

The Conflict of Convictions: Herman Melville and his Contemporaries

***Mustafa Jalal
English Department
Allsra University***

ملخص

في منتصف القرن التاسع عشر، عاشت أمريكا فترة لعلها كانت من أخصب الفترات وأكثرها توتراً على المستوى الفكري في تاريخها فقد ساد هذه الفترة صراع حاد بين تيارين رئيسيين: الأول متسام (تفاؤلي، تقدمي، ميال إلى المثالية وتحبذ الاسطورة) والثاني سوادوي (تشاؤمي، محافظ، ينزع إلى الواقعية ونبذ الاسطورة). أما التيار الأول فقد تبلور في أعمال وفكر عدد من أبرز أدباء العصر من أمثال «إمرسون» و «ويتمان» و «ثورو». وأما الثاني فقد تجلى في كتابات وفكر كتاب الطليعة ومن أبرزهم «هرمان ميلفل» و «هوثرن». والجدير بالذكر في هذا المقام هو أن هذا الصراع بلغ أوجه مع نشوب الحرب الأهلية بين شمال أمريكا وجنوبها (١٨٦١-١٨٦٥)، وهذا ما ستسعى هذه المقالة لاستجلائه واستشفافه.

ولعل أبرز الأحداث في تاريخ أمريكا قاطبة حدث سلط الأضواء على التفاعلات الفكرية القائمة آنذاك في الحياة الفكرية الأمريكية، وخاصة على الصراع الدائر بينها بما أثاره من نزاعات فكرية متناقضة كأشد ما يكون التناقض، ألا وهو موت الأمريكي «جون براون» الذي اكتنفه الغموض والجدل والخلافات؛ بيد أن «براون»، وهو متطرف من الشمال الأمريكي حاول أن يسطو على ترسانة أسلحة تابعة لقوات جنوبية، لم يكد يفعل ما فعله حتى أطلق بذلك الشرارة التي أشعلت فتيل الحرب الأهلية وهي التي دارت

رحاها أربع سنوات متواصلة، بل إن «براون» بموته ضحية هذا الحدث ارتقى إلى مصاف الشخصيات الاسطورية، وأضحى أشهرها على الإطلاق في الميثولوجيا الشعبية الامريكية.

ومن هنا فإن هذه المقالة ترمي أساساً إلى تحقيق الأغراض التالية:

١ - إبراز الملامح التي تميز الفكر الامريكي في منتصف القرن التاسع عشر وتمثل خصوصيته التي امتدت جذورها في التاريخ الامريكي حتى أنها لم تحقق فقط البروز والتأثير على الساحة الفكرية آنذاك بل إنها حققت أيضاً الاستمرارية إلى يومنا هذا.

٢ - تقديم ومضة عن طبيعة الحرب الاهلية الأمريكية قصد استشكاف دور هذا الحدث الذي أدى إلى نشأة الولايات المتحدة الامريكية كما نعرفها اليوم في تبلور التيارات الفكرية التي هي قيد البحث وتأزم الصراع بينها.

٣- التعريف بالروائي الامريكي العالمي «هرمان ميلفل» لا بصفته روائياً لامعاً بل بصفته شاعراً. ويمثل هذا الهدف المحور الأساسي لخط البحث المعتمد في هذه المقالة التي تركز على نقطة التحول في كتابات «ميلفل»، أي بعد انتهاء الحرب الأهلية الامريكية عام ١٨٦٥، إذ تحول هذا الكاتب عن تأليف الرواية إلى كتابة الشعر فأصدر مجموعة شعرية عن أبرز أحداث الحرب أطلق عليها عنوان «قصائد عن الحرب وأهم ملامحها» ("Battle Pieces and Aspects of the War")، ومن هنا جاء اهتمام هذه المقالة بهذا المحور واختيارها لقصيدة من المجموعة المذكورة آنفاً لتناولها بالبحث والدرس لما تنفرد به من خصوصية في المفاهيم والأسلوب.

ABSTRACT

The mid-nineteenth century intellectual landscape was perhaps one of the most intricate and stimulating in the history of America. During this period, the American mind was deeply divided between two main currents of thought: One was transcendental (optimistic, progressive, mythologizing, and idealistic), while the other was skeptical (pessimistic, retrogressive, demythologizing, and realistic). The former was celebrated by extremely influential figures such as Emerson, Whitman, Thoreau, to name but a few, as the latter was upheld by almost equally potent voices, those of Herman Melville and Nathaniel Hawthorne.

What is noteworthy about the period under study is how the intellectual tension between the two opposing poles of that conflict reached its apex towards the beginning of the American Civil War (1861-1865). One particular incident, which not only triggered but also crystallized a spate of the most profound disputes between prominent figures of both camps, was the controversial death of John Brown, which this essay will try to explore in depth. What is even more urgent is the investigation of the multifarious and numerous responses and reactions of the intelligentsia to the incident and how they marked and shaped the ultimate phase of the development of American thought. In addition, further objectives of this essay include the following:

1. To demonstrate the peculiarity of American thought and literature of the nineteenth century, which still have their discernible imprint on the modern American mind.
2. To give a glimpse of the backdrop of the American Civil War as the most crucial event in American history, which alone led to the birth of the United States of America as we know it today.

3. To introduce not Herman Melville, the novelist of towering stature and fame, but Herman Melville, the poet and lyricist. This represents the focal point of this study, since the Civil War was the turning point in his intellectual life and the catalyst which saw him move from the land of novel-writing into the space of poetry and rhyme with the publication of his anthology "**Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War**". From this collection, one particular poem has been chosen as representative for the purposes of this essay, not least because of its unique concept and qualities of technique and style.

The Portent (1859):

*Hanging from the beam,
 Slowly swaying (such the law)
 Gaunt the shadow on your green,
 Shenandoah!
 The cut is on the crown
 (Lo, John Brown),
 And the stabs shall heal no more.*

*Hidden in the cap
 Is the anguish none can draw;
 So your future veils its face,
 Shenandoah!
 But the streaming beard is shown
 (Weird John Brown),
 The meteor of the war.*

Robert Warren considers Melville's **Battle-Pieces** to be in many ways "a very remarkable document in the history of American poetry, and a remarkable commentary on the moment in American history". (8) Indeed, no other poet of the era dealt with the Civil War in such an extensive manner.

Many poems in the book deal with a national or historical event which is poeticized or transformed into something more general or philosophical. In this respect, it is worth pointing out that Melville could hardly see any gap between history and poetry; for him literary imagination and the forms of imagination can reveal history. His poetry is engaged with the reality of experience and the imperfection of the world. In other words, it is contemporary society as well as life and history in the wider sense which he saw his poetry representing.

Most significantly is the fact that transcendentalism, which was a vigorous shaping force of the nineteenth century historical, intellectual, and cultural landscape, had been interminably Melville's context for reactive response. As a consequence, Melville has written his best poems as dramatic asides on the fatuous optimism of the transcendental thought.

Therefore, the aim of this essay is twofold:

- (1) To contrast Melville's unique response to the death of John Brown with the responses of a number of leading intellectuals of the age, with a special emphasis on the transcendental stance on this issue.
- (2) To explore Melville's poetic achievement in the "Portent"—a complex style which satisfies Melville's yearning for the comprehensive, the allusive and above all the ironic. This style is often based on tonal and ironic contrasts which are

basically evoked at the level of vocabulary and by the use of a cluster of metaphors and symbols as well as extremely sophisticated rhythmic arrangements. These elements work upon each other in "The Portent" to produce a supreme piece of irony.

The poem is set against Emerson's celebrated view of Brown as an advocate of the "Higher Law", a "crucified Christ". Melville's poem seems to be a parody of Emerson's statement. Brown is portrayed by Melville as a "mock Christ", a crazed fanatic whose violation of the law— (law is ambivalent here, it implies both the human law and justice and the scientific law of gravity)— caused disastrous consequences. By doing so Melville demythologizes Brown and implicitly ridicules Northern self-righteousness and the ideological stances of the Northern intellectuals.

Brown's Dash

With a mere handful of followers, Brown undertook, on the night of October 16, 1859, to seize the Federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and with the weapons thus obtained, start a slave insurrection in the South. With little opposition he seized control of two bridges into the sleepy town and he also managed to get possession of an enginehouse, which he held until the morning of the eighteenth when a detachment of U.S marines attacked the building. One of the attackers was shot dead, and Brown himself was cut down by a sword blow, and lay wounded on the floor. Brown mentions his injuries later in a letter of October 22, 1859, to Judge Daniel Tilden of Cleveland, Ohio, asking for legal aid. The letter begins: "I am here [Charleston, Virginia] a prisoner, with several cuts in my head, and bayonet stabs in my body". (Quoted in Cohen 204). The Wounds mentioned in this letter have

an echo in Melvill's poem.

Brown was quickly tried, convicted of treason, and early in December 1859 was hanged. His trial was covered and its details published by all the major Northern and Southern newspapers. The anti-slavery and abolitionist journals did not miss the opportunity to present Brown's death as a sensational event. The *New York Herald* quoted him as saying after his capture:

"I claim to be here in carrying out a measure I believe perfectly justifiable, and not to act the part of an incendiary or ruffian, but to aid those suffering great wrong. I wish to say, furthermore, that you had better— all you people of the South— prepare yourselves for a settlement of that question that must come up for settlement sooner than you are prepared for it". (Quoted in Wellman 354)

Brown became a national figure of mythical stature—a symbol surrounded with all possible dignity and sympathetic appeal. And it is with words such as the following that Brown moved people; just before he was put on the gallows, he uttered:

"If is deemed necessary that ... I mingle my blood with the blood of my children, and with the millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel and unjust enactments— I submit: so let it be done". (Quoted in Wellman 420)

The Response to Brown's Death

The responses of the intelligentsia, conservatives, abolitionists, and transcendentalists to the death of John Brown highlighted then the current developments in American thought.

For the dedicated anti-slavery men, who considered any compromise with institutions as an immoral expediency, it would not have been surprising they had viewed John Brown as an epic-making figure. The immediate response of anti-slavery writers was that of exultation and applause. Even the tender-hearted Longfellow felt so moved by the deed of John Brown that he hastened to jot down the following in his journal:

"This will be a great day in our history; the date of a new Revolution, - - quite as much needed as the old one. Even as I write, they are leading old John Brown to execution in Virginia for attempting to rescue slaves! This is sowing the wind to reap the whirlwind which will soon come". (Quoted in Samuel Longfellow 347)

Theodore Parker— once the nation's most liberal clergyman, future arch-abolitionist and one of the most distinguished orators of the age— responded in an extremely radical fashion to the death of John Brown. Parker considers Brown as the ultimate revolutionary, proclaiming that "all the great charters of humanity have been written in blood... it is plain, now, that our pilgrimage must lead through a Red Sea, wherein many a Pharaoh will go under and perish". (Quoted in Fredrickson 38). If peaceful means fail to achieve the moral goals, then violence has to be welcomed; Parker continues,

"I, at least, shall welcome the violent if no other will accomplish the end. So will the great mass of thoughtful and good men at the North; else why do we honor the Heroes of the Revolution, and build them monuments all over our blessed New England?" (Quoted in Fredrickson 38)

To Parker and the abolitionists, John Brown embodied the progressive ideals of the American Revolution, and thus should be honored as a national hero.

What is most significant is the response of the transcendentalists to the death of John Brown and how it contrasted the response of both Melville and Hawthorne whose sentiments were identical. Thoreau, like Emerson, saw in Brown the embodiment of the transcendentalist ideals; he writes that Brown was "transcendentalist, above all, a man of ideas and principles", and a man who "did not value his bodily life in comparison with ideal things". Brown gives America a new birth, "... This man's acts and words", he wrote, are "the best news America has ever had". What they did was to quicken "the public pulse of the North" and pump "blood into her veins and heart than any number of years of what is called commercial and political prosperity could". (Quoted in Fredrickson 40)

Emerson told Sara Swain Forbes that Brown was "a hero of romance & seems to have made this fatal blunder only to bring out his virtues. I must hope for his escape to the last moment". (Quoted in Rusk 401). In his lecture "Courage", read in Boston on November 8, John Brown was elevated to the status of a saint. He was "The Saint, whose fate yet hangs in suspense, but whose martyrdom, if it shall be perfected, will make the gallows as glorious as the cross". (Quoted in Rusk 403)

These statements by Emerson aroused Hawthorne's outrage. As Rusk points out, on his return from abroad, Hawthorne was stunned at seeing Emerson's comment on the death of John Brown published in the papers. Hawthorne's reaction to that was ruthless, he shrank "unutterably"— as Hawthorne himself said— from Emerson's alleged remark that "the death of his blood-

stained fanatic Brown has made the gallows as venerable as the cross", and he judged that "Nobody was ever more justly hanged". (402) And when Hawthorne heard a different version of Emerson's pronouncement, he professed to be pleased that the sage allowed the reader or auditor to put John Brown at lower level than Jesus Christ.

Horace Traubel reveals that Brown's execution aroused Walt Whitman's emotions, he told Traubel, but

"not enough to take away my appetite—to spoil my supper. . . I am never convinced by the formal martyrdoms alone; I see martyrdoms wherever I go: it is an average factor in life: why should I go off emotionally half-cocked only about the ostentatious cases?" (Quoted in Traubel 486)

But later he seems to have changed his attitude, paying the tribute to Brown that he was "a great and precious memory", he could not deny "such devotion, such superb courage, men will not forget- - can not be forgotten". (Quoted in Traubel 486)

Whitman's more sympathetic attitude toward Brown is to be revealed in a poem entitled "Years of Meteors" (1859-60) which he wrote on several incidents including the execution of John Brown. In this poem Whitman considers the death of Brown simply as an aspect of the "Year all mottled with evil and good". The poem first addresses the year in general.

Nor I forget to sing...

*the comet that came unannounced out of the
north flaring in heaven,*

Nor the strange huge meteor-procession dazzling

and clear shooting over our heads
(A moment, a moment long it sail'd its balls
of unearthly light over our heads,
Then departed, dropt in the night, and was gone;)
Year of forebodings!
Year of comets and meteors transient and strange -- Lo! even
here one equally transient and strange!
As I filt through you hastily, soon to fall and be gone, what
is this chant,
What am I myself but one of your meteors? (239)

Obviously Whitman's poem conveys a sense of foreboding, but unlike Melville's, it fails to discern a pattern of action and consequences in its description of the comets and meteors. They are merely "transient and strange" and soon to be forgotten. In other words, the war and its effects will be transient, like the comets and meteors. This view is characteristic of Whitman's thought; he is an advocate of the popular nineteenth century notion of progress and optimism. The meteors and forebodings which figure in Melville's poem reflect his view of the war as a portent of atavistic regression which bitterly contradicts the optimistic, idealistic Yankee consciousness.

Whitman shifts without transition to the scene of Brown's execution:

Year of meteors! brooding year!
I would bind in words retrospective, some of your deeds and signs,
I would sing how an old man, tall, with white hair, mounted

*the scaffold in Virginia,
 (I was at hand, silent I stood with teeth shut close, I watch'd,
 I stood very near you old man when cool and indifferent , but
 trembling with age and your rest of the time
 unheal'd wounds you mounted the scaffold;). (238)*

Brown in these lines, is given positive qualities, he seems to stand as a heroic figure: "tall... cool... indifferent", and as an old man with unhealed wounds, Brown invites the reader's sympathy.

"The Portent"

The poem is a dramatic prologue, a historical prelude to the events to follow. This dramatic function is implied by separating it from the rest of the poems by a blank page, it is not listed in the poems and it is written in italic type. The title, the date beneath it, affirms its function- - the poem is written at least two years after the event.

The poem is characterized with an impressive terseness of style, grittiness of imagery, concreteness of particulars, simplicity and familiarity of speech: the poem has ironic connections to the American myth ("O Shenandoah, I love your daughters"). The method is that of implication and suggestion, and the poem succeeds greatly in achieving a unification of image and idea. Alliteration, rhyme, and the double refrain are used as unifying factors.

Thematically, the poem implicitly suggests that if Emerson saw in Brown the second coming of Christ, the saviour of humankind, Melville perceives Brown as a "scapegoat of a hypocritical legalism". (Stein 7). Brown's crown of glory is cut

with a wound on the head by his captors, the stabs of the bayonets are reminiscent of the spikes that pierced through Christ on the Cross. The identification of Brown with Christ in Melville's poem is certainly ironic; the poem in content, syntax, rhythm, and vocabulary imply that Brown is a "mock Christ", whose situation is absurd, and his death is unredemptive.

In this context, William Stein makes a number of valuable remarks on the poem. He rightly sees the poem as "an exquisitely controlled mechanism of irony which dramatizes the stagnation of Christian love". (7). The casual "such the law" gives the indication that the New Testament has lost its moral authority, its impact on human conducts, and in Brown's case its cult of love is replaced by the laws of statutes and of physics. The phrase "such the law" is not completely ironical, since Melville believes in the integrity of law, the sacredness of an institution protected by religion, which helps preserve order in society. Melville veils his imagery of Psalm 23 (the traditional symbolic epitome of the sacraments of Baptism and Holy Communion):

"The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters. He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over. Surely goodness and mercy follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever".

The Shenandoah Valley is an obvious inversion of the "green

pastures": it is the valley of the shadow of death.

In this poem Melville employs a number of irregularities, sophisticated rhythmic arrangements to serve semantic purposes: to express the mournful cadence of a tolling bell, he employs initial trochees in each of the first four lines, supported by alliterative stress and combination of vowel and consonant rhymes, which evoke a note of the moral failure of John Brown as symbolized by the event of Shenandoah, the name with its subdued accents assimilating the total weight of the sound pattern. The present participles, "hanging", "swaying", both contribute to the sinister movement of the lines.

In line 3, there is an obvious contrast between the green Shenandoah, and the shadow of John Brown which symbolizes the shadow of the coming crisis of the Civil War. The last three lines oppose the grim solemn tone of the first four; this being achieved by the monosyllabic words to raise horror, "cut" and "crown" stress mutually each other, and this alliteration generates ironic implications which are absorbed in the spondaic refrain: (Lo, John Brown). "Lo" means behold, but it is used here as a pun meaning low or dead. The function of the refrain is similar to that of the sonorous Shenandoah. The fluent movement of this stanza is braked in the last line by the use of the anapest: (And the stabs) which accentuates the finality of "no more", which suggests that such an act of martyrdom has no atonement neither on earth nor in Heaven.

Stein also observes that in Melville's choice of the word "cap" instead of hood is to evoke, "the absurdity and pathos of John Brown's condition". (9). Also, "cap" continues the meaning of crown, mockingly the crown becomes cap reduced to that of the scarecrow; the pun calls attention to mental agony that "none can

draw". There is a sense of shock at the end, a "shock of incredulity", of disillusionment similar to that of Christ, when he cried "My God, my God, why has thou forsaken me?" this results in a shock to faith itself; perhaps Brown lost faith in the existence of God, as it is signified in the analogy with Shenandoah. The beard in line 12—the traditional mark of the Biblical prophets—is a sign of coming catastrophe. Brown's death, as the poem suggests, is futile and unredemptive. The mood here is expressed in anti-poetic prosody, the deceptive half-rimes and the jarring metre.

The word "weird" becomes the focal point in the poem owing to its suggestiveness of a wide range of meanings: sympathy, revulsion, fate, omen, prophecy, surprise, and wonder. In a context full of associations with prophets, the word "weird" means fatal; it has the meaning of possessing the power and directing fate and that of suggesting the unearthly and supernatural. Melville, who was well acquainted with Shakespeare, must recall the three sisters in *Macbeth* agents of Fate (Wyrd) that work for man's destruction. Thus, in one sense, Brown is a weird portent of a national catastrophe. Owing to John Brown's reputation, it is likely that the word is used literally to mean that Brown is just a mad, eccentric fanatic, and thus Melville's judgement of Brown is identical to Hawthorne's.

It is worth pointing out that the association of prophecies, prophets, and veils in line 10, as Cohen remarks, may have been suggested to Melville by Schiller's poem "The Veiled Image at Sais" and in "Moby Dick" (chapter 76, "The Battering-Ram") there is a reference to "the dread goddess veil at Sais". Also the association may have been suggested by Thomas Moore's "The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan"; Melville in 1862 acquired Thomas Moore's *Lalla Rookh*, a cluster of eastern stories in verse (Cohen 205).

The line 12-14 have a number of words which are rich in traditional connotations. In English literature meteors have been always symbolic of war disasters. Milton associated "streaming" with "meteor" in *Paradise Lost* (I, 536-37): "Th'Imperial Ensign, which full high advanc't/Shone like a meteor streaming to the Wind". Edmund Waller uses similar language in connection with Duke of York, in "Instructions to a painter" (lines 269-70), "His dreadful steamer like a comet's hair,/Threat'ning destruction hasten their despair". Samuel Butler in "Hudibras" (Pt. 1, Canto! lines 239-48) describes the "tawny beard" of Sir Hudibras as a "hairy meteor" which foretells disaster. (Cohen 205).

To summarize, "The Portent" has two stanzas, each is written after the model of the "Chaucerian Stanza". Each Stanza has a melodic movement and refrain ("Shenandoah!") through the first four lines; and there is a relatively slower and heavier counter-movement in the latter three with its counter-refrain ("John Brown"). "Shenandoah" plays an important role in the poem owing to its central position in both stanzas. It has basically three roles (1) separating iambic lines from trochaic lines; (2) making contrast with the following and preceding lines in terms of length; (3) forming an antinomial structure, or a semantic contrast with "John Brown": The "Shenandoah" refrain is suggestive of fertility, life, and harmony; the "John Brown" refrain evokes disruption and death. The two refrains are not only at odds with each other semantically, but also rhythmically: "Shenandoah" 's subdued accents are contrasted to the heavy stresses of "John Brown".

The lines are not rhymed, the poem does not follow the rhyme-scheme of the Chaucerian Stanza. However we can link "Law" - "more", "draw" - "war" on the basis of assonance and not on that of full rhymes. The poem is distinguished by many

rhetorical variations, substitution of feet, rhythms resulting from the interplay of metre and rhetorical factors. In this respect, this poem is close to modern sensibility owing to its free prosody and to the way it lets the changes of mood determine the structure. The poem is exemplary of most of the poetry in **Battle-Pieces**, in the sense that it is dramatic; Melville's dramatic style often plays off mood against mood, and enriches the texture of the poetry with quick changes of feeling. Indeed, Melville's poetry is based on tensions and disparities which function in many ways: in an idea against idea, in form against idea, one level of diction against another, image against image, or image against abstraction. The poems are at their best when they are antinomial, when the previous elements work against each other to produce tension or irony. Thus, the dramatic method Melville has worked out and adopted in **Battle-Pieces** aims essentially at the comprehensive, the allusive and the ironic. "The Portent" demonstrates that this method has been applied with precision, complexity, and subtlety which surpassed most of the nineteenth century American poetry, especially the war poetry.

Bibliography

- Adler, J.S. *War in Melville's Imagination*. New York, New York University Press, 1981.
- Cannon, A.D. "Melville's Concepts of the Poet and Poetry". *Arizona Quarterly* 31 (1975): 315-39.
- Donahue, J. "Melville's Classicism: Law and Order in His Poetry". *Papers on Language and Literature* 5 (Winter 1969): 63-72.
- Fogle, R.H. "Melville's Poetry". *Tulane studies in English* 12 (1962): 81-86.
- Freibert, L.M. "The Influence of Elizabeth Barret Browning on the Poetry of Herman Melville". *Studies in Browning and his Circle* 9 (1981): 69-78.
- Fredrickson, George. *The Inner Civil War*. New York, 1965.
- Hibber, D.J. "*Drum-Taps*" and "*Battle-Pieces*": Melville and Whitman on the Civil War". *Personalist* 50 (1969): 130-47.
- Hitt, R.E. "Melville's Poems of Civil War Controversy". *Studies in the literary Imagination* 2 (1969): 57-68.
- Lindeman, J. "Herman Melville's Civil War". *Modern Age* 9 (1965): 387-98.
- Longfellow, Samuel. *Life of Henry Wordsworth Longfellow*. Boston, Mas, 1886.
- McWilliams, J.P.Jr. "*Drum-Taps*" and "*Battle-Pieces*": The Blossom of War". *American Quarterly* 23 (1971): 181-201.

- Melville, H. *The Battle-Pieces of Herman Melville*. Ed. Henning Cohen. New York: 1963.
- Robillard, D. "Symposium: Melville the poet". *Essays in Arts and Sciences* 5 (July 1976).
- Rusk, R.L. *The Life of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. New York, 1949.
- Stein, W.B. *The Poetry of Melville's Late Years*. State University of W.Y. Press, 1970.
- Traubel, Horace. *With Walt Whitman in Camden II*. New York, 1915.
- Warren, R.P. *Selected Poems of Herman Melville*. New York, Random House, 1970.
- Wellman, Paul. *The House Divides: The Age of Jackson and Lincoln, from the War of 1812 to the Civil War*. The Fireside Press, 1966.
- Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass*. Ed. H.W. Blodget and S. Bradley. University of London LTD, 1965.

