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# Arrowhead's Cultural Landscape: the Berkshire Home of Herman Melville



Mt. Greylock from Arrowhead piazza

## Introduction

The intricate chemistry between people and place sparks a symbiotic relationship that amplifies its impact on each ingredient. Places profoundly affect people, and people can't help but affect the places they care for the most. Adding family legacy, cultural traditions, and emotive associations to the mix, and the genius of place is born. For many, the rocky, weather-beaten farms of the Berkshire Hills were such a place. For Melville, Arrowhead's meaning of place reared its head out of the stony ground like the great white whale himself. Arrowhead grounded Melville to his family legacy and unfurled some of his best writing. Over the years, it was hard to tell where the place ended and the person began.

This history of Arrowhead's cultural landscape attempts to ferret out the details of a story that spanned more than a century, from before the Civil War to the Great Depression. During these decades, Melville's tenure brings the story into focus, but this spotlight is preceded by the years in which his family joined the Pittsfield community and is followed by the years in which Melville's brother and his children continued to use the farm as a summer home. For the staff at Arrowhead, maintaining focus can be difficult when there are so many opportunities to swing the camera to other subjects and other people. As Melville's biographer said, however, Arrowhead will always be Herman Melville's home. Hopefully, this document can help provide the details, no matter what piece of the story is to be told at any given time. Limitations with project funding necessitated a carefully controlled research project. For that reason, the three decades between the 1840 and the 1870 became the primary focus of this project.

## Methodology

The research and writing of this history was funded by the Berkshire Historical Society through a grant from the Massachusetts Humanities Scholar in Residence Program. Many people contributed to the success of the project, including Will Garrison, curator and Elizabeth Sherman, director, Berkshire Historical Society. Research was conducted over a period of eight months, from April to November. Starting with a review of existing interpretative materials, the research delved into primary source materials found in the archives at Arrowhead and published in Hershel Parker's two volume *Herman Melville A Biography* (Johns Hopkins University Press 2002). From these more immediate sources, the research spanned the archives of more remote collections from Pittsfield to Worcester and beyond, including the holdings of the Pittsfield Athenaeum, the American Antiquarian Society, and the New York Public Library. In early October, 2012, a gathering of former and current staff, volunteers and scholars were brought together to review the findings of this research, share knowledge, and offer comments and suggestions on the work to date. This written report is the final stage of this project.



Figure 1: Banks of the Housatonic, at Pittsfield. *Picturesque America*, William Cullen Bryant, NY: D.Appleton, 1872

## The Lure of the Berkshires

From the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1920's, novelists and painters were drawn to the picturesque seclusion of the Berkshire Hills. Besides Melville, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Edith Wharton drew inspiration from these mountains and painters Thomas Cole and George Inness pushed the boundaries of the Hudson River School into the Housatonic Valley. These literary and artistic luminaries "gave the Berkshires a panache that attracted wealthy New Yorkers and Bostonians looking for more than just sylvan beauty."<sup>1</sup>

Hiking with mutual friends on Monument Mountain in August, 1850, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Herman Melville and their party had just laid out a picnic when a sudden downpour sent them scurrying for cover. Under the shelter of a rocky ledge, Melville and Hawthorne earnestly discussed their current work. Writing to Hawthorne a few days later, Melville thanked his new friend for "dropping germinous seeds into my soul," the start of a long and fruitful friendship and a conversation often credited as the discussion that launched *Moby Dick*. It is these fortuitous encounters that continue to draw artists to the Berkshires today – encounters among people and more private encounters with place. The thick blanket of hardwoods that cover the hillsides, the broad gentle river valleys, and the graceful (and sometimes dramatic) topography offers allure and retreat for the artist. Today sculptor, painter, dancer and musician find a home here, continuing a 150 year old tradition that has spawned some of America's greatest works.

The 1840s was an era of dramatic change for the southern Berkshires. The construction of the Housatonic Railroad and the Pittsfield and North Adams Railroad "changed the whole aspect of business affairs in Berkshire County....a region of exquisite natural beauty, consisting of an infinite and delightful variety of combination of hill and valley, lake and stream, rock and waterfall, farm and field." <sup>2</sup> Linked to a larger network of railroads, the new transportation system provided comfortable and easy access between the Berkshires, Boston, New York City, Albany, and the Hudson River Valley. As urban dwellers looked to escape what one writer called "the great heat pump" of the city, the railroad offered quick access to the clear air and cooler temperatures of seashore, lakes and mountains.

At the same time, rivers with adequate descent were harnessed to power paper, woodenware and textile mills. The same railroads that brought city dwellers to the country for the summer could be filled with industrial products on their return to the city. The mills offered a more profitable alternative to agricultural production

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<sup>1</sup> Carole Owens, *The Berkshire Cottages* quoted in "The Berkshires," Smithsonian.com  
[http://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/destamer\\_berkshires.html](http://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/destamer_berkshires.html)

<sup>2</sup> Howard pp. 99-100

that was limited by the Berkshire's steep slopes and stony soils. Woodlots, pastures and hayfields for sheep and dairy cows were the best choice for agriculture here. Only in the rich alluvial river floodplains could vegetables, small fruits and even tobacco (in the Pioneer Valley) thrive.

Starting in 1839, the region flirted with a brief but highly charged romance with the silk worm. Florence, Massachusetts, nestled on the upland hills above the Connecticut River, was nicknamed Silk City as local farmers were drawn to the riches of silk production.<sup>3</sup> The mulberry tree, on which the silk worms depended, seemed ideally suited for the inconsistencies of the climate, and the minimal labor requirements for harvesting the silk cocoons created a seemingly perfect agricultural movement, requiring limited investment in hardy trees and a labor force dominated by women and children. Across the Berkshires, the silk industry seemed a possible, profitable option for hill town farmers. The Massachusetts silk industry, however, faded as quickly as it had begun. By the mid 1840's many progressive farmers had lost a small fortune to colder than normal winters and an indigenous pest that plagued the mulberry trees before the silk worms could spin their magic threads. The movement taught New England farmers to appreciate, once again, that hard work and a staple combination of forest products, dairy and wool could provide an adequate living.

The artists and visitors drawn to the Berkshires for the picturesque scenery and temperate summers, however, provided a new "cash crop" for the farm: the summer tourist. Extra rooms in family farmhouses were offered at affordable rates, including farm-raised fresh food at the dinner table. Family and friends began a steady, seasonal circuit to visit rural cousins in the summer and city family in the winter, once the arts and culture season returned to the city with its patrons.

Between 1850 and 1885, Pittsfield saw one of its largest population booms, fed by a combination of increased industrialization, emigration of farm and factory workers, and summer visitors. The city's population more than doubled, from 6,032 in 1850 to 14,466 in 1885. This same population explosion held less resonance in the smaller communities of Lenox and Stockbridge, whose population changes did not occur until wealthy families transformed former farmland into large country seats in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Between 1850 and 1885, Lenox's population grew from 1,576 to 2,154; Stockbridge expanded from 1,706 to 2,113 in the same period.<sup>4</sup> Pittsfield, clearly, was the place to be.

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<sup>3</sup> The "mulberry mania" in Berkshire County has not been investigated in depth, but the interest in the mulberry and silkworm phenomenon was active enough in the Pioneer Valley that is larger farms were written up in the annals of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, the Society for the Promotion of Agriculture, and in contemporary books about the industry.

<sup>4</sup> Lyons p. 107

## Melville comes to the Berkshires

Melville first visited the Berkshires in August, 1831, when his parents stopped at his uncle's Pittsfield farm on their way to Boston. His uncle, Thomas Melvill<sup>5</sup> Jr., was called to the Berkshires to feed British prisoners at an outpost in Pittsfield during the War of 1812. In 1816, Thomas' father (Herman's grandfather) bought a farm in Pittsfield for his son, the beginning of a century-long Berkshire occupancy for the Melvill family. (The farm was located on the land of the current Pittsfield Country Club.) Thomas Melvill was a prominent leader in Berkshire agricultural circles. President of the Berkshire Agricultural Society, he was honored as the man who introduced the rutabaga to Berkshire County.

In 1832, Herman Melville's father died, leaving his widow and eight children with enormous family debt. Herman was sent to work on his uncle's farm. He stayed on to take care of the farm after his uncle relocated to Galena, Illinois until his cousin, Robert, took charge of the farm in the summer of 1837. Free to explore other careers, Herman boarded at the Sikes District School on nearby Washington Mountain where he became a teacher. This pedantic life proved too quiet for young Melville, however, and he left the Berkshires to spend five years traveling the world as a deckhand on whaling ships, frigates and merchant vessels that took him from towns along the Mississippi River to the far reaches of the Pacific. In 1844, Melville returned to New York City and began a writing career that he pursued for the rest of his life. His first two novels (*A Peep at Polynesian Life*, 1846 and *Omoo*, 1847) were literary and financial successes.

In 1847 Melville married Elizabeth Shaw, the daughter of Chief Justice Massachusetts Lemuel Shaw. In 1849, the couple's first child was born and Melville published two new novels. By 1850, the young family was anxious to escape the New York City summer, and traveled to Pittsfield to visit his cousin's farm in hopes of boarding there for the summer. When they arrived in July, they found the farm occupied by boarders, including a couple, Sarah and John (Rowland) Morewood, who had just purchased the house and its 255 acres for \$6,500. Confused and disappointed by the sale of a property that had come to mean so much to Melville, Herman and his young family nevertheless boarded at the farm for the rest of the summer. The Morewoods had no desire to immediately take possession of the property since they were planning a lengthy trip to England. Herman Melville's summer, therefore, must have been filled with the complex emotions of envy, jealousy and gratitude for one last summer on the farm.

Robert Melvill, Herman's cousin, continued to run the farm for the rest of 1850, even after its purchase by the Morewoods. Chairman of the Viewing Committee of the Berkshire Agricultural Society, Robert took Herman on a wagon trip around southern Berkshire County to assess the state of the season's crop production. Melville jotted notes on newly introduced varieties of grasses: Redtop, Ribbon

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<sup>5</sup> Herman Melville's last name was changed from Melvill to Melville shortly after the death of his father.

Grass, Finger Grass, Orchard Grass, Hair Grass. Some of what Herman saw was new to him. In the late 1830's, his work on the farm and his duties as a schoolteacher had confined his view to that of a workman on his daily routine. This time, he traveled the roads as a tourist, with agricultural history books in hand, critically appraising the countryside, its transformation, and its agricultural production.<sup>6</sup>

Melville noted "the extensive embellishments of our roadsides with forest trees....those embellishments might be continuous from one end of the County to the other... achieved with only a few days attention annually, by each landowner. " <sup>7</sup> Some years later (1892) Melville's wife Lizzie returned to Pittsfield and recalled that "The road from the railroad crossing to Arrowhead (our old place) is a perfect bower and one hedge which Herman planted as little saplings is now a stately row of tall and beautiful trees."<sup>8</sup> This interest in street trees might seem unusual to visitors today, where the Berkshire's roadsides are thickly blanketed with trees – secondary growth forest that overtook open fields in the twentieth century. But in 1850, 80% of New England had been cleared for farming. The open fields and pastures exposed the dramatic topography of the Berkshire Hills but provided no shade and no protection from wind and weather for the road traveler. Roadside trees, and windbreaks along the edges of fields, became a desirable asset for their beauty and their protection from weather.

After the three day wagon excursion, Melville amused the family by writing a satirical agricultural report for his cousin to sign. "Swamps and quagmires, in which the only vegetable productions were alders and ferns, with a few cat-tails interspersed among them as decorations, are now covered with a carpet of herds-grass and clover, and afford exuberant crops of hay," wrote Melville.<sup>9</sup> Saving manure, considered an asset of untold proportions for the 1850 farmer, was humorously reported by Melville as "The greatest pleasure may be taken by the philosopher and naturalist, (and the farmer *should* be both), in contemplating that benign process by which ingredients the most offensive to the human senses, are converted into articles that gratify the most delicate taste, and pamper the most luxurious appetite."<sup>10</sup>

### **The Purchase of Arrowhead (1850)**

Leaving New York City with fairly short notice, the Melville's had done little planning for their summer sojourn. They continued to improvise on their activities throughout the rest of the summer, but no event was more surprising than when, on Sept. 14, 1850, Herman purchased the Bush Farm from Dr. John Brewster.

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<sup>6</sup> Parker p. 736-7

<sup>7</sup> Parker p. 738

<sup>8</sup> Sealts pg. 285

<sup>9</sup> Parker p. 738

<sup>10</sup> Parker p. 738

The farm sat adjacent to the rear of his cousin's farm. For the same money paid for his cousin's farm (\$6,500), Melville's farm contained only 160 acres (compared to the 255 acres of the Morewood purchase), much of which was in need of improvement (as compared to the number of improved acres tilled by the Melvill family over two decades). Without shopping around, and without seeming to haggle much for price, we can only assume that Melville was desperate to own a piece of the countryside that had taken such deep root in his soul, no matter the cost or the quality of the purchase. Unable to purchase his heart's desire, Melville impulsively bought the next best thing.

The deed revealed that the farm was bordered by the lands of neighbors Luce, Noble, Foote and Brown and lay easterly on the highway (Holmes Rd) to Lenox."<sup>11</sup> The farm included an old house "built in the early days of the settlement of the town, by Capt. David Bush."<sup>12</sup> It was said to have once been a tavern.

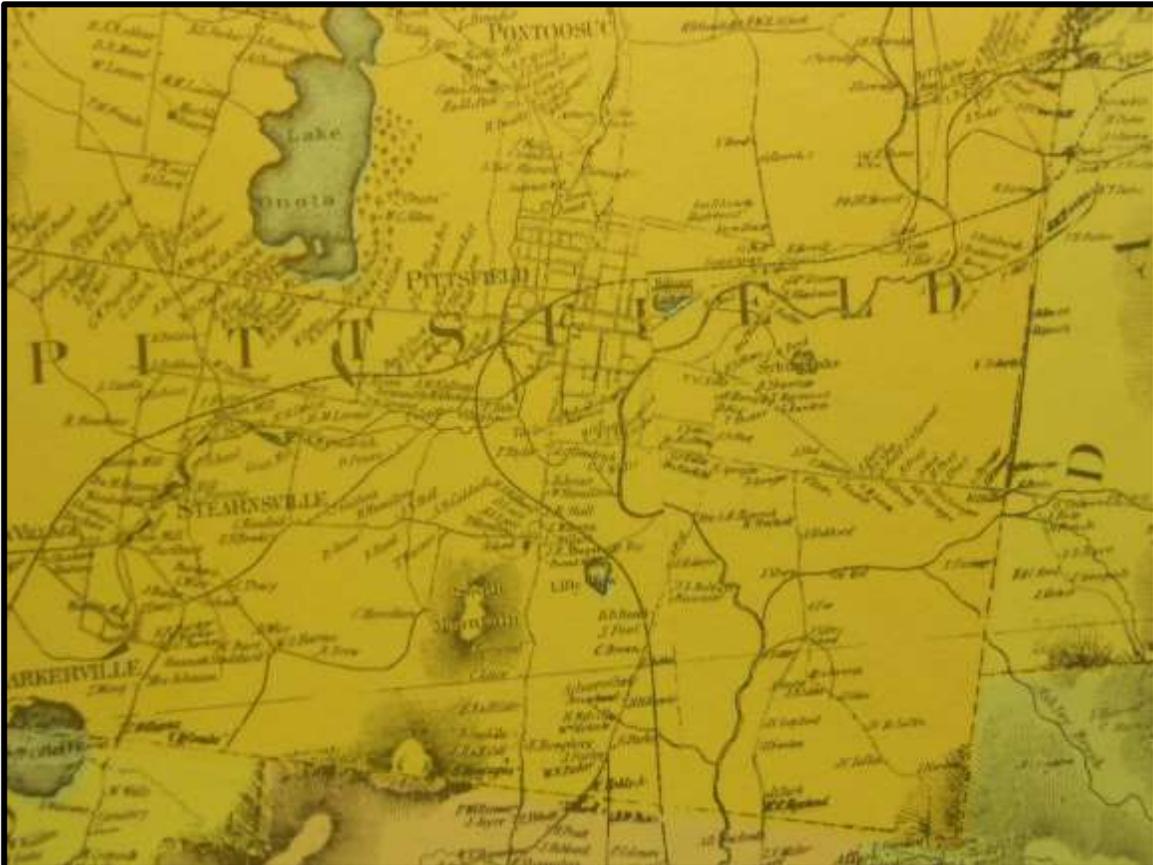
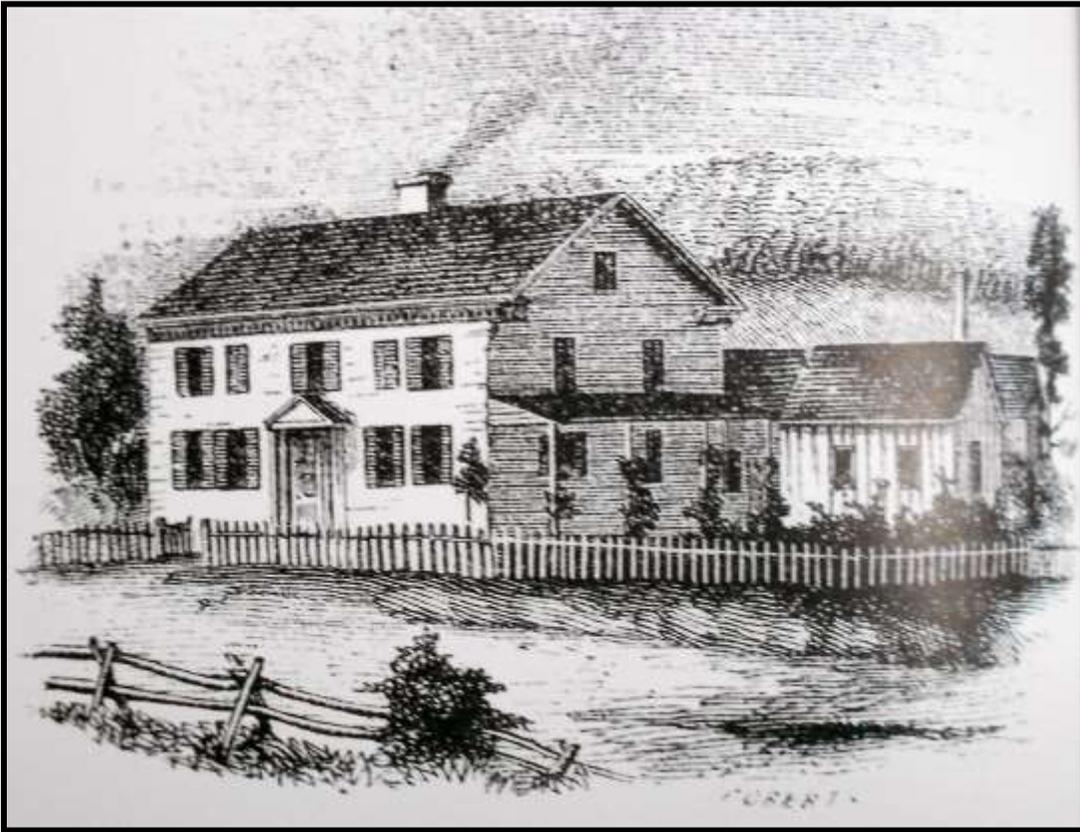


Figure 2: Detail Map of Central Massachusettes, Henry Walling, 1858, (Berkshire Historical archives)

<sup>11</sup> Deed, Sept. 14, 1850, Brewster to Melville, Berkshire Atheneum

<sup>12</sup> Parker p. 778



**Figure 3: "Melville's Residence" woodcut by W. Roberts, from *Cyclopedia of American Literature*, by Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck (New York: 1855)**

Next door, the Morewoods renamed their farm "Broadhall." Sarah's reputation as a superb hostess transformed the property into the social center of Pittsfield, the site of popular picnics, costume balls and other social gatherings. Broadhall's guests included neighbors and friends such as the Melvilles, their close friend Catherine Sedgwick, and Oliver Wendall Holmes, who owned a property nearby. Artists, such as John James Audubon, Asher B. Durant, Albert Bierstadt, George Inness and others, filled the guest lists, as well as Pittsfield's prominent social leaders and artisans. Caroline Whitmarsh, in her tribute to Sarah Morewood following her death, wrote "her house was the resort of men and women of genius."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Parker p. 735



**Figure 4: Broadhall, formerly the Thomas Melvill Farm, home of Sarah and John Morewood. (The current location of Pittsfield Country Club.) Berkshire Historical**

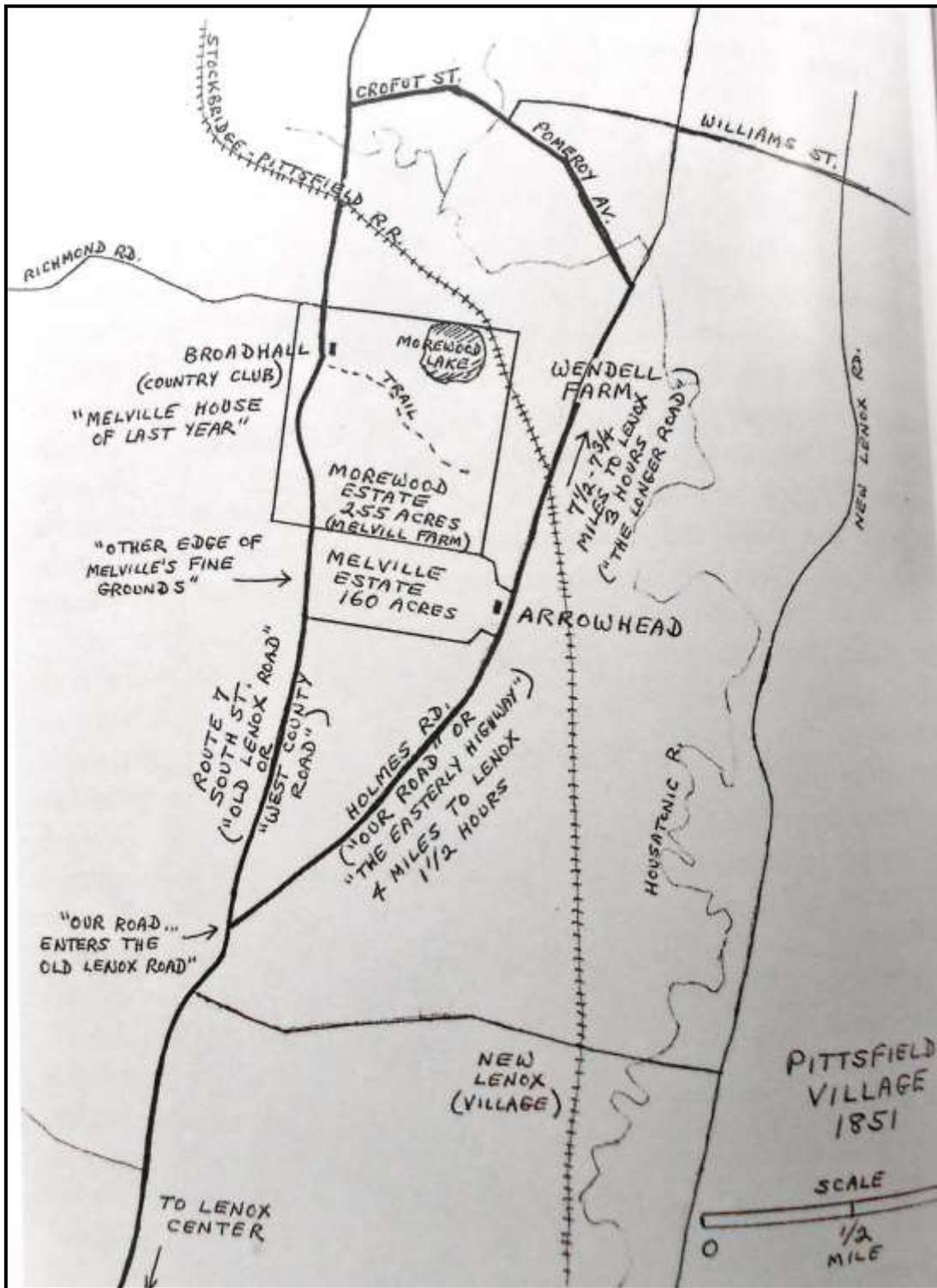


Figure 5: "Pittsfield Village, 1851" Manuscript by Lion Miles, 1997

Herman and his young family moved immediately into the Bush farm, planning to create a year-round home in his beloved Berkshires. The farm was renamed "Arrowhead" for the 'Indian relics' found on the property. In addition to his wife and infant son (Malcolm), the household included his mother, Maria, and his sisters, Augusta, Helen and Fanny. Author Nathaniel Hawthorne and Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes lived only a carriage ride away, as did their extended circle of friends in Pittsfield center.

On Sept 23, 1850, Melville's friend and editor, Everet Duyckinck, wrote to a colleague, "Herman Melville has taken us by surprise by buying a farm of 160 acres in Berkshire County. It is mostly woodland which he intends to preserve and have a road through, making it more of an ornamental place than a farm."<sup>14</sup>

The house met with mixed enthusiasm from Melville's family. His sister Augusta wrote: "Our old farm house cannot boast much in point of beauty, but it is delightfully comfortable & that is all that is really necessary in the country. It is an old house, counting its seventy years or more & though outwardly modernized, retains all its ancient appearance within. It is built after that peculiarly quaint style of architecture which places the chimney – the hugest in proportions – immediately in the center, & rooms around it. An arrangement so totally void of grace & beauty, must surely possess some counterbalancing advantage, but as yet I have been unable to discover it, even after having made it the subject of the most profound reflection for a fortnight."<sup>15</sup>

The fall weather was picture perfect for move-in. Once settled, Melville wrote Duyckinck, "It has been a most glowing and Byzantine day- the heavens reflecting the hues of the October apples in the orchard...nay, the heavens themselves looking so ripe & ruddy, that it must be harvest-home with the angels." This mention of a fruit-producing orchard, coming only one month after his purchase, indicates that his new farm included existing orchard, probably planted by the Brewsters.<sup>16</sup>

Melville continued his enthusiastic description: "you should see the maples – you should see the young perennial pines – the red blazings of one contrasting with the painted green of the other. I tell you at sunrises and sunsets grow side by side in these woods & momentarily moult in the falling leaves."<sup>17</sup>

Having come to terms with the peculiarities of the house, Augusta began to appreciate the setting and scenery of the quirky old house. She wrote "It far surpasses my expectations. The scenery is magnificent. I could never have imagined anything more beautiful, more varied, in every direction, it stretches away in mountain, hill and valley, all glowing with gorgeous tints of autumn ...The house

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<sup>14</sup> Parker p. 783

<sup>15</sup> Unpublished manuscript, "Melville's Connections With Berkshire County"

<sup>16</sup> Minnigerode, p. 68

<sup>17</sup> Melville to Duyckinck, October 6, 1850

itself though appearing to be in a valley, contrasted with the heights around, is in reality upon a hill & commands from every window a fine view ... Our old farm house cannot boast much in point of beauty, but it is delightfully comfortable & and that is all that is really necessary in the country.”<sup>18</sup>

The isolation of a rural winter did not defeat those at Arrowhead, though it was a dramatic change from the bustle of New York City. Melville told Duyckinck that a man in the country had no news except farm gossip, though he seemed to thrive in his new surroundings. Their new farmhouse was small and simple, with no rooms on the first floor large enough to accommodate the whole family for special meals, including Thanksgiving. Their first Thanksgiving dinner was held in an upstairs room, dressed out for the special occasion. Melville planned to eventually build “a towered house” when he could afford it, complete with large rooms on the first floor that could rival those of Broadhall. But Melville still owed the Brewsters \$2,000 for his purchase, and as long as the New York House remained unsold and as long as the whaling manuscript (*Moby Dick*) remained unpublished, the family had to make do.

Over the first year, they made sufficient changes to the old house to meet their needs, justifying the expenses to his father-in-law, who had provided an advance on his daughter’s inheritance to help purchase the farm. Melville explained that some of the expenses went to “building the new kitchen, woodhouse, piazza, making alterations, painting, - and in short, all those improvements made upon these premises during the first year of occupancy.”<sup>19</sup> Herman’s jobs included milking the two cows and tending the cows, an old draft horse named Charlie, and one ox. The garden was planted with corn, potatoes, hay, tomatoes and pumpkins. In the orchard, Melville harvested apples and made cider. He plowed the fields, split wood, and did some carpentry work when needed.

The winter snow that blanketed the fields outside his window gave Melville “a sort of sea feeling here in the country.” When he woke in the morning, alone in the bedroom, and looked out the window, it was like looking “out of a port-hole of a ship in the Atlantic.” His study seemed “a ship’s cabin” and at night, when the shrieking of the wind woke him, Melville thought that perhaps “there was too much sail on the house,” and he “had better go on the roof & rig the chimney.”<sup>20</sup>

On December 13, 1850, Melville wrote about his seemingly idyllic life to Duyckinck “Do you want to know how I pass my time? I rise at eight-thereabouts-& and go to my barn-say good morning to the horse, & give him his breakfast. Then, pay a visit to my cow-cut up a pumpkin or two for her...and stand by to see her eat it – for it’s a pleasant site to see a cow move her jaws. My own breakfast over, I go to my work-

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<sup>18</sup> Augusta Melville ,October 17, 1850 in Parker p. 787

<sup>19</sup> Parker, p.281

<sup>20</sup> Parker p. 798

room & light my fire – then spread my M.S.S. on the table....”<sup>21</sup> Melville’s other notes remark, “For some days past being engaged in the woods with ax and wedge...”<sup>22</sup>

### The Piazza and the North Lawn

Arrowhead seemed less desirable as that first winter wore on. The roof did not leak, but the kitchen was primitive. There was only an outdoor well, and no inside kitchen pump. The parlor walls needed fresh paper, the furniture looked shabby, and many of the rooms needed painting. Outside, many of the outbuildings needed repair and the barn needed a fresh coat of paint. With money still at a premium, plans for a new towered house were replaced with some critical renovations to the old house. In late February, Melville hired men to begin work on a small narrow porch and to lay the foundation for a kitchen and woodhouse.

The construction of the piazza, on the north side of the old farmhouse, did more than simply augment the available spaces on the first floor. This piazza became a favorite spot for Melville, and its view was improved with the addition of vines, gardens and trees that transformed the grassy field into a civilized landscape. Melville’s work, *The Piazza Tales*, reinforces the special meaning of this spot, and reveals much about the piazza and its surroundings.

“When I removed into the country,” wrote Melville, “it was to occupy an old-fashioned farmhouse, which had no piazza—a deficiency the more regretted because ... I like piazzas, as somehow combining the coziness of indoors with the freedom of outdoors...” Melville went on, describing the view from his perch with “a long landslide of sleeping meadow, sloping away off from my poppy bed.” Another paragraph described the woods and trees that used to creep up to the porch. “Of that knit wood but one survivor stands—an elm, lonely through steadfastness. ....”

For Melville, the piazza was a place for imagination to blossom like the landscape “Now, for a house, so situated in such a country, to have no piazza for the convenience of those who might desire to feast upon a view...., seemed as much an omission as if a picture gallery should have no bench... nothing less than Greylock, with all his hills about him, like Charlemagne among his peers.... There grew three tufts of blue violets in a field argent of wild strawberries; and a trellis, with honeysuckle, I set for canopy.”

To better place the piazza in its surroundings, Melville wrote, “To the east, that long camp of the Hearth Stone Hills... to the north is Charlemagne...well, the south side, apple trees are there, on the west side, an upland pasture....” Melville continued, “[the orchard] is pleasant of a balmy morning, the month of May, to sit and see that

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<sup>21</sup> Parker p. 798

<sup>22</sup> Minnigerode p. 70

orchard, white-budded, as for a bride, and, in October, one green arsenal yard, such piles of ruddy shot.”<sup>23</sup>

Sometimes this paradise held unwanted residents: “I could not bear to look upon a Chinese creeper of my adoption, and which, to my delight, climbing a post of the piazza, had burst out in starry bloom, but now...showed millions of strange, cankerous worms...worms whose germs had doubtless lurked in the very bulb which, so hopefully, I had planted.”<sup>24</sup>



**Figure 6: Arrowhead piazza, 1870 (Berkshire Historical archives) Drive runs in front, is obscured by topography. Melville mentions honeysuckle and chinese creeper (may be autumn clematis) grown on the supports. A bed is visible on either side of the path to the piazza stairs, the possible location of Melville’s poppy bed. Small evergreens are interspersed.**

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<sup>23</sup> Melville, *The Piazza Tales*

<sup>24</sup> Melville, *The Piazza Tales*



**Figure 7: Arrowhead c. 1870 North pasture, showing complex of outbuildings. (Berkshire Historical archives)**



**Figure 8: View from the Piazza c. 1870 Elm and worm fencing. View may indicate an easterly direction as land drops away with hills in distance. (Berkshire Atheneum)**



**Figure 9: Haying Scene, north pasture, 1870. Note large elms and windbreak along Holmes Rd. (Berkshire Historical archives)**

### House and Garden, 1851-63

Inside the house, work continued on the other building improvements. As spring drew closer, Melville's mother worried that work on the new farm would intensify, leaving him little time for writing. Along with a new child, the family would need space for an onslaught of summer guests. In addition, spring would bring the need for long days in the field if the horse and cow were to be kept in hay and pumpkins and they could lay in enough root vegetables for the next winter.

Melville's mother split her time between the Berkshires, Albany and New York City, as she continued to plague her son about his work priorities. Writing from New York City in March, 1851, she advised her son on some of the gardening details: "...Rocborn advertises asparagus roots remarkably fine put up in 100, roots in bundles at .75 each. I would advise you to authorize me to purchase five bundles at least, it would be a good investment, give you a healthy vegetable for the table, & as the roots extend year after year, the beds will increase in number, and in a few years we will have a super-abundance, it is our earliest vegetable & one of the best & healthiest." Total cost for the asparagus roots would be \$3.75. Then she continued,

thinking about the other things needed for the garden: “Had I not better get the seeds for our garden here say \$5 for asparagus, seeds, & a few good cuttings &c”<sup>25</sup>

By June, many of the house improvements were completed and the crops were in. The first haying was finished, with another expected the end of July. On June 29, 1851 Melville wrote to Hawthorne, “Since you have been here, I have been building some shanties of houses (connected with the old one) and likewise some shanties of chapters and essays. I have been plowing and sowing and raising and painting and printing and praying,- and now begin to come out upon a less bustling time, and to enjoy the calm prospect of things from a fair piazza at the north of the old farm house here.”<sup>26</sup> On July 22<sup>nd</sup>, Melville wrote Hawthorne that it was “the height of the haying season.” (“my nag is dragging me home his winter’s dinners all the time.”)<sup>27</sup>

Melville had little help with the spring planting season, but by fall, an Irish hand was hired to help with the harvest. As Melville’s biographer noted, he had been book writer, farmer, host, proofreader, woodcutter, husband and father during this first year at Arrowhead. The charm of a Berkshire farm lost its patina when you were responsible for the entire operation – a different perspective than his days as farm hand for his uncle.

In October, Hope Savage Shaw (Melville’s mother in law) wrote her husband, “Lizzy says that Malcolm has picked up three barrels of potatoes....David, their boy, (Irish hand) is a particular friend of his. He is training Malcolm and the old lady Mrs. Melville is educating David- as I think no one more capable.....the farm in time will yet flourish.”<sup>28</sup> By the end of the harvest season, Melville considered setting aside some of the farm’s land for lease by a tenant farmer, too tired to think of farming another season.

The delay in publishing *Moby Dick* and other financial troubles continued to plague the author throughout the 1850s. Mortgage interest payments were often late or went unpaid. Still the family continued at Arrowhead, learning the necessities of farming as they went. Split between their literary friends who only summered in the country and the farmers who had tilled Pittsfield’s farms for generations, the Melvilles had to straddle two worlds. With Melville’s notoriety as an author, the family must have been the subject of friendly gossip in both arenas. As Melville said, most farmers had no news except local gossip.

In August, 1853, Lizzy wrote her father, “Our grapevines have grown wonderfully this year.”<sup>29</sup> In January, 1855, Melville’s neighbor, farmer William Noble, advertised “Wood and Hay” for sale in the *Culturist & Gazette*. Though many issues of this

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<sup>25</sup> Maria Melville. Gansevoort-Lansing Collection: Melville Family Papers. NY: NY Public Library

<sup>26</sup> Parker p. 847

<sup>27</sup> Parker p. 851

<sup>28</sup> Parker vol. 2 p. 137

<sup>29</sup> Leyda p. 479

popular newspaper were reviewed, no evidence could be found that the Melvilles produced enough at Arrowhead to offer anything for sale except (later in the century) portions of the farm itself. The Nobles were good neighbors. Noble's granddaughter wrote years later, "When the Herman Melvilles bought 'Arrowhead' farm, Mrs. Melville asked my grandmother [Mrs. John S. Noble] to teach her how to make butter. I've heard my grandmother say, 'Mrs. Melville was a very nice lady, but she had queer notions about keeping house.'" <sup>30</sup> Noble would sell his farm Dec. 18, 1856 for \$4500 as the *Pittsfield Sun* reported, "The farm of John S. Noble, Esq. in the south east part of the town, adjoining "Arrowhead" the residence of Herman Melville, Esq. has been sold to Mr. Henry W. Clark of Suffield."

Financial troubles continued to plague the Melvilles, though the house continued to inspire Melville's writing. In March, 1856 *I and My Chimney*, was published. Melville wrote "Within thirty feet of the turf-sided road, my chimney – a huge corpulent old Harry VIII of a chimney – rises full in front of me and all my possessions. Standing well up a hillside, my chimney is the first object to greet the approaching traveler's eye...From the exact middle of the mansion it soars from the cellar, right up through each successive floor, till four feet square, it breaks water from the ridgepole of the roof, like an anvil-headed wale, through the crest of a billow."<sup>31</sup> In another section of the book, Melville wrote, "A chair by my chimney in a November day is as good for an invalid as a long season spent in Cuba. Often I think how my grapes might ripen against my chimney. How my wife's geraniums bud there!"<sup>32</sup> Even when Melville's brother Allan owned the farm, the chimney continued to impress. Gathered on its mantle were objects of family and fantasy, the prized collections of a lifetime.

After six years of struggling as a farmer, Melville's financial situation had not changed. His publications, including *Moby Dick*, had not yielded enough profit to properly support his dreams for Arrowhead. Finally, in 1856, Melville advertised 80 acres of Arrowhead for sale. He planned to sell the woodlot, the most profitable piece of his property, located across the back half of his lot far enough away from the house to not interfere with his family home.

In July, the *Pittsfield Sun* reported: "Sale- Herman Melville, Esq. has sold a part of his farm, which has been advertised in our columns, to Col. Geo. S. Willis. The portion sold comprises the fine growth of wood on the county road to Lenox."<sup>33</sup> The Pittsfield land records indicate that the 80 acres sold for \$5,500<sup>34</sup> – a financial windfall for the cash-strapped Melville. He, however, saw none of the cash from the sale until 1859; the first two payments went to pay his 1850 mortgage to Dr. Brewster and his other creditors.

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<sup>30</sup> Culturist and Gazette; Leyda p. 479

<sup>31</sup> Melville, *I and My Chimney*

<sup>32</sup> Melville. *I and My Chimney*

<sup>33</sup> *Pittsfield Sun* July 1856

<sup>34</sup> Pittsfield Valuation Book. June 26, 1858

By 1857, Melville was convinced that life in the country was not the life for him any more and "could he have met with an opportunity of disposing of his place he would have done so."<sup>35</sup> Suffering from ill health and unable to perform the heavy labored required on the farm, Melville advertised the remaining portion of the farm for sale in June, 1857 in the *Berkshire County Eagle*: "place now occupied by the subscriber (two miles and a half from Pittsfield Village by the east road to Lenox), being about seventy acres, embracing meadow, pasture, wood, and orchard, with a roomy and comfortable house. For situation and prospect, this place is among the pleasantest in Berkshire, and has other natural advantages desirable on a country residence."<sup>36</sup>

**FOR SALE.**

 **T**HE PLACE now occupied by the subscriber (two miles and a half from Pittsfield village by the east road to Lenox,) being about seventy acres, embracing meadow, pasture, wood, and orchard, with a roomy and comfortable house. For situation and prospect, this place is among the pleasantest in Berkshire, and has other natural advantages desirable in a country residence.

H. MELVILLE.  
tf48

June 24, 1857.

Figure 10: Melville places ad in *Berkshire County Eagle*, June 24, 1857

<sup>35</sup> Augusta Melville, April 7, 1857; Parker Vol. 2 p. 286

<sup>36</sup> Leyda p. 580



**Figure 11: "Arrowhead in the Olden Time A.D. 1860" drawn by Herman Melville. (Reproduced from *Herman Melville: Mariner and Mystic*, by Raymond Weaver (New York, 1921). Reveals property details, worm fencing, orchard on the south, wooded area to the west.**

The property, however, did not find any immediate buyers. Arrowhead was closed for the 1860 season while Melville was away on a one-year sea voyage with his brother, Thomas.

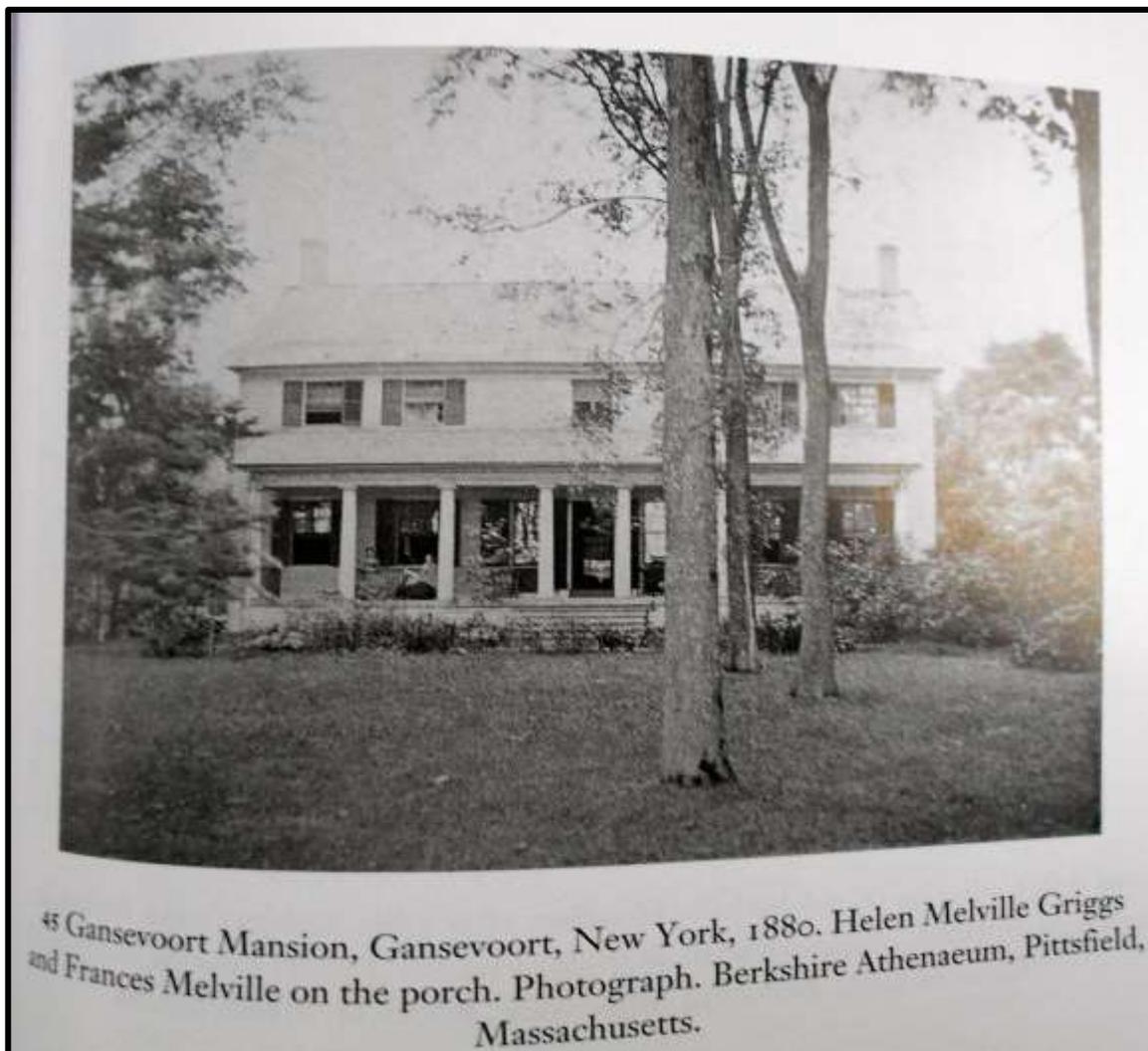
While away, Melville wrote of his journey and his life aboard ship, thinking of his family and the seasonal cycles of Arrowhead. His letters reference "walks on the hill" and "picking wild strawberries."<sup>37</sup> While on ship, Melville drew a picture of Arrowhead from a vantage point across the road, near the Holmes house with the note, "drew this at sea one afternoon on deck - & then in the calm. - Made me feel as if I was there, almost - such is the magic power of a fine Artist. - Be it known I pride myself particularly upon 'Charlie' and the driver. - It is to be supposed that I am in the carriage; & then figures are welcoming me."<sup>38</sup> The drawing includes a horse-drawn (Charlie) carriage along the road in front of the house. Melville sketched key elements in the landscape recognizable by his family, including the house and barn, orchard, paths up and across the hillside fields, and scattered pasture trees and the woodlot. Even when he was adrift at sea, and traveling to interesting ports, it was Arrowhead that he thought about on his sea journey.

<sup>37</sup> Parker p. 432

<sup>38</sup> Parker Vol. 2 p. 433

In December, 1861 the family came back to Arrowhead after Melville's return from his sea journey. Sarah Morewood invited the whole Melville troop to stay at Broadhall until they could re-open Arrowhead after Herman's return. The family, however, decided to stay in Boston and Herman went ahead to prepare the house. The family followed later in the week. Writing from Arrowhead, Melville described his efforts: "putting in stoves, airing bedding, getting place warm..." He advertised for a cook and housekeeper" the following week.<sup>39</sup>

After Melville's return to Arrowhead, his mother, Maria, and his single sisters Augusta and Fanny settled at Gansevoort, his mother's family home, in Albany, NY. The extended family gatherings shifted to Albany, though they continued to visit Arrowhead in the summers. Allan, Melville's brother, and his new wife Jane, and his four daughters begin to visit Arrowhead regularly the summer of 1862.<sup>40</sup>



<sup>39</sup> Parker Vol. 2 p. 454-455

<sup>40</sup> Parker p. 503; 516

As the family settled in again at Arrowhead, Melville's second son, Stanwick, wrote to Aunt Augusta, "I have a good deal to do, to bring in wood, and water and help Papa, and Mama, and a host of other things.... everything in the house is upside down, topsy-turvy..."<sup>41</sup> The family began to spend the summers at Arrowhead and the winters in Pittsfield, enjoying the drive between the two residences as often as possible when the weather was good. By now the children were old enough to go with their father, who enjoyed his forays into the Berkshire Hills.

In October, 1862, Stanwick wrote to his Aunt Augusta, "Papa took Macky, Bessie, Fannie and I (all four of Melville's children) a chestnutting at Lulu Falls, we all took some bags for chestnuts, when we got there we looked under the trees, to see if we could find any nuts, we did not find many, there were great long logs put up on the trees for people to climb up."<sup>42</sup>

Not every wagon trip was a good one. In November (1862), Melville and J.E.A. Smith were riding in a box wagon from Pittsfield to Arrowhead. Part of the iron work on the wagon gave way, startling the horse, and Melville was thrown onto the side of the road, breaking his shoulder and injuring several ribs. Smith was thrown as well, escaping the accident with minor injuries. George Willis, who had purchased the 80 acres from Melville six years earlier, saw the accident and drove Melville back home to Pittsfield and his doctor. After this accident, Melville abandoned his countryside rides and began to think, instead, of city life.<sup>43</sup>

This accident marked an important transition for Melville. The countryside which had once proved so inviting, so interesting and so full of inspiration for his writing, had lost its allure. The Berkshire countryside, like the sea, proved that it could throw up challenges and obstacles in the face of any traveler, or any farmer, when they least expected it. For a landscape that held such deep inspiration for a writer like Melville, these difficulties battered at his sails. Like the whaling industry, this landscape held both inspiration and heartache. It had the ability to wear down even the most dedicated admirer.

The following spring (1863), Melville finally sold his beloved Arrowhead for \$3,000 to his brother, Allan. Having paid his earlier debts, Melville put the money toward the purchase of Allan's New York City house. By May the family was living in New York City. Maria wrote to Augusta, "Herman seems to be much pleased with the prospect. He has always liked New York, and he is not the first man who has been beguiled into the country and found out by experience that it was not the place for him."<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> Parker p. 509

<sup>42</sup> Parker p. 521

<sup>43</sup> Berkshire County Eagle, Nov. 13, 1862

<sup>44</sup> Maria Melville to Augusta Melville May 22, 1863; Parker p. 535

The sale ended a tumultuous thirteen years at Arrowhead. Driven by the romance of rural life and the lost opportunity of acquiring his uncle's farm, Herman Melville bought Arrowhead with little consideration for the expense and work required to comfortably live in the country. Life at Arrowhead, however, fueled some of his best writing, including the completion of *Moby Dick*. From his beloved piazza to the top of Monument Mountain, the Berkshire Hills fueled family, friendships and his literary career. The hard work of farm labor cost him some of his health, and certainly emptied his bank account.

Even after he left, however, Arrowhead would always be Melville's home. Celebrity articles on the lives of Berkshire writers continued to associate Melville with Arrowhead long after he had moved to New York City. Though his brother had the deed to the farm, and would spend the next decades making it his own, Arrowhead would always be Herman Melville's home.

### **Allan Melville and His Family at Arrowhead, 1863-1927**

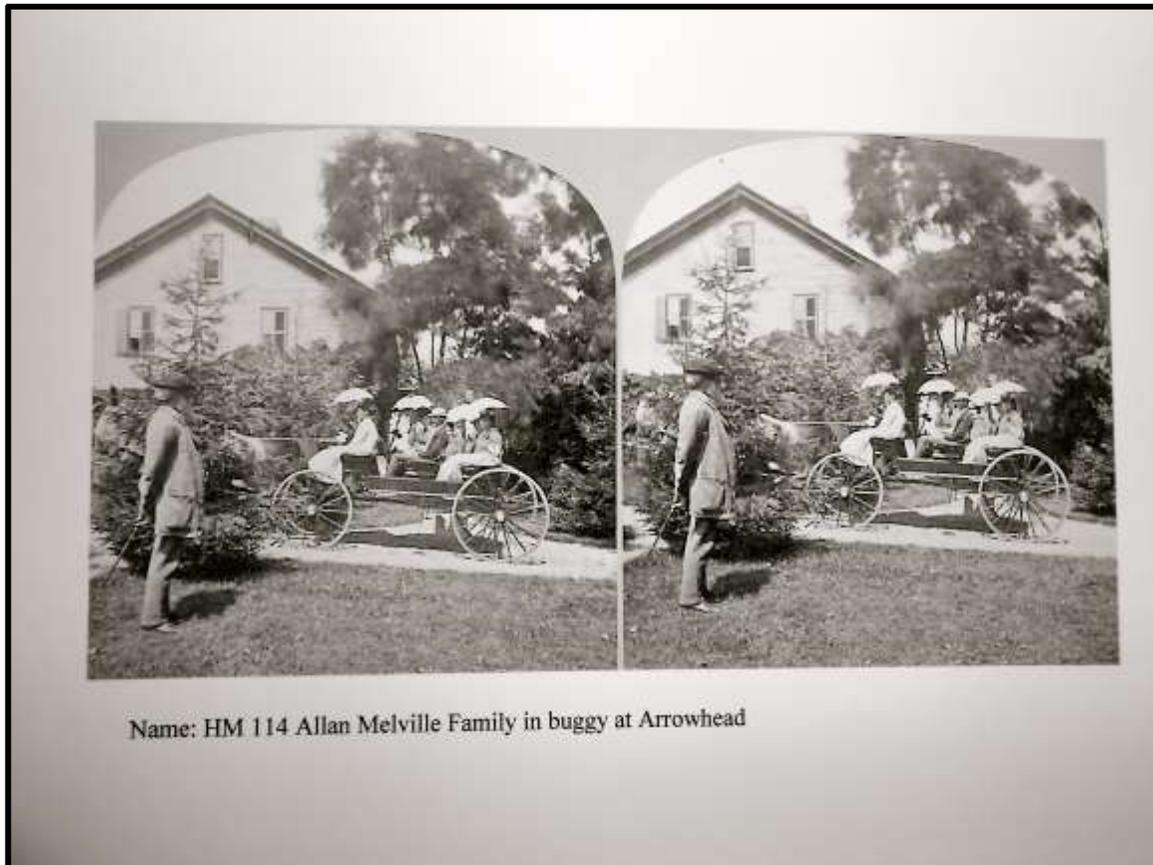
Allan and his family worked quickly to make Arrowhead their own. On June 2, 1863 Allan's wife, Jane, wrote from New York City to Lizzy in Pittsfield asking for many things to be done before she arrived at Arrowhead... "Will you oblige me by getting 3 dozen or 4 tomato plants, & 3 dozen eggplants & some vegetable oyster-plant, say 1 dozen also- some fine dahlia plants for the garden- & and some Petunia Plants to be placed in the front of the house & and around the trees, they are hardy, & bloom until November in Boston. 1 Doz Dahlia plants or roots of different colors- in front of the house & and by the piazza, Medeira blue is pretty please get two & plant in sunny place- Do get me some dahlias & any other plant you think pretty... Arrowhead would not be so attractive if I could have no garden- I shall have some visits from New York friends who go to visit Mrs. Lanman alas what will they think of poor simple Arrowhead?"<sup>45</sup>

A week later, Lizzy wrote her sister-in-law, Fanny, "The great event of the season has transpired. Allan and the whole family (3 servants) came up last Thursday, the furniture, in part having been sent up previously..." More purchases upon arrival....Among other purchases she bought 3 doz Tomato plants, -lots of material for pickle she will have."<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Jane Melville to Lizzy Melville. June 2, 1863. Gansevoort-Lansing Collection: Melville Family Papers. NY: NY Public Library

<sup>46</sup> Lizzy Melville to Fanny Melville. June 14, 1863. Gansevoort-Lansing Collection: Melville Family Papers. NY: NY Public Library



**Figure 12: Allan Melville and family on south side of house, mounting block on far side of carriage. 1870 . (Berkshire Atheneum).**

Vegetable and fruit gardening had become a Melville family tradition. Even at Gansevoort, the small fruit and berry season was celebrated with the making of jams, jellies and other preserves. In July, 1863, Fanny wrote her sister, “Helen and I made 18 quarts of raspberry & currant jam, it is fine. Tomorrow we are going to make shrub. There never was such a season for the small fruits.”<sup>47</sup> A week later Herman’s mother, Maria, wrote from Gansevoort, “The garden is full of the best vegetables & small fruits, raspberries are superabundant...plenty of gooseberries & currants. the pease [sic] never looked better.”<sup>48</sup>

Allan and his family transformed Arrowhead like Herman never could, in spite of the wartime economy. Rather than a full-time farm operation, Allan’s family created their own version of a country retreat, where the pastoral scenery was enjoyed for

<sup>47</sup> Fanny Melville to Lizzy Melville. July 16, 1863. Gansevoort-Lansing Collection: Melville Family Papers. NY: NY Public Library

<sup>48</sup> Maria Melville. Gansevoort-Lansing Collection: Melville Family Papers. NY: NY Public Library; Parker p. 546

its beauty instead of its production. Maria visited Arrowhead in October, 1865, and wrote: "The country looks splendid gorgeous, some of the woods look like a garden of gigantic tulips. Allan has made great improvements here, both within & out of doors- Arrowhead looks like a different place, it is now a beautiful place. Allan has put out a great many Norway pines, & dwarf fruit trees, built a new barn & out houses- laid out new paths & c. "<sup>49</sup>



**Figure 13: Morewood/ Melville families gathered on south lawn. Note paths at rear, young trees and Norway spruce. 1870, (Berkshire Athenum. )(Allan's daughter Maria 'Millie' married Sarah and John Morewood's son, 'Willie'.)**

Three years later, Allan's daughter, Florence, described Arrowhead in a school essay entitled 'My Country Home.' "In the front of the house and opening into the dining room are two rooms used respectively as library and parlor. The former is on the southern side and is shaded from the burning rays of the midday summer sun, by an arbor overgrown with a clustering grapevine. In the autumn when the leaves begin to fall, you can see from the side window, a carriage drive with a bright border of flowers succeeded by a vegetable garden and then a long piece of meadow, dotted

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<sup>49</sup> Parker p. 591

with crooked old apple trees, which is dignified with the name of orchard. The parlor commands a more extensive view, and one of which I never tire. Thirty miles away to the north lies our sublime mountain Greylock in profound repose.... Nowhere can he be seen to such advantage as from our parlor, where the distant mountain and all the lovely expanse which lies between of velvet lawn sloping to the river's edge, dark woods rustling in the autumn winds...."<sup>50</sup>



**Figure 14: Mount Greylock, 1873, painting by Jesse Talbot, guest of Allen Melville, view from north piazza. (Berkshire Historical archives).**

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<sup>50</sup> Florence Melville, 'My Country Home'; Parker p. 647



Figure 15: Morewood/Melville Family ,1870, south side, note mounting block and grape arbor is visible on the left as per description of Florence Melville, (Berkshire Atheneum).

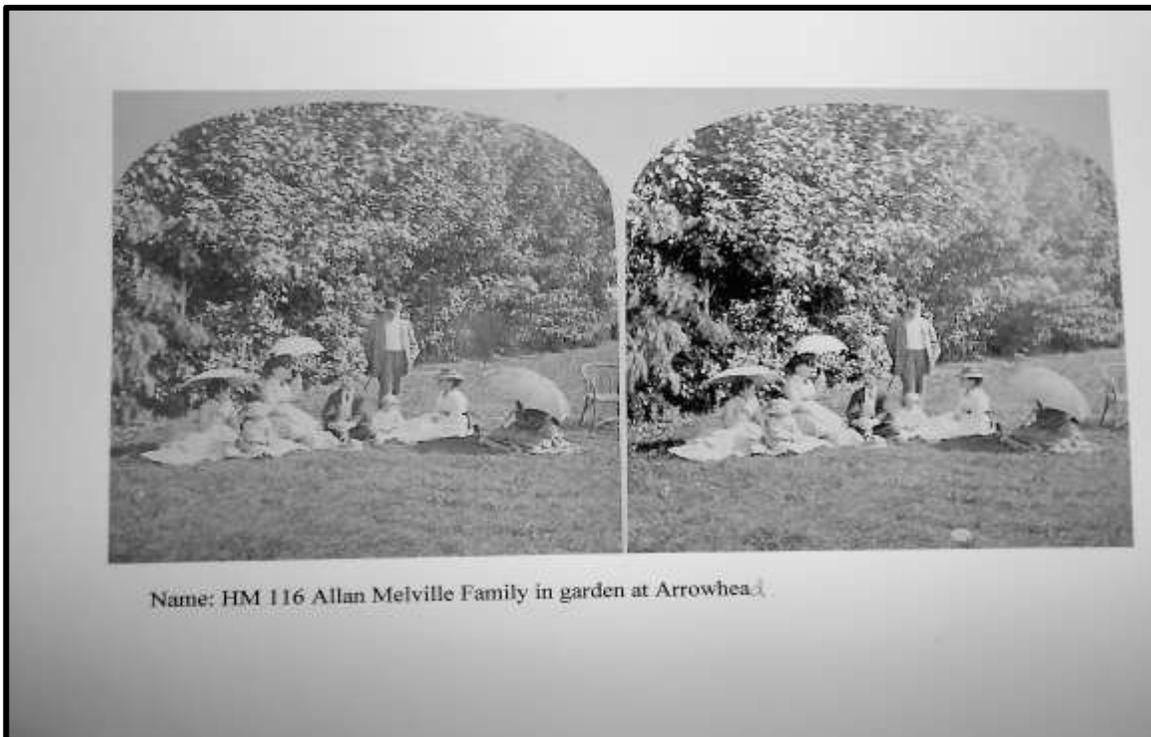


Figure 16: Allan Melville Family in garden, likely south lawn, 1870, (Berkshire Atheneum).

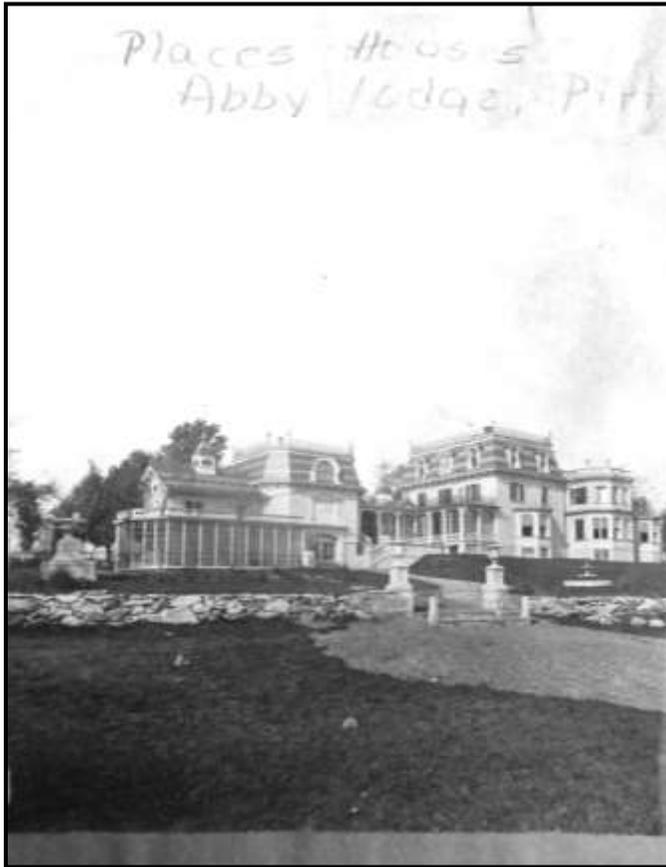


Figure 17: Abby Lodge c. 1882, (Berkshire Historical).

Improvements continued throughout the 1860's. In 1869, Allan's daughter Milie was responsible for opening the summer home at Arrowhead. Rather than writing a simple diary, she composed "The Story of the Summer of 1869" in the spirit of her uncle's earlier *I and My Chimney* or *The Piazza Tales*. The story describes the rigors of opening a summer home, including the garden. "Allan supervised the putting out of a fine garden, and they were harvesting early peas and new potatoes in mid-July."<sup>51</sup>

Across the street, Allan's wealthy brother-in-law, Richard Lathers, bought three adjoining farms, and built his own grand country seat, which he called 'Abby Lodge.'

The improvements to Arrowhead, coupled with the new Lather estate and the continued presence of Broadhall, transformed this section of Holmes Road from a rural lane to a upscale drive. In August, 1869, the *Pittsfield Sun* reported, "By the way, we passed on Thursday afternoon the 'Arrowhead Farm' and also the farm opposite of Richard Lathers, Esq., and were surprised and delighted to witness the great improvements which Mr. Allan Melville and Mr. Lathers have made and have in progress in this locality. The Dwelling-Houses, Barns &c., have been enlarged and modernized, and present an elegant and attractive appearance. We commend to the notice of our Farmers and others the process by which Mr. Allan Melville has made the former unsightly lot north of his mansion one of the most beautiful plats in the Berkshire Valley."

<sup>51</sup> Parker p. 676



**Figure 18: Colonel Lathers and Allen Melville in foreground, looking down on Arrowhead grounds. Vegetable ,flower gardens to the south of the house visable. Abby Lodge across Holmes Road. Orchard likely out of view to immediate right , south of flower,vegetable gardens. (Berkshire Historical archives).**

It was Lathers that built Melville’s dreamy “towered house” – an Italianate villa complete with ornamented grounds. Allan’s granddaughter, Margaret Morewood, described Lather’s grand home: “It resembled an Italian Villa...Those who came into the house from the road found themselves still outside upon the very wide spreading piazza, which was like an open room...one looked upon a panoramic view up and down the Housatonic Valley.” There were terraces “rolling off into the fields, and fountains played about a sweeping driveway.” Lathers placed statues of Greek and Roman Women in niches about the piazza and urn shaped jardinières filled with bright flowers, and at their base were cannon balls from Fort Sumter.”<sup>52</sup>

Lathers recalled in his *Reminiscences*, “In addition to the almost daily assemblages on the piazza, for which mint julep, tea (if there were ladies), and cigars were all the

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<sup>52</sup> Parker p. 677

entertainment ordinarily provided, my family was in the habit of giving dinner parties and receptions to their friends.”<sup>53</sup>



Figure 19: Abby Lodge piazza c. 1870's , (Berkshire Historical).

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<sup>53</sup> Sanborne p. 330



**Figure 20: Grounds of Abby Lodge, friends and family gathered for archery. Artist and date unknown. (Berkshire Historical archives).**

Lathers was familiar with Arrowhead, having visited Herman Melville when he owned Arrowhead. “I visited him often in his well-stocked library, where I listened with intense pleasure to his highly individual views of society and politics. He always provided a bountiful supply of good cider- the product of his own orchard...”<sup>54</sup>

Life at Arrowhead and along Holmes Road flourished as its residents enjoyed a fine, summer country life. One of Allan’s children married into the Morewood family, completing a cycle of Melvilles at Broadhall that had begun a generation before. Social and family life continued, including summer visits by Herman and his family, until the deficits of old age claimed the author in 1891. On one of these visits, Lizzy remarked, “Our visit to Arrowhead did us both much good- and I wish you could go there and see how delightful it is. We spent nearly all the time walking, or driving, or sitting outdoors- and it seemed as if we could not get enough of the reviving air, after being nearly suffocated in the heat and smell of New York- The girls get along

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<sup>54</sup> Sanborn. ‘Reminiscences of Richard Lathers’

admirably and the place looks neat as a pin- With their Aunts family “over the way”- they have protection and company and all goes well.”<sup>55</sup>

## Summary

For more than forty years, Arrowhead lived at the heart of the Melville family. As Herman struggled to make country life work for his family, Arrowhead supplied both inspiration and heartache – the perfect muse for a great writer. Two Williams College students took a literary pilgrimage in April, 1859, stopping to see Herman Melville at Arrowhead. They described Melville “dwelling in rustic style in a large and somewhat loosely-ordered farmhouse.” Melville had shown them the view of Greylock from “his north piazza,” and to the south, “the Berkshire hills with Washington peak in the center.”<sup>56</sup>

During Melville’s ownership, Arrowhead was a rustic farmhouse, dressed out with those elements that he could afford. The landscape was simple and was enjoyed for the pastoral beauty of a working landscape against the backdrop of Berkshire scenery, particularly the views to Mount Greylock and Washington peak. Today it is hard to imagine the breadth of that view. Melville’s woodlot covered a substantial parcel, but was minimized by the extent of open fields and pastures that spread between Arrowhead and Broadhall.

After 1863, Allan and his family lived the life Melville dreamed about at Arrowhead. From Herman’s rustic style dwelling, Allan and his family crafted a well-landscaped, well-maintained country home, with enough funding to properly maintain house, gardens and grounds. Though its physical appearance altered a bit, Arrowhead’s pastoral scenery and summer breezes continued to offer rural respite for friends and family while the best of Pittsfield’s society (and that of Boston and New York) swirled around Arrowhead like the sprites of a midsummer night.

## Landscape Features

The richness of any landscape is found in the details of its individual features. In an effort to understand the specifics of Arrowhead, this list attempts to identify specific features found in written and visual form. Out of a series of references and details, the composition of the landscape emerges. It is hoped that this list is a start at dating and identifying these features that will help planners and interpreters to build a vision for Arrowhead that reflects its appearance during Herman Melville’s occupation.

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<sup>55</sup> Lizzy Melville to Kate Gansevoort, 1873. Gansevoort-Lansing Collection: Melville Family Papers. NY: NY Public Library

<sup>56</sup> Parker Vol. 2 p. 397



**Figure 21: Arrowhead south lawn, large stone as seen in Fig. 13. (Masury photo)**



**Figure 22: Arrowhead, south lawn with Norway Spruce and White Pine, possibly from Allen Melville era. Dendrochronology (tree boring/dating) suggested to determine if this is true.**



**Figure 23: 1945 RealEstate brochure ,south lawn with mature trees (Berkshire His. archives)**



**Figure 24: European Spindle Tree, *Euonymus europaeus* , south lawn, a possible survivor from the Allen Melville era. (Masury photo)**



**Figure 25: South lawn, original site of flower gardens/vegetable gardens in Allen Melville era. Orchard may have been located in the adjoining development, Lori Court.**



Figure 26: North pasture, Arrowhead with view to house, outbuildings. (Masury photo)



Figure 27: Arrowhead piazza, road obscured by topography. (Masury photo)

Feature	Location	Date(s)	Source(s)
Annual, geranium	Near chimney	1856	<i>I and My Chimney</i>
Annual, petunia	Front of house & around trees	1863	Jane to Lizzy
Annual, Medeira blue	"a sunny place"	1863	Jane to Lizzy
Drive, Carriage Drive	South of house	1868	My Country Home
Fence, picket	Along street	1855	W. Roberts woodcut
Fence, worm	Along street	1855	W. Roberts woodcut
Fence, worm	Edge of north field	c. 1860	HM 226 photo
Fruit, Currant	Not specific (preserves)	1863	Fanny to sister
Fruit, Grapes	Against Chimney	1853; 1856	Lizzy to father; <i>I and My Chimney</i>
Fruit, Raspberry	Not specific (preserves)	1863	Fanny to sister
Fruit, Strawberries	Mount Greylock	1851	<i>The Piazza Tales</i>
Grape Arbor	Outside dining room south side of house	c. 1870; 1868	AM 272 B1-F3 photo; My Country Home

Feature	Location	Date(s)	Source(s)
Hay	Fields	1850s	Family letters
Hay field	North field	1862	R18 F1 Arrowhead archives
Meadow	View from Piazza	1851; 1858	<i>The Piazza Tales</i> ; sale advertisement
Meadow	South of House	1868	My Country Home
Mounting block	South edge of path to front door	c. 1870	AM 272 B1-F3 photo
Orchard	South of house	1850, 1851, 1858, 1860	Family letters; "Arrowhead in the Olden Times" sketch; <i>The Piazza Tales</i> ; sale advertisement
Orchard, apples	South of house	1850	Melville to Duyckinck
Orchard, dwarf fruits	Not specific	1863	Parker p. 591
Pasture	View from Piazza	1851; 1858	<i>The Piazza Tales</i> ; sale advertisement
Perennial, Dahlia	Garden; Front of House and piazza	1863	Jane to Lizzy
Perennial, Herbaceous border	Next to Piazza	1862	R18 F1 Arrowhead archives
Perennial, Herbeceous border	South side of house	1868	My Country Home
Perennial, Poppy	Bed viewed from Piazza	1851	<i>The Piazza Tales</i>
Perennial, Violets	Mount Greylock	1851	<i>The Piazza Tales</i>
Seeds	Garden	1851	Maria to Herman; Parker p. 830
Trees	Along street	1855; 1892	W. Roberts woodcut; Parker p. 285
Trees, Elm	North Field	1862	R18 F1 Arrowhead archives; HM226 photo
Trees, maples	Not specific	1850	Melville to Duyckinck
Trees, Norway Spruce	Along edge of path by Piazza	1862; 1870	R18 F1 Arrowhead archives; AM 272 B1-F3 photo
Trees, Norway Spruce Grove	Southwest corner of house	c. 1870	Arrowhead archives
Trees, pines	Not specific	1850	Melville to Duyckinck
Trees, scattered deciduous	North field & East hillside	1860	"Arrowhead in the Olden Times" sketch
Trees, sycamore (?)	Next to Piazza	1862	R18 F1 Arrowhead archives
Vegetable Garden	South of House	1868	My Country Home
Vegetable, Asparagus	Garden	1851	Maria to Herman; Parker p. 830
Vegetable, Corn	Garden	1850s	Family letters
Vegetable, Eggplant	Garden	1863	Jane to Lizzy
Vegetable, Oyster plant	Garden	1863	Jane to Lizzy
Feature	Location	Date(s)	Source(s)

Vegetable, Peas	Garden	1869	The Story of the Summer of 1869
Vegetable, Potatoes	Garden	1851; 1869	Family letters; The Story of the Summer of 1869
Vegetable, Pumpkins	Garden	1850	Melville to Duyckinck
Vegetable, Tomatoes	Garden	1850; 1863	Melville to Duyckinck; Jane to Lizzy
Vine, Chinese Creeper	Piazza	1851;1855	Family letters, W. Roberts woodcut, <i>The Piazza Tales</i>
Vine, honeysuckle	Piazza		Family letters, W. Roberts woodcut, <i>The Piazza Tales</i>
Walk, pea stone	Next to Piazza	1862	R18 F1 Arrowhead archives
Woodlot	East portion of property	1850; 1858	Family letters; Melville to Duyckinck; sale advertisement

<b>Key</b>	<b>References</b>
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