Edward, 258
Gifford, Arthur N., 279 n.
Gifford, Ellen Marett, 91 n., 236; biographical note, 279 n.; letter to, 279–80
Glasgow: HM visits, 183; consulship at, 211
Glasgow (ship), 181 n.
Godwin, Parke, 188 n.
Goethe, 130, 131; quoted, 131 n.
Gray, Marianne. *See* Bradford, Marianne Gray
Gray, Thomas, 77
Graylock Mountain, 111 n., 135
Greeley, Horace, 144 n., 192 n.
Greenbush, N.Y., HM teaching in, 3
Greene, Alfred, 9 n.
Greene, Herman Melville, 35 n.
Greene, Mary J. Derby, 35 n.
Greene, Richard Tobias ("Toby"), 3, 21, 35–39, 42 n., 44 n., 45, 46; biographical note, 35 n.
Griggs, George, 152 n., 238, 248, 284 n.
Griggs, Helen Maria Melville (HM's sister), 4 n., 23, 62 n., 152 n., 238, 248, 249, 251, 264, 266, 268 n., 273, 302 n.; letters to, 284
Griswold, Rufus Wilmot, 89 n., 120 n., 240 n.; biographical note, 144 n.; letter to, 144–45

Hahn-Hahn, Countess Ida, biographical note, 167 n.
Halleck, Fitz-Greene, 120 n., 144 n.
Hamlin, Hannibal, 209
Handwriting of Melville, xxi–xxv
Harper, J. W., Jr., 81 n.
Harper Brothers, 52, 55, 86, 198; publish *Mardi*, 21; agree to publish *Omoo*, 49; letters to, 60, 80, 164–65, 165, 167–68, 168–69, 170–71, 171 (bis), 172
Harper's New Monthly Magazine, 101, 168 n., 169 n., 171 n., 188 n., 194
Harper's Weekly Magazine, 188 n.
Harpooner, HM claims to have been, 109
Hart, Joseph C., 302 n.; *Romance of Yachting*, HM comments on, 73–75
Harte, Bret, 227 n.
Hartnett, Misses, 250, 267
Harvard University, 291 n. *See also* Houghton Library

Haven, Victorine, 169 n.
Hawthorne, Julian, 123, 125 n., 127 n., 146, 153, 163; letters to, 148, 274
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 120 n., 144 n., 146, 188 n.; Melville letters published in early biography of, xv; "Agatha" letter, xvi, xxiii, 101, 153–61; HM's friendship with, 101; HM's critical review of, 113, 114; *Twice-Told Tales*, 121; HM visits, 136 n., 164 n., 184–86; letters of, published, 274 n.; letters to, 118–19, 123–25, 126–31, 132–33, 135, 141–44, 152–53, 153–61, 161–62, 162–63
Hawthorne, Rose, 153, 163
Hawthorne, Sophia Amelia Peabody, 113 n., 118, 119, 169 n.; letter to, 145–47
Hawthorne, Una, 146, 153, 163
Hayes, Rutherford Birchard, 255; biographical note, 255 n.
Hazard, Willis P., 197
Hazlitt, William, 295 n.
Henderson, Sophie, 138, 218 n. *See also* Van Matre, Sophie
Hendrik Hudson (river boat), 34 n.
Henry Clay (ship), 140 n.
Herbert, George, 197 n.
Hibernia (ship), 52 n.
Hoadley, Catherine Melville (HM's sister), 4, 23, 162 n., 228 n., 238, 259, 263, 264, 266, 295; letters to, 21–23, 272, 273
Hoadley, Charlotte Elizabeth ("Lottie"), 238, 295
Hoadley, Charlotte Sophia Kimball, 228 n.
Hoadley, Francis Washburn ("Frankie"), 238, 263
Hoadley, John Chipman, 162, 234 n., 238, 243, 267, 272, 273 n.; biographical note, 228 n.; letters to, 228, 256–60
Hoadley, Maria Gansevoort. *See* Mackintosh, Maria Gansevoort Hoadley
Hoffman, Charles Fenno, 83, 306; biographical note, 83 n.
Holden's Dollar Magazine, 119 n., 120, 123, 129
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, 192 n., 295 n.
Home Journal, 46 n., 97 n.
Homer, Chapman's translation of, 191
Horne, Richard Henry, 288 n.
Houghton Library, Harvard, portrait of HM in, 234 n.
Housatonic River, 135
Household Words, 137
Howard, Charles, 126 n.
Howard, Henry, 127 n.
Howe, Julia Ward, 301 n.
Hows, John A., 252 n.
Hudibras, HM presents copy to E. A. Duyckinck, 102
Hunt, Leigh, 122
Hurlbut, Catherine Van Vechten, 23 n., 267
Hurlbut, Elisha P., 23 n., 263, 267
Hutchinson, Ellen Mackay, letter to, 285

Illustrated London News, 85 n.
International Monthly Magazine, 120 n.
Irving, Washington, 89 n., 144 n., 175 n.
Isles of Shoals, 163
Italy, rises against Austria, 195 n.

Jacket, green, contrived by HM, 107
James, Charles Leigh, 130 n.
James, G. P. R., 130 n.
John Bull, 85 n.; notice of *Typee* in, 46
Johnson, Edwin Rossiter, letter to, 305

Keats, John, 276
Kennedy, John Pendleton, 144 n., 223 n.
Kimball, Charlotte Sophia. *See* Hoadley, Charlotte Sophia Kimball
Knapp, Elizabeth. *See* Shaw, Elizabeth Knapp
Kossuth, Louis, 144 n.

Lamb, Charles, 107–8
Lamson, A. D., letter to, 190
Landor, Walter Savage, 295 n.
Langford, Joseph Munt, biographical note, 180–81 n.; letter to, 180–81
Lansing, Abraham, 217 n., 232, 235, 236, 246, 247, 249, 251, 252, 254, 266, 267, 269, 270, 278 n., 295; letters to, 242 (bis), 244, 245, 247–48, 253, 262, 263–65, 271, 272, 277–78, 290
Lansing, Anna, 264

Lansing, Catherine Gansevoort (HM's cousin), 207, 212, 225 n., 232, 234–36, 238, 242, 244, 253, 292; letters to, 217–18, 230–31, 231–32, 232, 237, 240–41, 243, 244–45, 245–46, 246–47, 247, 247–48, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 254–55, 262–63, 263–65, 266–67, 267, 268, 269, 269–70, 270–71, 271, 295
Lansing, Christopher Yates, 242 n.
Lansing, Edwin Yates, 225, 250
Lansing, Susan. *See* Gansevoort, Susan Lansing
Lansing, John Thomas, 271
Lansingburgh, N.Y., HM moves to, 3; HM living in, 21
Lathers, Richard, 201 n.
Lawrence, Abbott, 89 n.
Lee and Shepard, letter to, 294
Lenox Library, 268, 269
Letters of Melville: history of publication, xv–xvi; categories, xvi–xvii; lost and destroyed, xviii–xx; "Agatha" letter, xvi, xxiii, 101, 153–61
Lincoln, Abraham, 208 n., 209, 210
Lincoln, Mary Todd, 210
Literary World, 84 n., 105 n., 123; HM contributes reviews to, 21; E. A. Duyckinck edits, 52 n.; extracts of *Mardi* in, 81 n.; C. F. Hoffman edits, 83 n.; *Mardi* reviewed in, 86 n.; HM reviews Parkman in, 96 n.; HM's essay on Hawthorne in, 113; HM's appreciation of, 118; announces new volume by Hawthorne, 129 n.; HM cancels subscription, 149; G. L. Duyckinck edits with brother, 191 n.; HM refuses to review Hart in, 303 n.
Liverpool, HM visits, 182, 186 n.
Liverpool *Daily Post,* 278 n.
Lombroso, Cesare, 296 n.
London *Athenaeum,* 84; notice of *Typee* in, 46
London *Daily Telegraph,* 278 n.
London *Examiner,* 46, 47 n., 84
London *Literary Gazette,* 59, 84
London *Observer,* 181 n.
London *Spectator,* 39 n.
London *Sun,* notice of *Typee* in, 46
London *Times,* notice of *Typee* in, 46
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 88 n., 126 n., 144 n., 162, 175 n., 295n.
Lowell, James Russell, 187 n., 192 n., 295 n.
Lucia di Lammermoor, HM sees, 55
Lucy Ann (ship), 3, 41, 109 n.
Lynn, HM lectures in, 194 n.
Lynn Young Men's Debating Society, 194 n.

MacCready, William C., 180 n.
Mackay, Charles, 190
Mackintosh, Maria Gansevoort Hoadley ("Minnie," HM's niece), 238, 266, 273
Mackintosh, William H., 273 n.
MacMechan, Archibald: biographical note, 291 n.; letter to, 291
Manila, HM plans to visit, 200
Marcy, William L., 56 n.; letter to, 31–32
Marett, Ellen. *See* Gifford, Ellen Marett
Marett, Martha Bird Knapp, 279 n.
Marett, Philip, 279 n.
Markham, Gervase, 122 n.
Marlowe, Christopher, 213
Marquesas Islands, HM in, 3, 35 n.
Martin, Charles, 120 n.
Martineau, Harriet, 138 n.
Mathews, Cornelius, 111, 112
McClellan, George Brinton, 215
McKay, Donald, 228 n.
McLane, Louis, 28 n., 30–32
McLaughlin, George, letter to, 219
Melvill, Allan (HM's father), 3, 4 n.
Melvill(e), Maria Gansevoort (HM's mother), 3, 4, 17 n., 152 n., 164 n., 233, 243, 284 n.; dies, 243 n.; letter to, 234–35
Melvill, Robert (HM's cousin), 4, 111 n.
Melvill, Thomas (HM's grandfather), 238
Melvill, Thomas, Jr. (HM's uncle), 3, 4 n., 79 n.
Melville, Allan (HM's brother), 4, 23, 47, 69 n., 80 n., 87, 147 n., 197, 219, 231, 236, 302; HM living with, 21; sends *Mardi* proof sheets to Murray, 75 n.; marriage of daughter, 137 n.; law partner of Shepherd, 195 n.; visits Henry

S. Gansevoort, 217, 224 n.; sells house to HM, 218 n.; first wife, 268 n.; letters to, 16, 17, 182–86; memorandum for, 198–99

Melville, Augusta (HM's sister), 4 n., 28, 61 n., 75 n., 118, 122, 147, 190 n., 237, 238, 245, 302 n., 303 n.

Melville, Catherine. *See* Hoadley, Catherine Melville

Melville, Catherine Bogart, 213 n., 234, 238, 246

Melville, Catherine Gansevoort (HM's niece), 229

Melville, Elizabeth ("Bessie," HM's daughter), 101, 203, 253, 254, 263, 267, 270, 272, 274, 279, 303 n.

Melville, Elizabeth Knapp Shaw (HM's wife), 47 n., 104, 163 n., 185, 186, 213, 217, 226, 231–36, 240, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251, 253–55, 259, 261 n., 262, 263, 267–74, 302 n.; marries, 21; birth of Malcolm, 21; writes Hope Shaw, 65 n.; strength returning, 84; reconciled to HM's journey abroad, 91; birth of Stanwix, Elizabeth, and Frances, 101; in Boston with Malcolm, 118; half-brother visits, 205 n.; writes to Sarah Morewood, 206 n.; visits at Gansevoort and Pittsfield, 211, 212; ill, 215, 279–80; friendship with Helen Maria, 284 n.; at fancy dress picnic, 303 n.; letters to, 204–5, 209–10

Melville, Florence (HM's niece), 229

Melville, Frances. *See* Thomas, Frances Melville

Melville, Gansevoort (HM's brother), 3, 4 n., 21, 23, 26 n., 37, 48, 60 n., 169 n.; dies, 28 n., 30–33; buried, 34; letters to, 16, 28–29

Melville, Helen Maria. *See* Griggs, Helen Maria Melville

Melville, Herman

LIFE (*see also biographical outlines on* 3, 21, 101, 223): teaching school in Pittsfield, 4–5; reading, 6, 73–75, 77, 82, 84, 96 n., 102–3, 105 n., 121, 122, 131 n., 138, 191, 213, 225, 227, 244, 253, 256–57, 264–65, 276–78, 280–81, 282–83, 287–90, 292, 302; quarrel with Van Loon over Philo Logos Society, 7–16; elected president of Philo Logos Society, 9 n.; travels abroad, 17 n., 91–97, 106–8, 110, 180 n., 181–87, 200–6; seeks governmental aid for brother's burial expenses, 30–33; makes burial arrangements, 34; arranges for publication in England, 37–41, 48–60, 63–76, 81, 86–91, 133–35, 149–51, 293–95; writes and publishes sequel to *Typee*, 37–46; payments to, for writings, 43 n., 57, 58, 67, 69, 71, 75, 81 n., 86, 88, 94 n., 109, 133 n., 149–51, 164, 165 n., 167, 168, 170, 173, 174 n., 176–77; publishes *Omoo*, 48–60; proofsheets seized by English customs, 57; publishes *Mardi*, 75–82; attends Emerson lecture, 77; publishes *Redburn*, 87–91; publishes *White-Jacket*, 92, 95; entertains Duyckinck in Pittsfield, 111–12, 116 n., 136; publishes essay on Hawthorne, 113–14; daily writing schedule, 117; friendly with Hawthorne, 118–19, 121, 123–33, 141–43, 152–53, 184–85; publishes *Moby Dick*, 133–35; birth of son Stanwix, 139; publishes *Pierre*, 149–51; urges Hawthorne to write "Agatha" story, 153–63; publishes *Israel Potter*, 169–70, 174, 176–77; publishes *The Piazza Tales*, 177–80; hears MacCready in *Othello*, 180 n.; dines with Albert Smith, 180 n.; lectures, 189–90, 192–94; eye trouble, 191 n., 224; publishes verses, 197–99; attempts to secure consulship, 207–11; in Washington, 209–11; meets Lincoln, 209–10; sufers fall from wagon, 216; moves to New York, 218–19; visits Civil War army camp, 224–26; death of son Malcolm, 228–29; serving in customs post, 230; visits "Arrowhead," 231–32; Christmas on Staten Island, 238; receives subsidy for *Clarel*, 243–44; cost of publishing *Clarel*, 246; buys Chaucer for Lansings, 248–49, 251, 252; refuses money from Catherine Lansing, 250; receives legacies, 262, 279 n., 290 n.; visits Saratoga Springs, 263; daughter Frances marries, 271; sister Priscilla dies, 278; retired, 291; illness, 292

Melville, Herman (*continued*)
OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES: authorial frankness, 96; Robert Buchanan, 278; Robert Burton, 82; Fanny Kemble Butler, 77–78; William Allen Butler, 77; copyright, 88–89, 94, 134; change of *Typee* title, 40–41; R. H. Dana, 106; debating society, 15; Emerson, 77–79; etiquette, 126; Glasgow and Edinburgh, 183; Hart's *Romance of Yachting*, 173–75; Hawthorne, 121–25, 142, 152–53; Charles Fenno Hoffman, 83; ignorance, 214; intellect, 126; Keats, 276; Lincoln, 209–10; Mexican War, 29; *Moby Dick*, 146; Edward Moxon, 107–8; music, 105; John Williamson Palmer, 290; payments for English publication, 66–68; publishing romances, 71; publishing verses, 198–99; *Redburn*, 91–92; reputation, 129–30; reviews of *Mardi*, 84, 85–86; reward for work, 141; schools, 6; Shakespeare, 79–80; James Thomson, 276, 277, 280–81, 289, 292; truth, 127; work vs. leisure, 266

WORKS: "Bartleby, the Scrivener; a Story of Wall-Street," 169 n., 178, 179, 180; *Battle-Pieces*, 223, 274, 285 n.; "The Bell-Tower," 173 n., 178, 179, 285 n., 305 n.; "Benito Cereno," 173 n., 178, 179; *Billy Budd*, 223; *Clarel*, 185 n., 223, 244 n., 250 n., 275, 277, 286 n., 294; *The Confidence Man*, 101, 188 n., 199, 275 n.; "The Encantadas," 164, 165, 167, 169, 170, 178, 179; "The Fiddler," 171 n.; "The 'Gees," 172 n.; *Israel Potter*, 101, 169, 170 n., 172, 174, 176, 177, 275 n., 287; "Jimmy Rose," 171 n.; *John Marr and Other Sailors with Some Sea-Pieces*, 223, 284 n., 289, 293 n.; "The Lightning-Rod Man," 178, 179; *Mardi*, 21, 55 n., 63 n., 66 n., 75–76, 80, 81 n., 82–89, 96, 102, 149 n., 151 n., 165, 225, 275 n.; *Moby Dick*, 63 n., 101, 108, 128, 129, 130 n., 132, 133, 138, 139–40, 143, 146, 149 n., 151 n., 165, 275 n., 291 n., 293 n.; *Omoo*, 21, 41, 48–50, 52, 54, 56–60, 63 n., 64–66, 70, 72, 76, 88, 165, 275 n., 278, 282 n., 293 n.; "Paradise of Bachelors and Tartarus of Maids," 168, 171 n.; "The Piazza," 179; *Piazza Tales*, 101, 176, 179, 188 n., 275 n., 287; *Pierre*, 101, 120 n., 144 n., 146, 149 n., 151 n., 165, 275 n., 293 n.; *Redburn*, 21, 63 n., 86, 88, 91, 93, 95, 105, 106, 110, 149 n., 165, 275 n.; *Timoleon*, 223; "The Two Temples," 172 n.; *Typee*, 21, 24–26, 29, 35, 36–41, 42–44, 46, 50, 53, 57, 60 n., 67, 70, 76, 86, 130, 165, 169, 191 n., 199, 275 n., 278 n., 282 n., 292–94, 296 n.; *The Whale* (title of *Moby Dick* in England), 88 n.; *White-Jacket*, 21, 63 n., 88 n., 91, 92–93, 106, 107 n., 109, 110, 115 n., 149 n., 165, 275; verses, 198–99, 266, *and also* "The Age of the Antonines," 259–60, "Ditty of Aristippus," 286, "In the Prison Pen," 285 n., "Inscription For the Dead At Fredericksburgh," 224, "Sheridan at Cedar Creek," 285 n., "The Stone Fleet," 285 n.

Melville, Lucy. *See* Nourse, Lucy Melville

Melville, Malcolm (HM's son), 21, 77 n., 84, 91, 105 n., 118, 228, 229, 303 n.; dies, 223; letter to, 201–4

Melville, Maria Gansevoort. *See* Morewood, Maria Gansevoort Melville

Melville, Mary. *See* D'Wolf, Mary Melville

Melville, Priscilla (HM's aunt), 24

Melville, Priscilla Frances ("Fannie," HM's sister), 4 n., 238, 241, 243, 245, 247, 249, 251, 255, 263, 264, 266, 267, 270, 278 n., 302 n.; biographical note, 268 n.; letters to, 268

Melville, Sophia Eliza Thurston, 302 n.

Melville, Stanwix (HM's son), 101, 139, 203, 223, 232, 234, 235 n., 236, 238, 303 n.; letters to, 239, 305

Melville, Thomas (HM's brother), 4 n., 197, 200, 201 n., 202, 205 n., 206, 229, 234, 235, 236, 238, 246, 261, 273; letter to, 213–15

Menzel, Wolfgang, 126 n.

Metcalf, Eleanor Melville Thomas (HM's granddaughter), 273

Metcalf, Henry K., 273 n.

Meteor (ship), 101, 200, 201, 205 n.
Mexican War, 29
Mexico, Gulf of, 203
Miller, John, 58
Milton, John, 191
Mohawk (ship), 247 n.
Montalambert, Charles Forbes René de, *Life of Saint Elizabeth*, 257 n.
Moore, Edward, 30 n.
Moore, George Henry, 269
Morewood, Anne Rachel, 167
Morewood, John Rowland, 101, 137 n., 142, 229 n.
Morewood, Maria Ganscvoort Melville (HM's niece), 137 n.; letter to, 229
Morewood, Sarah Huyler, 101, 116, 162 n., 229 n.; biographical note, 137 n.; letters to, 137–38, 166–67, 168, 206, 303
Morewood, William Barlow, 137 n., 229 n.
Morning Chronicle, 85 n.
Morning Courier and New-York Enquirer, reviews *Typee*, 26
Morris, George Pope, 46 n.
Morse, Samuel F. B., 144 n.
Moxon, Edward, 92, 107–8
Murillo, 233
Muro, Captain, 258 n.
Murray, John, 60, 63 n., 292, 294; publishes *Typee*, 21, 28 n.; publishes *Omoo*, 41 n.; offers £50 for *Typee* sequel, 43 n., publishes it, 44 n.; payment for *Omoo*, 57 n.; letters to, 37–41, 43–44, 44–47, 50–51, 52–55, 58–59, 65–67, 67–68, 69–72, 72–73, 75–76, 293

National Institute of Arts and Letters, 285 n.
Naushon Island, HM visits, 152
New England Bank, 279 n.
New Monthly Magazine and Humorist, 85 n.
New York City: HM job-hunting in, 3; HM lectures in, 193; HM moves to, 218
New York Book-Publishers' Association, 175, 188 n.
New York College of Archaeology and Aesthetics, 281 n.
New York *Commerical Advertiser*, 281 n.
New York *Courier and Enquirer*, 37
New York *Daily Tribune*, 139 n., 140 n., 167 n.
New York *Evangelist*, 35 n.
New York *Evening Gazette*, 306 n.
New-York Historical Society, 192 n., 193, 269 n.
New-York Male High School, HM attends, 3, 4 n.
New York *Mirror*, 46 n.
New York *Morning News*, 37
New York Public Library, 268 n.
New-York Society for the Relief of the Ruptured and Crippled, 250 n.
New York *Tribune*, 290 n.
New York *World*, 304
Niles, Lotus, 9 n.
North Conway, N.H., HM vacations at, 237
Northern Light, ed. A. B. Street, 252 n.
Nourse, Amos, 209, 210, 260 n., 261 n.
Nourse, Lucy Melville (HM's aunt), 24 n., 209 n.; letter to, 260

O'Callaghan, Edmund Bailey, 74
Old Farmer's Almanack, 253
Omar Khayyam, 282
Owen, Robert Dale, 230 n.

Paine, Nathaniel, letter to, 304
Pall Mall Budget, 282 n.
Palmer, John Williamson: biographical note, 290 n.; letter to, 290–91
Panama, 203; HM journeys to, 205 n.
Panama *Herald*, 139 n.
Parker Cook (ship), 140 n.
Parkman, Francis, 96 n., 230 n., 303 n.
Parkman, George, 153 n.
Patti, Adelina, 289 n.
Paul, Captain, 235 n.
Peabody, Ephraim, 152 n.
Peabody, Sophia Amelia. *See* Hawthorne, Sophia Amelia Peabody
Peck, G. W., 64 n.; reviews *Typee*, 27 n.
Peebles, Anthony Augustus (HM's cousin), 33
Peebles, Gerrit, 61 n.
Peebles, Maria Van Schaick, 17, 33 n., 61 n., 62

Pequod (ship), 139 n., 140
Pernambuco, Tom Melville writes from, 213
Peterson, T. B., and Brothers, 287 n., 304
Phillips Sampson and Co., letter to, 187–88
Philo Logos Society (Albany): HM a member of, 3, 7 n.; HM's quarrel with Van Loon over, 7–16
Pittsfield, HM living in, 3, 101
Pittsfield Young Ladies' Institute, 252 n.
Poe, Edgar Allan, 144 n.
Polk, James K., 30 n., 31 n., 32 n.
Pollock, Mrs., 138
Pollock, Sir Frederick, 88 n.
Portrait of HM, painted by Eaton, 234
Potomac (ship), 63 n.
Potter, Henry L., 230
Poussin, Nicholas, 233 n.
Powell, Thomas, 87 n.
Prescott, William H., 120 n., 144 n.
Prime, Ward, and King, 301 n.
Prince Albert (ship), 34, 35 n.; Gansevoort's body returned on, 30 n.
Proofsheets, of *Omoo*, seized by English customs, 57
Pruyn, Jane Ann Lansing, 33 n.
Pruyn, Robert Hewson (HM's cousin), 33
Putnam, George Palmer, 89 n., 173 n., 175 n., 230 n.; letters to, 169–70, 172, 304
Putnam, G. P. and Co., 174
Putnam's Monthly Magazine, 101, 164 n., 167 n., 169 n., 170 n., 173, 176 n., 188 n., 230, 231

Queen's Quarterly, 291 n.

Randall, Robert Richard, 234, 261 n.
Rankin, George Campbell, 182; biographical note, 182 n.
Ray (sailor), dies on board *Meteor*, 202
Reade, Charles, 181 n.
"The Refugee," unauthorized title for *Israel Potter*, 287, 304
Richter, J. P. F., *The Titan*, 225
Ripley, George, 131 n.
Ritchie, A. H., 243 n.
Roanoke, U.S.S., 215 n.
Rogers, Samuel, 108
Rome, HM plans to visit, 184
Roratonga Island, "wild people" of, 203
Ruskin, John, 282 n.
Russell, William Clark, letter to, 284

Saadi, 295 n.
Saddleback Mountain, 136 n., 191 n.
Sailors' Snug Harbor, 213 n., 234 n., 261
St. Lawrence (ship), HM sails on, 3
Salt, Henry Stephens, 282 n.; letters to, 292–93, 294–95
San Francisco, visit to, 200, 205
Sanford, Leonard G., letter to, 283
Sanford, Mary. *See* Gansevoort, Mary Sanford
Sanitary Commission, 223 n.
Sanitary Fair, Cincinnati, 218 n., 219 n.
Saratoga Springs, HM visits, 263
Savage, Hope. *See* Shaw, Hope Savage
Savage, Samuel, 104 n.
Schiller, J. C. F., 126 n.
Scoonie, parish of, ancestral home of Melvilles, 183
Scotland, HM visits, 183
Scott, Michael, 284 n.
Scott, Sir Walter, 305 n.
Scottish Art Review, 293
Scribner's, 231 n.
Sebor, Captain, master of the *Prince Albert*, 30 n.
Secretary of the American Legation, letter to, 89–90
Seward, William Henry, 208
Shaftesbury, Lord, 127
Shakers, 136 n.
Shakespeare, 79–80; HM reads and praises, 77
Sharpe's London Magazine, 85 n.
Shaw, Elizabeth Knapp (1784–1822), 104 n., 163 n., 279 n.
Shaw, Elizabeth Knapp (1822–1906). *See* Melville, Elizabeth Knapp Shaw
Shaw, Hope Savage (1793–1879), 65 n., 205 n., 229; letter to, 104
Shaw, Lemuel, 77 n., 101, 152 n., 180 n., 181 n., 205 n., 211 n., 239, 260, 279 n., 292, 301 n.; letters to, 24, 65, 84–85, 90, 91–92, 139

Shaw, Lemuel, Jr., 104, 151
Shaw, Samuel Savage, 84, 104, 163 n., 180, 229; biographical note, 205 n.; letters to, 205–6, 216–17
Shepherd, Daniel, verses to, 195–97
Simond's Colonial Magazine, notice of *Typee* in, 46, 47 n.
Simons, M. Laird, 283 n.; letter to, 241
Simms, William Gilmore, 144 n.
Smith, Albert Richard, 180 n.
Smith, J. E. A., 5 n., 161–62 n.
Smith, Seba, 175 n., 297
Somers, U.S.S., 215 n.
Sorrell, W. J., 181 n.
Southampton (ship), 106 n.
Souther, Helen Melville (HM's aunt), 24 n.
Spectator, 85 n.; notice of *Typee* in, 46
Sprague, William Buell, letter to, 42
Stanton, Edward M., 230 n.
Stanwix Hall, Albany, 248, 267
Stedman, Edmund Clarence, 230 n., 305 n.; biographical note, 285 n.; letters to, 285, 285–86, 288
Stoddard, Charles Warren: biographical note, 227 n.; letter to, 227–28
Stoddard, Richard Henry, 240, 241 n.; letter to, 239–40
Stone, William L., 140
Storer, George Washington, 62 n.; biographical note, 63 n.
Storer, Robert B., 62 n., 63 n.
Street, Alfred Billings, 252, 264; biographical note, 252 n.
Sullivan, Ellen, 84, 92
Sumner, Charles, 144 n., 207–9; letter to, 211

Taconic Mountains, 111 n.
Tahiti, HM at, 3
Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, 46, 47 n.
Tankersley, Mrs. Robert T., 283 n.
Taylor, J. Orville, *The District School, or, National Education*, HM likes, 6
Taylor, Tom, 180 n.
Taylor, Zachary, 78; biographical note, 78 n.
Tea Party, Boston, 238 n., 239
Ten Eyck, Hester, 34 n.
Ten Eyck, Jacob, 34 n.
Ten Eyck, Magdalena Gansevoort, 34 n.
Terence, 225
Thackeray, William Makepeace, 181 n.
Thaxter, Celia, 163 n.
Thayer, Nathaniel, 28 n.
Thomas, Eleanor Melville. *See* Metcalf, Eleanor Melville Thomas
Thomas, Frances Melville ("Fanny," HM's daughter), 101, 203, 238, 253, 254, 270, 271 n., 273
Thomas, Henry Besson, 271 n.
Thomas, Robert B., 253 n.
Thomson, James, HM reads, 276, 277, 280, 282, 289, 292 n.
Thomson, William, 62 n.
Thoreau, Henry David, 292 n., 295 n.
Thornbury, George Walter, 288 n.
Thurston, Charles M., 268
Thurston, Sophia Eliza. *See* Melville, Sophia Eliza Thurston
Tilden, Samuel J., 77 n., 255 n.
"Toby." *See* Greene, Richard Tobias
"Tortoise Hunters." *See* Melville, Works, "The Encantadas"
Trieste, HM plans to visit, 184
Twain, Mark, 227 n.
Tyler, Robert O., 225; letter to, 226–27
Typee valley, HM living in, 3

Underwood, Francis H., 187 n.
Unitarian Church, 186
United States, U.S.S., 3, 107 n.
University bread trencher, HM presents to Mrs. Shaw, 104

Van Buren, Martin, 31–32 n., 77 n.
Van Loon, Charles: quarrel with, over Philo Logos Society, 7–16; reply to Melville's attack, quoted, 9 n.; letters to, 7, 10–12
Van Matre, Sophie Henderson, letter to, 218. *See also* Henderson, Sophie
Van Rensselaer, Cornelia Paterson, 28
Van Rensselaer, Stephen, 28 n.
Van Schaick, Araminta Platt, 61 n.
Van Schaick, Augustus Platt: biographical note, 61 n.; letters to, 61–62, 62–63

Van Schaick, Catherine: *See* Gansevoort, Catherine Van Schaick
Van Schaick, Gerard, 61 n.
Van Schaick, John Gerritse, 33 n., 61 n.
Van Vechten, Catherine (b. 1831). *See* Hurlbut, Catherine Van Vechten
Van Vechten, Catherine Gansevoort (HM's aunt), 23 n.
Van Vechten, Teunis, 23 n.
Van Vorst, Hooper Cummings, letter to, 51
Venice, HM plans to visit, 184
Viele, J. J., 29
Virgil, paraphrase of, 258 n.
Vitruvius, 232

Walker, John, 88 n.
Ward, Artemus, 248
Ward, Henry Dana, 301 n.
Ward, Samuel, 301 n.
Ward, Thomas, 301 n.
Ward, Thomas Wren, 301 n.
Washington, D.C., HM visits, 209–10
Webster, John W., 153 n., 213
Webster, Noah, orthographic authority of HM's printers, 76
Webster's Calendar: or The Albany Almanac, 253
Weed, Thurlow, letters to, 44, 208
Welford, Charles Daniel, 96 n.
Welford, Mrs. Charles Daniel (?), 96
Wells, E. L., note to, 166
White, Joseph Blanco, 186; biographical note, 186–87 n.
Whitman, Walt, 112 n., 278, 288 n., 295 n.
Wiley, John, 69 n., 169 n.
Wiley and Long, 169 n.
Wiley and Putnam, 95 n., 169 n.; publishes *Typee,* 21, 25; publishes revised edition of *Typee,* 39; letters to, 25, 68–69, 73
Willard, Henry, 184; biographical note, 184 n.
Williams College, 242
Willis, Nathaniel Parker, 46; biographical note, 46 n.; letter to, 97
Wilson, James Grant: biographical note, 192 n.; letter to, 192
Wolf, Dr., 225
Wool, John E., 29 n.
Wright, Jean Melville (HM's aunt), 24 n.
Wright, Silas, 56 n.
Wyatt, Sir Thomas, 127 n.

Yankee Doodle, notice of *Omoo* in, 60 n.
Yokohama (ship), 235 n.
York, HM visits, 183