February 13, 1974

To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Robert Warren Weathersby, II, entitled "Joseph Holt Ingraham: A Critical Introduction to the Man and His Works." I recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

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JOSEPH HOLT INGRAHAM: A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION TO THE MAN AND HIS WORKS

A Dissertation

Presented for the

Doctor of Philosophy

Degree

The University of Tennessee

Robert W. Weathersby, II

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ABSTRACT

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The name of Professor Joseph Holt Ingraham (1809-1860) is not a familiar one to students or scholars of American literature. Though Ingraham wrote some of the best-selling novels of the nineteenth-century, and though in his lifetime he outsold the better-known authors who published from 1835 to 1860, Ingraham is so little regarded as to be forgotten by all but the smallest number of readers. Lack of familiarity with Ingraham's life and works is the main cause of this neglect; Ingraham, unwittingly, contributed to this neglect by leaving us little record of his life. His voluminous production of over one hundred novels and almost another hundred tales, sketches, and poems contributed to the various newspapers, periodicals, and annuals of the 1830's and 1840's add to the reticence of many readers to evaluate his works. Not many people, therefore, have studied Ingraham because his output was so large, and most of those who have studied him have read the same two or three novels and have disagreed on the facts of his life.

The present study is a critical introduction to Ingraham's life and works and attempts to fill in some of the gaps in knowledge and to determine whether the obscurity of this prolific author is merited. The essay is based almost wholly on primary materials because secondary material on Ingraham is scarce and occasionally untrustworthy. Everything known to have been written by the author has been read in preparation for this study, and four of its six chapters deal almost

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exclusively with Ingraham's works. Chapter II is devoted to the novels published by Harper & Brothers. Chapter III surveys the Professor's periodical contributions. Chapter IV deals with the years Ingraham catered his novels most to the popular taste, while Chapter V analyzes the works written after the Professor became a minister. The first chapter is an extended treatment of Ingraham's life, while the sixth chapter draws some conclusions from what has preceded it.

Ingraham was eclectic in the fictional elements he employed. His romances borrowed from the Gothic novel, the sentimental novel, and the epistolary novel anything he thought appropriate to his tales of action and romance. His lively novel about the pirate Lafitte won him initial fame as a storyteller, and succeeding novels retained a strong basis in action though they differed widely in subject matter. Ingraham wrote moral tales, supernatural stories, essays, chivalric narratives, pieces of literary criticism, and travel sketches as well as tales of pirates and of the sea.

We have discovered no new major Southern writer, but we have discovered one who is unduly neglected. Ingraham will still, more than likely, be regarded as a minor writer, but as a pioneer in American magazine fiction, a pioneer in the Biblical novel, and an early prolific novelist, he deserves the modest consideration of all who are interested in the American novel and those who would better understand the quarter century when his name was a force to be reckoned with.

PREFACE

The name of Professor Joseph Holt Ingraham (1809-1860) is not a familiar one to students or scholars of American literature. Though Ingraham wrote some of the best-selling novels of the nineteenth-century, and though in his lifetime he outsold the better-known authors who published from 1835 to 1860, Ingraham is so little regarded as to be forgotten by all but the smallest number of readers. Lack of familiarity with Ingraham's life and works is the main cause of this neglect; Ingraham, unwittingly, contributed to this neglect by leaving us little record of his life. His voluminous production of over one hundred novels and almost another hundred tales, sketches, and poems contributed to the various newspapers, periodicals, and annuals of the 1830's and 1840's add to the reticence of many readers to evaluate his works. Not many people, therefore, have studied Ingraham because his output was so large, and most of those who have studied him have read the same two or three novels and disagreed on the facts of his life.

The present writer proposes to attempt a critical introduction to Ingraham's life and works in an effort to fill in some of the gaps in knowledge and to determine whether the obscurity of this prolific author is merited. Though Ingraham was so tremendously productive, he apparently left no journals or diaries that would aid the modern biographer, but some forty letters have been located in the preparation of this study, and they help in charting the Professor's movements as well as in giving

us a few glimpses into his private life. Apparently Ingraham was as damned by dollars as was Herman Melville, for his letters and notes often indicate the precarious financial condition of the writer who contended in a nineteenth-century market still dominated by English authors and handicapped by the lack of a firm copyright law.

Another way the present writer has attempted to come to grips with the problems that a study of Ingraham presents has been to examine twenty-five surviving newspapers from the Maine and Mississippi towns in which Ingraham lived or with which he was associated. When Ingraham became a minister in the early 1850's, he began to file annual reports on his activities in various southern parishes; these reports have also been examined and their results presented in Chapter I, which is devoted to a biography of Ingraham's life. The literary productions of his years as a minister are discussed in Chapter V.

All of the known fictional works by Ingraham have been read in the preparation of this study. Jacob Blanck's definitive listing of Ingraham's works in his Bibliography of American Literature, Vol. 4 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), is followed, though several novels he lists as unlocated have been discovered and added to the study by the present author. Chapter II is devoted to the novels of Ingraham's early years as an author, the years of his connection with Harper & Brothers.

Ingraham's forgotten periodical publications have also been consulted in an effort to arrive at a well-rounded, informed estimate of the Professor's work. No definitive listing of Ingraham's periodical contributions exists, but the present writer believes his thorough combing of the files of Ingraham-era publications has resulted in the

most complete list of those contributions, and the results of this combing are presented in Chapter III.

We have discovered no new major Southern author; Ingraham will still, more than likely, be regarded as a minor writer. But it should be noted that a minor writer often reveals more about the era in which he lives than does a writer of greater stature. The minor author often reflects contemporary popular moods and often mirrors more exactly the age from which he derives. He is more frequently an indication of popular reading taste, at least as judged by book sales, than the major contemporaries who have a more secure niche in the halls of literary immortality. Chapter IV deals with the years Ingraham catered most to popular taste, the years his novels were published in cheap, paperback editions.

Because Ingraham's work is so unfamiliar to the average reader, it has been deemed necessary to summarize more of his work than would be necessary in a study of a more familiar author. Such summaries are useful to illustrate the range and subject matter of the Professor's work as well as to give the reader unfamiliar with Ingraham some basis on which to judge the present writer's comments. Secondary source commentaries on Ingraham's writings are most often those of contemporary reviewers who first hailed the Professor's work, then grew disappointed, and finally ignored him during the period of his greatest productivity. Twentieth-century criticism is likewise minimal or nonexistent.

Joseph Holt Ingraham deserves a hearing, and it is the purpose of this study to give him that chance. The files of Harper & Brothers, the publishers of his earliest writings, illustrate that he was one of

the best paid novelists of the 1830's and are also an index of the popular fame he enjoyed at one time. He may never again enjoy such popularity, but future students of the novel and of antebellum civilization will almost certainly note that Ingraham and his work deserve more than the almost total oblivion that is now his portion.

I acknowledge with pleasure the people who have contributed to this study. Dr. Richard Beale Davis approved the idea and continued to encourage me as did the other members of my committee, Dr. F. DeWolfe Miller, Dr. Edward W. Bratton, and Dr. Mark A. Christiansen. Mrs. Beulah Hagen of Harper & Row provided early Ingraham book contracts from their files, some of which are partially quoted through the permission of the firm. Mrs. R. L. Wyatt helpfully xeroxed parish records at Holly Springs, Mississippi. Nash Burger provided several ideas as did Dr. Warren French. Librarians at the following institutions aided me in numerous ways: American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public Library, Episcopal Church Historical Society, Haverford College, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Maine Historical Society, Massachusetts Historical Society, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, New York Public Library, Pierpont Morgan Library, Portland Public Library, United States National Archives and Records Service, University of the South, University of Virginia, Yale University.

Grateful acknowledgement is further made to the following libraries that allowed publication of parts of Ingraham manuscripts:

To the Trustees of the Boston Public Library for permission to quote from two letters.

To Haverford College for permission to quote from a letter in the Charles Roberts Autograph Letters Collection.

To the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for permission to quote from two letters.

To the Massachusetts Historical Society for permission to quote from two letters.

To the National Archives for permission to quote from one letter.

To the New York Public Library for permission to quote from one letter in their collection of Joseph Holt Ingraham (Miscellaneous Papers).

Manuscripts and Archives Division
The New York Public Library
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

To the Ingraham Collection, Barrett Library, University of Virginia Library for permission to quote from one letter.

To the Yale University Library for permisson to quote from two letters.

I owe my greatest debt to my wife Dorothy who proofread, criticized, typed, sacrificed, endured, and loved through the whole long process.

While I acknowledge with gratitude the help of many people, I must also note that any inaccuracies or deficiencies this study may contain are solely my responsibility.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROFESSOR, THE AUTHOR, THE MINISTER

The Road to a Vocation

The year 1809 saw the birth of several American writers. Edgar Allan Poe, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Joseph Holt Ingraham all were born in that year. Of the three writers, certainly the one now best remembered and read is Poe; Holmes is still read but not as much admired. Ingraham is neither generally remembered, read, nor admired today. But such was not always the case.

Born into a prominent Portland, Maine, family on January 26, 1809,[1] Joseph Holt Ingraham, Jr., seemed destined to become a merchant. His grandfather, the elder Joseph Holt Ingraham (1752-1841), had come to Portland (then called Falmouth) at age sixteen and become a silversmith. But in his later years the elder Ingraham became a prosperous merchant, shipowner, landholder, and civic leader.[2] He proudly traced his ancestors to England and was only the second generation of his family in America, a family that was to take firm root in the Maine soil. The elder J. H. Ingraham was one of the seven children his father Edward and his mother

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[1]Albert Johannsen, The House of Beadle and Adams and Its Dime and Nickel Novels. The Story of a Vanished Literature, II (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1950), 151.

[2]Maine. A History. Biographical (New York: American Historical Society, 1919), p. 118.

Lydia Holt produced.[3] Joseph Holt eventually married three women, and we are still not absolutely certain how many children he sired. One can examine the city directories for Portland beginning in 1823 and notice that many bearers of the Ingraham name made Portland their home.[4] But we are concerned with only one of the elder Ingraham's progeny, his son James Milk Ingraham, who was the father of the author Joseph Holt Ingraham, Jr.[5]

We know very little about James M. Ingraham except that he followed in his father's footsteps and also became a merchant. The Portland Gazette and Maine Advertiser for August 25, 1806 [p. 3], notes that James operated a store selling English and West India goods and groceries on Ingraham's Wharf and that he had just taken John Gould into partnership with him. The merchants were in "constant attendance from sun rise till nine o'clock in the evening." In the year of his son's birth, the paper also noted that James kept his counting room (his accounts office) in his store on the family-owned wharf.[6] By 1818, Edward and William Ingraham were running the store, and John Gould was dead.[7] Sometime during the interim James and his wife Elizabeth Thurston moved their family up the Kennebec River to Hallowell, Maine.

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[3]Ibid.

[4]It must be remembered, however, that the directories list only heads of households, so they are not totally reliable. The Portland papers of the 1809-1860 era did not carry birth announcements.

[5]Johannsen, p. 151.

[6]Portland Gazette and Maine Advertiser, June 12, 1809 [p. 4].

[7]Portland Gazette and Maine Advertiser, January 27, 1818 [p. 4].

By 1822, James was popular enough in Hallowell to be elected to a committee to seek a postmaster for the town.[8] He seems to have remained in Hallowell until around 1841,[9] when he returned to Portland where he lived until after 1852.[10] He died in Biddeford, south of Portland, on June 3, 1856.[11]

James' son, Joseph Holt Ingraham, Jr., loved the river valleys of the Kennebec and was later to make its banks the setting for several of his stories. It is also apparent that he read widely in his youth, for his later writings display an acquaintance with many of the classics and many of the currently popular English romantics, particularly Scott and Byron. Here he grew to young manhood, and here he attended Hallowell Academy "and probably was fitted for college there."[12]

Some time before young Ingraham started college, probably around 1826, it is believed that he decided to ship on board one of his grandfather's commercial vessels; he was then about seventeen. Such a project was his first effort toward a possible vocation. He supposedly went to Buenos Aires, Argentina, to become a clerk in a mercantile house,

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[8]Ibid., July 30, 1822 [p. 2].

[9]Harlowe Harris, The Portland Directory, for the Year 1841 (Portland: Arthur Shirley and Son, 1841), p. 51.

[10]The Portland City Directories for 1844, 1846, 1847, 1852 list James as being in Portland. His name is absent in 1856.

[11]Eastern Argus, June 4, 1856 [p. 2].

[12]Biographical Memoranda Respecting All Who Ever Were Members of the Class of 1832 in Yale College (New Haven: Yale University, 1880), p. 167.

and while there, "is said to have taken part in a native revolution."[13] We have no exact record to explain satisfactorily what Ingraham did or did not do in South America, but it bears mention that the writer's 1847 two-part novel, Paul Perril, tells the tale of a seventeen-year-old merchant's son who goes to Montevideo, Uruguay, and Buenos Aires to clerk in a mercantile house and who ends up getting somewhat embroiled in the current revolution.

While we may never know how much autobiography there is in Paul Perril, the novel does have some claims to be considered in such a discussion as the present one. It is different from most other Ingraham novels; it is practically the only novel without a love story; its emphasis is on the "facts" of the adventures of four young men, and its hero, like Ingraham, had a dark complexion, black hair, and black eyes. Paul arrives in Boston on October 10, 1827, and his ship, the Joseph, leaves port bound for Montevideo and Buenos Aires on October 15. With Perril go three of his classmates who have also just graduated from the local academy on the Kennebec and who have also signed indenture papers to the merchant Mr. Bedrick that bind them until the age of twenty-one.

They reach the mouth of the Plate River in two months, having found out during the voyage that Bedrick has no intention of opening a mercantile house. Instead, the "merchant" intends to open soda shops in Montevideo and Buenos Aires and use his apprentices to make his fortune with brass fountains and lemon syrup. Paul and friends decide they must

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[13]Johannsen, p. 151.

find some way to avoid mixing sodas, and even though there are no soda shops in the two cities, and money can be made from them, the youths do not wish to lower themselves and their expectations by serving sodas. The quartet is interrupted in their deliberations by the Brazilian Navy which has blockaded the river west of Montevideo where the Joseph has to drop anchor. We are then treated to much detail about the patriot General Llavelleja who is at war with Brazil "for the purpose of recovering the city of Monte Video and the Territory of Bonda [sic] Oriental," which had been taken from Argentina.[14] Various histories confirm these political events.[15]

Volume two of the tale finds Paul riding into a skirmish against the Argentine forces behind a friendly Brazilian trooper. This taste of excitement is enough to convince the four adventurers that they must get to Buenos Aires to fight with the patriots, and most of the second volume details how Paul and his friends run the blockade and travel the one hundred and twenty-five miles to Buenos Aires in a small whaleboat. They arrive in safety; Paul remains there for a few months and then decides to return home instead of joining the army. Such is the extent of his part in the revolution. Paul says the blockade-running episode was written up in the El Gaceta Mercantil. The La Gaceta Mercantil was indeed published in Buenos Aires, but only one issue of it is today

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[14]Professor Ingraham, Paul Perril, the Merchant's Son: or the Adventures of a New-England Boy Launched Upon Life, Part One (Boston: Williams and Brothers [1847]), p. 70.

[15]See, for instance, H. S. Ferns, Britain and Argentina in the Nineteenth Century (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960).

extant, the issue for September 19, 1839, so we may not check the hero's truthfulness.[16]

Paul Perril may or may not contain all the facts of Ingraham's involvement in the South American revolution; but, in the absence of absolute facts or more convincing speculation, we may accept the tale as quite plausible in its overall outline. At any rate, Ingraham did return home, obviously decided against trying the mercantile business for his vocation, and decided to attend college.

It has often been reported that Ingraham attended and graduated from Bowdoin College, but no proof of his attendance has ever been located.[17] Such evidence will never be located because Ingraham attended Yale College and entered in the latter part of 1828. He wrote, on June 29, 1828, to the Reverend Jeremiah Day, then President of Yale, that he was studying his Latin hard and expected to "enter on the next commencement."[18] He asks Day "what advantages—or opportunities" there would be "for taking a school occasionally throughout the collegiate course—if a Student should be so inclined?"[19] His interest in teaching school between terms, a common practice in those days, sounds the first

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[16]George A. Schwegmann, Jr., comp., Newspapers on Microfilm (Washington: Library of Congress, 1967), p. 383.

[17]Dorothy Anne Dondore, "Joseph Holt Ingraham," Dictionary of American Biography, IX (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932), 479. Helen B. Johnson, Registrar of Bowdoin College, reconfirmed in a letter to the author, February 2, 1973, that Ingraham did not attend the school.

[18]Letter, Ingraham to Rev. Jeremiah Day, June 29, 1828.

[19]Ibid.

note of a recurrent Ingraham theme—that he did not have the means to pay for something (here his college education) without earning it himself. That he was thinking of teaching is another forecast of things to come.

Ingraham attended Yale for one year only and did not return. He left for reasons we do not at present know, but since his grades were satisfactory, he was given a letter of "dismission" which meant that he might later return to Yale if he chose or even attend another university.[20] That Ingraham intended to enter Dartmouth College is made clear by another letter to President Day written February 21, 1830, from Hanover, New Hampshire. Besides indicating his intention, Ingraham also indicates that he was not a model student at Yale and that he transgressed in some unknown way. He writes:

> Hon'd Sir—
>
> Some days since. I—wrote you. respecting a renewal of my certificate of dismission—but having received no answer as yet—I presume the letter has not reached you—therefore I will—once more take the liberty to address you upon the subject—and with the supposition. that you have not received it.
>
> You are probably aware of my conduct at New Haven I will not attempt to exculpate myself. On leaving there. I went South and took a School. While engaged therein. I experienced a change of heart—and returning home in the fall [1829] on account of ill health—I, through grace, united myself to the church of christ in Portland—of which Rev Dr Bennet Tyler is Pastor.—
>
> Influenced by my own wishes—and those of my friends. I have concluded to unite myself with some institution—to resume my studies—with the intention of preparing for the ministry of Christ.—For this purpose thro' the medium of Dr. Tyler. I shall apply this week for admission as a beneficiary into Dartmouth college.—but before I can be admitted—it will be nescessary

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[20]Letter, Judith A. Schiff, Chief Research Archivist, Yale University Library, to author, April 2, 1973.

> that I shall have my certificate of dismission from Yale. but this I have lost. and that I might obtain a renewal of it. I wrote you 10 or 12 days since—stating the purpose of what I now state—but I had received no answer Thursday last—when I left home for this place.—therefore I have once more taken the liberty to write you on the subject. Are you—willing sir. to give me a renewal of the certificate?—It is true I do not deserve it—I did not deserve to have the certificate when I left college—and had you then been aware of my conduct—you would certainly—not only—have refused it—but would have been perfectly justifiable in sending me away in disgrace.—Whether to grant or to refuse Sir—I leave entirely to yourself.—I do not deserve it—but I cannot be admitted here—without it. Whether you comply with my wishes or not Sir—will you immediately on the receipt of this send me answer—as shall be waiting here on expense, till I hear from you. If you refuse it sir—I cannot complaine If you comply—I can but thank you—
>
> Respectfully your Obt Servt
> Jos. H. Ingraham Jr.[21]

We do not know whether Ingraham received the certificate he requested, but we do know he never matriculated at Dartmouth.[22] It would be interesting to know what his transgression was since he begins several stories on college campuses and has their various characters get into many kinds of scrapes, but it is even more interesting to note that Ingraham was thinking of becoming a minister eighteen years before he finally settled on that vocation. In that eighteen-year suspension he became first a teacher and then a famous novelist.

Vocation Found

Ingraham left New England and headed south in 1830.[23] He went south by ship past Bermuda and the Bahamas to Cuba; from here he

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[21]Letter, Ingraham.to Rev. Jeremiah Day, February 21, 1830.

[22]Letter, Kenneth C. Cramer, Archives Department, Baker Memorial Library, Dartmouth College, to author, February 19, 1973.

[23]Johannsen, p. 151.

proceeded to New Orleans. After a few weeks in New Orleans, he boarded a steamer for Natchez, Mississippi, and, while there, visited several inland Mississippi towns.[24] He was immediately taken with the old southwest that he saw and decided to stay in Natchez. Some critics believe that Ingraham tried law[25] and then had some experience in business[26] before he finally joined the faculty of Jefferson College, which was six miles from Natchez in nearby Washington, Mississippi.[27] From this point on, Ingraham was often called "Professor," and the title appeared on many of his later novels.

That Ingraham did teach languages at struggling Jefferson College has never been concretely proved. Records of the now defunct institution do not list him as a faculty member, but contemporary references to his tenure there make it clear that he did have some connection with the

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[24]This trip is chronicled in The South-West, 2 vols. (1835; rpt. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966).

[25]Johannsen, p. 151.

[26]David H. Bishop, "Joseph Holt Ingraham," Library of Southern Literature, ed. Edwin Anderson Alderman and Joel Chandler Harris (New Orleans: Martin and Hoyt Company, 1907), VI, 2591.

[27]D. Clayton James, Antebellum Natchez (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), p. 143, says Ingraham joined the faculty in 1830. The editor of the Natchez Mississippi Free Trader, in a December 24, 1860, [p. 2] obituary, notes that Ingraham was a Professor in 1830-1831. Jay B. Hubbell, The South in American Literature, 1607-1900 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1954), p. 623, says that Ingraham did not join the faculty of Jefferson College until 1832. According to The South-West, Ingraham did not arrive in Natchez until December [1830], making Hubbell's estimate appear more nearly correct, especially if Ingraham did indeed dabble in law and business before turning to teaching.

school.[28] (It is possible that Jefferson College is the southern school referred to by Ingraham in his 1830 letter to the Reverend Mr. Day of Yale.) Benjamin L. C. Wailes, a prominent native of Washington, knew Ingraham intimately and noted that he had heard Ingraham "preach from time to time in the chapel" of the college.[29] The Natchez newspaper listed, on November 13, 1830 (p. 364), the full professors at the college, but, under the heading "Assistant Professors and Instructors," it listed only the courses taught, among which were French, Spanish, and English—all subjects Ingraham knew and did teach at other schools in later years. Ingraham, at age twenty-one, could hardly have been a full professor and thus listed in The Natchez, but the case for his teaching at Jefferson College will remain circumstantial until more concrete proof is found.[30]

We are most certain, however, that Ingraham did find his wife in Washington, Mississippi. The Professor married Mary Elizabeth Odlin Brookes, the daughter of a deceased local planter, on May 24, 1832.[31] Ingraham and his bride seemed to have lived at the family home, Rose

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[28]In March, 1973, I examined the records of Jefferson College that still exist in the Mississippi Department of Archives and History. No mention of Ingraham could be found.

[29]Charles S. Sydnor, A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938), p. 133.

[30]The Natchez Daily Courier, May 27, 1857 [p. 2], contains a reference to the days of Ingraham at Jefferson College. The Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Tri-Weekly Gazette, June 8, 1837 [p. 2], refers to Ingraham as "late of Jefferson College."

[31]The Natchez, May 25, 1832, p. 167.

Cottage,[32] and though he was to travel a great deal after he began publishing his various works, he would often return to the family plantation; an 1837 story, "Spheeksphobia," was dated from Rose Cottage[33] as was his last published book, The Sunny South (1860).[34]

Ingraham also found something else in Mississippi—the materials for the beginning of his vocation. We now know that Ingraham's first published material appeared in the Natchez Courier: and Adams, Jefferson and Franklin Advertiser on August 23, 1833 [p. 3]. This work was the first of a series of "Letters from Louisiana and Mississippi By a Yankee" which ran in the Natchez Courier (later the Courier and Journal) from 1833 until sometime in 1835. The first eleven "Letters" were published from August 23, 1833, until December 20, 1833. The next letters that are now extant appear in the Courier and Journal for January 2, 9, and 15, 1835. These "Letters" were published, with minimal changes, as Ingraham's first book, The South-West (two volumes), in 1835. Volume one of The South-West contains twenty-three chapters; the eleven surviving "Letters" published in the Natchez Courier appear as chapters five through fifteen in the first volume. Twelve "Letters" are lost in 1834 until the series surfaces again in January, 1835, in the Courier and Journal with letters five through seven of volume two. Thirteen later

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[32]Warren Graham French, "A Sketch of the Life of Joseph Holt Ingraham," The Journal of Mississippi History, 11 (July, 1949), 159.

[33]"Spheeksphobia: or, The Adventures of Abel Stingflyer, A. M. A Tragic Tale," Southern Literary Messenger, 3 (October, 1837), 593.

[34]The Sunny South: or, the Southerner at Home, Embracing Five Year's Experience of a Northern Governess in the Land of the Sugar and the Cotton (1860; rpt. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), p. 4.

letters, then, are not extant if indeed they were all published in the newspaper.

The letters were addressed to "Friend W.—" and signed "I." in the newspaper. "Friend W.—" was probably Wailes; The South-West, which was published by Harper & Brothers, gives neither man's initials. The South-West tells of Ingraham's trip south from New England and his subsequent arrival at Natchez. It is a travel book, not a "rather formless novel" as some have said.[35] It, with Timothy Flint's Recollections of the Last Ten Years (1826), provides a detailed picture of life in New Orleans and Mississippi in the early part of the nineteenth century.

In addition to reflecting life in the old southwest, the Ingraham volumes preview for us many of the romantic notions and stylistic characteristics that would recur in his later fiction. An analysis of the book will be reserved for Chapter II, when all of Ingraham's Harper-published volumes will be considered, but we may note in passing that there was little the Professor did not like about the (to him) romantic south. One critic believes that the "longing for the south, for any alien and distant setting, is typical of romanticism, and reflects the effort of . . . [the writer's] imagination to break away from the fetters of homely experience."[36]

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[35]Bessie Givens, "A Literary History of Mississippi," Thesis. Vanderbilt University 1932, p. 41.

[36]Eino Railo, The Haunted Castle. A Study of the Elements of English Romanticism (1927; rpt. New York: Humanities Press, 1964), p. 315.

Ingraham received $300 from Harper's for The South-West; that $300 was the smallest payment he was to receive for any of the books that the New York firm would later publish.[37] The South-West, like other travel books in this era, generally sold well, and 1835 was a good year for southern writing, the "annus mirabilis" of the nineteenth century one writer believes.[38] The year saw the publication of William Gilmore Simms' The Yemassee and The Partisan. John Pendleton Kennedy published Horse-Shoe Robinson. Augustus Baldwin Longstreet published Georgia Scenes. And Edgar Allan Poe, besides publishing "Berenice" and "Morella," assumed the editorship of the Southern Literary Messenger, which generally spoke well of The South-West in its review columns.[39]

Ingraham entered the literary world at a time when American authorship had begun "to assume the aspect of a business."[40] He entered in good company, and he entered with a form of book that was "the first genre to be successfully established on a profitable professional basis. It had tremendous social prestige because it was useful and educational, and because its methods were in accord with the reigning Scottish

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[37]Letter, Ingraham [to Harper & Brothers], May 29, 1839.

[38]C. Hugh Holman, The Roots of Southern Writing, Essays on the Literature of the American South (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1972), p. 76.

[39][Edgar Allan Poe] Rev. of The South-West [by J. H. Ingraham] Southern Literary Messenger, 2 (January, 1836), 122-123.

[40]Earl L. Bradsher, "Book Publishers and Publishing," The Cambridge History of American Literature, ed. William Peterfield Trent et al. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1946), III, 549.

common-sense philosophy, which celebrated actuality."[41] James Harper, of Harper & Brothers, noted that "'Travels sell about the best of anything we get ahold of. . . . They don't always go with a rush, like a novel . . . but they sell longer, and in the end, pay better.'"[42]

Ingraham had found his vocation. He seemed to accept the terms of professional writing as another author would later state them. Those terms were that professional writing

> provides a living for the author, like any other job; that it is a main and prolonged, rather than intermittent or sporadic, resource for the writer; that it is produced with the hope of extended sale in the open market, like any article of commerce; and that it is written with reference to buyers' tastes and reading habits.[43]

After Ingraham "began writing, he did not reside continuously in the South."[44] He was on his way to Portland in July, 1835,[45] and he dated his introduction to The South-West from New York in September.[46] The Professor's second book and first novel, Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf (1836), was prefaced from New York in June of 1836.[47]

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[41]William Charvat, Literary Publishing in America: 1790-1850 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), p. 94.

[42]Eugene Exman, The Brothers Harper. A Unique Publishing Partnership and Its Impact Upon the Cultural Life of America from 1817 to 1853 (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), p. 94.

[43]William Charvat, The Profession of Authorship in America, 1800-1870, ed. Matthew J. Bruccoli (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1968), p. 3.

[44]French, p. 159.

[45]Letter, Ingrahame [sic] to William A. Coleman, July 28, 1835.

[46][Ingraham] The South-West, p. vi.

[47]Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf, I (1836; rpt. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1970), 7.

Lafitte, dedicated to a fellow Portland native, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, was an immediate success both critically and financially. Harper & Brothers paid him $1350 for the two-volume historical romance,[48] and Edgar Allan Poe, in a penetrating review for the Southern Literary Messenger, found more to praise than to censure.[49] Leaving a more detailed examination of the work until later, we may note that Ingraham's Lafitte is an intensely Byronic character, and one critic claims that "no novelist before Ingraham had given a Byronic turn to the American historical romance."[50]

Ingraham's romance also owes a debt to Sir Walter Scott. The older novelist's use of "graphically minute description of surroundings to rouse and impress the reader's imagination"[51] was borrowed by the young Professor. Ingraham's eye for detail is one of the strongest positive aspects of his writing, but Poe, in reviewing Lafitte, thought the novelist had gone too far.

> Not a dog yelps, unsung [wrote the critic]. Not a shovel-footed negro waddles across the stage . . . without eliciting from the author a vos plaudite, with an extended explanation of the character of his personal appearance—of his length, depth, and breadth,—and, more particularly, of the length, depth, and breadth of his shirt-collar, shoe-buckles and hat-band.[52]

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[48]Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, May 29, 1839.

[49][Edgar Allan Poe] Rev. of Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf [by J. H. Ingraham], Southern Literary Messenger, 2 (1836), 593-596.

[50]Alexander Cowie, The Rise of the American Novel (New York: American Book Co., 1948), p. 289.

[51]T. F. Henderson, "Sir Walter Scott," Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), XII, 19.

[52][Poe] Rev. of Lafitte, p. 595.

Fusion of fact with fiction became another Ingraham staple. History, "in one form or another, was the chief substance of most successful writing before 1850,"[53] and Ingraham seemed very much aware of that fact. An additional mark of Lafitte's success was that it was dramatized in August, 1836, for the Bowery Theatre in New York by Miss Louisa Honor de Medina.[54] Medina transformed a number of popular novels into dramas, but few examples of her work survive, and her dramatization of Lafitte is numbered among the lost.[55] We surmise that her drama was popular, for the play went on to Philadelphia in the same year.[56] At least three other Ingraham novels would be dramatized, two of them dealing with pirates.

The Professor published his first short story, "The Village Prize," in The Portland Sketch Book in 1836.[57] The Sketch Book was composed entirely of contributions by eminent Portland-born writers. Ingraham's inclusion after only a little more than a year on the literary scene is an indication of his rising popularity.

On September 29, 1836, Ingraham received an advance of $300 for his next novel to be entitled "The Conspirator, or Treason Unveiled" and

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[53]Charvat, Literary Publishing in America, p. 66.

[54]"The Theatre," Ladies' Companion, 5 (August, 1836), 202.

[55]Medina's dramatization of Robert Montgomery Bird's Nick of the Woods is her only known drama with a southern setting.

[56]Arthur Herman Wilson, A History of the Philadelphia Theatre 1835 to 1855 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 61.

[57]Joseph Ingraham, "The Village Prize," The Portland Sketch Book, ed. Ann S. Stephens (Portland: Colman and Chisholm, 1836), pp. 126-134.

promised to deliver the manuscript by January 1, 1837.[58] We do not know if he delivered the manuscript on time, but we do know that the financial panic that hit the country in 1837 was harmful to the futures of many novelists and that "The Conspirator," renamed Burton; or The Seiges, was not published until 1838.

Speculation in public lands[59] was one of the reasons that, on May 10, 1837, the New York banks suspended specie payments, "precipitating one of the country's worst financial panics."[60] Book publishers felt the crunch. One critic believes that the panic of 1837 produced a hiatus in the novel-writing career of "almost every writer and publisher of serious fiction in the nation in the 1840s."[61] The two-volume novels that Ingraham was writing were a casualty, and Harper's would publish only two more Ingraham tales after Burton. Poe was another writer hit by the panic. In 1838, he published his first and only novel, The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym; he wrote no more novels and "died before the native novel again found a profitable market."[62] John Pendleton Kennedy was another casualty of the panic, and the South lost a promising writer when he quit the profession in disgust after his 1838 Rob of the Bowl was published.[63]

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[58]Contract, Ingraham and Harper & Brothers, September 29, 1836.

[59]George S. Hellman, Washington Irving Esquire: Ambassador at Large from the New World to the Old (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), p. 252.

[60]Exman, p. 92. [61]Holman, p. 78. [62]Ibid., p. 79.

[63]Ibid.

The first edition of Burton, in spite of the country's financial troubles, sold out its three thousand copies[64] in a week.[65] Burton is an absorbing account of the early career of Aaron Burr, and public interest may have been intensified by Burr's recent death (1836). Ingraham's interest in Burr might also have been stimulated through his association with Jefferson College. Burr was tried for treason under some oak trees on the campus.[66]

The Professor sold no fewer than twelve different pieces to periodicals in 1838, and they, no doubt, helped fill in his income of only $750 from Burton.[67] The novel deservedly received the best reviews yet, but an editor of the Portland Transcript was miffed because the home state paper received no complimentary copy of the work. He was moved to comment "Strange that no notice has been taken of this work in the place of the author's nativity—and yet when editors have to purchase works of this kind it is not so very strange. We cannot be expected to purchase and puff at the same time."[68] Longfellow, in what may be termed a fit of professional jealousy, wrote to George W. Greene on October 22 that

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[64]Contract, Ingraham and Harper & Brothers, September 29, 1836.

[65]Exman, p. 99.

[66]Federal Writers Project, Mississippi: A Guide to the Magnolia State (New York: Viking Press, 1938), p. 334.

[67]Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, May 29, 1839.

[68]Portland Transcript, September 8, 1838, p. 174.

> A new American novelist has arisen; his name is Professor Ingraham. He is author of The Pirate of the Gulf,—dedicated to me, but without permission,—and The Seiges. He is tremendous—really tremendous. I think he may say that he writes the worst novels ever written by anybody. But they sell; he gets twelve hundred dollars apiece.[69]

The older Longfellow's works had not yet received that much attention.

But 1838 had its gloomy moments also. The Ingraham's first daughter, Laura (b. 1834), died in Portland, on April 4,[70] and was followed five days later, on April 9, by Caroline P. Ingraham, one of the Professor's two known sisters.[71]

By October 16, 1838, Ingraham was back in New York to sign a contract with Harper's for the publication of Captain Kyd; or The Wizard of the Sea for which he was paid $1200.[72] Kyd was published in 1839, and the preface was dated from Natchez in January,[73] where he probably put the finishing touches on it. His third Harper novel returned to the sea, ships, and pirates—a combination calculated to draw readers. Kyd was dramatized by Joseph Stevens Jones and is one of two extant dramas based on Ingraham novels. The play is basically a truncation of the Professor's work, often employing the same dialogue; Jones leaves in as

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[69] Portland Transcript, September 8, 1838, p. 174.

[70] Eastern Argus, April 5, 1838 [p. 3].

[71] Eastern Argus, April 10, 1838 [p. 2]. The Eastern Argus for March 24, 1847 [p. 2], reports the death of the other sister, Julia A. B. Ingraham (1825-1847), about whom nothing is known.

[72] Contract, Ingraham and Harper & Brothers, October 16, 1838.

[73] [J. H. Ingraham] Captain Kyd; or The Wizard of the Sea, I (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839), vi.

much action as possible and omits the descriptions that could not have easily been transferred anyway.[74] The play was produced in Boston in 1839, revived in 1840, 1848, 1850, and 1856; the Portland Theatre produced it in 1849[75] and 1859,[76] and Purdy's National Theatre presented it to New York in 1856.[77]

The Professor's most successful year for periodical publications was 1839. At least nineteen pieces appeared in various magazine outlets. The Ladies' Companion announced in February (Vol. 10, p. 200) that it had bought nineteen Ingraham articles which would appear over the next two years. The Ladies' Companion was the Professor's best periodical customer; it bought thirty-five different titles from Ingraham that appeared in fifty-seven of the seventy monthly issues from January, 1839, through October, 1844, the last issue of the magazine.

Ingraham seems to have travelled around a great deal in 1839. After dating his Kyd preface from Natchez in January, he appeared in New York on January 17 to sell the Harpers the rights to his next novel, The Quadroone,[78] which would not appear until 1841. He wrote Edward Carey of Godey's Lady's Book from Natchez on April 6 saying that he had

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[74]J. S. Jones, Captain Kyd; or the Wizard of the Sea. A Drama—In Four Acts (Boston: William V. Spencer [1856]).

[75]Eastern Argus, December 19, 1849 [p. 2].

[76]Eastern Argus, October 31, 1859 [p. 3].

[77]Jones, p. 2.

[78]Contract, Ingraham and Harper & Brothers, January 17, 1839.

written a tale to Carey's specifications.[79] May 29 found him back in New York writing to the Harpers requesting a financial commitment from them. It was not his last letter on the subject, and it illustrates that Ingraham needed funds in a year that was, ostensibly, a prosperous one. He wrote:

> The merchant the planter the publisher and persons engaged in every branch of business are accustomed to anticipate the fruits of their labours & negotiations, through the facilities offered by the banks. Why then should not an author have the same privilege? He cannot live on air better than his neighbours. I have hired a house in N Brunswick [New Jersey] where I shall reside until I can build and remove to West Point. To enable me to furnish this house at once I want to anticipate the profits of my next work after the Quadroone. My brother B J Ingraham says if you will promise to pay me $750 towards it, within 30 days after you receive The ms he will himself give me a check for the money. This you will see places you under no obligation whatever, while it will be doing me a great favor. It will also secure to you the right of publishing the novel when I have completed it.[80]

It appears that this appeal for money was in vain; The Quadroone was to be the last Harper novel, and we have no record that Ingraham built a house in West Point, New York. We will see other evidences that Ingraham anticipated his profits from his work.

The American Lounger, a collection of fourteen of the Professor's short stories, was dated from Philadelphia in June and dedicated to another Portland-born writer—Nathaniel Parker Willis. Lounger was the first and last Ingraham volume published by Philadelphia's Lea & Blanchard. The stories ranged from a legend of George Washington to

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[79] Letter, Ingrahame to Edward Carey, April 6, 1839.

[80] Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, May 29, 1839. We know nothing of B. J. Ingraham except what is mentioned in this letter.

one about the Hudson River Valley, from a tale to duelling in New Orleans to an historical essay on walking canes. At least three of the fourteen tales had been previously published, and one other anticipates The Quadroone in several ways.

July 5 found the author in Philadelphia introducing the prolific writer Mrs. Ann S. Stephens to his friends on the staff of Godey's.[81] The Southern Literary Messenger reported in September (4, 631) that Ingraham "intends a voyage to England in the autumn," but the Professor either gave up his plans (how could he have afforded it?) or made a lightning trip, for he was in Buccleuch, New Jersey, on November 24.[82] From Buccleuch he wrote another request for money to the Harpers on December 10. He noted that sickness in his family made his request necessary.[83] He continues: "I take this occasion of making you an offer of the American copy rights of my subsequent novels two a year for the next two years for $1500 each."[84] Again, this offer (and plea) was

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[81]Letter, Ingrahame to Mrs. Ann S. Stephens, July 5, 1839.

[82]Letter, Ingraham to J. J. Smith, November 24, 1839.

[83]Exactly what Ingraham's family consisted of at this time remains a matter of conjecture. There was his wife, of course; Laura, a daughter, was dead. A son, Prentiss, was born in 1843 and died in 1904. He outproduced his prolific father by writing over six hundred dime novels and several plays. The parish records of Christ Church, Holly Springs, Mississippi, in 1860, the year of Ingraham's death, show that there was another son, Henry, and two daughters, Josephine and another Laura. When these last three children were born is unknown, and nothing is known about their lives.

[84]Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, December 10, 1839.

almost certainly declined, for the Harpers did not publish any Ingraham novels after The Quadroone.

The Professor was lodged in the Sans Vinci Hotel in New York on January 31, 1840, from whence he sent to the Harpers the first 150 pages of The Quadroone and a request for more money. The remainder of the novel was being copied by a secretary in preparation for the press since Ingraham's handwriting was only marginally legible.[85] We do not know the Professor's whereabouts for the rest of the year; he published no novels but did contribute over a dozen stories and articles to the Ladies' Companion and Godey's Lady's Book.

The Quadroone; or, St. Michael's Day was finally published in 1841, though the first part of it had appeared in the Democratic Review in November, 1839 (6, 399-411). Set in New Orleans in 1769 and afterwards, the tale involves heroism and miscegenation; the latter was a daring subject for the times, but Ingraham clears his hero and heroine from any taint of Negro blood at the close of the novel in one of the most fantastically coincidental recognition scenes on record. The Ladies' Companion thought the novel was the best yet[86] from the Professor's pen, but Poe's third review of an Ingraham novel was less enthusiastic.[87] The critic later wrote to Frederick W. Thomas on June 26:

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[85]Letter, Ingraham to Fletcher Harper, January 31, 1840.

[86]Rev. of The Quadroone; or, St. Michael's Day [by J. H. Ingraham], Ladies' Companion, 15 (May, 1841), 48.

[87][Edgar Allan Poe] Rev. of The Quadroone; or, St. Michael's Day [by J. H. Ingraham], Graham's Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine, 18 (June, 1841), 296.

> It appears that Ingraham is in high dudgeon with me because I spoke ill of his "Quadroone." I am really sorry to hear it—but it is a matter that cannot be helped. As a man I like him much, and wherever I could do so, without dishonor to my own sense of truth, I have praised his writings. His "South-West," for example, I lauded highly. His "Quadroone" is, in my honest opinion, trash. If I must call it a good book to preserve the friendship of Prof. Ingraham—Prof. Ingraham may go to the devil.[88]

Poe never did call it a good book that we know of.

Poe made another comment about Ingraham in his "Autography" series for Graham's Magazine that November. The critic purported to characterize writers from their signatures. Under the Professor's signature Poe notes that

> Mr. Ingraham, or Ingrahame (for he writes his name sometimes with, and sometimes without the e,) is one of our most popular novelists, if not one of our best. He appeals always to the taste of the ultraromanticists (as a matter, we believe, rather of pecuniary policy than of choice) and thus is obnoxious to the charge of a certain cut-and-thrust, blue-fire, melodramaticism. Still, he is capable of better things. His chirography is very unequal; at times sufficiently clear and flowing, at others, shockingly scratchy and uncouth. From it nothing whatever can be predicated, except an uneasy vacillation of temper and of purpose.[89]

Poe's fairness is impressive. He knew Ingraham could write well, but he also knew that money could be made more easily by catering to public taste.

A new way of earning a dollar as well as more renown occurred to Ingraham in June. He was in Washington, D. C., on June 15, and addressed a letter to Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State.

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[88]Edgar Allan Poe, The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe, ed. John Ward Ostrom (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), I, 170-171.

[89]Edgar Allan Poe, The Complete Works of Edgar Allan Poe, ed. James A. Harrison (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1902), XV, 188.

Sir,

I am now on my way to Europe on a literary tour and some of my friends having recently suggested to me that a connexion with a Foreign Embassy would place me in a position quite favorable to the object of that visit, I beg leave to enclose you one or two introductory letters & to ask your influence in my behalf. My acquaintance with the literature and customs of Spain, acquired chiefly by foreign travel incline me to give preference to that point. The advancement and elevation of American literature is the chief object of my visit abroad, and I shall feel both proud & happy, if, by your friendly approval, I can be placed in a position which will enable me both to serve my government and, at the same time, advance the literature of my country in a more desirable manner than, as a private individual, I otherwise could do.[90]

The Professor did not receive an appointment, and it appears that he did not go to Europe or Spain either in 1841. He may have earlier as he says; several of his novels with Spanish and English settings do illustrate some acquaintance with the geography of the countries, but, again, we do not know when he went if he did.

Ingraham sold one more novel to the Harpers, but they did not publish it. The contract, dated from New York on October 8, says that "The Serf, or the Revolt of the Mexitili" was in Harper hands.[91] No fee is mentioned. The two-volume novel was not published until 1845 and then by Henry L. Williams, one of the Williams firms that was to publish the bulk of Ingraham's work.

Casting around for another publisher as early as July, Ingraham wrote to George Roberts on the eighth. Roberts was the publisher of the Boston Notion, one of the so-called "mammoth weeklies" that gave the

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[90]Letter, Ingrahame to Daniel Webster, June 15, 1841.

[91]Contract, Ingraham and Harper & Brothers, October 8, 1841.

masses some cheap reading matter and gave authors headaches. Few people would buy hardcover novels when they could buy a novel serially printed in a cheap weekly. Ingraham writes that he has just completed "A Romance of Palanque" and offers it for serial publication in the Notion.[92] If Roberts accepted the romance, we have no record of it; neither do we know of an extant copy of the tale. The Professor wrote Roberts again on July 10 saying, in answer to Roberts' request, that he preferred to contribute prose to the Notion instead of verse, "for alas! the Muses have not blessed me!"[93] Ingraham had previously penned about eight pieces of verse for periodicals, and his own comment on his verse is quite correct.

In August, still in New York, Ingraham wrote another letter about money; this time he owed money to W. H. Butterworth and could not pay. "It is with deep regret," wrote Ingraham, "and no trifling degree of mortification that I have been compelled, by unfavorable passing disappointments and vicissitudes, to withhold from you so long the amount due you."[94] He goes on to note that his London publisher, Richard Bentley, owed him money, but he had not yet received it. "My disappointment in not receiving funds has rendered it necessary for me to send my family to the country to my father's and to take 'single lodging'"[95] in

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[92]Letter, Ingrahame to George Roberts, July 8, 1841.

[93]Letter, Ingrahame to George Roberts, July 10, 1841.

[94]Letter, Ingrahame to W. H. Butterworth, August 21, 1841.

[95]Ibid.

New York. The Professor was obviously in a precarious financial position. On August 24, he wrote an I. O. U. to Charles S. Rowell for twenty-five dollars which he promised to repay by September 1.[96]

The results of the panic of 1837 had finally hit the Professor, and they had hit him hard. His lengthy, two-volume romances were not being published; and, although he sold over a dozen pieces to the periodicals in 1841, he obviously could not live on their earnings. Something had to be done. English novels were selling more cheaply than native American works because, in the absence of a copyright law, American publishers could pirate and publish English works at little expense.[97] The Professor had to publish to eat, to get out of debt. He had never found a vocation so consistently satisfying as authorship, and he did not plan to give it up. He thus decided to try the Boston Notion again. Its editors accepted The Dancing Feather, another pirate tale, and the novel began to appear serially in the paper in December, 1841.[98]

The Dancing Feather's appearance marked the beginning of a new phase in the Professor's career. The days of the long, leisurely novels were seemingly over. He soon began to manufacture quickly written paperbound novels that ranged in length from thirty-one to sixty-six finely printed double-columned pages. That he "ventured to make his

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[96]Promissory note, Ingrahame to Charles S. Rowell, August 21, 1841.

[97]Carl Van Doren, The American Novel, 1789-1939 (New York: Macmillan, 1940), p. 57.

[98]French, pp. 160-161.

living from his books during depression years . . . [indicated] his confidence in his ability to turn out salable fiction fast."[99]

He may have moved to Boston in 1842 to be near his publishers, but the year saw only the publication of The Dancing Feather and one other novel in book form. Then a second chance for government service appeared. Ingraham received an appointment to proceed to the Isthmus of Panama "to inquire into the ability of the people . . . to maintain their independence" after a revolution.[100] But another revolution erupted before Ingraham could leave, and Daniel Webster, the Secretary of State, wrote the Professor on February 11 to inform him that "the agency which was to have been conferred upon Mr. Ingraham in relation to the States of Panama and Veragua is rendered unnecessary."[101] The disappointed Professor applied for no more foreign service appointments.

At least it was a successful year in periodical contributions (a minimum of eighteen pieces), but these publications were not enough to stave off bankruptcy for the writer, and he was compelled to take the debtor's oath.[102] Ingraham was at the lowest ebb of his career.

George Roberts' publication of The Dancing Feather sold twenty thousand copies even after it was published in the Notion,[103] but

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[99]Exman, p. 100.

[100]Natalia Summers, comp., Lists of Documents Relating to Special Agents of the Department of State, 1789-1906 (Washington: National Archives, 1951), p. 86.

[101]Letter, Daniel Webster to Ingraham, February 11, 1842.

[102]Letter, Ingrahame to Mssrs. Ketchum and Fessenden, November 7, 1843.

[103]Blanck, p. 463.

Ingraham must not have received any money from the sale or he surely would not have gone bankrupt. He switched publishers quickly, but it was not until 1843 that he found another book firm that he could trust. These publishers were the Bostonians Edward P. and Henry L. Williams, who published under the separate imprints E. P. Williams, H. L. Williams, Williams and Brothers, and the "Yankee" Office—all from their single Congress Street address. These firms issued most of Ingraham's works from 1843 until 1847, and his output during that time was so prodigious that one critic estimated the Professor singlehandedly "accounted for nearly 10 per cent of the fiction titles published during the 'forties."[104] Unfortunately, the records of the Williams' publishing concerns are no longer extant; they were probably burned in the "fire of 1872 which engulfed most of Congress Street and ravaged a number of publishing houses."[105] They could have told us much about Ingraham's career at its most prolific if not its most critically successful period.

In 1843, the Professor published at least eight books[106] and sold ten articles to periodicals. Even this output was not enough to keep the press of debt from him. He wrote the New York firm of Ketchum and Fessenden on November 7, telling them that Mrs. Ingraham had had a long and "unusually expensive" illness, that he was "wholly dependent"

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[104]James D. Hart, The Popular Book. A History of America's Literary Taste (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961), pp. 98-99.

[105]Letter, James Lawton, Curator of Manuscripts, Boston Public Library, to author, April 13, 1973.

[106]Blanck, p. 459, notes that it is possible. . . .

on his pen, and that he would do what he could "towards the payment of . . . [his] debt" but that he could promise nothing.[107] Prosperity still eluded the Professor's grasp.

Ingraham realized that he had to turn out relatively short pieces of fiction in order to get them printed, but he did not give up his two-volume format without a fight. One of his favorite ways to evade cutting down his stories was to leave them unfinished and promise his readers that sequels were on the way. He had first used this expedient with The Dancing Feather. Morris Graeme: or, the Cruise of the Sea-Slipper was the 1843 sequel.[108] In an introduction to Graeme, the Professor explained that he had originally intended The Dancing Feather to reach the fifty-chapter length usually employed by two-volume novels, but his editor, after Ingraham had produced six chapters, requested that the tale be limited to ten chapters. Thus, the author was forced to cut his projections, and that is why a few apparent errors crept into the end of Feather and why the novel was not ended to everyone's satisfaction. Ingraham promised that the sequel would clear up all the loose ends of the earlier story. For the next several years he protested against having to shorten his novels until, finally, in 1845, he was permitted a legitimate two-volume creation and another one the next year.

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[107]Letter, Ingrahame to Mssrs. Ketchum and Fessenden, November 7, 1843.

[108]Professor Ingraham, Morris Graeme: or, the Cruise of the Sea-Slipper. A Sequel to the Dancing Feather. A Tale of the Land and Sea (Boston: E. P. Williams, 1843).

Ingraham rebelled against the prevailing strictures of the public in another way. The "predominantly female fiction-reading public"[109] generally expected a happy ending or a moral or both at the end of their novels. Ingraham did not always oblige them. In Frank Rivers, a man cleaves with a hatchet the skull of a woman he seduced and escapes. In Arnold (1844) Benedict Arnold escapes punishment for his treachery. A hunchback kills the title character in Herman De Ruyter (1844) and escapes. We could note several other instances in which seducers of young women get away with their wicked deeds, but these examples are representative.

Reviewers generally ignored Ingraham's paperback novels. Presumably he was no longer considered a serious author, but another reason might be that he was publishing too rapidly for the reviewers to keep up. The Professor used endless plot variations, but he stayed close to tales of pirates (and other sea tales) and frequently wrote moralistic tales that compared and contrasted the joys of country life with the evil and debaucheries of big cities like Boston or New York. Since there is a sameness about many of these tales that cannot be denied, the reviewers may be at least partially forgiven for their silence.

However one regards the tales of these years, he must remember that they sold. They would not have been printed otherwise. Ingraham published nineteen novels and about fifteen pieces in various periodicals

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[109]Charvat, The Profession of Authorship in America, p. 262.

in 1844. The Dancing Feather (1842) was dramatized and presented in Philadelphia that year;[110] again, no copy survives. The year is also notable in that the first and only widely-circulated portrait of Ingraham appeared facing the title page of Santa Claus. The novel is worthless, but the picture tells volumes. The seated Professor has a noble bearing and is expensively dressed; he has on a full-length coat with vest and cravat. A dark, carefully sculptured beard outlines his profiled face. Dark, dashing, highly romantic—he must have looked exactly as his readers pictured him.

One of the 1844 tales worthy of mention is La Bonita Cigarera; or the Beautiful Cigar Vender. A Tale of New York.[111] This novel (and its sequel Herman De Ruyter) capitalized on the interest still felt in the murder of the beautiful Mary Rogers, the most famous cigar vender in New York. Edgar Allan Poe's "The Mystery of Marie Roget" (1842) is based on the same tragedy, but the authors reached different conclusions about the murder. Ingraham suggests that the girl was not murdered at all, that she was discovered to be the daughter of an English nobleman, and that she was rescued from her lowly position and returned to England in secrecy so that her lowly occupation would not embarrass her wealthy relatives. Poe is more faithful to the actual case; in his book, Marie is murdered, but her murderer is not specifically identified although he is apprehended. Ingraham's version is full of digressions and not

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[110] Wilson, p. 75.

[111] J. H. Ingraham, La Bonita Cigarera; or the Beautiful Cigar Vender. A Tale of New York (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844).

as tightly organized as is Poe's tale, but the Professor's has more action and a species of narrative power that holds the reader's attention more securely than does Poe's more cerebral account.

The peak of Ingraham's book production was reached in 1845. In that year, in addition to eight periodical articles, he published twenty-five novels. An article in the Portland Eastern Argus reported that the Professor received fifty dollars apiece for his novels "and the everlasting gratitude of his publishers."[112] The article continued by noting that the Professor was currently living in a small village in Maine; a later story would identify that village as Bath, which Ingraham referred to as his summer home.[113]

Will Terril; or, the Adventures of a Young Gentleman Born in a Cellar and The Adventures of Will Wizard! Corporal of the Saccarapa Volunteers are two productions of the year that differ from the usual Ingraham subject matter since both make some pretense at being humorous through the use of different dialects. Up to this time, Ingraham had employed Negro dialect often and had dabbled in the speech of Maine sea captains and Jewish money lenders; now he attempted complete stories in dialect. Will Terril is the tale of an uneducated fifteen-year-old Boston urchin who tries to make his living by selling cats to a local sausage manufacturer.[114] Will Wizard is a simile-spouting twenty-one

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[112] Eastern Argus, March 22, 1845 [p. 2].

[113] J. H. Ingraham, "The Kennebec Sloop. And the English Cruisers," Eastern Argus, September 24, 1845 [p. 2].

[114] J. H. Ingraham, Will Terril; or, the Adventures of a Young Gentleman Born in a Cellar (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1845).

year old Maine corporal whose linguistic attainments are as minimal as his volubility is maximal. He tames bears like Davy Crockett, talks as much as a politician, and does as little.[115] The novel, like Will Terril, is interesting primarily as an extended exercise in one type of dialect. They are the most linguistically oriented (as opposed to plot-oriented) Ingraham novels, and the Professor did not try his hand at the type again.

It is almost inconceivable that an author who published as much as Ingraham should still have financial problems, but he did. From Boston, on April 3, 1846, he wrote to J. B. Staples requesting an extension on a loan. Ingraham writes:

> To pay you from my regular monthly receipts would hardly give you ten dollars a month, for I have scarcely that over my expenses. My income just keeps me along without debt, of which I have the greatest horror, for I have suffered a very great deal thereby. I have not asked a pecuniary favor of any body for three years and a half nearly. I have made just enough to get along and pay some small debts. . . . I have had a very sick family, for the most part of this winter Mrs Ingraham & both of my children [Prentiss (1843-1904) and Josephine Scott ?] have been under the physician's hands, and they are not now well enough for me to leave them.[116]

If Ingraham had not borrowed any money for three and a half years, it is possible that his unspecified debt to Staples dates from his 1842 bankruptcy and that he was trying to pay off his old debts.

Three days later, on April 6, the Professor paid a visit to Longfellow who wrote in his journal:

> In the afternoon, Ingraham the novelist called. A young, dark man, with soft voice. He says he has written eighty novels, and of these twenty during the last year; till it has grown to

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[115] J. H. Ingraham, The Adventures of Will Wizard! Corporal of the Saccaropa Volunteers (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1845).

[116] Letter, Ingraham to J. B. Staples, April 3, 1846.

> be merely mechanical with him. These novels are published in the newspapers. They pay him something more than three thousand dollars a year.[117]

If Ingraham's novels were still being first published in newspapers, we have not yet located them, and it is possible that they will never be located.[118] The other notable facet of Longfellow's entry is the reference to Ingraham's income. "No other novelist North or South was consistently earning as much as that in the 1840's."[119] And yet it was not enough.

Vocation Changed

Ingraham must have realized that he could not keep on producing books in quantity forever. His production was down to sixteen titles in 1846 and dropped to ten in 1847, a year he contemplated the momentous change he had thought about as early as 1830—the idea of entering the ministry. He would be giving up a great deal to become a minister; he would lose much of his fame as a writer when he did not publish a new work or two a year. He could not improve his financial condition much if at all; ministers were certainly not well paid, and he would have to study a few years before he could be ordained and given a church. It would take genuine courage to leave a career, uncertain as it was, to begin another career even more full of uncertainties. But Ingraham had the courage, and, we believe, genuine faith in God's providence.

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[117]Longfellow, II, 35.

[118]See the discussion of periodical publications in Chapter III.

[119]Hubbell, p. 623.

A careful reader of Ingraham's novels will not be too surprised that the Professor would choose the ministry. Throughout many of his novels runs the idea that God is behind the wonders of nature, that God would protect the poor, the homeless, the sick. When a major Ingraham character would reach the deepest level of despair, poverty, and want, he would often resign himself to God's care, and the individual's faith was never misplaced. Ingraham may have even written himself into the ministry through the faith of some of his characters, but a more conservative view is that his brother, John Philip Thurston Ingraham, influenced the Professor to study theology.[120] J. P. T. Ingraham was already a minister of the Protestant Episcopal Church, and it was in this faith that the Professor was confirmed in 1847.[121]

Ingraham was in Natchez in March, 1847, to attend the term examinations at Jefferson College,[122] and he moved to Nashville, Tennessee, in September to live and study theology in preparation for taking orders in the church.[123] His preparation would take at least three years.[124]

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[120]Johannsen, p. 152.

[121]French, p. 163. J. P. T. Ingraham (1819-1904) wrote several books on theology during his career as a minister.

[122]Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette, March 17, 1847 [p. 2].

[123][J. H. Ingraham] Report Upon a Proposed System of Public Education, for the City of Nashville, Respectfully Addressed to its Citizens (Nashville: W. F. Bang and Co., 1848), p. 18.

[124]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Secrets of the Cells: or, Leaves From My Diary," Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, 8 (March 17, 1855), 162. According to the New York Evening Mirror, 7 (December 21, 1847) [p. 2], Ingraham studied theology under Bishop J. H. Otey of the Diocese of Tennessee.

To meet the continuous problem of supporting himself and his family, he returned to teaching and taught at a school for young ladies.[125] It did not take long for him to discover that several of his students could not read; one of the reasons they could not was that Nashville had no public school system.

The State had money for a free school system. The schools operated by these funds were referred to as "pauper schools"[126] because of an 1815 act and an 1823 law which levied taxes on a number of items to provide funds to educate the poor and the children orphaned by the War of 1812.[127] Families of means did not relish the idea that their children should go to pauper schools, and they were not interested in being taxed for schools their children did not attend.[128] Ingraham, who had seen the effect of public schools in the North as well as in Natchez, began a battle to educate the people to the advantages of a free public school system supported by property taxes.

Toward this end he employed his pen again to produce a Report Upon a Proposed System of Public Education, for the City of Nashville, Respectfully Addressed to Its Citizens. He delivered his address to a meeting of the town's citizens on June 7, 1848. The next day the Mayor and Aldermen of the city requested Ingraham to publish the address so that all in the city might become familiar with its arguments.[129]

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[125]Letter, Ingraham to Horace Mann, June 27, 1848.

[126]Tennessee's Public Schools (Arlington, Tennessee: Tennessee Congress of Parents and Teachers, Inc., 1938), p. 23.

[127]Ibid. [128]Ibid., p. 25. [129][Ingraham] Report [p. 3].

Its arguments were excellent. The Professor pointed out that free public schools would lower the schooling costs of those that owned property by doing away with the numerous expensive private schools. He proved with many facts and figures that if people were more educated, they might stay out of jail and that the state currently spent more on prisoners than on schools.[130] In an appendix to the Report, he printed the rules under which the free public schools of Natchez operated.

Spurred on by the interest shown by the city officials, Ingraham addressed a June 27 letter to Horace Mann, one of the most eminent educators of the day. He sent Mann a copy of his Report and told him that

> My object in writing is to desire you to take the trouble of transmitting to me as early as possible, such documents touching the Public School System as will be best adapted to inform the minds of a committee of gentlemen, who otherwise sufficiently intelligent, have not given to this subject any attention whatsoever.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> The mayor & City Council & all the influential men in the city have warmly taken up the subject and say they must carry the school at the municipal Elections in September, which will turn upon this question alone—"school or no school."[131]

To this plea for assistance, Ingraham added his proposals for school buildings and their possible enrollment as well as the information that some donors were willing to contribute to the cause if Mann could help with more information.

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[130]Ibid., p. 25.

[131]Letter, Ingraham to Horace Mann, June 27, 1848.

Mann did not answer Ingraham's letter, but the Professor did not give up so easily and wrote the educator again on November 1. "I stand almost alone, sir," he wrote, "in this public school question, and have no one to advise with. . . . Your name here, sir, will be sufficient alone to insure the unanimous adoption of any system for the city you may suggest."[132] Ingraham even appended a sketch of the school system he had devised for Nashville, but there is no evidence that Mann answered his second appeal. We are sure, however, that public schools in Nashville (and in Tennessee) did not become a reality until Governor Andrew Johnson got the necessary law passed in 1854, several years after Ingraham had left Nashville.[133] Johnson was as much of a crusader as Ingraham because the Governor, due to the lack of public schools, reached manhood "without [the] ability to do more than barely read."[134] Johnson was also aware of the value of an education and what it could mean to people.

Ingraham had discovered another cause while in Nashville, and it was one he connected closely with the need for public education. Very shortly after his arrival in the "Athens of the South," the Professor became interested in the state penitentiary. He visited the prison and learned that the prisoners were relatively humanely treated but discovered that the convicts had no chaplain and were confined to their cells on Sundays. Ingraham, after much argument with Warden McIntosh, was given

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[132]Letter, Ingraham to Horace Mann, November 1, 1848.

[133]Tennessee's Public Schools, p. 26.

[134]Ibid.

permission to talk with and read the Bible to the men on Sundays. Thus, the first congregation that Joseph Holt Ingraham addressed, in an unofficial capacity, was composed of the prisoners of the Tennessee State Penitentiary. He kept the prisoner's attention and earned their respect. He was paid nothing for his work and visited the prison every Sunday for three years.[135] What this unpaid candidate for religious orders accomplished is as totally admirable as it is totally forgotten.

Ingraham discovered that "out of two hundred men within the penitentiary, one hundred and twenty could not both read and write" and was confirmed in his belief that crime often resulted from lack of education.[136] Singlehandedly he taught about thirty men to read[137] and presented a class of thirty men to his bishop for confirmation.[138] He drew up a petition and presented it to the state legislature requesting that a chaplain be appointed for the prisoners. The governor signed the bill and offered Ingraham the job, but the Professor could not accept because he was not yet ordained;[139] the prison records seemingly

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[135]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Secrets of the Cells," 8 (March 17, 1855), 162-164; (March 24, 1855), 178-179; (March 31, 1855), 194-195; (April 7, 1855), 210-211; (April 14, 1855), 226-227; (April 21, 1855), 242-243.

[136]Ingraham, "Secrets of the Cells," 8 (April 7, 1855), 210.

[137]Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Tennessee, Held in Saint Paul's Church, Franklin, on the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th of July, MDCCCL (Columbia, Tenn.: Mitchell and Rainey, 1850), p. 24.

[138]Ingraham, "Secrets of the Cells," 8 (April 7, 1855), 210.

[139]Ibid.

do not even mention the Professor's role in proposing this legislation.[140]

Bishop J. H. Otey, however, did commend Ingraham's work in his 1850 annual report to the Diocese of Tennessee.

> I attended at the Penitentiary [on May 12] for the purpose of administering confirmation to a number of the convicts, who had been instructed and prepared for this rite chiefly, by the labors of Mr. Jos. H. Ingraham, one of our candidates for orders. Mr. Ingraham has been laboring for two years [since 1848] with great diligence and zeal to improve the religious character of these unhappy and unfortunate men. He undertook this work with my consent and approbation and under the sanction of the authority of the State. His efforts deserve and will, I doubt not, receive the hearty commendation of every true follower of Christ and every lover of his kind, while the approbation of his own conscience, next to the favor of God, will be his richest reward.[141]

Rev. J. P. T. Ingraham was, at this time, Assistant Rector of Christ Church in Nashville and occasionally helped his brother by baptizing inmates of the prison.[142] The Professor, in his own report for 1850, thanked his brother for his help and noted that "The gospel seems to find its true and proper field where men are most lost!"[143] The candidate had entered his new vocation with a wholly admirable devotion and dedication. He would continue in this energetic vein for the rest of his ministry.

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[140]The records of the Tennessee State Penitentiary from 1847 through 1851 were checked by the author at the Tennessee State Library and Archives on August 24, 1973. The prison reports do not mention Ingraham, but they do verify some of the incidents that the Professor used in his "Secrets of the Cells."

[141]Journal of the Proceedings . . . Twenty-Second Annual Convention, pp. 16-17.

[142]Ibid., p. 23.

[143]Ibid.

Ingraham returned to Mississippi for his first official assignment. He was appointed to the missionary post of Aberdeen and arrived there on April 2, 1851.[144] In addition to having charge of St. John's Church in Aberdeen, Ingraham also had charge of Grace Church in Okolona and St. Paul's Church in Columbus. The first Sunday in every month found him at Okolona; the second and fourth Sundays were spent in Aberdeen, and on the third Sunday he journeyed to Columbus.[145]

Ingraham's arrival in Aberdeen marked the beginning of the continuous existence of St. John's and the start of a program to build a new church.[146] After nine months, he reported:

> "It is with gratitude to God that I am able to report this parish in a highly prosperous condition, and presenting a most encouraging field for the Church. Indeed, the whole of the rich valley of the Tombigbee, which has direct commerce in the cotton season with Mobile, is a worthy field for missionary labour. The population is of the best class—is wealthy, is increasing, and without prejudices. The Church is received with kindness and confidence. When your missionary entered upon this field of labour in March, there were but eight communicants known to be here, and no Church, though by the instrumentality of pious women several hundred dollars had been raised. Now there are eighteen communicants, many candidates for confirmation, a Gothic Church 70 by 36 feet, which will cost $3,000, to be built of brick, in progress, to be completed by Christmas, and an increasing congregation. Two hundred dollars are also subscribed towards an organ; and our chancel furniture is all to be presented to us by ladies in New-Orleans.
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> "Four hours' ride from here, at the prairie village of Okelona [sic], finding several Church people providentially settled near one another, I organized a parish, under the style of Grace Church

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[144] Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Mississippi (Natchez: Natchez Courier Book and Job Office, 1851), p. 43.

[145] Monroe Democrat, August 20, 1851 [p. 3].

[146] Rev. James Lundy Sykes, History of St. John's Parish. Aberdeen, Mississippi [Aberdeen, Miss.] n.d., p. 3.

> . . . . We at once raised one thousand dollars, and a piece of land being presented to us, we contracted with an architect to put up a neat Gothic Church with a spire, the whole to be completed also by Christmas day. The money for this Church, and $2,300 for the one here, is all paid in, as we have a holy horror of going into debt."[147]

Ingraham was ordained a deacon by Mississippi Bishop William Mercer Green on March 9, 1851.[148] He laid the cornerstone of St. John's on October 16[149] and was in Pontotoc organizing a new parish on November 26.[150] In Okolona, on December 18, he laid the cornerstone of Grace Church.[151]

Ingraham was ordained to the priesthood in St. Andrew's Church of Jackson, Mississippi, on February 8, 1853, by Bishop Green.[152] He was in Natchez several days later, and the Mississippi Free Trader found occasion to comment that

> A few days since we saw the dark and intellectual features of the author of "Lafitte the Pirate of the Gulf," and various other romantic legends and narratives, in our streets. We noticed a somewhat unusual longitude of countenance and the white cravat, very much at variance with the former jaunty, dashing, imposing, mustachioed, half-bandit air of the same gentleman years since on the paves of Philadelphia and New York, with silver-mounted pistol and jeweled attaghan in belt.[153]

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[147]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Mississippi. Aberdeen," The Spirit of Missions, 6 (December, 1851), 504.

[148]French, p. 164.

[149]Monroe Democrat, October 15, 1851 [p. 4].

[150]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Mississippi. Aberdeen," The Spirit of Missions, 17 (May, 1852), 144.

[151]Ibid.

[152]"The Novelist Divine," Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Trader, February 18, 1852 [p. 1].

[153]Ibid.

The cause for this change, the article goes on, is Ingraham's ordination to the priesthood.

The new minister was soon back in Aberdeen and delivered the first of a series of extremely well-received lectures on astronomy at the Aberdeen Female College.[154] He now had more time to work and stay in Aberdeen because he had been able to resign his Columbus charge to another minister in December; the church he had founded in Pontotoc had a new minister in January, 1853, and another minister had been assigned to Okolona by April.[155] He was now able to preach twice every Sunday in Aberdeen at 10:30 a. m. and 3:30 p. m.[156]

Besides having time for lectures, Ingraham had more time for one of his favorite topics—free public education. In late March he appeared before an audience (with several others) "in reference to a permanent High School or College."[157] The Aberdeen Monroe Democrat announced that, on the occasion of these addresses, the brass band would play, and, "it is hoped, . . . contribute to the interest of the occasion."[158] Obviously the Aberdeen citizens needed more enticement than the ones at Nashville although the end result of the meeting was the same—no free public schools.

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[154]Monroe Democrat, March 10, 1852 [p. 4].

[155]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Mississippi. Aberdeen," The Spirit of Missions, 17 (May, 1852), 144.

[156]Monroe Democrat, March 10, 1852 [p. 4].

[157]Monroe Democrat, March 24, 1852 [p. 3].

[158]Ibid.

Ingraham went back to focusing his labors on his still incomplete church. Despairing of getting a local architect, he sat down and went to work himself. He later reported that he built the church

> with two young men and eight colored mechanics. The style is Elizabethan. The body or nave is 70 by 37; the tower 14 feet square and 70 feet in height, terminating in parapet and four turrets. Seven flat Norman arches span the ceiling with corbels pending in the centres. There is a triple-lancet window above the chancel, and a vestry-room with embrasured parapet, turrets and buttresses in keeping with the main building.[159]

Ingraham also helped build the new church at Okolona, which was constructed in Gothic style.[160] Ingraham was a diversified and talented man.

The Professor was also self-sacrificing. A minister in his era was usually paid from the rent of the pews in his church. Because he did not want to see his church in debt, he "resigned all the rents of the pews, $1,150, . . . to pay off the last bill against the Church."[161] Because he contributed his salary to the church, he had "to teach all day as professor in the Methodist Female Institute . . . to enable . . . [himself] to find bread for . . . [his] butter."[162] Next year, he believed, he could receive his salary and devote more time to his ecclesiastical duties.

St. John's was finally finished in April, 1853.[163] Each of the sixty-eight pews[164] rented for twenty-five dollars, and the congregation

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[159]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Mississippi. Aberdeen," The Spirit of Missions, 18 (May, 1853), 133.

[160]Ibid. [161]Ibid. [162]Ibid.

[163]Sykes, p. 6. [164]Ibid.

could bid on choice locations if they wished.[165] Ingraham kept teaching, however, until August, 1853. In that month he interfered in some way with the punishment of a servant at the Institute and was dismissed.[166] Owing, no doubt, at least partly to his dismissal, Ingraham resigned his rectorship of St. John's. He was back in Natchez in September.[167]

He was not to be idle long. In November, 1853, he accepted a call to another St. John's Church; this one was located in Mobile, Alabama. He took up his duties on December 18[168] and was to be paid a salary of $1,500 a year.[169] The church had just been completed, so the Reverend Ingraham again became the first minister of a new church. The church was completely paid for when Ingraham arrived, and he noted with satisfaction that his church owed no man anything but love.[170]

Ingraham's salary of $1,500 was guaranteed by the members of the Vestry, for St. John's Mobile was deeded to the parish as a free church which meant that there was no rent charged on the pews—a bold and relatively new idea in 1853. Ingraham's salary was to come from

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[165] [Aberdeen, Mississippi] Weekly Independent, February 5, 1853 [p. 3].

[166] Weekly Independent, September 3, 1853 [p. 3].

[167] Ibid.

[168] Lucy Green Nelson, St. John's Church, Mobile. A History (Mobile: Jordan Printing Co., 1963), p. 16.

[169] Ibid., p. 19.

[170] Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Third Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Alabama, Held in St. Paul's Church, Carlowville, on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of May A. D. 1854 (Mobile: Benjamin, Farrow and Co., 1854), p. 17.

the weekly offerings, and, if the offerings did not total $1,500, the vestrymen would make up the deficit.[171]

Ingraham still must have had a hard time making financial ends meet. He had at least two children by 1854—Josephine Scott and Prentiss[172]—and had turned to teaching again.[173] He was also, at least partly because of financial stress, in the process of returning to authorship.

The beginning of the return was evident in 1852 when Ingraham wrote a long letter to DeBow's Review defending his 1836 portrayal of Lafitte.[174] In 1853, Lafitte was reprinted by DeWitt and Davenport of New York; its republication, along with several other novels must have embarrassed the serious young cleric considerably for he wrote an open letter that appeared in several papers protesting the reprintings. The letter was originally addressed to the editor of the Churchman.

> Rev. and Dear Sir:—The recent re-issue of several works of fiction and tales under my name, compels me to publish the present card, disclaiming all interest in, or permission for, such republications. . . . since 1846 I have not published anything under my own name. . . . As I never retained copy-rights of my earlier books, and as my magazine and newspaper tales were uncopyrighted, I, of course, have no control whatsoever over these works. . . . My surprise and mortification therefore, now that I am devoted wholly

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[171]Edgar Legare Pennington, "The Ministry of Joseph Holt Ingraham in Mobile, Alabama," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, 26 (December, 1957), 357.

[172]Ibid., p. 353.

[173]Natchez Weekly Courier, May 3, 1854 [p. 1].

[174]J. H. Ingraham, "Lafitte.—Professor Ingraham's Letter," DeBow's Review, 13 (October, 1852), 422-424.

> to the duties of a minister of the Gospel, I cannot adequately express.[175]

We may generally take the letter at face value—he was upset about his early novels being reprinted, but it was not long before he was back at his first love—writing.

A situation involving Ingraham's religious beliefs and his Bishop arose in 1854. The Reverend Richard Abbey attacked Episcopal doctrines and assailed Bishop Green of Mississippi in a series of published statements, and Ingraham took up his pen in defense of both.[176] Pamphlets for the People. In Illustration of the Claims of the Church and Methodism was published anonymously in 1854.[177] Pamphlets was a thirteen essay attack aimed at the offending minister. Keeping on his cloak of anonymity, Ingraham published some letters in the Philadelphia Saturday Courier under the name of Miss Kate Conyngham.[178] These letters praised and defended Southern life in a much more extravagant vein than The South-West had. All these writings were, again, but a prelude.

On April 3, 1855, Ingraham wrote to a publisher (probably H. Hooker) that the volume of sermons he was going to publish would not be ready before August.[179] Then Ingraham mentioned the volume that was to

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[175] Eastern Argus, April 18, 1853 [p. 2].

[176] French, p. 167.

[177] [Rev. J. H. Ingraham] Pamphlets for the People. An Illustration of the Claims of the Church and Methodism (Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1854).

[178] Ingraham, The Sunny South, p. 4.

[179] Letter, Ingraham [to H. Hooker?] April 13, 1855.

become his greatest success, a book that would sell "well over a million copies in the United States alone" by 1896,[180] a book that is still in print.[181] "I really wish," he wrote, "you would undertake 'Adina' my work on the days of the Saviour during the four years of his ministry on earth."[182] "Adina" was published in 1855 as The Prince of the House of David; the volume's full title gives a succinct précis of the contents: The Prince of the House of David; or, Three Years in the Holy City, Being a Series of the Letters of Adina, a Jewess of Alexandria, Sojourning in Jerusalem in the Days of Herod, Addressed to Her Father, a Wealthy Jew in Egypt, and Relating, as by an Eye-Witness, All the Scenes and Wonderful Incidents in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth, From His Baptism in Jordan to His Crucifixion on Calvary (New York: Pudney & Russell, 1855). Joseph Holt Ingraham had returned to the literary scene with his biggest success; he would not leave it again until his death.

Appearing in the same year as Walt Whitman's Leaves of Grass, The Prince of the House of David was a trailblazer of a different sort. It was "the first Biblical novel to enjoy an enormous and continuing success."[183] Ingraham helped pave the way for such later writers as Lew

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[180]Raymond L. Kilgour, Messrs. Roberts Brothers Publishers (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1952), p. 277. Don Seitz, writing for Publisher's Weekly in 1931 (p. 940), said that Prince had by that time reputedly sold between four and five million copies.

[181]Ingraham, The Prince of the House of David (London: Collins, 1948).

[182]Letter, Ingraham [to H. Hooker?], April 13, 1855.

[183]Warren G. French, "A Hundred Years of a Religious Bestseller," Western Hunanities Review, 10 (Winter, 1955-56), 45.

Wallace and Charles Sheldon. His epistolary romance contains nothing new in terms of technique or writing ability; Ingraham had hit, however, on the most popular fusion of fact and history he would ever accomplish, even though two more novels based on the Bible were yet to come.

Ingraham also reentered the world of periodical publishing in 1855. Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion printed his account of his involvement with the prisoners in the Tennessee State Penitentiary as well as one story based upon a parish incident in Okolona, Mississippi.[184]

Thus, at least partially, Ingraham charged into the authorial lists anew because of an old problem—money. His conscience would no longer let the burden of his support fall on a few men of the church if the offerings did not meet the guaranteed salary. In December, 1855, he called a vestry meeting and released the vestrymen from their pledge to supplement his salary. Henceforth, he would look to the offertory alone for the amount.[185]

On July 6, 1856, however, he informed his parishioners that he would have to relinquish his rectorship because the offertory was less than expected. His sense of duty would not let him resign until October since cholera and yellow fever were frequent visitors to deep South

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[184]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Secrets of the Cells: or, Leaves from My Diary," Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, 8 (March 7, 1855), 162-164; (March 24, 1855), 178-179; (March 31, 1855), 194-195; (April 7, 1855), 210-211; (April 14, 1855), 226-227; (April 21, 1855), 242-243. Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "The Midnight Guest," Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, 8 (June 2, 1855), 342-343.

[185]Pennington, p. 357.

summers, and a replacement would be hard to find.[186] Ingraham was as considerate as he was evidently penniless. We have no record of his income for Prince, but he must have again sold his rights to the work for a one-time fee since he was in financial straits again in less than a year after its publication. Some believe Ingraham spent the money earned from Prince (and from his other religious novels) to buy up and destroy the copyrights of his earlier romances,[187] but specific data is lacking to prove such an assertion.

Ingraham did resign but did not preach his farewell sermon until January 11, 1857.[188] He had been a faithful rector. "No word of criticism or dissatisfaction can be found regarding . . . [his] discharge of his parochial ministry."[189] From Mobile, Ingraham moved to Baltimore, Maryland,[190] for a few months where he could again be closer to the major publishing centers.

Ingraham re-established contact with Harper & Brothers through Fletcher Harper and, on March 17, from Baltimore, wrote Harper that anything of his accepted for publication was to be published anonymously.[191] Ingraham wrote again, on March 23, saying he had mailed a series of

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[186]Ibid., p. 358.

[187]Langley Ingraham, "Memoirs of Rev. J. H. Ingraham," TS, May 23, 1930, p. 2. Seitz makes the unsupported and obviously incorrect statement that Ingraham made $30,000 from the Prince's sales.

[188]Pennington, p. 360. [189]Ibid.

[190]Natchez Daily Courier, February 18, 1857 [p. 2].

[191]Letter, Ingraham [to Fletcher Harper?], March 17, 1857.

articles entitled "The Romance of Astronomy" to the firm.[192] These articles were presumably the lectures Ingraham delivered in Aberdeen in 1852, but they were never printed. Harper's New Monthly Magazine did eventually print five brief tales by Ingraham, but they mark no advance in any area over his previous work.

By May 12, Ingraham had accepted a call to St. Andrew's Church in Riverside, Tennessee. Here he was also to be the head of Riverside Hall, "an institution for young ladies," which was connected with St. Andrew's Church.[193] Riverside, near modern-day Vonore, Tennessee, was "thirty miles from Knoxville . . . [and was] situated upon the [Little] Tennessee river."[194] The site was near the present restoration of Fort Loudon,[195] though the traces of the church are now erased.

Ingraham's tenure at St. Andrew's was brief through no fault of his own. The church, another new one, had been built by people more infused with the love of the cross as a symbol rather than with the teachings of Episcopalianism. The builders of St. Andrew's seemed to have leaned toward "a system known as symbolism, and which is commonly associated in the public mind with some of the most palpable errors and gross corruptions in the teachings of Romanism."[196] When Bishop Otey

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[192]Letter, Ingraham [to Fletcher Harper], March 23, 1857.

[193]Natchez Daily Courier, May 12, 1857 [p. 2]. [194]Ibid.

[195]Rev. J. L. Gay, "Tennessee. Mouth of Tellico and Loudon," The Spirit of Missions, 17 (October, 1852), 317.

[196]Bishop J. H. Otey, "Address," Journal of the Proceedings of the Thirtieth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Tennessee, Held in Immanuel Church, Lagrange, on the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 29th of May, A. D. MDCCCLVIII (Nashville: Bang, Walker and Co., 1858), p. 37.

arrived to consecrate the church on August 8, he was displeased. He

> beheld a cross on every gate, three crosses on the roof, and one on the belfry. On entering the Church, he found the font at the south door of the Church; and on the altar and super-altar, a large movable cross, two vases for flowers, two very large candlesticks, and five other crosses with multiform devices upon them.[197]

This multitude of crosses not only struck the good bishop as signs of Romanism but also as

> a lamentable proof of the absence of an instructed faith, an enlightened conscience, and a sound mind.
> . . . . . .
>
> I, therefore, orderly, calmly and deliberately, without violence or harshness of word or manner, directed the minister in charge to take the candlesticks and moveable cross into the vestry-room.[198]

The Bishop would not consecrate the church that day but did the next after some reassurances that the symbols would be removed.[199] But some problems must still have remained, for Ingraham had resigned his charge by February, 1858. The Natchez Weekly Courier explained that "A question growing out of the validity of the consecration of the church, and the impossibility of obtaining a satisfactory title and deeds of donation to the buildings . . . has rendered it necessary for the Rector to send in his resignation."[200] Ingraham moved to Knoxville for a short while[201] but was back in Natchez by June at least.[202] St. Andrew's had

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[197]Rt. Rev. William Mercer Green, Memoirs of Rt. Rev. James Hervey Otey, D. D., LL.D., The First Bishop of Tennessee (New York: James Pott and Co., 1885), p. 66.

[198]Otey, pp. 37, 39.

[199]Ibid., p. 41.

[200]Natchez Weekly Courier, February 10, 1858 [p. 1].

[201]Natchez Weekly Courier, February 4, 1858 [p. 3].

[202]Letter, Ingraham to Fletcher Harper, April 12, 1858.

a few more ministers, but the church was closed during the Civil War and never reopened.[203]

A letter from Brewer and Caldwell, a New York firm to whom Ingraham owed $160, caught up with him in Natchez. He wrote Fletcher Harper on April 12, 1858, saying he would soon send him enough manuscript for Harper to pay off Ingraham's debt. The author told Harper he could be reached at Trinity Church in Natchez where he was temporarily in charge.[204] Ingraham continued in charge of the church through the end of June, while the Reverend Perry, the assigned rector, was out of town.[205] Ingraham's short stay at Trinity Church produced one of his two extant sermons.[206] (The other dates from 1852 and Aberdeen, Mississippi.) The untitled sermon is on the divinity of the Holy Ghost and was printed in both the Natchez Daily Courier[207] and the Natchez Weekly Courier.[208] His sermon produced a most laudatory comment by an unnamed parishioner. It is worthy of note as one of the few comments we have on Ingraham's preaching though it does not confine itself to that subject.

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[203]"Report of the Historiographer. Rev. Mr. Gay's Missions in East Tennessee, 1852 to 1854," Journal of the Fifty Ninth Annual Convention of the Church in the Diocese of Tennessee, Held in Trinity Church, Clarksville, on the 17th and 18th of June, 1891 (Sewannee, Tenn.: University of the South Press, 1891), p. 48.

[204]Letter, Ingraham to Fletcher Harper, April 12, 1858.

[205]Mississippi Free Trader, June 26, 1858 [p. 2].

[206]He never published the volume of sermons mentioned in 1855 as far as we know.

[207]Natchez Daily Courier, June 15, 1858 [p. 2].

[208]Natchez Daily Courier, June 15, 1858 [p. 3].

> Mr. Ingraham very forcibly reminds me of the characteristics peculiar to the Norse-giants; he has the same astonishing vigor, and the same lofty, difficulty-defying nature. He has stood forth as an original prophet of modern times, and he resembles the last of the ancient prophets in this—that his words have often been like a "voice in the wilderness." With a glance which has penetrated deep into the world of history and spirit; with a heart glowing with Christian inspiration; with a voice, which now resembles the power of mighty thunderings, and now the soft cadence of rippling streams, he has stood forward, preaching return to the living faith, and a new birth into the spirit of the ancient times, as the only salvation from spiritual, intellectual and political perdition.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Nature has indeed endowed him with that miraculous power which is called genius, the power of a deeper, clearer, more rapid intention, of feeling more warmly and more nobly, than the multitude.[209]

The writer may have been carried away a bit with his own rhetoric, but the comment remains valuable as a testimony to the regard in which Ingraham was held.

When Dr. Perry returned to Trinity Church, Ingraham was freed for another assignment which was not long in coming. He was called to Christ Church in Holly Springs, Mississippi, on July 1, 1858. He arrived in Holly Springs on September 13, again to take charge of a new church.[210] He preached his first sermon on September 19; the church was consecrated by Bishop Green on October 7.[211] Besides being Rector of Christ Church, Ingraham also had charge of St. Thomas Hall, a school for boys.[212] He was soon at work with his usual enthusiasm.

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[209] Natchez Daily Courier, July 14, 1858 [p. 2].

[210] Parish Register, Christ Church, Holly Springs, Mississippi, Vol. 7, p. 1.

[211] Charles N. Dean, "'A Century Ago. . . .'" (N. P. [Holly Springs, Mississippi], N. D.), p. 1.

[212] Natchez Weekly Courier, September 21, 1859 [p. 2].

Ingraham was also busy with his second Biblical novel; The Pillar of Fire; or, Israel in Bondage, was dated from Holly Springs on January 1, 1859.[213] It is the tale of the Egyptian bondage of the Hebrews and of Moses, who arose to deliver them from their captors. This novel, like The Prince of the House of David, is an epistolary one and contains letters from three different individuals. One reviewer commented that the book

> makes use of the known customs of the people and the times . . . . The style is highly ornate, perhaps a little to [sic] plethoric for a severe taste. . . . It may be safely commended, as contributing to a larger knowledge both of Israel in bondage and his Egyptian oppressors,—and as the author hopes—it may lead to a more careful study of their history in the Book of books.[214]

Ingraham would have been most flattered to see, almost a hundred years later, that Cecil B. DeMille used his volume as source material for the film director's 1956 production of The Ten Commandments.

Ingraham was honored on July 13, 1859, by the University of Mississippi.[215] The University recognized his contribution to the church and the literary world as they awarded Ingraham their LL. D. degree. Ingraham's personal popularity had possibly never been higher.

He found time, on November 8, 1859, to write a lengthy note to Anne M. Hall in England, who had written an appreciative letter about his Prince of the House of David. What Ingraham most appreciated,

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[213]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, The Pillar of Fire; or, Israel in Bondage (1859; rpt. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1882), p. 8.

[214]Review of The Pillar of Fire, by Rev. J. H. Ingraham, Portland Transcript, April 30, 1859 [p. 3].

[215]Mississippi Free Trader, June 23, 1859 [p. 4].

it seems, was that Mrs. Hall had not characterized it as a religious novel.

> God forbid [he wrote] that I should for a moment harbour a thought so wicked & impious as to make my crucified & beloved Lord and Saviour the central figure of a fiction. The work was perceived, every line of it with "reverence & godly fear." I wrote it as a commentary on the gospels of the life & acts & words of Jesus.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> I know the book has been an instrument of good; of sending hundreds to the pages of their neglected Bible. I have numerous letters of gratitude from perfect strangers who write to me that the perusal of that Book has brought them to the knowledge of Jesus and to embrace Christianity.[216]

Ingraham also commented that Prince had gone into two German translations and told Mrs. Hall that he hoped he would soon be coming through London on his way to Germany; he probably did not make the trip, for no evidence exists that he left Holly Springs for any great length of time.

The next year would bring Ingraham's The Sunny South and his third religious novel. The Sunny South is a collection of letters about life in the South written, supposedly, by a young Northern governess from 1853 to 1856. Some of the letters had previously appeared in the Philadelphia Saturday Courier in 1853 and 1854.[217] Though the author states the letters were not written in reply to Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin, his statement may be regarded with skepticism. Uncle Tom's Cabin appeared a year before the letters that compose the present volume were begun, and much of The Sunny South is devoted to portraying how well-treated and well-regarded Negroes were.

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[216]Letter, Ingraham to Mrs. Anne M. Hall, November 8, 1859.

[217]Ingraham, The Sunny South, p. 4.

Ingraham's third and final Biblical novel was dated from Holly Springs on January 26, 1860.[218] The Throne of David was the third volume of the author's trilogy on the Hebrews; Throne was concerned with the reign of Saul and David. The full title of the novel is again a good indication of the tale therein: The Throne of David; from the Consecration of the Shepherd of Bethlehem, to the Rebellion of Prince Absalom. Being an Illustration of the Splendor, Power, and Dominion of the Reign of the Shepherd,—Poet,—Warrior,—King, and Prophet, Ancestor and Type of Jesus; in a Series of Letters Addressed by an Assyrian Ambassador, Resident at the Court of Saul and David, to His Lord and King on the Throne of Nineveh; Wherein the Glory of Assyria, as Well as the Magnificence of Judea, is Presented to the Reader as by an Eye Witness. In chronological order, The Pillar of Fire was the first chapter in the history of the Hebrews; The Throne of David was the second, and The Prince of the House of David completed the trilogy.

One reviewer of the 603 page Throne succinctly noted that "After reading it, one can turn to the concise statements of the Bible with new appreciation."[219] Ingraham had begun his career writing two-volume

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[218]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, The Throne of David; from the Consecration of the Shepherd of Bethlehem, to the Rebellion of Prince Absalom. Being an Illustration of the Splendor, Power, and Dominion of the Reign of the Shepherd,--Poet,--Warrior,--King, and Prophet, Ancestor and Type of Jesus; in a Series of Letters Addressed by an Assyrian Ambassador, Resident at the Court of Saul and David, to His Lord and King on the Throne of Nineveh; Wherein the Glory of Assyria, as Well as the Magnificence of Judea, is Presented to the Reader as by an Eye Witness (Philadelphia: G. G. Evans, 1860), p. 10.

[219]Review of The Throne of David, by Rev. J. H. Ingraham, Portland Transcript, May 19, 1860 [p. 3].

works, and it seems he could not be comfortable unless he had that much space in which to maneuver.

Ingraham called on Benjamin L. C. Wailes sometime in early summer and proposed to rent Wailes' Washington, Mississippi, home. He told Wailes he was thinking of giving up full-time ministerial duties and devoting most of his time to "'preaching through Books.'"[220] But Ingraham did not retire as he planned.

The Professor visited New York in November to find a publisher for his next novel.[221] He approached George Carleton with a request for a $3,000 advance on St. Paul the Roman Citizen. Carleton declined the proposition when he learned Ingraham had not yet written the work.[222] Ingraham returned to Holly Springs and his parish duties on December 5.[223] Aunt Rosie (Mrs. S. L. Falconer),[224] one of his parishioners, said that Ingraham was "Looking improved in health and spirits" despite being rejected by Carleton and that the town was pleased to have him back.[225]

Ingraham's son Prentiss later retold the events of that fateful December.

> "The country was on the verge of a civil war and lawlessness had begun to prevail. . . . Ingraham . . . as a matter of precaution

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[220]Sydnor, p. 133.

[221]Aunt Rosie [Mrs. S. L. Falconer], "Last Days of the Rev. Dr. Ingraham" TS, p. 1.

[222]French, "A Sketch of the Life of Joseph Holt Ingraham," p. 168.

[223]Aunt Rosie, p. 1.

[224]French, "A Sketch of the Life of Joseph Holt Ingraham," p. 169.

[225]Aunt Rosie, p. 1.

> left a revolver at a gunsmith's to be repaired; the key to the vestry-room of his church had also been left there to be mended; and when he called for it, the revolver was wrapped up and handed to him. Driving to the church to try the key, he opened the door, and as he did so, some papers were blown to the floor; as he stooped to gather them up, the package containing the revolver slipped from his grasp,-the weapon had been loaded by the gunsmith who failed to mention the fact,-and as the package struck the floor, a chamber exploded, the bullet penetrating the leg above the knee, and ranging upward into the body. Not realizing that he had been seriously injured, Doctor Ingraham picked up the revolver, left the church and hurried to his carriage. Then the dangerous nature of the wound became evident; for nine days he lingered in intense agony, and died as he had hoped to die, conscious to the last, and with his family and friends around him."[226]

Ingraham died on December 18.[227] Bishop Green of Mississippi and Bishop Otey of Tennessee came to officiate at the funeral, and ministers of different denominations were his pallbearers.[228] Aunt Rosie described the funeral in a fashion that would have pleased the romantic rector.

> The crowd at Church was immense; business houses were closed and business suspended for the time; numbers not being able to enter the Church. As the long procession left the Church and wound its way along to the final home of all living, the sun was just

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[226]Langley Ingraham, p. 2. French, in "A Sketch of the Life of Joseph Holt Ingraham," p. 169, indicates that some people have postulated that Ingraham committed suicide, possibly because he was in financial straits. The notion seems preposterous to the present author because Ingraham had had financial difficulties before and had been able to surmount them. Since there is a lack of contemporary evidence or speculation on the suicide theory, it should be forgotten as one more error perpetrated by Ingraham scholars.

[227]Mississippi Free Trader, December 24, 1860 [p. 2]. This obituary was more specific than Prentiss Ingraham was about the wound. It states that the ball inflicted "a severe wound in the right thigh, just below the crotch, and ranging upward lodged, it is supposed, in the hip and near the spinal column."

[228]Aunt Rosie, p. 2.

> sinking below the horizon, and its lingering rays lighted up the heavens with a glowing radiant light—the floating clouds were burnished with golden circles; the distant storm cloud muttered and mourned as if in sympathy with mortality; and when the procession reached the cemetery, and the coffin was laid above the cold open grave, the very heavens seemed to grow solemn and the pattering rain drops, as they fell upon the coffin, and the sighing winds seemed to chant a solemn requiem for the departed. At the head of the grave stood two Bishops; with uncovered heads, and the solemn words of the burial service broke the awful stillness, every head was uncovered and every heart full. The dear body was then laid away to sleep in its narrow bed until the final resurrection.[229]

Mary Brookes Ingraham survived her husband only a year, and nothing is known of the rest of his family except Prentiss, who also became a novelist.

Joseph Holt Ingraham led a very full life and one that reflects much credit on him personally. He worked to teach criminals to read and helped lead some of them to embrace the church. He fought for free public schools. He often gave up his salary as a minister so that the money might be applied to the debts incurred by the new churches he founded. There is merit in his literary works also, and it is time that we considered their virtues along with their flaws.

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[229]Ibid., p. 3.

CHAPTER II

THE BEGINNINGS WITH HARPER & BROTHERS

From 1835 to 1841, the prestigious Harper & Brothers firm of New York City published five of Ingraham's works. It was in these years that Ingraham's writing future was molded, and it was in these years that he produced what must be regarded as his best work. The two-volume format was the norm in the era in which Ingraham wrote,[1] and all his Harper productions, one travel book and four novels, appeared in handsome two-volume duodecimo sets. As befits an established publisher, his works were also carefully proofread, were printed and bound with care, and were generally mechanically correct.

The two-volume format was good in that the author could (and did) plan to have the maximum space in which to develop his work; the convention was not such a positive factor when the writer's story was so thin that he had to resort to padding to fill out two volumes. Ingraham did pad at times, but, to his credit, the padding is minimal, and his Harper stories are generally well-sustained through their length, although the twentieth-century critic would hardly regard them as organic wholes since there is material that could be omitted from them. The twentieth-century critic, however, would hardly recognize any pre-1850 novel as organic.

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[1]William Charvat, Literary Publishing in America: 1790-1850 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959), p. 81.

All but a handful of Ingraham novels are classified as romantic because they are marked by a strong interest in action of various types and because their episodes are based on love and adventure.[2] Ingraham used elements from the Gothic novel, the sentimental novel, and the epistolary novel throughout his career, but since he was more concerned (with some exception) with action than with character, with what may have been more than with actuality, we will consider him in this study as preponderantly a romantic novelist. We realize that like other romantics he was eclectic in the fictional elements he employed.

It appears to have been customary for writers of Ingraham's era to sell their copyrights to their publishers for whatever price could be agreed upon. The publisher, then, could print a popular work repeatedly after the initial agreement was concluded and pay an author nothing after that initial agreement payment was fulfilled. Such seems to have been the case with Ingraham who, though a popular novelist, spent much of his life on the borderline of financial insolvency. He did not, or could not, demand and get control of the printing plates of his works as did Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper. Irving and Cooper, in effect, paid publishers a royalty to print some of their works and enjoyed, as a result, a much healthier economic life.[3] Could Ingraham have commanded such terms, he might have written less and been esteemed more.

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[2]C. Hugh Holman, A Handbook to Literature (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1972), p. 461.

[3]Charvat, p. 41.

The South-West

The South-West, written "By a Yankee" and published in 1835, was Ingraham's first book and his first success. Though published anonymously, as were all his Harper books, the author's identity was never any secret. A travel book, The South-West's two volumes detail the author's trip by sailing ship from New England to the Bahamas and Cuba to the mouth of the Mississippi River. At the mouth of the Mississippi he transferred to another ship and was towed to New Orleans by a steamship. He stayed in New Orleans and observed the sights a few weeks before he continued up the river to Natchez, Mississippi, from which point he traveled to various other Mississippi towns. Ingraham tells us that the volumes "grew out of a private correspondence, which the author, at the solicitation of his friends, has been led to throw into the present form, modifying in a great measure the epistolary vein."[4] The two volumes are composed of forty-three letters or chapters. They record the author's travels around 1830 and 1831. But before publication in 1835 the Professor inserted several footnotes to bring his readers up-to-date on the current status of some of the places and situations he saw.

The South-West is important not only as Ingraham's first work but also as a preview of things to come. It is a partial catalog of settings for future novels, and its romantic attitudes recur as does

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[4][Joseph Holt Ingraham] The South-West, I (1835; rpt. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966), v. Future references are parenthetical.

the Professor's penchant for details. Indeed, Ingraham's ability to record even the tiniest details is perhaps his greatest strength as a writer. His choice of the first-person point of view enabled him to give his readers a sense of involvement, a real sense of participating in the activities he discusses. Ingraham's flaws as a writer are also on display in The South-West, and they often stem from the author's use of a more pretentious language than was absolutely necessary.

Ingraham's ship left New England some time in November and was soon under full sail. He plunges almost at once into the rhetorical language of sentimental romanticism, and at the same time he shows his eye for detail.

> As I stood beside the helmsman, I could feel the gallant vessel springing away from under me, quivering through every oaken nerve, like a high-mettled racer with his goal but a bound before him. As she encountered some more formidable wave, there would be a tremendous outlay of animal-like energy, a momentary struggle, a half recoil, a plunging, trembling—onward rush—then a triumphant riding over the conquered foe, scattering the gems from its shivered crest in glittering showers over her bows. Then gliding with velocity over the glassy concave beyond, swaying to its up-lifting impulse with a graceful inclination of her lofty masts, and almost sweeping the sea with her yards, she could majestically recover herself in time to gather power for a fresh victory. (I, 23)

Although the foregoing passage reveals some of Ingraham's stylistic predilections, the following description of landlubbers trying to walk on deck displays more readily the author's often unnecessary rhetoric:

> Our tyros of the sea, in their venturesome projections of their persons from one given point in their eye to another, in the hope of accomplishing a straight line, after vacillating most appallingly, would finally succeed "haud passibus aequis" in reaching the position aimed for, fortunate if a lee-lurch did not accommodate them with a dry bed in the "lee scuppers." (I, 21)

Besides Latin, the Professor also sprinkles French quotations throughout the book, and such departures from English serve no positive purpose.

As Ingraham chronicles the progress of the ship, he also mentions many topics he would return to in his later fiction. He mentions Portland and its bay, Yankee chebacco boats and their fishermen, Bermuda, Cuba, the wreckers of the Bahamas, chivalrous buccaneers, revenue cutters, and an incident on the Plate River in 1827. After observing sugar plantations on the way up the Mississippi, the Professor arrives in New Orleans in December following a passage of little more than a month.

Over half of volume one is devoted to a description of 1830 New Orleans and its environs. Ingraham visited and described the French Quarter, the coffeehouses, the Market, and various schools, theatres, convents, and churches. The exotic character of New Orleans appealed greatly to the young man, and he vividly described the gambling "hells," the duels, and the handsome Creoles. The Professor seemed to have been an extremely open-minded traveller. He displayed dashes of prudery when he commented on how many bars were available, but he spent more time on the more distinctive and distinguished aspects of the city. He was impressed by the method of burial used in New Orleans and remarked that Northerners (to whom the volume was primarily addressed) might conserve land as well as improve the appearance of cemeteries if they buried their dead above ground in vaults. Ingraham commended the beauty of quadroons and watched two steamboats laden with bales of cotton light up the town as they burned at night. He visited the battlefield of New Orleans and a sugar plantation. He noticed that New Orleans society

was not as fixed or rigid as that in New England, that the people were not as prescriptive as to what was right or wrong—all these things the Yankee traveller found admirable. After a few weeks he left New Orleans and headed up the Mississippi, apparently most impressed with what he had observed and most impressed with the South in general.

The first chapter of volume two is devoted to the Professor's river journey to Natchez, Mississippi, and the remaining nineteen are devoted to descriptions and comments on Natchez and the surrounding towns and plantations. While New Orleans boasted plantations, Ingraham did not dwell on them as he did the southern plantation society of Natchez. Ingraham wrote that "The society of Natchez, now, is not surpassed by any in America" (II, 50) and then proceeded to discuss the soil, the climate, the flora, and the Indian mounds as well as to give the customary descriptions of various public and private buildings.

Volume two is more digressive and leisurely than its predecessor. The volume reflects five years' residence in Natchez as well as Ingraham's deliberations on his adopted home, deliberations that any untravelled and prejudiced Yankee surely found instructive. He reflects frequently and informatively on the subject of slavery, and his comments, to his credit, are almost entirely without prejudice. Like most Northerners, Ingraham did not advocate slavery, but he did come to believe that Negroes were not intellectually ready for freedom. As he saw it, Southerners generally treated their slaves well, and almost indulgently; it was the Northern slaveholders who were most likely to be rough or brutal with their slaves.

Ingraham visited a slave market and found buyers and sellers alike considerate, the buyers often buying the wife to please a purchased male slave. The Professor noted the caste system in operation among the blacks, a system in which field hands were outranked by and cost less than house servants, who would not associate with their lower-class fellows. Slaves believed that to be sold quickly was a mark of their excellence and would serve faithfully their buyers. Edgar Allan Poe, who reviewed The South-West for the Southern Literary Messenger,[5] thought the Professor's handling of the topic, his "strict honesty, impartiality, and unprejudiced common sense . . . . [was] the most praiseworthy feature of his book."[6] Poe continued by saying "future productions of the same author . . . [would] be looked for with anxiety" and noted that "A novelist of talent would find New Orleans the place of all places for the localities of a romance."[7] Ingraham did not let his newly acquired audience wait long, and he did set his next work in the environs of New Orleans.

Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf

Published in 1836, Lafitte was Ingraham's first novel and a financial success. Founded in small degree on the activities of Jean Lafitte at New Orleans in 1812, the work is an historical romance which

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[5]John Ward Ostrom, ed., The Letters of Edgar Allan Poe, I (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1948), 171.

[6][Edgar Allan Poe] Rev. of The South-West [by J. H. Ingraham] Southern Literary Messenger, 2 (January, 1836), 122.

[7]Ibid., pp. 122, 123.

owes something to Sir Walter Scott—who is credited with bringing the pirate into romantic literature in Rokeby (1813)[8]—and to Lord Byron's conception of the Byronic hero-villain. Indeed, Ingraham is credited with creating the first Byronic character in American historical romances.[9] The fusion of some fact with much fiction was, by Ingraham's time, a popular device that was an attempt to overcome the conventional objection that imaginative works were immoral.[10]

The link with Byron is acknowledged on the title page of Lafitte where Ingraham quotes from The Corsair: "'He left a Corsair's name to other times, / Link'd with one virtue and a thousand crimes.'"[11] The preface indicates the proportion of fact and fiction in the work: "With the pages of history, however, we have had to do, only so far as they could be made subservient to our tale." (I, 7)

The tale begins among the green hills of the Kennebec River in Maine. We are introduced to the twin brothers Achille and Henri, sons of an exiled French nobleman, on the day of their fifteenth birthday. Achille is tall, strong, passionate, and raven-haired; Henri is less

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[8]Eino Railo, The Haunted Castle. A Study of the Elements of English Romanticism (1927; rpt. New York: Humanities Press, 1964), pp. 226-228.

[9]Alexander Cowie, The Rise of the American Novel (New York: American Book Co., 1948), p. 289.

[10]Edwin W. Gaston, Jr., The Early Novels of the Southwest (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1961), p. 45.

[11][J. H. Ingraham] Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf, I (1836; rpt. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1970), 3. Future references are parenthetical.

tall, less strong, amiable, and has auburn hair. Achille discovers, by means of the father's birthday present, that his father loves his brother more and also plans to take Henri to Europe while Achille is sent off to college. Furious, Achille throws Henri against a marble pedestal which cuts a gash over the latter's left eyebrow. After some weeks, Henri recovers.

Four years pass, and Achille returns home with his college degree and discovers his father still prefers the fairer son. He also discovers they have brought home Gertrude Langueville, a cousin with whom Achille falls madly in love. When he finds that his love is not requited and that Henri and Gertrude have plighted troth, Achille knifes his brother and leaves home a fratricide.

The second section of the story opens fifteen years later in the bay of Barritaria, southwest of New Orleans, where we find the bearded and mustachioed Lafitte planning a raid on a rich man's home. A treacherous nephew leads Lafitte and his band to the rich man's home, where they are surprised and must fight their way back to the ship. To aid in his escape, Lafitte snatches the beautiful dark-haired Constanza Velasquez as a hostage and does escape in his ship, the Gertrude. After Lafitte has left, Count Alphonse D'Oyley, who is betrothed to Constanza, swears to catch the pirate of the gulf.

But Lafitte has loved Constanza at first sight, treats her well, and, at her request, releases her and guarantees her safe passage to Kingston, Jamaica, by sending with her his second in command, Theodore, and a black slave, Juana. The Kingston-bound ship is dismasted in a

storm, and the survivors are picked up by one of Lafitte's armada which soon engages a French ship and takes D'Oyley prisoner. When Constanza and D'Oyley appear at Lafitte's stronghold, the chivalrous pirate agrees to set them both free, but D'Oyley mistrusts Lafitte and escapes. Lafitte is furious, but Theodore talks the buccaneer into letting them keep their freedom.

After a week's interval the story begins again with a detailed description of Lafitte, his slave Cudjoe, and Lafon, a decrepit old man. An English ship comes into Barritaria and anchors under the guns of Lafitte's stronghold. The English captain has come to enlist Lafitte's help against America in the War of 1812 and offers him a captaincy and a chance at becoming respectable in the eyes of the world. Lafitte, a patriot in spite of his profession, says he will give the English an answer in two weeks and leaves immediately for New Orleans, where he sees Governor Claiborne and offers his services to America. Claiborne believes in Lafitte's sincerity, but the council of the city reject the pirate's offer. They later recant, however, and Lafitte and his men do gallant service in the Battle of New Orleans. Lafitte is severely wounded by an unprincipled British officer who takes advantage of Lafitte when he has stopped fighting. The pirate is nursed back to health in a convent, where he recognizes a nun as Gertrude who recognizes him as Achille. Since she tells him that Henri still lives, Lafitte is at least not a fratricide.

The buccaneer and his men are pardoned by President Madison for their service in the Battle of New Orleans. Lafitte sails off to search

for and apologize to his brother. On his way, he stops by his former fortress and finds Constanza there. She was kidnapped by Cudjoe at the demand of an African prophetess who was using the slave to get the woman for Martinez, one of Lafitte's captains who lusts for the lady. Cudjoe, however, saw through the plan and killed all concerned except Constanza, whom he marooned at the fortress with Juana. Lafitte promises to help her find D'Oyley, but it is D'Oyley who finds Lafitte. The Frenchman, finding Constanza gone, had put on an English uniform and wounded Lafitte at New Orleans. He catches up with Lafitte again at Havana and blasts off the masts of his ship despite the white flag shown by the ex-pirate. D'Oyley comes aboard and is soon in hand to hand combat with Lafitte, who keeps insisting that Constanza's honor is intact. But D'Oyley will not listen and runs Lafitte through. As the ex-pirate sinks to the deck, he recognizes Henri as his antagonist. Old Lafon also recognizes his son Henri, and, reunited with his family, Lafitte/Achille dies in their arms. Gertrude remains in the convent and dies a nun.

Though it also has flaws, there is much that is commendable about Ingraham's first novel. The Professor's portrayal of Lafitte is one of his best characterizations. Lafitte is truly Byronic; both a criminal and violent man, he suffers greatly from pangs of conscience and remorse. The internal conflict that gives Lafitte little rest is often well-expressed, and just as often melodramatic:

> "What matters it," he suddenly exclaimed, "that I have gained the wealth of princes—that I have waded through crime and blood to the acquisition of the guilty fame that makes my name terrible!—that my hand has been against every man!—I am at last but a miserable being—penitent, without the power to

> repent—remorseful, without hope—a lover of virtue, without daring to seek it—banned of God—outlawed of my race—fratricide, murderer! hundred-fold murderer! with the mark of Cain branded upon my brow, and burned deep—deep into my soul. Oh, God! oh, God!—if there be a God"—he cried, clasping his hands and lifting eyes to heaven—"be merciful unto my iniquities, for they are very great!" (I, 114)

Love for Gertrude led Achille to kill, and love for Constanza makes him change his life to the extent of fighting for the country he loved. We feel some pity when the Byronic hero-villain dies at the hand of his brother. D'Oyley wounded Lafitte unfairly at New Orleans. When he fights Lafitte again, he will not believe the ex-pirate's insistence that Constanza is safe and kills Lafitte in a rage. We cannot glorify Lafitte, but we cannot glorify the impetuous D'Oyley either. Ingraham is adept though not masterly in his portrayal of the tormented Lafitte. The portrayal is, in some degree, a psychological one because the Professor did attempt to look at the reasons for Lafitte's actions. The author would draw other portraits of other obsessed Byronic hero-villains, but none surpass Lafitte in power.

It has been noted that Ingraham was among the first authors to use the Negro as a character "freely and fully."[12] The Professor's portrayal of the slave Cudjoe is at once representative and a prototype for future Ingraham black characters. Cudjoe

> was a young slave about four feet high, with a glossy black skin, ivory white teeth, two of which, flanking his capacious jaws, projected outwards, with the dignity of the embryo tusks of a

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[12]Willie Lou Talbot, "The Development of the Negro Character in the Southern Novel, 1824-1900," Thesis. Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College 1938, p. 19.

> young elephant. His lips were of ample dimensions, and of the brightest vermillion, the lower one hanging down, and resting familiarly upon his short, retreating chin.
> . . . . . .
>
> His neck, short, thick, and bull-like, was set into broad shoulders, from which depended long arms hanging by his side like those of the ourang-outang and terminating in short stunted fingers, of which useful ornaments two and a half were wanting.
> . . . . . .
>
> His natural disposition was gentle and affectionate; but when roused to revenge, he was more terrible than the uncaged hyena. (II, 35-36)

Cudjoe is faithful to Lafitte but hates all others because they tease the sensitive slave about his protruding tusks. When he discovers he is being used by Oula the sorceress for Martinez's purposes, he kills Oula, her son, and Martinez. Like many other Ingraham blacks, he is decent when treated decently, but he is also primarily a type character and a "flat" one in that his personality is not developed beyond the characteristics generally applied to his race.

Ingraham, like Scott, was lavish in the description of his characters.[13] Unfortunately, the Professor seems to have equated description with characterization, and his characters are too often one-dimensional. Ingraham, again like Scott, is similarly lavish in his depiction of setting.[14] Such scenes as the opening vista of the Kennebec Valley in Lafitte become set pieces; most Ingraham novels hereafter begin with a lengthy description of the setting in which some of the

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[13] T. F. Henderson, "Sir Walter Scott," Cambridge History of English Literature, ed. A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), XII, 20.

[14] Ibid., p. 19.

drama is to be enacted. Such scenes are built with care and are generally well done, though they are often forgotten after the players come upon the stage.

It is the language of these players that constitutes an often severe fault in Lafitte. The language of the main character is too stilted, too full of ludicrous posturings and sentiments. Lafitte is almost impossibly good when he is in a noble mood but interesting and believable when his baser nature exercises its influence. It is the minor characters who speak most naturally and without heroic affectation; Cudjoe and the Dutchman Getzendanner are two of the believable minor characters, and they, interestingly enough, speak in dialect. We will continue to discover that the Ingraham characters who speak in dialect speak more normally than anyone else.

Another fault of the novel, and one which is certainly the mark of a less than superior novelist, is the fact that Ingraham's less than unified plot is too open; the movement of his characters is too easy to guess, the foreshadowing too obvious. To Ingraham's credit, however, the directness in the portrayal of activity has a physical strength that does hold the reader's attention.

That Ingraham held the reader's attention is testified to by the book's sales, its frequent reprintings,[15] and Louisa Medina's play based on it; Ingraham was on his way up in the literary ranks. He had successfully attempted an American-based travel book and a novel

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[15]Eastern Argus, September 9, 1836 [p. 2].

based solidly in America. He did not stray far from America and Americans in his next novel.

Burton; or, The Sieges. A Romance.

Edward Burton is really young Aaron Burr, and the novel, Burton; or, The Sieges, purports to be the tale of his early youth and involvement in the American Revolution. The sieges of the title are the military sieges of Quebec and New York, which form the subplot, and the personal sieges laid by Burton against the chastity of three young ladies (the main plot).

Burton is a "fascinating libertine"[16] and his character and that of the three women in the story are worthy of comment as type characters—weak blond ones and strong dark ones. Burton is the black-haired, black-eyed, ambitious Byronic hero-villain. Caroline Germaine has brown hair, blue eyes, and a pale complexion. She is seduced by Burton, and, when abandoned for another, dies of a broken heart like a proper sentimental heroine. Isabel Ney, with black hair and black eyes, is also seduced by Burton. But she is a stronger, more ambitious woman. She shoots and wounds Burton when he is on the verge of abandoning her. The third female object of siege, Eugenie de Lisle, is auburn-haired; she loves Burton also, but rejects his improper advances, banishes him when she learns his true nature, and is rewarded for her purity. The weak

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[16][J. H. Ingraham] Burton; or, The Seiges. A Romance, II (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838), 266. Future references are parenthetical.

blondes and strong dark characters are found in almost every Ingraham novel from this point on. We do not know if he borrowed the character types from Mrs. Ann Radcliffe or not, but these types are common to her novels[17] and appear in some of Scott's novels too.[18]

The novel is very straightforward in organization and presentation of action. Burton, who is not named until the reader is two hundred pages into the novel, is travelling to Quebec through the valley of the Chaudiere River in November, 1775. He has been sent by Colonel Benedict Arnold to take news of the British movements in Canada to General Montgomery who, after several military successes, is marching on Quebec. The first two hundred pages of volume one, those detailing Burton's journey, are the most tightly organized in all of Ingraham's work. Burton is in a hurry, and the story moves at a fast pace as it follows the protagonist meeting friends of the Revolution and being led by a motley assortment of Canadian guides through the wilderness. On his trip, Burton rescues Eugenie de Lisle from a convent where she has been imprisoned by a designing uncle. Burton leaves her under Montgomery's care and fights with the General in the ill-fated assault on Quebec in which the Americans are routed and Burton taken prisoner. Escaping from Sir Guy Carleton with Eugenie's aid, Burton and his youthful Canadian friend Zacharie Nicolet escape to New York where they rejoin the colonial forces.

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[17]Railo, p. 291.

[18]Ibid., p. 283.

In New York, in 1776, Burton seduces Caroline Germaine and then makes his first overtures to Isabel Ney, the daughter of a British officer. Eugenie, after several months, shows up at General Washington's house in search of her beloved Burton. Burton, in a less than brilliant move, gets Eugenie to nurse the dying, guilty, broken-hearted Caroline. Through Caroline and Colonel Arden, Eugenie learns of Burton's true character and renounces him over the dead body of Germaine. The love plot is now interrupted by the battle of New York, in which Burton distinguishes himself even though the British win another victory. Though the Americans lose, Burton triumphs over Isabel Ney. She, however, when apprised of Burton's treatment of Caroline and Eugenie, swears revenge. She sets a trap for Burton in which British soldiers are to capture him, but, when that fails, shoots him through the shoulder herself. As Burton is borne on a litter to a doctor, he passes the lighted house of Washington and sees Eugenie marry Arden. The seducer bites his lip until it bleeds, tries to rise with sword in hand, but weakly sinks back upon the litter and faints with a curse on his lips.

The novel was surely written with both aesthetic and didactic ends in mind. It is the most finished, artistically, of Ingraham's novels. Even the one or two episodes that digress from the plot are well-handled. The moral is obvious: the seducer's lot is not a happy one, and evil will be justly rewarded. The novel breaks off with Burton on his litter, and we are supposed to be better able to understand how Burr, in later years, became "the Catiline of his country." (I, ix)

The character portrait of Burton's aide Zacharie Nicolet is one of the best in the novel. Zacharie is a fifteen-year old Canadian who guides Burton on his way to Quebec and who serves him faithfully afterward. Saucy, precocious, full of dislike for orders and full of a love for giving them, Zacharie follows Burton because Burton trusts and respects him and does not treat the youngster as if he were fifteen.

One other short character vignette worthy of mention is that of Joseph Gerret, who rents a room to several men who plan to kidnap Washington. Gerret lives in wretched poverty yet has a chest of gold and silver under his bed; he wears rags and patched clothing yet clips coins at night to add to his treasure. As other novels will show, Ingraham was fascinated with wealthy people and the ways they got or retained their money—possibly because he was almost always in financial want.

To obtain the "Invisibility and ubiquity" (II, 263) which are the novelist's proper attributes, Ingraham wrote his story from the subjective third-person omniscient point of view, the point of view he most often adopted. Occasionally the author did comment on the progress of the story. Here he explains why Eugenie did not kill herself when she discovered Burton's faithlessness:

> It would, no doubt, have been very fine for Eugenie to have stabbed herself with her dagger, like a true heroine of romance, when she became convinced of her lover's perjury; . . . . But, considerate reader! there existed one or two obstacles to this. The first and foremost was, that we are drawing Eugenie from life, and, the truth is, she did not come to the tragic end aforesaid. The second, and, perhaps, equally forcible, is, that we should give you only a volume and a half of matter, whereas we are bound to our publishers

> to produce two respectable duodecimos, of neither less than two hundred and sixteen pages each nor more than two hundred and eighty-eight. (II, 221)

As we have noted, Ingraham's plot extension did not lose the reader. Indeed, Eugenie's living to be rewarded for her chastity is more believable than Caroline's dying at the feet of her lover.

Burton's character is more believable than that of Lafitte; he is more human than heroic and does not stride through the novel sounding impossibly chivalric one moment and impossibly sentimental the next. Caroline is the most unbelievable character; she reads The Sorrows of Werter and sighs like a conventional sentimental heroine, sins in a summerhouse, and dies for that sin of a broken heart. Isabel Ney is completely believable as the avenging scorned woman, and equally convincing is the naive, but strong, Eugenie de Lisle. Taken as a whole, the characters in Burton are the most convincing in all of Ingraham's works.

The novel is more unified than most because the actions of Burton in love are reinforced and blended with the actions of war. Steady action holds the book together though it is undeniably episodic and not organically unified.

Though Burton is Ingraham's best novel in many respects, he was paid only $750 for it as compared to the $1350 he received for Lafitte.[19] Good as Burton was, a pirate was more popular, and Ingraham returned to another legendary buccaneer for his next tale.

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[19]Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, May 29, 1839.

Captain Kyd; or, The Wizard of the Sea.

Captain Kyd (1839), a more complex novel than Burton, is peopled with a large number of characters who appear under different names at fortuitous intervals. Because of this complexity there is an aura of confusion that pervades some of the novel, and, in the important closing scene, Ingraham even makes it difficult to determine who kills one of the major characters.

Kyd opens at Castle Cor on the southern coast of Ireland in May, 1694, and concludes five years later in the colony of New York when Kyd is returned to England to be hanged. Ingraham has again taken what he needed from the pages of history to build his novel—Kyd did make his home in New York and did die in 1701.[20] The greater part of the novel takes place in Ireland, for it explains how Kyd started on his life of piracy. As the novel opens, an archery contest is being held on the lawn of Castle Cor in celebration of Kate Bellamont's sixteenth birthday. Kate, the dark heroine, wins her own contest and gives the prize, a silver arrow, to her fair-haired esquire and lover Robert Lester. One of Kate's arrows was loosed at a hawk that happened to get into range, and the stricken hawk flutters over a nearby cliff with the arrow in him. At the risk of his life, Mark Meredith, a dark-haired fisherman's son who loves the proud Kate, descends the cliff to retrieve the hawk. His peril gives Kate's highborn cousin Grace Fitzgerald some alarm.

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[20]James D. Hart, The Oxford Companion to American Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), p. 444.

Robert, after some prodding, goes after the lowborn Mark, but Mark is too proud to owe his life to Robert and jumps into the sea when he cannot return up the cliff without Lester's help. Mark swims to shore, climbs the cliff with the hawk, and gives it to Kate, but his proud bearing irritates Robert, who grabs the young servant by the throat. Mark throws him down, and Lester hurls a spear at him but misses his target. Kate is incensed at this conduct and banishes Robert from her presence. Kate, who is truly in love with Lester, cries because her lover has acted so unnobly, and, at Grace's urging, later sends a locket to Robert to show that he is forgiven his murderous inclinations. Grace takes the locket to Mark and asks him to deliver it. She tells Mark that he can win honor and thus rise from his lowly position; it is obvious to all but Mark that she loves the young fisherman.

Robert, after quitting Castle Cor, rides madly homeward and soon runs into the deformed witch Elpsy, who tells the highborn noble a tale calculated to humble him. There was a fisherman's daughter, she tells Robert, who was seduced by the pirate Hurtel of the Red Hand. When her bastard was born, Hurtel tried to put it to death. The fisherman's daughter, however, switched her son with that of a highborn lady, and Hurtel throws the noble infant off a tower into the ocean. But the baby's clothes catch on a rock, and the fisherman's daughter, attempting to rescue him, is likewise hurled from the tower. Her spine is injured in the fall, but she saves the child and gives it to her father to raise. The lowborn bastard was raised as a noble, the highborn child as a fisherman. The lowborn bastard is, of course, Robert, and Elpsy's tale

maddens the proud young man. He decides to follow in his father's ways and that night joins the crew of a pirate ship.

Mark, meanwhile, also meets Elpsy as he goes to deliver the locket. Elpsy tries to kill him, and, when Mark outwits her, gives him gold to leave the country; Mark really needed little urging as he had already determined to make a worthy name for himself on the sea. He ships on an English vessel which is carrying Grace and Kate's father, the Earl of Bellamont, to England. A hurricane hits the ship, and it is only through Mark's courage that the vessel is saved. The storm washes Grace overboard, but Mark saves her also. When the hurricane blows itself out, pirates attack the ship.

The fight between the pirates and the English crew is the best narrated, most realistic, and most richly detailed battle in all of Ingraham's novels. Heads fly, limbs are struck off, and people are generally dispatched in a masterful, gripping, gory melee. One group of the pirates, as might be expected, is led by Lester, who is unrecognized because the fight takes place at night. Mark has killed the pirate chief while protecting Grace but is so severely wounded that he falls. When Lester, who takes full command of the pirates at the death of their captain, sees Grace, his better nature forbids the pirates to harm her, and the buccaneers retreat to their ship though they have won the battle.

The story now breaks in the middle for a five-year lapse before it resumes in the colony of New York which is now governed by the Earl of Bellamont. Captain Kyd, in his <u>The Silver Arrow</u>, is ravaging the coast. Elpsy, transported from Ireland as an undesirable character,

now lives at Hellgate near New York. Captain Rupert Fitzroy, in his ship the Ger-Falcon, is searching the coast for Kyd when he is not wooing Kate Bellamont who has promised to marry him. Fitzroy's secretary, mustachioed Edwin Gerald, is devotedly attached to his captain to whom he tells a tale of past unrequited love. Lester suddenly visits Kate and declares his never-dimmed passion for her, but she knows he is Kyd and spurns him though it is obvious she still loves him. From her, Kyd learns Fitzroy is his rival, and he leaves vowing to kill him. He does catch up with Fitzroy, sees him drowned in the sea, and returns to take Kate to Ireland and claim his lands as Lord of Lester. But Kate shoots him in the arm, and Kyd leaves. Fitzroy, meanwhile, has survived to learn that Kate still loves Lester and goes after Kyd. Fitzroy finally captures Kyd, and the pirate is imprisoned.

Kate visits Lester in prison the night before sentence is to be passed on him. A certain Father Nanfan sneaks up on them and pronounces them man and wife as they are kneeling together. On the next day all the threads of the novel are tied up in a hasty series of events that is more characteristic of the short novels Ingraham later wrote than his Harper productions. Elpsy reveals that the Kyd is Lester, that Fitzroy is Mark Meredith, and that Father Nanfan is Hurtel of the Red Hand. Kyd, in a fit of filial devotion, kills his mother. Or is it Hurtel that kills Elpsy? Ingraham is not clear on the matter. We may presume Kyd killed her, for nothing further is mentioned of Hurtel, who surely would have been punished had he been guilty. At any rate, since Kate is now married to Kyd, the Earl of Bellamont sends the pirate to England to

be executed. Kate dies of a broken heart. Edwin is discovered to be Grace Fitzgerald, and she and Mark are eventually married.

A brief summary such as the above does not reveal by any means all the complexities of Ingraham's plot, but it does serve to illustrate the important facets of it. We have the familiar light and dark-heroes and heroines; here, however, the light-complexioned Kyd is the villain, though it is more usual for the Professor to paint his darker characters as villains.

The tale borrows from Lafitte the device of two young men who love the same maiden and who are separated in youth to clash again climactically in manhood. Also like Lafitte, the Professor has tried to explain how the highborn Lester became the ferocious Kyd, thus palliating to some extent the deeds to which the pirate was driven. As in Burton, one of the heroines shoots the Byronic hero-villain Kyd. A new element, and one found in Scott and in many later Ingraham works, is the device of the unrecognized loving maiden who dresses in male attire to be near her beloved.[21]

Had Ingraham chosen to weave a less complex tale he might have produced a better one. The witch Elpsy is a case in point, for the Professor made her carry much of the burden of the novel. She comes through well as the wronged fisher's daughter who wishes her son to be the Lord of Lester and who wants revenge on her seducer, but she does not get her wish or her revenge. Presumably, as a witch, she is

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[21]Railo, p. 230. This device is at least as old as William Shakespeare who used it in numerous plays.

supposed to be regarded as a Gothic character capable of inspiring horror, but she is a very poor witch and, actually, a fraud. She sprinkles various colorful elements into fires, but she works no witchcraft and gets all her information from personal experience or from people too terrified of the hunchbacked woman to refuse the answers she demands. Her wild appearance and red hair make the superstitious fear and obey her, but she is really a woman to be more pitied than feared.

The unequal development of the novel also works against it. Three-fifths of it is devoted to the scenes in Ireland, the preparation for Kyd's career, but we see Kyd as a pirate only briefly; what we learn about his piratical exploits is told us by various Dutchmen who discuss the Kyd's activities. Lafitte at least showed us a fuller picture of the matured pirate.

If we allow Ingraham the novelistic license to have his major characters brush with and not recognize each other, then the weakest part of Captain Kyd remains its abrupt ending that is even set in reduced type as if the printer had run out of paper. Too many revelations are thrust upon the reader too hurriedly; the careful reader is not surprised by all these revelations, but their precipitate manner is quite at variance with the leisurely development of the rest of the novel.

With all its faults, Kyd does remain readable today though it really has little historical or intrinsic value. Its one genuine excellence—the superbly-written battle between the pirates and the English ship in the first part of the second volume—is worth waiting for, and it is the climax of the novel in more ways than one. The

Professor's swift narration keeps the novel moving, but the five-year break after the fight injures the novel, and it never really regains its momentum after that.

The Professor received $1200 for the copyright to Kyd, making it second only to the $1350 he received for Lafitte.[22] The novel, then, was a financial success, and the version of it dramatized for the stage by Joseph Stevens Jones was also a success, as judged by its performance record.[23] From our current standpoint it was perhaps unfortunate that the novel was so popular since it was not one of Ingraham's best. The Professor evidently believed that the devices used in Kyd—improbable coincidences, breaks in the action, characters with a mysterious knowledge of the past, endings that neatly dispose of every character—would continue to insure financial success. Many of his future novels were financially successful, but, from a critical standpoint, the novels from Captain Kyd onward were more derivative than original, written more for the masses than for the discriminating reader.

The Quadroone; or, St. Michael's Day

Ingraham's fourth romance and fifth work, The Quadroone; or, St. Michael's Day, was printed by Harper in 1841. It had been written earlier; the novel was printed in London in 1840,[24] and the first

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[22]Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, May 29, 1839.

[23]J. S. Jones, Captain Kyd; or, the Wizard of the Sea. A Drama.—in Four Acts (Boston: William V. Spencer [1845], p. 2.

[24]Joseph Blanck, Bibliography of American Literature, IV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 462.

chapter of it appeared in the November, 1839, United States Magazine and Democratic Review.[25] The Quadroone was the last novel published by Harper and, while not the best published by the firm, was not the worst because its Byronic hero-villain, Garcia Ramarez, Count of Osma, is wicked enough to hold the reader's attention. The novel is interesting, also, because it contains an early treatment of the evils produced by miscegenation,[26] and the lovely quadroon for whom the tale is named is almost the victim of incest.

The action opens in New Orleans in June, 1766, when a small band of Spanish soldiers led by the Count of Osma enters the city and demands that the French province be surrendered to the laws of Spain. Predictably, the French loyalists resist, and only the enraged Osma escapes back to his ship. The resistance to the Spanish is ably led by Renault the Quadroon, the illegitimate son of the Marquis of Caronde, who is the governor of New Orleans. Renault cuts down the Spanish flag when Osma attempts to raise it; his sister Azèlie (the quadroon for whom the tale is named) catches the flag, cuts it into eight pieces, and is wounded by Osma for her patriotism. For his bravery and his leadership in the fight against the Spanish, the young men of the city decide to overlook Renault's heritage and call him friend.

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[25] [J. H. Ingraham] "Romance of American History. No. III. The Hostile Governors," United States Magazine and Democratic Review, 6 (November, 1839), 399-411.

[26] James Joseph Kinney, in his "The Theme of Miscegenation in the American Novel to World War I," Diss. University of Tennessee 1972, p. 25, notes that Ingraham was one of the first Southern authors to use the miscegenation theme before 1850.

The quadroon (male) or quadroone (female), according to Ingraham, has four parts of white blood to one part of Negro. A quadroon at the time of this tale was regarded as a slave; the males were regarded as almost useless and allowed to roam freely about while the women were reared to become the mistresses of rich white men. Marriage with a white was forbidden. The people of New Orleans accepted this system of concubinage, and no mention of change is breathed during the course of the novel.

Both Renault and Azèlie are understandably bitter about their heritage; neither of them has a last name as slaves did not, and both are bastards as well as slaves. Both are black-haired, black-eyed, proud individuals; both are admired for their form and beauty. Renault swears to protect his sister's chastity and to see her dead before she becomes a mistress to whomever their mother Ninine might decide to sell her; Azèlie even carries a dagger in her bosom to kill herself with should her innocence be endangered.

Osma returns in 1769, three years after his abortive attempt to take over New Orleans. By this time even the French loyalists know that France has given New Orleans to Spain, but a few of the city's natives still oppose giving up their city, and there is another fight before Osma finally does become Governor. In that fight, a young Spanish noble, Don Henrique, is wounded; a tall, mysterious woman tells Renault to save him, and the quadroon takes the wounded cavalier home for Azèlie to nurse in opulent oriental surroundings. Azèlie and Henrique fall in love at first sight. Osma, who has arrived with his beautiful daughter

Estelle, is so enraged at Henrique's disappearance that he gives his men orders to burn New Orleans to the ground. But the mysterious woman appears to him, has him countermand his order, and tells him that he will pay for his sins on St. Michael's Day, September 29.

Osma, however, is not through with sinning. He plots to kill the deposed French councillors, and volume one ends with his machinations almost fulfilled. Estelle suspects her father's intentions and tells her fears to Renault who saves the councillors and spares Osma at Estelle's request. Estelle and Renault also fall in love. Renault, in one of several soliloquies, gives some indication of the mental torture he suffers because of his fate:

> "But what have I, an accursed quadroon—I, to do with a maiden's love like her? Like the worshippers of the sun, I may adore her afar off till blinded by my devotion, and my heart is burned up by her unapproachable brightness. Alas! for what do I live? wherefore do I court life? From this hour death is most welcome! Why did Heaven give me a heart to love, and then link me with a race to whom love is forbidden?"[27]

Estelle is somewhat worried at being in love with a quadroon herself but is relieved when the mysterious woman later tells her that Renault is as noble and freeborn as herself.

Meanwhile, Ninine arranges to sell Azèlie's charms to Osma for ten thousand crowns. When Osma learns Henrique loves Azèlie, he has Henrique chained in the deepest dungeon available to await execution at the Governor's whim. Osma soon recaptures six of the seven French

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[27] [J. H. Ingraham] The Quadroone; or, St. Michael's Day, II (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841), 17. Future references are parenthetical.

councillors and has them executed. He takes Azèlie to his quarters and prepares to violate her despite something uneasily familiar in her countenance. He brings Henrique out of the dungeon to see the helpless Azèlie in his power. The quadroon, however, is saved by the mysterious woman who tells the Count that his claim to Azèlie and Renault (whom his mother has given Osma as a slave) will be tested in a tribunal on St. Michael's Day, and that he is to forbear his passion until then. Osma is scared of the woman because of his guilty conscience and agrees to do as she asks. The woman later rescues Henrique, and the little group await their fate.

On St. Michael's Day justice is served by a spate of revelations that must surely rank as one of the most fantastically coincidental scenes on record. We learn that Renault is the true son of the Marquis of Caronde; Ninine has switched her bastard with the legitimate son of the nobleman. That illegitimate son, Jules, breaks his mother's neck for her revelation. Azèlie is revealed to be Osma's daughter from an earlier marriage than the one that produced Estelle. The mysterious woman is shown to be the faithful servant of Azèlie's dead mother. An Indian chief, Ihuahua, shows up and reveals he is Osma's brother, a brother Osma thought he had killed long ago. Henrique is revealed as heir to the throne of Spain. Osma, enraged at the revelations, incensed that he cannot sin with Azèlie, and terrified by the retribution that will be his, throws himself on his sword in front of everyone. Azèlie, no longer a quadroon, married Henrique but dies before he becomes King of Spain. Renault marries Estelle.

Though the novel is somewhat marred by its deus ex machina ending, it boasts several excellent character portrayals. The best is that of Garcia Ramarez, the evil and guilty Count of Osma. He is interesting because of his wickedness, a wickedness flawed only by his love for Estelle. He is tall and has a commanding presence. The years have brought grey into his black hair, but he has been a villain since youth and shows no sign of repentance or contrition in the novel as he lusts for a young girl who proves to be his daughter. Osma wants to appear fair and just in the world's eye so that he may continue to rise in the estimation of his Spanish superiors. To keep up such a front, he uses assassins when someone stands in the way of his ambition. Estelle wants to believe there is some good in her father and, in trying to convince herself, gives us one definition of the Byronic hero-villain her father is:

> "He hath virtues with his crimes. . . . No man is altogether bad—no one so wholly wicked that he hath not some redeeming quality that invites love and confidence. How else is it that the darkest bandit and most ferocious outlaw have ever found woman's affection to entwine itself around their rugged hearts?" (I, 243)

We only see one virtue—Osma's love for Estelle. We see much of the hatred and vindictiveness that make him such a memorable character.

Another memorable character, and one of a quite different sort, is Gobin, the fool in motley. Gobin is an almost Shakespearian fool in his ready wit and quip, but he is more fool than masquerader, more a natural clown than a pretended one. His conversation with the Spanish cavalier Garcilaso is representative. Gobin has the French emblems of office and Garcilaso is trying to talk them out of the fool:

"Then quit them, wise fool!"

"Thou hast well said 'wise fool!' My folly would make me put my neck in reach o' thy sword for that tinkling chain, whereas my wisdom keepeth me here in safety. Wisdom causeth me to lose my chain, so that my folly cause me not to lose my head!"

"I'faith, thou art both logical and wise, fool," answered the cavalier.

"Marry, then, gossip, I'll tell thee a secret! 'Twas the weight o' logic that cracked my brain, and folly jumped in at the hole. Widsom hath patched it up o' the outside, but, as thou see'st, has made but sorry work at it." (I, 52)

Gobin is memorable because he contributes the only humor or light conversation to be found in The Quadroone. Since everyone else is either deadly serious or seriously heroic, Gobin's verbal interludes are all the more welcome.

The rest of the characters are almost forgettable in their one-dimensional portraits. Renault, the hero, is full of chivalric noble ideas about protecting his sister; that protection, in fact, is all he lives for until Estelle is introduced. When Renault is not being heroic, he is condemning his lot as a quadroon. The reader sympathizes with Renault's situation, but he cannot care greatly about Renault as a person because Renault is too heroic or too abject to be believable. Much the same thing is wrong with Azèlie.

The novel received mixed reviews. Poe, writing in Graham's, was ashamed of it,[28] but the reviewer for the Ladies' Companion not only liked it but thought Ingraham was "destined to become one of the

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[28] [Edgar Allan Poe] Rev. of The Quadroone [by J. H. Ingraham], Graham's Lady's and Gentlemen's Magazine, 18 (June, 1841), 296.

most popular novelists of America."[29] Ingraham was already one of the most popular novelists of the day, and his star was to continue to rise—but not with the firm of Harper & Brothers.

Ingraham had proposed, in 1839, to deliver two novels a year to the Harpers for which he was to be paid a total of $3,000. He did not get that much for 1839's Captain Kyd, and we do not know if he received much over $600 for The Quadroone.[30] The uncertainty about his payment was, understandably, a source of irritation for the author. His impatience was evident when he wrote Fletcher Harper on January 31, 1840, that he wanted either to know definitely when he was going to receive the $900 due him on The Quadroone or the permission "to make a disposition of the ms elsewhere." The Professor also commented that "I only regret that I cannot act more independently."[31] The time to act independently was upon him, for The Quadroone was the last novel Harper published. We may postulate from the above letter and others to the firm that the parting of the author from his publisher was mutually agreed upon with little rancor on either side. We may never know for sure, but since Fletcher Harper did accept five short stories for Harper's New Monthly Magazine from 1856 through 1858, we may indeed suspect that he harbored few bad feelings.

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[29]Rev. of The Quadroone [by J. H. Ingraham], Ladies' Companion, 15 (May, 1841), 48.

[30]Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, December 10, 1839.

[31]Letter, Ingraham to Fletcher Harper, January 31, 1840.

The five books published by Harper & Brothers are a good introduction to the writings of Joseph Holt Ingraham. The Professor displayed a predilection for stories with largely American settings, for stories of the sea, and for stories based in some degree on American history. All of his Harper books display his penchant for romantic elements and his ability to employ much detail. The South-West, Lafitte, and Burton are the best of the five and show that Ingraham could write well, that he could create suspense effectively, and that he could keep the reader's interest. Padding is not foreign to these works, but it is minimal, and the works do show that care and planning went into their composition. Lack of care, lack of planning, and too much padding became obvious in many of the works produced after 1841. Ingraham was not satisfied in all respects with Harper & Brothers, but time would show that he was much better off with the Harpers than he realized.

CHAPTER III

CONTRIBUTIONS TO PERIODICALS, NEWSPAPERS, AND GIFT BOOKS

The problems that confront any student of Ingraham's fiction are trebled when he considers the periodical output of the man. There is no bibliography of the Professor's periodical contributions, and he has left only one reference to a periodical story himself. The student of Ingraham, then, must skim almost every periodical published during the writing lifetime of Ingraham in order to arrive at a complete listing. Since the impossibility of such a task should be evident, we should immediately admit that the following survey of the Professor's periodical contributions is not definitive and does not pretend to be. It is, however, the most thorough survey and only the second one that has ever been attempted.[1] The bibliography will contain the complete listing; this discussion attempts only to survey and sample the contents of Ingraham's periodical, newspaper, and gift book writings.[2]

In terms of overall bulk, Ingraham contributed to at least twenty-six periodicals. He wrote at least ninety-five items that appeared in a total of one hundred and sixty-five installments. The

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[1]The first attempt at such a survey is found in Warren Graham French, "Joseph Holt Ingraham, Southern Romancer, 1809-1860," Thesis. University of Texas 1948.

[2]Hereafter, when speaking broadly, the word "periodical" is understood to apply to all classes of these contributions.

Professor contributed essays, fiction, and poetry of various types to these different periodicals. Since some of the contributions were republished elsewhere, the task becomes more difficult. Even though we admit that the task is enormous, a survey of such writings is indispensable to any thorough consideration of Ingraham, for these pieces illustrate an even greater variety of subject matter than is found in his novels. Also, students of nineteenth-century periodical publishing have not been aware of the prolific Professor's contributions. He set no trends as far as we can establish, for he wrote the types of things that were readily marketable. His works do reveal the writer's mind as well as what the nineteenth-century periodical public was reading.

Ingraham's periodical publishing career began in 1833 and lasted at least until 1858; for seven of these years we can find no contributions, but that does not necessarily mean there was none. As far as evidence has been found, we can postulate that the Professor began his periodical career with the material that formed his first book—travel observations.

The first number of an anonymous series of "Letters from Louisiana and Mississippi By a Yankee" was published in the Natchez Courier: and Adams, Jefferson and Franklin Advertiser on August 23, 1833 [p. 3]. Written from a ship at the mouth of the Mississippi River below New Orleans, the letter pictured the young Yankee as he was ready to ascend the river. Ten more "Letters" were published by December 20, 1833, and all dealt with various aspects of life in New Orleans in the early 1830's. Sometime during 1834 the name of the paper was changed to the Courier and Journal, but only one issue survives from 1834, that of

December 26,[3] and it does not contain one of the "Letters." Judging from The South-West,[4] at least twelve "Letters" must have been published in 1834. The problem of the missing letters illustrates another difficulty of compiling a complete Ingraham periodical bibliography. Even when we have the strongest possible circumstantial evidence that his work was published, the periodical itself is often not extant.

The only other three extant pieces in the series appeared in the Courier and Journal in January, 1835.[5] These letters, appearing as chapters five through seven of volume two of The South-West, indicate that a possible thirteen later ones were published. The three Courier and Journal letters describe various aspects of Natchez, Mississippi; the most interesting is the one that describes "Natchez Under the Hill," the virtually lawless community that sprung up on the Mississippi under the bluff where the city of Natchez proper is located.

As is sometimes assumed, Ingraham was not finished with travel writing after his "Letters." In fact, there are no fewer than four more series published in periodicals as well as an article on "Travelling for Pleasure"[6] and several stories that probably arose from his travels.

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[3]Winfred Gregory, American Newspapers: 1821-1936. A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada (New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1937), p. 347.

[4][J. H. Ingraham] The South-West, 2 vols. (1835; rpt. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966).

[5]I., "Letters from Louisiana and Mississippi By a Yankee. Second Series.—Number VI," Courier & Journal, January 6, 1835 [p. 1]; "Number VII," January 9, 1835 [p. 1]; "Number VIII," January 16, 1835 [p. 1].

[6]J.H.I., "Travelling for Pleasure," Ladies' Companion, 13 (January, 1840), 148.

The next series was entitled "Extracts from the Journal of a Passenger from Philadelphia to New Orleans" which appeared in the Gentleman's Magazine in late 1838.[7] The first two segments of this four-part series are fundamentally the same as chapters four and five of The South-West, but there are some definite differences.[8] The most interesting new material is a report of the visit of "King Neptune," a visit that would appear in the 1847 novel Paul Perril.[9] Though it is interesting, the material is padding and an obvious attempt to make his essay sound original. Ingraham states that "It was fortunate for some of our tyros that we were not bound into Havana" for they would have had to cross the Tropic of Cancer to get to it, and Neptune would have to make his customary visit.[10] In the very next paragraph, however, he is in latitude 0°, which is the equator and where "Neptune" also appears. That means that Ingraham voyaged almost 25° south of Cuba instead of passing between Cuba and the Florida Keys as the text indicates. The padding is not as obvious in the last two "Extracts," which reprint

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[7]Professor Ingraham, "Extracts from the Journal of a Passenger from Philadelphia to New Orleans, Leaf No. I" Gentleman's Magazine, 3 (August, 1838), 92-95; "Leaf No. II" (September, 1838), 170-173; "Leaf No. III" (October, 1838), 221-223; "Leaf No. IV" (November, 1838), 305-307.

[8]Warren G. French, "The Twice-Told Travels of Joseph Holt Ingraham," American Notes and Queries, I (December, 1962), 51.

[9]Professor Ingraham, Paul Perril, the Merchant's Son: or the Adventures of a New-England Boy Launched Upon Life, 2 vols. (Boston: Williams and Brothers [1847]).

[10]Ingraham, "Extracts . . . Leaf No. II," Gentleman's Magazine, 3 (September, 1838), 171.

much of the material from chapters six and seven of The South-West (Vol. 1) and some from the first two "Letters" of 1833.

Another travel series appeared in the Ladies' Companion in 1839.[11] This series, entitled "Dots and Lines, or, Sketches of Scenes and Incidents in the West," also had its genesis in Ingraham's 1830 trip from New England to New Orleans, but this series contains more new material than the "Extracts" and continues the Professor's journey up the Mississippi River to New Madrid, Missouri. The most interesting of the "Dots and Lines" is the last one, which details the costs of buying and maintaining a Mississippi steamer on which pilots are paid more than captains. Ingraham also states that if a boat lasts five years, it is considered old and unfit for further use. The Professor seemed quite familiar and conversant with the intricacies of running a steamboat. This method of travel gave the passenger ample time to observe not only the passing scenery but the boat itself. Ingraham's interest in the new is evident though these brief sketches also show that time to observe in minute detail was not available.

Another Ladies' Companion series, "Sketches in the West," takes up where "Dots and Lines" left off.[12] The Professor leaves New Madrid

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[11] J.H.I., "Dots and Lines, No. I; Or, Sketches of Scenes and Incidents in the West," Ladies' Companion, 11 (May, 1839), 38-41; "No. II" (June, 1839), 69-71; "No. III" (July, 1839), 123-124; "No. IV" (August, 1839), 196; "No. IV [sic]" (September, 1839), 243-244.

[12] J.H.I., "Sketches in the West. No. I," Ladies' Companion, 13 (June, 1840), 67-68; "No. II" (July, 1840), 139-140; "No. III" (August, 1840), 202-203; "No. IV" (September, 1840), 215-216; "No. IV [sic]" (October, 1840), 281-282; "No. VI," 14 (December, 1840), 91-92; "No. VII" (January, 1841), 127-128; "No. VIII" (February, 1841), 185-186; "No. X [sic]" (April, 1841), 281-282.

for St. Louis and ultimately plans to get to New York. Most of these travel sketches are devoted to a description of the sights of St. Louis, and the series ends as Ingraham is steaming toward Louisville.

Ingraham did eventually get to New York, for still another Ladies' Companion series, entitled "Glimpses at Gotham," chronicled the sights of that metropolis.[13] The most readable of this four-part series is a description of the various types of noses to be found in New York. The series is unfinished; the fourth number says the next essay will describe the Bowery; but if it was written, it was never printed in the Ladies' Companion.

"Dots and Lines" and "Sketches in the West" are the two series that contribute new material to the Professor's record of his travels. The "Extracts" were basically similar to the "Letters." We have discussed those "Letters" in a previous chapter since they were reprinted as The South-West. "Dots and Lines" and "Sketches in the West" might easily have been included in The South-West if they had been written when the volumes were published, for both series continue Ingraham's journey past Natchez to St. Louis and on to Louisville. "Glimpses at Gotham" is the poorest of the five travel series. One measure of its inferiority is that the diction and phraseology was more inflated than necessary or desirable. While discussing noses on Broadway the Professor remarks:

> Broadway rewarded my search in presenting three aquilines to two pugs—while the usual intermixture of bottle, Roman, and

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[13]Professor Ingraham, "Glimpses at Gotham. Number I," Ladies' Companion, 10 (January, 1839), 110-111; "No. II" (February, 1839), 177-178; "No. III" (March, 1839), 229-231; "No. IV" (April, 1839), 282-284.

> piquant, were observable. But then every third aquiline might have belonged to a stranger. . . . The omnibusses gave five Wellington's out of seven, and Wall Street four out of five.[14]

Ingraham later notes that

> the Bowery is a great bow, and Broadway its string, in the pastime of shooting with which, it is said, none but his Honor, the Mayor, and their worthies, the Aldermen, are allowed to engage. This last is a dark sentence, and requireth to be digested with long and patient thought, ere it be well understood![15]

Such rhetoric and social comment probably did little to endear the sketches to the public, and, indeed, the series was cancelled after four sketches were published. Its cancellation is another measure of its inferiority.

After all this travelling it is not surprising that Ingraham would discuss what he thought about travelling. For a man that moved around the country almost all his life, the conclusion he reaches, that travelling is definitely not pleasurable, is perhaps surprising, but his arguments are effective.

> All travel is attended with hurry, bustle, disappointment and vexation of spirit. There is the baggage to see to, waiters to bawl after, porters to quarrel with, landlords to growl at, cold and rain, vicissitude of season and climate to content with, there is the fear of boilers bursting, and of stages upsetting—the annoyance of close state rooms, and unchanged sheets—money taking to itself wings, and flying from you on all sides.[16]

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[14] Ingraham, "Glimpses at Gotham," Ladies' Companion, 10 (January, 1839), 110.

[15] Ingraham, "Glimpses at Gotham," Ladies' Companion, 10 (April, 1839), 282.

[16] J.H.I., "Travelling for Pleasure," Ladies' Companion, 13 (January, 1840), 148. Future references are parenthetical.

The Professor concludes with

> If I had my own will, I should never place my foot on stage or steamboat more, but in some quiet corner of the world, where the noise of escaping steam, the horn of the stage driver, the sound of a hotel dinner bell, have never penetrated—where, secure in my own quietude, I should regard travellers as a set of desperate men, whom heaven has visited with a desperate madness, and be thankful for my sanity in the midst of such universal lunacy. (p. 148)

Several of the stories that Ingraham contributed to various periodicals were obviously influenced by what the author saw and heard on his travels. One, "The Bivouac," is the tale of a gentleman who is voyaging south to find and redeem if he can his profligate son who has strayed from the paths of virtue.[17] He and a group of other travellers camp at the mouth of the Ohio to wait for a southbound steamer. They are attacked at night by a gang of thieves. The gentleman shoots the leader, discovers it is his son, goes insane, and dies himself. Another tale, "The Spectre Steamer," tells of a ghost ship manned by skeletons that travels the Mississippi River, and, to the wonder of other travellers, maneuvers on land.[18]

A final story that grew out of Ingraham's travels is "The Sacred Fire."[19] It originates from a description of Indian mounds near

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[17] J. W. [sic] Ingraham, "The Bivouac: or, A Night at the Mouth of the Ohio. A Sketch of Western Voyaging," Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion, 2 (July, 1842), 40-44.

[18] J.H.I., "The Spectre Steamer; or, Hugh Northrup's Oath. A Tale of the Mississippi," Ladies' Companion, 15 (September, 1841), 231-236.

[19] [J. H. Ingraham] "The Sacred Fire," The Token and Atlantic Souvenir, A Christmas and New Year's Present, ed. S. G. Goodrich (Boston: Otis, Broaders, and Co., 1839), 242-280.

Natchez, mounds that the author mentioned in volume two of The South-West. The narrator sees a flame burning over a subterranean passage in a mound, enters, and finds a seven-hundred-year-old man who needs someone to start the sacred fire for him again. The narrator obliges him, and, in one of the oldest of trick endings, wakes up to discover that he has been dreaming. None of these tales is memorable. The trick ending of "The Sacred Fire" destroys any credibility; the reaction of the gentleman in "The Bivouac" is excessive and barely credible; "The Spectre Steamer" creates good suspense, but lack of characterization destroys the reader's interest in the plot.

At least four stories deal with the guilty passions to be found in New Orleans and its environs. "Carlota, the Nun of San Eliseo,"[20] "The Assassin's Sister,"[21] and "The Black Patch"[22] do not merit extended consideration because they all illustrate a similar theme—New Orleans natives will stop at nothing to get their way. "The Quadroon of Orleans,"[23] however, should be noted as a precursor of Ingraham's 1841

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[20][J. H. Ingraham] "Carlota, the Nun of San Eliseo. A Tale of Louisiana. In Two Parts," Ladies' Companion, 19 (June, 1843), 58-65; "Part II" (July, 1843), 110-117.

[21]J. H. Ingraham, "The Assassin's Sister, or The Night Before Execution. A Sketch," Symbol, and Odd Fellow's Magazine, 3 (August, 1844), 259-264.

[22][J. H. Ingraham] "The Black Patch; or, A Year and a Day," The American Lounger; or, Tales, Sketches, and Legends Gathered in Sundry Journeyings (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1839), 157-170.

[23][J. H. Ingraham] "The Quadroon of Orleans. A Tale," The American Lounger; or, Tales, Sketches, and Legends Gathered in Sundry Journeyings (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1839), 253-273.

novel The Quadroone (2 vols. New York: Harper & Brothers). Baron Eugenie Championet loves Emilie at first sight but discovers that she is a quadroon and knows, therefore, that he cannot marry her. He does make her his mistress, gets her pregnant, settles a good income on her, and leaves her. Eighteen years later Championet's legitimate son almost marries his illegitimate quadroon daughter. Emilie falls dead, her daughter dies of a broken heart, and Championet and his son are soon killed in battle. None of these New Orleans stories are very pleasant despite the fact that they are reasonably well-written and cohesive. His description of New Orleans in The South-West is the only pleasant picture he ever painted of the city.

Humor is not foreign to Ingraham's writings but humorous passages are usually short, for the Professor was a serious individual. He wisely attempted few humorous stories. Those he did write usually exhibit too much straining for too few laughs. Some of his serious stories which we will mention shortly are often funnier to us than the ones he tried to make humorous. One story that attempts to be humorous and succeeds is "Mrs. Nicholas Muggs,"[24] one of the four tales Ingraham contributed to the gift books of his era. Mrs. Angelina Celeste Higgins Muggs, the wife of a prominent merchant in a New England seaport, wants desperately to be admitted into the highest social class of the town. She gives a party and invites all the proper prominent people. She decides that

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[24][J. H. Ingraham] "Mrs. Nicholas Muggs; or, The Hoax," The Gift: A Christmas and New Years' Present for 1839, ed. Miss Leslie (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey and A. Hart, 1838), 110-144.

"Muggs" looks horrible written on her invitations and decides to claim "Muggs" is a corruption of "Marquis" so as to have an aristocratic name. But even an aristocratic name does not entice the elite to her party. Soon, Mrs. Mannering, a lady that shunned Mrs. Muggs' party, decides to have one herself, and the Muggs do not get an invitation. The angry Mrs. Muggs sends notes to all those who received invitations saying the scheduled party would take place one week earlier than previously noted. Mrs. Mannering discovers the hoax in time and sends out postponements. Mrs. Muggs sends out another set of date changes. When the party does finally take place, Mrs. Muggs attends in disguise and is caught. As a result, Muggs divorces his social-climbing wife. Summaries seldom capture the true flavor of a piece of humorous writing and that, unfortunately, is the case here. Much of the humor in the story comes from the agonized efforts of Mrs. Muggs as she tries to be "respectable."

A story that fails to be humorous is "Spheeksphobia: or, The Adventures of Abel Stingflyer, A. M. A Tragic Tale" which appeared in the Southern Literary Messenger.[25] Stingflyer's mother stepped into a wasp nest two months before her son was born, and, when he arrived, he had a hornet-shaped birthmark on his back. From that time Stingflyer had problems with flying insects. He tries to be a successful teacher, but he always has to leave a town when the local bees, wasps, and hornets descend on him as they inevitably do. The tale is concerned with some of his less than merry misadventures.

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[25] [J. H. Ingraham] "Spheeksphobia: or, The Adventures of Abel Stingflyer, A. M. A Tragic Tale," Southern Literary Messenger, 3 (October, 1837), 585-593.

A story entitled "The Robber in Boots" is a variation of the old narrative of the naive country youth going to visit the big city.[26] The tale is predictable; the country youth gets laughed at, is robbed, and returns to the paternal home sadder but wiser. The humor is forced and the story undistinguished. The basic problem with Ingraham's humorous stories is sharply evident here. The Professor labors to be funny and does not succeed. In describing Wells the author notes that "He had a father and a mother, as most young gentlemen have had, except those who have been found in Champagne baskets at bachelors' front doors!" (p. 182) He had a voice "like a penny whistle stuck inside of a French horn!" and was "tall, green and delightfully unsophisticated!" (p. 183) The hero had "a Henry Clay lip—Heaven save the mark!" (p. 183) and a mouth that looked like a clam. Exclamation marks do not produce humor any more than Ingraham's asides, and the cumulative effect of such devices is wearying.

For a man who wrote so many novels about the sea, it is quite surprising that only three periodical stories deal with the subject. A reading of two of them, "The General's Niece"[27] and "The Kennebec Sloop,"[28]

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[26][J. H. Ingraham] "The Robber in 'Boots;' or, The Midnight Alarm.—Being an Account of Mr. Varian Wallace Wells' First Visit to the City," Ladies' Companion, 20 (February, 1844), 182-188, 203-204. Future references are parenthetical.

[27]J. H. Ingraham, "The General's Niece, or A Gun-Brig Adventure. A Tale of Havana," Symbol, and Odd Fellow's Magazine, 4 (February, 1845), 53-58.

[28]J. H. Ingraham, "The Kennebec Sloop. And the English Cruisers," Eastern Argus, September 24, 1845 [p. 2].

reveal a possible reason for the anomaly—both of these stories are little more than anecdotes. "The General's Niece" is the romantic tale of a young lady who is kidnapped from her father's home near Havana so that she may wed the man she loves. "The Kennebec Sloop" tells of an engagement of a Yankee blockade runner with a British ship in the War of 1812. The Professor performed more ably when he developed his sea stories more fully. His lengthiest periodical sea story, "The Dancing Star: or, The Smuggler of the Chesapeake,"[29] was eventually published as a novel. The narrative details the evil passion of Nevil Beachampe for Alice Beaufort while telling another tale of revenge set in the framework of an account of smuggling activities on the Virginia coast. The story is well told, yet it fails to generate much interest because the characters, even the villains, are too tame, too ordinary, and too predictable. Nevil Beachampe is a colorless Byronic hero-villain; Alice Beaufort is a colorless heroine. Elliot Beaufort and Captain Henry Mainwaring are the mildly heroic heroes. Part of the lack of appeal of this story may be attributed to the fact that it was published in 1857, almost ten years after the Professor's last sea novel. He had used all the characters and almost all of the situations before, and he had used them to better effect.

One of the most prestigious periodicals to which Ingraham contributed was the Southern Literary Messenger. The Messenger

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[29]J. H. Ingraham, "The Dancing Star: or, The Smuggler of the Chesapeake. A Story of the Coast and Sea," The Weekly Novelette, 1 (August 8, 1857), 321-330; (August 15, 1857), 337-344; (August 22, 1857), 353-360; (August 29, 1857), 270-275.

published two tales and a five-part series of "Biographical Sketches of Living American Poets and Novelists."[30] One of the tales, "Spheeksphobia," we have already mentioned; the second was "A Legend of the Mountain of the Burning Stone; A Story of the First Montezuma."[31] "Legend" is an abbreviated tale of the rise of the first Montezuma in Mexico; the story was expanded and reprinted in two volumes in 1845 as Montezuma.[32] The narrative is an improvement over "Spheeksphobia" in depth, characterization, and its ability to hold the reader's interest.

The "Biographical Sketches" are interesting for what they reveal of Ingraham's perceptions of other writers and indicate to some degree his idea of what good literature is. The essay on Francis William Thomas displays a knowledge of eighteenth-century English literature as well as a reverence for "The transcendent genius of Scott."[33] Ingraham himself, as has been noted, derived much from the novels of Scott. Here the Professor goes on to note what would become a tenet of much of his own writing:

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[30]David K. Jackson, The Contributors and Contributions to the Southern Literary Messenger (1834-1864) (Charlottesville: Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1936), pp. 27, 34, verifies this series as Ingraham's.

[31][J. H. Ingraham] "A Legend of the Mountain of the Burning Stone; A Story of the First Montezuma," Southern Literary Messenger, V (December, 1839), 781-787.

[32][J. H. Ingraham] Montezuma, the Serf; or, The Last Revolt of the Mexitili; a Tale of the Last Days of the Aztec Dynasty, 2 vols. (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1845).

[33][J. H. Ingraham] "Biographical Sketches of Living American Poets and Novelists. No. I. Francis William Thomas, Esq.," Southern Literary Messenger, 4 (May, 1838), 299.

> Perhaps it may be laid down as an undeniable proposition, that no novel can live, unless it is based on some remarkable historical event, which, like leaven in the lump, leavens the whole, infusing into it a principle of perpetuity. Independent of the genius of the author, this is the great secret of the Waverley novels.[34]

The next sketch, that of James Fenimore Cooper, showed a knowledge of the rise of the American novel.[35] Ingraham thought Cooper was the most distinguished American novelist. "The forest, ocean, and camp, constitute the legitimate empire of Mr. Cooper's genius."[36] Cooper

> had explored the empire of American fiction, before untrodden, and proved to the world that Europe was not alone the land of story. He had shown that ivied walls, time-worn castles and gloomy dungeons, were not necessary to make a land a land of romance; that the war of the revolution rivalled, in romantic interest, the wars of the crusades; that the Indian warrior equally with the turbaned Saracen, was the theme of the romancer; and that heroes need not always to be clad in iron mail, nor heroines have only knightly lovers sighing at their feet, or breaking lances and heads to attest to their devotion.[37]

Ingraham set most of his novels in America, and he made maximum use of the Revolutionary War. He, like Cooper, believed in the resources of America for novelists.

In the fourth essay of the series, one on William Gilmore Simms, Ingraham repeated his belief that "The American novelist, if he would be deserving of the name, should weave his tales alone out of the

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[34]Ibid., p. 300.

[35][J. H. Ingraham] "Biographical Sketches of Living American Poets and Novelists. No. II. James Fenimore Cooper, Esq.," Southern Literary Messenger, 4 (June, 1838), 374.

[36]Ibid., p. 375.

[37]Ibid., p. 377.

fertile legends of the New World."[38] The critic objected to Simms' The Fall of the Goth on the grounds that it did not have an American setting; he thought most of the novels with Southern settings, particularly Mellichampe. Ingraham's series was aimed more at introducing a writer's work and was not intended to be overly critical. The series, then, must be judged acceptable. It contains no startling pronouncements, but it does indicate that its well-read author had a wide acquaintance with different types of literature and that his judgements had some firm bases.

Though Ingraham preferred American settings for the works of American writers, he himself strayed from America on several occasions. He wrote one series of stories set in the ancient age of chivalry. Four "Tales of the Knights of Seven Lands" appeared in five installments in late 1842 and early 1843.[39] The series employs the old device of travellers (in this case, knights) who decide to rotate stories to pass the time. A Spanish knight tells how young Alarcos won his knight's spurs. The second storyteller, the French knight, tells how Alarcos

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[38] [J. H. Ingraham] "Biographical Sketches of Living American Poets and Novelists. No. IV. William Gilmore Simms, Esq.," Southern Literary Messenger, 4 (August, 1838), 535.

[39] J. H. Ingraham, "Tales of the Knights of Seven Lands; A Series of Romanceros of Chivalry. Tale the First; Being the Story of Don Fernando De Valor," Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion, 2 (September, 1842), 126-132; "The Story of the Sieur Louis De Linant," (October, 1842), 145-151; "The Story of the Sieur Louis De Linant, Concluded. Showing How the Princess Beatriz Avenged Herself, for the Treachery of the Count Alarcos," (November, 1842), 199-205; "The Tale of Rother De Ernest, the German Knight," (December, 1842), 254-259; "The Story of Pier Farnese, the Venetian Knight," 3 (January, 1843), 38-41.

ignored his bethrothed wife and married another. A problem arises since the bethrothed is the daughter of the King. The King tells Alarcos to murder his wife; Alarcos does. The German knight tells the third tale, and the fourth, that of the Venetian knight, is unfinished because the periodical ceased publication before the story and series were completed. These four tales, with the addition of two others, were published in 1845 as The Knights of Seven Lands (Boston: F. Gleason). The volume contains only six tales, not the promised seven. Ingraham miscounted, for the award for the best story is given at the conclusion of the sixth tale. One other tale of chivalry appeared in Godey's Lady's Book, and it is as full of valor, heroics, and blood as the others.[40] It is not surprising that Ingraham, as romantically inclined as he was, wrote such tales, but they are not as effective as his more contemporary romances. It is obvious that the author strained too much to achieve the results he wished, for the tales are stilted in language and are too serious to win much favor with readers who thought that chivalry involved more lightness, more tales of fair ladies, and less bloodshed.

Another area in which Ingraham was less than signally successful was poetry. The Professor wrote at least eight poems for periodicals,[41]

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[40] J. H. Ingraham, "The 'Black Knight's Ride;' or, Clare of Cleaves; A Legend of the Castle of Ehrenbreitstein," Godey's Lady's Book, 21 (September, 1840), 97-107.

[41] If we could believe Jacob Blanck, Bibliography of American Literature, 4 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 463, Ingraham wrote nine poems. Blanck says "T'Is Merry to Hear at Evening Time," a song printed in Burton (1838), is by Ingraham. It is not; a footnote to the song in the novel clearly states that the poem was written by someone else.

and he penned several lines of poetry for a few of his novels as did Sir Walter Scott. Of the periodical pieces with which we are presently concerned, only one bears much close scrutiny.

"Lines to the Bunker-Hill Monument" is perhaps Ingraham's best poem.

> There stand, fair column of enduring rock,—
> Thy brow in heaven, thy foot upon the height
> Which erst did reel beneath the fearful shock
> Of charging squadrons and the rushing fight!
> Temple of freemen, lift thy head on high!
> Beacon for the oppress'd in every clime;
> Eternal soar towards the arching sky,
> Braving the lightnings and the shafts of time!
> And, long as thou in pillared pride shall stand,
> May Peace and Art beneath thy shadow rest;
> May war, that made thee, cease in ev'ry land,
> And all the borders of our shores be blest!
> And, long as men, in awe, shall gaze on thee,
> May thy stern finger silent tell the story
> That where thou standest, there did Liberty
> Seal, in her blood, Columbia's deathless glory.[42]

This sixteen-line poem, consisting of four quatrains, was written to commemorate the erection of the Bunker Hill monument at Boston. The monument was completed in 1843, very shortly after Ingraham printed his poem, and commemorated the June 17, 1775, Revolutionary War battle that was fought there.[43] Lines two through four indicate deft use of run-on lines. The monument is personified as a "Temple" and as a "Beacon"; as long as it stands "in pillared pride" the author hopes war will cease.

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[42]J. H. Ingraham, "Lines to the Bunker-Hill Monument," Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion, 2 (1842), 187.

[43]James D. Hart, The Oxford Companion to American Literature (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 117-118.

Other Ingraham poems are largely derivative. "The Raritan" is an effusion addressed to the Raritan River in New Jersey.[44] The poem employs the concept of mutability by noting how time has changed the speaker but not the eternal river. While "The Raritan" reminds one of Wordsworth in its expressed love for the river, "The Old Mansion"[45] sounds as if the author had borrowed some ideas from Oliver Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village." "The Old Mansion" tells the tale of a fine old house where children and families lived, played, and loved; it burned after the last inhabitants died. "Human Life" is also on the theme of mutability; the poem indicates that all people, no matter what their rank, are "to one fate consigned."[46]

Ingraham realized he was not a good poet. He lamented in an 1841 letter to publisher George Roberts that "alas! the Muses have not blessed me!"[47] He was right. His inflated diction and derivative subject matter would not have won him many new readers. Ingraham even wrote a story about the bleak future a poet has to look forward to. "The Poet's Curse; or, 'We Shall Be Rich To-Morrow'" appeared in 1844 in

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[44]Professor Ingraham, "The Raritan," American Melodies, ed. George P. Morris (New York: Linen and Fennell [1841]), pp. 130-131.

[45]J.H.I., "The Old Mansion," Ladies' Companion, 20 (December, 1842), 70-72.

[46]Professor Ingraham, "Human Life," Portland Transcript, December 2, 1837, p. 272.

[47]Letter, Ingrahame to George Roberts, July 10, 1841.

the Professor's most frequent periodical outlet—the Ladies' Companion.[48] A penniless poet, Edward Cameron, is searching for a publisher in a cold Boston November. He desperately needs money to buy medicine for his dying wife. Finally he is asked by a wealthy patent pill manufacturer to write a poem praising his pills. Edward is to deliver the poem the next day and be paid, but the manufacturer refuses to give the poet any money in advance. Edward is so desperate and his wife so sick that he writes his father for money. His wife dies during the night, and Edward goes mad; he now raves and writes in a madhouse. Several poor poets appear in the Professor's fiction, and their fates are seldom better than Edward Cameron's.

Some of the more interesting tales that Ingraham contributed to the Ladies' Companion were stories of weird, unexplained happenings or ghost stories. The most pleasant of these is "An Evening at Buccleuch Hall; or, The Grenadier's Ghost."[49] Buccleuch Hall, in its youth, was the headquarters of several British generals during the Revolutionary War. Now, around seventy years later, a retired American colonel lives there and chooses a stormy night to relate his tale of the grenadier's ghost which he had seen three years earlier. The colonel relates how, at the final stroke of midnight, he heard a heavy step descending the

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[48] J. H. Ingraham, "The Poet's Curse; or, 'We Shall Be Rich Tomorrow,' Part I," Ladies' Companion, NS 1 (September, 1844), 244-247; "Part II," (October, 1844), 278-282.

[49] [J. H. Ingraham] "An Evening at Buccleuch Hall; or, The Grenadier's Ghost. A Tale of the Old Stair Head Clock," Ladies' Companion, 17 (August, 1842), 166-171. Future references are parenthetical.

hall stairs. Soon the remains of a melancholy British grenadier captain march into the room and refill his rusty camp lantern with oil.

> 'What would'st thou further, dread spectre from the tombs?' I demanded, my blood curdling in my veins as I did so. With his skeleton finger still extended towards the table, he replied in a deep sepulchral voice,
> 'Wine.' (p. 170)

After a few glasses of port the ghost becomes extremely sociable and requests a cigar but is offered a meerschaum pipe instead. He tells the colonel that he will tell him where some buried treasure is located in the mansion, but, before the grenadier can relate his story, the clock strikes one, and the ghost ascends the stairs and becomes the old hall clock. "'The only difference I could see, was, that I thought the full moon face [of the clock] looked a little more ruddy than usual, as if it had been indulging freely in old port.'" (p. 171) This tale of a thirsty ghost is more often amusing than scary and can easily remind one of the quietly humorous tales of Washington Irving.

Another story, and one with a bit more mystery to it, is "The Green Huntsman; or, The Haunted Villa. A Christmas Legend of Louisiana."[50] The tale opens on Christmas Eve at a festival that is not only a seasonal party but the wedding night of Henride Claviere and his bethrothed Ephèse. The night is also Ephèse's birthday. Suddenly a nearby haunted villa begins to burn, but it is not consumed, and a large tongue of green flame keeps leaping into the air. Don Antonio Baradas

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[50] J.H.I., "The Green Huntsman; or, The Haunted Villa. A Christmas Legend of Louisiana," Ladies' Companion, 15 (June, 1841), 69-74.

offers to explain what this mysterious event means. He tells of an evil, ugly, and rich Spaniard, Don Rolando Osormo, who was hunting for a bride that would be both perfectly beautiful and perfectly blind. He kidnaps a beautiful nun he thinks is blind. He soon discovers, however, that she can see. A dwarf with a single green eye appears to Osormo and says he will blind the lady without destroying her beauty; the dwarf's payment for this deed is to be the souls of any children they may have. Osormo agrees; his wife is blinded, and the couple has seven beautiful daughters, each born on a Christmas Eve.

When the first daughter turns eighteen, she has a birthday party on Christmas Eve, a night which is also to be her wedding night. On that night a tall, dark stranger dressed in green appears, tells Osormo he has come for the daughter, and leaves with her. After he loses five daughters, Osormo comes to America and builds the haunted mansion, and there, in spite of everything, he loses his sixth daughter to the dark stranger. Midnight now comes to our group of guests, and Baradas takes Ephèse, the seventh daughter, and rides into the haunted villa. As he rides, he changes into a dwarf. Ingraham promised a sequel to this tale, but one was never published. These two stories of unexplained happenings are well-developed and cohesive. They tell just enough to keep the reader in suspense, and, though the characters may be regarded as stock, they are believable. The Professor could be a compelling storyteller at times.

Another group of Ladies' Companion pieces were tales with a decidedly moral slant. The modern reader will have very little patience

with these tales, though the nineteenth-century reader must have enjoyed them. Ingraham wrote several. In "The Lottery Ticket," avarice and liquor drew Donald Fay to destruction.[51] Donald was a good and industrious farmer, but, on a trip to sell his produce in New York, he is soon talked into getting drunk. While drunk, he buys a lottery ticket, something he later realizes is very sinful. His avarice, however, will not allow him to destroy the ticket; he wins five hundred dollars and is led to buy tickets for a steady two years of losing. His wife dies of a broken heart; his child is adopted by others, and Donald is eventually decapitated by a train. Moral: Do not buy lottery tickets or drink liquor.

One of the most preposterous of Ingraham's moral tales is "Harvey Ross," a story about the evils of chewing tobacco.[52] Harvey Ross is an excellent blacksmith near New Rochelle, New York; he has a beautiful wife, Ruth, and five fine children. Harvey is rising in the esteem of everyone, but he has one bad habit: he chews tobacco. Harvey knows he is a sinner, but he cannot quit:

> "I confess the use of tobacco is very foolish, very useless, and I think [it] is injurious to the system. I don't see how you can bear to have me come near you [Ruth]! but it is only endurance,

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[51] J.H.I., "The Lottery Ticket," Ladies' Companion, 18 (April, 1843), 273-279.

[52] [J. H. Ingraham] "Harvey Ross; or, The Smithy of 'The Echo Road.' A Tale of a Tobacco Chewer," Ladies' Companion, NS 1 (May, 1844), 11-17; "The Tobacco-Chewer's Temptation; or, The First Lie. Being Part Second to Harvey Ross," (June, 1844), 59-64; "The Judgement; or, Hope in Despair. The Sequel to the Tobacco-Chewer. A Tale for the People," (August, 1844), 173-180.

for no woman of taste and sensibility can like it. It is a vile habit, Ruth."

"Then why don't you give it up, Harvey; I am sure I should be glad of it; and so would my poor floors."[53]

Harvey does not quit, however, and one Sunday morning he makes the horrible discovery that he is out of tobacco. After church he asks a dissipated neighbor, Besley, if he has a quid to spare. Besley does not and has a few discourteous things to say to the highly moral Harvey. On his way home from the services, Harvey picks up a cigar butt and joyously places it in his mouth. But the cigar soon disintegrates, and Harvey is so miserable that he snaps at his wife for the first time in his life. "Like a man parched with thirst, whose visions and thoughts are all of cool fountains, gushing water, his were filled with the subject of his unnatural and guilty craving."[54] To satisfy his desire, Harvey decides to break the Sabbath by going to town and buying a quid at the local tavern. He buys his quid and is talked into taking one drink. Harvey is horror-stricken at his sins and runs from the tavern. He soon falls upon the earth and writhes in mental agony with the consciousness of his fall. His wife Ruth finds him and tells him their eldest son is ill. Harvey gets the doctor, but the boy dies, and Harvey is sure that "this illness had been sent as a judgement upon him,"[55] and curses God for that judgment. Harvey decides to commit suicide but is

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[53][Ingraham] "Harvey Ross," p. 14.

[54][Ingraham] "The Tobacco-Chewer's Temptation," p. 60.

[55][Ingraham] "The Judgement," p. 177.

saved by a minister and prays to God for forgiveness. From that time Harvey became a better man, and he no longer chewed tobacco. While this tale would certainly not be popular with today's audience, its type was not unknown in Ingraham's time. Even though the tale is not new as a type, the sin—chewing tobacco—is at least somewhat of a new slant taken toward the old idea that man is a sinful creature and that Christ could help. Ingraham was moving by slow degrees back to the thought that he might become a minister, a step he took three years later.

The three installments of Harvey Ross's tale were part of the thirty-five diverse pieces Ingraham contributed to the Ladies' Companion between 1839 and 1844. These thirty-five pieces were printed in fifty-seven issues, making the Ladies' Companion his best periodical customer by a great margin. In comparison, the Symbol, and Odd Fellow's Magazine, Ingraham's second-best customer, accepted only eleven pieces in 1844 and 1845, the majority of them coming after the demise of the Ladies' Companion. Of all the moral tales that the Professor wrote, the majority appeared in the Symbol, and, because of this fact, we suspect that they were written to the periodical's specifications. Omitting the travel sketches, only one other periodical published a group of tales so closely related thematically; these were the historical tales contributed to the United States Magazine.

The first tale contributed to the Symbol, in June, 1844, was signed "J. H. Ingraham." All the ones after that were signed "Bro. J. H. Ingraham" giving rise to the speculation that the Professor joined the Order of Odd Fellows. That he understood the benevolent principles

of the order may be seen through his 1846 novelette The Odd Fellow[56] as well as from the Symbol stories.

One Symbol story that deals with the principles of the Order is "Emma Linden, or the Countersign."[57] Charles Linden, a wealthy merchant, bows to a carpenter on the street one day and his snobbish wife Emma is incensed that he should condescend to notice a person of a lower class. Charles explains that the carpenter is an Odd Fellow, and his wife dislikes the Order even more since it places on a common level two such different classes of society. She presses Charles for "the secret" of the Lodge, but he keeps silent. Three weeks later, Charles and Emma are out of town on vacation, and he is seriously injured in an accident. He is nursed for a month by Odd Fellows, and Emma agrees never to speak ill of the group again. The moral is as obvious as it is predictable. There are several other tales about the Order with the same theme.

Since Ingraham's novels for this period (1844-1845) do not reflect an unusual drift toward highly moral tales, we may be reasonably sure that the Symbol tales were written to specification. We know of only one tale, however, that was definitely written to order. "The Young Artist," a tale contributed to Godey's Lady's Book,[58] was written

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[56]J. H. Ingraham, The Odd Fellow, or, the Secret Association, and Foraging Peter (Boston: United States Publishing Co., 1846).

[57]J. H. Ingraham, "Emma Linden, or the Countersign," Symbol, and Odd Fellow's Magazine, 3 (July, 1844), 219-224.

[58]J. H. Ingraham, "The Young Artist. A Story. Suggested by Mount's Picture of 'The Painter's Study,' in the Possession of Edward L. Carey, Esq. Part First," Godey's Lady's Book, 20 (February, 1840), 81-85; (March, 1840), 113-119.

to illustrate a painting owned by publisher Edward Carey. The Professor wrote Carey that he was enclosing

> the Ms of the Tale written by me, at your request, To illustrate the painting by Mount, which I saw at your residence, when in Philadelphia.
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> . . . . . .
>
> It is, you are doubtless aware, one of the most difficult parts of authorship To write to a painting, weaving it into a story of romance; and the chances are ten to one for a failure on his part who attempts it.[59]

The tale does not have a stated moral. It is the story of a sixteen-year old artist who meets with ignorance and prejudice as he begins his career but who perseveres to win fame and the hand of his faithful sweetheart. The story is not a success, for it is full of cliches. Artist Henry Irvine is talented and misunderstood. Davy Dow is his loyal friend while Mary Elizabeth Odlin is his faithful girl who waits for seven years while Henry is away making a name for himself. The villain of the piece is Dominie Spankie, the aptly named tyrannical schoolmaster who plys his oaken ferule to Henry once too often. The tale was popular enough, however, to be reprinted with another novelette in 1846.[60]

The most successful group of Ingraham's periodical contributions are those stories and legends that have as their basis some event or individual in America's history. These stories owe some of their interest, it is true, to their quasi-historical background, but the

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[59]Letter, Ingrahame to Edward Carey, April 6, 1839.

[60]J. H. Ingraham, The Young Artist, and the Bold Insurgent (Boston: United States Publishing Co., 1846).

Professor's ability to hold his reader is by no means based solely on the reader's interest in history.

"The Village Prize," published in The Portland Sketch Book in 1836,[61] was the Professor's first published story. The Portland Sketch Book was a volume composed of contributions from native Portland, Maine, authors. Ingraham's tale, a legend of George Washington, appeared beside works by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Seba Smith, and Nathaniel Parker Willis among others. The story was reprinted in The American Lounger (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1839) as "The Mysterious Leaper."

The American Lounger was one of two Ingraham short story collections. Both present us with problems in the sense that we can locate where some of the tales were originally published but not all of them; we could assume that all the stories were previously published, but we cannot prove it. We have located prior publication of four of fourteen tales in The American Lounger; future work may uncover more, but, as we have noted, we do not know all the publications in which the Professor published and may never know. The second collection, The Spectre Steamer,[62] contains twelve stories, nine of which were definitely published elsewhere. Both collections contain stories based in American history or legend as well as other types of tales.

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[61]Joseph Ingraham, "The Village Prize," The Portland Sketch Book, ed. Ann S. Stephens (Portland: Colman & Chisholm, 1836), 126-134.

[62]J. H. Ingraham, The Spectre Steamer, and Other Tales (Boston: United States Publishing Company, 1846).

A major group of tales based in American history was published in the pages of the United States Magazine, and Democratic Review. Three "Romance[s] of American History" were published in four issues from February, 1838, to November, 1839. The first of these was "The Charter, An Historical Tale of Connecticut."[63] The story begins in 1668 as Sir Edmund Andros is leading a band of soldiers to Hartford to demand the Connecticut Charter from the residents. Andros plans to get the Charter with the help of Helen Pierpont who is going to steal it for her lover. But Catharine Wyllys hears the two plotting and switches the Charter for another roll of parchment. With the "Charter" in hand, Andros takes his troops to the town's council hall and demands the Charter he thinks he already has from Governor Robert Treat. Andros is refused, declares himself Governor, and produces his "Charter" which proves to be an Indian deed to hunting grounds. Andros' "proud and confident manner changed, not to one of mortification and disappointment, but to one of vindictive rage. He gnashed his teeth; crumpled the parchment in his hand; flung it to the earth and ground it with his heel." (p. 349) Catharine's lover has put the Charter in the base of a hollow oak tree, and Andros never gets it though he does take over the colony.

The purpose of "The Charter," as Ingraham notes, was "to combine healthy instruction with that entertainment, which all are bound to

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[63] [J. H. Ingraham] "The Charter, An Historical Tale of Connecticut," United States Magazine, and Democratic Review, 1 (February, 1838), 330-354. Future references are parenthetical.

expect in a work of fiction." (p. 354) The comment might well be taken as an Ingraham credo; the idea of entertaining as well as giving instruction or a moral is found in some degree in all his novels. The instruction is sometimes oblique, but that is really preferable to ending a tale with a stated precept. The characters in "The Charter" are familiar. Andros and Helen are the dark villainous characters, and Catharine is the fair-haired heroine. We may consider Andros a Byronic hero-villain for his attachment to Helen; his villainous side becomes more apparent after he receives the Charter. We often meet the same types of characters in a periodical tale that we find in a novel, and we may note that one of the main differences between Ingraham's periodical contributions and his novels is length and development.

The Professor's next "Romance of American History" was a tale that was obviously quite popular, for it was reprinted several times during his life. "West Point.—A Tale of Treason" appeared in the Democratic Review in November and December of 1838.[64] "West Point" is the tale of the treachery of Benedict Arnold and was dramatized by Joseph Breck in 1840.[65] It was reprinted in the Ladies' Companion

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[64] [J. H. Ingraham] "Romance of American History.—No. II. West Point.—A Tale of Treason," United States Magazine, and Democratic Review, 3 (November, 1838), 235-251; (December, 1838), 334-356.

[65] Joseph Breck, West Point; or A Tale of Treason, An Historical Drama, in Three Acts [Baltimore: Bull and Tuttle, 1840].

in 1842 as "Arnold; or, the British Spy. A Tale of Treachery and Treason"[66] and printed separately in 1844.[67]

The story begins as Arnold prepares to meet Major John André who has come to make the final negotiations with him before allowing the British to take the American fort at West Point. For him Arnold reviews his reasons for turning traitor:

> "I can read the meaning of your glance, Major André," said Arnold, slightly coloring, "and appreciate your estimation of me in relation to the part I am about to act. . . . I am prepared to meet the scorn and contempt of gentlemen, so that the personal feelings that I have in this matter are gratified. Major André, I am an injured man! I have repeatedly fought for, and five times shed my blood in defence of, my country, and she has rewarded me, not only with contumely and neglect, but with open insult. . . . When I resolved to repay my country for the wrongs she had loaded me with, it only remained to decide the best means of doing it, so that I could bring about advantage to myself as well as injury to the cause I was about to desert."[68]

Arnold gives André the plans of West Point, discovers that his treachery is about to be uncovered, and escapes. André is captured and hanged as a spy despite the fact that several believe he was simply the victim of circumstances.

"West Point" is one of the few Ingraham tales without a love plot. The story is built around Arnold and André, and the rapid pace

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[66] J.H.I., "Arnold; or, The British Spy. A Tale of Treachery and Treason," Ladies' Companion, 17 (May, 1842), 57-65; (June, 1842), 76-82.

[67] J. H. Ingraham, Arnold: or The British Spy! A Tale of Treason and Treachery (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844). The tale was reprinted in 1847 as The Treason of Arnold. A Tale of West Point. During the American Revolution (Jonesville, Mass.: James M. Barnes, 1847).

[68] [J. H. Ingraham] "West Point," United States Magazine, and Democratic Review, 3 (November, 1838), 248-249.

seldom flags. Arnold is believable as the traitor, though André is a bit too much the soul of honor. Given a chance to escape from the Americans, he refuses. Breck's dramatization of "West Point" is similarly well done; it is one of the two surviving dramas based on an Ingraham tale. Breck's contribution to the story was minimal as he himself acknowledged in an introductory note to the drama: "The dramatist of 'West Point' claims but little originality in this composition. His chief merit consists in adapting a well written tale to dramatic representation."[69] Except for the stage directions and the prologue and epilogue in couplets, Breck followed Ingraham so closely that he lifted verbatim most of the speeches in the novel. The Professor was probably quite pleased with Breck's work.

One final tale based on American history was quite popular. "The Bold Insurgent. A Tale of the Year 1675" was published in the Ladies' Companion.[70] "The Bold Insurgent" is a story of the rebellion of Colonel Nathaniel Bacon in Virginia in 1675. Bacon tried to get a commission from Sir William Berkeley, governor of the colony, to lead men against the Indians who were pillaging the frontier. Berkeley, however, was engaged in profitable trading with the Indians and refused the request. Bacon and his men marched against the Indians anyway and

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[69] Breck, p. 2.

[70] [J. H. Ingraham] "The Bold Insurgent. A Tale of the Year 1675," Ladies' Companion, 17 (August, 1842), 219-228. Future references are parenthetical. This tale was reprinted twice: in Arnold; or the British Spy! A Tale of Treason and Treachery (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844), and in The Young Artist and the Bold Insurgent (Boston: United States Publishing Co., 1846).

was declared a traitor for his pains. Berkeley saw that the young cavalier was popular and tried to disguise his hatred of the Virginian by promising him the commission he wanted while secretly issuing an order for his arrest. Bacon saw through Berkeley's plot, burned the capital city of Jamestown, and died soon after "from the effects of poison rubbed upon his saddle by the Indian Cineca" (p. 227)—an interesting method of murder.

This tale is primarily interesting as an exciting account of an historical occurrence. One critic of the Rebellion has pointed out that Ingraham drew from several historical sources for his treatment of Bacon, that the Professor did not always give credit to his sources, and that he departed from them when it suited his dramatic purposes.[71] Several writers have compared the Rebellion to the Revolutionary War, but, the critic claims, Ingraham does not.[72] Ingraham does indeed draw the parallel, but he does not develop it. The Professor writes "It is a coincidence worthy of remark, that this rebellion in Virginia took place precisely one hundred years before that of the thirteen colonies." (p. 227) Had Ingraham developed the parallel, his story might be more interesting, but, for him, "the real quintessence of the uprising lay in its dramatization of the spirit of the Virginia Cavaliers,"[73] of the spirit of the noble and honorable men that were among the first settlers of Virginia.

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[71]Wilber Henry Ward, "Bacon's Rebellion in Literature to 1861," Diss. University of Tennessee 1971, p. 182.

[72]Ward, pp. 181, 185.

[73]Ward, p. 185.

Besides tales based in American history, we have seen that Ingraham produced a wide variety of contributions to many periodicals and that they varied widely in terms of worth. He penned moral tales, supernatural stories, poems, chivalric narratives, pieces of literary criticism, yarns of the sea, brief humorous anecdotes, and travel sketches. Some contributions, like an historical survey of walking canes[74] or an essay on the will,[75] do not fall into particular categories. One final area of the Professor's periodical work may be distinguished—the autobiographical. "Secrets of the Cells"[76] and "The Midnight Guest,"[77] both autobiographical pieces, appeared during Ingraham's years as a minister.

"Secrets of the Cells" is a slightly romanticized retelling of the Professor's work at the Tennessee State Penitentiary from 1848 to 1851, the years he was studying for the ministry. While Ingraham may have romanticized the virtues of some of the prisoners and the reasons for their appearing in the penitentiary, most of the romanticism found in "Secrets" is rhetorical. Ingraham noted that the prison

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[74][J. H. Ingraham] "An Essay on Canes," The American Lounger; or, Tales, Sketches, and Legends Gathered in Sundry Journeyings (Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard, 1839), 143-156.

[75][J. H. Ingraham] "The Link of Union, Between Mind and Matter.—An Essay," Ladies' Companion, 20 (February, 1844), 178-181.

[76]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Secrets of the Cells:—or—Leaves from My Diary," Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, 8 (March 17, 1855), 162-164; (March 24, 1855), 178-179; (March 31, 1855), 194-195; (April 7, 1855), 210-211; (April 14, 1855), 226-227; (April 21, 1855), 242-243.

[77]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "The Midnight Guest," Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, 8 (June 2, 1855), 342-343.

was a gangrene, a blot upon the fair earth!

"There, within the compass of the four sides of those confining walls," I reflected, "are imprisoned two hundred or more of God's immortal creatures—man created in his image and destined for a life beyond the tomb that runs parallel in duration with that of the everlasting angels! There, shut out from the homes, from the hearts, from the thoughts of the world, exiled from the bosom of society and outcast from their fellow men, as if they were brutes, and men no longer, are two hundred persons, who, though fiends of crime now, it may be, were once innocent babes, all of them."[78]

The Professor first became aware of the prison through the work detail that was quarrying stone for the state capitol building. He became interested in the men and decided to visit the prison where he saw Dorothea Dix just ending an inspection. Ingraham found two areas in which he could help the lot of the prisoners and went to work with enthusiasm. He became convinced that one of the causes of crime was lack of education; over half of the two hundred inmates could not read. Through his efforts, sixty-seven men were taught to read.[79] He also discovered that though the men did not work on Sundays, they were confined to their cells. They had no minister and no church services. They hated the Sabbath because they could not even get out of their cells for exercise. Ingraham talked Warden McIntosh into letting him read the Bible to and talk with the prisoners on Sunday though he was not yet ordained or licensed to preach. The Professor won the respect

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[78]"Secrets of the Cells," 8 (March 17, 1855), 162.

[79]"Secrets of the Cells," (April 7, 1855), p. 210. Ingraham said in his 1850 annual report to the Diocese (Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Second Annual Convention of the Clergy and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Tennessee, Held in Saint Paul's Church, Franklin, on the 3d, 4th, 5th, and 6th of July, MDCCCL [Columbia, Tennessee: Mitchell and Rainey, 1850], p. 24) that he had taught about thirty men to read. He either doubled the number in the next year or was exaggerating.

of the men, and, through his efforts, thirty men were eventually confirmed.[80] He was also instrumental in passing a state law providing for a permanent minister to be assigned to the prison. Ingraham provided several descriptions of individual prisoners and described the heroic actions of some during a cholera epidemic. He left Nashville and his work there in 1851 to accept his first parish assignment.

During his first parish assignment in Mississippi he experienced an incident that formed the basis for his second and final autobiographical essay. "The Midnight Guest" tells the tale of a young man who steals the silver from St. Mark's African Chapel near Oklona. Ingraham himself delivers a check for one thousand dollars to get the plate back, and he assures his reader that the thief doubtless came to a bad end, "for unparalleled wickedness, such as his, soon comes to the end of its tether."[81]

That Ingraham published other material in periodicals not mentioned here is undoubted. He tells us at the end of La Bonita Cigarera (1844) that the novel and its sequel Herman De Ruyter were published in the Yankee.[82] He is probably referring to the New York Weekly Yankee, copies of which are no longer extant for the period.[83]

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[80] Ibid.

[81] "The Midnight Guest," p. 343.

[82] J. H. Ingraham, La Bonita Cigarera; or, the Beautiful Cigar Vender. A Tale of New York (Boston: "Yankee" Office, 1844), p. 48.

[83] Gregory, p. 482.

We have mentioned several periodical pieces that were later published separately ("West Point," "The Young Artist," "The Bold Insurgent"), and there were surely others.

We will most probably never be able to compile a definitive listing of Ingraham's periodical publications when we do not know all the sources and when some of those we know of no longer exist. Such a listing would probably not add greatly to the Professor's stature since the basic types of his contributions have been mentioned and since, after a while, the reader will realize that more work will reap no benefits. The "law of diminishing returns" sets in after one has done much reading in Ingraham's short pieces; the more one reads the more he is convinced that his effort is largely wasted. Ingraham's sins as a periodical writer are many. He padded some works, used inflated diction in some others. He seldom delivered a complete characterization and often left the impression that his work could have been better developed. He wrote many moral tales, and several of these and others employed stock characters who behaved in predictable ways. We can understand why Ingraham wrote these tales—he needed the money—but that reason does not soften our judgment of them.

Ingraham's prolific periodical contributions mark him as a pioneer in the field, and he is worthy of note for historical reasons if for nothing else. But the fact is that some of his contributions are good enough to deserve anthologizing by future historians of the period. "Travelling for Pleasure," "The Quadroon of Orleans," "Mrs. Nicholas Muggs," "An Evening at Buccleuch Hall," and "West Point" are readable

pieces that display Ingraham's periodical work at his best and might well find readers again if they were reprinted. Ingraham wrote many different things to suit a wide variety of tastes and though we must record that the majority of his work is best left unread, the Professor could write entertainingly as these examples illustrate. This prolific pioneer of periodical contributions deserves mention if not extended analysis, and given a chance, some of his better pieces might slowly return from oblivion.

CHAPTER IV

FIVE YEARS AND EIGHTY NOVELS

From 1842 through 1847 Ingraham produced at least eighty novels. These novels were published in paper covers and ranged in length from thirty to over one hundred finely printed double-columned pages. The main printers of these novels were Edward P. and Henry L. Williams of Boston, who issued books under several imprints—E. P. Williams, Edward P. Williams, H. L. Williams, Henry L. Williams, Williams, Williams and Brothers, Williams Brothers, and the "Yankee" Office—from their Congress Street address. Perhaps because many of these five years were spent in the North, Ingraham would often use the settings of metropolitan Boston, New York, or Philadelphia for some of the action; novels based in the South for this period are few.

Of the stories Ingraham wrote during this period, the largest number were tales of the sea and of pirates. Stories of the city or of the differences in the city and the country made up the second largest group. There were also tales of the "American Dream," stories of poor boys reaching for success. Narratives of the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812 were penned. The Professor wrote a few novels to illustrate the various social ills he had observed in America, and there were tales without American settings. Most of the novels have a love story for a main plot or subplot, but they do not all have happy endings.

Ingraham was unhappy when he was required to pare his novels down considerably in order to get them published. Many of the novels, in fact, seem to have been limited to ten chapters like The Dancing Feather,[1] the first of the eighty. Morris Graeme, the sequel to The Dancing Feather, has an introduction that indicates the author's feelings:

> It was the original intention of the author of the "Dancing Feather" to have extended that work to fifty chapters, or the usual length of a novel of two volumes. But the editor of the paper to whom it was communicated in weekly numbers, requested, after six chapters had been published, that it should be limited to ten chapters. This desire of the publisher the author complied with, though with injury both to the plot and the harmonious construction of the Romance.[2]

Statements like this one are printed in over a dozen novels; perhaps such statements were intended to forestall criticism of the author's lack of "harmonious construction" in these romances.

Since Ingraham had to abbreviate his novels and because he rebelled against such shortening, his works are very often uneven in development. Typically, a novel will move along at a relatively even pace until the last chapter when a crowded conclusion will occur so

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[1]J. H. Ingraham, The Dancing Feather, or the Amateur Freebooters [Boston: G. Roberts, 1842]. Future references are parenthetical. All Ingraham titles in the following footnotes bear his name as it was used on the volume involved. His name appeared in different forms—some with "Professor" affixed, some without. A few volumes used only his last name, and several others were issued anonymously. It is interesting to note the differences in the title pages, for, as indicated, the same firm printed most of his work.

[2]Professor Ingraham, Morris Graeme: or, The Cruise of the Sea-Slipper. A Sequel to the Dancing Feather. A Tale of the Land and the Sea (Boston: E. P. Williams, 1843), p. 3.

suddenly that the reader will be aware that the work could have been better planned.

We must admit that the novels of the period were written too hurriedly and with little or no revision. Typographical errors abound. There are even a few instances in which the name of the heroine changed in the course of a novel. Both Ingraham and his printers must share the blame for these avoidable annoyances.

The number of the novels and the frequency of their publication were factors that explain why they were generally ignored by the critics. Another reason might be that, after a while, the novels began to appear very similar because the Professor was stretching his limited talent too thin and reusing some of the same plots as well as character types. An Ingraham novel of this period like Rafael[3] typically begins with a panorama of a certain scene. The characters are then introduced with several paragraphs of description before the action begins. The action progresses for a chapter or two, and then it switches back to a time prior to the present action to explain how the current state of affairs came about. After a few chapters of this delayed antecedent action, the story returns to its present time and moves swiftly through a climax to a conclusion.

To this often predictable, though unorthodox, organization Ingraham would add one-dimensional character types that soon became familiar. All his heroes and heroines have "the finest symmetrical

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[3]Professor Ingraham, Rafael: or, the Twice Condemned. A Tale of Key West (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1845).

proportions."[4] The men are young, proud, tall, well-proportioned, and have black or brown hair. The description of Charles Blackford is typical:

> He was about twenty-two years of age, and . . . was of manly height and person. His forehead was high, white, blue-veined, and shaded with short brown hair. . . . The features were regular and strong. . . . His eyes were large and full of intellect, and the shape and fixedness of the mouth gave indication of energy, which the pervading softness of the eye qualified with the promise of great sensibility. The general expression of his face . . . was that of a frank and generous, but sensitive and proud spirit.[5]

The women are less tall, young, physically well-rounded, and have either black or brown hair. Biddy Woodhull of Biddy Woodhull is typical:

> She was just seventeen and a perfect rustic beauty! Her hair was a dark brown, and curled beautifully all about her brows and adown her rounded neck. Her eyes were black and piercing, in the depths of which love unfledged, lay covert. Her lips were pliant coral, richly contrasting the beautiful setting of her pearly teeth which were displayed by the brightest and most beaming smile in the world—a smile that emanated from a glad pure heart and bold brow—and bright was the sun of the soul within to shine forth so radiantly upon the face. . . . all the charms of womanhood were ripening in her person—the eloquent eye, the modest walk, the subdued smile, with the sweetly full bust, and rounded waist, and symmetrical foot, all betrayed that the spring of womanhood was just deepening into the warm and glowing summer. . . . She was a girl of good sense, but of a high spirit.[6]

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[4]J. H. Ingraham, Estelle: or, the Conspirator of the Isle. A Tale of the West Indian Seas (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1845).

[5]J. H. Ingraham, Charles Blackford. Or, The Adventures of a Student in Search of a Profession (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1845), p. 4. Future references are parenthetical.

[6]J. H. Ingraham, Biddy Woodhull; or the Pretty Haymaker (Boston: E. P. Williams, 1844), p. 4. Future references are parenthetical.

In their detail and length these portraits of a hero and a heroine are also typical of the Professor.

If the characters are morally good, they are almost perfect. Henry Hayward of The Dancing Feather endures starvation and deprivation rather than join a group of pirates that have plenty of money to spend. If a character is immoral, he will come to a bad end, particularly if he has experimented with sex like Walter Blake of Eleanor Sherwood.[7] A few characters like Richard Berkeley of Berkeley,[8] however, are allowed to reform if they have not become sexually knowledgeable.

To these almost stereotyped characters are added other stock characters that appear in various novels. Male Jews, for instance, when they are employed, are always depicted as sharp-nosed moneylenders—as is Jacob Goldschnapp in The Gipsy of the Highlands.[9] Goldschnapp was a

> small, thin man, about fifty years of age. . . . His head was large . . . and covered with thick, black hair, slightly mixed with gray. He forehead was high and retreating, and his eyebrows arched. His dark eyes were narrow-lidded and almond-shaped, and were restless and sharp. His nose was long, high set, and curving over the upper lip like the beak of an eagle. He had a heavy beard, which was shaved only about the mouth, which feature was thin-lipped, and expressive of avarice. A black, oily, silk cap was stuck on the top of his head, the tassel of which dangled over his left ear. (p. 17)

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[7] [J. H. Ingraham] Eleanor Sherwood, the Beautiful Temptress! [Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844].

[8] J. H. Ingraham, Berkeley; or, the Lost and Redeemed. A Novel (Boston: Henry L. Williams, 1846).

[9] J. H. Ingraham, The Gipsy of the Highlands or, the Jew and the Heir. Being the Adventures of Duncan Powell and Paul Tatnall (Boston: Redding and Co., 1843). Future references are parenthetical.

Negroes appear often as family or body-servants. They are frequently portrayed as dull individuals, but they are usually good people because they are always faithful to their masters. Buttermilk, in The Surf Skiff, is also described as being a "paunch-bellied African Falstaff."[10] Dutchmen appear occasionally in the novels as either soldiers or merchants. One soldier is rotund Slems Van Vow of Leisler.[11] Slems, like most of the Professor's Dutch characters, is rotund, benevolent, and speaks with a heavy dialect. An examination of the varied contexts in which all of these character types appear will illustrate that Ingraham used plot types as well as character types.

Tales of Pirates and of the Sea

When Ingraham left Harper & Brothers, he had to find another publisher for his works. He sold a pirate tale, The Dancing Feather, to the Boston Notion, and the work began to appear serially in December, 1841.[12] The tale, which appeared separately in 1842, marked the beginning of a new phase in the author's career. It was his first brief novel and the first novel not published by Harper.

The Dancing Feather is a ship manned by amateur pirates who plunder another vessel occasionally so as to be able to live like

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[10]J. H. Ingraham, The Surf Skiff: or, the Heroine of the Kennebec (Boston: Williams Brothers, 1847), p. 24.

[11]J. H. Ingraham, Leisler: or, The Rebel and King's Man. A Tale of the Rebellion of 1689 (Boston: Henry L. Williams, 1846).

[12]Warren Graham French, "A Sketch of the Life of Joseph Holt Ingraham," Journal of Mississippi History, 11 (July, 1949), pp. 160-161.

gentlemen in New York City. The captain of the pirates, George Carleton, explains to one of his victims that

> 'we are all young men who have been educated to be gentlemen without the birth or the fortune to sustain and maintain the rank of such. We entered the world and found it already apportioned to the laborlous [sic] and the useful. We could not, therefore, but carve our fortunes out of it with such instruments as fortune had given us—and these were only our wits. We tried them on honesty, but they grew dull and blunted—we could not starve and mother earth refusing to nourish us, we threw ourselves upon the charity of father Neptune. When he has been generous to us we leave his domain awhile, and live like pleasant gentlemen on shore—till empty purses drive us once more to depend on his bounty. We are but amateur bucaniers!' (p. 30)

The tale concerns the efforts of Morris Graeme, one of the pirates, to talk Henry Hayward, the hero, into joining the group. Henry has come to New York from Harvard and has no money, no job, and no friends. He saves dark-haired Catherine Powell from drowning, and the two fall in love at first sight, but, since Henry is poor, he leaves Catherine after he has rescued her. In his search for a job, Henry meets George Frederick Cooke Sykes, the memorable "'universal genious'" (p. 15) who speaks a comic Shakespearean English and whom Henry sees die of starvation. Henry is jailed for stealing food but is freed after Graeme pays his bill. Graeme again attempts to get Henry to join the crew, but Henry still refuses. He soon falls from hunger and, providentially, is seen by Colonel Powell, Catherine's father. Henry recovers and is married to Catherine. Colonel Powell buys the Dancing Feather after the pirates are dispersed, but the buccaneers steal the ship. Word later comes that the Feather has been sunk in a battle with a Mexican sloop.

In an introduction to Morris Graeme, the sequel to The Dancing Feather, Ingraham explains why he had made several errors in Feather, among them making Graeme captain of the ship at the end of the story and ignoring Carleton. As earlier noted, the Professor had planned that Feather would be fifty chapters long, but when his publisher asked him to limit the tale to ten chapters, he just dropped Carleton. So Captain Carleton, reappearing in Graeme, notes that it was Byron's Corsair that first gave him a thirst to be a sailor. Much of the novel explains how Carleton and Graeme joined forces. The novel shows how Graeme is dispatched by his ex-mistress and how Carleton is eventually captured and shot.

Neither of these two novels is particularly memorable, but they did utilize the characters Ingraham had learned the public was interested in—pirates. Both stories suffer from lack of planning. The only thing that Graeme adds to the story is to give more detail as to how Carleton and Graeme became pirates. The "universal genius" is the only believable character; the others are either too good or too inconsistent for credibility. The Dancing Feather did, however, have enough action and enough love interest to sell twenty thousand copies[13] and to excite some unknown playwright to dramatize it.[14]

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[13]Jacob Blanck, Bibliography of American Literature, IV (New Haven: Yale University Press), 463.

[14]Arthur Herman Wilson, A History of the Philadelphia Theatre, 1835-1855 (New York: Greenwood Press, 1968), p. 75.

Probably to capitalize on the success of Lafitte,[15] Ingraham penned a sequel, Theodore,[16] to his first best-seller. Theodore was Lafitte's second-in-command and was taken in by Count D'Oyley and Constanza at the conclusion of the earlier novel. The sequel begins with several pages about Theodore quoted from Lafitte to orient the reader and then plunges into an account of Theodore's life after the death of Lafitte. Theodore, we learn, is English and, when he was seven, was plucked from the wreckage of a ship by Lafitte. The young man knows nothing of his parentage. During the course of the novel he discovers he is of noble blood, becomes the Earl of Clarence, marries well, and lives happily ever after. The idea of having a young man discover he is the heir to an English title and estates is a device that Ingraham employed more than once.

Another tale about the pirate Kidd is The Spanish Galleon.[17] It is not a sequel to Captain Kyd,[18] does not mention the earlier novel, and even has Kidd meet a slightly different end. The only interesting thing about the novel is that Ingraham has Kidd's lieutenant, Belfort,

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[15][J. H. Ingraham] Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf, 2 vols. (1836; rpt. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1970).

[16]J. H. Ingraham, Theodore; or, the 'Child of the Sea.' Being a Sequel to the Novel of "Lafitte, The Pirate of the Gulf" (Boston: Edward P. Williams, 1844).

[17]J. H. Ingraham, The Spanish Galleon, or the Pirate of the Mediterranean. A Romance of the Corsair Kidd (Boston: F. Gleason, 1845).

[18][J. H. Ingraham] Captain Kyd; or, The Wizard of the Sea. A Romance. 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839).

sail to a monastery and demand the freedom of a maiden held captive by evil priests. Belfort not only did not know the girl but also had no way of knowing she was a prisoner—facts Ingraham glosses over as his plot reaches his romantic conclusion.

Howard[19] is the tale of a young man who goes to sea to forget an unfortunate love affair. The impetus under which Howard leaves home is not unusual in an Ingraham story, and the novel does indicate the philosophy that going to sea is one of the best things a man can do: "If he is true, to himself he will make for himself a name. If half of the young men in shops would go to sea before the mast, they would make better members of society, and ennoble their own natures. . . . At sea men learn no vices." (p. 6) This type of sentiment appears in different guises in several other novels of the sea, one of which is The Midshipman.[20]

The Midshipman is the tale of Frank Winters who joins the Navy, shoots an officer in a duel, resigns, and then goes to Marseilles where he loses most of his mother's fortune. In a well-narrated, suspenseful scene, Winters wins 800,000 francs at a French casino and breaks the bank. The female dealer stabs herself after Winters' winning streak and sprinkles her blood on the money. Winters feels so guilty about her death that he promptly loses the money he had won. He is then talked

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[19][J. H. Ingraham] Howard: or, the Mysterious Disappearance [Boston: Edward P. Williams, 1843]. Future references are parenthetical.

[20]J. H. Ingraham, The Midshipman, or the Corvette and Brigantine. A Tale of Sea and Land (Boston: F. Gleason, 1844).

into becoming a pirate but, on the sea, his better nature asserts itself, and he locks the buccaneers under decks and surrenders the ship to the United States Navy. As his reward, he gets to marry his beloved Grace Ellingwood.

Love, as has already been mentioned many times, is a characteristic Ingraham plot ingredient. The Ringdove[21] is set near New Orleans and tells the tale of Louis Dumont's love for Isabel Rosal, a love that is hampered by Robert Rosal's hate. But the hero and heroine eventually marry when Robert marries Louis' long lost sister. This sister, Benita, has been brought up by a kindly old smuggler who had treated her with "the tenderness of a cherished house plant," (p. 30) a comparison that ranks highest in the list of strained similes to be found in the Professor's novels.

Most of Ingraham's sea novels begin in Boston, New York, or on the coast of Maine. The greatest number begin in Boston where most of the Professor's books were now being published. Novels such as Steel Belt,[22] which begins in Boston, The Lady of the Gulf,[23] which begins in New York, and The Corsair of Casco Bay,[24] which is set in Portland's

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[21]J. H. Ingraham, The Ringdove: or, the Privateer and the Cutter (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1846). Future references are parenthetical.

[22]J. H. Ingraham, Steel Belt: or, the Three Masted Goleta! A Tale of the Boston Bay (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844).

[23]J. H. Ingraham, The Lady of the Gulf. A Romance of the City and the Seas (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1846).

[24]J. H. Ingraham, The Corsair of Casco Bay or the Pilot's Daughter (Gardiner, Maine: G. M. Atwood, 1844).

bay, display a familiarity with their settings that must have been gratifying to natives of the various regions. Such knowledge might also have helped sell books. Ingraham's sea novels mark no advance over his early pirate tales, Lafitte and Captain Kyd. These briefer novels suffer from overused plots and little character development. Some of them have good action scenes which develop genuine suspense, but the majority suffer from the faults already mentioned, and these faults and characteristics would appear again.

The City and the Country

Another group of novels that heavily employed Ingraham's knowledge of New York and Boston was the tales that contrasted the pleasures of country life with those in the city or just dwelt on life in the city. Several of these novels, however, only imply that life is quieter in the country. There was certainly more action of more kinds in the city; thus, the Professor used the city settings most often.

Edward Austin[25] may be regarded as the prototype of this genre, a genre that contains many of Ingraham's most memorable short novels. The opening of the story finds Edward Austin and his friend Roundy Beebe fishing in a New England trout stream. Ralph Waldron, a young man full of "incipient dissipation" (p. 8) joins them and offers Edward a drink of brandy from his hunting flask. Edward does not drink, refuses

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[25]J. H. Ingraham, Edward Austin: or, the Hunting Flask. A Tale of the Forest and Town (Boston: F. Gleason, 1842). Future references are parenthetical.

Ralph's offer, and lectures the young man on drinking. Time passes, and Edward goes to New York to make his way in the world and to be near his bethrothed Anne Laurens. Mr. Laurens asks Edward to drink a glass of wine to celebrate the pair's engagement, and, when urged by Anne, he does so. With that one taste, however, Edward discovers he likes wine and dines often with the Laurens, for Mr. Laurens takes wine with his meals. Roundy, who has come to the city to serve Edward, starts drinking to keep up with his master and soon gets drunk enough to break his leg. Shortly after, while drunk, Edward is insulted and challenges Douglas Frazier to a duel. Frazier kills Edward; Mr. Laurens realizes his wine marked the beginning of Edward's fall and dies of his guilty feelings. Anne goes insane and dies in an asylum. Roundy's broken leg is amputated, but he survives to return to the country sadder but wiser. One of the traps then, that the city holds for the unwary is liquor. One drink leads to another, and the result is often death.

Edward Austin details one of the hazards that await young men in the city while Biddy Woodhull displays one of the evils peculiar to young ladies. Biddy, to escape an unpleasant home situation, leaves her family and comes to New York to find a job. She is accompanied only by her faithful dog, Bruin. Biddy goes to an employment office that is run by Beal Tucker. Tucker plays pimp to Fitz Henry Barton who pays his agent well for securing innocent buxom young girls. Though Barton is one of the villains of the story, he often comes through as a humorous character. After an evening of drunken revelry Barton is practically helpless:

> "Half past eleven—dem this wine! I feel sick! . . .
> Frid! Frid, I say!"
> . . . . . .
>
> "Beg pardon, massa," said the genteel [black] valet. . . .
> "I tell you, Frid, you must always be at the door; what can I do alone by myself, when I wake up? It's dem unhandsome, in you, Frid!"
> . . . . . .
>
> "Where's my gin-cock-tail? Don't you know I am good for nothing—just like a dem rag in the mornin', 'till I get my gin-cock-tail? (pp. 22-23)

Fortified by his gin cocktail, Barton soon makes an attempt on Biddy's chastity, but Bruin grabs the profligate youth by the neck and saves his mistress. Biddy marries Edward Morris after she attends school for two years to make herself worthy of him.

Another hazard for men is women. Harry Harefoot[26] tells the tale of young Harefoot who comes to Boston to work for a merchant. He soon is drinking, swearing, and breaking the Sabbath after coming under the influence of bad company. To complete his ruin, he is seduced by a fallen woman and eventually dies in a guilty delirium.

Richard Berkeley, in Berkeley, is redeemed after he falls in the city, but his case is not typical. Most Ingraham male characters are doomed once they commit the first sin. Women, however, are always doomed after they sin because their sin is usually sexual intercourse. Once that sin is committed, death is inevitable. Eleanor Sherwood is a case in point. Eleanor seduces black-haired Walter Blake, and both give themselves up to passion. Both are soon arrested on a

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[26]J. H. Ingraham, Harry Harefoot [Boston: "Yankee" Office, 1845].

forgery charge, but Eleanor is freed. She goes to visit Walter in prison and, in a scene that owes much to the Kentucky Tragedy, gives Walter a knife. Both stab themselves and die.

The Kentucky Tragedy, an actual event in American history, was explored two years prior to Ingraham's novel by William Gilmore Simms in his Beauchampe: or, the Kentucky Tragedy (Chicago: Donohue, Henneberry and Co., [1842]). Simms' account of the lovers who attempted to kill themselves in jail may have influenced the ending of Eleanor Sherwood, but the ending is the only part of the Tragedy Ingraham used.

The Professor used another actual happening as the basis for a novel on the subject of fallen women. Frank Rivers[27] was based on the Helen Jewett murder in Boston.[28] Hart Granger, the hero, is a student at a northern university. He discovers dark-haired Ellen Emery on an outing, takes her to his college room, and seduces her. Going to New York with his new mistress, Hart soon tires of Ellen and abandons her. It is not long before Frank Rivers falls in love with Ellen and is seduced by her. Rivers leaves the country on business and, while he is gone, Ellen drifts from one man to another before finally joining the staff of a "fashionable brothel." (p. 28) Her career is halted while she gives birth to Hart's child, but she soon resumes her profession and takes up again with Frank, who has returned to New York. Ellen

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[27][J. H. Ingraham] Frank Rivers: or, The Dangers of the Town [Boston: E. P. Williams, 1843]. Future references are parenthetical.

[28]David Brion Davis, Homicide in American Fiction, 1798-1860: A Study in Social Values (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1957), p. 165.

sees that Hart, who is now studying to be a minister, is going to wed the governor's daughter and writes him not to marry since he is a father. Hart comes to see Ellen and buries a hatchet in the girl's head. He flees to France, but it is Frank who is arrested for the murder. Frank is eventually freed, but he becomes an exile from America. Hart goes unpunished.

Frank Rivers is a memorable tale and a powerful one. That the murderer went free is an unusual twist that occurs in few Ingraham novels. As we have noted, most reviewers did not survey the Professor's shorter novels, but the reviewer for the Mississippi Free Trader did not ignore Frank Rivers. The critic blasted the novel as not being "pure" and criticized Ingraham for employing his pen to write such a novel.[29] The Professor had told his readers that the purpose of the novel was to show the steps that led to ruin in hopes that other people would keep out of the same type of trouble. But the moral, confined to the last paragraph, reads exactly as the afterthought it probably was.

Actually, many of Ingraham's shorter novels have didactic conclusions, but few are convincing. One tale of city life that is more natural in its implied moral is Paul Deverell.[30] As the story opens, Paul has just been released from a three-year prison term, and his fortunes as he tries to begin life again are well-narrated. He has

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[29]Mississippi Free Trader, November 1, 1843 [p. 2].

[30]J. H. Ingraham, Paul Deverell, or Two Judgements for One Crime: A Tale of the Present Day (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1845).

trouble getting a job because he has been in prison and is fired from one job after his employer learns about his past. Through an act of heroism he is offered a job, but he has to be proclaimed innocent of his offense before many people will have anything to do with him. A reader of this tale might well be convinced that it pays to stay out of the way of the law.

These short novels of the city are impressive in that they attract and hold the reader's attention. Their point is clear: a man or woman has a better chance to remain moral, out of trouble, and lead a happy life if he stays away from urban areas. If one ventures into the city, he will need all the strength he has to resist temptation; once tempted and fallen, an individual often ends up dead or in the gutter. Individuals can be penniless and survive in the country; people without money in the city, however, have a difficult time simply staying alive and frequently turn to crime and immorality. At their best, the stories create real suspense and are often graphically realistic. Ingraham had not used these city-country plots before Edward Austin, and he may be regarded as an American pioneer in the genre. Though he overemployed the basic situations once he discovered them, that should not obscure his modest achievement with them.

Novels with a Purpose

Since many Ingraham novels do have purposes or morals to them, we may well include a large number in this category, but most of them have morals that are definitely afterthoughts. There are very few

novels which from beginning to end remind the reader that the writer has a purpose and is sticking to it. Two of these tales may represent the group.

Charles Blackford was written to illuminate the "false estimate between professions and trades." (p. 3) Ingraham indicates that

> We have written full enough about pirates, romantic Castilian maidens, and bearded and becloaked Spanish Dons, and mean, hereafter, in some degree to atone for these sanguinary perpetuations by devoting our pen, so long as we can handle one, to encounter and put to shame this most heartfelt of all errors. (p. 3)

Charles is a twenty-two year old Yale senior who is a "beneficiary" at the college. Charles' father, a poor minister, believed that his son should work with his head, certainly not with his hands, and so sent his son to Yale. But he sent him with no money. Charles has been teaching between sessions in order that he may continue at the university, but the novel begins on the last day of the term, and Charles has some accounts to settle and no money to pay them with. He is able to borrow what he needs to meet his obligations at this time.

Charles graduates, goes home, and saves dark-haired Grace Gordon after a boating accident. Charles likes Grace, but she is above him in society. She has money, and he tries to forget her. Though a graduate of Yale, Charles can find no job, so he decides to study law and is licensed after three years of study. He goes to Boston to practice but cannot pay his bills and is thrown into jail. A gentleman pays Charles' debt. Charles finally begins to make money, marries Grace, and goes on to become rich and a Representative to Congress. This tale is full of

the moral for which it was written—that no one should look down on another who works with his hands or who has no money—and it does have a happy ending. A less pleasant ending might have further dramatized the point, but Ingraham seemed to feel that his hero had suffered enough because of his father's stupidity.

Mate Burke[31] is an exercise in environmental sociology. Twin English-born boys are separated one night in Boston. One is raised in a tavern by a robber; the other is raised by well-to-do people of the upper class. Dick Cone, who was raised by the thieves, eventually becomes a thief himself. He later kills a man and is hanged. His brother, Edgar Grey, rises to become the Attorney General of Massachusetts. Ingraham's point, of course, is that the proper environment is necessary for a person to realize his potential and be an asset to society.

Mate Burke not only shows the effect of environment on two people but also, like Charles Blackford, shows that wealth helps improve an environment. Money, of course, was something that forever eluded Ingraham. Wealth and material goods are frequent subjects in his novels and, when they appear, are second in importance only to achieving the girl of one's choice. The Professor knew what money could do for a man and seldom let his readers forget it. Consequently, most of these novels with a purpose carry the motif that financial prosperity is almost indispensable to human happiness.

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[31]J. H. Ingraham, Mate Burke; or, The Foundlings of the Sea (New York: Burgess, Stringer and Co., 1846).

The Professor was writing in a well-established tradition when he wrote his novels with a purpose. Samuel Richardson's Pamela (1740),[32] considered by some to be the first English novel, and William Hill Brown's The Power of Sympathy,[33] considered by others to be the first American novel, are both didactic in intent. Other early American novelists and novels, like Susanna Rowson's Charlotte Temple[34] or Charles Brockden Brown's Wieland,[35] might be mentioned, but these illustrations are sufficient to show that Ingraham had many literary forbearers in writing the didactic novel.

The American Dream

The idea that one could attain wealth, and, that, with determination, one could rise to success is part of the folklore of America and part of our mythology. Our history and our literature boast numerous examples of people who achieved success even though their origins were lowly. America itself is an example of how a small colony

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[32]Samuel Richardson, Pamela or Virtue Rewarded, ed. William M. Sale, Jr. (1740; rpt. New York: W. W. Norton, 1958).

[33][William Hill Brown] The Power of Sympathy: or, the Triumph of Nature, ed. William S. Kable (1789; rpt. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969).

[34]Susanna Rowson, Charlotte Temple: A Tale of Truth, ed. Clara M. and Rudolf Kirk (1791; rpt. New Haven: College and University Press, 1964).

[35]Charles Brockden Brown, Wieland, or the Transformation. Together with the Memoirs of Carwin the Biloquist, A Fragment, ed. Fred Lewis Pattee (1798; rpt. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1926).

rose to be a power to be reckoned with. Ingraham wrote several novels that illustrate this "American Dream."

Jemmy Daily[36] is the tale of a poor eleven-year old in Boston. His father is a drunkard, and Jemmy often has to protect his mother from his father's drunken blows. He invests a fourpence half-penny in newspapers and begins selling them. He is a success because he sings as he sells:

> 'A cent will take you to Japan
> To Turkey or the Isle of Man;
> Tell you what the Sultan's doing,
> How in Spain a war is brewing;
> Tell you who is dead, or marries,
> And how the Southern mail miscarries;
> And all things else in shape of news,
> From price of stock to price of shoes:
> So come and for a penny buy
> What rich will make both you and I!' (p. 42)

This unorthodox method of selling papers is so successful that Jemmy has to buy a dog, Fred, to help defend himself against several bullies who are jealous of the young boy's success. After selling papers for a year, he becomes a clerk in Mr. Weldon's business. Grace Weldon,[37] the sequel to Jemmy Daily, shows our hero as a success in his position of head clerk in Mr. Weldon's commercial house. Jemmy loves Grace Weldon, but he is loved by Frederica Kauphen, who assists Mrs. Daily in the millinery shop Jemmy has provided for his mother. Jemmy is soon made a partner by

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[36] J. H. Ingraham, Jemmy Daily: or, The Little News Vender. A Tale of Youthful Struggles, and the Triumph of Truth and Virtue Over Vice and Falsehood (Boston: Brainard and Co., 1843). Future references are parenthetical.

[37] J. H. Ingraham, Grace Weldon; or, Frederica the Bonnet Girl. A Tale of Boston and its Bay (Boston: Williams, 1845).

Mr. Weldon and marries Grace. Frederica dies of a broken heart. If Jemmy were not such a perfect human being, the story might attain some small measure of credibility. As it is, he is so insufferable in his preachings to others about God and goodness that the story would be acceptable only to the most indiscriminate reader.

Another tale of a boy who reaches for something above his station is The Young Genius,[38] the story of Edward Brackett's slow rise to recognition as a sculptor. Neither The Young Genius nor Jemmy Daily is a distinguished piece of work, and neither is worth a second reading. Both have trite plots, familiar characters, and predictable outcomes, but they do illustrate in part Ingraham's contribution to the literature about the "American Dream."

Ingraham's novels about individuals who rise from obscurity to success remind one of the writings of Horatio Alger in the second half of the nineteenth century. Alger often wrote tales of poor but honest newsboys who ended up on the road to success. Ben Bruce. Scenes in the Life of a Bowery Newsboy (New York: A. L. Burt Co., 1901) is one of these stories, but there are many others which employ similar characters in almost identical situations. One wonders if Alger had read Ingraham, but the idea of the "American Dream" predates both writers. An early American exponent and personal example of the genre is Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790). To all of these writers, success, measured in terms of

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[38]Professor Ingraham, The Young Genius; or, Trials and Triumphs (Boston: E. P. Williams, 1843).

material achievement, was possible to anyone who had the ambition to rise.

Novels Set in Foreign Countries

Most of Ingraham's novels are solidly based in America, but there are some that are not. Most of the novels set in foreign countries are historical romances and add no new situations to the ones the Professor had previously employed.

One of these tales, The Clipper-Yacht; or, Moloch the Money-Lender! A Tale of London, and the Thames (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1845), contains the standard attitudes that Ingraham often expressed toward people of the Jewish faith. The men, like Enoch Moloch, are usurious money lenders who never forget a wrong or an insult. The women, like Rachel Moloch, are beautiful but loyal to their fathers, a trait that generally makes them dangerous to male Protestant characters in particular. The Clipper Yacht is the tale of Captain Tudor Dauling, who comes into Enoch's clutches through gambling. Enoch advances him money in return for what is left of Dauling's estate. He then talks his daughter into marrying Dauling so that the moneylender can be revenged on Dauling's Jew-hating father who had struck Enoch thirty-seven years earlier. Dauling does marry Rachel, but Enoch is thwarted because Dauling's father likes her. This story is unusual only in that the Jew is thwarted; Jews in other Ingraham tales always get their revenge even though they may die in doing so.

Montezuma; or, the Serf Chief (New York: Dick and Fitzgerald [1845] is the two-volume novel that Ingraham sold to Harper & Brothers in 1841,[39] but which they never published. It details the fall of the tyrant Ulyd and the rise of the serf Montezuma to the throne of the Aztecs. Its fantastically complicated plot is marked by too many characters that contribute too much confusion to the story. The short story version of Montezuma, which appeared as "A Legend of the Mountain of the Burning Stone" in the Southern Literary Messenger,[40] contains the essential plot elements and holds one's attention much better.

A similar tale is The Slave King, another two-volume novel.[41] Set in Spain, the story tells how Alfonso and his band of Spaniards retake their conquered country from the Moors. Estelle tells a similar tale of the natives on a Carribean island who rebel against the ruling Spaniards.

Ingraham displayed sympathy for the underdog, for the person or country that was enslaved rather than for the people in power. He seemed to connect the struggle of other people to fight off tyranny with the American struggle to fight off Great Britain. The Professor makes the parallel explicit in Paul Perril when a Connecticut carpenter admonishes four young men to watch what they say about the revolution

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[39]Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, October 8, 1841.

[40][J. H. Ingraham] "A Legend of the Mountain of the Burning Stone; A Story of the First Montezuma," Southern Literary Messenger, 5 (December, 1839), 781-787.

[41]J. H. Ingraham, The Slave King; or, the Triumph of Liberty. 2 vols. (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1846).

in Montevideo: "'Keep your own tongues in your heads and don't talk politics; for, being Yankees, you will, of course, take the side of the Patriots outside, and if you are overheard you will be arrested.'"[42] Similar motifs are found in other novels dealing with wars set in foreign countries. These tales of rebellion are usually superficial in scope, are often only pretexts for a love story, and employ situations the Professor would use to better advantage when writing of war in America.

Apparently readers liked novels set in foreign countries because Ingraham wrote at least a dozen of them. It is also probable that the tales we have mentioned and others such as Forrestal,[43] set in Cuba, and Bonfield,[44] set in Bermuda, England, and America, satisfied in some degree a taste for travel literature as well as a desire for an interesting story. There was always some description of the countries involved when the Professor set a tale outside the United States. But since the author apparently did not travel much, if at all, outside America, his details about foreign countries are minimal and seldom give the reader a feeling that the setting is absolutely essential to the plot of the novel. Ingraham spent most of his time on his love stories from which we discover that lovers in foreign countries behave much as Americans

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[42]Professor Ingraham, Paul Perril, the Merchant's Son: or The Adventures of a New-England Boy Launched Upon Life (Boston: Williams and Brothers [1847]), I, 77.

[43]J. H. Ingraham, Forrestal: or The Light of the Reef. A Romance of the Blue Waters (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1845).

[44]J. H. Ingraham, Bonfield: or, the Outlaw of the Bermudas. A Nautical Novel (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1846).

in America. For all of these reasons, we cannot rate this group of novels very highly.

Wars and Rebellions in America

Almost a fourth of the eighty novels that Ingraham wrote between 1842 and 1847 deal with the various wars and rebellions that have occurred in America. His novels cover events from 1689 to 1812, but most of them concern the Revolutionary War.

Leisler tells the story of a Roman Catholic revolt against the Dutch Protestants in New Amsterdam in 1689. The revolt against the Catholics is pushed far to the rear of the main love plot, but the Dutch characters are well-drawn. The heroine, Bertha Leisler, is the only Dutch character who is not portly and slow-thinking, the stereotyped traits of Dutch people according to Ingraham.

The Professor's Revolutionary War novels begin with Pierce Fenning, a tale of Boston in 1769.[45] The British are in Boston to subdue the rebellious Americans and to impress sailors for the British fleet. Most of the tale deals with several men who are trying desperately to avoid being caught and impressed. These men are aboard a ship captained by Pierce which tacks and turns through the islands and channels of Boston Bay in its ultimately successful attempt at dodging the British.

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[45] J. H. Ingraham, Pierre Fenning, or, The Lugger's Chase. A Romance (Boston: Henry L. Williams, 1846).

The Free Trader[46] tells of the effect that import taxes have on the residents of Newport, Rhode Island, while Mark Manly[47] gives the background of another youth who flees successfully from the British to fight later under John Paul Jones. The Mast-Ship[48] tells of the prelude to the bombardment of Falmouth or, as it was later called, Portland, Maine. Ingraham says that The Mast-Ship is founded in fact, but the facts deal with the shelling of Portland; the romantic sub-plot is certainly invention. The Mast-Ship is distinguished only by its great number of typographical errors; the worst occurs when the sister of the hero, Betty Ross, has her name changed to Isabel halfway through the tale. Ingraham was particularly fond of naming a female "Isabel"; an "Isabel" or "Bel" appears in approximately ten novels.

Neal Nelson[49] tells of the siege of Boston in 1776. Fleming Field[50] returns to Boston for a tale of the Stamp Act, a story climaxed by the burning of Governor Hutchinson's house and the tarring and feathering of Cleverling, a dissolute British officer.

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[46]J. H. Ingraham, The Free-Trader; or, the Cruiser of Narragansett Bay (New York: Williams Brothers, 1847).

[47]J. H. Ingraham, Mark Manly: or, the Skipper's Lad (New York: Williams Brothers, 1848).

[48]J. H. Ingraham, The Mast-Ship: or, the Bombardment of Falmouth (Boston: Henry L. Williams, 1845).

[49]J. H. Ingraham, Neal Nelson [Boston: Williams, 1845].

[50]J. H. Ingraham, Fleming Field; or The Young Artisan. A Tale of the Days of the Stamp Act (New York: Burgess, Stringer and Co., 1845).

Arthur Denwood[51] switches to the War of 1812. In this tale, Arthur manages to keep a shipload of goods from the British who have blockaded the Kennebec River in Maine. Arthur is even able to get the supplies to Boston to keep them away from the British and to keep his sweetheart's father, who helped to sell the goods to the British, from being prosecuted as a British sympathizer. Freemantle,[52] and its sequel Norman,[53] tell the story of a privateer who gives up his career at the end of the war as he was supposed to. One of Freemantle's officers, however, decides to become a pirate and steals the ship only to die in a storm.

Ingraham's best tales of the Revolutionary War are Burton[54] and "West Point,"[55] stories written before the period with which we are presently concerned and which we have already mentioned. The Professor's brief war novels suffer greatly in comparison to these two more organized and cohesive stories. Ingraham could write such tales reasonably well when he took or had the time, but he did not have the time to write such

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[51]J. H. Ingraham, Arthur Denwood: or the Maiden of the Inn. A Tale of the War of 1812 (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1846).

[52]Professor Ingraham, Freemantle: or, The Privateersman! A Nautical Romance of the Last War (Boston: George W. Redding and Co., 1845).

[53]J. H. Ingraham, Norman: or, the Privateersman's Bride. A Sequel to "Freemantle" (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1845).

[54][J. H. Ingraham] Burton; or, The Seiges. A Romance, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838).

[55][J. H. Ingraham] "Romance of American History.—No. II. West Point.—A Tale of Treason," United States Magazine, and Democratic Review, 3 (November, 1838), 235-251; (December, 1838), 339-356.

tales reasonably well when he took or had the time, but he did not have the time to write slowly or carefully from 1842 through 1847, for he was getting paid less money—approximately fifty dollars a novel[56]—for more work. It is no wonder that his novels of war and rebellion sound repetitious. Even though the plots often echo each other, it is quite possible that one reason for their popularity was that they helped foster nationalism or pride in America. The heroes either outfight or outwit the British or other oppressors who are often made to appear ridiculous. Such activities and such victories almost certainly helped the nation's estimate of itself and confirmed our ability to make correct decisions as well as to resist those opposed to our concept of government.

Miscegenation

We have previously discussed The Quadroone,[57] which concerns miscegenation but which also ultimately avoids the issue by eventually freeing the supposed quadroons from the taint of Negro blood. There are three novels in which Ingraham does not avoid the issue and which end tragically for those with Negro blood.

Alice May[58] tells the story of Edward Orr's love for Alice May. He meets her in a Mount Vernon boarding school, and, after a year of

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[56]Eastern Argus, March 22, 1845 [p. 2].

[57]J. H. Ingraham, The Quadroone; or, St. Michael's Day, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1841).

[58]J. H. Ingraham, Alice May, and Bruising Bill (Boston: Gleason's Publishing Hall, 1845). Future references are parenthetical.

courtship, they are bethrothed. Alice returns to her home in Louisiana and Edward is to follow. He receives one letter telling him to come quickly and a later one which tells him not to come at all. He does go, of course, and arrives at Colonel May's plantation in time to see the Colonel blow his brains out. Edward finally finds Alice in a convent, where she had died of a broken heart. He returns to his home to find a third letter from Alice that tells him she had discovered she was a bastard daughter sired by her father from the quadroon Desirée. Alice writes: "Horror filled my mind and rendered me almost insensible! For an instant—only an instant, and once, the idea of concealing my birth - - - occurred to me." (p. 28) But Alice loved Edward too much to let him marry a slave, and she went to the convent to die. Alice, like all of Ingraham's quadroons, has a high sense of honor along with her beauty.[59] Her refusal to keep her birth a secret is a typical reaction. Even if Alice had not been a quadroon, however, she would have admitted any irregularities in her parental background, for all Ingraham heroines are honorable as well as beautiful.

Marie[60] and its sequel Bertrand[61] tell a similar story. Marie De Heywode runs to a convent when she discovers she is the daughter of

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[59]James Joseph Kinney, in his "The Theme of Miscegenation in the American Novel to World War I," Diss. University of Tennessee 1972, p. 28, points out that Ingraham established the convention of a quadroon's honor and feminine beauty in American Literature.

[60]J. H. Ingraham, Marie; or the Fugitive. A Romance of Mount Benedict (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1845).

[61]J. H. Ingraham, Bertrand, or, The Story of Marie De Heywode. Being a Sequel to Marie, the Fugitive (Boston: H. L. Williams, 1845).

a quadroon slave. Her father, a Byronic hero-villain, drowns himself after poisoning Marie's mother. Charles Bertrand, Marie's bethrothed, finds his future wife dead in a convent. Bertrand dies a year later because of his loss and is buried next to Marie. Ingraham seems to have disapproved of the system of concubinage as practiced in Louisiana because of the effects on its victims, but he never criticized the practice except by implication. Perhaps such silence was one indication of his love for the South and its customs.

It was rather obvious to the Professor's readers that illicit sex always brings ruin to the parties involved as well as to any offspring of such a union. But there is one Ingraham novel, though it is not about miscegenation, in which the male seducer continues to live. Mary Wilbur[62] recounts how Deacon Ely Sparry, "a hypocrite of the first water," (p. 5) marries Charlotte Wilbur for her money. When Charlotte dies, Sparry seduces Charlotte's sixteen-year old sister Mary. Mary becomes pregnant and is sent to the country so that Sparry's standing in the community will not be blemished. Mary gives birth to a son who is taken from her. Several years pass before she marries a farmer. After four years of marriage and two children, she dies of a broken heart; Mary had never told the farmer that she had, previous to her marriage, borne a child, and the guilt, because she loves the farmer, is too much to endure any longer. Deacon Sparry lives on. In addition

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[62]Professor Ingraham, Mary Wilbur: or, The Deacon and the Widow's Daughter (Boston: 'Yankee' Office [1845]). Future references are parenthetical.

to the remaining alive, apparently without remorse, the tale is also unusual in its narrative of sex within a family group. Ingraham should be complimented on the realistic touch of allowing the villain to live, for it stands to reason that not all seducers are so enmeshed in their guilt that they commit suicide. Such a realistic ending may well not have found favor with his readers, but it illustrates to twentieth century readers that the Professor was occasionally capable of resisting the idea that all tales should have a happy ending.

The Grotesque

There are three memorable stories that do not belong to the categories already mentioned but which are worthy of notice if only as examples of the grotesque. One of these tales, The Beautiful Unknown,[63] is particularly memorable because of one villainous hunchbacked character.

Massey Finke and her hunchbacked son Sammis are grave robbers in Philadelphia who often murder an individual if a doctor needs a particular type of corpse to meet his requirements. As the story opens, Sammis, who is twenty, looks forty, and has the stature of a nine-year old child, has just drowned a child for calling him "Humpy." Sammis and Massey steal a live child from Nelson Nickels and his mother and go to New York. The pretty twelve-year old girl had been found in a boat on the sea, and no one knows who she is. The girl, Adelaide, endures four

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[63]Professor Ingraham, The Beautiful Unknown; or, Massey Finke (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844).

years of slavery to Sammis and Massey before Ogden Neville rescues her from one of the most grotesque scenes in all of Ingraham's work. At the time of Neville's intervention, Adelaide is suspended from a ceiling by her arms. Sammis is sitting on her neck pulling out handfuls of hair while Massey is burning her feet. Sammis and Massey are both sent to jail. Sammis escapes and goes after Adelaide. Adelaide maims him with a hatchet, and Sammis is tied up, but the dwarf suddenly commits suicide by eating through his breast to his heart. The Beautiful Unknown can remind one of wicked trolls or other creatures in fairy tales who torture innocent children. Ingraham's tale does not have the pleasant aura one often associates with fairy tales; it is deadly serious and borders on the sadistic.

One other grotesque tale is Caroline Archer.[64] Caroline is a poor seventeen-year old milliner's apprentice in Philadelphia who supports her widowed mother and two younger brothers. When Caroline cannot pay the rent, her landlady offers to help Caroline sell her body, something Caroline refuses to do. Meanwhile, Emily Wharton has fallen from her horse and knocked out four of her perfect front teeth. A dentist tells her he could extract teeth from another woman and place them "with the nerve still warm in the cavities of your own" (p. 9) mouth. The dentist says the best teeth are to be found in Negresses, but Emily refuses to have the teeth of a Negro in her mouth, and so

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[64] J. H. Ingraham, Caroline Archer; or, the Miliner's [sic] Apprentice. A Story that Hath More Truth than Fiction in It (Boston: Edward P. Williams, 1847). Future references are parenthetical.

the dentist places an ad in the paper advertising for any woman who wants to sell four perfect front teeth. Caroline reads the ad, goes to the dentist, and has four teeth extracted so that she can pay her rent. One may assume that the moral of the tale is that everyone has his price; most readers that bought Caroline Archer, however, would most probably have preferred a more pleasant plot to inculcate the lesson.

Scarlet Feather[65] represents what may be regarded as an attempt to write a tale of the noble Indian savage in the manner of James Fenimore Cooper. During the Revolutionary War, Natanis is the young chief of the Abenaquies, a tribe of Indians in Maine. He is such a great tracker that he can smell the air and determine if it has been exhaled by another person a short time previously! He is asked for the help of his tribe in fighting the American forces under General Benedict Arnold which are camped nearby in their march to Canada. Natanis, however, is friendly to the Americans, stops the people that are trying to warn the British, and gets to marry Willewa, daughter of the Nerijewca chief Canassa, thus bringing peace to the Indians in Maine. Natanis is a typical Ingraham hero though he is an Indian. He has jet black hair, black eyes, a manly carriage, is the soul of honor, and falls in love at first sight. The tale is a poor imitation of Cooper. Natanis is a stock character and is not well-developed; he spends most of his time in a love intrigue, and his olfactory capabilities are more laughable than

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[65] J. H. Ingraham, Scarlet Feather, or The Young Chief of the Abenaquies. A Romance of the Wilderness of Maine (Boston: F. Gleason, 1845).

admirable. Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales sold well, and that is probably why the Professor attempted such an imitation. Ingraham was, however, after the first attempt, perceptive enough to stay out of the elder novelist's forest.

Conclusion

If Scarlet Feather had sold, there would have been more of the type, but there were none. We could continue to mention other Ingraham novels of the types already described, but we would gain little from the effort. His shorter novels are often not worth extended critical consideration, for any critical comments would begin to sound as repetitious as the novels themselves. The briefer novels were written to make money. One can claim they also have aesthetic or didactic purposes, but the prime purpose was to allow the Professor to exist while practicing the profession of his choice. The getting of an immediate audience was of more importance to him than any other consideration. We do not have many figures on how well his novels sold, but they would not have been printed if they had not found an audience. Ingraham may have received about fifty dollars for each novel.[66] If he did receive that amount for each of the eighty novels we are currently concerned with, he was still paid less for them ($4000) than for the six books he wrote for Harper & Brothers from 1835 through 1841 ($4100).[67] It is difficult to

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[66] Eastern Argus, March 22, 1845 [p. 2].

[67] Letter, Ingraham to Harper & Brothers, May 29, 1839.

blame Ingraham for yielding to the pressure of the dollar and writing what would sell; many writers had yielded to such pressures before him, and many have since. We cannot deny Ingraham's shortcomings as an author; we can but note and understand some of the reasons for them.

One shortcoming, as we have indicated, is that many of Ingraham's shorter novels suffer from a lack of planning. The Professor either did not try to plan or was not capable of planning most of his shorter novels to take place in brief compass. Surprisingly enough, however, some padding does occur in a few novels. The padding is found in Beatrice,[68] as it is in a few other tales, in the form of having each major character repeat, from his viewpoint, the progress of the story. The repetition is not a negative trait if each character has a different perspective on the action, but that is seldom the case. The padding and the lack of planning are stylistic considerations which add nothing to the value of Ingraham's work.

It would be impossible to argue that all of the shorter novels have intrinsic merit, but there are several decent novels in Ingraham's massive output from 1842 through 1847. Though we cannot say many positive things about most of them, some do have very well-executed scenes like the gambling scene in The Midshipman or interesting characters like the "universal genius" of The Dancing Feather. Had Ingraham been able to consolidate the better scenes and better characters into fewer novels,

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[68] J. H. Ingraham, Beatrice, the Goldsmith's Daughter. [A St]ory of the Reign of the Last Charles (Boston: Williams Brothers, 1847).

he would have fared better at the hands of critics and of posterity. But we must accept what Ingraham wrote as it is, and what he wrote is a good index to the public taste of the 1840's. One can argue that most of Ingraham's portraits of American life have little intrinsic value, but they do have some historical value. Such novels as The Dancing Feather, Frank Rivers, La Bonita Cigarera,[69] and The Midshipman might again find an audience with those interested in the period, in Ingraham, or in the history of the American novel.

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[69] J. H. Ingraham, La Bonita Cigarera; or, The Beautiful Cigar Vender. A Tale of New York (Boston: "Yankee" Office, 1844).

CHAPTER V

THE MINISTER'S LITERARY PRODUCTS

In an "Advertisement" to the second edition (1859) of The Prince of the House of David Ingraham wrote:

> The Author of the present work desires to say, that this is the only book to which he has given his name, written by him, since 1847. The publications for the past years issued from the press in a cheap form, bearing his name, are unauthorized by him, and published without his consent. All such works have been written many years; but the copyrights not having been retained by the author, it is out of his power to prevent their reprint, and he has no other protection than a notice such as the present.[1]

Well might the Professor write such a note since at least seven new books or pamphlets, not just reprints, had appeared from his pen by 1855, the year of the first edition of Prince.[2] Not all of these new

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[1]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, The Prince of the House of David; or, Three Years in the Holy City. Being a Series of the Letters of Adina, A Jewess of Alexandria, Supposed to be Sojourning in Jerusalem in the Days of Herod, Addressed to Her Father, a Wealthy Jew in Egypt, and Relating, as if by an Eye-Witness, All the Scenes and Wonderful Incidents in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth, from His Baptism in Jordan to His Crucifixion on Calvary, 2nd ed. (1859; rpt. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1897), p. vii.

[2]Rev. Professor J. H. Ingraham, The Prince of the House of David; or Three Years in the Holy City. Being a Series of the Letters of Adina, A Jewess of Alexandria, Sojourning in Jerusalem in the Days of Herod, Addressed to Her Father, a Wealthy Jew in Egypt, and Relating, as by an Eye-Witness, All the Scenes and Wonderful Incidents in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth, from His Baptism in Jordan to His Crucifixion on Calvary (New York: Pudney and Russell, 1855). Future quotations are parenthetical and from this first edition unless otherwise noted.

pieces were signed; some appeared anonymously, but the point is that Ingraham's statement should be regarded with great skepticism. Writing was in his blood, and his becoming a clergyman in the Protestant Episcopal Church did not eradicate the impetus to authorship, though it did eventually redirect some of his output into different subject areas.

Ingraham was confirmed in the Protestant Episcopal Church in 1847[3] and moved to Nashville, Tennessee, in September, 1847,[4] to live and study theology under Bishop J. H. Otey in preparation for taking orders in the church.[5] He was made a deacon on March 9, 1851,[6] and arrived at his first assignment, the missionary post of Aberdeen, Mississippi, on April 2, 1851.[7] He was ordained to the priesthood on February 8, 1852.[8] From Aberdeen, Ingraham moved to Mobile, Alabama, in December, 1853.[9] While he was in Mobile, he published his first Biblical novel, The Prince of the House of David, in October,

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[3]Warren Graham French, "A Sketch of the Life of Joseph Holt Ingraham," Journal of Mississippi History, 11 (July, 1949), 163.

[4][J. H. Ingraham] Report Upon a Proposed System of Public Education, for the City of Nashville, Respectfully Addressed to Its Citizens (Nashville: W. F. Bang & Co., 1848), p. 18.

[5]Evening Mirror, 7 (December 21, 1847) [p. 2].

[6]Journal of the Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth Annual Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church, in the Diocese of Mississippi (Natchez: Natchez Courier Book and Job Office, 1851), p. 19.

[7]Ibid., p. 43.

[8]"The Novelist Divine," Mississippi Free Trader and Natchez Gazette, February 18, 1852 [p. 2].

[9]Lucy Green Nelson, St. John's Church, Mobile. A History (Mobile: Jordan Printing Co., 1963), p. 16.

1855.[10] Prince marked a change of subject matter for the Professor, but, before Prince was published, several more Ingraham works were printed. Some displayed his interest in the Bible and his ministry; some did not.

Jennette Alison,[11] The Life and Adventures of Percival Mayberry,[12] Rivingstone,[13] and The Arrow of Gold[14] all appeared from 1848 to 1855. They were, mercifully, the last of the Professor's shorter novels, and they display no hint of the author's new profession. Jennette Alison was probably written before Ingraham was confirmed into the church, but it appears as if the other three novels were written after the Professor began his ministerial duties. As we have noted earlier, Ingraham had financial problems while he was studying to be a minister as well as after he was ordained. He gave up his ministerial income to pay the bills against St. John's Church in Aberdeen and again taught for a

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[10] Prince, 2nd ed. (1859; rpt. Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1897), p. xi.

[11] J. H. Ingraham, Jennette Alison: or, The Young Strawberry Girl. A Tale of the Sea and the Shore (Boston: F. Gleason, 1848).

[12] J. H. Ingraham, The Life and Adventures of Percival Mayberry (Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson and Brothers, 1854). This novel was first issued anonymously in 1851 as Nobody's Son; or, The Life and Adventures of Percival Mayberry. Written by Himself (Philadelphia: A. Hart, 1851).

[13] J. H. Ingraham, Rivingstone; or, The Young Ranger Hussar. A Romance of the Revolution (New York: DeWitt & Davenport, 1855).

[14] [J. H. Ingraham] The Arrow of Gold: or, The Shell Gatherer. A Story that Unfolds its Own Mysteries and Morals (New York: Samuel French [1855]). An advertisement in Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, 9 (October 29, 1855), 255, confirms the previously unconfirmed date of publication.

living.[15] He undoubtedly still needed the income he got from his writing and was not yet ready to lay down his pen completely.

Jennette Alison is not an unusual story. Jennette sews to maintain herself and her sick father. She falls in love with Gordon Hays and helps him break a friend's father out of prison. Once out of prison, the convict is exonerated of his charge; Gordon marries Jennette, and everyone lives happily ever after. The only interesting character is Caesar, a black friend of the Alisons who has often contributed monetarily to their welfare. Jennette does aid in an unlawful act, but she was convinced she was doing the correct thing, and time proved her right. That belief seemed to be justification enough for her actions.

Percival Mayberry illustrates the "blood will tell" doctrine that is found in other Ingraham works. Percival, an orphan, is raised in a workhouse. He escapes when he is eleven years old because he has seen the overseers, Skinner Shirkey and his wife, beat another boy and then rub salt in his wounds. The youngster dies, and Percival is one of the two witnesses. Before he manages to escape, however, Skinner strings Percy up by his thumbs while his wife burns the boy's feet with hot irons. Percy is then drugged for three weeks to keep him quiet, but he still manages to escape. He is befriended by an old woman, sent to the best private school, and is later revealed as an heir. The most memorable part of the novel is the sadistic treatment Percival and the other children receive at the workhouse. The novel joins, then, The

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[15]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Mississippi. Aberdeen," The Spirit of Missions, 18 (May, 1853), 133.

Beautiful Unknown[16] and Caroline Archer[17] as novels of the grotesque. It is little wonder that Ingraham's name was not on the title page when Percival was first published in 1851.

Rivingstone is a totally forgettable tale about the American Revolution. Neither the main love plot nor the picture of English-controlled New York is well-sustained or suspenseful. The characters are as stock as the customary heroics and as uninteresting. Ingraham's earlier war novels are definitely his best.

The Arrow of Gold is also poorly done and borrows several incidents from Captain Kyd.[18] The ruined tower at the beginning of the tale, the plunge into the sea to save a child, the archery contest, the gold arrow, and the idea that true nobility will assert itself were all found in similar form in Captain Kyd. Ingraham added a few more noble characters, blinded his heroine, and temporarily enslaved his hero, but these changes only serve to remind the reader that the novel is not Captain Kyd. The pirate novel was not first-rate, and neither is The Arrow of Gold. With such a gathering of third-rate novels it is not surprising that Ingraham disclaimed them.

In addition to these novels, Ingraham also published his 1848 Report Upon a Proposed System of Public Education, for the City of

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[16]Professor Ingraham, The Beautiful Unknown; or, Massey Finke (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844).

[17]J. H. Ingraham, Caroline Archer, or, The Miliner's [sic] Apprentice. A Story that Hath More Truth Than Fiction in It (Boston: Edward P. Williams, 1847).

[18][J. H. Ingraham] Captain Kyd; or, The Wizard of the Sea. A Romance, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1839).

Nashville, Respectfully Addressed to its Citizens. As has already been noted, this Report details Ingraham's proposals for a public school system for Nashville, Tennessee, and was written while he was studying for the ministry there. Man,[19] published in 1852, is one of Ingraham's two surviving sermons while Pamphlets for the People (1854)[20] explains certain tenets of the Protestant Episcopal Church. These three pamphlets show Ingraham's interest in education, man, and the doctrines of his church. It was to the church or, rather, to the specific stories of the Bible that Ingraham finally turned in his quest for fiction that would, perhaps, be more worthy of a minister.

The Prince of the House of David, subtitled Three Years in the Holy City. Being a Series of the Letters of Adina, a Jewess of Alexandria, Sojourning in Jerusalem in the Days of Herod, Addressed to Her Father, a Wealthy Jew in Egypt, and Relating, as By an Eye-Witness, All the Scenes and Wonderful Incidents in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth, from His Baptism in Jordan to His Crucifixion on Calvary, first appeared in 1855. The book was a success and sold so well that the author revised it in 1859, making it the only Ingraham novel known to have been revised after first publication. It has been estimated that Prince had sold between

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[19]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, Man: A Sermon, Preached in St. John's Church, Aberdeen, Miss., January, 1852 (New York: McSpedon & Baker, 1852).

[20][J. H. Ingraham] Pamphlets for the People. In Illustration of the Claims of the Church and Methodism (Philadelphia: H. Hooker, 1854).

four and five million copies by 1931,[21] but no specific figures are available. One measure of its popularity, however, is that the novel is still in print[22] though it has been considerably abbreviated from its original publication length of 456 pages.

Ingraham notes his purposes in writing Prince in his introduction. If this work

> may be the means of convincing one son or daughter of Abraham to accept Jesus as Messias, or convince the infidel Gentile that He is the very Son of the Lord and Saviour of the world, he will have received his reward for the midnight hours, stolen from parochial labors, which he has devoted to this work. (pp. v-vi)

Ingraham also says that Jesus "was man, as well as God! In this book He is seen, conversed with, eaten with, as a man!" (p. vi) Adina, the "author" of the thirty-nine letters that comprise Prince, emphasizes Jesus' humanity primarily through His personal suffering.

Prince begins about three years before the crucifixion of Christ and ends forty days after his resurrection. Adina, a seventeen-year old Jewess with auburn brown hair, is sent to Jerusalem by her father Manasseh Benjamin to be educated in the laws of Moses. Her first letter to her father, which details her journey there, is almost a guided tour through various places mentioned in the Old Testament. She sees Gaza, Mount Moriah, Gethsemane, Mount Olivet, and other sights. She also sees several malefactors crucified on Calvary. At the end of her first letter she casually mentions that there is a new prophet near Jordan.

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[21]Don C. Seitz, "A Prince of Best Sellers," Publishers' Weekly, 119 (February 21, 1931), 940.

[22]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, The Prince of the House of David (London: Collins, 1948).

The new prophet is mentioned again in letter two. John, who is bethrothed to Adina's cousin Mary, has heard the prophet by letter three. This third letter also marks the beginning of the subplot of the tale when Adina is rescued from two drunken Roman soldiers by Aemilius, a Roman Centurion who is described as being "as courteous a person as I had ever met with among my own countrymen." (p. 26) Aemilius, of course, is also handsome.

In letter four Adina gives us John's description of the prophet:

> He was a young man not above thirty, with a countenance such as the medallions of Egypt give to Joseph of our nation, once their Prince. His hair was long, and wildly free about his neck; he wore a loose sack of camel's hair, and his right arm was naked to the shoulder. His attitude was . . . free and commanding . . . yet every gesture was gentle and graceful. . . . there was an air of the deepest humility on his countenance. (pp. 39-40)

Lazarus, in chapter five, mentions that the prophet's name is Jesus.

Adina goes to see and hear the prophet and begins her seventh letter to her father with

> My trembling fingers scarcely hold the light reed with which I am about to write you concerning the extraordinary things I have seen and heard; but they tremble only with joy. Oh, my father, my dear, dear father, Messias HAS COME! (p. 80)

But Adina also says that she is anticipating her story and will slow down to tell her father how she made this discovery. This narrative ploy not only allows Adina time to detail her first sight of Jesus but also builds some suspense. Prince, indeed, does build a certain amount of anticipation and interest that has been largely absent in Ingraham's novels for several years.

Adina notes that the Christ must work miracles in order for the people to believe in Him, and the first miracle, that of changing water

to wine at Cana, is detailed in letter thirteen. By this time we have the two motifs that dominate Ingraham's conception of Christ: He is a man and suffers more than most, but He also has the ability to work miracles with God's help. Curiously enough, the teachings of Jesus are not emphasized in Prince; Adina notes Christ "'seems both a man in suffering, and a God in creating!,'" (p. 167) but his teachings are not detailed, only suggested.

Much of the middle section of the novel is concerned with the miracles of Jesus and Adina's deepening belief in Him. Christ restores sanity to a maniac named Benjamin, restores life to Samuel and Lazarus, and performs other miracles which give Him a wide following among the common people but not among the Jewish priests. The subplot is not forgotten. Adina likes Aemilius but cannot think of marrying him because he believes in the Roman gods. Aemilius, however, by the twenty-second letter, is converted to Judaism; Adina writes her father that "There stands now, dear father, no further bar to our union." (p. 240)

The plot really begins to pick up speed when Adina reports, in letter twenty-nine, that "Jesus, the Prophet of God, is a prisoner to the Roman power!" (p. 312) Then she tells the background of Jesus' being captured by quoting John's account of the Last Supper. Jesus told his disciples to love one another, told them how they would react to his capture, and is soon betrayed by Judas Iscariot. Adina is shocked at Jesus' capture, but she does not lose faith in him because

> I have seen Him bring Lazarus from the grave, and I will not believe but that He can save himself, and will save himself, from their hands. It is only when I shall behold him really no more—see him really dead, that my faith in his divine mission will waver. (pp. 326-327)

With this statement of less than total belief Adina ends her long twenty-ninth letter.

Letter thirty brings yet another change of tone:

> I know not how to write—I know not what to say . . . . I feel as if life were a burden too heavy to bear. Disappointment and regrets are all that remain to me. He, in whom I trusted—He, whom thousands in Judah had begun to look upon as the hope of the nation—He who . . . would have redeemed Israel—Jesus, has been delivered, this morning, by the Roman Procurator, to be condemned to death, and they have crucified him! (p. 328)

With mounting gloom Adina recounts Jesus' treatment at the hands of the Jewish priests Annas and Caiaphas. He is saved from some injuries by Aemilius and a squadron of soldiers, and it is Aemilius who brings Jesus to Pilate. Pilate sends Him to Herod, but Herod returns Him, and Pilate finally condemns Jesus because he does not have enough soldiers to control the unruly Jews.

Adina's gloom vanished abruptly when in letter thirty-seven, she says: "Jesus is alive! Jesus has RISEN FROM THE DEAD! Jesus has proved himself to be the Son of God." (p. 423) Adina reproaches herself for not believing in Him and sees Jesus ascend into Heaven forty days after His resurrection, His work on earth completed.

Here the novel ends, but, in the fashion of the day, Ingraham adds a postscript to explain Adina's future. He tells us that Adina and Aemilius are married and that Aemilius later became Procurator of Britain. Adina and Aemilius are among the first to entertain the apostle Paul when he comes to preach the gospel of Jesus to Britain. Ingraham continues:

> The first establishment of the faith of Jesus in this remote Roman barbaric Province by the Jewish Apostle, and its spread throughout the island, are to be found written in detail in certain letters, which the daughter of Aemilius and of Adina wrote to her brother, a Roman knight at Rome. (p. 456)

This postscript illustrates that Ingraham was considering a sequel to Prince even as he finished the novel. That sequel was undoubtedly St. Paul the Roman Citizen, the novel that the author was contemplating at the time of his death in 1860. St. Paul would probably have been based on the Pauline letters in the New Testament. Ingraham, however, was first to complete two novels that precede Prince in terms of historical time and which are based in the Old Testament.

The Prince of the House of David seems to be based primarily on the Gospel according to St. John,[23] but not everything in the novel is found in St. John. Ingraham apparently used chapter one of Acts for the information on Christ's Ascension, and he used pieces from the Gospels of St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke to fill in information on Christ's youth and early manhood. Both St. John and St. Mark emphasize the humanity of Jesus while St. Matthew emphasizes the teachings of Jesus. It appears that Ingraham was influenced least by St. Matthew because Prince does not devote much attention to Jesus' parables or sermons. The novel presents Jesus' humanity by showing Him visiting and helping all classes of people, but more emphasis is placed on Jesus' physical sufferings.

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[23]Warren G. French, "A Hundred Years of a Religious Bestseller," Western Humanities Review, X (Winter, 1955-1956), 49.

Jesus is, in many respects, a typical Ingraham hero. He has "'A form divine, and fit for Apollo. . . . The chisel of Praxiteles nor of Phidias ne'er traced the outlines of limbs and neck like these. He is the very incarnation of human symmetry and dignity.'" (p. 363) Most of Ingraham's heroes and heroines have similar superior physical characteristics. That Jesus has dark eyes and triumphs over his enemies are also Ingraham staples, but here the typical characteristics end and the unique characteristics of Jesus begin. Jesus is a humble individual; even when people wish to thank Him for His many miracles, He shuns their protestations of gratitude. Jesus' sufferings are another evidence of His human qualities. When Jesus prays on Mount Olivet, we are told that

> "his countenance was convulsed with anguish; and upon his brow stood great shining drops of sweat, mingled with blood, which oozed from his pallid temples, and rolling down his marble cheeks, dropped to the ground. Never had we beheld a human visage so marred by sorrow, so deeply graven with the lines of agony." (pp. 318-319)

He works miracles as an emissary of God but also because the people expect miracles from God's prophet and would not believe in Him otherwise. Adina is a good index to this fact, for she loses faith in Jesus when He allows Himself to be captured by the Jews and does not use His abilities to free Himself or mitigate His sufferings. Jesus meets death with courage, and, of course, rises after three days to the utter consternation of His enemies. In his portrayal of Jesus Ingraham does not mention specific parables and sermons, but the author has explained that he intended to present Jesus as a man, and he has done so. The author emphasized His miraculous nature to give some indication that He was endowed with the power of God.

Adina is the only other character that is developed in any depth. She begins the tale as a happy girl of nineteen, and, when it ends, she is a more mature maiden of twenty-two. This change is not remarkable considering what Adina saw and experienced, but one flaw in the novel is that Ingraham seldom lets us know that time is passing. Adina does go through a believable series of changes in relation to Jesus, but we are most often not aware of the time it takes to effect these changes. She first has doubts, and later she believes; when He is captured, her faith wavers, and it dies with Jesus. When Jesus rises from the tomb, her faith returns and does not waver again; indeed, after the Resurrection Adina is very contrite that she ever doubted. Her rhetorical excesses are displayed in some previously quoted passages and are those of a typical Ingraham romantic heroine, but the Professor does make her more believable than some female characters in many of his earlier novels; we do see her change in the ways noted as the novel progresses.

Adina is the writer of the thirty-nine letters, but hers is not the only point-of-view employed. She often quotes accounts and letters of others who are in a position to observe more than she. The disciple John, for instance, is quoted at length on Jesus' capture and trial while Mary, a cousin of Adina, writes to Martha and Lazarus another view of the same momentous events. None of the different accounts, however, vary greatly in style.

It is often difficult to maintain complete organic unity in an epistolary novel, and Prince illustrates this fact well. Ingraham

characteristically spends much time and space with minute descriptions of actions or places. One testimony to the novel's lack of unity is provided by the 1948 edition published by the London firm of Collins. Some editor has cut about twenty percent out of the lengthy novel, and that unknown editor's deletions seldom do violence to Ingraham's story. As has been mentioned, Ingraham revised the book himself, but his revisions were relatively minor. He corrected some place names ("Bethany" instead of "Bethlehem") and slightly altered the structure of some sentences through the addition or deletion of dependent phrases. The 1855 edition uses more exclamation marks for emphasis than does the later edition, and the first edition is extremely irregular in capitalizing pronouns referring to Jesus—"he" instead of "He," "his" instead of "His," and similar slips were largely rectified by 1859. The biggest substantive change in Ingraham's second edition was that he omitted the postscript at the end of the last letter which explains what later happened to Adina.

Prince was almost certainly popular for its content as well as its form.[24] It told an absorbing tale familiar to many, and it told it in the non-Biblical language familiar to the nineteenth-century reading public. One critic has correctly noted that Ingraham's nonintellectualized treatment of Jesus, that his emphasis on Jesus' miracles, was exactly what a mass audience was waiting for.[25] The novel creates genuine suspense and maintains interest even though the reader might

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[24]French, p. 54.

[25]French, p. 52.

well already know the outcome of Jesus' life. Much emphasis is placed on action, and, though the novel is classified as romantic, it does have realistic touches about such items as Jesus' sufferings and Adina's wavering faith.

In contrast, The Pillar of Fire,[26] Ingraham's second Biblical novel, is not as interesting or as full of suspense. Pillar, which is based in the Old Testament account of the Hebrew bondage in Egypt as found in Exodus, enlarges the brief Biblical account to six hundred pages. Ingraham set the beginning of his novel in 1581 B. C., and ended it forty-six years later. Pillar is also an epistolary novel and contains forty-four letters by four different authors. The major correspondent is Sesostris, the twenty-eight year old Prince of Tyre, who goes to Egypt to learn about the culture of the world's most powerful country.

Sesostris writes twenty-five letters to his mother, Queen Epiphia, and his letters comprise the bulk of the novel. Sesotris' letters also have the least to do with the Biblical source although he does meet Remeses-Moses by his second letter. Seostris is quite impressed with Egypt:

> Egypt, compared with the kingdom of Phoenicia seems truly the land of the blessed. What far-famed warriors! what stately priests, clothed with power from the gods! what superb princes! . . . what grace and dignity in the virgins of the Sun! what a stupendous system of worship! what mighty mausoleums, both tomb and temple, rising like mountains hewn into solid triangles everywhere over the illimitable plain! What a land of verdure and of flowers!—land of gardens and palaces, obelisks and fountains, fanes and altars, sphinxes and gigantic statues!—

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[26]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, The Pillar of Fire; or, Israel in Bondage (New York: Pudney & Russell, 1859). Future references are parenthetical.

> land, comprising all that can delight the heart or take captive the sense! (pp. 26-27)

This catalog of things to see in Egypt is found in Sesostris' first letter, and it acts as a loose guideline for the Prince of Tyre since most of his letters concern the wonders of Egypt. Just as Prince employs the former Professor's technique through its love plot, Pillar reveals the early Ingraham through the mass of travel commentary that takes up over half the novel. Some of the commentary is interesting, but, in the interest of organic unity, most of it could be omitted.

One point where the novel differs from the Bible is that, according to Ingraham, Egypt is ruled by Amense, Moses' mother. There is no Pharaoh, and Remeses-Moses is heir to the throne. The future Pharaoh, however, wishes his mother long life because he does not want the problem of dealing with the ever-multiplying Hebrew slaves. The slaves are used to make brick for Egyptian building projects, and the Phoenician Prince comments in his sixth letter that "this cruel bondage of the Hebrews is the only dark spot which I have seen in Egypt." (p. 110) From this letter on we get scattered comments about the Hebrews juxtaposed against the marvels of Egypt.

We meet Moeris, nephew of Amense, who is second in line for the throne of Egypt; a subplot revolves around the rivalry between Moeris and Remeses-Moses. In terms of emphasis, the story of Moses almost qualifies as a subplot until the twenty-first letter. We then learn that Amense wants to give Moses the throne on his upcoming thirty-fifth birthday. Amense reveals that Moses is a Hebrew and was

taken from the Nile in a basket of reeds. This revelation renews the reader's interest in the novel, and the Moses' story dominates the latter third of the volume.

Moses independently discovers he is a Hebrew and cannot ascend the throne. Amense dies when Moses refuses to take the throne because of his birth, and Moeris becomes Pharaoh. Moses goes to Tyre with Sesostris, and Sesostris' letters end. Moses writes a few letters to his brother Aaron and his sister Miriam, but it is Aaron who writes Sesostris that Moses returned to Egypt and killed an Egyptian who was beating a Hebrew. Moses, of course, flees, and forty years are said to pass before the action is resumed.

Remeses, Prince of Tyre and of Damascus, son of King Sesostris, visits Egypt after the forty years and writes his father the eleven remaining letters of the novel. Moeris is dead; Thothmeses IV is Pharaoh. Remeses decides to visit Midian and meets his eighty-year old namesake. Moses, we are told, has been tending sheep and has written the book of Genesis. Remeses, of course, has come at an important time, for Moses soon discovers that he is to deliver the Hebrews out of their Egyptian bondage.

Moses leaves Midian, goes to Egypt, and presents God's demand for the Hebrews' freedom to Pharaoh. The ruler's stubbornness and the consequent plagues follow rather closely chapter seven through twelve of Exodus though Ingraham does add details to the brief Biblical account. The Hebrews leave Egypt, cross the Arabian Sea on dry land, and see God drown the entire Egyptian army. Moses goes up into Mount Sinai and

receives God's Ten Commandments with remarkably little authorial fanfare or detail. He returns to find the fickle Hebrews dancing naked around a model of Serapis, one of the Egyptian gods modeled for them by Aaron. Moses calls on the faithful to slay the idolaters, and three thousand Hebrews die. Moses tells Remeses that the people will have to spend years in the wilderness for worshipping an idol, and so Remeses joins a passing caravan and returns home at the end of the novel.

Ingraham, in an appendix to Pillar, shows that he did his historical homework. He explains where he got most of the detail about Egypt that fills much of his novel. He also indicates that his purpose in writing Pillar was similar to his purpose for Prince:

> The intention of the author in writing these works on Scripture narratives is to draw the attention of those persons who do not read the Bible, or who read it carelessly, to the wonderful events it records, as well as the divine doctrine it teaches; and to tempt them to seek the inspired sources from which he mainly draws his facts. (p. 600)

Ingraham does take some facts from the Bible and is generally faithful to the tale of the deliverance of the Hebrews from Egypt, but—as his appendix indicates and the novel confirms—he certainly did not take all his facts from that source. As far as "divine doctrine" is concerned, he does not teach except obliquely, a trait Pillar shares with Prince.

Ingraham ends his appendix and the volume by announcing the subject of his next novel:

> The author's plan embraces three works of equal size. They cover the three great eras of Hebrew history, viz.: its beginning, at the Exodus; its culmination, as in the reigns of David and Solomon; its decline, as in the day of Our Lord's incarnation. (p. 600)

The next novel of the author's trilogy, then, would cover "the reigns of David and Solomon."

Though Pillar is narrated by four letter writers, there are, again no stylistic differences between the correspondents. Ingraham stays out of the novel, but we may notice that his first-person narrators all have the tendency to digress from the main subject, a trait exhibited in most of the writer's novels. Indeed, it is these digressions that take up most of Pillar. Sesostris warns his mother that "you must not, in familiar letters, look for artistic continuity of narrative," (p. 55) and the reader certainly notices little artistic continuity. Some readers, however, would enjoy the digressions on Egyptian culture, for they do tell us much about the general period around 1581 B. C., and the details are accurate—they are not figments of the author's imagination. Ingraham attempts to create suspense here as he did in Prince by sprinkling cryptic bits of news throughout his letters that he expands later on, but the technique is not as effective here because of the masses of historical data. Both the epistolary form and the historical data work against the unity of the novel.

The characters are not well-developed. Moses, even before he finds he is a Hebrew, is disposed to kindness toward the slaves and belief in one god though it is not the God of the Hebrews. The discovery of his birth changes only his situation, not his character; Sesostris enjoys acquiring new knowledge and is loyal to Moses before and after the Hebrew blood tie is announced. Sesostris is betrothed to a princess, but the novel is surprisingly devoid of a love plot. Queen Amense is

the only other character drawn at any length, and she is simply a just, wise queen who dearly loves her adopted son.

In spite of its faults, Pillar was a popular novel. It had sold nearly 500,000 copies in six months,[27] and its continued popularity is suggested by the fact that it was often reprinted after Ingraham's death. The popularity of these Biblical novels led Ingraham to produce his next novel within a year.

The Throne of David, the third of Ingraham's trilogy on the history of the Hebrews, was dated from Holly Springs, Mississippi, January 26, 1860.[28] Its six hundred pages constitute a picture of the second great period of Hebrew history, the reigns of King Saul and King David. Like its predecessors, Throne is an epistolary novel, and it is narrated in eighteen letters—sixteen by Arbaces, cousin of Belus, King of Assyria, and two by Hadad Ben Isrilid, Arbaces' son. In all, the novel covers about forty-three years, the last three years of Saul's reign and the forty years of David's.

King Belus of Assyria dispatches his cousin Arbaces to Egypt with his proposal to marry Pharaoh's daughter. So, around 1050 B. C.,

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[27]Rev. of The Pillar of Fire, by Rev. J. H. Ingraham, Knickerbocker, 53 (June, 1859), 639.

[28]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, The Throne of David; from the Consecration of the Shepherd of Bethlehem, to the Rebellion of Prince Absalom. Being an Illustration of the Splendor, Power, and Dominion of the Reign of the Shepherd,—Poet,—Warrior,—King, and Prophet, Ancestor and Type of Jesus; in a Series of Letters Addressed by an Assyrian Ambassador, Resident at the Court of Saul and David, to his Lord and King on the Throne of Ninevah; Wherein the Story of Assyria, as Well as the Magnificence of Judea is Presented to the Reader as by an Eye Witness (Philadelphia: G. G. Evans, 1860), p. 10. Future references are parenthetical.

Arbaces leaves for Egypt on his mission with a huge retinue. He has to pass through the kingdom of the Hebrews on his way and pens his first letter from the city of Jericho, near the Jordan River. Arbaces reports that the prophet Samuel no longer rules the Hebrews; King Saul does. The ambassador meets Jonathan, son of Saul, and is greatly impressed by the young prince. Arbaces also meets the aged Samuel as well as the young shepherd David. To complete his acquaintance with the most important people of the day, Arbaces finally meets Saul,

> the most magnificent looking man I ever beheld! Tall, with almost the proportions of a splendid giant; yet, from the perfect symmetry of his limbs, carrying himself with a firm, graceful, and noble air! His head was grand! and covered with short masses of curling locks, which were black as night! . . . He seemed to be about fifty-six or eight years of age, a few silver threads woven into his heavy beard, which covered only his upper lip and cheeks. (pp. 155-156)

Despite his imposing appearance, Saul is often visited with an incurable gloominess that erases much of his magnificence. This moodiness is God's judgment on Saul, for the King had once offered a sacrifice before battle without the presence of a priest. For his impiety, Saul is told that he is the last of his line that will remain upon the throne of Israel.

While Arbaces is at Saul's court, the King has to war against the Phillistines. Goliath of Gath, a nine-foot giant, challenges Saul to combat, but the King is seized with one of his moods and cannot fight. The young shepherd David stuns Goliath with a stone and cuts off the giant's head. Proclaimed a hero by the people, David's act only serves to enrage Saul, and the King makes an attempt on the

shepherd's life. David flees the court. When David leaves, Arbaces, after three months in Judea, heads again for Egypt.

The ambassador arrives in Egypt and woos Zaila, Pharaoh's daughter, for Belus. Zaila, however, falls for Arbaces and says she will marry only him. The Ambassador refuses and is thrown in prison for his allegiance to his King's interests. Arbaces spends two and a half years in prison and is released only when Zaila dies. He returns to Judea and writes Belus about the failure of his trip.

David has become a greater hero to the people since Arbaces left for Egypt. Saul has died on the battlefield along with Jonathan. David has been crowned King of Israel. All of these events had occurred while Arbaces was languishing in prison. When the Ambassador returns to Israel, King David asks him to stay at court as resident Assyrian Ambassador. Arbaces adopts the Hebrew faith, marries the Jewess Adora, and prepares to remain at David's court.

When the story resumes, seven years have passed. David has been attempting to unify the Hebrews and has spent much of his reign on the battlefield. Adora is heiress to the throne of Tadmor and, since David wants the kingdom in friendly hands, he deposes an usurper, and Adora is crowned Queen; Arbaces is then Prince-Consort.

Twenty years pass before the story begins anew. David has stopped worshipping God since he has all he desires. Hadad Ben Isrilid, son of Arbaces and Adora, comes to Jerusalem to learn "the art of arms and of letters" (p. 519) and begins the first of two letters to his parents. Davis has slipped so far that he has gotten Bathsheba, wife

of the soldier Uriah, pregnant. He orders Uriah home from war to cover up his transgression, but his strategem fails. David then orders Uriah put in the forefront of battle, and the warrior is slain. David marries Bathsheba. The prophet Nathan rebukes the King who confesses his guilt; the illegitimately conceived child dies as a measure of God's displeasure.

Seven more years pass. Solomon, another son, has been born to David and Bathsheba. After a few comments on the state of the kingdom, Isrilid ends his last letter and returns to Tadmor.

Ingraham tells his readers that Solomon followed David and that Solomon erected the temple to God that David was prevented from building by continued warfare. Ingraham also lists the books of the Old Testament from which he drew his story—Joshua, I Samuel, II Samuel, and I Kings. Four appendices explain some aspects of Solomon's reign.

The Throne of David, like The Pillar of Fire and The Prince of the House of David, was written to entertain and to draw the reader back to his Bible. Ingraham is quite explicit about his aims in Throne: "The present work . . . is an attempt to illustrate . . . the grandeur of Hebraic history, when the 'People of God' had attained, under the reigns of David and Solomon, the height of their power and glory as a nation." (p. 7) The author also notes that his purpose of sending readers to the Bible has been successful. He reports that he has "numerous letters . . . from grateful writers" (p. 8) who have redirected their attention to the Bible. Obviously his public found the stories entertaining, for they were certainly read.

If the reader goes to the Bible after reading Throne however, he will discover that Ingraham made a few minor changes that help to illustrate his conception of the temper of the time. Obviously the Arbaces subplot is not to be found in the Bible. Arbaces' trip and his love for Adora give some continuity to the whole, and, again, reveal Ingraham's background as a writer of romance and travel literature. The author continued to enlarge upon the "facts" as reported in the Bible but, in Throne, he changed a few details of those facts for the first time.

According to Ingraham, when Saul learned that David wished to marry his daughter Michal, Saul required that David bring him the heads of one hundred Philistines. David brought him two hundred heads and claimed his bride. According to the Bible, Saul required the foreskins of one hundred Philistines, and David brought him two hundred. Another instance where Ingraham took some liberty occurs when Amnon, one of David's sons, "insulted his sister, Tamar, in a manner no brother could lightly pardon." (p. 555) The Bible, in II Samuel 13:14 reports that Amnon raped Tamar. In both instances, however, Tamar was avenged by Absalom, who killed Amnon. It is apparent that Ingraham felt explicit references to sexual matters had no place in his novel, or, perhaps, he felt that his method of enlarging upon the original would simply not have been accepted by the reading public in these cases. He had to mention David's seduction of Bathsheba to explain the later presence of Solomon, but, at least, in that instance, the fruit of the seduction died as punishment for the deed. Solomon was born after David and Bathsheba were lawfully married.

Throne has, like the other Ingraham Biblical novels, much descriptive material which could have been omitted. Most of the novel uses a vocabulary and diction common to other Ingraham novels, a vocabulary and diction aimed at being plainly understood. Throne does contain several unacknowledged passages quoted from the Bible, and they stand out because their vocabulary is different. One Biblical passage quoted almost verbatim occurs when God speaks to Moses just before he dies and says:

> "'This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed! Behold, this land of Canaan I give unto the children of Israel for a possession forever! Lo, I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes' but thou shalt not go over thither!'" (p. 57)

In Deuteronomy 34:4 (King James version) the passage reads:

> This is the land which I sware unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying, I will give it unto thy seed: I have caused thee to see it with thine eyes, but thou shalt not go over thither.

The changes are minimal. Ingraham primarily added a sentence and some exclamation marks. In forthright narrative his speakers do not use such Biblical forms as "thy," "thee," or "thou." They use the "your," "you," and "you" with which a nineteenth century reader would feel more familiar.

Four narrators tell the story—Arbaces, Hadad, Heleph, and Ingraham himself. Heleph, who was an armor-bearer to Jonathan, wrote to Arbaces when the latter was in an Egyptian prison. Ingraham added details to the story that Arbaces could not or does not. The author's main contribution as narrator also occurs when Arbaces is in prison.

Not unexpectedly, these narrators have no different personalities. The first-person point-of-view does give the reader a sense of participating directly in the action, but the technique would have been more effective had each narrator displayed a difference in how they saw what they did.

The characters are not well-developed with the possible exception of David. David is, first, a shepherd. He soon becomes Saul's favorite harper, then a champion of the people. David is crowned King, wins many victories, forgets the Lord, and seduces Bathsheba. He is then penitent and later shows forbearance when his son Absalom tries to depose him. Through these changes we do see many facets of the man and learn of his strengths as well as his frailties. Because he is revealed as human and not a perfect being, he is certainly the most believable person in the novel.

Although The Throne of David was Ingraham's final novel, it was not his last printed work. Ingraham ended his publishing career as he had begun it—by writing of the South, its customs, and its inhabitants. The Sunny South, printed in the latter part of 1860,[29] was a collection of sixty-nine letters written by "Kate Conyngham" and addressed to the editor of the Philadelphia American Saturday Courier.[30] Most of the letters were printed in the Courier and appeared at intervals from 1853 through 1856. (p. 4)

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[29]Jacob Blanck, Bibliography of American Literature, IV (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), 484.

[30]J. H. Ingraham, The Sunny South; or, The Southerner at Home, Embracing Five Years' Experience of a Northern Governess in the Land of the Sugar and the Cotton (1860; rpt. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), p. 5. Future references are parenthetical.

Ingraham, who professed to editing the volume, wrote an "Editorial Letter" to George G. Evans, the original printer, in which he noted that "Thirty years' residence at the South, chiefly at Natchez, Nashville, and Mobile, enables me to form, perhaps, a correct estimate of the accuracy of a work professing to relate the experiences of a stranger from the North." (p. 3) The "stranger" was Kate Conyngham who, at age nineteen, left a village not far from Portland, Maine, to become a governess to Isabel Peyton. Isabel lives two and a half hours' ride from Nashville, Tennessee, and The Sunny South tells us what Kate saw and experienced there.

Though The Sunny South does have a plot of sorts in telling what happens to Kate over a five-year period, the volume is also a travel narrative. It differs from The South-West[31] in having that faint plot, in using somewhat less description, and in being much more sentimental and defensive about the Southern way of life. The defensiveness is partly indicated in Ingraham's statement that

> The tone of the Book is strictly conservative and national, . . . [it] will, without doubt, be an acceptable gift to the reading public; especially, when hitherto so much in relation by our people and institutions is misunderstood and misinterpreted by those who have no personal knowledge either of Southerners or of Southern life.
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> . . . . . .
>
> The object of this work is to do justice to the Southern planter, and, at the same time, afford information in an agreeable form to the Northerner. (pp. 4-5)

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[31] [J. H. Ingraham] The South-West, 2 vols. (1835; rpt. Ann Arbor: University Microfilsm, 1966).

Despite a disclaimer that the book was not written in answer to Harriet Beecher Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin,[32] it most probably was, for there is nothing that Kate comments on so often and so at length as the place of slaves in Southern society.

Kate's sentimentality about the slaves is most often rhetorical. In musing on the tombstone of a faithful black erected by his master, Kate comments

> "A faithful servant." . . . Who can ask for greater commendation? In his narrow and humble sphere he served faithfully, and has entered into his rest. Oh! that I, also, may have it inscribed upon my tomb, that I have been "a faithful servant" in my sphere wherein my Maker has placed me. It is praise enough for a king. (p. 266)

The reader will also find effusions on a pet deer, several horses, and assorted other animals. Signing the letters "Kate Conyngham" and infusing them with some sentimentality may have been a calculated move by Ingraham to capture the female audience that Stowe had captured as well as to disguise their authorship by a man known to prefer Southern living.

Colonel Peyton's plantation is a large one that utilizes the services of many slaves. These blacks live in a neat village on the estate. Shortly after her arrival from Maine, Kate notes that

> I am already getting reconciled to slavery, since I find that it does not, in reality, exhibit the revolting horrors I was taught in the North to discover in it. There are many things to admire and to interest one in the social and domestic condition of the slaves, and I am almost ready to acknowledge that the

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[32]Harriet Beecher Stowe, Uncle Tom's Cabin, ed. Kenneth S. Lynn (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1962).

> African is happier in bondage than free! At least one thing is certain: nearly all the free negroes I have ever seen in the North were miserable creatures, poor, ragged, and often criminal. Here they are well clad, moral, nearly all religious, and the temptations that demoralize the free blacks in our northern cities are unknown to, and cannot approach them. (p. 59)

The pleasant condition of the slaves and the kindness of their masters come up again and again. Kate is even given a female slave to attend to her needs when she arrives in Tennessee.

Life on the Peyton plantation is fun. Kate goes fox-hunting, deer-hunting, fishing, and sips an occasional mint julep. She reads often and occasionally comments on the transitory quality of literary fame. On one visit to Nashville she notes that

> The churches of this city are not handsome or imposing. And who do you suppose I heard read the service, the last Sabbath I was in town? Mr. H—, once an author, who has been for two years past studying for orders in the church. He is also principal of an Academy for young ladies in the city, a position which he holds temporarily, until he shall be ordained. I trust he will be eminently useful as a clergyman. (p. 74)

It is fair to say that Ingraham was "eminently useful as a clergyman."

Kate visits a spa in Columbia, Tennessee, and, after some time with the family, goes with them on a trip to New Orleans, where Colonel Peyton expects to sell his cotton and tobacco. They board the steamer America at Nashville and travel the Cumberland River north to where it joins the Ohio and, finally, the Mississippi. The fifteen-hundred mile trip is interrupted by a brief stay in Natchez at a plantation that obviously is modelled on that belonging to Ingraham's mother-in-law. Kate tells us that six letters about the trip from Nashville to Natchez were lost in the mail and not rewritten, leaving some gap in the

continuity of her travels. The party stops at a sugar plantation north of New Orleans and Isabel, Kate's pupil, is soon engaged to the son of the owner. The couple is married, and Kate accompanies them by ship to New York, where they leave for Europe while Kate returns to Maine.

Two years pass before Kate writes another letter. She is now Mrs. de Cressy and lives on a sugar plantation in Thibodeau, Louisiana. The letters become even more sentimental as Kate writes about her husband, her home, and her new son. Kate does not forget slavery however. This set of letters displays an awareness that the country's difference in attitudes on slavery is becoming dangerous to the Union. She reports that "So great is the hostility of the northern abolitionists against the South, that southern parents are becoming more and more reluctant to send their sons and daughters there" (pp. 494-495) to school. Unless "Abolitionism cease its hostility, the South will separate itself from the North." (p. 495) Kate does believe in the ways of her adopted region, but she is also for the Union and regrets the interference of Northern abolitionists in the South's affairs.

Kate travels some after she is married, but the descriptions of her journeys are not detailed. She goes to Mobile and heads northeast through Montgomery, Alabama, Augusta, Georgia, and on through the Carolinas. The volume ends as she and her family are preparing to leave New York for England for a two-year sojourn.

The Sunny South is a superficial travel volume when compared to the detailed travel sketches in The South-West. The Sunny South seems to have been written primarily for the women of the nineteenth

century. Its sentimentality would not have gained it many male readers. The two works are an indication, however, of how much Ingraham had come to love the South in the twenty-five years that separated their publication. The South-West is not only detailed but is also relatively straightforward non-biased travel writing. The Sunny South is more domestic in its emphasis and more emphatically favorable to the ways of the region. Both books have value as works which display various facets of the antebellum South. The South was a region of some leisure and much less complexity than the North. People may have been just as poor in the South as in the North, but Ingraham shows more unhappiness and more evil coming from the land of the Yankee as those Northerners attempted to interfere in the life of another region.

Besides illustrating his love for his adopted region, The Sunny South often shows the feelings of the minister who wrote it. Kate often quotes and makes specific references to Bible verses as she moves through her daily life. She tells a lengthy account of how a slave saw Jesus and was converted. She is quite humanitarian and comments once that she abhors capital punishment; she indicates that life imprisonment would be an improvement over the death penalty. She reads and enjoys Emerson's "Nature" but does not understand how Emerson could not believe the New Testament.

The Sunny South and the three Biblical novels are the major works of Ingraham's last years as a writer. The late 1840 and early 1850 novels are best forgotten. The Report Upon a Proposed System of Public Education, for the City of Nashville, Respectfully Addressed to

its Citizens is valuable since it displays Ingraham's interest in public education, but it is more useful in a biographical sense than a literary one.

Ingraham's career as a minister did indeed influence the content of his works though it did not much influence his techniques as a writer. He began and ended his literary career by printing volumes about the South he loved and adopted, but the focus of the works is different. The South-West describes rather straightforwardly and with little prejudice a region known by comparatively few. The Sunny South de-emphasizes the travel material and stresses the pleasantness of the South and its institutions. All of the Biblical novels display the interest in travel description that marked The South-West, but these Biblical novels also illustrate the second phase of Ingraham's career, his years as producer of brief romantic novels that held the fancy of the reading public. It was the subject matter of the Biblical novels that marked the last phase in the Professor's writing career as different. But when one considers the religious overtones in several of his earlier works, he cannot be too surprised that Ingraham would either join the ministry or use the Bible as source material for several novels.

At the time of his death Ingraham was planning a fourth Biblical novel, St. Paul the Roman Citizen, and was also planning to reduce his ministerial duties so he would be able to devote more time to "'preaching

through books.'"[33] He would have been well-pleased to continue his career as a writer of Biblical fiction, for in it he was able to combine the travel description and romance so characteristic of most of his work. Also, he was again able, with those last novels, to write works that were comparable in length to those written at the first of his career. With only a change in subject-matter, therefore, Ingraham would have been able to continue a career he had so strongly begun twenty-five year earlier.

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[33]Charles S. Sydnor, A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region: Benjamin L. C. Wailes (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938), p. 133.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Kate Conyngham, the suppositious author of The Sunny South, wrote that "I have very little hopes of being immortalized through my pen!"[1] One can picture Ingraham scribbling those words and reflecting on a literary career that had spanned over a quarter of a century. He had written for the masses and had achieved popular acclamation, but he must surely have been aware that his name was not destined to rank high among the literary immortals and that his popularity might die when he did. It has been noted that "more of our best authors write primarily for a small and sophisticated circle of readers,"[2] and, since Ingraham generally wrote for a large circle of readers, his work has not been seriously studied, and he remains largely forgotten. He was not a man for the ages but was a child of his times and a mirror of some aspects of it.

We now know quite a bit about the Professor, but what we do not know would still fill a brief essay. We lack some information about his family, about his movements, about his careers, and we cannot compile

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[1] J. H. Ingraham, The Sunny South; or, The Southerner at Home, Embracing Five Years Experience of a Northern Governess in the Land of the Sugar and the Cotton (1860; rpt. New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968), p. 81.

[2] Jay B. Hubbell, Who Are Our Major American Writers? (Durham: Duke University Press), p. 32.

a definitive bibliography of all his works. We have, in terms of primary materials, discussed much of what he wrote for the public—the novels and other fiction, the poems, the travel sketches, the essays. We have examined for the first time all his known extant letters and the parish reports he filed yearly when he was a minister. Little can be added to our conclusion that has not already been mentioned.

Personally, Ingraham was a fascinating individual and an admirable one. He saw much of and wrote much about the America he observed in his much-travelled life. He sacrificed considerably to support his family and to keep them out of debt—and not always successfully. He seems to have been more successful in keeping the churches he had charge of out of debt, though he managed that achievement by depriving himself and his family of his ministerial salary. In order to support his dependents he had to teach and write. We know little of his teaching, but we have most of the products of his pen. He must have been a strong man to live the strenuously busy life he did, and the fact that he kept active in many fields may perhaps demonstrate his commitment to his work, his commitment to his family, and his genuine faith in God and His providence.

When one looks at Ingraham's literary career over the twenty-seven years he was actively engaged in writing, one can see many diverse pieces, but one can also see that he adhered rather closely to certain types of works. Initially, he gained a following by writing <u>The</u>

South-West,[3] a series of travel sketches, and captured a larger following with his first novel, Lafitte.[4] In addition to travel sketches and other tales of the sea, Ingraham wrote moral tales, essays, poetry, supernatural stories, pieces of literary criticism, and chivalric narratives. His tales stressed action and almost always had a love plot. He was more concerned (with some exception) with action than with character and, as a result, most of his characters are not well developed. Indeed, stereotypes are common in the Professor's novels though we must give him credit for employing a wide range of character types. The manly, youthful hero, the dainty, youthful heroine, and the Byronic hero-villain appear often in Ingraham's works as do such distinct regional types as Negroes, Irishmen, quadroons, Southern colonels, Yankee businessmen, and Maine sea captains.

When a Negro appeared in a novel, he spoke in the appropriate dialect as did the rest of Ingraham's regional types. Dialecticians and others interested in the speech of the inhabitants of various areas might do well to examine the Professor's proficiency in such matters. This attention to detail is a major Ingraham characteristic, and his ability to delineate minutely scenes and action is perhaps his strongest trait. Unfortunately, because Ingraham could be quite detailed, when he was

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[3][J. H. Ingraham] The South-West, 2 vols. (1835; rpt. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1966).

[4][J. H. Ingraham] Lafitte: The Pirate of the Gulf, 2 vols. (1836; rpt. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Gregg Press, 1970). It is interesting to note that an extremely abbreviated edition of Lafitte was printed in the Boston Sunday Globe Magazine on November 8, 1925, pp. 10-11.

forced to abandon lengthy two-volume novels for much shorter ones in the 1840's, the quality of his work suffered. Written in haste, they were also proofread and printed with haste; typographical errors abound, and factual errors occasionally crept into the texts.

In spite of their flaws, many of Ingraham's shorter novels are worth reading today and have some intrinsic worth. Tales such as Paul Perril,[5] Frank Rivers,[6] La Bonita Cigarera,[7] Alice May,[8] and The Beautiful Unknown[9] have merit and deserve the consideration we have given them earlier. Even the novels that are not worth reading as literary works are valuable to the student of the period for what they show of an average American's reading habits in the 1840's.

Ingraham was also a prolific contributor to periodicals; it has seldom been noted how prolific he was. In terms of numbers, he wrote almost one hundred items that appeared in one hundred and sixty-five installments in twenty-six periodicals over a period of twenty-five years, and there are probably other items not yet located. In terms of

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[5]Professor Ingraham, Paul Perril, the Merchant's Son; or The Adventures of a New-England Boy Launched Upon Life, 2 vols. (Boston: Williams and Brothers [1847]).

[6][J. H. Ingraham] Frank Rivers; or, The Dangers of the Town [Boston: E. P. Williams, 1843].

[7]J. H. Ingraham, La Bonita Cigarera; or, The Beautiful Cigar Vender. A Tale of New York (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844).

[8]J. H. Ingraham, Alice May, and Bruising Bill (Boston: Gleason's Publishing Hall, 1845).

[9]Professor Ingraham, The Beautiful Unknown, or, Massey Finke (Boston: 'Yankee' Office, 1844).

genres, he contributed essays, fiction, and poetry; these contributions were even more diverse in subject matter than his novels. The quality of the pieces varies as widely as the content, but many are worth anthologizing. "Dots and Lines"[10] and "Sketches in the West"[11] continue the record of Ingraham's travels up the Mississippi River from Natchez, and "Travelling for Pleasure"[12] tells how Ingraham regarded being on the move. "Mrs. Nicholas Muggs"[13] is a humorous tale of a social climber. "Lines to the Bunker-Hill Monument"[14] is a fair poem on that Revolutionary War Monument. "An Evening at Buccleuch Hall"[15] is a pleasant ghost story. "West Point"[16] is an excellent tale of Benedict Arnold's treachery during

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[10] J. H. I., "Dots and Lines, No. I; or, Sketches of Scenes and Incidents in the West," Ladies' Companion, 2 (May, 1839), 38-41; "No. 11" (June, 1839), 69-71; "No. III" (July, 1839), 123-124; "No. IV" (August, 1839), 196; "No. IV [sic]" (September, 1839), 243-244.

[11] J. H. I., "Sketches in the West. No. I," Ladies' Companion, 13 (June, 1840), 67-68; "No. II" (July, 1840), 139-140; "No. III" (August, 1840), 202-203; "No. IV" (September, 1840), 215-216; "No. IV [sic]" (October, 1840), 281-282; "No. VI," 14 (December, 1840), 91-92; "No. VII" (January, 1841), 127-128; "No. VIII" (February, 1841), 185-186; "No. X [sic]" (April, 1841), 281-282.

[12] J. H. I., "Travelling for Pleasure," Ladies' Companion, 13 (January, 1840), 148.

[13] [J. H. Ingraham] "Mrs. Nicholas Muggs; or, The Hoax," The Gift: A Christmas and New Years' Present for 1839, ed. Miss Leslie (Philadelphia: E. L. Carey and A. Hart, 1838), 110-144.

[14] J. H. Ingraham, "Lines to the Bunker-Hill Monument," Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion, 2 (1842), 187.

[15] [J. H. Ingraham] "An Evening at Buccleuch Hall; or The Grenadier's Ghost. A Tale of the Old Stair Head Clock," Ladies' Companion, 17 (August, 1842), 166-171.

[16] [J. H. Ingraham] "Romance of American History. No. II. West Point.—A Tale of Treason," United States Magazine, and Democratic Review, 3 (November, 1838), 235-251; (December, 1838), 334-356.

the Revolutionary War. "Secrets of the Cells"[17] is an autobiographical series that tells of Ingraham's work at the Tennessee State Penitentiary. All these pieces demonstrate the Professor's competence in periodical writing, and the number of his works suggest their popularity.

The most popular of all of Ingraham's writings as far as we can determine were his three Biblical novels—The Pillar of Fire,[18] The Throne of David,[19] and The Prince of the House of David.[20] This trilogy delivered, in five-and six-hundred page installments, the history of the Hebrews from Moses in Egypt through the reigns of Saul and David to the last years of Christ on earth. These novels were definitely his longest; at the end of his writing career, he was able to combine all those items

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[17]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, "Secrets of the Cells: or, Leaves from My Diary," Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion, 8 (March 17, 1855), 162-164; (March 24, 1855), 178-179; (March 31, 1855), 194-195; (April 7, 1855), 210-211; (April 14, 1855), 226-227; (April 21, 1855), 242-243.

[18]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, The Pillar of Fire; or, Israel in Bondage (New York: Pudney & Russell, 1859).

[19]Rev. J. H. Ingraham, The Throne of David; from the Consecration of the Shepherd of Bethlehem, to the Rebellion of Prince Absalom. Being an Illustration of the Splendor, Power, and Dominion of the Reign of the Shepherd,—Poet,—Warrior,—King, and Prophet, Ancestor and Type of Jesus; in a Series of Letters Addressed by an Assyrian Ambassador, Resident at the Court of Saul and David, to his Lord and King on the Throne of Ninevah; wherein the Story of Assyria, as Well as the Magnificence of Judea is Presented to the Reader as by an Eye Witness (Philadelphia: G. G. Evans, 1860).

[20]Rev. Professor J. H. Ingraham, The Prince of the House of David; or Three Years in the Holy City. Being a Series of the Letters of Adina, A Jewess of Alexandria, Sojourning in Jerusalem in the Days of Herod, Addressed to Her Father, a Wealthy Jew in Egypt, and Relating as by an Eye-Witness, All the Scenes and Wonderful Incidents in the Life of Jesus of Nazareth, from His Baptism in Jordan to His Crucifixion on Calvary (New York: Pudney & Russell, 1855).

that had brought him fame—acceptable subject matter, length in which to maneuver, romantic plots, and much travel description. The subject matter had changed since 1835, but the methods had not changed drastically.

The Professor was allied to other Romantic writers through his love for nature. He spent much effort delineating the beauties of his country but little time contemplating the force or forces behind the beauty. He was romantic in another sense as he upheld the virtues of a son's love for his widowed mother (The Midshipman[21]) or a daughter's love for her widowed father (Jennette Alison[22]). He thought that "blood will tell," that natural superiority would assert itself. He believed in love at first sight (Burton[23]), which we now view as a cliché, and that lovers would wait for years if necessary to be able to marry well—seven years in "The Young Artist."[24] He seemed to believe that success would always come to those who persevered (Jemmy Daily[25]), that few strove in vain.

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[21]J. H. Ingraham, The Midshipman, or the Corvette and Brigantine. A Tale of Sea and Land (Boston: F. Gleason, 1844).

[22]J. H. Ingraham, Jennette Alison: or, The Young Strawberry Girl. A Tale of the Sea and the Shore (Boston: F. Gleason, 1848).

[23][J. H. Ingraham] Burton; or, The Seiges. A Romance, 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1838).

[24]J. H. Ingraham, "The Young Artist. A Story. Suggested by Mount's Picture of 'The Painter's Study,' in the Possession of Edward L. Carey, Esq.," Godey's Lady's Book, 20 (February, 1840), 81-85; (March, 1840), 113-119.

[25]J. H. Ingraham, Jemmy Daily: or, The Little News Vender. A Tale of Youthful Struggles and the Triumph of Truth and Virtue Over Vice and Falsehood (Boston: Brainard and Co., 1843).

All these ideas and others found abundant illustration in over one hundred novels and almost one hundred periodical pieces. To re-summarize their faults or shortcomings is not now necessary, for we have documented them earlier. We should note again, however, that there are readable and entertaining pieces in the mass of Ingraham's work. We have acknowledged that Ingraham was not a first-rate writer, but the critic who would fully understand the literary history of the quarter century of the Professor's productivity should know what the popular reading material was as well as the material from such ranking period authors as Emerson, Thoreau, Poe, Hawthorne, and Melville.

It is a tribute to Ingraham's place in literary and social history that several of his works are now available in reprint. The South-West,[26] Lafitte, The Sunny South, and The Prince of the House of David[27] may all be easily obtained, but only The South-West has any attempt at an introduction to the man and his works. We need an edited collection of some of Ingraham's work with a sound introduction to them. Had he written less, he would certainly have been appreciated more, but, as it is, only the few will plunge into the mass of Ingraham's work to search for the gems that are there. An anthology of his best writings would fulfill this need and perhaps help lift the curtain of ignorance and oblivion that marks current reactions to the author.

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[26][J. H. Ingraham] The South-West, 2 vols. (1835; rpt. Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, Inc., 1966).

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