

The Genetic Text: Transcription

EXPLANATION AND KEY

The Genetic Text is a literal transcription of the *Billy Budd* manuscript, leaf by leaf including superseded leaves, in a form that incorporates our analysis of it. It is designed to show the growth of the text, insofar as that can be seen from the surviving leaves. To do so, we present as the running text the earliest version that Melville inscribed on each leaf. At the same time we report all of his revisions as bracketed interruptions, at the points where he made them in the running text. In the centered headings we label each leaf by its original copy stage and by the later stages in which it stood, by means of our stage letters attached to Melville's own successive foliations. We also label each passage on the leaf by means of our stage letters at the left margin of the text. In addition, we label each revision by the stage at which Melville made it. Thus a reader can begin with the *earliest surviving* version of each passage of the text and follow Melville's revisions of it through to the final version. Furthermore, by inferences from the stage labels and successive foliations a reader can learn much about the growth of the narrative as a whole. (For this purpose, our table and discussion of Foliations are essential. See pp. 241–69.)

But a warning is necessary. It is not possible to follow the entire growth of the text *verbatim*, from the beginning; or to find the "earliest version" of the story; or even to recover the story intact as it stood at any intermediate stage. The reason it is not possible to do so lies in the composing and copying procedures by which Melville constituted the manuscript as it finally stands. Ordinarily he composed in pencil, with many false starts and running revisions; then he copied a group of leaves so drafted (which were often already the product of several pencil-revision stages) into an ink fair-copy sequence. As a rule, whenever he copied, he destroyed his original or intermediate draft leaves; only a few of them were inadvertently preserved, when he re-used their versos. Having completed a fair-copy sequence in ink, he then made further revisions in pencil, once more recopying in ink those leaves most heavily revised. Normally he destroyed the superseded leaves, though several of these too were by chance preserved. Therefore, few of the leaves in the final manuscript are the draft leaves of original composing; most belong to various fair-copy sequences which Melville inscribed at stages over a period of some five years, 1886–91. For this reason, to repeat, what a reader can now follow *verbatim* in the Genetic Text is the growth of the text only from the *earliest surviving version* of a given passage, not, in most passages, from its original composition.

A second warning: the leaves as they stand here in order do not carry a text that existed as a whole at any one stage previous to the final state—the state which includes all the revisions on them.

Our only departure from literal transcription of Melville's text is in the case of words he wrote in pencil draft so imperfectly that we have thought it futile to attempt to decide the actual letters present; such words we have reported in standard spelling. (See, for such words, Plate VIII.) We have given Melville's misspellings literally; they are so frequent that we have not called attention to them by the use of "sic."

To read the earliest version Melville inscribed on each leaf, follow the running text by skipping over the matter in square brackets.

To read the revisions, read inside the brackets.

Stages of Inscription

The following letters designate the copy stages. The stages, as well as the substages given in parentheses, refer to the time of *inscription*, not that of *composition*. (In the body of the text these stage letters are in italics, as here; in the centered heads and marginal labels they are in boldface roman and italics.)

A

B (*Ba, Bb, Bbb, Bc, Bca, Bcb*)

C (*Ca, Caa, Cab, Cb, Cba, Cbb, Cc, Cca*)

D (*Da, Daa, Dab, Db*)

X

E (*Ea, Eaa, Eab, Eb, Ec, Ed, Ee*)

F (*Fa, Fb*)

G (*Ga, Gb*)

late pencil (also designated by *p*)

+ stage later than that designated by stage letter to which it is attached (e.g., *Bb+*)

✗ substage uncertain (e.g., *Bx*)

F/G leaf numbered as of first stage designated, but actually inscribed at second stage designated

Media of Inscription

Since most of the inscription is in ink, the above stage letters also signify that the medium employed is ink, unless otherwise indicated, as follows:

p in pencil

i in ink (of indeterminate stage)

Dap in pencil of stage designated

p Ca in pencil, then in ink of stage designated

p i in pencil, then in ink of indeterminate stage

Most of the inscription is in Melville's hand. In the body of the Genetic Text, all words reported in roman are Melville's unless otherwise labeled. All words in italics are those of the editors.

- HM* inscription by Herman Melville
ESM inscription by Elizabeth Shaw Melville (his wife)
W inscription by Raymond Weaver (the first editor)

Revisions

The Genetic Text reports all revisions, bracketed, directly following the word(s) revised.

- . . . → enclosed revision was made at time leaf was first being inscribed
 - [. . .] enclosed revision was made later than initial inscription of leaf
 - [. . . { . . . } . . . { . . . } . . .] enclosed revision underwent secondary revisions (enclosed in braces)
 - [Bb . . . {Ca . . . }] enclosed revisions were made at stages designated
- Note: When revision was made soon after initial inscription, in indistinguishable medium, no stage is designated.
- > insert, above and with caret, the word(s) following
 - insert, above but without caret, the word(s) following
 - < cancel the word(s) following (by lining out)
 - ✗ erase the word(s) following
 - ☒ restore the word(s) following (by underlining or by erasing line-out mark)
 - add add, on same line, the word(s) following
 - w.o. write over (superimpose) the word(s) following
 - x undeciphered letter(s) (number of x's approximates number of letters involved)
 - xxx two hyphens are employed at ends of lines to distinguish Melville's hyphenations from those incidental to the present edition
 - v verso of a leaf

For example, revisions of a passage on Leaf 2, with marginal label *Da*, are reported thus:

... some one signal [p < some one < signal ➢ a superior {Ea ✗ a superior ➡ some} > superior}] figure ...

This is to be read thus:

The passage was inscribed at *Da*, reading "... some one signal figure . . ." Later, in pencil, cancel "some one" and also cancel "signal"; insert above, without caret, "a superior". Later, at Stage *Ea*, erase "a superior" and restore "some"; also insert, above and with caret, "superior".

In other words, the passage successively stood:

At *Da*: some one signal figure
 In pencil revision between *Da* and *Ea*: a superior figure
 At *Ea*: some superior figure

Foliation

In the Genetic Text each leaf carries one or more numbers centered at the head: first, in boldface italics, the Houghton Library leaf number; then, with our stage letters, in boldface roman, the number(s) Melville gave it; finally,

the number in the series put on by some later hand, almost certainly that of Raymond Weaver, which we designate *W*, in brackets.

Example: 3: Da 2, Db 2¹, Ea 2. [W 2]

The manuscript has recently (May, 1961) been foliated with the Houghton Library series. Each leaf in the manuscript proper (1–365) now carries a penciled number from this series on the lower left corner.

- 1–351 leaves in the final manuscript sequence
- 352–61 superseded leaves
- 362–65 associated folder leaves (see Extra-Textual Leaves, pp. 426–29)
- [135a]353 superseded leaves are also assigned bracketed numbers, thus, indicating their genetic position; they are printed in the Genetic Text in that position
- [347a] "Daniel Orme" 17v superseded leaf re-used (recto) and now standing in another work

Melville's process of foliation is discussed above, pp. 226 ff. In the Genetic Text his numbers on each leaf are given with the stage designations, as listed above. Although these are Melville's numbers, we have not reported the literal form of erasures, revisions, and media, but have presented them in interpreted form. For example, what we report as *Da* 2, *Db* 2¹ appears on the leaf as the number "2" followed by a circled "1", on the upper left corner, in green crayon. Our analysis shows that Melville wrote the "2" at *Da* and later added the circled "1" at *Db*.

Stage Labels

Stage letters, as listed above, have been inserted at the left margin to label the stage at which the text below them was *inscribed* (not the stage at which it was *composed*).

- Ba* text was inscribed at stage designated
- **Ba* text is *on an attached clip* from a leaf inscribed at the stage designated (when number of leaf is known it is also given: e.g., **Eb* 94; when inferred, it is given in brackets)
- **Eb* 95(I) text is on two clips—labeled (I) and (II)—from the stage and leaf designated, and edges of clips originally joined; i.e., text on them was originally continuous on the same leaf. When the edges did not join (i.e., when part of leaf was cut off between them), the form (. . . II) is used for the second clip
- **Eb* 95(II)
- †*Eaa* text is *on an attached patch* inscribed at the later stage designated

[344a]: "Daniel Orme" 3v.

Stage A Leaves

We have designated as "Stage A" all the writing Melville did on *Billy Budd* from the time he first put pencil to paper up to the time he began making the fair copy which he numbered at midtop-leaf in green crayon and which we have designated "Stage B." Within Stage A he must have developed the story through many waystages, as he did all his late manuscripts. But what these waystages were, he left us no means of knowing, for he destroyed all his worksheets for Stage A except four pencil-draft leaves. (Two associated conjunct leaves he used as folders also survive from this stage. See pp. 426-27.) Aside from these four leaves, then, we have none of the dozens Melville must have used during Stage A in developing the work from its inception up to the fair copy we designate Stage B. It is therefore, as we have said, impossible to document the whole growth of *Billy Budd*. Even so, these four leaves, taken along with the manuscripts of Melville's other late writings, allow us to make dependable inferences about when and how he started the work and what he had in it at first. (See Introduction, pp. 3-6, and Plates I-IV.)

These four leaves from Stage A were not kept by Melville as part of the final *Billy Budd* manuscript itself but were preserved among the leaves of the manuscript sketch called "Daniel Orme." The preservation was fortuitous: when Melville had copied what he had drafted on them he crossed it out and later thrifitly used the backs of the leaves in drafting "Daniel Orme." Thus merely by chance he preserved the crossed-out *Billy Budd* matter on their verso sides.

We can date these four draft leaves from Stage A with some certainty. Melville inscribed the leaves in or just before the early months of 1886, certainly no later. For this dating, the major evidence is their association with the "Daniel Orme" leaves. As stated above, Melville used their backs in drafting that sketch. Along with them, similarly, he also used backs of other second-hand leaves, including two whose fronts he had first used in drafting two letters. One of these letters he had drafted in January, the other in April or May, 1886. Evidently, then, Melville was drafting "Daniel Orme" shortly after he wrote the letters, that is in the early months of 1886. And since he had by then already copied the four *Billy Budd* leaves, and discarded them, it is obvious that at that time—early 1886—he had already carried his work on *Billy Budd* beyond the point they represented. Therefore, these four draft leaves have to be dated no later than early 1886. From this dating it follows that the inception of *Billy Budd* was somewhat earlier—that is, that Melville began it possibly in 1885, or even before.

[From Stage A a single unfoliated leaf of the prose part of *Billy Budd* survives. It was evidently the opening leaf of Melville's original pencil draft of a headnote to the ballad. Evidence that it was the original draft is that Melville did not inscribe it straight off (as he did the ballad draft leaves), but made false starts, erasures, and revisions while he wrote. The matter on it corresponds to what ended up several years later on Leaves 38 and 39 of the final manuscript.]

A: pencil

Billy B → w.o. Budd → [▷ a rollicking seaman { <a rollicking seaman}] yet more familiarly → <yet more familiarly w.o. sometimes → known as → alter as to among → his shipmates as Handsome → <as Handsome w.o. under the nicknames → Handsome, [underlined] [<Handsome ▷ "Beauty"] xx xx → <xx xx w.o. and J <J w.o. The Jewel, [underlined] → he being a man [?] in [?] his xx → <a man in his xx w.o. in person → [>(at top, to follow he being) not only → <not only → goo → <goo → goodnatured → <he being <goodnatured → >(still above, circled, with guide-line to caret) he being not only sparklingly → <sparklingly → pleasant in temper, → <pleasant in temper ▷ genial, → { <genial ▷ (above) genial in temper, and sparklingly so;} ▷ but (before in person) >(after person) also] a goodly object [<goodly add brilliant { <a brilliant object >goodly}] to behold; [passage finally reads he being not only genial in temper, and sparklingly so, but in person also goodly to behold;] his features, ear, foot, and in a less degree even his sailor hands all indicating n → <indicating n → together → <together <all → but more particularly [<particularly ▷ strikingly] his [>whole { <whole} frame and natural bearing [<bearing >(with guide-line and caret) carriage] all → <all → indicating no ignoble lineage → <no add some <ignoble lineage → superior and noble stock → < some . . . stock → exceptional and superior stock → <exceptional . . . stock → a lineage contradicting his lot; he, [alter semicolon to period and alter he to He] in war time, Captain of a gun's crew in a seventy-four, is summarily condemned [>at sea] to be hung as the ringleader of an incipient mutiny [>(below, circled) the spread of which was apprehended] [▷ a mutiny] projected under the [orange crayon cancel whole leaf]

[347a]: "Daniel Orme" 17v.

[The earliest of the three surviving ballad draft leaves, which is not foliated, carries a six-line version of the opening. Although Melville inscribed the lines in pencil, he was evidently not composing them but copying them from an earlier draft in order to get a clear working copy on which to do further revising. His intention is revealed by the fact that he began with his usual ornamented rule at the top, and further that he inscribed the lines

without false starts—as he could rarely compose. Still another indication that this is not the earliest draft of these lines is that they occupy only the top half of the leaf, and that to continue them Melville pinned below them a clip (or clips)—now gone—from an earlier draft.]

A: pencil

Very good of him, Ay, so long to stay
 And down [*<down*] on his marrow bone here to pray
 For the likes of me. Nor bad [*<Nor bad >I like {<I like >(below) I bless}*]
 his story,
 The Good Being hung and gone to glory.—
 What's this? only the sun's last ray →[*<the lines* A pearl and O, its me. (*including rules*)]
 Raying [*<Raying >Crimson*] through the gun-port. My last eve.
 [clip was pinned on below]

[347b]: 2, "Daniel Orme" 4v.

[The second surviving ballad draft leaf begins with a later, seven-line version of the above lines, followed by eight additional trial lines. Again copying from an earlier draft, Melville wrote this leaf straight off, in pencil, and then revised it. In the process he canceled everything following line six and pinned over the canceled segment a patch (now gone) that evidently carried a fuller version of the draft lines it covered up.

Melville numbered this leaf "2" in blue crayon, an indication that by then at least one leaf preceded it—probably, since the ballad itself opens here, a prose headnote. But we know from the surviving initial leaf of the headnote draft which we have that one or more leaves of prose once followed. Perhaps when Melville numbered the ballad draft leaf he had not yet written his headnote, which he expected to occupy only a single leaf, or perhaps the headnote existed either in draft or in fair copy on but one leaf.]

A: pencil

Very good [*<Very good >Kind*] of him, Ay, to come my way [*<come >xx*
 →*<xx> add sail {<sail my way >(above) enter Lone Bay}*]
 And down on his marrowbones here & pray
 For the like of me. I bless [*<bless >hail {<hail >bless}*] his [*<I bless his*
 >He told of a {*<He told of a add (with guide-line to caret)* And good his}]
 story—
 [add Of] The good boy hung and gone to glory,
 And all [*<And all >Hung*] for the likes of me. But, look,
 That light [*<That light w.o. What light {<What light >How light} {<How*
 light w.o. How bright} {*<How bright add Plays}}*] on the cannon! [add

comma] the sun's last →[*<sun's last w.o. day taking leave [>sun (without canceling day)]*]→
 Peering [*<Peering >Burning*] thru the port there [*<there >here*] —Billy's last eve.
 [interline And there goes Tidds our mess's privy cook]
 A jewel block—
 [single rule {*<rule*}]
 A pearl—
 [single rule]
 O, its me.
 [single rule] [*<the lines* A pearl and O, its me. (*including rules*)]
 Sh → w.o. Messmates—
 Shipmates—
 No song to those halyards, they'll hoist away
 Sorry for ye, boys, but ye needs obey
 [orange and blue crayons cancel lower segment of leaf] Burning . . . obey and pin
 on a clip (now gone) {orange and blue crayons cancel top segment of leaf}]

[347c]: "Daniel Orme" 16v.

[The third, and last surviving, ballad draft leaf opens with the last two lines of the above leaf, but in a later version. Its being unfoliated is further indication that this leaf does not belong to the same stage and sequence in which the above leaf was foliated "2". (Possibly some of its lines overlap with those that were on the patch later pinned on the above leaf.)

Melville inscribed this leaf, like the other two, as a pencil trial copy of lines already composed, and then he revised it. A clip or patch (now gone) was at one time pinned on below these lines, continuing their matter—an indication that at this stage the ballad already extended beyond them.]

A: pencil

So be, so be, [*<so be >*—well, well—{*<well, well add let rip—*}] no malice
 bear they [*<let rip <no . . . they >(above) all's up and I must up to. (sic)*]
 [add line at right side All →*<All→ Early in the morning they →<they→ the*
 deed they will do]
 Since the game is up [*<Since >Yes {<Yes <the >The little alter game is to*
 game's} {*<The add (before little) My*} {*<My →Our*} (finally reads Our
 little game's up)] they must needs obey.
 And [*<And >Well,*] to these and many another crew [add dash] [interline
 Since who was my mother I could say {*<mother >(below) m →<m→*
 {*<Since . . . say add (at foot of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret)* Since
 who was my mammy I never could say}]]
 In a queerish [*<a queerish >my last queer*] dream here I bid adieu [add dash]

A queerish [*<A queerish >For most part a*] dream of days [*<days >ships no more. [add dash]*]

A general-muster [*<general >a >(after muster) of men*] from every shore
[*add dash*]

[*interline Hail to ye, fellows, and is it you? {<Hail . . . you?}*]

Countrymen, yes, and Moor & Swede [*add comma*]

Christian Pagan Cannibal breed

[*clip was pinned on below*]

[*blue crayon cancel all writing on leaf*]

Final Leaves

1:

[X+p (*probably late-pencil*) draft of dedication. Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

X+p

Dedicated
to
Jack Chace
Englishman

Wherever he [*<he >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret)* that great heart] may now be

Here on earth or [*>harbored*] in Paradise
Captain of the Main-top [*capitalize top*]

[>(*below, circled, with guide-line to caret*) in the year 1843]
in [*>(circled)* historic {*<historic*}] the U.S. Frigate
“United States” [*ESM p notation for Billy Budd*]

[1a] 352:

[*Superseded pencil-draft title slip, of uncertain stage (C?), mounted on leaf. Verso of slip was inscribed earlier; see p. 432.*]

C?: pencil on slip

Billy Budd [*underlined*]
Foretopman [*underlined*]
What befell him
in the year of the
Great Mutiny
&c

[*p <(underlined) Billy Budd / Foretopman*]

[*ESM p >(above canceled underlined Billy Budd) Billy Budd {ESM <(her own insertion) Billy Budd and trace over HM's cancellation, thus Billy Budd / Foretop-man}]*

Editor's note: This superseded pencil-draft title slip is approximately the bottom third of a leaf whose verso was earlier inscribed (at right angles to title draft) with pencil draft of a passage finally on Eb 128 (Leaf 120).

Melville must have inscribed this title draft at a stage later, of course, than

the stage at which he copied forward the pencil passage on its verso; and that copy stage was probably *Bc*[*C*]. So the draft may date from any stage between *Bc*[*C*] and *Eb*—most likely from late *C*, or *D*. One consideration pointing to late *C* or *D* is that Melville at that point, just prior to *X*, supposed the story was finished, was preparing a fair copy, *D*, and might then have drafted a title page for it. Another consideration pointing to the stage prior to *X* concerns the adequacy of the title. In the story Melville twice approximates the phrase in the draft subtitle, “What befell him,” first on *Ec* 121 (Leaf 111), and again on *F/G* 97 (Leaf 335). Both of these passages were probably copied from earlier stages since they stand in ink fair copy deriving ultimately from *B* or *C*. Now, in the *F/G* passage Melville comments directly on the fact that the final three chapters go beyond “what befell him,” and the fact that he felt it necessary so to comment would seem to imply that he would not have considered the subtitle adequate by then—therefore, that he had drafted the title at a stage preceding the *X* expansion that necessitated those final chapters.

In any case, Melville canceled this title, though sparing the subtitle, and supplanted it by the late-pencil title which he added on the opening leaf of the story (*Da* 1: Leaf 2). (For some of the late pieces, contemporary with *Billy Budd*, numerous draft titles survive.)

It is most doubtful that Melville left this semi-canceled draft title in title-page position at the head of the manuscript—followed by his later title on the opening page of the story. Our hypothesis, suggested by Mrs. Melville’s penciled restoration of the canceled title, and supported by her similar practice elsewhere in the late manuscripts, is that she found the superseded draft slip after her husband’s death when she was engaged in sorting all his late manuscripts, and that she then mounted the slip on a leaf and placed it at the front of the *Billy Budd* manuscript. Her so placing it gives it no authority, since she made various other errors in her attempted placing of leaves—in *Billy Budd*, notably in the conjectured “Preface.”

2: Da 1; Ea 1.

Da

[*p* (on top left corner, circled) *Billy Budd / Sailor /* (An inside narrative.)]
 [Dap notation (boxed, on top right corner) *Friday Nov. 16. 1888. / Began.*]
 [*X?* *Eap?* notation (boxed below first notation, with fist) *Revise—began / March 2d 1889*]

In the time before steamships, and [*p* *Ea <and >or then*] more frequently than now [*p* *Ea add comma*] a stroller along the docks of any considerable sea-port would occasionally have his attention arrested by a group of bronzed mariners, man-of-war’s men or merchant-sailors in holiday attire ashore on liberty. In certain instances [*p <In certain instances >Sometimes xx {<Sometimes xx (thus restoring canceled In certain instances)}*] they would flank, or, like a body-guard quite surround some one signal [*p <some one <signal >a superior {Ea <a superior >some >superior}}*] figure of their own class but signalized [*p <but signalized (as part of first revision on next leaf)*]

3: Da 2, Db 2¹; Ea 2. [W 2]

* Da 2

by its preeminence, [*p <preeminence >bright {<bright add superiority} {Ea <but signalized by its superiority}] moving along with [p >luminousness {<luminousness}] them like [p >signalized {<signalized}] Aldebaran [p >superior {<superior}] among the lesser [p >(over lesser) twinkling (?) {<twinkling >lesser}] lights of his constellation. That signal figure [*Ea <signal figure >shining object {<shining >signal}*] was the “Handsome Sailor” of the picturesque [*Eap <picturesque >less prosaic*] time [*Eap <time >era {<era >time}*] [*p >alike*] of the military and merchant navies. [*p <navies >marine. {<marine. >navies.}*] With no perceptible [*p correct to perceptible*] trace of vanity or vainglory rather [*p <vanity or vainglory rather altering y to ious and >about him, (before rather)*] with the off-hand unaffectedness of natural →<natural→ innate [*p Ea <innate >natural*] regality, he seemed to accept the spontaneous [*p correct to spontaneous*] homage of his shipmates. [*Da+p notation Insert add A somewhat remarkable instance recurs to me. {Ea <notation and add on leaf}*]*

Ea

A somewhat remarkable instance recurs to me. In Liverpool, now half a century ago I saw under the shadow of the great dingy street-wall of Prince’s Dock

4: Ea 3.

[Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

Eaa

(an obstruction long since removed) a common sailor, a son of Ham [*p <a son of Ham*] so intensely black that he must needs have been a native born [*p <born*] African. [*p <period*] of the best {<best>(above, circled) unadulterate} blood of Ham.] A symmetric [*p >*barbaric {<barbaric}] figure much above the average height. The two ends of a gay silk handerchief thrown loose about the neck danced upon the displayed ebony of his chest; in his ears were big hoops of gold, and a Scotch [*p >*(below Scotch) Highland] bonnet [*Eab >*(below, circled) with a tartan band] set off his shapely head. [*Eab add* It was a rather {*p <rather*} hot noon in July; and his handsome {*p <handsome*} face, lustrous with perspiration, beamed with {*p >barbaric*} good humor.]

5: Eab 3².

Eab

In jovial sallies right and left, [*p >*his white teeth flashing into view,] he rollicked along, the centre of a company of his shipmates. These were made up of such an assortment of tribes and complexions

* Db

as would have well fitted them to be marched up by the eccentric [*p <the eccentric*] Anacharsis Cloots before the bar of the first French Assembly as Representatives of the Human Race.

Eab

In the [*p <In the >At each*] spontaneous [*p correct to spontaneous*] tribute rendered by nearly every [*p <nearly every >any {<any >the}*] wayfarer [*p alter to wayfarers*] at [*p <at >to*] this black pagod of a jolly [*p <jolly*] fellow—the tribute of a pause and stare, and less frequent an exclamation, [*p add dash*] the motley retinue showed that [*p add (on next line)*] they took that]

6: Ea 4.

Ea

sort of pride in their mighty [>black] sailor [*p <their mighty black sailor >the evoker of it*] which the Assryian priests doubtless showed for their [>carved and] deified [*p <carved and deified >grand sculptured*] Bull when the faithful prostrated themselves.

7: Db 2⁴; Ea 5.

Db

[*p add at top To return*]

If in some cases a bit of a nautical Murat in setting forth his person ashore, the white forecastle-magnate [*p Eaa <white forecastle-magnate add handsome sailor*] of the period in question evinced nothing of that spurious sea-fop [*p Eaa <that spurious sea-fop >the dandified*] Billy-be-Dam, an amusing character still →<still→ all but extinct now, but occasionally to be encountered [*>in form yet more amusing {Eaa <in form yet more amusing, add comma and add (at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret)}*] and in a form yet more amusing than the original,]) at the tiller of the boats on the tempestuous Erie Canal or, more likely, vaporizing in the groggeries along the tow-path.

8: Da 3; Ea 6.

Da

in this forecastle hero. [*p >magnate. {<magnate.}*] [*p Db <in this forecastle hero*] Invariably a proficient in his perilous calling, he was also more or less of a mighty boxer or wrestler. [*Ea add (at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret)*] It was strength and beauty. Tales of his prowess were recited.] Ashore he was the champion; afloat the spokesman; [*p >two words, later erased (undeciphered) {>whatever →<whatever→ on every suitable occasion}*] Always foremost. Close-reefing topsails in a gale, there he was, astride the weather yard-arm-end, foot [*p >the Flemish horse as*] in "stirrup," both [*p >brown {<brown}*] hands tugging at the "ear-ring" as at a bridle, [*p Ea >in very much*] the attitude [*p <the attitude {>the attitude}*] of the [*p <the*] young Alexander curbing the fiery Bucephalus. [*p <Bucephalus >steed {<steed >(above, after curbing) an xxxx xxxx} {<an xxxx xxxx >Bucephalus}*] A superb figure, [*p <figure >outline, {<A superb outline, >A figure}*] {<A figure >A superb figure, correcting superb to superb})] tossed up as by the horns of Taurus against the thunderous

9: Da 4; Ea 7.

Da

[*p >black {<black}*] sky, cheerily hallooing to the strenuous file along the spar.

The moral nature was seldom out of keeping with the physical make. Indeed, except as toned by the former, the comeliness and power, always attractive in masculine conjunction, could hardly [<could >(after hardly) could] have drawn the sort of honest admiration [<honest admiration {>honest} >honest] the Handsome Sailor in some examples received from his less gifted associates.

10: Da 5; Ea 8.

Da

Such a cynosure, at least in aspect, and something such too in his [*p <his*] nature, though with very [*p <very*] important variations that will evolve themselves [*p <that will evolve themselves >to become apparent {<to become add made}]* as the story proceeds, was welkin-eyed Billy Budd, [*p >(at top, with guide-line to caret)*] or Baby Budd as yet →<*yet→* more familiarly →>(*at side, circled, with guide-line to caret*) under circumstances hereafter to be given→ he came to be calld at last {<calld at last >(*below he circled*) at last}] aged twenty-two [*p <two >one*] a tar [*p <tar >foretopman*] of the British [<British [*p >British*]] fleet toward the close of the last decade of the eighteenth century. Not [<Not >It was not] very long prior to the time of the narration that follows he had [<he had] that he had entered the fleet, [*p <fleet >King's service*] having been impressed on the Narrow Seas

11: Da 6; Ea 9.

Da

from a homeward-bound English merchantman into a seventy-four outward-bound, H.M.S. Indomitable. [underlined] [*alter period to semicolon*] That king's-ship, [*p <That king's- >which*] as was not unusual in those hurried days having been obliged to put to sea short of her proper complement of men. Plump upon Billy at first sight [>>in the gangway] the boarding Lieutenant [*p >officer (before Lieutenant) >Ratcliffe (after Lieutenant)*] pounced, even before the merchantman's crew was [*p >formally*] mustered on the quarter-deck for his [*p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret)*] more deliberate {<more>} inspection. [add And] Him only he elected. For whether it was because the other men [add when] ranged before him showed to

12: Da 7; Ea 10.

Da

ill advantage after Billy, or whether he had some scruples in view of the merchantman being rather short-handed, however it might be, the officer contented himself with his first spontaneous [*correct to spontaneous*] choice. To the surprise of the ship's company, though much to the Lieutenant's satisfaction Billy made no demur to his capture. [*p <to his capture add period (after demur)*] But, indeed, any demur would have been [>as] idle as the protest of a goldfinch popped into a [*p >wire {<wire}*] cage.

13: Da 8, Db 8¹; Ea 11.*** Da 8**

[*Dap notation (at top) Saturday Nov 17 {p <notation}]*

Noting this uncomplaining acquiescence, all but cheerful one might say, the shipmaster cast [<cast >turned] a surprised glance of silent reproach at the sailor.

Db

Now he [*p alter he to the >sea-captain {<Now the <sea-captain >(below, with guide-line to caret) The shipmaster}}*] was one of those worthy mortals found in every *p →<p→* vocation however humble [*p <however >even the alter to humbler >ones*] —the sort of person whom everybody agrees in calling “a respectable man.” And—nor so strange to report as [>it] may appear to be—though a ploughman of the troubled waters, and a life-long contender [<and a *alter* contender to contending] with the intractable elements, alike in nature [*capitalize nature*] and man [<alike in Nature and man] there was nothing the [*alter to this*] honest fellow [*p <fellow add soul*]

14: Db 8²; Ea 12.**Db**

at heart loved better than the [<the] simple peace and quietness. [*alter to quiet*] For the rest, he was fifty or thereabouts, a little inclined to corpulence perhaps, [*p <perhaps*] a prepossessing [add full {<full}] face, unwhiskered, and of an agreeable color, [*p add dash*] a rather full face, kindly and [<kindly and] humanely intelligent in expression. On a fair day with a fair wind and all going well, a certain musical chime in his voice seemed to be the veritable unobstructed outcome of the inmost [*p Eaa <in from inmost >inner (before most)*] man. But there were t →<t→ occasions when his extreme conscientiousness was his torment. [*Dbp <But . . . torment add (at bottom of leaf)*] He was very {<was very >had so much prudence much (?)} conscientious {add ness (?)} and there {>were} occasions when these virtues (*several word-beginnings and words canceled and erased*) {*Eaa re-cancel* But . . . torment <entire pencil draft and supplant it by the following} He had much prudence, much conscientiousness, and there were occasions when these virtues were the cause of overmuch disquietude in him.]

15: Db 8³; Ea 13.**Db**

On a passage, so long as his craft was in any proximity to land, no sleep for G →<G→ Captain Graveling. He took to heart those serious responsibilities not so heavily borne by some shipmasters.

Now while Billy Budd was down in the forecastle getting his kit together,

the Indomitable's [underlined] lieutenant, burly and bluff, nowise disconcerted by Captain Graveling's omitting to profer the customary hospitalities on an occasion so unwelcome to him, an omission simply the resu →<resu→ caused by preoccupation of thought, unceremoniously invited himself into the cabin, and also to a flask from the spirit-locker,

16: Db 8⁴; Ea 14.

Db

a receptacle which his experiend eye instantly discovered. In fact he was one of those sea-dogs in whom all the hardship and peril of naval life in the great prolonged wars of his time never kille →<kille→ impaired the natural instinct for sensuous enjoyment. His duty he always faithfully did; but duty is sometimes a dry obligation, and he was for irrigating the aridity of it, [p <the >its <of it] whensoever possible, with a fertilizing decoction of strong waters.

* **Da**

For the cabin's proprietor there was nothing left but to play the part of the inforced host with whatever grace and alacrity [p <alacrity >(below) good will {<good will >>alacrity}] were practicable.

17: Eaa 15.

Eaa

As necessary adjuncts to the flask, he silently placed tumbler and water-jug before the irrepressable guest. But excusing himself from partaking just then, dismally watched the unembarrassed officer deliberately diluting his grog a little, then tossing it off in three swallows, pushing the empty tumbler away, yet not so far as to be beyond easy reach, at the same settling himself in his seat and smacking his lips with high satisfaction, looking straight at his [<his >the] host.

These proceedings over, the Master spoke →<spoke→ broke the silence;

18: Eaa 16.

Eaa

and there lurked a rueful reproach in the tone of his voice: "Lieutenant, you are going to take my best man from me, the jewel of 'em."

"Yes, I know" rejoined the other, immediatly drawing back the tumbler to him [p <to him]

19: Da 12; Ea 17.

Da

preliminry to the refilling of it; [p →(above it) pretty soon {<pretty soon}] [<the refilling of it >a replenishing;] "Yes; I know. Sorry" [no period]

"Beg pardon, but you do'nt understand, Lieutenant. See here now. Before I shipped that young fellow, my forecastle was a very [p <very] rat-pit of quarrels. It was black times [>, I tell you,] aboard the Rights [underlined] [p add quotation marks (around underlined Rights)] here. It [<It add I >was] worried to that degree that [<that] my pipe had no comfort [>for] me. But Billy came; and it was like a Catholic priest striking peace in an Irish shindy. Not that he preached to them or said or did anything in particular; but a virtue went out of him, sugaring the sour ones. They took to him like hornets to treacle; all but the buffer

20: Da 13, D/Ea 13¹; Ea 18, Eab 18¹.

[Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier: see p. 430.]

* **Da 13 on Ea leaf**

of the gang, the big shaggy chap with the fire-red whiskers. He indeed out of envy, perhaps, of the new-comer, and thinking such a sweet and pleasant fellow, [p add quotation marks (around sweet and pleasant fellow,)] as he mockingly called him to his face [p <called him to his face >(below) designated him to the others,] could hardly have the spirit of a game-cock, must needs bestir himself in trying to get up an ugly row with him.

21: Eab 18².

Eab

Billy forebore with him and a sort of [p <a sort of] reasoned with him in a quiet [p <quiet >pleasant] way— [p add quotation mark] he is something like myself, lieutenant, to whom aught like a quarrel is hateful [p add quotation mark] —but nothing served. So, in the second dog-watch one day the Big [<Big >Red] Whiskers in prescence of the others, under pretence of showing Billy [>just] whence a sirloin steak was cut—for the fellow had once been a butcher—insultingly gave him a dig under the ribs. Quick as lightning Billy let fly. [ESM p >(over an erasure) his arm.] I dare say he never meant to do quite as much as he did, but anyhow he gave the burly [p >xx (below burly)] fool a terrible drubbing.

22: Da 14; Ea 19.

Da

It took about half a minute, I should say. [p <say >think] And, lord bless you, the lubber was astonished at the celerity.

* **Bc?**

And will you believe it, Lieutenant, the Red Whiskers now really loves Billy— loves him, or is the biggest hypocrite that ever I heard of. But they all love him [p add period]

23: Bb? 7^a; Da 15; Ea 20.**Bb?**

Some of 'em wash and [>] (after 'em) do his *alter* wash to washing, <and] darn his [p *B+* <his >the seat of his {p <the seat of his >>his}] old trowsers for him; the carpenter is at odd times making a pretty little chest of drawers for him. Anybody will do anything for him; [p <him add Billy Budd] and it's the happy family here. But now [p <But *capitalize* now >, Lieutenant {>But}] if that young fellow goes—I know how it will be aboard the "Rights" [*underlined*] here. [<here add period (after underlined "Rights")] Not again very soon, I think, [<I think] shall I, coming up from dinner, lean over the capstain smoking a quiet pipe—no, not very soon again, I think. Ay, Lieutenant, you are going to take away the jewel of 'em; you are going to take away my peacemaker." [p *alter* period to exclamation mark] [p add draft (at bottom of leaf) And with that he {>the good soul} had {>really} some ado to check a sob. →<sob. add rising sob.→ {>(before rising) sort of} {B⁺ cancel this pencil draft and add And with that the good soul had really some ado in checking a rising sob.}]

24: Da 16; Ea 21.

*** Bc?**

"Well," said the lieutenant [<lieutenant >(below) officer {p <officer (leaving no subject)} who had listened with amused interest to all this, and now waxing merry with his tipple; "Well, blessed are the peacemakers; [<:semicolon] especially the fighting ones! [<ones >peacemakers {p add period}] And such are

Da

the seventy-four beauties poking their →<poking their→ some →<some→ the upper tier [<the upper tier >some] of which you see poking their noses out of the port-holes of yonder war-ship. [p <period >lying-to for me. also >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) pointing her out thro the cabin window {Ea <lying-to . . . window >(at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) lying-to for me" pointing thro' the cabin window at the Indomitable. (*underlined*)}] But courage! do'nt look so downhearted, man. I p →<I p→ Why, I pledge you in advance the King's [<King's >royal] approbation. Rest assured that his [*capitalize his*] Magesty [p *alter* to Majesty] will be delighted

25: Da 17; Ea 22.

Da

to know [p <know >learn {<learn >>know}] that in a time when [p *begin then cancel xx*] the King's [p Ea <the King's >his] hard tack is not sought for [>by sailors] with such alacrity [p Ea <alacrity >avidity] as should be;

and some [<and some >a time also when some] shipmasters secretly [p Ea <secretly >privily] resent the [p >King's {<King's}] borrowing of →<of→ from them of [p Ea <of] a tar or two for a →<a→ a short cruise; [p <a short cruise >the King {Ea <the King >the service;} His Magesty, I say, will be delighted to know [p Ea <know >learn] that one at least of →<one at least of→ one [*underlined*] shipmaster at least cheerfully surrenders to the service, [<service >King] the very [p Ea <very] flower of his flock, in →<in→ [>a sailor] who with equal cheerfulness assents. [p >(after equal) glad →<glad→ loyalty *alter* cheerfulness to cheerfully {Ea <loyalty cheerfully assents >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) loyalty makes no dissent.}] —But where's my [p >our {<our}] beauty? Ah," looking through the cabin's open door

[Dap notation (in right margin) Nov 18 {<notation}]

26: Ea 23.

Ea

"Here he comes; and, by Jove—look at him [p <look at him >lugging along his chest] —Apollo with his portmanteau! —My man," stepping out to him, "you can't take that lumbering chest [p <lumbering chest >big box] aboard a war-ship. The chests [p <chests >boxes] there are mostly shot-boxes. Put your duds in a bag. [p *alter* period to comma and add lad.] Boot and saddle

*** Bb**

saddle [Ea <saddle] for the cavalryman, bag and hammock for the blue-jacket." [p Ea <blue-jacket." >man-of-war's-man.]

The transfer [ESM Bb⁺ mend er] [p >of duds {Bc <of duds >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) of duds from chest to bag} {p <of duds}] was made. And, after seeing his man into the cutter and then following him down, the lieutenant [Bbp >(below) boarding-officer {ESM Bb⁺ <lieutenant <boarding-officer and add boarding-officer} {HM Ea <boarding-officer >lieutenant}]

27: Bb 7^b, Be 7^c; Da 19; Ea 24.**Bb**

pushed off from the Rights-of-Man. [*underlined*] That was the merchant-ship's name; [Bbp >in sailor fashion abbreviated by Captain & crew into the "Rights" {Bc <in . . . "Rights" >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) tho' by her master and crew abbreviated in sailor fashion into The Rights. (*underlined*)}] its [Bc <its add The] hard-headed Dundee owner being [Bc <being add was] a staunch admirer of Thomas Paine

*** Ba (I)**

whose book by that title [Bc <by that title] in rejoinder to Burke's arraignment of the French Revolution had then been published for some time and had gone everywhere.

Bb

In christening his vessel [Bc >(in left margin, circled, with guide-line to caret) after the title of Paine's volume] the man of Dundee was something like his contemporary shipowner, Stephen Girard of Philadelphia, whose sympathies, alike with his native land and its liberal philosophers, were [Bc <were >he {<he >were} {<were >he}] evined [ESM Bb+p i <evined >evinced] by nameing [p i correct to naming] his ships [Bcp >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) respectively {<respectively>} after Voltaire, and the Encyclopedists [Bcp <and the Encyclopedists >Diderot &c {Bc <Diderot &c >, Diderot, and so forth.}]

28: [Bbp notation follows 7⁵ green], Bc 7⁸; Da 20; Ea 25.

*** Ba (II) on Bb leaf**

Now, [Bbp add But (before Now) {ESM Bb+ <But w.o. But alter Now to now}] when the boat swept under the merchantman's [ESM Bb+ <(poorly-shaped) man's >-man's] stern, and officer and oarsmen read [<read >were noteing >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret), —some bitterly and others with a grin, {p add dash} {i <were noteing and add below (before —some bitterly) were →<were→ were noteing} {correct to noting}] the name emblazoned there; just then it was that

29: Ba 7⁶, Bc 7⁹; Da 21; Ea 26.

Ba

the captive [Ba+p <captive >new recruit {<new add enforced} {<enforced >>new} {Bc w.o. new recruit}] jumped up from the bow where he had been directed to sit →<where . . . sit→ where the coxswain had directed him to sit, and waveing [Ba+p i alter to waving] his tattered [<his tattered] hat to his silent shipmates sorrowfully looking over at him from the taffrail, bade the lads [Ba+p i >a genial] good-bye. [alter period to comma >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) particularly Red Whiskers {p <particularly Red Whiskers}] Then, [alter Then to then] making a salutation as to the ship herself, "And good bye to you [p Bc >too, old] Rights of Man." [underlined]

"Down, Sir [p >exclamation mark]," roared the [Bb >kidnapping {p Bc <kidnapping}] lieutenant, instantly assuming all the rigor of his rank, tho [ESM Bb+ alter to though] with difficulty repressing a smile.

30: [Ba ?7¹, Bc ?8¹]; Da 22; Ea 27.

[Ba foliation mostly trimmed off after E.]

Ba

To be sure Billy's action was a terrible breach of naval decorum. [p <decorum. >discipline. {<discipline. >>decorum.}] But in that [>decorum

{p <decorum add discipline} {<discipline >>decorum}] he had never been instructed; in consideration of which the lieutenant would have passed it over had it not been [Ba+p <passed it over >(below, circled) thought nothing more of it {Bb <thought . . . it >(before have) hardly >(after have) been so energetic <had it not been >in reproof}] but for the concluding farewell to the ship. This he [>rather] took as meant to convey a sly [p Bc <sly >covert] sally on Billy →<Billy→ the captive's [p Bc <captive's >new recruit's] part [p add comma] against [p <against >a sly sally →<sally→ slur as to {Bc <a sly slur as to add a sly slur at}] impression in general, and that of himself in especial. [Bb add And yet,]

Bb

[Bb addition pasted on as bottom of leaf] more likely, if satire it was in effect, it was hardly so by intention, for Billy tho' happily endowed with the gayety [mend] [ESM Bb+ <gayety >gayety] of high health, youth, [ESM Bb+ <youth >youth {HM p > & <& add comma (after youth)}] and a free heart, was yet by no means of a satirical [p <satirical >caustic {Bc w.o. cau →<cau→ >>satirical}] turn. The will to it and the mental [Bb+p <mental >sinister {Bc <sinister >(circled, with guide-line to caret) sinister}] dexterity were alike wanting. And to [p <And capitalize to] deal in double meanings and serpentine [p Bc <serpentine] insinuations of any sort were equally [Bb+p alter were to was <was equally >absolutely {Bc <(again) was equally >was quite foreign →<foreign→}] foreign to his nature. [Bc <nature >xx {scratch out xx >>nature}]

31: Ba 7⁸, Bc 8²; Da 23; Ea 28.

Ba

insinuations. The will to it and the dexterity were alike wanting. [Bb <insinuations . . . wanting]

As to his capture [p <capture >impression {Bc <impression >enforced enlistment,}] that he seemed to take pretty much as he had always taken any [Bb+p <had . . . any >(circled, with guide-line to caret) was wont to take add the →<the→ any {Bc <was . . . any add he was wont to >taken any (altering taken to take)}] vicissitude of weather. Like the animals, tho' [ESM Bb+ alter to though] no philosopher [p add comma] he was yet a f →<yet a f→ practically [Bb+p >(at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) and without knowing it {Bc <pencil addition and add (before practically) without knowing it,}] a fatalist. And, [p >indeed {<indeed}] it may be, that he rather liked this adventurous turn in his affairs, which promised an opening into novel scenes and martial excitements.

Aboard the Indomitable [underlined] [ESM Bb+ mend ship's name] the new recruit [p Bc <the new recruit >our merchant-sailor] was forthwith rated as an able [p add hyphen] seaman and assigned to the starboard watch of the fore-top.

32: Ea 29.**Ea**

He was soon at home in the service, not at all disliked for his [>>unpretentious] good looks and a sort of genial happy-go-lucky in his [*p* <in his] air. No merrier man in his mess: in marked contrast to certain other individuals included like himself among [*mend*] the impressed portion of the ship's company; for these when not activly employed were sometimes, and more particularly in the [>>last] dog-watch when the drawing near of night [<night >twilight] induced revery, apt to fall into a saddish mood which in some partook of sullenness. But they were not so young [*mend*] as our foretopman, and no few of them must

33: Ea 30.**Ea**

have known a hearth of some sort, while [<while] others may have had wives and children left, too probably, in uncertain circumstances, and hardly any but must have had acknowledged kith and kin, while for Billy, as will shortly be seen, his entire family was practically confined to [*ESM p* <to >invested in] himself.

[*p chapter-ending mark* —————◆——]

34: Eab 31.**Eab**

[*p chapter-beginning mark* —————◆——]

Though our new-made foretopman was well received in the top and on the gun-decks, hardly here was he that cynosure he previously had [*p transpose previously to follow had*] been among those minor ship's companies of the merchant marine, with which companies only had he p →<p→ hitherto consorted.

He was young; and despite his all but fully developed frame in aspect looked even younger than he really was, owing to a lingering adolescent expression in the as yet smooth face all but feminine in the [<the] purity of natural complexion

35: Eab 32¹.**Eab**

but where, thanks to his seagoing, the rose had m →<rose had m→ lily was quite suppressed and the rose had much [*p* <much >(below) some] ado [>(*at top of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret*) visably] to flush through the tan.

To one essentially such a novice in the wrinkled [*p* <wrinkled] complexities of factitious life, the abrupt transition from his former and simpler sphere

to the ampler and more knowing world of a great war-ship; this might well have abashed him had there been any conciet or vanity in his composition. [*mend*] Among her miscellaneous multitude, the Indomitable [*underlined*] mustered

36: Bb or Bc 8⁵; Da 26; Ea 32, Eab 32². [W 33]*** Ba [8*]**

company [*Eab* <company] several individuals who however inferior in grade were of no common natural stamp, sailors more signally susceptive of that [*p* >nobler {<nobler}] air which continuous martial discipline and repeated prescence in battle can in some degree impart even to the average

Bb or Bc

man. As the handsome sailor [*handsome sailor underlined*] Billy Budd's position aboard the seventy-four was something analagous to that of a rustic belle transplanted into the circle of the court. [*p* <into the circle of the court >(after rustic) beauty >(after transplanted) from the provinces to a court →<to a court→ and brought into competition with the high dames of the court. {*Da* <rustic . . . court add rustic beauty transplanted from the provinces and brought into competition with the high dames of the court.} {*p* >(after high) born}]

37: Da 27; Ea 33. [W 34]**Da**

But this [*p* >alteration {<alteration add change of circumstances}] he scarce noted. As little did he observe that something about him provoked an ambiguous amused [*p* <amused] smile in one or two harder faces. [<period >among the blue-jackets. {*p* <blue-jackets add petty officers} {<petty officers >>blue-jackets}] Nor less unaware was he of the peculiar favorable effect his person and demeanor had upon the more intelligent officers of the quarter-deck. [<of the and with line transpose quarter-deck to precede officers add colon after officers] [*p* <officers >gentlemen of the (before quarter-deck)] Nor could this well have been otherwise.

38: Da 28; Ea 34. [W 35]**Da**

Cast in a mould peculiar to the finest physical examples of [>>those] Englishmen in whom the Saxon strain would seem not at all to partake of any Norman or foreign [*p* <foreign >other] admixture, he showed in face that mild [<mild] humane look of reposeful good nature which the Greek sculptor [*Ea* >in some instances] gave to his heroic strong man, the Farnese [*Ea* <the Farnese] Hercules. But this again was subtly modified by another and pervasive element in his composition. [*p* <in his composition add period (after element) {*Ea* <element. >quality}] The ear, small and shapely, the arch of

the foot, the curve in mouth and nostril, even the indurated dyed → <dyed→ hand dyed to the orange-tawny of the toucan's bill, a hand telling alike of the halyards

39: Da 29, Db 29¹; Ea 35, Eab 35¹. [W 36]

Da

and tar-bucket; but, in → <in w.o. above→ all, something in the mobile expression, and every chance attitude and movement, something suggestive of a mother eminently favored by Love and the Graces; all this mysteriously [<mysteriously >strangely] indicated a lineage in direct contradiction to the [p <the add his] lot. The mysteriousness here, however, [p <however] became less mysterious through a matter-of-fact elicited during the scene of Bi → <during the scene of Bi→ when Billy [p >at the capstan] was being formally mustered into the service. Asked by the officer, [>(at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) a small brisk little gentleman as it chanced] among other questions, his place of birth, he replied, "Please, Sir, I don't know."

"Do'nt know where you were born?—Who was your father? [no quotation mark]

[39]: Superseded Db 29²; Ea 36.

[Same leaf as present Eab 36, Leaf 39, upside down, with these superseded numbers and this writing covered at bottom by clip.]

D_b

"God knows, Sir, but I do'nt. [p <, but I do'nt add period (after Sir)] I was found, but where I do'nt know." [the clip from Da (now on Eab 36) followed at this Db stage]

[Eab red crayon cancel passage and replace it by inserting 35² which incorporates its substance]

40: Eab 35². [W 37]

Eab

"God knows, Sir."

Struck by the straightforward simplicity of these replies, the officer next asked "Do you know anything about your beginning?"

"No, Sir. But I have heard that I was found in a basket of oakum [p <of oakum >pretty silk-lined (before basket)] hanging one morning from the knocker of a good man's door in Bristol"

41: [Db 29²]; Eab 36. [W 38]

*** Da on Db leaf**

"Found [underlined] say you? Well," his → <his→ throwing back his head and looking up and down the new recruit; [p <new recruit >noble stature

{<noble stature >new recruit]] "Well it turns out to have been a prettay good find. Hope they'll find some more like you for the fleet." [p <for the fleet add the fleet sadly ne → <ne→ needs them {Eaa <the fleet sadly needs them >(after you), my man.} {<my man add my man; the fleet sadly needs them." add bracket to confirm paragraph before next sentence.} {p <man >foundling.} {<foundling. >man}]

Yes, Billy Budd was a foundling, a presumable [p <foundling, a presumable {>foundling, a presumable}] bye-blow, and, evidently, no ignoble one. [Da+p >(at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) High → <High >Fair→ descent was as evident in him, as in a blood horse. For the rest, with little or none {Eaa <Fair . . . none add Fair → <Fair add Noble→ descent was as evident in him as in a blood horse.

For the rest, with little or no sharpness of faculty or any trace of the wisdom of the serpent, nor yet]

42: Bb 3^{p7}, Bc 8^s; Da 30; Ea 37. [W 39]

Bb

Without the wisdom of the serpent or any sharpness of faculty nor yet [D+p add bracket for new paragraph (before Without) <Without >With no trace of (before the wisdom) <any sharpness >his acuteness {<With no <his and revise to read Without acuteness of faculty or any trace of the wisdom of the serpent} {Eaa <Without . . . nor yet (leaving sentence incomplete)} quite a dove, he possessed that kind and degree of intelligence going along with the unconventional rectitude of a sound [p <sound >pristine {<pristine >sound}] human creature [Bb+p add , one {ESM Bb+ <one w.o. one}] to whom has not yet [p <has >has {i w.o. has}] been proffered the [Bb+p >questionable {ESM Bb+ <questionable w.o. questionable}] apple of knowledge. He was

*** Ba**

illiterate; he could not read, but he could sing, and like the illiterate

*** Ba**

nightingale was sometimes the composer of his own song.

Of self-consciousness he seemed to have [>little or] none, or about as much of it [p Bc <of it] as we may reasonably [p Bc add impute to the animal creation. {p <the animal creation >(over an erased earlier phrase) an intelligent mastiff} {p <an intelligent mastiff >(below) a dog of Saint Bernard's breed}]

43: Ea 38. [W 40]

Eaa

Habitually living with the elements and knowing little more of the land than as a beach, or, rather, that portion of the terraqueous globe providentially

set apart for dance-houses doxies and tapsters, in short what sailors call a fiddlers' green, [p add quotation marks (around fiddlers' green,)] his simple nature remained unsophisticated by that maze of [<that maze of >those guarded {p <guarded}]] moral obliquities which are not in every case incompatible with that manufacturable thing known as respectability. But are sailors without v →<without v→, frequenters of fiddlers'-green, [p add quotation marks (around fiddlers'-green,) alter green to greens] without vices? No; but less often than with landsmen do they partake of viciousness [<viciousness >crookedness] of heart. These same vices, so called, [p <they <These same alter period to comma >(below) their (before vices) and transpose the resulting phrase their vices, so called, to precede partake (with circling and guideline to caret)] seeming

44: Da 31, Db 31²; Ea 39. [W 41]**Da**

They are but [D+p <They are but >Most of them →<them→ of these "vices" are the] frank manifestations of the [<the] untutored man, [D+p >or] manifestations in accordance with natural law. [Eaa crayon <Most . . . law and continue on revision-patch]

† Eaa

to proceed less [p transpose less to precede to] from mere [p <mere] viciousness than from [p <from] exuberance of vitality after long constraint; or [p alter to colon <or] frank manifestations in accordance with natural law.

Da

By his original constitution aided by the cooperating influences of his lot, Billy in many respects [add was] little more than a sort of [>unassuming {p <unassuming}]] upright barbarian, much such perhaps as Adam presumably might have been ere the urbane Serpent glided [D+p <glided >insinuated himself] upon the scene. [D+p <insinuated . . . scene add bowed himself into his company.]

And here be it submitted, that [D+p >apparently] helping to corroborate the [D+p >(at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) spirit that underlies the {<spirit that underlies the}]] now unpopular [D+p <now unpopular >ridiculed {<ridiculed}]] dogma of Man's Fall, [D+p >a dogma now popularly ignored] it is observable that where simpler unsophisticated [Eaa crayon <bowed . . . sophisticated and replace by revision-patch]

† Eaa

bowed [ESM p <bowed >wriggled] himself into his company.

And here be it submitted that apparently going to corroborate the doctrine of man's fall, a doctrine now popularly ignored, it is observable that where the simpler unsophisticated virtues [p add (below unsophisticated) unadulterated {<the . . . virtues add certain virtues pristine and unadulterate}]

45: Da 32; Ea 40. [W 42]

*** Da 32**

virtues eminently [Eaa <virtues eminently >peculiarly] characterise [characterize?] anybody in the external uniform of civilization, such virtues [Eaa <such virtues >they] will upon scrutiny seem not to be derived from custom or convention, [D+p >(between lines) but rather →> to be alien qualities→ out of keeping with these &c— {Eaa <but rather . . . &c—}]

Db

but rather to be alien →<alien→ out of keeping with these, as if indeed exceptionally transmitted from a period prior to cities [p <cities >Cain's fr →<fr→ city] and citified man. The character pi →<pi→ marked by such virtues [<virtues >qualities] has to an uninitiated taste an untampered-with flavor like that of berries, while the man thoroughly civilized [civilised?] [p >even in a fair specimen of the breed] has to the same moral palet [p alter to pallet] a questionable smack as of some [p <some add a] compounded wine. In [Db+ <In >(at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) To any stray inheritor of pristine virtue [<pristine virtue >of these primitive qualities] found, like Caspar Hauser, wandering dazed in] the nominally [Db+ <the nominally {p add any}]] Christian capitals [p alter to capital] of our day [<day >time]

46: Da 33; Ea 41. [W 43]

Da

The [alter The to the] [p >old {<old add good-natured}]] poet's famous invocation, near two thousand years ago, of the good rustic out of his latitude in pagan Rome, [p <pagan >Ces <Ces add the and >(after Rome) of the Cesars] still appropriately holds:

[p add Honest and poor, {p <Honest and poor,} {p >> Honest and poor,}]] "Faithful in word and thought
What has Thee, Fabian, to the city brought."

Though our handsome sailor [p alter to Handsome Sailor] had as much of masculine beauty as one can expect anywhere to see; nevertheless, like the beautiful woman in one of Hawthorne's minor tales, there was just one thing amiss in him. No visable [p alter to visible by dotting for two i's] blemish indeed, like →<like→ as with the lady; no, but a [alter a to an >occasional] liability to an →<an→ a vocal defect. Though in the hour

47: Ea 42, E/Gp 42¹. [W 44]*** Eaa 42 on G leaf**

of elemental uproar or peril, he was everything that a sailor should be, yet under sudden provocation of strong heart-feeling his voice would [Ea+p

▷ sometimes { <sometimes >nearly always} [G <and <nearly always <would >(on patch on leaf, below, circled, with guide-line to caret) as follows]

† G

otherwise a → <a→ singularly musical, as the organ → <as the organ→ as if expressive of the harmony within, was apt to

* *Eaa on G leaf*

develop an organic hesitancy, [Ea^{+p} ▷ or worse, { <or worse,}] in fact more or less of a stutter. [p ▷ stammer { <stammer add or even worse}] [Ea^{+p} chapter-ending mark —————♦ {G blue crayon cancel chapter-ending mark}] [p guide-line to corner of leaf]

48: E/Gp 42². [W 45]

G

In this particular Billy was a striking instance that the arch interferer, the envious marplot of Eden still has more or less to do with every human consignment to this planet of earth. In every case, one way or another he is sure to slip in his little card, as much as to remind us—I too have a hand here.

† G

[continuing, originally, from a stutter.]

The avowal of such an imperfection should be evidence not alone that the Handsome Sailor [with circling and guide-line to caret transpose the Handsome Sailor to follow inserted in (after imperfection) and >he (after that)] is not presented as a conventional hero, but also that the story in which he is the main figure is no romance.

[p chapter-ending mark —————♦]

49: Eb 43, Ec 43¹. [W 46]

* *Eb 43 (I)*

[p notation { <notation (undeciphered)}]

[p chapter-beginning mark —————♦]

At the time of Billy Budd's arbitrary enlistment into the Indomitable [underlined] that ship was on her way to join the Mediterranean fleet. Not many days [Ec <Not many days >No long time] elapsed before the junction was

Ec

effected. As one of that fleet the Indomitable [underlined] [<(underlined) Indomitable >seventy-four] participated in its movements, tho' at times on account of her superior sailing qualities, in the absence of frigates, despatched on separate duty as a scout or otherwise. [<or otherwise >or on more prolonged service. {p <or <more prolonged and with insertions revise to read and at times on less temporary service.}] But with all this the story has little

concernment, restricted as it [▷is,] mainly [p <mainly] to the inner life of one particular ship and the career of one → <one→ an individual man. [p <man >(below) sailor]

50: Ec 43². [W 47]

* *Eb 43 (II) on Ec leaf*

[Ec new paragraph] It was the summer of 1797. In the April of the same [p <same alter the to that] year had occurred the commotion among the men-of-war's men [p <among . . . men >in the fleet lying {p <in the fleet lying}] at Spithead followed in May by a second and yet more serious outbreak [p >in the fleet] at the Nore. The latter is known, [p alter to known] and without exaggeration in the epithet, as the Great Mutiny. It was indeed

51: Eb 44. [W 48]

Eb

a demonstration more menacing to England than the contemporary manifestations and conquering and proselytizing armies of the French Directory.

* *Bx*

To the [p ▷ (below) British { <British} {>>British}] Empire the Nore Mutiny was what a strike in the [p <the ▷ her {<her}] fire-brigade would be to London threatened with [p <with >by] general arson. In a time [<time >crisis] when the [p <the {>>the}] country [p i <country >kingdom] might well have

* *Bx*

anticipated the famous signal that [i add a few >years later {p <a few ▷ (below) some}]] published along the winged [p i <winged >naval] line of battle what it was that upon occasion England expected of Englishmen; then it was that [p <then it was that >(below) that (underlined) was the time when {i <that (underlined) . . . when >(below) that (underlined) was the time}]

52: Bx 12; Da 38; Eb 45. [W 49]

Bx

[i add when] at the mast-heads of the three-deckers [i <three-deckers >first-rates {p <first-rates >>three-deckers}]] and seventy-fours moored in her own waters [p i <waters >roadstead,] —a fleet, the right [<right >puiissant {p i <puiissant >>right}]] arm of what was at that period the one [p i <of what . . . one >word undeciphered because later scratched out {i add of a >(below) Power then all but the sole}]] free conservative power [i (as part of preceding revision) <power >(below) one] of the Old World, the blue-jackets, to be numbered by thousands ran up with huzzahs [i alter to huzzas] the British

colors with the union wiped out [*i* >and the cross; {<and the cross >(after union) and cross >(after out) semicolon}] by that cancellation converting [p *i* <converting >transmuting]

[the rest of the original *Bx* writing on this leaf itself is covered by three patches, but it is possible to read the heavy revisions as the passage on the leaf stood in three stages:]

[a] *Bx*

the flag of organic law and right into the enemy's red rag of [<rag of >meteor of] revolt and universal revolution. [<revolt and universal revolution alter to universal revolution and convulsion,] reasonable discontent growing out of practical grievances in the fleet had been ignited into irrational combustion, and

[b] *Bx⁺*

the flag of [>(single word, later erased) founded(?)] law and right into the enemy's red meteor of universal revolution and convulsion, as by live cinders blown across the Channel from France in flames, reasonable discontent . . . [as above]

[c] *Bx⁺p*

the flag of founded [?] law and right into the enemy's red meteor of regicidal crusade indefinite classes [?] & immeasurable revolt as by . . . [as above]

[*Bx⁺* red crayon cancel whole passage and affix three revision-patches over it]

† *Bx⁺*

the flag of founded law and freedom defined, into the enemy's red meteor

† *Bx⁺*

of unbridled and unbounded revolt.

Reasonable

† *Bx⁺*

discontent growing out of practical grievances in the fleet had been ignited

53: Bbb 13; Da 39; Eb 46. [W 50]

* *Bb 13*

into irrational combustion as by live cinders blown across the Channel from France in flames. [Bb⁺p >of the time →<of the time→ in this →<this→ >that terrific →<in that terrific >(below) at that momentous→ conjuncture t conv {cancel and erase all}]

The event converted into

Bbb

into [<into] irony [>for a time] those spirited strains of Dibdin—as a song-writer at that [<that >the {p>>that}] European conjuncture no mean auxiliary to the English Government [p circle at that European conjuncture and (with caret) transpose to follow Government] —strains celebrating, among other

things, the devotion of the British tar, to the throne, that is, to the state, to his country:— [Bb⁺ <that is . . . country:— <comma (after throne) add colon and dash {p <to the throne >} that is, to the state, to his country then <to the state (reading is the devotion of the British tar, that is, to his country:—) {p >patriotic (before devotion) without canceling that is, to his country}]

"And as for my life, t's the King's!" [verse underlined]

* *Bb?*

Such an episode in the Island's [p *i* >grand] naval story no wonder that [p <no wonder that] her [>naval] historians [p >naturally] abridge; one of them [Bb⁺p >(James) {ESM Bb+i erase and w.o. (James)} {p >(before James) G.P.R}] candidly acknowledging that fain would he pass it over did not "impartiality forbid fastidiousness."

54: Bbb? 13², 14; Da 40; Eb 47. [W 51]

* *Bb*

And yet his mention of the →<of the→ is less a narration than a reference, hardly →<hardly→ having to do hardly at all with details. Nor are these [p *i* >readily] to be found in the libraries. Like some other events befalling

Bbb?

states everywhere and in every age [p <and >including America <in every age >>in every age and circle and insert it after events]] the Great Mutiny was of such character that national pride along with views of policy would fain shade it off into the historical background. Such events can not be ignored, but there is a considerate way of historically treating them. If a well-constituted individual refrains from blazoning aught [p >amiss or] calamitous in his history; [p <history >family] a nation in the like circumstance may without reproach be equally discreet.

[p notation (circled, at bottom) for an insertion not made Do we publish no medicines pass the lines &c]

55: Bb 13, 13¹, 13³, 15; Da 41; Eb 48. [W 52]

* *Ba on Bb leaf*

Though after parleyings between Goverment and the ring-leaders, and concessions by the former as to some incontestable [p <incontestable >glaring] abuses, the first outbreac →<outbreac→ uprising [p *i* (below, circled on leaf, with guide-line to caret)—that at Spithead—] with great [p <great] difficulty was [p <was] put down [add comma] or pacified →<pacified→ matters [p >for the time] pacified; yet [p *i* >at the Nore] the unforeseen [ESM Bb⁺ correct to unforeseen] renewal of insurrection [>, and {<, and}] [p <insurrection add revolt {<revolt >insurrection}] on a yet larger scale [p add comma]

56: Bbb? 16¹; Da 42; Eb 49. [W 53]**Bbb?**

and emphasised [emphasized?] in the conferences [*p mend f*] that ensued by demands deemed by the authorities not only inadmissible [ESM? correct to inadmissible] but [*p i >*aggressivly] insolent, evinced— [*p <evinced >*indicated] if the Red Flag did not sufficiently signify it— [*p <signify it add (before dash) do so,*]

*** Ba? * Bb?**

what was [*p <what was {>what was (vestige of earlier revision)}*] the spirit animating the men. Final suppression, however, there was; [*p notation (above, with caret) Insert {<Insert}*] but only made possible perhaps by [*p addition (at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret)*] the steady →<steady >unswerving→ loyalty of the marine corps] a voluntary resumption of loyalty among

Bbb?

influential sections of the crews. [Bbb+p caret and fist and the word Insert {<Insert} to indicate insertion of above clip] [*p large bracket for new paragraph*] To some extent the Nore Mutiny may be regarded as somewhat [*p i <somewhat*] analagous to the

57: Bb 16²; Da 43; Eb 50. [W 54]**Bb**

distempering irruption of contagious [*p alter to contagious*] fever in a frame constitutionally sound. [*alter period to comma and add and which anon throws it off.*]

At all events, of these thousands of mutineers were some of the tars who not so very long afterwards— [*p circled query the Aggamenon?*] whether [>wholly] prompted [*p >thereto*] by patriotism, or [*p begin then cancel word (above line)*] pugnacious instinct, or by both,—helped to win for →<for→ a coronet for Nelson at the Nile, and, →<and,→ and then a [*p <then a >the naval*] crown of crowns [*p Bc >for him*] at Trafalgar. To the insurrectionists of the Nore, [*<insurrectionists of the Nore >mutineers*] those [*p >superb {<superb}*] battles [*p >and especially Trafalgar*] were a plenary [>and splendid {<and splendid}] absolution; [*p Bc >and a grand one;*] since for [*p <since capitalize for*] all that goes to make up [>scenic {*p Bc >(circled, with line to caret)*} naval] display, and {*p <and}}*] heroic magnificence in arms, Trafalgar stands alone in human annals. [*p revise to read Trafalgar stands unmatched in naval annals. {p <naval >human} {then cut off bottom of leaf and mount remainder on whole-leaf}*]

† late pencil

chapter-ending mark —————♦————→ add notation End of chapter.→ [*<chapter-ending mark & notation* End of chapter. <(above, on leaf) Trafalgar . . . annals >(on new leaf) those battles stand →<stand→ especially Trafalgar stand unmatched in human annals. And very probably Old Ocean will never behold the like again. {*p <And . . . again.*}] [*p chapter-ending mark (at bottom of leaf)* —————♦————]

58: Nelson-chapter 1.

G

[*p (in upper right corner) Concerning “the greatest sailor since the world began.” {ESM p notation query Tennyson?}]*
[*p chapter-beginning mark* —————♦————]

In this matter of writing, purpose [*p <purpose >resolve*] as one may to keep to the main road, some [>branching {*p <branching*}] by-paths have an allurement [*p <allurement >enticement*] not readily [*p >to be*] withstood. Beckoned by the genius of Nelson [*p <Beckoned . . . Nelson >Knowingly {p <Knowingly}*] I am going to err into such a by-path. If the reader will keep me company I shall be glad. At the least we can promise ourselves that pleasure which is wickedly said to be in sinning, for a literary sin it →<it→ the [*p add brief {<brief}*] divergence will be. [*p add bracket for new paragraph*] Very likely it is no new remark that the inventions of our time have at last brought

[58a] 233v: Superseded Bb 16⁶.

[*The matter on this leaf corresponds to matter finally on Leaves 59 and 60; probably the matter on the missing clips also corresponded to matter now on those leaves.*]

Bb

[*space at top from which clip was removed*]

now, [*<now add (in margin) to-day {Bb+p <to-day >at sea}] tho [ESM Bb+ alter to though] [Bb+p >now*] in sea-encounters [*p <sea >modern (before encounters) <modern >(below) latter {<latter}} >there (after encounters)*] a certain kind of displayed gallantry be fallen out of date as no longer [<no longer >hardly now {<now add now, (after applicable)}] applicable, [*alter to applicable*] [*p <now add now (before hardly)*] did the valor of [*p <valor of >knighthood signalized in*] the old navies [*p add by such characters*] [*G blue crayon cancel whole passage, copying its matter forward*]

[*space from which clip was removed*]

would be jeered at for pygmies →<pigmies→ toys. [ESM? *p add (below) pop-guns*] [*p <whole line*] [*p add and American naval captains of the war of 1812 {G blue crayon <would . . . 1812}]*

59: Nelson-chapter 2.

G

about a change in sea-warfare in degree corresponding to the revolution in all warfare effected by the original introduction of →<of→ from China into Europe of gunpowder. The first European fire-arm, a clumsy contrivance [*p add comma*] was, as is well known, scouted by no few of the knights as an [*p <an >a base*] implement basely cumbersome and cowardly, [*p <basely . . . cowardly >xx*] good enough peradventure for varlets [*p <varlets >peasants <peasants >(below) weavers*] too craven to stand up crossing steel with steel in frank fight. But as ashore knightly valor tho' shorn of its blazonry did not cease with the knights, neither at [<at >on the] seas

60: Nelson-chapter 3.

G

though nowadays in encounters there a certain kind of displayed gallantry be fallen out of date as hardly applicable to [<to >under] changed circumstanes, did the nobler qualities of such naval magnates as Don John of Austria, Doria, Van Tromp, Jean Bart, and [<and] the long line of British Admirals [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) and the American Decaturs of 1812] become obsolete with their wooden walls.

61: Bb 16⁵, 16⁶; Nelson-chapter 4.**Bb**

Nevertheless, to one [*p <one >anybody*] who can hold the Present at its worth without being inappreciative of the Past, it may be forgiven [*p add comma*] if to him [*p <him >(below)* such an one,] the memorable [*p i <memorable >solitary*] old hulk at Portsmouth, Nelson's Victory, [underlined] seems to float there, not [*ESM mend t*] alone as the decaying monument of a fame incorruptable, [*ESM mend in and correct to incorruptible*] but also as a [*p >poetic*] reproach, softened by its picturesqueness, to the Monitors [underlined] and iron →<iron→ [*p >(below)* yet] mightier [>hulls of the [*p add European*]] iron-clads. [*alter clads to clad {<period add clan.} {p <clan alter clad to clads}*] And this not altogether because they [*p <they >these monsters {<these monsters add such craft}*] are unsightly, [*p >ugly {<ugly}*] totally lacking in →<totally lacking in→ unavoidably lacking in [*p <in*] the symmetry [*p >magesty, loftiness & {<magesty, loftiness &}*] and grand lines of the old battle-ships, but equally for other reasons. [*p notation (bracketed, at bottom of leaf)* xx the mark on the deck where he fell {<notation}]

62: Bb 16⁷; Nelson-chapter 5.**Bb**

[*Bb+p >(above line)* the sentiment {<the sentiment}]

There are those, [<those >some] perhaps, who while not altogether inaccessible [*ESM? correct to inaccessible*] to that [*p >poetic*] reproach, [*p >just alluded to,*] may yet [>as utilitarians and {<as utilitarians and}] on behalf of the new order, be disposed to parry it; and this to the extent of iconoclasm, [*mend a*] if need be. [*p >For example,*] Prompted by the sight of the star inserted in the Victory's [underlined] [>quarter-] deck designating the spot where the Great Sailor [*p <Great Sailor >unique hero {p <unique hero >>Great Sailor}*] fell, they may s →< they may s→ these Positivists [<Positivists >utilitarians {*p >martial (before utilitarians)*}]] of war [*p <of war*] may suggest considerations implying that

***Ba**

Nelson's ornate publication of his prescence [*p i <prescence >person*] in battle was [*p >not only*] unnecessary, [*p add but*] not military, nay savored of foolhardiness and vanity.

[*p guide-line to next leaf*]

63: Bb 16⁸; Nelson-chapter 6.

[*Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.*]

Bb

[*G remove clip and add Gp guide-line to where writing begins*] They may add, too, that under the circumstances [*p <under the circumstances >at Trafalgar*] it was in effect nothing less than a courting of [*p <courting of >challenge and →<and→ to*] death; and it [*p <it add death*] came; and that but for his bravado Nelson [*p <Nelson >the victorious Admiral*] might possibly have survived the battle, and so, instead of having his sagacious [*ESM? correct to sagacious*]

64: Bb 16⁹, 16⁹; Nelson-chapter 7.***Bb 16⁷, 16⁹**

dying injunctions injudiciously [*p <injudiciously*] overruled by his immediate successor in command he himself when the battle [<battle >contest] was decided might have brought the [*p i <the add his*] battered [*p <battered >xx →<xx→ shattered {<shattered >>battered altering it to shattered}}*] fleet to anchor, a proceeding which would [*p i <would >might*] have averted the deplorable loss of life by shipwrck [*p >in the tempest {i <in the tempest add in the}}*]

G

elemental tempest that followed the martial tornado. [p <tornado>one.]

Well, should we set aside the more than disputable point whether owing →<owing→ the weather →<the weather→ →add for→ various reasons it was possible to anchor the fleet, then plausibly enough the Bethamites of war may urge the above.

65: Nelson-chapter 8.

*** Bb**

But the might-have-been [underlined] is but boggy ground to build on. And [>, certainly, in tr →<tr→ foresight as] with respect [<with respect] to the large [p alter to larger] issue of an encounter, and anxious preparations for it—sounding and [p <sounding and] buoying the perilous [Bb+p <perilous>deadly {p <deadly> {>deadly} {ESM w.o. deadly}}] way and mapping it out, as at Copenhagen—few commanders have been so painstakingly circumspect [ESM mend] as this [p >same] re →<re→ unrecking [Bb+p <unrecking>reckless {ESM w.o. reckless}] declarer of his person in battle. [G <battle add x →<x→ in fight.]

G

Personal prudence even when dictated by []>quite other than selfish considerations surely is no special virtue in a military man; while an excessive love of glory, [p >such as was Nelson's {p <such as was Nelson's}] energizing to the uttermost the heart-felt [p <the >his add honest <heart-felt> English {p <his English} {G revise to read impassioning a less vital →<vital→ burning impulse the honest}] sense of duty, is the first. If the name of [<of] Wellington [underlined] is not so [add much] of a trumpet to the blood as the simpler

66: Nelson-chapter 9.

G

name Nelson, [underlined] the reason for this may perhaps be inferred from the above. Alfred in his ode →<ode→ funeral ode on the victor of Waterloo ventures not to call him the greatest soldier of all time, tho' in the same ode he invokes Nelson as “the greatest sailor since the world began.”

If, as is not improbable, x →<x→ with the mysterious pres →<If . . . pres→

At Trafalgar Nelson on the brink of recei →<recei→ of opening the fight sat down and wrote his w →<w→ last brief will and testament. If under a [w.o. the] presentiment of a [<a >the most] magnificent [add of all] victory [alter victory to victories] to be crowned by his own glorious death, a sort of priestly motive led him to dress his

67: Nelson-chapter 10.

G

person in the jewelled vouchers of his own shining deeds; if thus to have adorned himself for the altar and the sacrifice [>were indeed vainglory,] then affectation and fustian is each [>more] heroic line in the great epics and dramas, since in such verse →<verse→ lines the poet but embodies in verse those exaltations and sublimities [<and sublimities] of sentiment that a nature like Nelson, the opportunity being given, vitalizes into acts.
[p chapter-ending mark —————♦—]

68: Bb 17²; Da 44, 44^{p2}, 44; Eb 60. [W 55]

Bb

[p chapter-beginning mark —————♦—]

[p >Yes, {<Yes,} {>Yes,}] The uprising [p <uprising>outbreak] at the Nore was put down. But not every grievance was redressed. If the contractors, for example, were no longer permitted to ply their immemorial iniquities and cheat in the rations, and by so doing help famish the men; [Bb+p >(between lines) revision at once erased and incorporated in ink some practises peculiar to their tribe, {p >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret before comma) everywhere} such as providing shoddy cloth, rations not sound, or false in the measure; <their immemorial . . . men] not the less impression, for one thing, went on. By custom sanctioned for centuries, and judicially maintained by a Lord Chancellor as late as Mansfield, that mode of manning the fleet, a mode at present →<at present→ now fallen into a sort of abeyance but never formally renounced, it was not practicable to give up in those years.

69: Ba? 17, Bb 17³, Bxp 16; Da 45; Eb 70. [W 56]

Ba

it was not practicable to [Ba+p >suspend or {<suspend or}] do away with in those years. [Bb green crayon then ink <it was . . . years. (adding same matter at bottom of leaf before this one)] Its abrogation would have been perilously crippling to [Ba+p <been perilously alter crippling to crippled <to {ESM w.o. ed}]] the indispensable fleet, one wholly [>under] canvas, no steam-power, its innumerable sails and thousands of cannon, everything in short, worked by muscle alone; a fleet the more insatiate in demand for men, because then multiplying its ship of all grades against contingencies present and to come of a [p i <a >the] convulsed continent. [capitalize continent]

Lurking discontent survived the [>two {p <two}]] suppressed mutinies. [Ba+p <mutinies>outbreaks] [Ba+p >In (incomplete revision)] Hence it was not altogether unreasonable to apprehend, or at least be prepared for [Ba+p <be prepared for] [Bbp i <Lurking . . . prepared for] [Bbp notation (above) Insert {<notation}]]

70: Bb 17⁴; Da 46; Eb 80. [W 57]*** Bb 17⁴ (I) on Bc leaf**

Discontent foreran the Two Mutinies, and more or less it lurkingly survived them. Hence it was not unreasonable to apprehend some return of trouble sporadic or general. An →<An→ One instance of such apprehensions:

Bc

In the latter part of the [<latter part of the] same year with this or thereabouts, [<or thereabouts, >story,] Nelson, then V →<V→ Vice Admiral Sir Horatio, being with the fleet off the Spanish coast, was directed by the Admiral in command to shift his pennant from the Captain to the Theseus; [*ship names underlined*] and for this reason: that the latter ship having newly

71: [Bep notation follows 17⁴ green]; Da 47; Eb 90. [W 58]*** Bb 17⁴ (II) on Bc leaf**

arrived on the station from home where it had taken part in the naval insurrection, [p <naval insurrection >Great Mutiny] danger was suspected →<suspected→ apprehended from the temper
[p guide-line to next leaf]

72: Bb 17⁵; Da 48; Eb 91. [W 59]**Bb**

of the men; and [p Bc >it] was thought that an officer like Nelson was the one, not [p >indeed] to terrorise [terrorize?] →<terrorise→ flog [p Bc <flog >terrorise] the crew into base subjection, but win them, by magnetic [p Bc <magnetic] force of his [p >mere prescence & magnetic {<magnetic>} heroic [mend] personality [p Bc <personality >prescence. {p <prescence} the final intention apparently was of his mere prescence & heroic personality (although personality was not restored, it is required by the insertion of ampersand before uncanceled heroic)] back to thorough allegiance. [p Bc revise to read allegiance as devoted as his own. {Bc revise to read to an allegiance if not as enthusiastic as his own, yet as true.}]

So it was that for an interval, [p Bc <an interval add a time] on more than one quarter-deck anxiety did exist. At sea precautionary vigilance was strained against relapse. At short notice an engagement might come on. When it did, in some extreme instances [p <extreme] the lieutenants assigned to batteries felt it incumbent on them [p Bc >in some instances (*from above, by circling and caret, canceling and re-writing instances*) {ESM w.o. instances} {p add comma after them})] to stand with drawn swords behind the men working the guns.

[p notation End of chapter ————— {<notation and add chapter-ending mark —————}]

73: Eb 92, Ec 92. [W 60]

*** Eb 92**

[ESM p notation 49 follows 48 green {green underlined}] [p chapter-beginning mark —————♦—]

But on board the seventy-four in which Billy now swung his hammock, [Ec >very] little in the conduct [<conduct >manner] of the men and nothing [p >obvious] in the demeanor of the officers would have suggested to an ordinary observer that the Great Mutiny was a recent [Ec <recent >>recent]]

Ec

event. In their general bearing and conduct the commissined officers of a war-ship naturally take their tone from the commander, that is if he have that ascendancy of character that ought to be his.

74: Eb 93. [W 61]

Eb

[p >The "Indomitable's" Commander {<The "Indomitable's" Commander}] Captain the Honorable Edward Fairfax Vere, to give his full title, was a man [p <man >confirmed bachelor {<confirmed>} of forty or thereabouts, a sailor of distinction even in a time prolific of naval heroes. [p <naval heroes >great ones {<great ones >(below) renowned seamen.} {<renowned seamen} {>>renowned seamen}] Though allied to the highest [p alter highest to higher] nobility his advancement had not been altogether owing to influences connected with that circumstance. He had seen much service, been in many [p <many {>>many} {Ec <many >various}] engagements, always acquitting himself as an officer of sound judgement and cool intrepidity [Ec <of . . . intrepidity >(interlined) just to {p <just to >(interlined, circled, with guide-line to caret)} but mindful of the welfare of his men} {Ec <but . . . men >(below) mindful of the welfare of} his men, but never tolerating an infraction of discipline;] [Ec add thoroughly versed in the science of his profession, {p i >and} intrepid to the verge of temerity.]

75: Eb 94, Ec 94¹. [W 62]*** Eb 94**

but [Ec <but >though] never injudiciously so. [p Ec <so. >daring. {p <daring. >>so.}] For his gallantry in the West Indian waters as flag-lieutenant under Rodney in that Admiral's crowning victory over De Grasse, he was made a post-captain.

Ec

Ashore dressed as a →<dressed as a→ in the garb of a civilian scarce anybody [ESM? p >one to replace body] would have taken him for a sailor, more

especially that his →<his→ he never intr →<intr→ garnished his [p <his] unprofessional talk with nautical terms, and grave in his bearing, evinced little appreciation of mere humor. It was not out of keeping with these traits that

[p guide-line to next leaf]

76: Ec 94². [W 63]

* **Eb 94 on Ec leaf**

[p guide-line continued (from upper left corner to clip)]

On a passage when nothing demanded his paramount action, he was the most undemonstrative of men. Any landsman observing this gentleman not conspicuous by his stature and wearing no pronounced insignia, emerging from his retreat [p >cabin (without canceling retreat)] to the open deck, and noting the silent deference of the officers retiring to leeward, might have taken him for the King's honored [<honored]

77: Eb 95, Ec 95¹. [W 64]

* **Eb 95 (I)**

guest, a civilian aboard the King's-ship some highly honorable discreet envoy on his way to an important post.

Ec

But in fact this unobtrusivness of demeanor [>may have] proceeded from a certain unaffected modesty of manhood [mend d] [add sometimes] accompanying a resolute nature, a modesty evinced at all times not calling for pronounced action, and which shown in any rank of life suggests a virtue aristocratic in kind. [p guide-line to next leaf]

[77a] 84†v.

[Superseded Ea or Eb patch. Black-ink fair-copy, matter corresponding to passage now on Leaves 78-79.]

† **Ea or Eb**

sometimes he would stand on the weather-side of the quarter-deck holding by the mizzen rigging and [Ebp >long] gazing [correct to gazing] off at the blank sea. At the presentation to him then of some minor matter interrupting the current of his revery, he would

[Eb orange crayon cancel whole passage]

78: Ec 95². [W 65]

* **Eb 95 (II)**

As with some others engaged in various departments of the world's more heroic activities, Captain Vere tho [ESM p cross t alter tho to though] practical

enough upon occasion would at times betray a certain dreaminess of mood. Standing alone on the weather-side of the quarter deck, and [<and] one hand holding by the rigging he would absently gaze off at the blank sea. At the presentation to him

79: Eb 96. [W 66]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

Eb

then of some minor matter interrupting the current of his thoughts he would show more or less irascibility; but all but [p <all but] instantly he would control it.

Among naval →<Among naval→ In the navy he was popularly known by the appellation—Starry Vere. How such a designation happened to fall to him [p <him (by error leaving to uncanceled) add (on hinged addition-patch with notation Insert P 96 red.)]

† *late pencil*

upon one who whatever his sterling qualities was possessed of no brilliancy →<no brilliancy→ none →<was . . . none→ could hardly be said to have →<could . . . have→ was without brilliancy →<brilliancy→ any brilliant ones

Eb

was in this wise: A favorite kinsman, one →<one→ Lord Denton, [p >a free-hearted fellow,] had been the first to meet and congratulate him upon his return to England from his West Indian cruise; and but the day previous turning over a copy [>of] Andrew Marvell's poems had lighted, not for the first time however, upon the lines entitled Appleton House, [title underlined] [p >the name of] one of the seats of their

80: Eb 97. [W 67]

Eb

[p notation 100 red (underlined) follows]

common ancestor, a hero in the German wars of the seventeenth century, in which poem occur the lines,

"This 'tis to have been from the first
In a domestic heaven nursed,
Under the discipline severe
Of Faifax and the starry Vere" [no period]

And so, upon embracing [mend b] his gallant [<gallant] cousin fresh from Rodney's great →<great→ gallant →<gallant >>great→ victory wherein he had played so gallant a part, [>full of {<full of add brimming over with} just family pride in the sailor of their house,] he exuberantly exclaimed, "Give you →<you >ye→ joy, Ed; give ye joy, my starry Vere!" This got currency, and the novel prefix serving in familiar parlance readily to distinguish him [p <him

>the Indomitable's captain] from another Vere his senior, [p >a distant relative] an officer of like rank in the navy, it remained permanently attached to his [p <his >the] surname.

[p chapter-ending mark ——————]

81: Vere-chapter 1. [W 69]

Eb ink

[ESM p notation (at top right) copied from HM's notation on Leaf 363 Capt Vere—— to be inserted after first account of him]

[p chapter-beginning mark ——————]

In view of the part that the Commander of the Indomitable [underlined] plays in a →<a→ scenes shortly to follow, it may be well to fill out a little [p <a little] that passing [p <passing >running {<running>} sketch of him outlined in a [ESM p <a >the] previous chapter.

In certain respects [p <In certain respects >Aside {add Quite (before Aside) <Quite} from his good {<good> qualities as a sea-officer] Captain Vere was an exceptional sea-officer. [p <sea-officer >man. {<man >(below) character.}] Unlike no few of England's renowned sailors, long and arduous service and great [p <and great >with signal] devotion to it, had not resulted in absorbing and salting [p underline salting] the entire man. He had a marked [p add leaning]

82: Vere-chapter 1², 2. [W 70]

Eb ink

toward everything intellectual. He loved books, never going to sea without a newly replenished library, compact but of the best. The isolated leisure, in some cases so wearisome [p add comma] falling at intervals to commanders even during a war-cruise, never was tedious to Captain Vere. With nothing of that literary taste which less heeds the matter [p <matter >thing conveyed] than the style, [p <style >vehicle] his bias was toward those books to which every mind at once serious and broad and occupying [p <at once >seriously {>at once <seriously add superior} {<mind <superior >(over erasure) serious mind of superior order} {<serious and broad and occupying >occupying (for clarity recancel of broad and)}] a [<a >any active] post of au →<au→ authority in the world, naturally takes to; [p <takes to >inclines:] books treating of a →<a→ real [p <real add actual] men and events no matter of what era—history, biography and

83: Vere-chapter 3. [W 71]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

Eb ink

[p >unconventional] writers that, [p <that] like Montaigne, frankly [p <frankly >who, honestly {<who add (before honestly) who, free} from cant

& convention,] and in the spirit of common sense [p >penetratingly {<penetratingly}] philosophise [philosophize?] upon those greatest of all mysteries, facts. [p <those . . . facts >realities.]

In this line of reading he found that which he had vainly sought in the [<the] miscellaneous converse [ink and green crayon <In . . . converse (and rest of leaf?) then cut off rest of leaf, paste on three-quarters of new leaf as patch, and continue]

† late pencil

In this line of reading he found confirmation of his own more reserved thoughts —confirmation which he had vainly sought in social converse, so that as touching every fundamental topic, [<every >most alter topic to topics] there was [<was >had got to be] established in him some positive convictions, which he forefelt would unalterably abide in him [<unalterably >(after him) essentially unmodified] [>proof to all sophistries {<proof to all sophistries}] so long as his intelligent part remained unimpaired. Cons →<Cons→ In view of the troubled period in which he lived, [<he lived >his (mend) lot was cast] this was well for him. His [<His >Those {<Those >>His}] [>settled] convictions were as a dyke against those

84: Vere-chapter 4¹, 4. [W 72]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

Eb ink

It was [p <It was >The said convictions were as] a dyke serving to resist those angry [p <angry >impetuous >invading (below)] [p (at time of pencil revision-patch on previous leaf) <The . . . those] waters of new-fangled [p <new-fangled >novel] opinion social and political [p <and >(after political) and otherwise,] which carried away as in a torrent [p <torrent >deluge {<deluge >>torrent}] no few minds in those days, minds by nature not inferior to his own. While other members of that aristocracy to which [p >by birth] he belonged were incensed at the innovators mainly because the theories advocated [p alter the to their <advocated] were inimical [mend l] to their interests as a class, [p alter their to the <interests as a >privileged alter class to classes] Captain Vere intellectually [p >(below) disinterestedly also >(above) disinterestedly] opposed them not alone as [p >(below, circled, with guide-line) in great part] impracticable but so far partaking of the unsound as to border on the insane. [p <insane >(below) cracked.] It was France that was →<that was >from (before France)→ came the tempest then sweeping the greater part of Christendom; [p <not alone . . . Christendom; add hinged patch]

† late pencil

them [>(above, on original leaf, with guide-line to caret) not alone] because they seemed to him to be [<to be] not susceptible [>in (before susceptible)

then <not in and alter susceptible to insusceptible] of being embodied [<being alter embodied to embodiment] in permanent [<permanent add lasting] institutions, but even where pr → <even where pr→ at war with the true welfa → <true welfa→ peace of the world and the true welfare of mankind. Not that he was a [<Not that he was a >No] bigot for monarchal forms, but [<but] he regarded the [<No . . . the]

85: Vere-chapter 5. [W 73]

[At late-pencil revision stage this leaf replaced original Vere-leaf 5 when its top was cut off and its bottom was mounted on this leaf. This leaf was used first one end up, then the other, and it was numbered 5 each time, in pencil. Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

late pencil

[probably continuing incomplete sentence on patch on Leaf 84 (if one supplies the word ideas) as to political liberty which prompted the American Revolution [p <as to . . . Revolution and turn leaf other end up]

late pencil

[p bracket for new paragraph] With minds less stored than his & far → <far→ less earnest,

* Vere 5

[top has been cut off 5 and the bottom placed on this leaf as a clip] some officers of his rank, with whom at times he would necessarily consort, found him lacking in the social [<social >convivial {p <convivial add companionable}] quality, [p >a] dry and bookish, [p >gentleman] as they deemed. Upon his [p <his >any] chance withdrawal from their company one would be [Epb (prior to above pencil revisions) had added here at bottom of leaf a circled phrase involved in the insertion referring to the American Revolution which was later cut out (see above) Hampdens of our Revolu → <our Revolu >(below) 1776→ {p and green crayon <those . . . 1776}]

86: Vere-chapter 6. [W 74]

Eb ink

apt to say to another, Ve → <Ve→ something like this: "Vere is a noble fellow, Starry Vere. [p <Starry Vere {>Starry Vere}] Spite the gazette, [p alter to gazettes,] Sir Horatio [p >meaning him who became Lord Nelson] is at bottom scarce a better seaman or fighter. But between you and me now do'nt you think there is a queer streak of the [p >martinet- <martinet-] pedantic in [p <in >running thro'] him? Yes, like the King's yarn in a coil of navy-rope. [p alter period to question mark]

[p add In fact] This sort of confidential criticism was doubtless provoked by the circumstance [p <circumstance >fact] that [p <In fact >(before

This) Some apparent ground there was for add semicolon (after criticism) <was doubtless provoked by the fact that >since (so that passage finally reads Some apparent ground there was for This sort of confidential criticism; since) not only did the Captain's discourse never fall into the familiar or → <familiar or→ jocosely familiar, but he was apt [p <he was apt] in illustrating [p >of] any point touching the stirring personages

87: Vere-chapter 7. [W 75]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

Eb ink

and events of the period [p <the period >the world] to drop [p <drop >cite] some allusion to Plutarch, say, or Livy, [p >(after allusion) the ancients, say (further words undeciphered) {p <the ancients, say and undeciphered words <allusion . . . Livy >(between lines) historic character or incident of antiquity as freely → <as freely→ quite as freely as} {orange crayon <and events . . . as freely as and p recast whole passage on patch}]

† late pencil

and events of the time he would [p >(below) be as apt to] cite some historic character or incident of antiquity with the same easy [<with the same easy (sentence left incoherent)] air that he would cite from the moderns. He seemed

Eb ink

unmindful of the circumstance that to his bluff company such [p >remote] allusions however pertinent they might [p >really] be were too [p <too >altogether] alien and remote. [p <and remote >to men whose reading was mainly confined to the journals.] But consideratness in such matters is not easy to minds [p <minds >natures] constituted like Captain Vere's. Their honesty prescribes to them a [p <a >directness, sometimes] far-reaching directness [p <directness] like that of a migratory fowl in its → <in its→ that in its flight takes no note [p <takes no note >never heeds] when it crosses a frontier.

It may help to show how he himself regarded his "little weakness" as some of his friends [p <It . . . friends and discard following page(s), leaving the chapter to end at frontier. but with no chapter-ending mark.]

88: E/p 100 [p notation (follows 97 red {red underlined})]. [W 77]

[Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

late pencil

Of the → <Of capitalize the→ lieutenants, marine officers → <marine > and (before officers)→ of marines → <and . . . marines→ and other off → <off→

commissioned officers → <officers >gentlemen→ forming the Captain's → <the >(above) Vere→ staff it is not necessary here parti → <parti→ to particularise, [particularize?] not → <not→ nor → >is it <is it→ specially to mention → <specially to mention→ needs it to specialize the warra → <specialize the warra→ make special → <special→ any mention of any of the warrant-officers. But among the petty → >-officers→ was one who can not be passed → <who can not be passed→ → alter who to whom→ it as well → <it as well→ → <whom→ who having much to do with the story, claims attention → <claims attention→ may as well be forthwith introduced. His portrait we → <we >I→ essay, without presuming to hit it.→ <without ... it >but shall never hit it.→ This was John [p <was John add was]

***Bb [18⁴]**

[p add John] Claggart, the Master-at-arms. But the titl → <the titl→ that [>sea-] title may to some [p <some add most {<most}] landsman seem somewhat equivocal. Originally x → <x→ doubtless

89: Bb 18⁵; Da 53; Eb 101. [W 78]

Bb

the function of the officer so entitled [p <the (before function) >this → alter this to that→ petty-officer's <of the officer so entitled] was the instruction of the men in the use of arms, sword and cutlas. [p <sword and cutlas add period (after arms) {p >sword and cutlas >or (above and)}] But very long ago, owing to the advance in gunnery making hand-to-hand- encounters xxx → <xxx→ less frequent and giving to nitre and sulpher the preeminence over steel, that function ceased; the Master-at-arms of a great war-ship becoming a sort of Chief of Police charged [p >(below, with circling and guide-line to caret) among other matters] with the duty of preserving order on the populous lower [p <lower >lower] gun-decks.

Claggat [p alter to Claggart] was a man about forty years of age. [p <forty years of age add five and thirty,]

90: Bb 18⁶; Da 54; Eb 102. [W 79]

***Ba 18**

[B+p (at top) incomplete revision >the eyes (circled) {<the eyes}] somewhat spare and tallish, [p alter to tall] yet of no ill figure upon the whole. His hand was too small and shapely to have been accustomed to hard toil. The face [B+p <The face >His contenance {<His contenance >>The face}] was a notable one; the features [p >all except the chin] cleanly cut as those on a fine [<fine] Greek [p <Greek >>Greek] medallion;

Bb

yet the chin, beardless as Tecumsah's, had something [p >of strange protuberant broadness] in its make that [>strangely {p <strangely}] recalled

the prints of [p >the Rev^d] Dr. Titus Oates, the historic [>veracious {p <veracious}] clergyman and [p >drawing] witness [p >(below) deponant <clergyman → transpose deponant to follow historic→ and {Bc <historic deponant and drawing <clergyman and witness >historic deponant with the drawl → <drawl→ clerical drawl}] in the time of Charles II and the [p >infamous {<infamous} fraud of the] alleged Popish Plot. It served Claggart in his function [p <function >office] that his eye could cast a tutoring glance. His brow was of the sort phrenologically associated with more than average intellect; [>(with circling and guide-line to caret) thinish {p <thinish}] silken bla → <bla→ jet curls partly

91: Bb 19¹; Da 55; Eb 103. [W 80]

Bb

falling [<falling >clustering] over it, making a foil to the palor [p alter to pallor] below, a palor [p alter to pallor] tinged with a faint shade of amber skin to the hue of some [p <some] time-tinted [p Bc >white {p <white}] marbles of antiquity. [p <of antiquity add of old. {p <of old add period (after marbles)} {p >of old.}] This complexion, one → <one→ in a marked way [<in a marked way >so {p <so} singularly] contrasting with the tanned [p Bc <tanned >bronzed {p revise to the red or deeply bronzed}] visages of the sailors, and in part the result of his official seclusion from the sunlight, tho it was not exactly displeasing, nevertheless seemd to hint of something defective or unwholesome in the blood. His aspect [p Bc <or unwholesome . . . aspect >or abnormal in the constitution and blood. But his general aspect] and manner [p add , these {<these}] were so suggestive

***Bab**

of an education and career incongruous with his position → <position→ function [>naval (before function)] [p <function >position {p <position >>function}] that when

92: Bb 19²; Da 56; Eb 104. [W 81]

***Ba 19 (I)**

not actively engaged in it he looked to be some person of → <to be some person of→ like a man of high quality, [>social and moral,] who for reasons of his own was going [p <going {ESM p >keeping}] incog. [p >or made up for a disguise. {p <or made up for a disguise.}] [Ba+p add Tho >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) he was an Englishman {Bb <Tho . . . Englishman}] Nothing was known of his former life. But [<But]

Bb

It might be that he was an Englishman; and yet there was → <was→ lurked a bit of accent in his speech suggesting that possibly he was not such by birth but through naturalization in [p >early] childhood.

93: Bb 19^a; Da 57; Eb 105. [W 82]** Ba 19 (II)*

among [Bb *capitalized among*] certain grizzled sea-gossips of the [p Bb >*gun-decks and*] forecastle went a rumor perdue that this gentlemanly [p Bb <*this gentlemanly >the*] master-at-arms was a chevalier [*underlined*] who had volunteered into His Majesty's service [<*His Majesty's service* >*the King's navy*] by way of compounding for some sort of [p Bb <*sort of* {B+p <*some add a*} {<*a* >*some*}]] mysterious polite [p Bb <*polite*] swindle whereof [Ba+p >*not long previous* {<*not long previous*}]] he had been convicted in London. [Ba+p *notation for addition King's Bench* {Bb <*notation then revise and add as follows*}]] [Bb <*convicted* <*in London.* >(*after been*) arraigned *add* at the King's Bench. Though {<*Though* >*That* >(*before That*) The fact *alter That to that*} nobody, of course, {<*of course*} could substantiate this, →<*comma*→ report {<*report*}

94: Bb 20¹; Da 58; Eb 106. [W 83]** Ba 20*

{*add report, >(before report) vague*} {p <*vague*} was {p >, of course,} nothing against its secret currency.] [Ba+p *notation (underlined, with large caret in left margin)*] New chapter {<*underlined notation*} Such a rumor once started on the gun-decks agan →<*agan*→ in reference to almost anyone below the rank of a commissioned

Bb

officer would, during the period [p <*period >era* {<*era* >*period*}]] assigned to this narrative, have seemed not altogether defi →<*defi*→ wanting in plausibility [p *alter to plausibility* {<*plausibility* >*credibility*}] [p >*at least* {<*at least*}]] to the tarry old wiseacres of a man-of-war crew. And indeed a man of Claggart's accomplishments, without any [p <*any >prior*] nautical experience entering the navy at mature life, as he did, and necessarily allotted to →<*to*→ at the start to the lowest grade in it; this was something which in the dearth of all [Ebp <*all >exact*] knowledge as to his real [Ebp <*real*] antecedents, [Ebp *correct to antecedents*] opened [Eb >*to the invidious*] a somewhat mysterious field for invidious doubt and surmise. [Eb <*a somewhat . . . surmise add a wide field, however vague, for unfavorable doubt and surmise.* {Ebp <*unfavorable doubt and >invidious*} {<*invidious* >*unfavorable*}]] [B+p *chapter-ending mark* → {Eb <*chapter-ending mark*}]] [Ebp *add (circled, in left margin) notation for addition-patch* A man who never alluded to his prior life ashore; these circumstances &c {Eb <*notation and add patch below*} *orange crayon cancel* this was something . . . surmise. *and place revision-atch over those lines!*]]

† Eb

a man →>*too*→ who never made allusion to his previous life ashore; these were circumstances which in the dearth of exact knowledge as to his true antecedents opened to the invidious a vague field for unfavorable surmise.

95: Da 59; Eb 107. [W 84]

Da

In reference to the privy gossip as to Claggart's prior [D+p <*prior >previous*] career as a landsman →<*as a landsman*→ ashore, and as tending to show that it was not so very absurd after all, it should be remembered that [Eb *red crayon cancel whole passage, and Eb* >(*at top of leaf, with blue crayon guide-line*) But the sailors' {>*dog-watch*} gossip concerning him derived a vague plausibility from the fact that] now for some period the British Navy could so little afford to be squeamish in the matter of keeping up as far as possible [<*as far as possible*] its [p <*its add the*] muster-roll, [p *alter to -rolls*] that not only were the [<*the*] press-gangs notoriously abroad [*add both*] afloat and ashore, but there was little or no secret about the fact [Eb <*the fact >another matter, namely*] that the London police were encouraged →<*encouraged*→ at liberty to capture

96: Da 60; Eb 107². [W 85]*Da*

any able-bodied suspect [*underlined* {p <*underlining*}]] and [p <*and add , any*] questionable fellows [p *alter to fellow*] at large and summarily ship them [p <*them >him*] to the dock-yard or fleet. Furthermore, even among voluntary enlistments there were instances where the motive to it →<*to it*→ thereto partook neither of patriotic impulse nor yet of a random desire to experice a bit of sea-life and martial adventure. Insolvent debtors of the [<*the*] minor grade, together with the promiscuous lame ducks of morality found in the Navy a convenient and secure refuge. Secure, because once enlisted aboard a King's-Ship, they were in sanctuary, as it were. [Eb <*were <it were and revise to read were as much in sanctuary, as the transgressor of the Middle Ages harboring himself under the shadow of the altar.*]]

97: Da 61¹; Eb 108. [W 86]*Da*

These facts [Ec <*These facts >Such sanctioned irregularities*] which for obvious reasons the Goverment would hardly think to parade at the time and which consequently, and as affecting the least influential class of mankind, have all but dropped into oblivion, would seem to lend color to x →<*x*→ a [>*strange {strange}*]] thing which I heard in my youth [<*which . . . youth*] from an old American negro who had [*add years before*] served in the British

navy: namely →<namely→ It was this: [revise to to this effect:] In the case of a ship [add or] squadron [<or squadron] short of hands and whose [<whose {>whose}] speedy [<speedy {>speedy}] despatch was →<despatch was→ sailing was imperative, the deficient quota would sometimes be made up [<made up >eked out] by draughts culled direct from the jails. [Ec blue crayon <to lend . . . jails {Ec <would seem} and place revision-patch over those lines]

† Ec

lends color to something for the truth whereof I do not vouch, and hence have some scruple in stateing; something I remember having seen in print though the book I can not recall; but the same thing was personally communicated to me now more than forty years ago by an old pensioner in a cocked hat with I →<I→ whom I had a most interesting talk on the terrace at Greenwich, a Baltimore negro, a Trafalgar man.

98: Eb 109. [W 87]

† Ec

it [capitalize it] was to this effect: in [capitalize in] the case of a [>war-] ship short of hands and [<and] whose speedy sailing was imperative, the deficient quota [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) in lack of any other way of making it good,] would be eked out by draughts culled direct from the jails.

Eb

For reasons previously suggested it would not perhaps be easy at the present day directly to prove or disprove the allegation. But allowed as a verity, how significant would it be of England's straits at the time confronted by those momentous [<momentous >terrible {<terrible >horrible} {p <horrible}] wars which like a flight of harpies rose [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) shrieking] from the din and dust of the fallen Bastile.
[p guide-line to next leaf]

99: Eb 110. [W 88]

Eb

That era, now long past, [<now long past] appears measurably clear to us who wh →<wh→ look back at it, and but read of it. But to our grandfathers, [p <our >the >(after grandfathers) of us graybeards] the more thoughtful of them, [>the genius of] it presented an aspect like that of Camoen's Spirit of the Cape, an eclipsing menace mysterious and prodigious. Not America was exempt from apprehension. After [p <After >At the height of] Napoleon's unexampled conquests, when he bowled down kings and states like ninepins, [p <when he . . . ninepins] there were some [p <some >Americans] who had fought at Bunker Hill who looked forward to the possibility that the Atlantic might prove no effectual [p <effectual] barrier against the [p >world-wide

{<world-wide >ultimate}] schemes of the upstart Corsican. So I had it from venerable men know to me in my youth. [p chapter-ending mark —————♦————] [p <the upstart . . . my youth. >(interlined) this french {>portentous} upstart from the revolutionary chaos who seemed the →<the→ in act of fulfilling the direful →<the direful→ judgment proclaimed →<proclaimed→ prefigured in the Apocalypse.]

100: Eb 111. [W 89]

Eb

[p chapter-beginning mark —————♦———— {<mark}]

But the less credence was to be given to the gun-deck talk touching Claggart, seeing that no man holding his office in a man-of-war can ever hope to be popular with the crew. Besides, in derogatory comments upon anybody [ESM? p <body >one] against whom they have a grudge, or for any reason or no reason mislike, sailors in some degree [p <in some degree] are [p >much] like landsmen, they are apt to exaggerate or romance. [p add about him. {<about him. add it.}]

About as much was really known to the Indomitable's [underlined] tars of the master-at-arms' career before entering the service as an astronomer knows

101: Eb 112. [W 89 {sic}]

Eb

about a comet's travels previous [p <previous >prior] to its first observable appearance in the sky. The babble [p >of the sea quid-nuncs] [ESM p <babble >verdict] has been cited only by way of showing what sort of moral impression the man made upon rude uncultivated natures whose conceptions of human wickedness were necessarily of the narrowest, limited to ideas of vulgar rascality, [p add dash] a thief among the swinging hammocks during a night-watch, or the man-brokers and land-sharks of the sea-ports.

102: Bb 27; Da 64; Eb 113. [W 90]

Bb

It was no gossip, however, but fact, that tho, [ESM? p alter to though] as before hinted, Claggart upon his entrance into the navy was, as a novice, assigned to the least honorable section of a man-of-war's crew, the drudges, [p >waisters (to replace drudges) {<waisters}] [p >embracing (before the drudges) and alter drudges to drudgery] he did not long remain there.

* Ba

The superior capacity he immediately [p <he immediately >a revision now undeciphered because erased {<revision >he immediately}] evinced, his constitutional sobriety, flatte →<flatte→ ingratiating deference to superiors, to-

gether with a peculiar ferreting genius manifested on a singular occasion, all this capped by a certain austere patriotism [p >which {<which}] he developed [p <developed add evinced {<he evinced}] had [Bb+ <had] [Ba+p >rapidly {<rapidly >abruptly} {Bb+ <abruptly w.o. abruptly}] advanced him rapidly [Bb+ <rapidly] to the influential [<influential] position he now occupied in the seventy-four. [p Bb+ <he . . . seventy-four. >of master-at-arms.]

103: Eb 114. [W 91]

Eb

Of this maratime Chief of Police the ship's-corporals, so called, were the immediate subordinates, and compliant ones; and this, as is to be noted in some business departments ashore, all →<all→ almost in →alter to to→ a degree inconsistent with entire moral volition. His place

*** Ba**

put various converging wires of underground action into [p i <action into >influence under] the chief's control, capable when astutely worked thro' his understrappers of operating to the mysterious discomfort if nothing worse, of any of the sea-commonalty.

Eb leaf

[p chapter-ending mark —————◆————]

104: Ec 115¹. [W 92]**Ec**

[p chapter-beginning mark —————◆————]

The life of [alter to Life in] the fore-top well agreed with Billy Budd. There, when not actually engaged on the yards aloft →<aloft→ yet higher aloft, the topmen, who as such had each [p <each] been selected [p <selected >chose {<chose >(below) picked out}] for their [p <their >alert {<alert >>their} {<their]} youth [p >activity] and agility [p <agility >alertness {<alertness transpose activity to follow and} {add comma}]] constituted an aerial club lounging at ease against the smaller stun'sails rolled up into cushions, spinning yarns [mend] like the lazy gods, and frequent [p alter to frequently] jesting on [p <jesting on >amused with] what was going on in the busy world of the decks below. No wonder then that a young fellow of Billy's disposition was well content in that [p >(without canceling that) such] society; [p alter semicolon to period] giving [p alter giving to Giving] no cause of offence, and [p <and >to anybody, he was] always [p add alert at a call.]

105: Ec 115². [W 93]**Ec**

true to duty. [p <true to duty] So in the merchant service it had always [p <always] been with him. But now such a punctiliousness [p >in duty] [>was]

shown that his topmates would sometimes good-naturedly laugh at him for it. This heightened alacrity had its cause, namely, the impression made upon him by the first formal gangway-punishment he had ever witnessed, which befell the day following his impressment. It had been incurred by [p >by a little fellow, young, and much →<and much→ a novice] an after-guardsman absent from his assigned post when the ship was being put about, [p alter comma to semicolon] →>a deriliction→ resulting in a rather serious hitch in [p <in add to] that maneu →<maneu→ manoeuvre, [mend] one demanding instantaneous [p mend to instantaneous] prop →<prop→ promptitude in letting go and making fast.

106: Ec 116. [W 94]

Ec

When Billy saw the culprit's naked back under the scourge gridironed with na →<na→ red welts, and worse; when he marked the [p >dire] expression in the liberated man's face as with his woolen shirt flung over him [p >(two lines above, circled, with guide-line to caret) by the executioner] he rushed forward from the spot, [p >to bury himself in the crowd,] Billy was horrified. He resolved that never though remissness would he make himself liable to such a visitation or do or omit aught that might merit even verbal reproof. What then was his surprise and concern when ultimately he found himself getting into [>petty] trouble occasionally about such matters as the stowage of his bag or something amiss in his hammock, matters under the police

107: Ec 117. [W 95]

Ec

oversight of the ship's-corporals of the lower decks, and which brought down on him a vague threat from one of them.

So heedful in all things [>as he was,] how could this be? He could not understand it, and it more than vexed him. When he spoke to his [Ecp Ec >young] topmates about it—young fellows like himself— [Ecp <—young fellows like himself—] either they were [Ecp <either >either] incredulous or quizzed [Ecp >lightly jested at {<lightly jested at}]] him for his anxiety. [Ec <it . . . anxiety add it and continue, incorporating above pencil revisions] they were either lightly incredulous or found something comical in his unconcealed anxiety. “Is it your bag, Billy? [>” said one “[well, sew yourself up in it, bully boy, and then you'll be sure to know if anybody meddles with it.”

Now there was a veteran aboard who because his years began to disqualify him for more active work

108: Ec 118. [W 96]

Ec

had been recently assigned duty as main-mast-man in his watch, looking to the gear belayed at the rail roundabout that great spar near the deck. [>At off-times] The foretopman had picked up some acquaintance with him, and now in his trouble it occurred to him that he might be the sort of person to go to for wise council. He was an old Dansker long anglicised [anglicized?] in the service, of few words, many wrinkles and some honorable scars. His wizened face, colored like an →<an→ [p <colored like >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) time-tinted and weather-stained to the complexion of] an antique parchment, exhumed from some dilapidated →<exhumed . . . dilapidated→ was here and there peppered blue by the chance premature →<chance premature→ chance explosion of a gun-cartridge in action.

109: Ec 119. [W 97]

Ec

[>He was an Agamemnon-man; {p underline Agamemnon}] Some two years prior to the time of this story he had [<had alter he to having] served under Nelson when but Sir Horatio in the old Agamemnon, [underlined] a [alter the to that <old Agamemnon, (underlined) a (inserting new clause at beginning of sentence)] ship immortal in navy →alter to naval→ memory, and which dismantled and in part broken up to her [p >bare] ribs is seen a grand skeleton in Hayden's etching. As one of a boarding-party from the Agamemnon [underlined] he had received a cut slantwise along one temple and cheek leaving a long pale scar like a flash of [<flash of >streak of dawn's {p begin then cancel another word}] light across [p <across >(below) falling athwart] the gunpowder visage. →<gunpowder add dark→ It was on account of that scar and the [>desperate {<desperate}] affair in which it was known that he had received it, [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) as well as from his blue-peppered complexion] that he [p <he >the Dansker] went among the Indomitable's crew by the name of Board-her-in-the smoke. [p add quotation marks around Board-her-in-the smoke.]

110: Ec 120. [W 98]

Ec

Now the first time that his small weazel-eyes happened to light on Billy Budd, a certain grim internal merriment set all his ancient wrinkles into antic play. Was it that his eccentric unsentimental old sapience not fooled by books [p <not fooled by books >primitive in its kind] saw or thought it saw something which in contrast with the present [p <present >war-ship's] environment looked oddly incongruous in the handsome sailor? But after slyly study-

ing him at intervals, the old Merlin's equivocal merriment was modified. When [>by chance] the twain would meet, [p alter period (after modified) to semicolon >For now alter When to when <by chance <would meet >would meet] it would start on [alter to in] his face a quizzing xxx →<xxx→ sort of look, but it would be but momentary

111: Ec 121. [W 99]

Ec

and sometimes replaced by an expression of speculative foresight [p <foresight >query] as to what might eventually befall a nature like that, dropt [ESM? p alter to dropped] into a world not without some man-traps and against whose subtleties simple courage lacking experience and address and without any touch of defensive ugliness [p add comma] is of little avail, [p alter comma to semicolon] and where such innocence as man is capable of does yet in a moral emergency neither [<neither >not always] sharpen the faculties nor [<nor add or] fortify [p <fortify >enlighten] the will.

However it was the Dansker in his ascetic undemonstrative [p <ascetic <undemonstrative {p>ascetic}] way rather took to Billy. Nor was this only because of a ce →<a ce→ the [p <the >a certain] philosophic interest awakened in him. [p <awakened in him. add in such a character. There was another cause.]

112: Ec 122. [W 100]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

Ec

While the old man's eccentricities, sometimes bordering on the ursine, repelled the juniors, Billy, undeterred thereby, [p addition (on top margin, circled, but not marked for place of insertion) probably belongs here revering him as a salt hero] would make advances, never passing the venerable [<venerable >brave old {p <brave}] Agammenon-man without a salutation marked b →<b→ by that respect which is seldom lost on the aged however crabbed [mend first b] at times or whatever their station in life.

There was a fantastic [p <fantastic] vien of dry humor, or what not, in the mast-man; and, weather in freak of patriarchal hum →<hum→ irony touching Billy's [p >youth and] athletic frame, or for some other [p >and more recondite] reason, invariably [p <invariably >from the first] in addressing him he [p >always] substituted Baby for Billy.

† late pencil

[on hinge-patch placed on leaf with notation Add bottom of page 122] This it was →<This it was→ Thus it was [add And (before Thus) >(above) by the name {<by the name}]] that the foretopman came to be →<And thus . . . to be→ The Mastman [<Mastman >Dansker] in fact being the originator

of the name [<name >nickname prefix {<nickname prefix (*without restoring name*)}] by which the foretopman eventually became known aboardship.

113: Ec 123. [W 101]**Ec**

Well then, in his mysterious little difficulty going in quest of this strange mentor, [*p* <this strange mentor >the wrinkled one] Billy found [>him] off [*mend*] duty in a dog-watch ruminating by himself seated on a shot-box of the upper gun-deck [>now and then] surveying with a somewhat cynical regard certain of the [>more swaggering] promenaders there. Billy recounted his trouble, again wondering how it all happened. The salt seer attentively listened, accompanying the [*p* >foretopman's] recital with queer twitchings of his wrinkles and problematical little sparkles of his jet-black [*p* <jet-black >small ferret] eyes. Making an end of his story, B →<B→ the foretopman asked, "And now, do tell [*p* <(by error?) do tell >, Dansker,] me what you think of it."

114: Ec 124, Ec/G 124¹. [W 102]*** Ec 124**

The old Dansker, [*p* <Dansker >man] shoving up the front of his tarpaulin and slo →<slo→ deliberately rubbing the scar there →<scar there→ upper part of →<upper part of→ [*p* >long slant] scar where →<where→ at the point where it entered the thin hair, laconically said, Baby Budd →<Baby Budd→ "Baby Budd" (meaning the Ma →<"Baby Budd (meaning the Ma→ "Baby Budd, Jimmy Legs" [*G underline* Jimmy Legs [*p mend to Jemmy*]) (meaning the master-at-arms) "is down on you"

G

"Jimmy Legs!" [*underlined*] ejaculated Billy his welkin eyes expanding; "what for? Why he calls me the sweet and pleasant young fellow, [the sweet and pleasant young fellow *underlined*] they tell me."

"Does he so?" grimly [<grimly] grinned the grizzled one; then said [*p* >Ay >(above) Baby lad] "A sweet voice has Jimmy Legs" [Jimmy Legs *underlined*]

115: Ec/G 124². [W 103]**G**

"No, not always. But to me [>he] has. I n →<n→ seldom pass him but there comes a pleasant word."

"And that's because he's down upon you, Baby Budd."

Such reiteration along with the manner of it, incomprehensible to a novice, disturbed Billy almost as much as the mystery for which he had sought some [<some] explanation. Something less unpleasingly oracular he tried to extract; but the old sea-Chiron thinking perhaps that for the nonce he had

116: Ec 125¹. [104]**Ec**

sufficiently instructed his young Achilles, pursed his lips, gathered all his wrinkles together and would commit himself to nothing [*mend*] further. [*p chapter-ending mark* —————♦ {*add notation* Billy young and innocent (?) and a little xxx &c} {<Billy . . . &c <chapter-ending mark and add notation (circled, above) The experience (?) prudence &c} {G <The experience . . . &c and add (after further.) Years, and those experiences which befall certain →>shrewder→men subordinated life-long to the will of superiors, all this had developed in the Dansker the pithy guarded cynicism that was his leading characteristic.} [*p* >(before Years) large bracket for new paragraph] [*p chapter-division mark* —————♦]

Ec

The next day a little [*G* <little alter a to an] incident served to confirm Billy Budd in his incredulity as to the main-mast-man's [*p* <main-mast-man's >Dansker's] strange summing up of the case submitted to him. [*p* <to him add period (after submitted)] [*p guide-line to next leaf*]

117: Bca 31², Bcb 31⁵; Da 80; Eb 125, Ec 125². [W 105]**Bca**

true. [*p* <true >That was so {<so >>true} {<That was true}] And not very long afterwards a little [*p* >apparent {<apparent}] incident confirmed it. [*p* <it >Billy's word. {<Billy's word >>it}] [*p* <And . . . it] The ship at noon going large before the wind was rolling on her course, and the foretopman [*p capitalize* foretopman] being [*p* <the Foretopman being >he] below at dinner and engaged in some sportful talk with the members of his mess, chanced in a sudden lurch to spill the entire contents of his soup-pan upon the [*p* >new] scrubbed deck. [*p* >Claggart,] The Master-at-arms, official rattan in hand, happened to be passing along the battery there [<there] in a bay of which the mess was lodged, and the greasy liquid streamed just across his path. He →<He→ Stepping over it, he was proceeding

118: Bca 31³, Bcb 31⁶; Da 81; Eb 126. [W 106]**Bca**

on his way without comment, since the matter was nothing to take notice of under the circumstances, when he happened to observe who it was that had done the spilling. His countenance changed.

119: Eb 127. [W 107]

Eb

Pausing, he was about to ejaculate something hasty at the sailor, but checked himself, and pointing down to the streaming soup, playfully tapped him from behind with his rattan, [*p* >equivocally {<equivocally}] saying [*p* >in a low musical voice peculiar to him at times] "Handsomely done, my lad! And handsome is as handsome does too!" [*p* <does too!] >did it too] And with that passed on. Not noted by Billy as not coming within his view was the involuntary smile, or rather grimace, that accompanied the [<the >Claggart's] [*p* >equivocal] words. Aridly it drew down [*p* >and distorted {<and distorted}] the thin corners of his shapely [*p* >-curved {<-curved}] mouth. But everybody taking his remark as intended →<intended→

[119a] 352v:

[*Superseded pencil draft of passage now on Leaf 120. On verso of draft title slip.*]

Bc pencil

superior they had to laugh, [*several words missing where leaf is cut off*] accordingly. In this laugh, Billy of course joined; not displeased →<not displeased→ and very likely was [<Billy . . . was add Billy] a bit tickled [>it may be] by the allusion to his being the handsome sailor, >triumphantly →<triumphantly→ addressing &c →<addressing &c→ merrily joined, and addressing his messmates triumphantly →<triumphantly→ exclaimed [orange crayon cancel entire leaf including this passage]

120: Eb 128. [W 108]

Eb

meant for humorous, and at which therefore as coming from a superior they were bound to laugh, [*ESM p* >"with countefeid {countefied?} glee"] acted accordingly; and Billy with no reason →<with no reason→ tickled, it may be, by the allusion to his being the handsome sailor, merrily joind in; then addressing his messmates exclaimed "There now, who says that Jimmy Legs is down on [*mend*] me!" "And who said he was, Beauty?" demanded one [*p* add comma {<comma} >Donald] with some surprise. Whereat the foretopman looked a little foolish recalling that it was only one person, Board-her-in-the-smoke who had suggested what to him was the smoky idea that this pleasant [*p* <pleasant]

121: Eb 129. [W 109]

Eb

Master-at-arms was in [*caret here by error*] any [*p* >special {*p* <special add peculiar}] way hostile to him. Meantime that off →<off→ functionary resuming his path must have momentarily worn some expression less guarded than that of the bitter [*p* <bitter >dry {<dry >>bitter}] smile, [*p* >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) and invading {<invading >usurping} the face from the heart, some distorting expression perhaps,] for a drummer-boy heedlessly frolicking along from the opposite direction and chancing to come into light collision with his person was strangely disconcerted by his aspect. Nor was the impression lessened when the official [*p* >impetuously] giving him a sharp cut with the rattan, vehemently exclaimed "Look where you go!" [*p* chapter-ending mark ——————♦—]

[121a] 247†v:

[*Superseded pencil draft, from expansion stage between B and C. Probably this was the original opening of the chapter now beginning on Leaf 122. Its matter now appears (cf. "labyrinth") on Leaf 127.*]

Bb*pencil

Some portraiture of Claggart →<Claggart→ the outward Claggart has already been given. But →<But→ As to his inner personality, one does not care to hazard getting lost in a murky [<murky >dark] labyrinth [leaf cut off here but two words visible at end of next line that. Yet]
[E orange crayon cancel leaf]

[121b] 208†v:

[*Superseded passage from Ca 2. Later this was expanded into matter now on Leaves 123, 125.*]

***Ca 2**

why should Jimmy Legs [*underlined*] —to use the words here of the elderly messmate [*C+p* <here . . . messmate >here (before to use) >Dansker's (before words)] —be secretly down [down *underlined*] on Billy Budd? In the absence of direct motive assignable, could it be an instance of inimicality beginning in a spontaneous antipathy [<antipathy >aversion {*p* <aversion add repugnance} {*p* >>antipathy}]
[E orange crayon cancel passage]

119: Eb 127. [W 107]

Eb

Pausing, he was about to ejaculate something hasty at the sailor, but checked himself, and pointing down to the streaming soup, playfully tapped him from behind with his rattan, [*p* >equivocally {<equivocally}] saying [*p* >in a low musical voice peculiar to him at times] "Handsomely done, my lad! And handsome is as handsome does too!" [*p* <does too!] >did it too] And with that passed on. Not noted by Billy as not coming within his view was the involuntary smile, or rather grimace, that accompanied the [<the >Claggart's] [*p* >equivocal] words. Aridly it drew down [*p* >and distorted {<and distorted}] the thin corners of his shapely [*p* >-curved {<-curved}] mouth. But everybody taking his remark as intended →<intended→

[119a] 352v:

[Superseded pencil draft of passage now on Leaf 120. On verso of draft title slip.]

Bc pencil

superior they had to laugh, [*several words missing where leaf is cut off*] accordingly. In this laugh, Billy of course joined; not displeased →<not displeased→ and very likely was [<Billy . . . was add Billy] a bit tickled [>it may be] by the allusion to his being the handsome sailor, >triumphantly →<triumphantly→ addressing &c →<addressing &c→ merrily joined, and addressing his messmates triumphantly →<triumphantly→ exclaimed [orange crayon cancel entire leaf including this passage]

120: Eb 128. [W 108]

Eb

meant for humorous, and at which therefore as coming from a superior they were bound to laugh, [*ESM p* >"with countefeid {countefied?} glee"] acted accordingly; and Billy with no reason →<with no reason→ tickled, it may be, by the allusion to his being the handsome sailor, merrily joind in; then addressing his messmates exclaimed "There now, who says that Jimmy Legs is down on [*mend*] me!" "And who said he was, Beauty?" demanded one [*p* add comma {<comma} >Donald] with some surprise. Whereat the foretopman looked a little foolish recalling that it was only one person, Board-her-in-the-smoke who had suggested what to him was the smoky idea that this pleasant [*p* <pleasant]

121: Eb 129. [W 109]

Eb

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[121a] 247†v:

[Superseded pencil draft, from expansion stage between B and C. Probably this was the original opening of the chapter now beginning on Leaf 122. Its matter now appears (cf. "labyrinth") on Leaf 127.]

Bb*pencil

Some portraiture of Claggart →<Claggart→ the outward Claggart has already been given. But →<But→ As to his inner personality, one does not care to hazard getting lost in a murky [<murky >dark] labyrinth [leaf cut off here but two words visible at end of next line that. Yet] [E orange crayon cancel leaf]

[121b] 208†v:

[Superseded passage from Ca 2. Later this was expanded into matter now on Leaves 123, 125.]

***Ca 2**

why should Jimmy Legs [underlined] —to use the words here of the elderly messmate [*C+p* <here . . . messmate >here (before to use) >Dansker's (before words)] —be secretly down [down underlined] on Billy Budd? In the absence of direct motive assignable, could it be an instance of inimicality beginning in a spontaneous antipathy [<antipathy >aversion {*p* <aversion add repugnance} {*p* >antipathy}] [E orange crayon cancel passage]

[121c] 207†v:

[Superseded passage from Eb 130, replaced by Leaf 122.]

* Eb 130

[Eb+p chapter-beginning mark —————→————]

What [p >then {<then}] was the matter with the master-at-arms? [p >And] Whatever it might be [p <might be >was >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) that disturbed him] [p >how] could it [p >altogether {<altogether add directly}] have to do with Billy Budd [p <Billy Budd add (circled, at top of leaf, with guide-line to a point now cut off, but probably this passage) him could it →<could it→ could the trouble have to do] [brown crayon cancel all] [remainder of leaf cut off, not preserved]

122: E/G 130. [W 110]

G

[p chapter-beginning mark —————→————]

What was the matter with the master-at-arms? And, be the matter what it might, how could it have direct relation to Billy Budd with whom prior to the affair of the spilled soup the master-at-arms [p <the master-at-arms >he] had never come into any special contact official or otherwise? Yes, what [<Yes, capitalize what] [p >indeed] could the trouble have to do with the [p >inoffensive →<inoffensive→ >x →<x→ >(before the) one so little inclined to give offence as] the merchant-ship's peacemaker, [underlined] [p add even] him [p >too {<too}] who in Claggart's own phrase was "the sweet and pleasant young

123: E/G 131. [W 111]

G

fellow? Yes, why should Jemmy Legs, [underlined] to borrow the Dansker's expression, be down [underlined] on the good-natured [p <good-natured] Handsome Sailor?

* G

But, at heart and not for nothing, as the late chance encounter may indicate, [p >to the discerning] down on him, secretly down on him [p add comma] he assuredly was.

Now to invent something in [<in >as to {<as to add touching}] the more private career of Claggart, something involving involving →<involving→ the youthful sailor, [<the youthful sailor {p >the foretopman <the foretopman >Billy Budd} {G <Billy Budd >(after involving) Billy Budd,}] some romantic incident →<some . . . incident→ of which something he himself [alter he to the <himself >latter] should be wholly ignorant, some romantic incident implying

124: E/G 132. [W 112]

G

least [p <least] that Claggart's knowledge of the young sailo →<sailo→ blue-jacket began at some period prior [p <prior >anterior] to catching sight of him on board the seventy-four— [>all] this, would →<would→ not [p >so] difficult to do, might avail in an interesting way [p <an <way >(after in) a way more or less] to account for whatever of enigma may appear to lurk in the [p add case.]

G

But in fact there was nothing of the sort. And yet the cause, one very probable however unprovable, [p <one . . . unprovable] necessarily to be assumed as the sole one assignable, is [p >even {<even}] in its [p >very] realism as much charged with that romantic [p <romantic]

125: E/G 133. [W 113]

G

prime element of Radclifian romance, [>the mysterious, (underlined)] as any that the ingenuity of the author of the Mysteries of Udolpho [title underlined] [mend U] could devise, since [p delete comma and insert period <since >For] what can more partake of the mysterious than an antipathy spontaneous and profound such as [>is] evoked in certain exceptional mortals by the mere aspect of their contrary in [<their contrary in] some other mortal, however harmless he may be? [p add if not called forth by this very harmlessness itself.]

Now there can be [p <be >exist] no irritating juxtaposition of dissimilar personalities comparable to that [p >which is possible] abord a p →<p→ great war-ship fully manned and at sea.

126: Ee/F 134. [W 114]

G

[G on leaf replaces earlier clip] There, every day [>among all ranks] almost every man comes into more or less of contact with almost every other man. Wholly there to avoid [p >even] the sight of an aggravating object one must needs give it Jonah's toss or jump overboard himself. Imagine how [p >all] this abnormal proximity and attrition [p alter to abnormally recurring proximity or rubbing against his contrary {<abnormally . . . contrary}] might eventually operate on some peculiar human creature the direct reverse of a saint?

Ee/F

But for the [p >adequate] comprehending of Claggart [p >by a normal nature] these hints are insufficient. To pass from Budd to him [p <Budd to

him >a normal nature >to him] one must cross "the deadly space between." And this is best done by indirection.

127: Ee/F 135. [W 115]

Ee/F

Long ago an honest scholar my senior, said to me in reference to a man [*p i <a man >one*] now →<now→ who like himself is now no [*mend*] more, [>(*below, circled, with guide-line to caret*) a man so unimpeachably respectable that against him nothing was ever openly said tho' among the few much {*p <much >something*} was whispered, "Yes X—— is a nut not to be cracked by the tap of a lady's fan.] [*p add then delete quotation marks (before You)*] You are aware that I am the adherent of no organised [*organized?*] religion much less of any philosophy built into a systim. Well, for all that, [*add yet*] there is no getting into X——'s [<yet there is no getting into X——'s and add I think that to try and get into X——, enter his] labyrinth [>and get out again,] without a clue derived from some source other than what is is →<is→ known as knowledge of the world [*knowledge of the world underlined*] I should get →<I should get add dash (*after world*)→ that is [*p <is >were*] hardly possible, at least for me. [*p add quotation mark*]

128: Ee/F 136. [W 116]

Ee/F

"Why" said I, "X—— however singular a study to some, is yet human, and knowledge of the world assuredly implies the knowledge of human nature, and in most of its varieties."

"Yes, but a superficial knowledge of it, serving ordinary purposes. But for anything deeper, I am not certain whether to know the world and to know human nature be not two distinct branches of knowledge, which while they may coexist in the same heart, yet either may be [*p <be >exist*] with little or nothing of the other. Nay, in an average man of the world, his constant rubbing with it blunts

129: Ee/F 137. [W 117]

Ee/F

that finer spiritual insight indispensable to the essential [*p <essential*] understanding of [*p >the essential in*] certain exceptional characters, whether evil ones or good. [>*In a matter of some importance*] I have seen a girl wind an old lawyer about her little finger. Nor was it the dotage of senile love. Nothing of the sort. But he knew law better than he knew the girl's heart. Coke and Blackstone hardly shed so much light into [*p >certain {<certain}*] obscure [*p >mystic human heart {<mystic human heart add spiritual}*] places as the Hebrew prophets. And who were they? Mostly recluses."

At the time [*p >my inexperience was such that*] I did not quite see the force [*p <force >drift*] of all this. [*p >It may be that*] I see it now. And, indeed, if that lexicon which

130: Ee/F 138. [W 118]

Ee/F

is based on Holy Writ were any longer popular, one might with less difficulty define and denominate a nature like Claggart's. [*p <a nature like Claggart's >(<below>) certain phenomenal men.*] As it is, one must turn to some authority not liable to the charge of being tinctured with the Biblical element.

In a list of definitions included in the authentic translation of Plato, a list attributed to him, occurs this: "Natural Depravity: a depravity according to nature." A definition which so [<so >tho'] savoring of Calvinism, by no means involves

131: Ee/F 139. [W 119]

Ee/F

Calvin's dogma as to total mankind. Evidently its intent makes it applicable but to individuals. Not many are the examples of this depravity which the gallows and jail supply. At any rate for notable instances, since these have no vulgar alloy of the brute in them, but invariably are dominated by intellectuality, one must go elsewhere. Civilization, especially if of the austerer sort, highly favors it →<highly favors it→ is auspicious to it. It folds itself in the mantle of respectability. It has its petty [*p <petty >certain negative*] virtues serving as silent auxiliaries. It never allows wine to get within in its guard.

[131a] 232v: Superseded Eb 136, Ec 141³.

[Corresponds to matter now on Leaves 131, 132.]

Eb

[*Ecp >For example*] Hardly ever is he a wine-bibber. If he have no [>aver →<aver→ natural] distaste for the grape [*Ecp >(as is possible) {<(as is possible)}*] such as some [*Ecp >people*] have even for the peach, he at any rate is inclined to [*Ecp <is inclined to >sincerely*] despise [*Ecp alter to despises*] that over-genial influence which may lead even a temperate drinker at a holiday table [*Ecp <even . . . table >one*] imprudently [>sometimes {<sometimes}] to open his heart. There is a tall [<tall>singular {*Ecp add ascetic*} {<ascetic}]] pride in the spiritually depraved [*Ecp <the spiritually depraved >him {>(without canceling him) Plato's depraved one}}*] operating as a safe-guard against [*Ecp >most of*] the vulgarizing [<vulgarizing >physical] vices. And against some of the moral →<moral→ graver moral [*Ecp <graver moral >more spiritual →<spiritual→ spiritual {<spiritual*]

»moral)] vices as well. Seldom [Ecp <Seldom >Not frequently] is the man [Ecp guide-line to corner of leaf] [Ee/F brown crayon cancel whole leaf]

At Eb this leaf read:

Hardly ever is he a wine-bibber. If he have no natural distaste for the grape such as some have even for the peach, he at any rate is inclined to despise that over-genial influence which may lead even a temperate drinker at a holiday table imprudently to open his heart. There is a singular pride in the spiritually depraved operating as a safe-guard against the physical vices. And against some of the graver moral vices as well. Seldom is the man

At Ee it read:

For example Hardly ever is he a wine-bibber. If he have no natural distaste for the grape such as some people have even for the peach, he at any rate sincerely despises that over-genial influence which may lead one imprudently to open his heart. There is a singular pride in Plato's depraved one operating as a safe-guard against most of the physical vices. And against some of the more moral vices as well. Not frequently is the man

[131b] 236v: Superseded Eb 138, Ec 141^b.

[Corresponds to matter now on Leaf 132.]

Eb

assumed by the depraved one, serving as it does among other things to conciliate or neutralize as blindfold persons who should be the natural helpers of any individuals →<s→ the object of his [Ecp <his] subtler machinations. Yes, he is altogether free of →<Yes . . . of→ But not →<But capitalize not→ only is he free from acerbity, but [Ecp >is apt to be {add (before is) upon →>fit→ occasion}] a great [Ecp <great] denouncer of cynics, [Ecp >in short a professed optimist] invariably speaking well of the world and its denizens. [Ecp revise to cynics. Never does he speak ill of the world, much less of human nature. Take →<Take→ Analyzing anything he says you will find nothing of the Pessimist. {<Analyzing . . . Pessimist}] [Ee brown crayon cancel the passage from machinations to here and place a revision-patch (now gone) over it]

But the thing which in eminent instances signalizes this phenominal creature [Ecp <creature >man, for man he is,] almost setting him apart from humanity [Ecp <almost . . . humanity >(circled, with guide-line to caret) masquerading under the garb of respectability {>(below, before under) among those (?) →<those→ truthful (?) citizens} {<truthful citizens re-cancel among . . . citizens} {<masquerading . . . respectability}] is this: Though his bearing himself →<bearing himself→ even temper and discreet bearing would [▷appa (*incomplete word*)] seem to intimate a mind peculiarly subject to the law

132: Ee/F 140. [W 120]

Ee/F

It is not going too far to say that it is without vices or small sins. There is a phenominal [ESM p correct to phenomenal] pride in it that scornfully [p <scornfully] excludes them. Never mercenary or avaricious and so forth. [ESM p <and so forth >(after them apparently to replace Never and make a complete sentence) from anything (insertion does not make coherent sense)] In short the depravity here meant partakes nothing of the sordid or sensual. It is serious, but free from acerbity. Though no flatterer of mankind it never speaks ill of it. [p <it add mankind. {<mankind. >>it}] [pencil draft for foregoing sentence occurs on Leaf 133 on pencil patch, canceled] It is serious but free from acerbity. No flatterer of mankind it never speaks ill of it.]

But the thing which in eminent instances signalizes this [<this >so] exceptional [>a] nature is this: though the man's even temper and discreet bearing would seem to intimate a mind peculiarly subject to the law

133: Eb 139, Ec 141^b, Ed 144, Ee/F 141. [W {121}]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

Eb

of reason, not the less in his soul's recesses [p <his soul's recesses >heart] he would seem to riot in complete exemption from that law having apparently little to do with it [<it >reason] further [mend] →>than→ to employ it as an ambidexter implement for effecting the irrational. That is to say: Toward the accomplishment of an aim which in wantonness of atrocity [p <atrocity >malignity {>atrocity (without canceling malignity)} partakes [alter partakes to partake and insert may (before partake) {p <may add would seem to}] of the insane, he will [p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) sometimes (?) {<sometimes}]] direct a cool judgement sagacious and sound.

[Ee/F add Such men are madmen, and of the most dangerous sort; for {p <and . . . for >secretive ones} their lunacy {continue on pencil-addition patch}]

† late pencil

but →<but→ not continuous [>& persisting (?)] but occasional, evoked by some special object →<evoked . . . object >and special→ is not to be di →<is . . . di→ in the outward proceeding [>not] to be distinguished from sanity →<sanity→ their sound →<sound→ sanity, for whatever the aims [?] →<whatever the aims→ they are →<they are→ for they →<for they→ it is yet more secretive →>(before it) indeed→ →<for indeed . . . secretive add period (after sanity)→

Leaf finally reads:

of reason, not the less in heart he would seem to riot in complete exemption from that law having apparently little to do with reason further than to employ it as an ambidexter implement for effecting the irrational. That is to say: Toward the accomplishment of an aim which in wantonness of atrocity/malig-nity would seem to partake of the insane, he will direct a cool judgement sagacious and sound.

Such men are madmen, secretive ones their lunacy not continuous & per-sisting [?] but occasional, and special in the outward proceeding not to be distinguished from their sanity.

134: Ee/F⁺p 142. [W 122]

[Pencil revision on leaf supersedes passage on Leaf 133 and its pencil-revision patch. Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 430.]

late pencil

These men are [>true] [<These men are true >Charity pronounces these men {<Charity . . . men >These men are}] madmen, and [<and >but {<but >and}] of the most dangerous sort, for their lunacy pervades [?] not →<pervades not→ is not continuous, but occasional →<but occasional >but occasional→ evoked by some special object; it is [>watchfully {<watchfully >(circled, with guide-line to caret) protectively}] secretive and self-contained →*revise to read successively* as it is self-contained→ →, and hence self-contained→ →, which is as much to say it is self-contained,→ nor [<nor >so that] when [>moreover,] most active is it [<is it >it is] to the normal →<normal→ average mind [>not] distinguishable from sanity, and for the reason above stated [<stated >suggested] that whatever its aims may be, [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) and the {>xx <xx} {>mad} {<mad} aim is {<is >(below) be →<be→} always →<always→ never di-vulged →<divulg'd→ declared—] this →<this→ the method [>and →<and→ the outward action {<action >proceding} are] is [not canceled] always perfectly rational.

[add Now] Something such an one was Claggart

* Ee/F [142]

[p bracket whole sentence on clip, with notation (circled, in right margin, with fist) to come in afterwards] And of these was [p <And of these was] Claggart, in whom was [p >the mania of] an evil nature, not engendered by vicious training or corrupting books or licentious living, but self-subsisting [p <self-subsisting >born with him] and innate, in short "a depravity according to nature." [p closing bracket]

Leaf finally reads:

These men are madmen, and of the most dangerous sort, for their lunacy is not continuous, but occasional evoked by some special object; it is protectively

secretive, which is as much to say it is self-contained, so that when moreover, most active it is to the average mind not distinguishable from sanity, and for the reason above suggested that whatever its aims may be, and the aim never declared—the method the outward proceeding is/are always perfectly rational.

Now Something such an one was Claggart Claggart, in whom was the mania of an evil nature, not engendered by vicious training or corrupting books or licentious living, but born with him and innate, in short "a depravity according to nature."

135: Ed 145, Ee/F⁺p 143. [W 123]

[Versos of both leaf and patch were inscribed earlier; see p. 431.]

late pencil

[ESM p notation at top 146 red {red underlined} follows]

Dark sayings are these, some will say. But why? Is it because they somewhat savor of of Holy Writ in its phrase "mystery of iniquity"? [p insertion on patch below for placement here]

† *late pencil*

If they do, it was unintended, but rather sought to be avoided →<sought to be avoided→ sought to be →<sought to be→ →<it was unintended but rather→ →>(above) such savor→ was not →<not→ far enough from being intended, but was unavoidable →<but was unavoidable→ for little will it commend them →<them→ the →<the→ these pages to many a reader of to-day.

late pencil

The →<The→ The point of this →<this >(above) the present→ story turning on the hidden of the →<of the→ nature of the Master at Arms has necessitated [?] this →<this >this→ chapter, and now with an →<and now with an <comma and add period (after chapter)→ and the character of it as well. [<and . . . well.]

* *Ca*

[p >With an] added hint or two in connection with the little incident at the mess, [p <the little incident at the mess >what {<in . . . what (adding guide-line from two to the)} {>in connection with the little incident at the mess} {<little}} the resumed narrative must [p >now {<now}] be left to justify →<to justify→ to establish [p Ca⁺ <establish >vindicate,] as it may, its own credibility.

[p marginal notation xx Chapter {<notation}]

Leaf finally reads:

Dark sayings are these, some will say. But why? Is it because they somewhat savor of of Holy Writ in its phrase "mystery of iniquity"? If they do, such savor was far enough from being intended, for little will it commend these pages to many a reader of to-day.

The point of the present story turning on the hidden nature of the Master at Arms has necessitated [?] this chapter. With an added hint or two in connection with the incident at the mess, the resumed narrative must be left to vindicate, as it may, its own credibility.

[135a] 353: Superseded Ca [9].

[Top half of leaf had a clip pinned on (now gone) which probably had the foliation. Not foliated after C—i.e., superseded at or before E stage.]

Ca

[Cap (part way down, at right) chapter-title An Episode and notation (circled) New Chapter (written over chapter-beginning mark —————)]

[C+p remove clip and add chapter-title (in mid-leaf) Lawyers, Experts, Clergy above chapter-beginning mark —————]

[ESM p notation (at top) For Billy Budd / Find proper place for insertion (fist beneath)]

[C+p add This it is that makes the most perilous of God's creatures. {<This . . . creatures}] [C+p add (circled) by the way] Can it be this [C+p <this >the] phenomenon, [C+p >upon wh <upon wh] disowned or [C+p >at least] not acknowledged, [C+p >conceded (without canceling acknowledged)] that in some criminal cases puzzles the courts? And for →<And for→ For this cause have our juries in →<in→ at times not only to endure the prolonged contentions of the lawyers [C+p <the >feed {<feed >(after lawyers) with their fees}] but also the yet more perplexing strife of the [C+p >feed {<feed}] medical experts? [C+p >with theirs] —But why leave all [<all add it] to the laity →<laity→ laymen? [<laymen alter the to them?] why not subpoena [C+p >summon {<summon}] [ESM? p question mark (in parentheses) in right margin (beside erasure over subpoena) {<question mark}] [add as well] the clerical proficients? Their vocation [C+p <But why . . . vocation {cut off this sentence} {C+p add notation (below) Restore and mount the two segments of out leaf on another blank leaf}]

[135b] 354: Superseded Ca 10.

Ca

bringing them into peculiar contact with so many human beings, and sometimes in their least guarded hour, in interviews very much more confidential than those of physician and patient; this would seem to qualify them to know something about those intricacies involved in the question of moral responsibility; whether in a given case, say, [>the] crime proceeded from mania in the brain or rabbies [C+p correct to rabies] of the heart. As to any differences among themselves these clerical proficients might develop on the witness-stand, [C+p <witness] these could hardly be greater than the direct [C+p >professional {<professional add practical} {<practical}]] contradictions

exchanged between the [C+p >remunerated] medical experts as, essentially, advocates for and against. [C+p <as . . . against add period (after experts)] [C+p check-mark (in left margin opposite experts . . . against)]

[135c] 234v: Superseded Eb 142.

Eb

[Eb+ orange crayon notation New Chapter {blue crayon fist (at left) and box (around New Chapter)}]

Claggart's figure was not amiss. His brow, as before said, was shapely, and the entire face, excepting the [Eb+p >Titus Oates {<Titus Oates}] chin, classically fine; and there were indications that he was [Eb+p cancel much of the foregoing and revise to read That Claggart's figure was not amiss, and his face, in →<in→ save one feature, intellectually handsome has already been said. It is now to be added that at times he seemed to be →<to be→] not insensible of such →<such→ these [Eb+p <these add his {<his add his {< his >such}}] favorable [Eb+p >physical {<physical}] points [Eb+p add comma (after points) {<favorable points}] [Eb+p >as were his] serving as they did obviously [Eb+p <obviously] to signalize him in the crowd. But the form of Billy Budd was animally [Eb+p <animally >physical-ly {<physically}] heroic, [Eb+p >tho but animally so, {<tho but animally so,}] and his face tho [Eb+p add apostrophe] without [Eb+p >aught {<aught add aught of}] the intellectual look [Eb+p alter to intellectuality <look] of Claggart's was [Eb+p >yet] exempt from the draw-back of any imperfect feature.

In the →<In the→ Under the adaptive form in whi [<Under . . . in whi] [Eb+p add (at top of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret after feature) Besides, it was often irradiated by {<it . . . by} the hidden sun of {<of >in} his cheerful {<cheerful} heart threw out →<threw out add rayed forth→ a cheery aureola around him. {cancel this addition and add its revised substance at bottom of leaf Besides, the sun in his heart, threw →<threw→ rayed forth a light that beautified him the more.}]

[Eb+ orange crayon cancel bottom half of leaf (a clip, now gone, was pinned on top of the canceled portion)]

[135d] 231v: Superseded Eb [143].

[Space on top half of leaf where a clip (from B or C) was pinned on; foliation was probably on clip; the leaf itself was not foliated.]

Eb

an [Eb+p >indirect] inkling as to what it was that had presented the first palpable point to his antipathy, Billy's personal beauty. [p add (after antipathy) dash {<—Billy's personal beauty add (after antipathy) period} {<(by error?) antipathy >antipathy >at sight—envy.} {<—envy.}] In Claggart,

envy [Eb^{+p} <Claggart, envy] and antipathy, passions apparently incompatible [Eb^{+p} <incompatible >irreconcilable] were nevertheless born [Eb^{+p} <born] conjoined like Chang and Eng in one birth.

But what is envy [Eb^{+p} <But what is envy]

[Ee/F brown crayon cancel whole passage]

[135e] 235v: Superseded Eb 144.

Eb

But is envy [Eb^{+p} >really] such a very dreadful thing? [Eb^{+p} <very dreadful thing >monster as the poets have painted it] That depends upon [Eb^{+p} >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) its degree and] the →>sort of→ nature affected by it, and other circumstances. But what [Eb^{+p} <and other circumstances. But add period (after it) capitalize what] essentially it is [Eb^{+p} <it >envy >(after is) that] may be inferred from the fact, the f →<the f→ that though in repeated instances [Eb^{+p} <What . . . instances >Well, tho] men had →w.o. have→ pleaded guilty to murder, arson, [Eb^{+p} transpose murder, arson,] and kindred enormities no mortal has ever [Eb^{+p} <no . . . ever add , did ever any one] seriously confessed to envy; [Eb^{+p} alter confessed to confesse alter semicolon to question mark] for something [Eb^{+p} <for capitalize something] there is in that vice that →<that→ [Eb^{+p} <that vice >it] universally felt to be more shameful →<shameful→ [»shameful >to the individual add and more] derogatory to human nature [>at large {Eb^{+p} <at large}] than even felonious crime, whereof when intense it has not seldom been the parent. [Eb^{+p} <whereof >whereto alter intense (by adding sified) to intensesified {<when intensesified >(after whereto), when excessive} {<parent >instigator.} {<whole clause whereto . . . instigator. <comma (after crime) and add period.}] In his personification of envy, Spencer [Eb^{+p} <In . . . Spencer] [blue crayon cancel whole leaf]

Leaf finally reads:

Well, the men have pleaded guilty to arson, murder, and kindred enormities, did ever any one confess to envy? Something there is in it universally felt to be more shameful than even felonious crime.

[135f] 230v: Superseded Eb 145.

Eb

depicts her as [Eb^{+p} <depicts her as >Envy in extreme is {<Envy . . . is add Spencer >depicts >envy (before as)}] a ghastly hag forever chewing a [Eb^{+p} >poisonous] toad. "Pale ire, envy, and despair" [Eb^{+p} >this {<this}] is Miltonic. Behind [Eb^{+p} >these] frescoed walls [Eb^{+p} >of flesh] it is the closeted skeleton. But →<But→ Yet [Eb^{+p} <Yet >But] not [Eb^{+p} <"Pale . . . skeleton"]

[Eb^{+p} then blue crayon cancel whole passage]

[rest of leaf blank; originally a clip was pinned on]

136: Ee/F 146¹. [W 126]

Ee/F

[p chapter-title Pale ire, envy and despair]

[ESM p queries (circled, with arrow pointing to HM's chapter-title above) undeciphered because erased; still legible is her erased notation p. 144]

That Claggart's figure was not amiss, and his face, save the chin, well moulded, has already been said. Of these favorable points he seemed not insensible, for he was not only neat but careful in his dress. But the form of Billy Budd was heroic; and if his face was without the intellectual look of the pallid Claggart's, not the less was it illuminated, [<illuminated add lit] like his, from within, though from a different source. The bonfire in his heart made luminous the ruddiness [<ruddiness >rose-tan] in his cheek.

137: Ee/Fp 146². [W 127]

Ee/F

In view of the marked contrast between the persons of the twain, it is more than probable that [>when] the Master-at-arms in the scene last given applied to the sailor the proverb Handsome is as handsome does; [Handsome . . . does underlined] he there let escape an [>ironic] inkling xx →<xx→ not observed at the time, [<observed at the time >caught by the young sailors who heard it] as to what it was that had first [mend] moved him against Billy, namely, his striking [p <striking >significant] personal beauty.

Now envy and antipathy passions irreconcilable in reason, nevertheless in fact [p >may] spring conjoined like Chang and Eng in one birth. Is Envy then such a monster? Well, though many an

138: Ee/F 147. [W 128]

Ee/F

arraigned mortal has in hopes of mitigated penalty pleaded guilty to horrible actions, did ever anybody seriously confess to envy? Something there is in it universally felt to be even [<even] more shameful than even felonious crime. And does →<does→ not only does everybody disown it

139: Ee/F 148. [W 129]

* Ec? on Ee/F leaf

but the better sort of men [<of men] are inclined to incredulity when it is seriously [p <seriously >earnestly {<earnestly >in earnest}] imputed to any [p <any >an] intelligent man. But since its lodgement is in the heart

not the brain, no degree of intelligence [*p <intelligence >intellect*] supplies a guarantee against it, Inly it so self-humiliates a man that it is sought to be locked up [*no period*] [*p i <Inly . . . locked up*] But Claggart's was no vulgar form of the passion. Nor, as directed toward Billy Budd

140: Eb 146, Ee/F 149. [W 130]

Eb

did it partake of that streak of apprehensive jealousy that marred Saul's visage perturbidly brooding on the comely young David. Claggart's envy struck deeper. At bottom [*<deeper. At bottom*]

* Ca

deeper. If askance he eyed the good looks, cheery health and frank enjoyment of his [*p <his*] young life in Billy Budd, it was because these happened to go [*p <happened to go >went*] along with [*p <went along with >were* the outward expression of {*<were >seemed to be*} {*<seemed to be the outward expression of >along with (intention must have been to restore also went)*} a nature that as Claggart magnetically felt, had in its simplicity never willed malice or felt unavailing remore. [*<or felt unavailing remore. >or experienced the reacting bite of the {p alter to that} serpent in it.* {*p <reacting >(above, with guide-line to caret) reactionary pang in the secret sessions of thought.*} {*<reactionary pang >(before in the) or knew the pxx (undeciphered)*} {*i <or knew . . . thought. >reactionary (before bite with guide-line to caret) <in it add period (after serpent)*} (*clause finally reads or experienced the reactionary bite of that serpent.)*] To Claggart, →<To Claggart→ To him, the spirit lodged within Billy,

Eb

and looking out from his blue [*<blue >azure {p <azure >(below) welkin}*] eyes as from windows, that [*p >(below, circled) ineffability*] it was which

141: Eb 147, Ee/F 150. [W 131]

Eb

made the dimple in his rich [*p <rich >dyed*] cheek, suppled his joints, and dancing in his yellow curls made him [*p >preeminently*] the handsome sailor. [*p alter to Handsome Sailor.*] One person excepted the master-at-arms was perhaps the only man in the ship [*>intellectually*] capable of [*p >fully {<fully >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) adequately}}*] appreciating the moral phenomenon [*>presented*] in Billy Budd. He recognized in →w.o. his *add* In him (*before He*) *alter* He to he <his→ his own direct opposite →<In him . . . opposite→ And the insight but intensified his passion, which assuming various [*p >secret*] forms within him, [*p <him >his secret selfhood {<his secret selfhood add him}}*] at times assumed that of [*>cynic*] disdain—disdain

of innocence. [*p alter period to dash*] To be m →<m→ nothing more than innocent! Yet in an æsthetic [*add way*] he saw the charm of it, the [*>courageous*] free-and-easy →esay→ -easy temper of it, and fain would have shared it, but he despaired of it.

142: Eb 148, Ee/F 151. [W 132]

Eb

With no power to annul the elemental evil in him, tho readily enough he could disguise [*p <disguise >hide*] it; apprehending the good, but powerless to be it; a nature like Claggart's surcharged with energy as such natures almost invariably are, what recourse is left to it but to recoil upon itself and like the scorpion for which the Creator is alone [*<is >is (after alone)*] responsible, live [*p <live >act*] out to the end the nature [*p <nature >stage-part {<stage}}*] allotted it.

[*p chapter-ending mark* —————♦—]

143: Cb 16²; Eb 149. [W 133]

Cb

[*ESM p notation Follows 151 red (red underlined)*]

[*p notation New chp (underlined) and chapter-beginning mark* —————♦—]

Passion, and passion in its profoundest, is not a thing demanding a lofty [*p <lofty >scenic {<scenic >a palatial}*] stage whereon to play its part. Away [*p <Away*] down upon [*<upon >amongl*] the groundlings, among the beggars and rakers of the garbage, it [*p Cb+ <it >profound passion*] is enacted. And the circumstances that provoke it, however trivial or contemptible, [*<contemptable >mean,*] are no measure of its power. In the present instance the stage is a [*Cb+p >ship's {<ship's} scrubbed deck, {<deck >gun-deck,}*] and the matter [*p <the matter >(below) one of the {>outward} {<outward >external} provocations*] a sailor's [*<sailor's >man-of-war's-man's*] spilled soup.

Now when the Master-at-arms noticed whence came that greasy fluid [*Cb+p underline greasy and write query (under fluid) liquid? {<underlining and liquid?}*] streaming before his feet, he must have taken it—to some extent wilfully, perhaps— [*<perhaps—*] and welcoming it [*p <and welcoming it*] [*p notation (underlined, with fist below) xx →<xx→ Insert afterwards*]

144: 3; Ca 17. [W 134]

Ca

perhaps—not for the coincidence [*p <coincidence >mere accident*] it all but [*p <all but*] certainly [*p <certainly >assuredly*] was, but for the sly escape of an →<an→ a spontaneous [*p correct to spontaneous*] feeling on Billy's part

more or less answering to the antipathy on his own part. [*p <part add period (after own)*] In effect a foolish demonstration and very harmless, he must have thought, [*p (with circling and guide-line to caret) transpose* he must have thought to follow demonstration] which yet [<which yet] like the futile kick of a cow, [*p <cow >heifer*] which yet were the cow [*p <the cow >heifer {<heifer add xx} {<xx >heifer}*] a shod stallion, would not be so harmless. Even so was it that into the gall of his impulsive hate [<impulsive hate {*Ca+p >(below) envy*} {*Cb+ <envy >envy*}] Claggart [*p <his >Claggart's and <Claggart >he*] infused the vitriol of deliberate [*p Cb <deliberate >his*] contempt.

145: Ca 18. [W 135]

** Ba*

[*p add But*] The incident confirmed to him [*written over erased pencil catch-phrase* The incident confirmed to him] certain tell-tale reports purveyed to his ear by Squeak, [*Squeak underlined*] one of his more cunning Corporals, a little [*p <little >a grizzled little*] man, [*p <comma*] short and spare, [*p <short and spare*] so nicknamed

Ca

by the sailors on account of his squeaky voice, and sharp grizzled [*p <grizzled*] visage mousing [*<mousing >ferreting*] about the dark corners of the lower decks after interlopers, satirically suggesting to them the idea of a whiskered [*<whiskered*] rat in a cellar.

146: Ca 19. [W 136]

** Ba*

From his master [*p alter to master's {<master's >Chief's} {Ca <Chief's >(below, with guide-line to caret) Chief's}] employing him as an implicit tool in laying little traps for the woriment of the Foretopman, [*Ca >(on leaf, below, circled, with guide-line to caret)*—for it was from the Master-at-arms that those per →<those per→ the {*p >petty*} persecutions heretofore mentioned [*Cb <mentioned add adverted to*] had proceeded—] this [*p Ca <this >the*] Corporal having naturally enough surmised →<surmised→ concluded that his →<his→ his [*p Ca >master*] could have no love for him →<him→ the sailor, made it his business, like a [*p Ca <like a*] faithful understrapper, [*p Ca >that he was,*] to foment the animosity [*p Ca <animosity >(below) ill blood*] by perverting to his Chief*

147: Ba 45, 45^{p1}; Ca 18, 20. [W 137]** Ba 45*

certain innocent frolics of the [*p Ca >good natured*] Foretopman, [*Ba+p <Foretopman >sailor {<sailor >Foretopman}*] besides inventing for him

[*p <him >his mouth*] sundry contumelious epithets he claimed to have overheard from his mouth. [*p Ca <from his mouth add period (after overheard) {p >him let fall.}]* The Master-at-arms never suspected the veracity of these reports, more especially as to the epithets, for he well knew how [*p >secretly*] unpopular [*Ba+p >from the nature of his office {<from . . . office and incorporate substance in revision on leaf}*]

Ca

, and for no special →<and for no special→ may become a master-at-arms [*p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret)* at least a master-at-arms of those days] zealous in his function, and how the blue-jackets shoot at him in private their railery and wit; the nickname by which he goes among them (Jimmy Legs) [*name underlined*] implying under the form of merriment their [>cherished] disrespect and dislike. Besides, did not Squeak's tale secretly [*p Cb <Besides . . . secretly*] [*p guide-line to next leaf*]

148: Bab 45, 45^{p2}; Ca 21, Cb 21¹. [W 138]*Bab*

[*p guide-line continued, from upper left corner to first word to cancel original paragraph-break here*]

But indeed [*p <indeed >in view of the greediness of hate for pabulum*] it hardly needs [*alter needs to needed*] a purveyor to feed the perverse [*p <the perverse >any ill {<ill add bad} {<any <bad add Claggart's}]*] passion. Profound [*<Profound >Consider*. An uncommon [*p <Consider and insert bracket for new paragraph (before An uncommon)]*] prudence is natural to the [*p Cb <natural to the >habitual with the*] subtler depravity, for it has everything to hide. And in case of a suspected →<suspected alter a to an→ injury but suspected, its secretiveness voluntarily cuts off proof, [*Ba+p >it (before off) <proof >(at foot of leaf, with guide-line to caret after off)*] from enlightenment or disillusion and [*Ca <it <off . . . and <from . . . disillusion >(at foot of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret before action)*] it off from enlightenment or disillusion; and, not reluctantly, action is taken upon surmise as upon certainty. And the retaliation is apt to be in extreme [*p <extreme >monstrous*] disproportion to the [*>supposed*] offence; for when in anybody was revenge in its exactions aught else but an [*p >(below, circled) inordinate {Ca <inordinate >inordinate}*] usurer.

149: Cb 21². [W 139]** Ca?*

But how with his [*p Cb <his >(on leaf, with circling and guide-line to caret)* Claggart's] conscience? for those →<those >tho'→ consciences are unlike as brows [*<brows >(circled) foreheads*] and noses, [*<and noses*] every intelli-

gence has one →<has one add comma (after intelligence)→ including the [p >(circled) Scriptural {<Scriptural <including the *i*> (on leaf, below, circled, with guide-line to caret) not excluding the Scriptural}] devils who "believe and tremble," has one. But Claggart's conscience being but the lawyer to his

150: Ca 22. [W 140]

Ca

will, made monsters [p >ogres] of trifles, probably arguing that Billy's →<Billy's→ the motive its client [<its client] imputed to Billy in spilling his [<his add the] soup just [>then & there {<then & there <caret}]] when he did, together with the epithets alleged, these, if nothing more [p add comma] made a good [p <good >strong] case, [p >against him alter comma to semicolon] nay [p add comma] justified animosity into a sort of retributive righteousness. [p correct to righteousness] The Pharisee is [p <is >being {<being (without restoring is)}]] the Guy Fawks prowling in the hid chambers underlying some natures like [p <some natures like >the] Claggart's. [p alter to Claggart] And they can [>really] form no conception of an unreciprocated malice.

151: Ca 23. [W 141]

Ca

Probably, the master-at-arms' clandestine persecution of Billy were started to try the temper of the man; but they [<they >it] had not su→<su→ developed any trait →<trait→ quality in him that enmity could make [p >official] use of or pervert into even plausible [p correct to plausible] justification of itself; [p >even (before pervert) without canceling even (before plausible) <of itself add self-(before justification) and add semicolon (after justification)] so that the incident [p <incident >occurrence] at the mess, petty tho' it was, [<tho' it was >if it were,] was a welcome one to that so →<so→ kind →<kind→ peculiar conscience that has been attributed to Claggart. →<that has been attributed to Claggart→ we have xxxx →<xxxx→ inadequately descri→<descri→ described →<described >(below) touched upon.→ [p <we have inadequately touched upon. >assigned as →<as→ to be the private mentor {<private mentor (*leaving hiatus*)} of Claggart; and, {>for the rest,} not improbably he p →<he p→ it put him upon new experiments.]

152: Cb 24. [W 142]

Cb

Not many days after the last incident narrated something befell [>Billy] Budd that more gravelled him that aught that had previously occurred.

It was a warm night [>for the latitude;] and the Foretopman, whose watch it was below, should ha →<it was below, should ha→ at the time was properly below, was, with →<with→ dozing on the [<the >the uppermost] deck whither he had ascended from his hot hammock one of hundreds swinging so closely suspended [<swinging so closely >(after suspended) so closely {p >(circled) wedged} together] over the [p <over the >over a] lower gun-deck [p gun- {>gun-}] that there was little or no swing to them. He lay [add as] in the shadow as [p <as] of a hill, [p <comma and add -side] stretched under the lee of the booms, [booms underlined]

153: Cb 25. [W 143]

Cb

a long pile [p <long pile >(circled) piled ridge] of spare spars where [p <where >amidships between foremast & mainmast and among which] the ship's largest boat, the launch, was stowed, temporarily inverted for repairs, its broad bottom looming up in the night like a vague dome. [p add period (after stowed) <temporarily . . . dome] He [<He add (at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) Alongside of three other slumberers from below, he] lay near the forward end of the booms [<of the booms >booms' (before forward end)] not far from [p <not far from >which →<which→ not far from →<not far→ >(above, after near) that {<that >one} {<one >that} end of . . . which approaches (passage finally reads lay near that end of the booms' which approaches) (from and apostrophe are left) the foremast; his station [add aloft] on duty as a foretopman being right [p <right >just] over the deck-quarte →<quarte→ station of the forecastlemen, entitled [p <entitled >entitling] him according to usage to make himself more or less [<more or less >more especially {p <more especially >more or less}] at home in that neighborhood.

154: Cb 26. [W 144]

Cb

Presently he was stirred into semi-consciousness by somebody, who must have previously sounded the sleep of the others, touching his shoulder, and then as Billy [<Billy >the Foretopman] raised his head, breathing into his ear in a quick whisper, "Slip into the weather [<weather >lee] fore-chains, Billy; there is something in the wind. Quick →<Quick→ D'ont speak. Quick, I will meet you there"; and disappeared.

Now Billy like sundry other [p >essentially] goodnatured fellows [p <fellow >ones] had [p >some of] the weaknesses that pertain to [p <that pertain to >inseparable from essential] good nature; and among these was [p >a reluctance, or rather →<or rather→ almost] an incapacity of plumply [p <plumply >repellingly {<repellingly add curtly} {<curtly >plumply}] saying no [no underlined] to an abrupt proposition not obviously absurd or iniquitous nor made in any unfriendly way. [p <obviously >obviously] and

alter or to nor { <nor made . . . way >on the face of it, nor obviously unfriendly nor →<nor >nor→ add period (after iniquitous) } (passage finally reads not obviously absurd, on the face of it, nor obviously unfriendly, nor iniquitous.) As little did he have [p <As . . . have >And being of warm blood, had →<had→ >(above, circled) he had >not] the [>cold {p <cold}] phlegm [p >silen →<silen → tacitly to] to negative it [p <it >(below) any proposition] by silent →<silent→ unresponsive inaction.

155: Cb 27. [W 145]

Cb

Like his sense of fear, his apprehension [p >as to aught out {<out >(circled) outside} of the common {<common >honest & natural}] was seldom very quick. Besides, upon the present occasion, he was →<he was→ the drouse from his sleep still hung upon him.

However it was, he mechanically rose, and lazily [p <lazily >sleepily] wondering what could be in the wind, [in the wind underlined] [p <underlining] betook himself to the designated place. The →<. The add comma→ a narrow platform [>, one of six,] outside of the high bulwarks and screened by the great dead-eyes and multiple columned lanyards of the [p >fore- {<fore-}] shrouds and back-stays; and, in a great war-ship of that time, a spot so →<a spot so→ of dimensions corresponding to the ample hull; [p <corresponding to the ample >commensurate add 's to hull > magnitude (revision leaves syntactical gap; intention obviously was to read commensurate to the hull's magnitude)] a tarry little [p <little] balcony in short overhanging the sea, and so secluded that one seaman [p <seaman >(below) mariner]

156: Cc 28¹. [W 146]**Cc**

of the Indomitable, [underlined] made it even in daytime →<made it even in daytime→ a non-conformist forecastleman [p <forecastleman >old tar] of a serious turn, made it even it →<it→ in daytime his private oratory.

In this retired nook the stranger soon joined Billy Budd. There was no moon as yet; the ha →<the ha→ a haze obscured the star-light. He could not distinctly see the stranger's face. Yet from something in the outline and carriage, Billy kn →<kn→ took him to be, and correctly, for a →<a→ one of the afterguard.

"Hist! Billy", said the man; [p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) in the same rapid {<rapid >(below) quick cautionary} whisper as before] "You were impressed, were't you? Well, so was I;" and he paused, as to mark the effect. But Billy not knowing [>exactly] what to mak [p correct to make] of this

157: Cc 28². [W 147]**Cc**

said nothing. Then the other: "We are not the only impressed ones, Billy. There's a gang of us. —Could'n you [p add dash] help—at a pinch? [no quotation mark]

"What do you mean? [no quotation mark] demanded Billy now [p <now >here] thoroughly awakened [<thoroughly awakened {p >thoroughly} {p <thoroughly}] shaking off the drowsy feeling. [p <the >his delete y from drowsy <feeling]

"Hist, hist! [p >in a husky {<in a husky add the hurried} whisper now growing husky, with th →<with→] see here;" and the man held up two small objects faintly twinkling in the nightlight; [p add quotation mark] see, they are yours, Billy, if you'll only—"

But Billy broke in, and in his [p >hot →<hot→ resentful] eagerness to deliver himself his vocal infirmity [p >somewhat] intruded; "[p >D—D Damme,] I do'nt know what you are [p >d—] d—driving

158: Cc 28³. [W 148]**Cc**

at, [p >afterguardsman {<afterguardsman}] or wh— [p <wh—] what you mean, but you had better g—g—go where you belong." [p alter period to exclamation mark] For the moment the fellow [>, as confounded,] did not stir; and Billy springing to his feet, said "If you d—d—dont [delete first d—] start, I'll t—t—toss you back over the [>r—] rail!" There was no mistaking this and the mysterious emissary decamped disappearing toward →<toward→ in the direction of the mainmast in the shadow of the booms.

"Hallo, what's the matter?" here came [p >growling] from a forecastleman awakened from his deck-dose [doze?] by Billy's raised voice. And as the foretopman reappeared and was recognised [recognized?] by him; "Ah, Beauty, [underlined]

159: Cc 29. [W 149]

*** Cca**

is it you? Well, something must have been the matter for you st—st—stuttered."

"O," [comma mended and replaced?] rejoined Billy, now all right again and [<all right again and] mastering the impediment; "I found an afterguardsman sneaking [<sneaking {>sneaking} {p <sneaking}] in our part of the ship here and I bid him be off where he belongs."

Cc

"And is that all you did about it?" →delete question mark and quotation mark and add comma→ foretopman?" gruffly demanded another, an irascible old

fellow of brick-colored visage and hair, and who was known to his associates [alter associates to associate >(below, circled) forecastlemen] as Red Pepper; [name underlined] "Such sneaks sho →<sho→ I should like to marry to the gunner's daughter!" by that expression meaning that he would like to subject them to disciplinary castigation over a gun.

160: Cb 30. [W 150]

Cb

However, the foretopman's [p <foretopman's >Billy's] rendering of the matter satisfactorily explained →<explained→ accounted for the brief commotion to these inquirers, [p transpose (circled) to these inquirers, to follow accounted] since of all the sections of a ship's company the forecastlemen, old [p <old] veterans for the most part and bigoted in their [>sea-] prejudices, are the most jealous in resenting territorial encroachments, especially on the part of any of the afterguard, of whom they have but a sorry opinion, chiefly landsmen, never going aloft except to reef or furl the mainsail, and incapable of handling [p <incapable of >(below) not →<not→ in no wise competent to alter handling to handle] a marlinspike. [p <period and >(below, with guide-line) and →<and→ or turning in a dead-eye, (underlined) say.]

161: Cb 31. [W 151]

Cb

[p chapter-beginning mark —————→————]

This incident sorely puzzled Billy Budd. It was an entirely new experience; the first time in his life that he had even been personally apprached in underhand intriguing fashion. Prior to this encounter he had known nothing of the afterguardsman, the two men being stationed wide apart, one foreward and aloft during his watch, the other on deck and aft. [add bracket for new paragraph] What could it mean? And could they really be guineas, those two glittering objects the interloper had held up to his [>(Billy's)] eyes?

162: Cb 32. [W 152]

Cb

Where could the fellow get guineas? Hardly so plentiful [>as buttons] are they with sailors [p <Hardly so plentiful as add (before buttons) Why even s →<s→ <are they with sailors >(after buttons) are not so plentiful {p >(above, circled, after, and without canceling, buttons) spare buttons}] at sea. [p >(below) and even buttons sometimes are scarce {<and even . . . scarce}] The more he turned the matter over, the more he was non-plussed, and made uneasy and discomfited. In his instinctive recoil →<instinctive recoil add disgusting→ recoil from an overture which tho' he but ill comprehended he

instinctively knew x →<x→ must involve evil of some sort, Billy Budd was like a young horse fresh from the pasture suddenly inhaling a vile whiff from some chemical factory and by repeated snortings tries to get it out of his nostrils and lungs. In this [p <In alter this to This] frame [p >of mind barred] all desire of holding further

163: Cc 33¹. [W 153]*Cc*

parley with the fellow, even were it but to →<to→ for the purpose of gaining some enlightenment as to his real [p <real] design in clandestinely [p <in clandestinely {>in}] approaching him. And yet he was not without natural curiosity to see how such a visitor in the dark would look in broad day.

He espied him the following afternoon in his [p >first] dog-watch below one of the smokers on that forward part of the upper gun deck allotted to the pipe. He recognised [recognized?] him by his general look [p <look >cut] and build, more than by his round freckled face →<face >face→ and fugitive eyes of watery blue, [p add (after and) p →<p→ <watery >glossy <glossy >pale <fugitive >m →<m→ add glossy (passage finally reads face and glassy eyes of pale blue,) shaded [ESM p <shaded >veiled] with lashes all but white.

164: Cc 33². [W 154]*Cc*

And yet Billy was a bit uncertain whether indeed it were he—the young [<the young >yonder] fellow [p <fellow >(above canceled young) chap] about his own age chatting and laughing in free-hearted way, leaning against a gun; a genial young fellow enough to look at, and something of a rattle-brain, to all appearance. Rather chubby too for a sailor even an afterguardsman. In short the last man in the world, one would think, to be overburthened with thoughts, especially those perilous thoughts that must needs belong to a conspirator in any serious project, or [p >even] to the confident [p <confident >underling] of one. [p <one. >(below) such a conspirator.]

165: Ce 33³. [W 155]*Ce*

For all that, [>in some sort] he must needs have been a sly one. [p <one >dog. {<dog add fox}] [p <For . . . fox.] For altho' [p <For capitalize altho'] Billy was not aware of it, the fellow, with a sidelong [>watchful] glance had perceived Billy first, and then noting that he [p <he >Billy] was looking at him, [p >thereupon] nodded a familiar sort of friendly recognition as to an old acquaintance, without interrupting the talk he was engaged in

with the group of smokers. A day or two afterwards chancing to →<to→ in the dog-watch [*p <dog-watch >evening*] promenade on a gun deck, to pass Billy, he offered a flying word of good-fellowship as it were, which by its unexpectedness, and equivocalness under the circumstances

166: Cc 33*. [W 156]

Cc

so embarrassed Billy that he knew not how to respond to it, and let it go unnoticed. After that there was no more recognition on either side. [*p <After . . . side. (after canceling this sentence, HM marked After that there for restoration but then again canceled the entire sentence)*]

Billy was now left more at sea [*p <sea >at a loss*] than x →<x→ before. [*written over beginning of another word*] The ineffectual speculations into which he was led was so disturbingly alien to him that he did his best to smother them. It never entered his mind that here was a matter which from its suspiciousness, [*p <suspiciousness >questionableness add (before questionableness) extreme*] it was his duty as a loyal tar →<tar→ blue-jacket to report in the proper quarter. And, probably, had such a course →<course→ step been suggested to him, he would have been deterred from taking it by the thought,

167: Cb 34. [W 157]

Cb

one of novice-magnanimity, that it would savor overmuch of the dirty work of a tell-tale. He kept the thing to himself. Yet upon one occasion, tempted →<tempted→ he could not forbear a little disburthening himself to the old Dansker, tempted [*p (above tempted) start but neither finish nor cancel a substitute word*] thereto perhaps by the influence of a fine balmy night, [*p <fine >(after night) when the ship lay becalmed alter comma (after night) to semicolon*] the twain, silent for the most part, sitting together on deck, their heads propped against the bulwarks. But it was only a partial and annoyemous [*sic!*] account that Billy gave, the unfounded scruples above referred to preventing full disclosure to anybody. Upon hearing Billy's version, the old [*p <old >(below) sage*] Merlin of the sea [*<Merlin of the sea >(below) Dansker*] seemed to

168: Cb 35. [W 158]

*** Cba 35**

divine more than he was told; and after a little meditation during which his wrinkles [*>were*] pursed them [*<them*] as into a point, quite effacing for the time that quizzing expression they [*p <they >his face*] sometimes wore, —“Didnt I say so, Baby Budd?” [*add bracket for new paragraph*] “Say what?” demanded Billy.

“Why, Jemmy Legs [*name underlined*] is down [*underlined*] on you.”

“And what” rejoined Billy in amazement, “has Jemmy Legs [*name underlined*] to do with that cracked afterguardsman?”

Cbb

“Ho, it was an afterguardsman then. A cat's-paw, a catsp →< catsp → cat's-paw!” And with that exclamation, which, whether it had reference to a light puff of air [*p marginal notation (circled, at right) flaw?*] just then coming over the calm sea, or subtler relation to the afterguardsman, there is no telling, the old Merlin gave a twisting wrench with his

169: Cb 36. [W 159]

*** Cba 36**

black teeth at his plug of tobacco, vouchsafing no reply to Billy's impetuous question, tho' now repeated, for it was his wont to relapse into grim silence when interrogated in skeptical sort

Cbb

as to any of his sententious oracles, not always very clear ones, rather partaking of that tenebrisic [*p <tenebrisic >obscurity*] which invests most Delphic deliverances from any quarter.

*[p chapter-ending mark —————♦————]***late pencil**

In →<In→ Long experience had very likely brought this old man to the conclusion that never to give advice →<the . . . advice→ that [*>bitter*] prudence which never interferes in aught and never gives advice.

170: Cb 37 [at first 38?]. [W 160]

Cb*[p chapter-beginning mark —————♦————]*

Yes, despite the Dansker's pithy insistence as to the Master-at-arms being at the bottom of these strange experiences of Billy on board the Indomitable, [*underlined*] the young sailor was ready to ascribe them to almost anybody but the man who, to use Billy's own word →<word→ expression, “always had a pleasant word for him.” Well may this [*p <Well may capitalize this >is to*] be wondered at. Yet not so much to be wondered at. In certain matters, some [*p <some*] some sailors even in mature life remain

*** Ca**

unsophisticated enough. But a young seafarer of the disposition of the foretopman, [*p <the >our athletic capitalize foretopman*] is much of a child-man. And yet a child's utter [*p <a child's utter >for the child its { <for the child its >a child's} {>utter}}*] innocence is but its blank [*p <blank >utter {>blank (without canceling utter)}*] ignorance, and the former [*p <former >innocence*]

171: Cb 38¹. [W 161]** Caa 24² on Cb leaf*

inevitably [*p <inevitably >naturally {<naturally >(below) more or less}* wanes as intelligence waxes. But in Billy Budd intelligence, such as it was, had advanced [*p add comma*] while yet his simplicity [*alter simplicity to simple-mindedness*] remained for the most part unaffected. [*p mend*] Experience [*mend*] is a teacher indeed; yet did Billy's years make his experience small; [*Cat+p notation Insert (fragmentary)*]

** Cab*

He [*<He >(below) Besides*] He had none of that intuitive knowledge of the bad which in natures not good [*>below, on leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret*] or incompletely so] foreruns experience, and therefore may pertain, as in some instances it too clearly pertains, [*>does (before pertains) alter to pertain*] even to youth.

172: Cc 38². [W 162]*Cc*

And what could Billy know of man except of man as a [*p >mere*] sailor? And the old-fashioned sailor, the veritable man-before-the-mast, the sailor from boyhood up, he, tho' indeed of the same species as landsmen [*>a (before landsmen) and alter to landsman*] is in some respects almost as [*p <almost as >very {<very >singularly}*] distinct from him as a man is from a woman. [*p <as a man is from a woman*] The sailor is frank force, [*p i alter to frankness <force*] the landsman is finesse. Life is not a game with the sailor, demanding the long head; no [*>intricate*] game of chess where nothing is to be achieved by [*<nothing is >seldom is anything {<seldom is anything to be achieved by >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) few moves are made in}*] straightforwardness, but more often [*<but more often >and ends are attained*] by indirection; an oblique, tedious, intricate [*<intricate >barren*] game hardly worth that poor candle burnt out in playing it.

173: Cc 38³. [W 163]** Ca on Cc leaf*

[*vestigial insertion, circled, the property of (?) {<insertion}}*]

[*p add Yes,*] As a class, sailors are in character a juvenile race. And [*<And >Even*] their deviations are marked by juvenility. And this more especially holding true

† Cab

[*add with the*] sailors of Billy's time. Then, too, certain things which apply to all sailors, do more pointedly apply to the younger [*p <apply to the younger >operate {add here & there,} upon the →<the→ junior*] one. He has been [*p <has been add is {Cc green crayon <He is}*]

174: Cc 39¹. [W 164]*Cc*

he [*p alter he to He {<He >Every sailor, too}*] is accustomed to obey orders without debating them; his life afloat is externally ruled for him; he is not brought into that promiscuous commerce with mankind where [*>unobstructed free agency on*] equal terms—equal superficially, at least—soon teach [*alter teach to teaches {<teaches >teaches}*] one that unless upon occasion he exercise a distrust keen in proportion to the fairness of the appearance, some foul turn may be served him. A ruled undemonstrative distrustfulness is so *xx → <xx → habitual*, not with business-men so much [*p add comma*] as with men who know their kind in less shallow relations than business, namely, [*p >certain*] men-of-the-world, that they

175: Cc 39². [W 165]*Cc*

come at last to employ it all but unconsciously; and some of them would very likely feel real surprise at being charged with it as one of their general characteristics.

176: Ca 26, Cb 40. [W 166]

Ca

[*p notation New Chapter*]

[*p chapter-beginning mark* —————→————]

But after the little matter at the mess Billy Budd no more found himself in mysterious [*p Cb <mysterious >strange*] trouble at times about his hammock or his clothes-bag or what not. While, as to that smile that deluded him [*p Cb <deluded him >occasionally suned → <suned → sunned him,*] and [*>the*] pleasant passing word, these were if → <if → if not more frequent, yet if anything more pronounced than before. [*p add bracket for new paragraph*] But for all that, there were certain other demonstrations now. When Claggart's unobserved glance happened to

177: Cab 27, Cb 41. [W 167]

** Caa? 27 on Cb leaf*

[*p notation (on leaf) 48 green (green underlined) follows*]

light on belted Billy rolling along the → <the→ the upper gun-deck in the leisure of the last [*<last >second*] dog-watch exchanging passing broadsides of fun with ga → <ga→ other young promenaders in the crowd; that evil eye [*<evil eye >glance*] would follow the cheerful sea-Hyperion with

178: Ba 48. [W 168]

Ba

would follow the unconscious sailor with [B+p >(at top) cheerfully (?) tarrying (?) handsome good-fellow {<cheerfully . . . good-fellow >cheerfully tarrying young} {<cheerfully tarrying young >cheerful sea Hyperion} {Ca <cheerful sea Hyperion (incorporating its substance in passage now on preceding leaf) <would follow . . . with}] a settled meditative and melancholly [p correct to melancholy] expression, the [p (over the) write his] dark hazel [<dark hazel] eye [p add s {<s}] strangely [p <strangely >mysteriously {by erasing <mysteriously >>strangely}] suffused with incipient feverish tears. Then would Claggart look like the man of sorrows. And [B+p >And yes, {Ca <And yes, add Yes, and]} sometimes the melancholly [p delete one l] look [p Ca <look >expression] would have in [>it] a touch of [p Ca >soft] yearning and softness, [p Ca <and softness] as if he [p Ca <he >Claggart] could even have loved Billy but for fate. [B+p >forbidding {<forbidding add & ban}] It was [B+p <It was >But this was] an evanescence, and quickly replaced [B+p <replaced >repented of, as it were] by an immittigable look pinching and dwarfing [B+p <pinching and dwarfing >shrinking & pinching {<shrinking add (after pinching) & shrinking}] the whole intellectual head [B+p >of the man] as by incantation [B+p <as by incantation] into the semblance of a wrinkled walnut. Various were these involuntary caprices. [B+p >(below, circled) of passion] [Cap and green crayon <for fate . . . of passion and incorporate substance in revision on patch]

† Ca

for fate and ban. But this was an evanescence, and quickly repented of, as it were, by an immittigable look, pinching and shrivelling the visage into the momentary semblance of a wrinkled walnut.

179: Ba 49, Bc 49¹. [W 169]*** Ba 49 (I)**

[p >But] Sometimes catching sight along the vistaed batteries [p <the <batteries add a (before vistaed) >lower deck (after vistaed) {Ca <along . . . batteries >in advance}] of the foretopman advancing [Ca <advancing >coming] in his direction, he would, [p <he would >Claggart {<Claggart >>he would}] upon their nearing, [p >would {<would}] step aside a little to let him pass, dwelling upon him [p Ca <him >Billy] for the moment [spelling elided] with an ambiguous smile. [p Ca <an ambiguous >the glittering dental (before smile) >of a Guise. (after smile)] [p <smile >satire] But [p >invariably {<invariably}] upon any abrupt unforeseen encounter a red light would forth from his eye like a spark from a struck [Ca green crayon <struck {p also <struck alter a to an}] anvil in a dusk smithy. [p two large check marks (in left margin beside last sentence)]

180: Be/Ca 49². [W 170]**Be/Ca**

That quick fierce light was a strange one, darted from orbs which in repose were of a color nearest approaching a deeper violet, the softist →correct to softest <softest→ softest of shades.

*** Ba 49 (II)**

Tho' some of these peculiar emanations [p Ca <peculiar emanations >(circled, with guide-line to caret) caprices of the pit] could not but be observed by Bi →<Bi→ their object, yet were they beyond the construeing [Ca add as revision of canceled first line on next leaf of such a nature.]

181: Ba 50, Be/Ca 50¹. [W 171]**Ba**

of so simple and untutored a nature. [B+p <so simple and untutored a >the (incomplete revision) {Ca <of . . . nature add substance to last sentence on preceding leaf}] And the thews [ESM p underline thews and >question mark as query] of Billy were incompatible [p <in >not {<not add hardly (before compatible)}]] with that sort of sensitive spiritual organization [organisation?] which in some cases instinctively [p >which in less vigorous souls {<which . . . souls}] conveys to ignorant innocence a waring →correct to warning→ [p <warning >admonition] of the proximity of the malign. He thought the Master-at-arms acted in a manner rather queer at times. That was all. But the occasional [p <occasional {>>occasional}] frank air and pleasant word [p >when those {<when those}] went for what they purported to be, for the [p <the (in error for for?)] young sailor [p >athlete {<athlete}] was not yet of those who distrust [p >not being (?) aware (?) of {i <not . . . of >not →<not add never→ having heard as yet of}] the "too fair-spoken man."

182: Bb 50². [W 172]

[Top clip is from same Ba leaf (Ba 51) as that on Leaf 188.]

*** Ba (I)**

Had the foretopman been conscious of having done or said anything to provoke the ill will of the official, it would have been different with him, and his sight would [p Bb <would >might] have been [p >x →<x→ purged {Bb <purged >purged if not}] sharpened. As it was innocent was [<was >(below) a revision later cut off {>>was}] his blinder.

Bb

So was it with him in yet another matter. Certain [p Bc/Ca <Certain >Two] minor officers— [p >and among them {<and among them}] the

armorier, →*capitalize* armorier→ [>& and] [Bb+p >ship's yeoman, apothecary <Armorer {<ship's yeoman, apothecary >Armorer}] Captain of the Hold, and others [<and others {Bb+p >Apothecary &c for bo} {<Apothecary &c for bo}] with whom he had never exchanged a word, [p >neither his needs nor {<neither his needs nor}] his position in the ship not [p <not >not] bringing him into contact with them; these men began →<began→ now for the first began to cast upon Billy when they chanced to see [p <see >meet (?) {Bb/Ca <meet >encounter}] him, that peculiar glance unmistakable to the experienced [Bb+p >(below) to him upon it falls if {>a person of some experience {<to him . . . experience}}] [Bc/Ca <glance . . . experienced and incorporate substance on following leaf]

183: Bc/Ca 50³. [W 173]**Bc/Ca**

glance which evidences that the man casting →<casting→ from whom it comes has been some way tampered with and to the prejudice of him upon whom the glance lights. Never

*** Bb**

did it occur to Billy as a thing to be noted or a thing suspicious, tho' he well knew the fact, that the Armorer [Bb+p <Armorer >ship's-yeoman {<ship's-yeoman >Armorer}] and Captain of the hold, [capitalized hold] [Bb+p >& others →<& others→ c {<& others c} >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) with other men →<men→ officers of that grade {Bc/Ca <with . . . grade and incorporate substance in same space with the ship's-yeoman, apothecary, and others of that grade,}] were by naval usage, messmates of the master-at-arms, men [Bc/Ca <men {add men}] with ears convenient to his [Bc/Ca >confidential] tongue. [Bb+p alter period (after tongue) to semicolon and add (below) and more →<more→ further that the master-at-arms what he did not know—was in →<in→ the man ascendant in that exclusive mess. {Bc/Ca <and further . . . mess and incorporate substance in addition on Bc/Ca leaf}]

Bc/Ca

and, moreover—which he did not know—that in this exclusive mess the Master-at-arms was the ascendant man. [p <and . . . man and re-alter semicolon (after tongue) to period]

184: Bc/Ca 50⁴. [W 174]**Bc/Ca**

But the general popularity that our Handsome Sailor's [underlined] exemption from all vanity, [<exemption from all vanity] manly forwardness upon occasion, and irresisable good nature indicating no mental superiority, however, to →<, however, to→ tending to excite an invidious feeling in any fellow sailor; [<in any fellow sailor add semicolon (after feeling)] this pop →<pop→

good will on the part of [add most of] his shipmates made him the less to concern himself about such mute aspects toward him as those to →<to→ whereto allusion has just been made. [p >(at bottom but not marked for insertion) aspects he could not →>so→ fathom as to take in then what →<take in then what→ infer their whole import]

185: Cb 50⁵. [W 175]**Cb**

As to that conundrum [Cb+p <conundrum >problem] of the dark, [Cc <As to that <problem <of the dark add As to] the afterguardsman, tho' Billy [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) for reasons already given] necessarily saw little of him, yet when the two did happen to meet, invariably came the fellow's off-hand cheerful recognition, which but lacked the pleasant passing word of the master-at-arms to make it equally →<which . . . equally→ sometimes accompanied by a passing [>pleasant] word or two. Whatever that man →<man→ equivocal young fellow's [p <fellow >man's {<man's >person (before uncanceled 's)}] original design may really have been, [p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) or the design dep →<dep→ of which he might have been but →<but→ the deputy] it seemed evident [p <it seemed evident add certain it was] from his manner upon these occasions, that he had wholly dropped that design. [p <that design. add it.]

186: Cb 50⁶. [W 176]**Cb**

It was as if his precocity of crookedness (and every vulgar villain is precocious in his villainy) [<in his villainy) add close-parenthesis (after precocious)] had for once deceived him, and the man he had sought to play upon [p <play upon >entrap] as a simpleton, [>had] through his very simplicity [p >ignominiously {<ignominiously} {>ignominiously}] baffled him.

Any shrewd one would think [p revise to But shrewd ones may opine] that it would be →<would be→ was [p mend was] hardly possible for Billy to restrain from →<restrain from→ refrain from bluntly →<bluntly→ going up to the afterguardsman and bluntly demanding to know his purpose in the initial interview. [p <period >(below, with guide-line to caret) so abruptly closed in the fore-chains] The shrewd one would [p <The alter to Shrewd ones <would >may] also think it likely that →<likely that→ but natural in Billy to set about

187: Cb 50⁷. [W 177]*** Cb**

sounding some of the [ESM? p >other] impressed men of the ship in order to discover what basis, if any, there was for the emissary's obscure suggestions

as to lurking [<lurking>plotting] disaffection aboard. Yes, any shrewd one would [p <any <one would>may so (*leaving incomplete revision*)] so think.

* *Cba*

But something more, and [<and>or, rather,] something else than mere shrewdness is perhaps needful for the due understanding of such a character as Billy Budd's.

[p chapter-ending mark ————— {<chapter-ending mark>}]

**188: Bb 50⁵, Cb 50⁹ [Cb notation 50⁸ green omitted],
Bc/Cab 51. [W 178]**

[Bottom clip is from same Ba leaf as clip on top of Leaf 182, with about two lines missing between them.]

* *Bb*

As to Claggart, the monomania of [i <of>in] the man—if that indeed it were—as involuntarily disclosed by starts in the manifestations detailed, yet in general

* *Ba (. . . II)*

covered over by his self-contained and rational demeanor; this, [p >pent frenzy {<pent frenzy>} like a subterranean fire was eating its way deeper and deeper in him. Something positive [<positive>decisive] must come of it.
[p chapter-ending mark ————— {G blue crayon w.o. similar chapter-ending mark}]

189: Ga 1. [W 179]

Ga

[p notation (with fist, and underlined) follows 51 green]

[p notation (boxed, at top of leaf) See side for Number of Page {ESM p >right hand (before side)}]

[p chapter-beginning mark —————]

Some time passed after the abruptly ended interview in the fore-chains and [Gb <Some . . . and > (above, with guide-line) After the mysterious interview in the fore-chains, the one so abruptly ended there by Billy,] nothing especially german to the story occurred until the events now about to [p >be] narrated.

Elsewhere it has been said that in the lack of frigates (of course better sailors than line-of-battle ships) in the English fleet of that period → <fleet of that period→ squadron up the Straits at that period, the Bellipotent 74 [ship name underlined] on account of her sailing qualities not common in a ship of her rate [Ga+p <on account of . . . rate> perhaps quite as much {<perhaps quite as much>} {Gb <on account of . . . rate and incorporate substance of revision on added leaf Gb 2¹}]

190: Gb 2¹. [W 180]

Gb

was occasionally employed not only as an available substitute for a scout, but at times on detached service of more important kind. This was not alone because of her sailing qualities, not common in a ship of her rate, but quite as much, probably, that the character of her commander, [>it was thought,] specially adapted him for any duty where under unforeseen difficulties a prompt initiative might have to be taken in some matter calling for → <calling for> demanding knowledge and ability in addition to those [>qualities] implied in good seamanship and so forth. [p <and so forth add period (after seamanship)]

191: Ga 2, Gb 2². [W 181]

Ga

was occasionally employed on detached service, as a sort of [Ga+p <sort of > substitute for a] scout or otherwise [Ga+p <on (before detached service)> not only as a substitute for a scout but {add even} {<even>} at times on <(after service) as . . . otherwise > of {>quite} another sort.] and sometimes on more or less distant expeditions. It was on separate duty of the latter sort [Gb <was occasionally . . . latter sort (also <revision at bottom of Ga 1) and incorporate substance on added leaf Gb 2¹ and on revision patch placed over the above canceled passage>]

† Gb

It was on an expedition of the latter sort, a somewhat distant one, and when the Bellipotent [underlined] was almost at her furthest remove from the fleet

Ga

that in the latter part of an afternoon-watch she [p >unexpectedly] came in sight of a ship of the enemy. It proved to be a frigate. The latter perceiving thro' the glass that the weight of men and metal would be heavily against her, invoking her light heels crowded sail to get away. After a chace urged almost against hope and lasting until about the middle of the first dog-watch [p add comma]

[191a] 222†v:

[Superseded top segment of Bb 53. Matter corresponds to that now on Leaf 192, top. With perhaps one line missing it joins the clip at the bottom of Leaf 192.]

* *Bb 53 (I)*

of the chace [Bb+p <of the chace> accompanying it] had altogether waned down, the master-at-arms cap in hand appeared at the place of official interview → <the place of official interview→ an allotted by the mainmast → <an

allotted by the mainmast → the mainmast → <cap in hand appeared at add guide-line (from after master-at-arms) and continue → ascending from below to the upper deck, appeared [p <below . . . deck > (after from) his {>subterranean} sphere] by the → <by the add period (after appeared) → [Ga ut leaf off here and mount bottom segment as clip on Ga 3, canceling the above passage by green crayon]

192: Ga 3. [W 182]

Ga

[*ESM p notation* 54 green follows]

she signally succeeded in effecting her escape.

Not long after the pursuit had been given up, and ere the excit → <excit → interest [<interest >excitement incident thereto] had altogether waned away, the Master-at-Arms ascending from his cavernous sphere made his appearance cap in hand by the mainmast [<mainmast >mainmast]

* *Bb* [53] (. . . II)

respectfully [Bb+p >requesting {<requesting}] waiting the notice of Captain Vere then walking [p Ga <walking >solitary paceing {<paceing >>walking}] the after-deck, [p Ga <after >weather-side of the quarter- (before -deck) evidently [p Ga <evidently >doubtless somewhat] chafed at the failure of the [p >recent {<recent}] pursuit. [p <pursuit >(below) chace. {<chace. >>pursuit}] The spot where Claggart stood was the place allotted to men of the [p Ga <the] lesser grades seeking some more particular interview either [p undeciphered erasure along bottom of clip . . . that he should obtain (?) permission of . . .]

193: Bb 54; Ga 4. [W 183]

Bb

with the officer-of-the-deck or the captain. [p >himself.] But from the latter it was not often that a sailor or petty- [mend y] officer [>of those days] would seek a hearing; only some exceptional cause, would, according to established custom, have warranted that.

Presently, just as Captain Vere [p <Captain Vere >the Commander] worried by [p <worried by >absorbed in] his reflections was on the point of turning aft in his promenade, he became sensible of Claggart's presence, [p correct to presence] and seeing the doffed cap held in deferential expectancy, [p notation (Insert) {<(Insert)}}] knew what that → <that add it → meant [<seeing >saw <knew what it meant <comma and add period (after expectancy)] On the instant [B+p > (below, circled for insertion, with guide-line to caret) No sooner did Captain Vere observe who it was that stood awaiting him, than {<No sooner . . . than}}] that expression that flits across the face of most men sud → <sud→ at unawares encountering a person [Ga <On . . . person and draw guide-line to next leaf, which incorporates substance of above revisions in its second paragraph (and on Ga 6)]

194: Ga 5. [W 184]

Ga

Here be it said that Captain Vere personal knowledge of this petty-officer had only begun at the time of the ship's [>last] sailing from home, Claggart then for the first, in transfer from a ship detained for repairs, [mend] supplying on → <on→ in [p <in >on board] the Bellipotent the place of a previous Master-at-arms [p >now {<now}] disabled from duty [p <from duty] and in hospital [p <in hospital] ashore.

No sooner did the Commander observe who it was that now so [p <so] deferentially stood awaiting [>his] notice, than a peculiar expression came over his face. [p <his face >him.] It was not unlike that which uncontrollably will flit across the

195: Ga 6. [W 185]

Ga

countenance of one at unawares encountering a person who tho' [*ESM p alter to* though] known to him indeed has hardly been long enough known for thorough knowledge, but whose → <whose→ something in whose aspect nevertheless now for the first operates upon him with a r → <operates >>operates <operates on him with a r → provokes a vaguely repellent distaste. But coming to a stand, and resuming much of his wonted official manner, save that a sort of impatience lurked in the intonation of the opening word, he said "Well? what is it, Master-at-Arms?" [add bracket for new paragraph] With the air of a subordinate grieved at the necessity of being a messenger of ill tidings and [Gb add comma (after tidings) add while] conscientiously determined to be frank but to shun [Gb (after frank) add , yet <but to >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) equally resolved upon alter shun to shunning] overstatement,

196: Ga 7. [W 186]

Ga

Claggart at this invitation or rather summons to disburthen, spoke up. What he said, conveyed in the language of no uneducated man, was to this [Gab <this add the] effect [Gab > (at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) following if not altogether in these words, namely, that → <that →]

* *Bb*

that during the chace and preparations for the possible encounter he had seen enough to convince him that at least one sailor aboard [p >one {<one}] not a volunteer [p <not a volunteer] was a [p >rather {<rather}}] dangerous character in a ship mustering

Gab

some who not only had taken a guilty part in the late serious troubles, but others also who, like the man in question, had been →<been→ entered His Majesty's service under another form than enlistment.

197: Gab 8¹. [W 187]

[Inserted after constitution of 8².]

Gab

At this point Captain Vere with some impatience interrupted him: "Be direct, man; say impressed men."

Claggart made a gesture of subservience, and proceeded.

198: Bb 57, Bc 56²; Ga 8, Gb 8². [W 188]**Bb**

Quite lately [p >(above lately) Wherof (*not marked by caret for insertion and not canceled*)] he (Claggart) had begun to suspect that [p >on the gun-decks] some sort of movement [p >prompted by the sailor in question] was covertly going on, but he had not thought himself warranted in reporting the suspicion so long as it [>vaguely] remained nothing more than that. [p <vaguely <nothing more than that. >a vague one. {p <a vague one >(below) indistinct.}] But from what he had that afternoon observed in the individual in question [p <individual in question >sailor {<sailor add man referred to}] the suspicion [p >of something ominous {<ominous >(circled, above) clandestine} going on] had advanced to a point less removed from certainty. Nor could the general opinion he had →<Nor . . . had→ Nor could his impression as to the man's character be altogether illusory since he could su →<su→ summon two or three good men who would testify that they in part shared it. He well knew [p then green crayon <Nor . . . knew and supplant by Gab revision-patch]

† Gab

He deeply felt, he added, the serious responsibility assumed in making a report involving such possible consequences to the individual mainly concerned, besides tending to augment those natural anxieties which every naval commander

199: Gab 9. [W 189]**Gab**

must feel in view of lamentable [<lamentable >extraordinary] outbreaks so recent as those which, he sorrowfully said [>it,] it needed not to name.

Now at the first broaching of the matter Captain Vere taken by surprise could not wholly dissemble his disquietude. But as the testifier [<the testifier

>Claggart] went on, his [<his >the former's] aspect changed into restiveness under something in the testifier's [*correct to testifier's*] [ESM p >a witness'] manner in giving his testimony. However, he refrained from interrupting him. And Claggart, continuing, concluded with this:

200: Ga 10. [W 190]**Gu**

Claggart continuing [p add comma] concluded thus: [Gab <Claggart . . . thus:] God forbid, Sir, [p <Sir >Your honor,] that the Bellipotent's [underlined] should be the experience of the —"

"Never mind that!" [p >here] peremptorily broke in the superior, his face paling [p <paling >altering] with anger, [p >instinctively] divining the ship that the other was about to name, one in which the Nore Mutiny had assumed a [p >singularly] tragical character that for a time singularly [p <singularly] jeopardised [jeopardized?] the life of its commander. Under the circumstances Captain Vere [p <Captain Vere >he] was indignant at the purposed allusion. When the commissioned officers themselves

201: Ga 11, Gb 11¹. [W 191]**Gu**

were on all occasions very heedful how they referred to recent deplorable events, [p <deplorable events >(before recent) the >(after recent) Great Mutiny of →<of→ in the fle →<in the fle→ >the Fleet then >(after recent) events <Great <Mutiny (*passage finally reads* the recent events the Fleet)] for a petty-officer unnecessarily to allude to them in the presence [p alter to presence] of his Captain, [>this struck him] as a most immodest presumption. Besides, to his quick sense of personal honor, [p <personal honor >self-respect] it [p >even] looked [p >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) under the circumstances] [p >something] like an attempt to alarm him. Nor [p >at first] was he without some surprise that a man →<a man→ one who so far as he had [p >hitherto] come under his notice had hitherto [p <hitherto] shown considerable tact in his difficult [<difficult] function should in this case [p <case >particular] be →<be→ xx →<xx→ evince such lack of it. So at least it did seem to him. [Gb <So . . . him.] [add then delete comma (after it)] [p add notation Insert]

202: Gb 11². [W 192]**Gb**

But these thoughts [mend] and kindred [>dubious] ones rapidly passing [<rapidly passing >flitting] through [<through >across] his mind were suddenly replaced by an intuitional surmise which though now →<now→ at first →<at first→ as yet obscure in form served practically to affect his reception of the ill-tidings. Certain it is, that long versed in

203: Ga 12. [W 193]

Ga

For the rest, long [*p <For the rest >So that { <So that capitalize long}]* versed in the [*Gb <Long versed in the and insert Gb 11²*] ins-and-outs of [*Gb <ins-and-outs of >everything pertaining to*] the complicated life →<life→ gun-deck life, and x →<and x→ which like every other form of life, has its darker [*p <darker >secret mines and dubious*] side, which is ever [*Gb <which is ever >so often {p <so often}}*] the side [*p >popularly*] disclaimed. Captain Vere did not permit himself to be unduly disturbed by the general tenor of his subordinate's report.

[*p >Furthermore,*] If in view of recent events prompt action should be taken at the first palpable sign of recurring insubordination, [*p >for all that,*] not judicious was it →<was it→ would it be, he thought, to keep the idea of lingering disaffection alive by undue forwardness in crediting a vague [*alter a to an <vague*]

204: Ga 13. [W 194]

Ga

informer even if his own subordinate and charged [*p >among other things*] with police [*leave space for word {p add surveillance}*] of the crew

205: Bb/E 59¹, 59; Ga 14. [W 195]**Bb/?E**

This feeling would not perhaps have so prevailed with the Commander [*p <the Commander >him*] were it not that upon a [*p <a >one { <one >a}]* former [*<former >prior*] occasion the official patriotic zeal of [*p <official <of >(after zeal) officially evinced by*] Claggart had [*p >somewhat*] irritated his instinctive sense [*p <his >(over an erasure) the former's { <the former's instinctive sense >him}]* as appearing [*p >somewhat { <somewhat add rather}]* supersenseable and strained. Besides, [*p <Besides >Furthermore*] something even in the official's

*** Bb**

unexceptionable [*p <unexceptionable >self-possessed { >and decorous { <and decorous >(circled, with guide-line to caret) and somewhat ostentatious}]* →>manner→ in making his specifications strangely [*p >& painfully { <& painfully}}*] reminded the Captain [*p <the Captain >his critic { <his critic >Vere} { <Vere add him}]* of a bandsman, a perjured [*p >(below, without canceling perjured) perjurorous*] witness in a capital case before a court-martial [*p >ashore*] of which when a lieutenant he [*p >(without canceling he)* Captain Vere] had been a member.

206: Ga 15. [W 196]

[*Gab added much of the writing on this leaf to replace substance of a clip (probably from B) originally pinned on leaf.]*

Ga

[*p add Now*] The peremptory check given to the Master-at-arms [*<the Master-at-arms >Claggart*] in the matter of the arrested allusion was quickly followed up by his question [*<question alter his to this add colon (after this)*] "You say that there is at least one man who is d →<man who is d→ [<"You say . . . one {> "You say . . . one}] dangerous character [*<character >man*] aboard. Who is he?" [*p <Who is he >Name him.*]

"A foretopman, your honor—by name William Budd." [*p <by name and (with guide-line and caret) transpose A foretopman, your honor to follow William Budd.*]

"William Budd" repeated Captain Vere with surprise; [*p <surprise >unfeigned astonishment*] "and was it not he [*p <was it not he >mean you the man*] that Lieutenant Ratcliff took from the merchantman not very long ago—yes, [*p <yes*] the young fellow who seems to be so popular with the men—Billy, the Handsome Sailor, as they call him?

207: Ga 16. [W 197]

[*Two clips pasted on Ga leaf: (1) from Bb; (2) from Ba 62, Bb 60². Verso of patch on lower clip was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.]*

*** Bb**

"The same, Sir; [*p <Sir >Your honor*] but for all his youth and good looks, a deep one. [*Bb+p notation (bracketed, with guide-line to an added leaf, now gone, which bore a revision later incorporated here in ink) Insert*] [*Bb+ >Not for nothing does he insinuate himself into the good will of his shipmates, since at the least they will at a pinch say a good word for him. {p >(below, after say) all hands will} {p >(below, after him changing period to comma) and all hazards.} (revision leaves the sentence incoherent)]*

*** Ba 62, Bb 60²**

Did Lieutenant Ratcliffe happen to tell you, Sir, [*p <Sir alter you to your >honor*] of that adroit fling of his [*p <his >Budd's,*] jumping up in the cutter's bow under the merchantman's stern when xx →<xx→ he was being taken off? It is even under [*p <under >masqued by*] that sort of merry [*p Ga <merry >(over erasure) good humored*] air that vindictively [*Ga <vindictively >at heart*] he resents his impressionment." [*p Ga <quotation mark and add Your honor, {p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) I am greatly mistaken or} there is a pitfall under his ruddy {p <ruddy>> ruddy} clover." {p <Your honor . . . clover." add revision-patch]}*]

† late pencil

His cheek is →<is→ it is ruddy, Your honor. →<Your honor→ →> Your hon <Your hon→ →<His cheek it is ruddy→ You think he is goodly to see, but he is as →<You . . . as→ You have but noted [?] his ruddy →<ruddy>fair→ cheek. Beware the man-trap under the red clover →<Beware . . . clover→ A man-trap may be under red clover →<red clover→ the ruddy-tipped daisies. [sentence finally reads] You have but noted [?] his fair cheek. A man-trap may be under the ruddy-tipped daisies.]

208: Bb 61¹; Ga 17. [W 198]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.]

* Bb 61¹ (I) on Bc leaf

Now the Handsome Sailor [underlined] as a signal figure among the crew had naturally enough attracted the Captain's attention from the beginning. [p <beginning >first.]

Ga

[Ga (on leaf, replacing a clip that earlier covered this space)] Lieutenant Ratchife on his →<on his→ upon his good fortune in lighting on such a fine [<fine] specimen [<specimen >flower {<flower >specimen} {p <specimen >flower}] of masculine strength and beauty, a flower scarce yet fully [<fully {>fully}] released from the bud. [p <of masculine . . . bud >the genus homo] [p cancel whole Ga passage and add notation (in left margin) Insert and incorporate substance on revision-patch]

† late pencil

Tho' not →<not→ not to ve →<to ve→ not a very →<not a very→ in general a →<a >not→ very demonst [sic (for demonstrative?)] man →<man→ to his officers, he had congratulated Lieutenant Ratchife upon his good fortune in lighting on such a fine specimen of the genus homo, whose cheek →<whose cheek→ who in the nude might have posed for a statue of Adam →<Adam→ young Adam before the Fall.

Bc

As to Billy's adieu to the ship Rights-of-Man, [underlined] which the boarding lieutenant had indeed reported to the Captain, [Ga <the Captain add him] but [p >, in a deferential way] more as a good story than aught else, he [Ga <he >Captain Vere] [add (with guide-line and caret) the mistakenly understanding it as a satiric sally,] had but thought so much the better of Billy [<Billy >the impressed man] for it; as a military sailor, [p alter sailor to sailor's add xx {<'s xx}] admiring the spirit that could take an ab →<ab→ arbitrary enlistment so merrily [p mend to merrily] [p >(below) wittily (?) {<wittily}] and sensibly.

209: Bb/Ga 61²; Ga 18. [W 199]

[Leaf was evidently constituted at Ga to mount Bb clip from same leaf (with intervening lines missing) as clip on Leaf 208.]

* Bb (. . . II)

[add And] Billy's [p <And Billy's >the latter's {<the latter's >(above, on leaf) The foretopman's}] conduct, too, so far as it had fallen under the Captain's [p <the Captain's >his {<his >the Captain's}] notice had confirmed the first happy opinion of him, [p <opinion of him >augury,] while the new recruit's qualities as a sailor-man [underlined]

Ga

seemed to be such that he had thought of recommending [p correct to recommending] him to the executive officer for promotion to a place that would more frequently bring him under his own observation, namely, the captaincy of the mizzen-top, replacing there in the starboard watch a man not so young whom partly for that reason he deemed less

210: Ga 19. [W 200]

Ga

fitted for the post. Be it added [p <added >said {<said add parenthesized here}] that since the mizzen-top-men having not to handle such breadths of heavy canvas as the [>lower] sails on the main-mast and fore-mast, a young man if of the right stuff not only seems best adapted to duty there, but in fact is generally selected for it →<it→ the captaincy of that top, and the company he commands →<he commands→ is often composed →<is often composed→ under him are light hands and often but striplings. In sum, Captain Vere had from the beginning deemed Billy Budd to be what in the naval parlance of the time was called a "King's bargain" [underlined] that is to say, for His

211: Ga 20. [W 201]

Ga

Britannic Magesty's [p mend to Majesty's] navy a capital investment at small outlay. [p add or none at all.]

After a brief pause during which the reminiscences abovementioned passed vividly through his mind and he weighed the import of Claggart's last suggestion conveyed in the phrase "pitfall under the clover," and the more he weighed it the less reliance he felt in the informer's good faith, suddenly he turned upon him: [p >and in a low voice] "Do you come to me, Master-at-arms with so foggy a tale? Let the rest go. [p <Let the rest go.] But [add , as to Budd, {p <But}] cite me an act or spoken word [add at all {<at all} {p >of his}] confirmatory of what you charge [p <charge >insinuate add

(before insinuate with line to indicate connection) in general {<insinuate
⇒charge}] against him. Stay, [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) drawing nearer to him and speaking yet lower {p <and speaking yet lower} also add quotation marks (after Stay and before heed)] heed what

212: Ga 21. [W 202]

Ga

you speak. In [<In >(circled) Just now, and in] a case, →<comma→ like this, there is a yard-arm-end for the false-witness."

"Ah, your honor," [add exclamation mark (after honor)] sighed Claggart mildly shaking his shapely head as in sad deprecation of such unmerited severity of tone. Then, bridling—erecting himself as in virtuous self-assertion, he circumstantially alleged certain things, [<things] words and acts, which [>collectively,] if credited, led to presumptions mortally inculpating Budd. [>And] For some of these thxx →<thxx→ averments, he added, substantiating proof was not far.

213: Ga 22. [W 203]

Ga

With gray eyes impatient and distrustful essaying to fathom to the bottom the →<the→ Claggart's calm violet ones, Captain Vere again heard him out. The perplexity →<The perplexity alter period (after out) to semicolon→ then for the moment stood ruminating. The mood he evinced, Claggart—himself for the time liberated from [>the other's] scrutiny—steadily regarded with a look difficult to render, [p add dash] a look curious of the operation of his tactics, a look such as might have been that of the spokesman of the envious children of Jacob deceptively imposing upon the troubled patriarch the blood-dyed coat of young Joseph.

214: Ga 23. [W 204]

Ga

Now though [p <Now capitalize though] something exceptional in the moral quality of Captain Vere made him, in earnest encounter with a fellow-man, a veritable touch-stone of that man's essential nature, yet now as to the →<the→ Claggart and what was [p >really] going on in him his feeling partook less of [>intuitive] conviction than of strong suspicion clogged by strange dubieties. That [<That >The] perplexity he evinced proceeded less from aught touching the man informed against—as Claggard doubtless opined—than from considerations how best to act in regard to the informer. At first indeed he was naturally for

215: Ga 24. [W 205]

Ga

summoning that substantiating proff [<proff alter substantiating to substantiation] of his allegations which Claggart said was at hand, →<comma add period→ But such a proceeding would result in the matter at once getting abroad, which in the present stage of it might, he thought, m →<might <m→ might undesirably affect the ship's company. If Claggart was a false witness, [p add dash] that closed the affair. And therefore before trying the accusation, he would first practically test the accuser; and he thought this could be done in a private →<private→ quiet undemonstrative way.

The measure he determined upon involved a shifting of the

216: Ga 25. [W 206]

Ga

scene, or [<or >a] transfer to a place less exposed [>to observation] than the broad quarter-deck. [add For] Although the few gun-room officers there at the time had, in due observance of naval etiquette, withdrawn to leeward the moment Captain Vere had begun prom →<prom→ his promenade on the ship's [<ship's >deck's] weather-side; and tho' during the colloquy with Claggart they of course ventured not to diminish the distance; and though throughout the interview Captain Vere's voice was far [>from] high, and Claggart's voice was yet lower; [<voice was yet lower >silvery and low;] and the wind in the cordage and the wash of the sea helped the more to put them beyond ear-shot;

217: Ga 26. [W 207]

Ga

nevertheless, the interview's continuance already had attracted some [<some] observation from [>some] topmen aloft and some [<some] others [alter others to other >sailors] in the waist or further forward.

Having settled upon h →<h→ the cou →<the cou→ his →<his <Having ... upon→ Having determined upon the course to adopt, [p <the course to adopt ⇒the (altering the to his) >measures] Captain Vere forthwith took action. Turning [>Abruptly (before Turning) alter Turning to turning] to Claggart he asked "Master-at-arms, is it now Budd's watch aloft?" [add bracket for new paragraph] "No, your honor," →delete comma add period→ Whereupon, "Mr. Wilkes," [p add exclamation mark (before quotation mark)] summoning the nearest midshipman, "tell Albert to come to me." Albert was his [p <his >the Captain] hammock-boy, a sort of sea-valet in whose discretion and fidelity his master had much

218: Ga 27. [W 208]

Ga

confidence. The lad appeared. "You know Budd the foretopman?"

"I do, Sir" [no period]

"Go find him. It is his watch off. Manage to tell him out of ear-shot that he is wanted aft. Contrive it that he speaks

[guide-line to next leaf]

219: Bb 64, Bc 65¹; Ga 28, Gb 28¹. [W 209]

[Leaf has writing of three stages on it. Evidently clip(s) at first covered top three-quarters of leaf, being later removed and the leaf inscribed under where clip(s) had been. A canceled irrelevant phrase is at the top:

Ascribed to the entire class in .]

[space, at first covered by clip(s) later removed]

Bc

to nobody. Keep him in talk yourself. [p <yourself add period (after talk) {>>yourself}] And not till you get well aft here, let →<let→ not till then let him know that the place where he is wanted is my cabin. You understand. [p alter period to comma > Albert: {<Albert}] Go.—Master--
[Ga remove clip that followed, then add on leaf:]

Ga

at-Arms show yourself on the decks below, and when you think it time for Albert to be coming with his man, stand by quietly to

Bb

follow the sailor in. [p add quotation mark] [p notation (with marginal pointers for space-out) Chapter {brown crayon add chapter-ending mark ——————}]

[p add Now] When the foretopman found himself [p >(below) in the cabin,] closeted, [p >there] as it were, with the Captain and Claggart, he was surprised enough. But it

220: Gb 28². [W 210]**Gb**

was a surprise unaccompanied by apprehension or distrust. To a nature essentially honest and humane, immature [p transpose immature (with circling and caret) to precede nature and alter a to an] and inexperienced, [p <and inexperienced] [>forewarning] intimations of subtler danger from one's kind are [<are add come] tardily or not [<or not >if] at all. The only thing that took shape in the young sailor's mind was this: Yes, the Captain, I have always thought, looks kindly upon me. Wonder if he's going to make me his coxswain. I should like that. And may be now he is going to ask the master-at-arms about me.

221: Bb 66, 66^{pl}, 66; Ga 29. [W 211]***Bb 66**

"Shut the door there, sentry [add quotation mark and comma (after sentry) >(with guide-line to caret) said the commander; add quotation mark (before stand)] stand without, and let nobody come in.—Now, master-at-arms

***Ba**

, tell this man to his face exactly [p <exactly] what you told [p >of him to] me"; and stood prepared to scrutinize the two [p i <two >mutually] confronting visages.

Ga

Claggart hesitated not an instant. [Ga+p revise to read Without hesitation] Deliberately advancing within short range of the sailor, he spoke. Without emphasis and in a tone more musical than ever, briefly cir →<cir→ he delivered the accusation point-blank into his eyes. [Ga+ brown crayon <Without ...eyes. incorporate substance on revision patch]

† Ga⁺

With the measured step and calm collected visage [<visage >air] of an asylum-physician approaching in the public hall some patient beginning to show indications of a coming parox →<parox→ paroxysm, Claggart deliberately advanced within short range of Billy, and mesmerically looking him in the eye, briefly recapitulated the accusation.

222: Ga 30. [W 212]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.]

Ga

Not at first did the accused one [p <the accused one >Billy] take it in. When he did, the rose-tan of his cheek looked struck as by white leprosy. He stood speechless [p <speechless] like one impaled and gagged. Meanwhile the accuser' violet [p <violet] eyes removing not as yet from the blue [p <blue >welkin {<welkin >blue}] dilated ones, underwent a phenomenal [p correct to phenomenal] change, their wonted dark rich [p <dark >(after rich) violet {<violet add black} {<black add violet}] color blurring into a muddy purple. Those lights of human [p <human >Adam's {<Adam's >human}] intelligence losing human expression, gelidly protruding like the alien eyes of certain unspeakable [p Ga <unspeakable >uncatalogued] creatures of the deep. [p <the deep and make trial revisions with concurrent erasures and a final erasure restoring the deep and leaving revision only partly decipherable tropic parts of that elemental host . . . Not the →<Not the→ Not only their first human expression . . . mesmeric experts . . . hungry . . . {p after erasure incorporate substance of revision on patch} {ESM p notation add}]

† late pencil

The → first → mesmeristic [?] glance was one of fascin → <fascin→ serpent fascination; the last was → <was→ threw up a stone wall → <was . . . wall→ was as the strong → paralyzing→ lurch of the torpedo-fish [ESM? p notation (in left margin) add p 30]

223: Ga 31. [W 213]

Ga

[p notation (in right margin, circled and canceled) 27 follows]

"Speak, man!" said Captain Vere to the transfixed one struck by his aspect [p >even] more than by Claggart's, "Speak! defend yourself." Which appeal caused but an ineffectual [p <an ineffectual >a strange] dumb gesturing and gurgling in Billy; amazement at such an accusation so suddenly sprung upon [<upon >on] him, [p <him >inexperienced nonage; this, { <nonage >goodness} { <goodness >virtue} { <virtue >youth} { <youth >nonage} (passage finally reads on inexperienced nonage; this,)] and, it may be, spiritual [p <spiritual >spontaneous { <spontaneous}] horror of [p <of >at { <at}] the accuser [p >unearthly glance { <unearthly glance add eyes,}] serving to bring out his ever-lurking [p <ever-] defect and in this instance [p >for the time] intensifying [mend to intensifying] it into a [p >convulsed] tongue-tie, [p mend toungue to tongue and alter comma to semicolon] while the intent head

224: Ga 32. [W 214]

Ga

and entire body → <body→ form straining forward in an agony of ineffectual eagerness to obey the injunction to speak and defend himself, gave an expression to the face like that of a condemned vestal [p capitalize vestal > priestess] in the moment of being secretly [p <secretly] buried alive, and in the first struggle against suffocation.

Though at the time Captain Vere was quite ignorant of Billy's liability to vocal impediment, he now immediately divined it, since vividly it [<it >Billy's aspect] recalled to him that of a bright young schoolmate of his whom he had once seen struck by [p >(below) much] the same

225: Ga 33. [W 215]

Ga

startling impotence in the act of eagerly rising in the class to be foremost in response to a testing question put to it by the master. Going close up to the young sailor, and laying a soothing hand on his shoulder, he deliberately [p <deliberately] said "There is no hurry, my boy. Take your time, take your time." Contrary to the effect intended, these words so fatherly in tone, doubt-

less touching Billy's heart to the quick, prompted yet more violent efforts at utterance—efforts soon ending for the time in confirming the paralysis, and bringing to his face an expression which was as a crucifixion to behold. The next

226: Ga 34. [W 216]

Ga

instant, quick as the flame from a [p >discharged] cannon's mouth, [p <'s mouth >at night] his right arm shot out, and Claggart dropt [p alter to dropped] to the deck. Whether intentionally or but owing to the young athlete's [p cross t] superior height, the blow had taken effect full upon the forehead, so shapely and intellectual-looking a feature in the Master-at-arms; so that he [p alter he to the >body] fell over backward → <backward→ lengthwise, like a heavy plank tilted from erectness. A gasp or two, and he lay motionless.

"Fated boy," breathed Captain Vere in tones [alter to tone] so low as to be almost a whisper, "what have you done! But here, help me."

227: Ga 35. [W 217]

Ga

The twain raised the felled one from the loins up into a sitting position. The lean [<lean >spare] form flexibly acquiesed, but inertly. It was like handling a dead snake. They lowered it back. Regaining erectness Captain Vere with one hand covering his face stood [>to all appearance] as impassive as the object at his feet. Was he absorbed in taking in all the bearings of the event and what was best not only now at once to be done, but also in the sequel? Slowly he uncovered his face; and the effect was as if the moon emerging from eclipse should reappear with quite another

228: Ga 36. [W 218]

Ga

aspect than that which had gone into hiding. The father in him, manifested towards Billy thus far in the scene, was replaced by the [p >military] disciplinarian. In an [p <an >his] official tone he bade the foretopman retire to a state-room aft, pointing it out, [p add parentheses (around pointing it out,)] and there remain till thence summoned. [p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) And → <And→ The →alter The to This→ order Billy in silence mechanically obeyed] Then going to the cabin-door where it opened on the quarter-deck, he [p <he >Captain Vere] said to the sentry without, "Tell somebody to send Albert here." When the lad appeared his master so contrived [add it] that he should not catch sight of the fallen man [<fallen man >prone one.] "→delete quotation mark→ "Albert," he said to him,

229: Ga 37. [W 219]

Ga

"tell the Surgeon I wish to see him. You need not come back till called." When the Surgeon entered—a self-poised man [*p > character (above, without canceling, man)*] of that grave sense and experience that hardly anything could surprise, [*p > take him aback (above, without canceling, surprise)*] —Captain Vere advanced to meet him, [*p > thus unconsciously intercepting his view of Claggart*] and checking [*p < checking > and interrupting*] the other's [*p > wonted*] ceremonious salutation, said, "Nay. Look, [*p < Look*] tell me how it is with yonder man," pointing [*p < pointing > directing his attention*] to the prostrate one. [*p > The surgeon turned, and*] At catching sight of the dark blood now oozing from nostril and ear, and strikingly in contrast with Claggart's always bleached complexion, the Surgeon [*p < the Surgeon > (below) he*] [*p < The Surgeon turned, and At catching . . . complexion, he*]

[229a] 355: Superseded Ga 38. [W 220a]

Ga

from this as well as other indications at once inferred what it was that lay plank-like before him. Yes, the young mute's blow, an athlete's, a blow electrically [*>con → <con→ energised x → <x→ by*] the inmost [*<inmost*] spasm of his heart, unintentionally had had upon its object the [*p add all but*] [*>instantaneous*] operation of the divine judgement on Annannias.

Captain Vere intently watching the Surgeon's face, asked, "Is it so then? I thought it. But verify it." And the customary tests were made, confirming the Surgeon's first glance.

[*G+p cancel whole leaf*]

[229b] 356: Superseded Ga 39. [W 221a]

Ga

At Captain Vere's motion, the Surgeon assisted him in removing the body to the compartment aft opposite to that where the foretopman remained for the time self-immured. This being done, the officer was in brief terms [*mend*] enlightened as to the circumstances which had resulted in the tragedy.

"Go now" said Captain Vere in conclusion; "before taking action I must have [*p > have yet (without canceling have)*] a few moments to mature the line of conduct I shall adopt. The case is without precedent and it [*p < without precedent and it > no wonted one, nor*] could not [*p < not*] have happened at a worse time [*p < worse > (after time) worse { <worse add more trying.}*] for →<for→ either for me or the [*p < either for me or the > (below) worse*] for the man mainly concerned. It was then w →<was then w→ is worse →<It . . . worse add —or for me.→ → < worse . . . me. add for everybody→

→<for everybody >(original) worse and >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret after time) every way and for everybody→ →then <before taking . . . adopt >(at foot of leaf) Go. I need→ →<Go. I need add (after trying.) A few moments of→ →<of >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) for further→ thought and I shall act. (passage finally reads The case is no wonted one, nor could have happened at a worse time every way and for everybody more trying. A few moments for further thought and I shall act.)] [*G+ blue crayon cancel whole leaf*]

[229c] 357: Superseded Ga 40. [W 221b]

Ga

striker of the blow." [*p < striker of the blow*] Too well the thought →<thought→ thoughtful officer knew what his superior meant. [*p < Too well . . . meant*] As the former [*p < the former add he { <he > Surgeon}*] withdrew he could not help thinking how worse [*p < worse > (below) more*] than futile [*>the utmost discretion*] sometimes proves in a world [*p < a world > this human sphere*] subject [*p > as it is*] to unforeseeable fatalities; the prudent method adopted by Captain Vere to obviate publicity and trouble having resulted in an event that necessitated the former, and, under existing circumstances in the navy indefinitely magnified the latter.

[*p chapter-ending mark ----->-----*] [*G+ blue crayon draw a box around last eight lines unforeseeable fatalities . . . the latter.*]

[229d] 358: Superseded F/Ga 1; Ga 41. [W 1]

Ga

[*ESM p query Preface for / Billy Budd?*]

[*p chapter-beginning mark ----->-----*]

The year 1797, the year of this narrative, belongs to a period which as everybody [*<body >thinker*] now feels, involved a crisis for Christendom not exceeded in its undetermined momentousness at the time by any other recorded event. →<event→ era. [*p < recorded > (after era) whereof there is record.*] The opening proposition made by the Spirit of that Age, was one hailed by the noblest men of it. Even the dry tinder of a Wordsworth took fire. The Old World's [*<was one . . . took fire <The Old World's > (after Age) involved*]

[229e] 359: Superseded F/Ga 2; Ga 42. [W 2]

Ga

the rectification of the Old World's hereditary wrongs. To [>(before To) In France *alter To to to*] some extent this was [*>bloodily*] effected. But what then? Straightway the Revolution [*p < Revolution > regency as assuming to*

be →<assuming to be→ that →<that→ righter of wrongs »Revolution (*passage reads* the Revolution regency as righter of wrongs) itself became a wrongdoer, [p >one] more oppressive than the Kings. Under Napoleon it enthroned upstart kings, and initiated that prolonged agony of [>general {p <general >(circled, with guide-line to caret) Continental}] warfare [<>fare >and massacre {<and massacre}] that ended in [p <that ended >whose last →<last >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) final→ throes →<s→ was in →<in→ at →<at→ →>at→] Waterloo. Nor during [p <Nor capitalize during] those years could [p <could >not] the wisest [p >could] have foreseen that the outcome of all would be what apparently [p <apparently >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) to some thinkers] it has [p >since turned [p <it has turned (leaving sentence incoherent)] out to be, an [>alter an to a >political] advance along [>nearly] the whole line for man. [<man. add Europeans.]

[229f] 360: Superseded F/Ga 3¹; Ga 43. [W 3]

Ga

Now as elsewhere hinted, it was a contagion [<a contagion >something caught] from the Revolutionary Spirit that that →<that→ at the Nore inspired [<the Nore <inspired >Spithead >emboldened] the sailors of the British fleet in the first place [<the sailors . . . place >the man-of-war's men] to rise against real abuses, [p >long-standing ones,] and afterwards at the Nore to make inordinate [p >and] aggressive demands, successful resistance to which was confirmed only when the ringleaders were hung for an admonitory spectacle to the [>anchored] fleet. Yet in a way analogous to the operation of the Revolution at large the Nore [<Nore >Great] Mutiny, tho' naturally deemed by →<by >(after tho') by Englishmen→ monstrous at the time, doubtless gave the first latent prompting to those progressive reforms in the British navy which for its sailors makes it a service [ESM p add to be faithful to. {ESM <to be faithful to <those progressive >most important add period (after navy) <which for . . . service} (*passage finally reads* the first latent prompting to most important reforms in the British navy.)]

230: G+p 38. [W 220]

[*Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.*]

G⁺ pencil

The Surgeon turned, [<turned >looked,] and for all his self-possessed →alter to possession→ of character, [<possession of character >command] [>somewhat] started at the the spe →<spe→ spectacle. [<the spectacle >abrupt revelation.] On Claggart's always bleached [<bleached >pallid] complexion, the d →<the d→ thick black blood was now oozing from nostril and ear. To the gazer's professional eye death was patent →<death was

patent→ it was unmistakably a corpse [<a corpse >no living man] that he saw.

"Is it so then? [no end quotation marks] said Captain Vere intently watching him. [p alter period to comma] "I thought it." But verify it." Whereupon the customary tests confirmed the Surgeon's first glance. Captain Vere stood motionless. The other [<Captain Vere . . . other (alter period to comma after motionless)] who now looking up in unfeigned concern, cast an inqu →<cast an inq→ cast a look of intense inquisitiveness upon his superior.

231: G+p 39. [W 221]

[*Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.*]

G⁺ pencil

But Captain Vere, with one hand to his brow, was standing motionless. Suddenly, seizing [<seizing >catching the] the Surgeon's xx →<xx→ arm convulsively, he exclaimed, pointing down to the body— [D>Look {<Look}] "It is the divine judgment on Ananias!" [<quotation mark add Look!]

"But how, how? [<question mark add dash]

"Thus it was," said Captain Vere [<"But . . . Vere]

Di →<Di→ Disturbed by his [<his >the {<the >an} {<an >the}] excited manner so unwonted in the speaker →<so unwonted in the speaker→ he had never before observed in the "Indomitable" Captain, and as yet wholly ignorant of the affair, the [>prudent] Surgeon nevertheless held his peace, only casting →<casting→ [>again] looking an earnest interrogatory as to what it was that →<it was that→ it was that had resulted in such a tragedy.

232: G+p 40. [W 222]

[*Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.*]

G⁺ pencil

But Captain Vere was [>now] again motionless and [<and] standing absorbed in thought. But again starting, he exc →<exc→ vehemently exclaimed—Billy Budd was the angel of God →<Billy . . . God→ Righteously →<Righteously→ He was →<He was→ "Struck [>dead as {<as}] by the [<the >an] angel of God! Y →<Y→ Yet the angel must hang! [no quotation mark]

At these interjections, [<interjections >passionate >interjections] mere incoherences to the S →<the S→ the listener as yet unapprised of the antecedents, the Surgeon was profoundly discomposed. "Sir" said he →<"Sir" said he→ But becoming now less xx →<xx→ passionate, →<becoming . . . passionate→ Captain Vere →<Captain Vere→ and →<and→ [>now] as reccollecting himself, the →<the→ Captain Vere in less passionate tone briefly related the circumstances leading up to the event.

233: G+p 41. [W 223]

[*Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.*]

G+ pencil

But come; we must despatch" he added. Help me to remove him [>mea
→<mea→ (meaning the body)] to yonder compartment, designating the
→<the→ one opposite that where the foretopman remained immured. Anew
disturbed by a p →<a p→ a request that seemed so →<seemed so→ under
the →<under the→ seemed so strange →<seemed so strange→ as implying
a desire for secrecy, seemed unaccountably strange to him, there was nothing
for the subordinate to do but comply.—“Go now” said Captain Vere with
something [*erasure of earlier addition (undeciphered) shows here, circled for
insertion above*] of his wonted manner—Go now. I →<I→ I [>presently]
shall call a drum-head court. Tell the lieutenants what has happened, and tell
the Captain →<the Captain→ Mr [no period] Mordant,” meaning the cap-
tain of marines”, and charge them

234: G+p 42. [W 224]

[*Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.*]

G+ pencil

[*ESM p query Page 43 missing? {<query}]*
to keep the matter to themselves.”

Full of disquietude [>and misgiving] the prudent [<prudent] Surgeon
left the cabin. Was Captain Vere suddenly affected in his mind? →*delete question mark and add comma*→ or was it but a pas →<pas→ transient condition,
[<condition >excitement] brought about by so extraordinary [<extraor-
dinary >unusual {<unusual >unexpected} {<unexpected >strange & >ex-
traordinary}] a tragedy? As to →<As to→ Where the →<Where the→ As
to the drum-head court, it struck the Surgeon as impolitic, if nothing more.
The thing to do, he thought, was to confine Bill →<confine Bill→ place Billy
Budd in confinement and in a way dictated by usage, and postpone further
action in so extraordinary a case, to such time as they should rejoin the
squadron, and then refer it to the Admiral. Again →<Again→ [add He re-
called the unwonted agitation of Captain Vere and his excited exclamations
(*addition continued on next leaf*)]

235: G+p 43. [W 225]

[*Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.*]

G+ pencil

[*addition continued from last leaf* so at variance with his normal manner. Was
he unhinged?]

But much as he demurred, [<much . . . demurred >assuming that he is,
it is not so susceptible of proof] what could he →*write* the over he→ Surgeon
[<what . . . Surgeon >What can →*write* then (?) over can→ can he] do? No
more trying situation is conceivable than that of a subordinate officer acting
under a →<acting under a→ at the orders of [alter a to an <subordinate
>(after officer) subordinate <at the orders of >>under] a Captain whom he
suspects to be not quite sound [<quite sound add (after be), if →<if→ not
mad indeed, but yet >>quite >(below, after not quite) unaffected] in his in-
tellects. T →<T→ Then [?] res →<Then res→ To resist is perilous. →<To
resist is perilous→ To resist is mutiny. →<resist is mutiny→ argue with his
→<his→ [<with >(above) his order to] him would be insolence. To resist
him would be mutiny.

Accordingly, he →<he→ in obedience to Captain Vere, →<Accordingly
... Vere >(capitalizing in) in obedience to Captain Vere,→ he [>briefly
{<briefly >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) without comment} {<with-
out comment}] communicated the facts to the lieutenants as to →<the facts
... as to >(but then re-cancel) to the lieutenants→ what had happened to the
lieutenants & captain of marines; and →<and→ con →<con >>and→ waited
how they would receive it. [<and . . . receive it >saying nothing as to the
Captain's state.] His own →<His own→ They fully shared his own surprise
and concern. [*passage finally reads* In obedience to Captain Vere, he communi-
cated what had happened to the lieutenants & captain of marines; saying
nothing as to the Captain's state. They fully shared his own surprise and
concern.]

236: G+p 44. [W 226]

[*Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.*]

G+ pencil

Like him too they seemed to think that such a matter should be referred to
the Admiral.

[>(above) In the rainbow,] Who [<In the rainbow >in the rainbow] can
draw the line where the violet []>tint begins or →<begins or→ ends and
the orange [add tint] begins? Each hue is distinct →<Each . . . distinct→
As different →<As different→ Equally impossible is it, in the beginnings of
the hues →<in the . . . hues→ to draw the line between the first aberrations

→<to draw . . . aberrations→ →<Equally . . . it→ The two tints →<The two tints→ Wee →<Wee→ [▷Distinctly] We see the absolute [<absolute ▷distinct {<distinct}]] difference of the colors, but where exactly does the one [>first blendingly] enter into the other? Between san →<san→ [<Between ▷So with] sanity and insanity. In pronounced cases they are evident enough →<they are evident enough→ there is no question about them. [add But] In [>some supposed] cases, in various [>degrees, supposedly] less pronounced, to draw the exact line between is →<between is→ separating →<separating→ of demarkation few will undertake. [<.add in margin (at top of chapter, circled, with guide-line to caret) tho for a fee {>becoming considerate} the →<the→ some exp →<exp→ professional experts will undertake it →<undertake it add period (after will)→] [add (at other side of chapter-space, probably for insertion here, though not so indicated) There is nothing namable but that some men will {>(below, circled, with caret) or undertake to do it for pay.]

237: G+p 45. [W 227]

G+ pencil

[▷(above) In [<In]] Whether Captain Vere was →<was→ had suddenly become the victim of aberration, and whether the proceedings →<proceedings→ part he took in the events shortly to be given, confirm it, this →<it, this→ the supposition, I for one, decline to determine [<whole sentence Whether . . . determine]

In other words, there are instances where it is next to impossible justly [<justly ▷positively] to determine whether a man is of sound or unsound mind →<of <or unsound mind→ in his mind or beginning to be otherwise. [<whole sentence In other . . . otherwise.]

Whether Captain Vere, as the Surgeon [▷professionally &] privately [?] surmised, was [>really] the [>sudden] victim of any degree of aberration, the rea →<the rea→ every one must determine [▷for himself] by the light of the →<by the light of the→ by such light as this narrative af →<af→ may afford.

238: Ga 44. [W 228]

Ga

so much more humane than it was in the time [<time ▷days] of Nelson. [p <Nelson add Collingwood {>}Nelson ▷(after Nelson) and add (after Collingwood), two characters essentially humane.] [<Nelson and Collingwood, two characters essentially humane. ▷(after of) this story.]] [p <whole passage so much . . . this story.]

Now as elsewhere →<Now as elsewhere→

Now [p <Now] Captain Vere's words to the Surgeon to the effect that the [p <Captain Vere's . . . effect that capitalize the] unhappy event in the cabin [p <in the cabin ▷which has been narrated] could not have happened at a

worse juncture, was but [p >too] true. For it was close on the heel of the suppressed insurrections of the fleet, [p <of the fleet] an after-time so [p <so ▷very] critical to naval authority, demanding from every English sea-commander two qualities not readily interfusible—prudence and rigor. And [p <And ▷Moreover] there was something [>in the case] yet more trying. [p <yet more trying ▷(after something) crucial] In the [<In the]

[238a] 1v:

[Superseded pencil-draft fragment from Stage X, no foliation, on verso of dedication draft leaf (Leaf 1). Corresponds to matter now on Leaf 238.]

X pencil

[top half of leaf blank where clip was removed]

Alike [<Alike ▷Indi {<Indi add Both} {<Both add Both}]] directly and indirectly the era lent a →<a→ emphasis to the difficulties professional and moral falling on Captain Vere by reason of the tragic event just recounted; difficulties inadequa →<inadequa→ not adequately to be estimated by a lan →<a lan→ landsmen of our time, →<landsmen . . . time→ every sailor [<sailor ▷sea-officer] of our time, and still less so →<so→ by most landsmen. Look at it. →<Look at it.→

[X+ brown crayon <whole passage]

239: Ga 45. [W 229]

*F

In the juggery of circumstances preceding and attending the event [p >on board the Indomitable] and in the light of that martial code whereby it was formally to be judged, innocence and guilt personified in Claggart and Budd x →<x→ in effect changed places.

Ga

The palpable [p <The palpable >Legally {<Legally >In a legal view the apparent}] victim of the tragedy, the man killed, [p <the man killed] was he who had sought to victimise [victimize?] another, →<another add a→ man blameless; and the [p >indisputable] deed of the blameless one, [p <blameless one ▷man {<man ▷latter}]] navalily regarded, constituted the most heinous of martial [p <martial ▷military] crimes. Yet more. The essential right and wrong [>involved] in the matter, the clearer that might be, so much the

240: Ga 46. [W 230]

Ga

worse for the responsibility of a loyal [>sea-] commander inasmuch as he was not authorised [authorized?] to determine the case [<case >matter]

on that primitive basis, not seldom an impractical [*p* >(above impractical) *a new suffix cable*] abstraction even in civil life [>and] under the most liberal form of it. [*p add period* (*after basis*) <not seldom . . . of it]

Small wonder then that the Indomitable's [*not underlined*] captain though in general a man of [>rapid] decision, felt the necessity of →<of→ of →alter the to that <necessity of→ circumspectness not less than promptitude was demanded →<demanded→ necessary. Until his →<his *add* he→ could decide upon his course, and in each detail; and not only so, but until the last result →< last result→

241: Ga 47. [W 231]

Ga

concluding measure was upon the point of being enacted, he deemed it advisable, in view of the →<the→ all the circumstances to guard as much as possible against publicity. Here he may or may not have erred. Certain it is however that subsequently in the confidential talk of more than one or two gun-rooms [>and cabins] he was not a little criticised [criticized?] by some officers, a circum →<circum→ fact imputed by his friends and vehemently by his cousin Jack Denton to professional jealousy of Starry Vere. [*underlined*] Some imaginative ground for invidious comment there was. The maintenance

242: Ga 48. [W 232]

Ga

of temporary [<temporary] secrecy in the matter, the confining all knowledge of it for a time to the place where the homicide occurred, the quarter-deck cabin; in these particulars lurked some resemblance to similar [<similar >the] policy adopted in those revolutionary [*p* <revolutionary] tragedies [*p alter to* tragedies] of the palace which have [>occurred] more than once in the capital founded by Peter the Barbarian. [*p add* Tartar. {<Barbarian Tartar add Great, chiefly great by his crimes} <Great . . . crimes >(*after Peter the Barbarian.*)]

243: Fa 7; Ga 49. [W 233]

Fa

The case indeed was such that fain would the Indomitable's [*underlined*] captain have [>deferred] taking any action whatever respecting it further than to keep the foretopman a close prisoner till the ship [*p* >re- (*with question mark in margin*)] joined the squadron and then submitting the matter to the judgement of his Admiral at the same time apprising him how far was the foretopman at heart from being either a mutineer or murderer. [*p Fb* <at the same . . . murderer *add period* (*after Admiral*)]

But a true military officer is in one particular like a true monk. Not with

more of self-abnegation will the latter keep his vows of monastic obedience than the former his vows of allegiance to military [*p* <military >(*below*) martial] duty.

244: Fa 8; Ga 50. [W 234]

Fa

Feeling that unless quick action was taken on it the deed of the foretopman [*p add commas* (*after it and after foretopman*)] so soon as it should be known to them [<to them >on the gun-decks] would tend to awaken any slumbering embers of disaffection [*p* <disaffection >the Nore] among the crew, a sense of the urgency of the case overruled [*p* >in Captain Vere] every other consideration. But tho' a conscientious disciplinarian he was no lover of authority for mere authority's sake. Very far was he from embracing opportunities for monopolising [monopolizing?] to himself the perils of moral responsibility none at least that could properly be referred to [>an official] superior in rank [<in rank]

245: Fa 9; Ga 51¹. [W 235]

Fa

or shared with him by his official →<official→ official equals or even subordinates. So thinking he was glad it would not be at variance with usage to turn the matter over to a summary court of his own officers, reserving to himself as the one on whom the ultimate accountability would rest, the right of maintaining the →<the→ a supervision of it, or [*p* >formally or] informally interposing at need. Accordingly a drum-head court was summarily convened, he electing the individuals composing it, the First Lieutenant, a lieutenant of minor grade, [*p* <a lieutenant of minor grade >the captain of marines] and the Sailing Master.

246: Fa 10; Ga 51². [W 236]

Fa

In associating an officer of marines with the sea-lieutenants in a case having to do with a sailor the Commander perhaps deviated from general custom. The sele →< The sele → He was prompted to →<to→ thereto by the circumstance that he took that soldier to be a rather [*p* <rather] judicious person, a man of some reading, [*p* <a man of some reading] thoughtful, and not wholly [*p* <wholly >intellectually {<intellectually add altogether}] unfitted →<unfitted→ incapable of grappling with a difficult case one [<one] unprecedented in his prior experience. Yet even as to him he was not without some latent misgiving, for [>(*below, circled, with guide-line to caret*) withall] he was an extremely good-natured man, an

247: Fa 11; Ga 52. [W 237]

[Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.]

Fa

enjoyer of his dinner [>a sound sleeper] and inclined to obesity. [p notation
Insert]

† late pencil

the sort of [<the sort of >in some respects an easy-going {<in some respects an easy-going} (*left incoherent*)] man who tho' he would never shrink in →<in→ from →<would . . . from→ might →<might add (*after he*) would→ always maintain [?] his manhood in fight [<fight >battle] might not prove altogether reliable in a moral dilemma affecting →<ffecting→ involv →< involv→ involving aught of the tragic.

Fa

For the other two →<For . . . two→ As for →<for→ to the First Lieutenant and. [>the] Sailing Master Captain Vere could not but be aware that though honest natures, of approved gallantry upon occasion their intelligence was mostly confined to the matter of active seamanship and the fighting demands of their profession—men in short to whom in no instance perhaps could life →add period (*after profession*) <—men . . . life→ The court was held in the same cabin where the unfortunate affair had taken place. This cabin, the Commander's, was →<was→ embraced the entire area under the poop-deck. Aft, and lining a portion of [<lining a portion of >on] either side

248: Fa 12; Ga 53. [W 238]

Fa

was a small state-room [p >the one now {>temporarily} a dea →<dea→ jail & the other a dead-house] and a yet smaller compartment leaving a space between which, forward, →<which, forward→ expanding forward into a goodly oblong of length coinciding with the ship's beam. A sky-light of moderate dimension was overhead and on [<on >at] each side [<side >end of] the oblong space were [>two] sashed port-hole windows readily [<readily >easily] convertible back into embrasures for the [p <the] short carri-ades belonging to them. [p add period (*after carriades*) <belonging to them]

All being quickly in readiness, Billy Budd was arraigned, Captain Vere necessarily appearing as the sole witness in the case, and as such temporarily sinking his rank, though singularly maintaining it in a

249: Fa 13; Ga 54. [W 238 {sic}]

Fa

matter apparently trivial, namely, that he testified from the [p >ship's] weather-side with that object having caused the court to sit on the lee-side. Concisely he narrated all that had led up to the catastrophe, omitting nothing in Claggart's accusation and deposing as to the manner in which the prisoner had received it. At this testimony the three officers glanced with no little surprise at Billy Budd, the last man they would have suspected either of the mutinous design alleged by Claggart or the undeniable deed he himself had done.

250: Fa 14; Ga 55. [W 239]

Fa

The First Lieutenant taking judicial primacy and turing toward the prisoner, said, "Captain Vere has spoken. Is it or is it not as Captain Vere says?" In responce came syllables not so much impeded in the utterance as might have been anticipated. They were these: "Captain Vere tells the truth. It is just as Captain Vere says, but it is not as the Master-at-Arms said. I have eaten the King's bread. [p <period >and] I am true to the King."

"I beleive you, my man" said the sole [p <sole] witness in →<in→ his voice indicating a suppressed emotion not otherwise betrayed.

251: Fa 15; Ga 56. [W 240]

Fa

[ESM p notation (with fist) 16 on left side of page follows]

"God will bless you for that, Your Honor!" not without stammering said Billy, and all but broke down. But immediatly was recalled to self-control by another question, to which with increased [p <increased >the same emotional] difficulty of utterance he said 'No, there was no malice between us. I never bore malice against the Master-at-arms. I am sorry that he is dead. I did not mean to kill him. Could I have used my tongue I would not have struck him. But he foully lied to my face and in prescence of my Captain, and I had to say something, and I

252: Fa 16. [W 241]

Fa

[ESM p notation (with fist) 56 on right side of page {<notation}] could only say it with a blow, God help me!"

In the impulsive [>above-board] manner of the frank one the court saw confirmed all that was implied in words that just previously had perplexed

them coming as they did from the testifier to the tragedy [*p correct to tragedy*] and promptly following Billy's [>>impassioned] disclaimer of mutinous intent—Captain Vere's words, "I believe you, my man".

Next it was demanded of him →<demanded of him→ asked [>>of him] whether he knew of or suspected aught savoring of incipient trouble (meaning mutiny, tho' the explicit term was avoided) going on in any section of the ship's company.

253: Fa 17. [W 242]

Fa

The reply lingered. This was naturally imputed by the court to the same vocal embarrassment which had retarded or obstructed previous answers. But in main it was perhaps [<perhaps] otherwise here; the question immediately recalling to Billy's mind the interview with the Afterguardsman in the fore-chains. But an innate repugnance to playing the →<the→ a part at all approaching that of an informer against one's own shipmates—the same erring sense of uninstructed honor which had stood in the way of his reporting the matter at the time though as a loyal man-of-war-man it [*p <it >this [<this >it]*] was incumbent [*p add on him* and failure so to do if charged against him and proven, would have subjected him to the heaviest of penalties;]

254: Fa 18. [W 243]

Fa

on him [*p >(at top of leaf)* and not {<not >failure} so to do {>(*below, circled*) if proven} made him liable to the heaviest of penalties; [*erase revisions and transfer substance to foot of preceding leaf*] so to do; [*p <on him <addition <so to do*] this, with the blind feeling now his, that nothing really was being hatched, prevailed with him. When the answer came it was a negative.

"One question more," said the officer of marines now first speaking and with a troubled earnestness, "You tell us that what the Master-at-Arms said against you was a lie. Now why should he have so lied, so desperately [<desperately >maliciously] lied, since you declare there was no malice between you?"

At that question [>>unintentionally] touching on a spiritual sphere wholly

255: Fa 19. [W 244]

Fa

obscure to Billy's thoughts, he was nonplussed, evincing a confusion indeed that some observers, such as can readily [*ESM p >be*] imagined, would have construed into involuntary evidence of mysterious [*ESM p <mysterious >hidden*] guilt. Nevertheless he strove some way to answer, but all at once relinquished the vain endeavor, at the same time turning an appealing glance towards Captain Vere as deeming him his best helper and friend. The Com-

mander [*p <The Commander >Captain Vere*] who had been seated for a time rose to his feet, addressing the soldier. [*p <soldier >questioner {ESM p <questioner >(below) interrogator}*] "The question you put to him, Sir, [*p <Sir*] comes naturally

256: Fa 20. [W 245]

Fa

enough. But how can he rightly answer it? or anybody else? unless indeed it be he who lies within there" designating the compartment where lay the corpse. "But he [*p <he >the prone one tho →<tho→ there will →<will→*] will not rise to our summons. In effect [*p >tho'*, as] it seems to me, that your [*p <that your add the*] point [*p >you make*] though attesting your [*p <your*] thoughtfulness [*p <though . . . thoughtfulness*] is not →<not→ hardly material. Quite aside from any conceivable motive actuating the Master-at-arms, and irrespective of the provocation to the blow, and [<and >or] even the blow itself, [*p <or . . . itself*] a martial court should [*p <should >must needs {p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) in the present case}] confine its attention to the [*p >blow's*] consequence, which [*p >consequence >(below) justly*] is to be deemed not otherwise than as the prisoner's [*p <prisoner's >(below) striker's*] deed."*

257: Fa 21. [W 246]

Fa

This utterance the full significance of which it was not at all likely that Billy took in, nevertheless caused him to cast [<cast >turn] a wistful interrogative look at →<at→ toward the speaker, a look not unlike that of →<of→ which in its dumb expressiveness → transpose, circled, with caret in its dumb expressiveness to follow look → a dog of generous breed might turn upon his master seeking in his face some elucidation of a previous gesture ambiguous to its [<its >the canine] intelligence. Nor was the same utterance without marked effect upon the three officers, more especially the soldier. Couched in it seemed to them a meaning unanticipated, involving a

258: Fa 22. [W 247]

Fa

prejudgement as it were [<as it were] on the speaker's part. It served to augment a mental disturbance previously evident enough.

The soldier once more spoke; in a tone of suggestive dubiety addressing at once Captain Vere and →<Captain Vere and→ his associates and Captain Vere: "Nobody is present—none of the ship's company, I mean, who might

shed lateral light, if any is to be had, upon what remains mysterious in this matter."

"That is thoughtfully put" said Captain Vere; "and →<"and→ "I see your drift. Ay, there is a mystery; but, to use a Scriptural phrase, it is "a mystery of

259: Fa 23. [W 248]

Fa
iniquity", a matter for psychologic theologians to discuss. But what has a military court to do with it? Not to add that for us any possible investigation of it is cut off by xxx →<xxx→ the lasting tongue-tie of—him—in yonder," again designating the [*p* >mortuary] state-room. The prisoner's deed, [*p* >—] with that alone we have to do." [add bracket for new paragraph] To this, and particularly the closing reiteration, the [>marine] soldier knowing not how with good sense [*p* <with good sense >aptly] to reply, prudently said nothing. →<prudently said nothing→ sadly abstained from saying aught. The First Lieutenant who in the →<in the→ at the outset had not unnaturally assumed the →<the→ primacy in the court, now

260: Fa 24. [W 249]

Fa
overrulingly instructed by a glance from Captain Vere, a glance that →<that→ more expressive →<expressive→ effective than words, resumed that primacy. Turning to the prisoner, "Budd," he said, and scarce in equable tones, "Budd, if you have aught further to say for yourself, say it now."

Upon this the [>young] sailor turned another quick glance toward Captain Vere; then, as taking a hint from that aspect, one [<one >a hint] confirming his own instinct [*p* <instinct >instinct] [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) that silence was now best,] replied [>(below) to his questi →<to his questi→ >to the Lieutenant] "I have said all, Sir."

The marine—the same who had been the sentinel without the cabin-door

[260a] 83†v:

[Superseded pencil-draft fragment from Stage X, no foliation. Corresponds to matter now on Leaves 261-64.]

X pencil

As he disappeared every →<every→ xx →<xx→ an alteration fell upon the faces of the four officers →<an alteration . . . officers→ every countenance altered. The four officers instinctively exchanged looks, but nobody spoke →<but nobody spoke→ and the four looks were as one, but nobody spoke. Then Captain Vere involuntarily [<Then Captain Vere *capitalized* involun-

tarily] dropping all sense of his rank but →<all . . . but→ the wonted manner of his rank, but [<but >and] speaking as a man to fellow-men, said,

I fe →<fe→ Yes, to you as to me this is terrible. →<said . . . terrible → (after fellow-men,) but thereby only the more signalizing the superiority [<superiority >inherent supremacy (?)] of his nature, said, I think that →<said . . . that→ turning upon →<turning upon→ addressing [>(before addressing) rising and { <rising and }] the seated officers [<the seated officers >them in an unfaltering tone] said— [green crayon <The four officers . . . nobody spoke. <only the more . . . tone] [blue crayon <Involuntarily . . . but thereby] [p notation (*underlined*, in both margins) Restore (*thus restoring* The four . . . nobody spoke.)]

[260b] 87†v:

[Superseded pencil-draft fragment from Stage X, folio 7. Matter has no exact counterpart in final version, but cf. Leaves 262-66.]

X pencil

As the examination is closed, and the case →<the case→ [cut off here] [above this line but circled for insertion lower on the leaf from which this clip was cut, is the following I{ >respect it, I <respect it >respect it <respect it, I add (before I) I respect it,} sympathize with it, but so far { >painfully} prevail with myself as not to let pity suspend resolution.]

[260c] 20v:

[Superseded pencil-draft leaf, Stage X, foliated 10 then 9². Matter was subsequently expanded over F 20, 31, 36, 37. Leaf was originally foliated B 71 but carried no B text (only clips); then it was turned other end up and foliated 10 then 9² of this pencil draft of Vere's speech.]

X pencil

plain enough here. [<plain enough here >The blow without the death, would →<would→ was mutiny. { <The blow . . . mutiny add (below, circled, with guide-line to caret) The blow itself, setting aside its consequence, →<setting . . . consequence→ was mutiny. And →<And alter period to semicolon→ but →<but→}] That the man intended not homicide, however pregnant that fact will prove to be before the bar of heaven, here it should avail nothing. For the code martial which commands [<which commands >commanding] us, looks not →<looks not→ goes [<goes >peers { <peers >ferrets}] not behind the deed. It is the reverse of the divine code inasmuch as takes no cognizance of motives. [blue crayon <That the man . . . motives. {p add (to follow mutiny;) the following:}] and hence [<and hence] a capital crime; [>and] its consequence involved [alter to involves] another [<another >an added] capital crime. B →<B→ And as to the last →<And as to the last→ But the man did not intend homicide— [add you feel it.] True. But however

pregnant that truth [*<truth add verity*] will prove to be before the bar of heaven, here it should avail nothing.
 [brown crayon cancel whole passage]

261: Fa 25. [W 250]

Fa

at the time that the foretopman and →<and→ followed by the master-at-arms, entered it—he, standing by the sailor throughout these [>judicial] proceedings, was now directed to take him back to the after compartment originally assigned to the prisoner and his custodian. As the twain disappeared from present sight →<present sight→ view, the three officers as partially liberated from some inward constraint associated with Billy's mere presence, simultaneously stirred in their seats. They exchanged looks of troubled indecision, the more trying since they felt [p <the more . . . felt >while {<while} yet feeling] that decide they must and without prolonged [p <prolonged >long] delay. [p begin then cancel addition at bottom of leaf nor less →<nor less >(below) and yet→ delay the →<the <and yet delay→]

262: Fb 26. [W 251]

*** Fa[26]**

For Captain Vere, he for the time stood— [p <stood >(sitting)] unconsciously with his back toward them, in one →<in one→ apparently in one of his absent fits, gazing out from a sashed port-hole to windward upon the

Fb

monotonous dim [p <dim] blank of the [>twilight] sea. But the court's silence continuing, broken only at moments by low [<low >brief] consultations, this moved him to signs of impatience. [<this . . . impatience >(over erasure) in low earnest tones, this served to arouse him and energize {energise?} him.] Wheeling round all at once, [p <Wheeling . . . once >Turning.] he to-and-fro paced the cabin athwart; in the returning ascent to windward, climbing the slant deck in the ship's lee roll; without knowing it symbolizing [symbolising?] thus in his person [p <person >action] a tenacious [p <tenacious] mind resolute to surmount difficulties. [delete period and add even if against primitive instincts strong as the wind and the sea.]

263: Fa 27. [W 252]

Fa

Presently he came to a stand before the three. After scanning their faces he stood [p >less] as one [<one] mustering his thoughts for expression, and tho' full of them [p <and tho' full of them] than as one only deliberating how best to put them to well-meaning men not intellectually mature, men with

whom it was necessary to demonstrate certain principles [*mend*] that were axioms to himself. This [<This >Similar] impatience as to talking the primer [p <the primer] is perhaps one reason that deters some superior [p <superior] minds from taking part in [p <taking part in >addressing any] popular assemblies; under which class →<class >head→ is to be classed most legislatures in a Democracy. [p <under . . . Democracy add period (after assemblies)]

264: Fa 28. [W 253]

Fa

When speak he did, something both in the substance of what he said and his manner of saying it, showed the influence of unshared studies modifying and tempering the practical training of an active career. This, along with his phrasiology [p correct to phraseology] at times →<at times→ now and then was suggestive of the grounds whereon rested that imputation of a certain pedantry socially alleged against him by certain of his brother-captains, [<of his <brother-captains] [>naval] men of wholly practical cast, who ne →<who ne→ officers [<officers add men {<men >>officers} {<officers >captains}] who nevertheless would frankly concede that his [alter his to His] Magesty's navy mustered no

265: Fa 29. [W 254]

Fa

more efficient officer of their grade than Starry Vere. [*underlined*]

What he said was as follows: [p <as follows >to this effect:] "Hitherto I have been but the witness, acting that part, [p <acting that part] little more; and I should hardly think [p >now] to take the [p <the >another] tone [p add comma >that] of your judicial [p <judicial] coadjutor; which now I propose to do, [p <which . . . do >for the time] did I not perceive in you, my friends, [p <my friends] —at the crisis too—a troubled hesitancy, proceeding, I doubt not, [<comma] from honest puzzlement of [p <honest . . . of >the clash of duty →<duty→ military duty and →<and >with→ moral] scruple—scruple vitalized by compassion. That compassion is natural. [p <That add For the <is natural] How can I otherwise than share it. But, mindful of [p >paramount] obligations I strive against

266: Fa 30. [W 255]

Fa

everything [p <everything >scruples] that may tend to enervate decision. Not, believe me, [p <believe me >gentlemen] that I hide from myself that the case to be decided [p <to be decided >before us {<before us >is}] is an exceptional one. Speculatively regarded, well might it [p <it >it (before well)]

be referred to a jury of casuists. But for us who are but military men here, [p <who . . . here >here acting as →<as→ not as private gentlemen →<private gentlemen→ casuists or moralists] and →<and→ it is a case practical, and under martial law practically [p >, not speculatively { <comma <not speculatively}] to be dealt with.

Your scruples: do they move as in a dusk? Challenge them. [p <Your . . . them. {>Your . . . them. add But (before Your)}]] Force them to [p <Force add Make <to] come out into the open →<come out into the open→ advance and declare themselves. Come now: do they import something like this. [alter period to colon] If, mindless of palliating circumstances,

267: Fa 31. [W 256]

Fa

we are bound to regard the death of the Master-at-arms as the prisoner's deed, then does that deed constitute a capital crime, and →<, and→ whereof the penalty is a mortal one. But in natural justice is nothing but the [p >prisoner's] overt act to be considered? How can we adjudge to summary and shameful death a man →<man→ fellow-creature innocent before God, and whom we feel to be so?—Does that state it aright? You sign sad assent. Well, I too feel that, the full force of it. [p <it >that] It is Nature. →<It is Nature.→ It is irresistible [mend to irresistible] [<It is {p <It is <irresistible}]] It is Nature. But do these [Fb add buttons that we wear attest that]

268: Fb 32. [W 257]

Fb

our allegiance is to Nature? No, to the King. Though the ocean [add comma] which is inviolate Nature primeval, tho' this be the element where we move and have our being as sailors, yet as the King's officers lies our duty in a sphere correspondingly natural? So little is that true, that in receiving our commissions we in the most important regards ceased to be natural free-agents. When war is declared are we the commissioned fighters previously consulted? We fight at command. If our judgements approve the war, that is but coincidence. So in other particulars. So now. For suppose

269: Fa 33. [W 258]

Fa

buttons that we wear attest that we of the fleet →<of the fleet→ are actors in Nature's sphere are the commissioned officers of Nature? We are the commissioned officers of the King. And in receiving our [p >military] commissions we in certain regards ceased to be natural free-agents. Do you start? [p >But {<But >And} {<And}]] Suppose [>now] our [Fa+p (after tentative cancella-

tions) <buttons . . . our military commissions {brown crayon <buttons . . . Suppose now our Fb expand matter as inserted leaf Fb 32]} condemnation to follow these [p >present] proceedings. Would it be so much we ourselves that would condemn as it would be martial law taking effect [p <taking effect >operating] through us its sworn [<sworn >authorized] agents? [p <its authorized agents add question mark (after us)] For that law and the rigour of it, we are not responsible. Our vowed responsibility is in this: that however pitilessly

270: Fa 34. [W 259]

Fa

that law may operate in certain instances, [p <certain instances >the present case {<the present case add any} (revision leaves incomplete phrase)] we nevertheless adhere to it and administer it.

But the exceptional in the case [<case >matter] moves the hearts within you. Even so too is mine moved. But let not warm hearts betray heads that should be cool. Ashore in a criminal case will an upright judge allow himself off the bench to be waylaid by some tender kinswoman of the accused seeking to touch him with her pitious [<pitious >tearful] plea? Well the heart here is as that pitious woman. The heart is the feminine in man, [p <The heart is <the >sometimes the {<the >the} transpose sometimes the feminine in man (to follow here)] and hard tho' it be she must here be ruled out."

271: Fa 35. [W 260]

Fa

He paused, earnestly studying them for a moment; then resumed.

"But something in your aspect seems to urge that it is not solely the heart that moves in you, but also the conscience, the private conscience. But tell [>me] whether or not, occupying →<occupying >occupying→ the position →<position→ factitious [p <factitious] position we do, private conscience should not yield to that pa →<pa→ imperial one formulated in that [<that >the] code under which alone we at all →<at all→ officially proceed?"

Here the three men moved in their seats, agitated by →<agitated by→ less convinced than agitated by [p >the course of] an argument troubling but the more the spontaneous conflict within.

272: Fa 36. [W 261]

Fa

Percieving which, the speaker paused for a moment; then abruptly changing his tone, went on.

"Do we waver? [p <Do we waver] To steady us a bit, let us recur to the facts.—In war-time at sea a man-of-war's-man strikes his superior in grade,

and the blow kills. Apart from its effect the blow itself is, according to the Mutiny Act, [p <Mutiny Act >Articles of War] a capital crime. Furthermore—”

“Ay, Sir,” emotionally broke in the marine →<marine→ officer of marines, “in one sense it was. But surely the man [<the man add Budd] purposed neither mutiny nor homicide.”

273: Fa 37. [W 262]

Fa

“Surely not, my good f →<f→ man. And before a court less arbitrary and more merciful than a ma →<a ma→ from the →<from the→ a martial one, that plea would largety extenuate. [>At the Last Assizes it shall acquit.] But how here? We proceed under the law of the Mutiny Act. In feature no child can resemble his father more than that Act resembles in spirit the thing from which it derives—War. We know that in his [<We know that *alter* in his to In His] Magesty service—in this ship indeed—there are Englishmen forced to serve their [<serve >fight for *alter* their to the] King and fight the French [<and fight the French] against their will. Against their conscience, for aught we know.

274: Fa 38. [W 263]

Fa

What recks the enemy of that? [p <What . . . that add (over erasures, at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) As H→<H→ Navy officers what reck we of that, however much →<As . . . much >Tho’→ as their fellow-creatures {>of these men <of these men} some of us may feel about it →<about it→ for them →<feel . . . them→ appreciate their position, yet as navy officers what reck we of it? Still less recks the enemy.] Our impressed men he would fain cut down in the same swath with our volunteers [p mend to volunteers]. As regards the enemy’s naval conscripts, some of whom may even share our own abhorrence of the regicidal →<regicidal→ regicidal French Directory, it is the same on our side. War looks but to the frontage, the appearance. And the Mutiny Act, War’s child, takes after the father. Budd’s intent or non-intent is nothing to the purpose.

275: Fa 39. [W 264]

Fa

But while, put to it by those anxieties in you which I can not but respect, I [>but {<but add only}] repeat myself—while thus strangely we prolong proceedings that should be summary—an →<an→ the enemy may be sighted and an engagement result. We must do; and one of two things must we do—condemn or let go.”

“Can we not convict and yet x →<x→ mitigate the penalty [add question mark] ,” asked the junior Lieutenant here speaking, and falteringly, for the first.

“Lieutenant, were that clearly lawful for us under the circumstances

276: Fa 40. [W 265]

Fa

consider the consequences of such clemency. The people” (meaning the ship’s company) “have mother- [ESM p <mother- >native] sense; most of them are familiar with our naval usage and tradition; and how would they take it? Even could your →<your→ you explain to them—which our official position forbids—they, long moulded by arbitrary discipline have not that kind of intelligent responsiveness that would ena →<would ena→ might qualify them to comprehend and discriminate. No, to the people the foretopman’s deed however it be worded in the announcement will be plain homicide committed in a flagrant act of mutiny. What [p <What {>What}]

277: Fa 41. [W 266]

Fa

[p add What {<What}] penalty for that should follow, they know. But it does not follow. Why? [underlined] they will ruminate. Will they →<Will they→ You know what sailors are. Will they not revert to the recent outbreak at the Nore? Yes →<Yes→ Ay. And they →<And they→ And they will recall [p <And . . . recall >They know] the well-founded alarm—the panic it struck throughout England. A →<A→ The [p <The add Your] clement sentence they would account pusillanimous. They would think that we flinch, that we are afraid of them—afraid of practising a lawful rigor [add (at foot of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret) singularly demanded at this juncture] lest it should provoke new troubles.

278: Fa 42. [W 267]

Fa

What shame to us such a conjecture on their part, and how deadly to discipline. You see then, whither, prompted by duty and [p >the] law I steadfastly drive. But I beeseech you, my friends, do not take me amiss. I feel even [<even >much {p <much}]] as you do for this unfortunate boy. But did he know our hearts, I take him to be of that generous nature that he would feel even for us on whom in this military necessity so heavy a compulsion is laid.

279: Fa 43. [W 268]

Fa

With that, crossing the deck he resumed his place by the sashed port-hole, tacitly leaving the three to come to a decision. On the cabin's opposite side the troubled court sat silent. Loyal subjects, [*subjects* >lieges] plain and practical, though at bottom they dissented from some things →<*things*→ points Captain Vere had put to them, they were without the faculty, hardly had the inclination to gainsay one whom they felt to be an earnest man, one too not less their superior in mind than in naval rank. But it is not improbable

280: Fa 44. [W 269]

Fa

that even such part of [*<part of >of his*] words as were not without influence over them, less affected [*<affected >came home to*] them than his closing appeal to their instinct as sea-officers in the forethought he threw out as to the practical consequences to discipline, considering the unconfirmed tone of the fleet at the time, should a man-of-war's-man violent killing [*p >at sea*] of a petty-officer [*<petty-officer >a superior in grade*] be allowed to pass for aught else than a capital crime. [*p add (at bottom of leaf, with guide-line to caret) meriting →<meriting→ xx →<xx→ demanding prompt infliction of the {ESM p >penalty}}*]

Not unlikely they were brought to something more or less akin to that harassed frame of mind which in the year 1842

281: Fa 45. [W 270]

Fa

actuated the Commander of the U.S. brig-of-war Somers to resolve, under the so-called Articles of War, Articles moddled [*p alter to modded*] upon the English Mutiny Act, to resolve upon the execution at sea of a midshipman and two petty-officers as mutineers designing the seizure of the brig. Which resolution was carried out though in a time of peace and within not many days sail of home. An act vindicated by a naval court of inquiry subsequently convened ashore. History, and here cited without comment.

282: Fa 46. [W 271]

Fa

True, the circumstances on board the Somers [*underlined*] were different from those on board the Indomitable. [*underlined*] But the urgency felt, well-warranted or otherwise, was much the same.

Says a writer whom nobody knows, and who being dead recks not of the oblivion, [*<the oblivion >that, {p <nobody . . . that, >few know}]* "Forty years after a battle it is easy for a non-combatant to reason about how it ought to have been fought. It is another thing personally [*>and under fire*] to have to direct the fighting while at the same time [*p <at the same time*] involved in the obscuring smoke of it. Much so with respect to →<to→ to [*p >other*] emergencies involving both [*<both*]

283: Fa 47. [W 272]

Fa

considerations both practical and moral, and when it is imperative promptly to act. The greater the fog the more it imperils the ship, [*<ship >steamer*] and speed is put on tho' at the hazard of running somebody down. Little ween the snug card-players in the cabin of the responsibilities of the sleepless man on the bridge."

In brief, the →<the→ Billy Budd was formally convicted and sentenced to be hung at the yard-arm in the early morning-watch, it being now night. Otherwise, as is customary in such cases, the sentence would forthwith have been carried →<carried→ out. In war-time on the field

284: Fa 48. [W 273]

Fa

or in the fleet, a mortal punishment decreed by a drum-head court—on the field sometimes decreed by but a nod from the General—follows without delay on the heel of conviction without appeals. [*p alter to appeal*] [*p chapter-ending mark ——————*] [*p addition, erased (undeciphered)*]

285: Fa 49. [W 274]

Fa

[*p chapter-beginning mark ——————*]

It was Captain Vere himself who of his own motion communicated the finding of the court to the prisoner. For →<For alter period to semicolon→ for that purpose going to the compartment where he was in custody and bidding the marine there to withdraw for the time.

Beyond the communicating [*p alter to communication*] of the sentence what took place at this interview was never known. But in view of the character of the twain briefly closeted in that state-room, each radically shareing in the rarer qualities of

286: Fa 50. [W 275]

Fa

our nature—so rare indeed as to be [*p <be add be all but*] incredable to commonplace [*p <commonplace >average*] minds however much cultivated—some conjectures may be ventured.

It would have been in consonance with the spirit of Captain Vere should he on this occasion havin →<havin→ have concealed nothing from the condemned one—should he indeed have frankly disclosed to him the part he himself had played in bringing about the decision, at the same time revealing his actuating motives. On Billy's side [*<(below, circled)*] it is not improbable that] such a confession

287: Fa 51. [W 276]

Fa

would have been received in much the same spirit that prompted it. Not without a sort of joy indeed he may [*p <may >might*] have discerned →<discerned→ appreciated the brave opinion of him implied in his Captain making such a confidant of him. Nor, as to the sentance itself could he have been insensble that it was imparted to him as to one not afraid to die. Even more may have been. Captain Vere in end may have developed the profound [*p <profound >intense {<intense}}*] passion sometimes latent under a stoic exterior. [*p <stoic >(after exterior) stoical or indifferent.*] He was old enough to have been Billy's father. The monkish [*p <monkish >austere*] devotee of military duty letting himself melt

288: Fa 52. [W 277]

Fa

back into what is [*<is >remains*] primeval in our formalised [formalized?] humanity may in end have caught Billy to his arms →<arms→ heart as →<as→ even as Abraham may have caught young Isaac on the brink of resolutely offering him up in obedience to the exacting demand. [*p <demand >behest*] But there is no telling of [*p <of*] the sacrament, seldom if [*>in*] any case revealed to the gadding world wherever under circumstances at all akin to those here attempted to be set forth two of the [*p <the >great Nature's*] x →<x→ nobler order embrace. There is privacy at the time, not →<not→ inviolable to the survivor, and holy oblivion the desirable [*p <desirable*]

289: Fa 53. [W 278]

Fa

thing for [*p <thing for >sequel to*] each diviner magnanimity, naturally ensues. [*p <naturally ensues >(below)* providentially covers all at last]

The first to encounter Captain Vere in act of leaving the compartment was the First [*<First →senior*] Lieutenant. The face he beheld, for the moment [*p >one*] expressive of the agony of the strong, was to him, [*p <him >that officer*] tho' a man of fifty, a startling revelation. That the condemned one suffered less than he who mainly had effected the condemnation was apparently indicated by the former's exclamation in the scene soon perforce to be touched upon.

[*p chapter-ending mark* —————♦————]

290: Fa 54. [W 279]

[*Verso of patch was inscribed earlier; see p. 431.*]

Fa

[*Fb⁺ blue crayon chapter-beginning mark* —————♦————]

[*Fb⁺ blue crayon and brown crayon add bracket confirming paragraph opening*] Of a sequence [*p Fb <sequence >series*] of incidents within a brief term rapidly following each other, the [*>adequate*] narrating of them [*p Fb <narrating of them {p >narration}*] apparently occupies a [*p alter a to an and transpose to read*] disproportional [*p <occupies . . . disproportional >(below)*] may occupy a te (*sic*) less brief time, more especially if elucidation [*p <elucidation >(below)*] explanation [*<may occupy . . . more <explanation (but not especially if) >(above, circled in blue crayon, with blue guide-line to caret following narration)*] may occupy a term less brief, more especially if explanation and also brown guide-line to end of cancellation}] or comment [*>here and there*] seem indispensable →<indispensable→ required here and there →<required . . . there >(above seem) here and there→ requisite to the right [*p <right >(circled) better*] understanding of such incidents. [*p <to . . . incidents {>(by erasure) to the right . . . incidents}*] [*p <narration <may occupy . . . explanation and replace by revision-patch with ink guide-line indicating its insertion to follow adequate and precede of such incidents*]

†*Fb*

narration may take up a term less brief, especially if explanation or comment here and there seem requisite to the better understanding

Fa

Between the entrance into the cabin of him who never left it alive, and him who when he did leave it left it as one condemned to die; between

291: Fa 55. [W 280]

Fa

this and the closeted interview just given less than an hour and a half had elapsed. It was an interval long enough however to awaken speculations among no few of [*p <no few of {>(no few of)}*] the ship's company as to what it was

that could be detaining [>>in the cabin] the Master-at-arms and the sailor; for a rumor that both were there [*p <were there >*of them had been seen to enter it and →<and→ add (*at bottom of leaf, circled, with guide-line to caret*) and neither of them had been seen →<been seen→ emerged {*alter to emerge* ➤*been seen >to (before emerge)*} therefrom, {<therefrom ➤*thence*} {<*thence*} this rumor] had got abroad upon the [*p >gun-*] decks and in the tops; the [>>populous {<populous}] crew of x →<x→ a seven →<seven→ line-of-battle ship of the old order [*p <crew . . . order (except the word ship)* >people of a great war (*before ship*) being in one respect like villagers; they take [*p <semicolon <they alter take to taking*] [*p >microscopic*] note of every chance [*p <chance >outward*] movement [*p >or non-movement*] going on. When therefore in weather

292: Fa 56. [W 281]

Fa

not at all tempestuous all hands were called in the second dog-watch, a summons [*p >under such circumstances*] unusual [*p <un >not*] in those hours, the men [<men add quotation mark (*before the*) ➤*people*] [*p <people* &*quotation mark (before the) add crew*] were not wholly unprepared for some announcement extraordinary [*p add , one*] having connection [*p >too*] with the [*p >continued*] absence of the two men from their wonted haunts.

There was a moderate sea at the time; and the moon, newly risen and near to being a f →<a f→ at its full, silvered the white spar-deck whereon the clear-cut shadow of a →*alter a to any*→ moving man →<whereon . . . man→ wherever not blotted by the clear-cut shadows of →<of→ horizontally thrown of fixtures and moving men. On either side the quarter-deck the marine

293: Fa 57. [W 282]

Fa

guard under arms was drawn up; and Captain Vere standing in his place surrounded by all the ward-room officers, addressed his men. In so doing his manner showed neither more nor less than that of →<of→ properly pertaining to his supreme position aboard the “ →<quotation mark→ Indomitable. [*underlined*] [*p <aboard <Indomitable (underlined) >aboard >his own ship*.] In clear terms and yet →<yet→ concise he told them what had taken place in his own [*p <his own >the*] cabin; that the master-at-arms was dead; that he who had killed him had been immediatly [*<immediatly >already*] tried by a summary court and condemned to be hung; [*p <be hung >death*] and that the execution would take place in the early morning watch.

294: Fa 58. [W 283]

Fa

The word mutiny [*underlined*] was not named in what he said. He refrained too from making the occasion an opportunity for any preaching as to the maintenance of discipline, thinking perhaps that under existing circumstanes in the navy xxxx →<xxxx→ the consequence of violating discipline should be made to speak, in →<in→ and in no mincing tone, [*p <and . . . tone*] for itself.

Their captain's announcement was listened to by the throng of standing sailors in a dumbness like that of a seated congregation of believers in hell listening to the clergyman's announcement of his Calvinistic text. [*p add marginal notation Jonathan Edwards*]

295: Fa 59. [W 284]

Fa

At the close, however, a confused waxing [*p <waxing*] murmur went up. [*p >It began to wax.*] All but instantly, [*p >then,*] at a sign, it [*p <it >it*] was pierced and suppressed by [>>(*below, circled*) shrill whistles of] the boatswain [*mend to Boatswain*] and his Mates piping down one watch. [*p notation (along left margin)* Another order to be given here in place of this one] [*p add revision (with fist, at top of leaf)* the word was given to about ship]

To be prepared for burial Claggart's body was delivered to certain petty-officers of his mess. And here, not to clog the sequel with lateral matters, it may be added that at a suitable hour following the execution, [*p <following the execution*] the Master-at-Arms was committed to the sea with every funeral honor properly belonging to his naval grade.

296: Fa 60. [W 285]

Fa

In this proceeding as in every public one growing out of the tragedy [*p mend to tragedy*] strict adherence to usage was observed. Nor in any point could it have been at all deviated from [>>(*below, circled, with guide-line to caret*), either with respect to Claggart or Billy Budd] without begetting undesirable speculations in the ship's company, sailors, and more particularly men-of-war's men, being of all men the greatest sticklers for usage. For similar cause, all communication between Captain Vere and the condemned one closed [*p >ended (without canceling closed)*] with the closeted interview already given, the latter being now surrendered to the

297: Fa 61, F/G 61¹. [W 286]*Fa*

ordinary routine preliminary to the end. Put in irons, he was consigned to [p <Put . . . to >His transfer {>(below, circled) under guard} from the Captain's quarters to] the customary place set apart in [p >great] war-ships for the safe-keeping of prisoners previous to punishment. In →<In→ This [p <to the customary . . . This >tho' m →<tho' m→] was effected without any [p <any add unusual] precautions—at least no [<no >few {p <few >>no}] visable ones—other than those usual in similar cases. [p <similar cases >every-day example >(below) of minor offenses. {add period (after ones) <other . . . offenses}] If possible not to let the men so much as surmise that their officers anticipate aught amiss from them is the tacit rule, →<comma→ in a military ship. And the more that some sort of trouble should really be apprehended the more do the officers keep that apprehension to themselves; tho' not the less unostentatious [>(below) vigilance] may be augmented.

[F⁴p chapter-ending mark —————♦———— {Ga <chapter-ending mark}]

298: F/G 61². [W 287]*Ga*

In the present instance the sentry placed over the prisoner had strict orders to let no one have communication with him but the Chaplain. And certain unobtrusive measures were taken absolutely to insure this point.

[p chapter-ending mark —————♦————]

299: Fa 62. [W 288]

Fa

[p chapter-beginning mark —————♦————]

In a seventy-four of the old order the deck known as the upper gun-deck was the one covered over by the spar-deck which last tho' [ESM p mend to though] not without its armament was for the most part exposed to the weather. In general it was at all hours free from hammocks; those of the crew swinging on the lower gun-deck, and berth-deck, underneath that and next above the orlop-deck →<underneath . . . orlop-deck→ the latter being not only a dormitory but also the place for the stowing of the sailors' bags, and as well →<and as well→ and on both sides lined with the [>large] chests or movable pantries of the many messes of the men.

300: Fa 63. [W 290 {skips 289}]

Fa

On the starboard side of the [>Indomitable's (underlined)] upper gun-deck, behold Billy Budd under sentry lying prone in irons in one of the bays formed by every →<everyt→ every two guns →<by . . . guns→ by the

regular spaceing of the guns [<guns >pieces {p <pieces >>guns}] comprising the batteries on either side. All these pieces, now obsolete were of →<now . . . of→ were of the heavier calibre of that period, →<comma add period→ Mounted on lumbering wooden carriages they were hampered with cumbersome harness of breechen and strong side-tackles for running them out. Guns and carriages, together with the long rammers and [>shorter] linstocks lodged in loops overhead—all these, as customary, were painted black; and the heavy hempen breechens tarred to the same tint, wore the same →<same >like→

301: Fa 64. [W 291]

Fa

[>livery] of the undertakers. In contrast with the funereal hue of these surroundings the prone sailor's [>exterior] apparel, white jumper [underlined] and white duck trousers, each more or less soiled, dimly glimmered in the obscure light [>of the bay] like a patch of discolored snow in early April lingering at some upland cave's black mouth. In effect he is already in his shroud or the garments that shall serve him in lieu of one. Over him but not [p <not >scarce] illuminating him, two battle-lanthorns [ESM p alter to lanterns] swing from two massive beams of the deck above. Fed with the oil supplied by the war-contractors, whose gains, honest or otherwise, are in every land an anticipated portion of the bloody [p <bloody] harvest of death, [p replace commas by parentheses (around whose . . . death)] with

302: Fa 65. [W 292]

Fa

flickering splashes of dirty yellow light they pollute the pale moonshine all but ineffectually struggling in obstructed flecks thro the open ports from which the tompioned cannon protrude. Other lanthorns [p alter to lanterns] at intervals serve but to bring out somewhat the obscurer bays which like small confessional or side-chapels [>in a cathedral] branch from the long dim-vistaed [>broad-] -aisle between the two batteries of that [>covered] deck. [p <deck >tier.]

Such was the deck where now lay the Handsome Sailor. Through [add the] rose-tan of his complexion, in part a weather-stain, [p <in part . . . stain] no palor [p mend to pallor] could have shown. It would have [>taken] days of sequestration from the winds and the sun to have brought about the effacement of that. [<that add that young sea-bloom. {p add period (after that) <young sea-bloom}]

303: Fa 66. [W 293]

Fa

But [>the skeleton in] the cheek-bone at the point of its angle was just beginning [>delicately] to define itself [p <to define itself >to be defined] under

the warm-tinted skin. Some [*<Some >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret)*] In the {*p <the >(below)* fervid hearts} self-contained add some] brief experiences devour our human tissieu as secret fire in a ship's hold consumes cotton in the bale.

But now lying between the two guns, as nipped in the vice of fate, Billy's agony [*p*, mainly] proceeding from a generous young heart's virgin experience of the diabolical [*p >revision (undeciphered) hate (?) {<revision>}*] incarnate [>>and effective] in some men—the tension of that agony was over now. It survived not the something healing in the closeted interview with Captain Vere.

304: [left-corner number 7]; Fa 67. [W 294]

Fa

[canceled lines at beginning are non-continuous with previous leaf]

by most—of all that, crowded within so short a term, he had just gone through, abrupt experiences and emotions, some of them so →<so→ conflicting and intense. [*<and intense >poignant.*] The tension relaxed, and more. [*F+p and blue crayon <by most . . . and more*] Without movement, prone [*<prone*] he lay [*p <he lay >the young mariner (?) lay { <the young mariner lay >he lay}*] as in [*p >a*] trance. That adolescent expression previously noted as his, took [*p <took >taking*] on now [*p <now*] something akin to the look of a slumbering child [*p transpose slumbering with child {cancel transposition}*] seen [*p <seen*] in the cradle when the warm hearth-light →<hearth-light→ hearth-glow of the still chamber at night plays on the dimples that at whiles mysteriously form in the cheek, silently coming and going there. For now and then in his [*p <his >the gyved one's*] trance a serene happy light born of some wandering reminiscence

305: [left-corner number 8]; Fa 68. [W 295]

Fa

or dream would diffuse itself over the [*p <the >his*] face, and then wane away only anew to return.

The Chaplain coming to see him and finding him thus, and percieving no sign that he was conscious of his presence, after →<after→ quietly [*p <quietly >not without emotion { <not without emotion >(below) attentively}*] gazed [*p <gazed >regarded him*] for a space, then slipping aside, withdrew for the time, peradventure feeling that even [*p >he*] the [*p >war-ship's { <war-ship's}*] minister of Christ [*p <Christ >peace { <peace >Christ}*] [*p >tho' receiving his stipend from Mars*] had no consolation to proffer which could result in a peace transcending that which he →<he→ which not without natural reverence [*p <which not . . . reverence*] he beheld. But in the first of the [*<first of the*] small hours he came again. And the prisoner now awake to his surroundings noticed his approach

306: [left-corner number 9]; Fa 69. [W 296]

Fa

and civilly, all but cheerfully, welcomed him. But it was to little purpose that in the interview following the good Chaplain [*p <Chaplain >man*] sought to bring Billy Budd to some godly understanding that he must die, and at dawn. True, Billy himself freely named →<named→ referred to his death as a thing near [*p add close (without canceling near)*] at hand; but it was something in the way that children will refer to death in general, who yet among their other sports will with much gravity [*<with much gravity*] play a funeral, hearse and mourners. [*<, hearse and mourners add period (after funeral) {>hearse and mourners} {ESM p >with (before hearse)}*]

307: Fa 70. [W 297]

Fa

Not that like children Billy was incapable of conciving what death really is. No, but he was wholly without irrational fear of it, a fear more prevalent among →<among→ in highly civilised [civilized?] communities than those so-called barbarous [*p correct to barbarous*] ones which in all respects stand nearer to primitive [*p <primitive >unadulterate*] Nature. And, as elsewhere said, a barbarian Billy radically was; as much so, for all the costume, as his countrymen the British captives, who [*p <who*] living trophies, made to march thro' Rome [*<thro' Rome*] in the [add Roman] triumph of Germanicus. Quite as much so as those later barbarians, young men probably, [*p >(below)* and picked specimens] among the

308: Fa 71. [W 298]

Fa

earlier British converts to Christianity, [*p >at least nominally such*] and taken to Rome (as to day East Indian [*p <East Indian*] converts [*p >from lesser isles of the sea*] may be taken to London) of whom the Pope of that time, admiring the strangeness of their personal beauty so unlike the Italian stamp, their clear ruddy complexion and [*>curled*] flaxen hair, [*<hair >locks*] exclaimed, "Angles do you call them →<do you call them add quotation mark (after Angles)→ (meaning English [*underlined*] its →<its→ the [*p >modern*] derivative) "Angles do you call them? And is it because they look so like angels?" Had it been later in time one would think that the Pope had in mind Fra Angelico's seraphs some of whom, seen [*<seen*] plucking apples in some garden [*p <some alter garden to gardens*] of the Hesperides

309: Fa 72. [W 299]

Fa

have the faint rose-bud complexion of the [>more] beautiful English girls.

If in vain the good Chaplain sought to impress the young barbarian with ideas of death akin to those conveyed in the skull, dial, and cross-bones on old tombstones; equally futile to all appearance were his efforts to present to →<present to→ bring home to him the thought of religion [<religion >salvation] and a Saviour. Billy listened, but less out of awe or reverence [*p* >perhaps] than from a certain natural politeness; doubtless at bottom regarding all that in much the same way that most mariners of his class take any discourse abstract or out of the common tone of the work-a-day world.

310: Fa 73. [W 300]

Fa

And this sailor-way of taking it →<it→ clerical talk [<talk >discourse] is not wholly unlike the way in which the primer [*ESM p* >pioneer] of Christianity full of marvellous [*p* <marvellous >transcendent] miracles is →<is >was→ recievied long ago on tropic isles by any amiable →<amiable→ superior savage [underlined] so called—a Tahitian say of Captain Cook's time or shortly after that time. [*p* >Out {<Out >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) Out of natural courtesy}] He recievied it, yes, but out of a sort of [leave space for word {*p* add in this space complaisance}] [<it . . . complaisance add comma (after received)] but did not apprropiate. It was like a gift placed in the [>palm of an] extended →<extended→ outreached hand upon →<hand upon→ hand upon which the fingers do not close.

But the Ch →<Ch→ “Indomitable’s [underlined] Chaplain was a [>discreet] man possessing that sort of →<that sort of add the → good sense of a good heart. So he insisted not in his vocation he. [*p alter to here.*] At the instance of Captain Vere,

311: Fa 74. [W 301]

Fa

a lieutenant had apprised him of pretty much everything as to Billy; and since he felt that innocence was even a better thing than religion itself [<itself] wherewith to go to Judgement, he reluctantly withdrew; but in his emotion not without [>first] performing an act strange enough in an Englishman, and under the circumstances yet more so in any regular priest. Stooping over, he kissed on the fair cheek his fellow-man, a felon in martial law, one who though on the confines of death he felt he →>could→ never convert. [*p add (deleting period)* to a dogma; nor did he fear →<did he fear→ for all that did he fear for his future]

Marvel not that having been made acquainted with the young sailor's essential innocence

[*p notation (bracketed)* an irruption of heretic thought hard to suppress]

312: FG 75. [W 302]

**Fa 75*

[*p notation (circled)* 76 omitted]

the worthy man lifted not a finger to avert the doom of such a martyr to martial discipline. So to do would

Fb

not only have been as idle as invoking the desert, but would also have been an audacious transgressor of the →<the→ the bounds of his function, one as exactly prescribed to him by military law as that of [*p* >the boatswain or] any other navy [*alter to naval*] officer. Bluntly put, a chaplain [*p* >is an anomalous personage <is . . . personage] is the minister of the Prince of Peace serving in the host of the God of War—Mars. As such, he is as incongruous as a musket would be on the altar at Christmas. [*p* <a >that (before musket) >(after musket) of Beecher &c <would be on the altar (*revision is incomplete*)] Why then is he there? Because he indirectly subserves the purpose attested by the cannon; because too he lends the sanction of the religion of the meek to that which practically is the abrogation of everything but sheer [<sheer >(below brute)] Force [*no period*]

[*p chapter-ending mark* —♦—]

313: Fa 77. [W 303]

Fa

[*p notation (circled)* 76 omitted]

[*p chapter-beginning mark* —♦—]

The night so luminous on the waters and [*p* <waters and] spar-deck but otherwise on the cavernous ones below, levels so like the tiered galleries in a coal-mine—the luminous night passed away. But, like the prophet in the chariot disappearing in heaven and dropping his mantle to Elisha, the withdrawing night transferred its pale robe to the day-break. [*p* >breaking (before day) add period (after day) <-break] A meek shy light appeared in the East where stretched [<where stretched >veiled by {<veiled by >where stretched}] a diaphonous fleece of thin [<thin >white] furrowed vapor.

314: Fa 78. [W 304]

Fa

That light slowly waxed. Suddenly one bell [*one bell underlined*] [*p* >eight (above one) *alter bell to bells*] was struck aft, responded to by a [<a >one]

louder [>]metallic] stroke from forward. It was half past [*p* <half past] four o'clock in the morning. Instantly the [>]silver] whistles were heard summoning all hands to witness punishment. Up through the great hatchways rimmed with racks of heavy shot, the watch below came pouring overspreading with the other [*p* <other] watch [*p* >already on deck] the space between the mainmast and foremast including that occupied by the capacious launch [*underlined*] and the black booms tiered on either side of it, boat and booms making a summit of observation for the [>]powder-] boys and younger tars. [<younger tars {>younger tars}]

315: Fa 79. [W 306 {sic for 305}]

Fa

A different group comprising one watch of topmen leaned over the rail of that sea-balcony, no small one in a seventy-four, looking down in [*alter to on*] the crowd below. Man or boy none spoke [*mend to spake*] but in whisper, and few spoke [*mend to spake*] at all. Captain Vere—as before, the central figure among the assembled commissioned officers—stood nigh the break of the poop-deck facing forward. The marines →<The marines→ [*add Just*] Below him on the quarter-deck the marines in full equipment were drawn up much as at the scene of the promulgated sentence.

316: Fa 80. [W 306]

Fa

At sea in the old time, the execution by halter of a military sailor was generally from the fore-yard. In the present instance, [>](*below, circled, with guide-line to caret*) for per →<per→ stragetic [*p* <strategic >special] reasons] the main-yard was assigned. Under the lee →<lee→ *Indomitable's* [*underlined*] lee yard →<Under . . . yard→ Under an [*p* >*notation* weather or lee] arm of that yard the prisoner was presently brought up, the Chaplain attending him. It was noted at the time and remarked upon afterwards, that in this final scene the good man evinced little or nothing of the perfunctory. Brief speech indeed he had with the condemned one,

317: Fa 81. [W 307]

Fa

but the genuine Gospel was more →<more→ less on his tongue than in his [>]aspect and] manner towards him. The final preparations personal to the latter being speedily brought to an end by two of →<of→ boatswain's-mates, the consummation immediatly [*p* <immediatly] impended. [*p* >Billy stood facing aft.] At the penultimate moment, Billy's [*p* <Billy's >his] words, his only ones, words wholly unobstructed in the utterance were these—"God bless

Captain Vere!" Such a →<Such a→ [*p* >W →<W→ Syllables] So unanticipated a benediction [*p* <a benediction] coming from one with the ignominious noose [*p* <ignominious <noose >hemp {>ignominious}] about his neck—a [*p* >a felon's {<a felon's >a conventional felon's}] benediction directed [*p* >aft] towards the quarters of honor; [*p* >syllables too] delivered too [*p* <too] in the clear melody of a singing-bird

318: Fa 82. [W 308]

Fa

warbling [*p* <warbling] on the point of starting →<starting→ launching from the twig, had a phenominal [*p* correct to phenomenal] effect, not unenhanced by the [*p* >rare] personal beauty of the speaker [*p* <speaker >foundling-sailor {<foundling- add young (before sailor)}] spiritualised [spiritualized?] now thro' late experiences so poignant as his. [*alter poignant to poignantly <as his. add profound.*]

Without volition as it were, as if indeed the ship's populace were but the vehicles of some vocal current electric, from a low and aloft with one voice [*transpose (circled, with guide-line to caret)*] from a low and aloft to follow voice] came a resonant [*p* >(below) sympathetic] echo—"God bless Captain Vere!" And yet Billy alone must [>at that instant {*p transpose (by circling and caret)*} at that instant *first after then before* Billy]] have been in their hearts, even as he was [>alone {*transpose (circled, with guide-line to caret)* alone to precede was} {*p* >monopolized <alone was} {<monopolized (leaving no verb)}}] in their eyes.

At the pronounced words and the spontaneous [*p* correct to spontaneous] echo that voluminously rebounded them,

319: Fa 83. [W 309]

Fa

Captain Vere, either thro stoic self-control or a sort of temporary [*p* <temporary >momentary] paralysis induced by emotional shock, stood erectly rigid as a musket in an armory's [*p* <an armory's >the ship-armorer's] rack.

The cannoned [*p* <cannoned >ponderous {<ponderous}] hull deliberately recovering from the periodic roll to leeward [*p notation (circled, with guide-line to caret)*] Insert from p. 84 {<notation}} was just regaining an even keel, when the preconcerted fatal sign [*p* <fatal sign >signal {<signal >(after the but misplacing caret after when) death-signal} {<death- add fatal} {<fatal add last add (after signal) a >(after preconcerted) and →<and→ dumb one} (*passage finally reads* when the last signal a preconcerted dumb one)] was given. At the same moment it chanced that the vapory fleece hanging low in the East, suddenly dyed by the sun behind approaching nearer the horizon, took

on a [p <suddenly . . . on a >was shot thro with a dyed →<dyed→ a soft] glory as of the [p >fleece of the] Lamb of God seen in mystical vision. [p <period]

320: Fa 84. [W 310]

Fa

[p >and] Simultanious [p alter to Simultaniously] therewith, watched by the wedged mass of upturned faces, Billy ascended; and, ascending, took the full shekinah [p <shekinah >rose] of that grand dawn. [p <that <grand <dawn. >(below) the dawn]

In the pinioned figure, arrived at the yard-end, [p >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret) to the amazement {<amazement >(below) wonder} of all] no motion was visable [p <visable >apparent] but [p <but >save add none (before save)] that created but →<but→ by the slow roll of the hull, [p <hull >ship {<slow roll of the <ship >ship's motion.}] in moderate weather so solemn [p <solemn >majestic] in a great ship heavy-cannoned. [p <heavy >heavily {<heavily >ponderously}] [p enclose with brackets in moderate . . . cannoned. add notation (circled, in left margin, with cross) put on previous page {<notation}] When subsequently, in reference to this, the Purser, hardly →<hardly→ a worthy man but not the wisest, [p <a worthy . . . wisest >an honest {>impulsive} man and correct accountant but little more] said at mess to the Surgeon "What testimony to the force lodged in the human will," [p <the human will >will-power add human (before will-power)] the man of the knife and saw replied [p <man . . . replied add practical physicist, {>(below) socially} a man of {>formal} {<formal >(below, circled) a sort of add severe (circled)} metallic politeness, said urbane in causticity {<a sort of severe metallic politeness >(above, circled, with guide-line to caret before urbane) formally}]

[F+ green crayon cancel whole passage When subsequently . . . causticity]
[blue then red crayon add chapter-ending mark —————♦— (after ponderously cannoned.)]

[ESM? p notation End of Chapter]

321: F/G 85. [W 311]

F/G

[p add A digression followed by chapter-beginning mark —————♦—]

When subsequently [p <subsequently >some days afterwards] in reference to this, [p <this >the singularity just mentioned] the Purser [>a rotund man {p <a add a rather ruddy (before rotund) <man add person)} more accurate as an accountant than profound as a thinker, [p <thinker >philosopher] said at mess to the Surgeon, "What testimony to the force lodged in will-power" the latter a man formally polite and {<man >spare man {<formally polite and >and tall} {p <a <man add (before spare) rather} {p

<rather >(below, with line) saturnine}] whose [p <whose add (after tall) one in whom a] discreet causticity was →<was→ went along with a man [p alter to manner] cumbrously [p <cumbrously >less genial than] polite, replied, "Your pardon, Mr. Purser. In a hanging scientifically [p correct to scientifically] conducted—and under special orders I myself directed how Budd's was to be effected—any motion [<motion >movement] following the completed suspension and originating in the body suspended, such motion →< motion→ movement but [<but] indicates

322: F/G 86¹. [W 312]

F/G

[add but {p <but}] mechanical spasm in the muscular system. Hence the absence of that no more proceeds from [>is (before no more) <proceeds from >attributable to] will-power as you call it than from [<than <from >than to] horse-power—begging your pardon."

"But this muscular spasm you speak of, is not that in a degree more or less invariable in these cases? [no quotation mark]

Cor →<Cor→ "Assuredly so, Mr. Purser."

"How then, my good sir, [>how then {<how then}] do you account for its absence in this instance?"

"Mr. Purser, it is clear that your sense of the singularity in this matter equals not mine. You account for it by what you call will-power a term not yet included in the lexicon of science. For me I do not,

323: F/G 86². [W 313]

F/G

with my present knowledge assume [<assume >pretend] to account for it [>at] all. Even should we assume the hypothesis that at the first touch of the halyards the action of Budd's heart, intensified by extraordinary emotion at its climax, abruptly stopt—much like a watch when in carelessly winding it up you strain at the finish, thus snapping the chain—even under that hypothesis how account for the phenomenon that followed."

"You admit then that the absence of spasmodic movement was phenomenal [correct to phenomenal]."

[no quotation mark] It was phenomenal, Mr. Purser, in the sense that it was an appearance

324: F/G 86³. [W 314]

F/G

the cause of which is not immediatly to be assigned."

But tell me, my dear Sir, pertinaciously continued the other, "was but →<but→ the man's death effected by the halter, or was it a species of euthanasia? [no opening or closing quotation mark]

"Euthanasia, [underlined] Mr Purser, is something like your will-power: [will-power underlined] I doubt its authenticity as a scientific term—begging your pardon again. It is [p >both {<both add at once}]] imaginative, [p <comma >and] metaphysical,—in short, Greek." →<quotation mark→ But" totally [<totally >(below) abruptly] changing his tone "there is a case in the sick-bay that I do not care to leave to my assistants. You will [<You will >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) Beg your pardon, but] excuse me." And rising from the mess he formally withdrew [no period]

[p chapter-ending mark —————♦—]

325: Fa 87. [W 315]

Fa

[p chapter-beginning mark —————♦—]

The silence accompanying the [p <accompanying the >at the moment of ascension [p <ascension >execution] and for a brief space [p <brief space >moment or two] continuing after it →<after it→ thereafter, a silence broken only [p <broken only >but emphasised {emphasized?}] by the [p >regular] wash of the sea against the hull or the slatting [p <slatting >flutter] of a sail doubtless caused by the slatting of a sail →<doubtless . . . sail,→ possibly [p <possibly] caused by the helmsman's eyes being tempted astray, [p >this emphased silence anon →<anon→ was gradually] was presently [p <presently] disturbed by a sound not easily to be verbally rendered. Whoever standing by foot-hills, [<standing by foot-hills] has caught →<caught add heard→ the first audible murmer of the freshet-wave of a torrent suddenly [<the first . . . of the add the (before freshet-wave)]

326: Fa 88. [W 316]

Fa

swelled by pouring rains [p <rains >showers] in tropical mountains, rains [<rains >showers] not shared by the foot →<foot→ plain; whoever has heard the first audible [<audible >muffled] murmer of its advance descending [p alter advance to advanceing <descending >descent {>(after its) sloping alter advanceing to advance <descent}]] through forrests, [p <forrests >precipitous woods] may form some conception of the sound now heard not without concern by the officers assembled about Captain Vere. [p add period (after heard) <not without . . . Vere >Its seem <Its seem >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) Its seem →<Its seem→ The seeming remoteness of its source was because of its peculiar {<peculiar >(below, circled) murmerous} indistinctness] Yet [p <Yet >since] it came from close-by, even from the throng [p <throng add men >massed] on the de →<de→ ship's spar [p <spar- >open] deck. That inarticulate murmer was [p <That capitalize inarticulate add comma (after Inarticulate) <murmer was add it was {add

Being (before Inarticulate))] dubious in significance save that [p <save >further than <that] it seemed to indicate some capricious revulsion of thought or feeling such as shore- →<shore- → mobs

327: Fa 89. [W 317]

Fa

ashore ar →<ar >are→ subject [<subject >liable] to; →alter semicolon to comma→ in the present instance possibly implying the [p <the >a sullen] revocation on the men's part of their involuntary echoing of Billy's benediction. But ere it [p <it >the murmer] had to →>time (before to)→ wax →<wax→ wax into aught of [p <aught of] clamor it was met by a stragetic command, the more telling that the →<the→ the men →<the men→ it came with abrupt unexpectedness:

"Pipe down the starboard watch Boatswain, and see that they promptly [p <promptly] go."

[>Shrill as the shriek of the sea-hawk] The shrill [<shrill >silver {<silver} {>silver}] whistles of that warrant-officer [p <that warrant-officer >the Boatswain] and his mates [alter mates to Mates] shrill →<shrill→ pierced that ominous low sound, like the →<like the→ dissipating it; and

328: Fa 90. [W 318]

Fa

yielding to the mechanism of disp →<disp→ discipline the throng was thinned by one half. For the remainder most of them were set to those →<those→ temporary employments readily to be →<readily to be→ connected with trimming the yards & →<&→ and so forth, [p >business] readily to be got up [p >(below, circled) to serve occasion] by any officer-of-the-deck.

[p add Now] Each proceeding that follows a mortal sentence pronounced at sea by a drum-head court are →<are >is→ characterized [characterised?] by promptitude not perceptably attended by [p <attended by add merging >into] hurry. [p alter period to comma >the bordering that.] The shotted [<shotted] hammock, [>the one which had been] Billy's bed when alive [p add comma] having already been prepared →<prepared→ ballasted with shot and otherwise prepared

329: Fa 91. [W 319]

Fa

to serve for his [p >canvas] coffin, the last office of the sea-undertakers, the Sail-Maker's Mates, were now speedily completed. When everything was in readiness the →<the→ a second call for all x →<x→ hands [p >(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) made necessary by the unusual {<unusual}

strategic movement before mentioned] was sounded and now to witness burial.

[G ink begins]

The details of this closing formality it needs not to give. But when the tilted plank let slide its freight into the sea, a second strange inarticulate [*<inarticulate*] human murmur was heard, blended now with another inarticulate sound proceeding from certain gaunt [p <gaunt>larger] sea-fowl whose attention having been

330: F/G 92. [W 320]

F/G

attracted by the [>peculiar] commotion in the water resulting from the plump [<plump>slant {<slant add heavy}] [p >sloped] dive of the pale [<pale>heavy [<heavy>shotted] hammock, [p add into the sea] flew screaming to the spot. So near the hull did they come, that the stridor or bony creak of their gaunt double-jointed pinions was audible. As the ship under light airs sa → <sa→ passed in, [alter in to on] leaving the burial-spot astern, they still kept circling it low down with the moving shadow of their outstretched wings and the croaked requiem of their cries.

Upon sailors as superstitious as those of the age preceding ours, men-of-war's men [p >too] who had just

331: F/G 93. [W 321]

F/G

beheld the prodigy of repose hanging from the yard-end; [p <hanging from the yard-end> in the {>form} suspended in air, the same → <the same→ and now foundering in the deeps;] to such mariners the action of the sea-fowl tho' dictated by an → <an→ mere animal appet → <appet→ greed for prey, was big with imaginative import of bale. [p <imaginative . . . bale> no prosaic significance.] A dubious strange [p <A dubious strange> An uncertain] movement began among them, in which some encroachment was made. It was tolerated but for a moment. For suddenly the drum beat to quarters, which familiar sound happening [>at least] twice every day, had upon the present occasion a p → <p→ sh → <sh→ ringing [p <ringing> signal] peremptoriness in it. True martial discipline [p >long continued,] breeds [<breeds>superinduces] in average man an instinct [p >of docility {<an instinct <of> (before docility) an impulse → <an add a sort of→} (revision incomplete, reads a sort of impulse docility)] whose p → <p→ instinct → <instinct→ operation [p >under → <under→ at the w → <w→ official word of command] much resembles [>(below, circled) in its promptitude] that [<that >(below) the effect] of a natural one. [p <one> cause.] [p alter a to an <natural cause> (below) instinct.]

332: F/G 94. [W 322]

F/G

Instantly the [p <Instantly capitalize the] drum-beat dissolved the multitude, distributing most of them along the batteris of [>the] two [add covered gun-] decks. There, as wont, the guns' crews stood by their respective cannon erect and silent. In due course the First Officer → <Officer→ Lieutenant → <Lieutenant→ Officer, sword under arm and standing in his place on the quarter-deck [>formally] received the successive reports of the sworded Lieutenants commanding the sections of batteries below; the last of which reports being made the summed report he delivered with the customary salute to the Commander. All this occupied time, which in the present case, was the object of [write in over of] beating to quarters at an

333: F/G 95. [W 323]

F/G

hour prior to the customary one. [p add then erase when the band plays & when → <when→ prayers are said] That such variance from usage was authorised [authorized?] by an officer like Captain Vere, a martinet as some deemed him, was evidence of the necessity for it [<for it add for> unusual action] implied in what he deemed to be temporarily the mood of his men. "With mankind" he would say "forms [>, measured forms] are everything; and that is the moral → <moral→ import couched in the story of Orpheus taming the beasts." [p <taming the beasts> with his lyre spell-binding the wild denizens of the wood.] [>(below, circled, with guide-line to caret) And this he once applied to the disruption of forms going on across the Channel and the consequences thereof.]

At this unwonted call to [<call to> muster add at] quarters, all proceeded as at the regular hour. The band on the quarter-deck played a sacred air. After which the Chaplain went thro'

334: F/G 96. [W 324]

F/G

the customary morning service. That done, the drum beat the retreat; and toned by [>music and] religious rites subserving the discipline [p >& purposes] of war, the men in their wonted orderly manner, dispersed to their → <alter to the→ places allotted them when not at the guns.

And now it was full day. The fleece of low-hanging vapor had vanished, licked up by the sun that late had so glorified them. [<them>it.] And the circumambient air in the clearness of its serenity was [>like] smooth white marble in the polished block not yet removed from the marble-dealer's yard. [p chapter-ending mark —————→]

[334a] 361:

[Pencil-draft fragment of notations for chapters on (a) fight with French ship, (b) subsequent history of spar. From Stage X, no foliation. Verso of fragment was inscribed earlier; see p. 432.]

X pencil

They hoped it might prove to be the sail they had chased the previous morning; but it turned out otherwise. It was the French [French written over erasure] line of battle ship "The Directory" [The written over another word?] [single rule across leaf]

For the Supplement. [underlined]

In the engagement the main yard from which Billy had been hung, fouling at close quarters with the rigging of the "Directory", was snapped off at the end

&c &c &c

[single rule across leaf]

& left at Gibraltar. [underlined]

[remnant of caret-pointer where leaf is cut off here]

[Weaver? pencil notation, underlined, along left margin Illegible {notation erased}]

335: F/G 97. [W 325]

F/G

[p chapter-beginning mark —————→————]

The symmetry [correct to symmetry] of form attainable in pure fiction can not so readily be achieved in a narration [>essentially] have [alter to having] less to do with fable than with fact. Truth uncompromisingly told will always have its ragged edges; hence the conclusion of such a narration is apt to be less finished than an architectural finial.

How it fared with the Handsome Sailor during the year of the Great Mutiny has been faithfully given to →add period (after given) <to→ But tho' properly the story ends with his life something in way of sequel

336: F/G 98. [W 326]

F/G

will not be amiss. Three brief chapters will suffice.

In the general re-christening under the Directory of the craft originally forming the navy of the French monarchy, the St. Louis [underlined] line-of-battle ship was named [leave space for name {p write name (above, with guide-line) Athéiste} {ESM p add (in space left for name) the Atheiste}] Such a name, like some other substituted ones in the F →<F→ Revolutionary fleet while proclaiming the infidel audacity of the ruling power was yet, tho' not so intended to be, the aptest name, if one consider it, ever given to a war-ship;

far more so indeed than the Devastation, [underlined] the Erebus (the Hell) [both names underlined] and seem →<seem→ similar names bestowed upon fighting-ships.

337: F/G 99. [W 327]

F/G

On the return-passage to the English fleet from the detached cruise during which occurred the events already recorded, the Bellipotent [underlined] fell in with the [leave space for name {p write name (above, with guide-line to caret) Athéiste} {ESM p add (in space left for name) Atheiste (underlined)}] An engagement ensued; during which Captain Vere in the act of putting his ship alongside the enemy with a view to [<to >of] throwing his boarders on her decks, [<on her decks >across her bulwarks] was hit by a musket-ball from a port-hole of the enemy's main cabin. More than disabled he dropt [ESM p alter to dropped] to the deck and was carried below to the same cock-pit where some of his men already lay. The senior Lieutenant took command. Under him the enemy was

338: F/G 100. [W 328]

F/G

finally captured and though much crippled was by rare good fortune successfully taken into Gibraltar, an English port luckily [<luckily] not [>very] distant from the scene of the fight. There, Captain Vere with the rest of the wounded was put ashore. He lingered for some days, but the end came. Unhappily he was cut off too early for the Nile and Trafalgar. The spirit that spite its philosophic austerity may yet secretly [<secretly >have] indulged in the most secret of all passions, ambition of broad →<broad→ fame, [<of fame] never attained to the fulness of fame.

Not long before death

339: F/G 101. [W 329]

F/G

while lying under the influence of that magical drug which soothing the physical frame mysteriously operates on the subtler element in man, he was heard to murmur words inexplicable to the →<the→ his attendant—"Billy Budd, Billy Budd." That these were not the accents of remorse, seems →<seems→ would seem clear from what the attendant said to the Bellipotent's [underlined] senior officer of marines who as the most reluctant to x →<x→ condemn of the membes of the drum-head court, too well knew tho' here he kept the knowledge to himself, who Billy Budd was.

340: Bc 75², p 75. [W 330]**Bc**

[X+p notation (with fist) P 25 (pencil) follows →<follows→ precedes]
 [X+p notation (with fist) (Speak of the fight & death of Captain Vere) {p <notation}]
 [p chapter-beginning mark —————→ {p second chapter-beginning mark
 —————→}]]

[ESM p notation (at top) follows 101 on side in pencil]

[▷ To go back. {<To go back.}] In due time [p <In due time ▷ Some few weeks] after the event, [p <event ▷ execution, {add of the Foretopman} {<execution ▷ end} {<end of the Foretopman add execution}] among other matters under the head of News from the Mediterranean, [News . . . Mediterranean underlined] there appeared in an authorised [authorized?] naval Chronicle of the time, a [(with circling and guide-line to caret) transpose authorised to this point, altering an to a and a to an] weekly publication, an account of the affair. [p <affair ▷ execution and alleged crime. {<execution and alleged crime ▷ affair.}] It was doubtless [p >for the most part] written in good faith, tho' the medium, partly rumor, through which the facts must have reached the writer, served to deflect [p >and in part falsify] them. The account was as follows:—

[p add quotation mark] On the tenth of the last month a deplorable occurrence took place [p <place]

341: Bb 76, 76^{pl}. [W 331]**Bb**

place on board H.M.S. Indomitable. [Indomitable underlined] John Claggart, the ship's master-at-arms, discovering that some sort of plot was being hatched [p Bc <being hatched >incipient] among an inferior section of the ship's company, and that the plotter [p Bc <plotter ▷ ringleader] was one William Budd a foretopman →<a foretopman add semicolon (after Budd)→ [p ▷ he, Claggart] in the act of arraigning the man before the Captain [p <Captain ▷ Comm →<Comm ▷ Captain→] was [p Bc >vindictively stabbed to the heart by the suddenly drawn sheath-knife of Budd.

The deed and the implement employed, sufficiently suggest that the [Bc alter the to tho']

† **Bc**
 mustered into the service under an English name the assassin was no English-man, but one of those aliens adopting English names [p <names ▷ (below) cognomens] whom

342: Bb 77 [Bc 77 substitute top pasted on]. [W 332]

† **Bc**

the [▷present extraordinary] necessities of the service have caused to be admitted into it. [p <period by writing over it and add in considerable numbers (no period)]

* **Bb 77**

The enormity of the crime and the extreme depravity of the criminal, appear the greater in view of the character of the victim, a man [Bb+p <a man ▷ (below) a middle-aged man <a middle-aged man ▷ a {Bc ▷ middle-aged} ▷ man] eminently [Bc <eminently] respectable, sober and [Bc <sober and ▷ and] discreet, belonging to that minor [p Bc >official] grade in the →<the→ His Majesty [p add 's] navy [Bb+p <His . . . navy ▷ serving in (?)] upon which [Bb+p <which ▷ the petty officers and several words (undeciphered) upon whom as {Bc <the petty . . . whom as <His Majesty's Navy upon which, as >(interlined), the petty-officers, upon whom, as}] none know better than the commissioned officers, [Bc <officers ▷ gentlemen,] the efficiency of the service [p Bc <the service ▷ His Majesty's navy] so considerably [p <considerably ▷ largely] depends—the petty officers. [Bc <—the petty officers add period (after depends)] His function was a [p Bc alter a to an >onerous and] responsible one; [p <onerous and >at once onerous & thankless] and his fidelity in it the more marked [p Bc <more marked add greater] because of the [▷peculiar] earnestness of [Bb+p <the peculiar earnestness of ▷ (below) his →<his ▷ a→ strong →<strong→ patriotic →<patriotic→ loyal impulse signalizing him →alter to that signalized him then alter to that signalizing trait in him,→ {Bc green crayon <greater because . . . in him}]

343: Bc 78¹. [W 333]**Bc**

greater because of his strong patriotic impulse. In this instance as in so many other instances in these days, the example of this →<this→ the [p <example of the ▷ character of this unfortunate] man signally refutes, if refutation were needed, that peevish saying attributed to the late Dr. Johnson, that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel.

* **Bb**

The criminal paid the penalty of his crime. The promptitude of the example [p <example >punishment] has proved salutary. Nothing amiss is now apprehended aboard H.M.S. Indomitable." [underlined]

The above appearing in a publication now

344: Ba 78, Be 78². [W 334]**Ba**

long ago superannuated and forgotten is all that stands [*p* <stands >hitherto has stood] in human [*p* <human >authorative {<authorative >human}] record [*p* >up to the present time {<up to the present time}] to attest what manner of men respectively were John Claggart and Billy Budd [no period]

[B+p chapter-ending mark —————♦————]

[B+p notation End {B+p <End}]

[B+p add Here ends a story not unwarranted by what sometimes happens in this {word undeciphered} world of ours—Innocence and infamy, spiritual depravity and fair repute {blue crayon <Here ends . . . repute}]

[B+p ending-mark —————♦————]

345: B/X 79. [W 335]

B/X pencil

Everything is for a term venerated in navies. Sailors →<Sailors→ Any tangible object associated with any x →<any x→ some striking incident [>of that →<that→ the service], is converted into a monument. The spar from which the Foretopman was suspended, was for some years →<was for some years→ was for some few followed →<followed→ years kept trace of by the bluejackets. Their knowledges pursued [<pursued >followed] it from ship to dock-yard and again from dock-yard to ship, following [<following >still pursuing] it even when [>at last] reduced to a mere dock-yard boom. To them a chip of it was as a piece of the Cross. Ignorant tho' they were of the secret facts of the tragedy, and not thinking but that the penalty was somehow justly [<justly >necessarily {<necessarily >(below) unavoidably}] inflicted from the naval point of view,

346: B/X 80. [W 336]

B/X pencil

[>(above) view {<view}] instinctively they [<instinctively >for all that they <(original) they {>instinctively}] knew →<knew→ felt that Billy was a bully boy, was a →<a bully boy, was a→ a true [<true >sort of] man [>as] incapable of wilful murder, →<of wilful murder→ alike →<alike→ of [>causeless {<causeless}] mutiny as →<as→ as of wilful murder. The →<The→ They recalled his →<his→ the [>young {add fresh (before young)}] image of the Handsome Sailor, its beauty and those features →<its beauty . . . features→ that face upon which they had never seen a sc →<upon . . . a sc→ never deformed by any →<any→ a vile [<vile >sneer or subtler vile] freak within. →<within.→ of the heart within. Their →alter to This→

impression of him took →<took→ was doubtless deepened by his end →<his end→ the fact that he was gone, and [>in a measure] mysteriously gone. The general feeling on the gun decks of the Indomitable" [>(after feeling) at the time {<feeling at the time capitalize on transpose The general (to follow Indomitable") >(after general) estimate continue down right margin of his nature add and its bravery of simplicity (circling, with caret In general . . . simplicity)} {<bravery of >(below, circled) unconscious}] found →<found→ eventually found rude utterance from one of the [<one of the add a {<a >(with circling and caret) another}] foretopmen [>one of his mates, →<mates,→ own watch] gifted with →<with→ , as freq →<freq→ some sailors are, with the →alter the to a→ [<a >an artless] poetic [G blue ink underline poetic] temperament; written →<written→ but his →<his→ wholly →<but wholly alter semicolon (after temperament) to period→ He composed some [<some add these {<these >the}] lines that follow whereof the title is his own. →<the lines . . . his own→ a ballad →<a ballad <composed add (after He and taking He as The) tarry hands made some lines→ which after circulating

Leaf finally reads:

for all that they instinctively felt that Billy was a sort of man as incapable of mutiny as of wilful murder. They recalled the fresh young image of the Handsome Sailor, that face never deformed by a sneer or subtler vile freak of the heart within. This impression of him was doubtless deepened by the fact that he was gone, and in a measure mysteriously gone. On the gun decks of the [no quotation mark] Indomitable" The general estimate of his nature and its unconscious simplicity eventually found rude utterance from another foretopmen one of his own watch gifted, as some sailors are, with an artless poetic [underlined] temperament. The tarry hand made some lines which after circulating

347: B/X 81. [W 337]

[Verso of leaf was inscribed earlier; see p. 432.]

B/X pencil

among the [>shipboard] crews for a while, finally got printed at Portsmouth as a [>rude] ballad. [<rude add (after got) rudely <at Portsmouth add (after ballad) at Portsmouth {<(after ballad) at Portsmouth >(after printed) at Portsmouth}] The title given to it was his own. [<his own >the sailor's.]

Billy in the Dardies

[title underlined]

348: [p 1]; Bb 72, B/X 82. [W 338]

Bb

[p > (at top right) (Billy in the Darbies)]

Good of him, ay, [*him, ay,* >the Chaplain] to enter Lone Bay
 And down on his marrow-bones here and pray
 For the likes [p >just] o' me, Billy Budd.—But, look:
 Through the port comes the moon-shine astray: [*alter colon to exclamation mark*]

It tips the guard's cutlas and silvers this nook. [p *alter period to semicolon*]
 But 'twill die in the dawning of Billy's last day! [*alter exclamation mark to period by scratching out*]

Ay, a [p <Ay capitalize a] jewel-block they'll make of me tomorrow,
 Pendant [p <Pendant >Yes a { <Yes a >Pendant}] pearl from the yard--
 arm-end

Like the ear-drop I gave to Bristol Molly—

349: [p 2]; Bb 73, B/X 83. [W 339]

Bb
 O, 'tis Billy, [p <Billy >me] not the sentance they'll suspend.

Ay, Ay, all is up; and I must up too
 Early in the morning, and never a cock will crow [*<and . . . crow >aloft from alow.*]

On an empty stomach, no, [p <, no, >now] never it would do.
 But they'll [p <But capitalize they'll] give me a nibble—bit o' buiscit
 ere I go.

Sure, a messmate will reach me the last parting cup, [p *alter comma to semi-colon*]

†**Bc**
 And, [p Bcb <And, >But,] turning heads away from the hoist and the
 belay,
 Heaven knows who will have the running of me up. [p *alter period to exclamation mark*]
 No song [p Bcb <song >pipe] to those halyards.—But aren't it all sham?
 A blur's in my eyes; sure, its [p Bcb <sure, its >it is] dreaming that I am.
 A hatchet to my hauzer? all adrift to go?

350: [p 3]; Bb 74¹, B/X 84. [W 340]**Bb**

The drum roll to grog, and Billy never know?

But a chum he [p *revise, by insertions, erasures, and restorations to the Dansker then to a chum he then to the Dansker finally to Donald he*] has promised
 to stand by the plank;

So I'll shake a friendly hand ere I sink.

But—no! T → <T→ It is dead then I'll be, come to think.—

I remember Taff the Welshman when he sank.

And his cheek it was like the budded [p *alter to budding*] pink [no period]
 Will they [p <Will they >But me they'll] lash me in my [<my] hammock,
 drop me deep? [p *alter question mark to period*]

351: [p 4]; Bb 75, 75², 74². [W 341]**Bb**

Fathoms down [p >, fathoms down,] how I'll dream fast asleep.

I feel it stealing now. Sentry, are you there?

Just ease this iron [p <iron >shackles {<shackles >(circled) darbies}] at
 the wrist,

Ease it, [p <Ease it,] and roll me over fair. [p *alter period to comma*]
 I am drowzy, [p <drowzy >sleepy] and the oozy weeds about me twist.
 [p *ending mark* —♦—]

[p *notation End of Book / April 19th / 1891*]

Extra-Textual Leaves

1. *Leaves 365, 365B: A pair of conjunct leaves.*—Melville first used these during Stage A as a folder to hold early *Billy Budd* leaves. On the then front he noted its contents (in green crayon): “Beginning of / Billy Budd”. Later he canceled this notation and noted above it (in pencil, underlined) “Ballad / of / Billy Budd”. Still later, he erased that second notation.

Subsequently, Melville re-used these conjunct leaves as a folder to hold other matter unrelated to *Billy Budd*. To do so, he folded the leaves other side out—so that the side (365) with the above notations became the inside of the back. On the new (and now) front side, he noted (in pencil) its contents as “Travel Pieces” / (Various)”, and later(?) below (canceling the above) as “Shakespere” (*sic*, underscored). Still later either he or Mrs. Melville crossed out the second notation. And finally she penciled, above, “Jack Gentian” in reference to the final contents.

Much later, when Raymond Weaver examined the manuscripts he penciled on the lower left corner of the now front side “4 sheets”—the number of leaves then in the folder: one leaf carries a brief passage about Shakespeare; the other three (foliated 17, 18, 19¹) belonged to “Jack Gentian” at one stage. In her sorting of Melville’s manuscripts Mrs. Melville penciled at the top of this folio 17 “These pages are probably from *Billy Budd*”. Later she erased this notation, replacing it with two question marks. Still later, probably, she correctly labeled the cover “Jack Gentian”.

2. *A pair of conjunct leaves of the darker (earlier) paper.*—As scissored from a larger sheet, these leaves have horizontal chain-lines. Melville used these conjunct leaves as a folder. First (in blue crayon) he noted on the then front the title “Asaph Blood”—an earlier title of “Daniel Orme”; this title he underlined in orange crayon. Later, by pencil, he canceled this title. Then he folded the conjunct leaves other side out so that the canceled title stood on what thus became the inside of the back cover. On the new (and now) front side, he made the following sequence of notations. First, he wrote in pencil “Daniel Orm / & / Omitted of / Billy Budd”. Later, with green crayon, he canceled “& / Omitted of / Billy Budd” and underscored the title “Daniel Orm” with an ornamented rule. At some time, in pencil, he canceled the name “Orm” and wrote above it “Druid”; then he erased “Druid” and restored “Orm,” altering it to “Orme”. Later, probably in her sorting, Mrs. Melville penciled “Story of” above “Daniel Orme”, with a guide-line, so that it now reads “Story of / Daniel Orme”. At some time, notation numbers (10, 11, 16[?]) were written in column on the upper left corner, and later these were erased. In the lower left

corner, in pencil, Weaver noted the contents as “21 sheets”—the number of the “Daniel Orme” leaves in the folder.

Misinterpretation of these notations has led to some faulty conclusions by previous editors. Weaver first printed “Daniel Orme” (Standard Edition, XIII, 117) with the head notation “(Omitted from ‘Billy Budd’)”—evidently his misinterpretation of the above cover notations. In this error Freeman followed Weaver, like him ignoring the large ampersand between the title “Daniel Orme” and the phrase “Omitted of Billy Budd”. By thus ignoring the ampersand both Weaver and Freeman interpreted the phrase as a descriptive comment on “Daniel Orme”, and so supposed it signified that “Daniel Orme” was at one time in the story of *Billy Budd*. Freeman included what he transcribed as “Version A” and “Version B” of “Daniel Orme” among the “related fragments” in his edition of *Billy Budd* (pp. 344–55; 52, 72). The unmistakable presence of the ampersand, however, removes the basis for this interpretation. The notations, actually, would seem to signify that Melville had placed two items in the folder: “Daniel Orm” and (later?) some leaves “Omitted of Billy Budd”. What those leaves may have been we have no way of knowing. When he later removed them from the folder he canceled the notation.

3. *Leaves [57a, 67a]362, 362B.*—A pair of conjunct leaves, separated at the fold by wear. Melville first used them as a folder for *John Marr* matter, noting (in blue crayon) on its then front “John Marr / Sea-Weed”. Below this (in pencil) he listed the numbers of various pages requiring corrections, with the notation “For Lizzie”. (See Freeman’s version, p. 368, #16.)

Later, Melville re-used these conjunct leaves as a folder for the Nelson chapter. He folded them other side out, so that the side (362B) with *John Marr* notations became the inside of the back. On the new front side (362) he noted the contents in green crayon, in a large hand: “Nelson / At / Trafalgar / &c”. Presumably he did so at Stage D (late in 1888) when he decided to exclude altogether the Nelson chapter (as expanded in Bb). Although at Stage E he allowed folio-numbers for the possible re-insertion of the Nelson chapter, and at G revised and foliated it (1–10), he never put it physically back into the manuscript or foliated it in the final sequence of E, but instead left it in this folder. Later, Mrs. Melville labeled the folder (in pencil): “To be inserted / in *Billy Budd*”, but did not put it in place in the manuscript. (See Freeman’s report, p. 154, footnote 1.) Its contents have now been placed and foliated in proper order.

4. *Leaf [80a]363. [W 68].*—A disjunct leaf from a formerly conjunct pair now separated along the fold by wear. Melville used the conjunct leaves as a folder to hold the second Vere chapter. The back leaf is lost or unidentified. Melville noted the contents (in pencil) on this present leaf in a large hand: “About [single rule] / Captain Vere [double rule] / To be inserted after first account of him”. (Mrs. Melville later copied this notation onto the first leaf of the chapter [Leaf 81] and placed the chapter in the manuscript, still in its

folder, since the leaves, including this folder-leaf, received *W* foliation.) See Plate VII.

Three further notations on the leaf, one by Melville and two by his wife, offer problems:

A penciled notation by Melville is on the upper right corner, with a large fist: "See P 177 / 2d Vol / Battle of B. N." Later, in blue crayon, this notation was circled and the fist was traced over. We have not satisfactorily identified the book referred to. Although the title corresponds to Joseph Allen's *Battles of the British Navy*, 2 vols. (London, 1852), nothing relevant to *Billy Budd* appears on the page cited. (A William Buddin is mentioned on the next page; and elsewhere occur references to the *Droits de l'Homme*—a French 74—and the *Indomptable*; see note to Leaf 64, *his sagacious dying injunctions*.)

Mrs. Melville penciled two notations. On the upper left corner she wrote "Van Tromp" and drew a fist. Across the leaf, below Melville's Vere notation, she wrote: "Texel—island in the Zuyder Zee owned by Holland—where prisoners of war were kept". "Van Tromp" seems clearly a reference to the famous Dutch admiral mentioned in the Nelson chapter. The "Texel" notation was apparently copied from a reference book. But we can suggest no connection between either notation and *Billy Budd*. It is possible that they relate rather to Melville's poem "At the Hostelry" (*Poems*, p. 324), in which both are mentioned.

5. Leaf [87a]364. [W 76].—Two library slips mounted on a leaf. The slips bear Melville's penciled notes from William James, *The Naval History of Great Britain*, II, 26, 73, 115–16; the occurrence on Leaf 53 of phrasing from one of the notes places their origin prior to composition of that leaf during Stage B. (Other matter possibly deriving from James appears on Leaves 50, 54, and 95–96: see notes to Reading Text.) There is no indication on the slips themselves about the library of their origin—presumably a departmentalized private institution, since the slips are headed "Reference Department" and carry instructions addressed to "Members."

In attempting, with the aid of present-day libraries and librarians in New York City, to identify the origin of the slips we have succeeded in definitely ruling out four institutions: the New York Society Library, in which Melville was a shareholder in 1848, 1850, and from November 20, 1889, until he died; the New York Mercantile Library; and the Astor and Lenox Libraries. But we have not been able either to confirm or to dismiss another interesting possibility: the Apprentices' Library of the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesmen, then located at 18 East Sixteenth Street within walking distance of Melville's residence at 104 East Twenty-sixth Street. This library maintained a reference department, made use of printed call slips, and employed a unique system of classifying its holdings, but apparently no slips from the 1880's survive for comparison with those on Leaf 364. One of the latter carries two penciled notations in Melville's hand—"2464" and "M146"—which might

possibly be classification or folio numbers, but surviving records and holdings of the Society's library are insufficient to permit identifying the numbers or specifying the book possibly designated by some or all of them.

It is therefore impossible to report that the slips are from a particular institution, or even from the same library in which Melville read James. His statement in the text concerning details of the Nore Mutiny, "Nor are these readily to be found in the libraries" (Leaf 54), at least implies that he had sought information in other authors as well as in James, and in more than one locality.

LEAVES WITH INSCRIBED VERSOS

Leaves with Inscribed Versos

Leaf	Verso (earlier) inscription	Recto (later) inscription
1	[238a] Xp Vere's difficult position	X+p dedication
4	pencil verse: "And thought and pl. can so combine"	Ea 3 Liverpool sailor
20	[260c] Xp 10, 9 ² Vere speech	*Da on Ea leaf Red Whiskers
63	— "Pebbles" (John Marr) [Freeman, p. 359, #1]	Bb 16 ⁸ Nelson 6
79†	— "Timoleon" (Timoleon) [Freeman, p. 361, #4]	†late pencil Vere not brilliant
83†	[260a] Xp Vere speech	†late pencil on Eb Vere's reading
84†	[77a] Ea or Eb Vere gazing at sea	†late pencil Vere's politics
85 (darker paper)	— "After the Pleasure Party" (Timoleon) [Freeman, p. 259, #2]	late pencil Vere's views
87†	[260b] Xp Vere speech	†late pencil Vere cites antiquity
88 (darker paper)	— "After the Pleasure Party" (Timoleon) [Freeman, p. 360, #3]	†late pencil Claggart introduced
112† (darker paper)	— Burgundy Club Inscription [Freeman, p. 365, #11]	†late pencil Dansker originated "Baby Budd"
133† (darker paper)	— "Rip van Winkle's Lilac" [Freeman, p. 365, #12]	†late pencil Claggart's lunacy
134 (darker paper)	— prose on Mediterranean [Freeman, p. 366, #13]	†late pencil Claggart's lunacy

Leaf	Verso (earlier) inscription	Recto (later) inscription
135 (darker paper)	— "Madcaps" (Weeds and Wildlings) [Freeman, p. 362, #7; Poems, p. 263]	late pencil Dark sayings
135† (darker paper)	— "The Loiterer" (Weeds and Wildlings) [Poems, p. 259]	†late pencil savor [of Holy Writ]
207†	[121c]*Eb 130 "What was the matter with the master-at-arms?"	†late pencil man-trap under the daisies
208†	[121b]*Ca 2 "why should Jimmy Legs"	†late pencil
222†	[191a] *Bb 53 Claggart appeared at . . . main- mast	†late pencil "The first mesmeric glance . . ."
230	[135f] Eb 145 ". . . Spencer depicts envy . . ."	G+p 38 "The surgeon turned . . ."
231	[135d] Eb <143> ". . . an indirect inkling . . . antipathy . . ."	G+p 39 "Vere . . . judgment on Ananias . . ."
232	[131a] Eb 136 etc. "Hardly ever is he a wine-bibber."	G+p 40 "Struck dead by the angel of God . . ."
233	[58a] Bb 16 ⁸ "sea-encounters . . . gallantry . . ." (Nelson chapter)	G+p 41 surgeon and Vere move Clag- gart
234	[135c] Eb 142 "Claggart's figure . . ."	G+p 42 "Full of disquietude . . . the . . . Surgeon left . . ."
235	[135e] Eb 144 Claggart's envy	G+p 43 Surgeon mistrusts Vere's sanity
236	[131b] Eb 138 etc. ". . . assumed by the depraved one . . ."	G+p 44 "Who can draw the line . . ."
247†	[121a] Bb ⁺ pencil "Some portraiture of Clag- gart . . ."	†late pencil the marine officer
290† (darker paper)	Verse fragment "After the Pleasure Party"? [Freeman, p. 362, #6]	Fb† on Fa 54 "narration may take up a term less brief . . ."

GENETIC TEXT

<i>Leaf</i>	<i>Verso (earlier) inscription</i>	<i>Recto (later) inscription</i>
347	— “Timoleon” (<i>Timoleon</i>) [Freeman, p. 361, #5]	B/X pencil 81 “... finally got printed . . . as a ballad . . .”
352†	[1a] C? Sailors laugh at Claggart’s quip	C? draft-title
361	— “Syra” (<i>Timoleon</i>) [<i>Poems</i> , pp. 251–52]	[334a] X draft for chapter on fight with French ship