148 Notes for F

see Lewis' dissertation, Chapter I; and Lisca, in John Steinbeck: Nature and Myth (1978), who says that in OMM Lennie "represents the Freudian id, and George is clearly
its controlling ego" (p. 79). See also the note to entry 585a.

316. Fromm's insistence on the ethical role of individual conscience and his dissussion

the Garden of Eden underlies JS's dramatic
emphasis on the moral and ethical enactment of choice. JS's entry for 28 June 1951 in the daily log of his novel reveals how strongly. Fromm's statements on Lao-tze, Buddha and Christ (p. 76) informed the novelist's attitude toward Samuel Hamilton and other "great ones" (IN, p. 115), a con-cept he transferred nearly verbatim from journal to novel as "those pillars of fire [who] guide frightened men through the darkness" (EE. p. 355).

317. Froude's book has

Notes for G 149

331. In one of the excised portions of EE, JS linked the
contemporary myth of the American West with the mythical, "unreal" quality of the Ge sta Romanorum (AMS, p. 175; HRC).

332. JS considered Gibbon one of the "great" historians;
the others were Macaulay, Prescott, Spengler and Toynbee (A&A, TMS, p. 137; HRC).

333-335. JS considered Gide "a great novelist of our time," and The Counte rfe ite r s "one of the greatest books that I have ever read." Gide "knew how to write," JS continues, "because his mind knew how to explore." See "Un Grand Romancier de Notre Temps," in Jean Schlumberger, ed., Hommage a Andre Gide (1951). For Gide's high praise of JS's fiction, especially IDE, consult Volume IV of Justin O'Brien's trans-lation of The Jo urnals o f Andre Gide (New York: Knopf, 1951), pp. 48, 79, 21 2, 233, 236.

337-338. Goethe was one of EFR's chief literary inter ests and he read far more of his work than JS did (See "AER," p. xliv). On 2 March 1964 JS told CS, apropos of autobiography, "Goethe wrote such an ac count but I have not read it yet. Can't find it yet. He called it Fiction and Fact [sic]. I didn't know about this when I got to thinking about such an account" (S LL, p. 798). Nevertheless, JS had read all of Faus t and The Sorrows of Youn g Werthe r by the late 19 30s (RA/RD, 10 August 1979). See Font enrose, JSII (pp. 10-12), for the apparent Faustian influences on Henry Morgan's character in COG.

344. CH was thoroughly familiar with Th e White Goddes s, and
directed JS's attention to the following pages: 42, 89, 115, 118, 129, 149, 175, 213, 241-243, 266, 279, 325, 349, 356, 358, 359 and 366.

34 5. Gray's Ana tomy is one of the books JS reque sted from
PC to "fill out" his library after his divorce from Gwyn in 1948. See SLL (p. 346).

34 8-350. JS borrowed an "entire set" of Grey's work while he was working at Tahoe in 1928 (JB/RD, 14 June 1981). Besides the three works listed, I have been unable to confirm how many other of Grey's 42 books (publi shed through 1928) JS actually read. That he was familiar with Grey from his high school years is apparent in this statement, made in 1920, to Robert Bennett: "This is a very prosaic world in spite of Zane Grey and E.A. Poe. " See Robert Bennett, Th e Wrath of John Steinbeck (19 39), p. [8].

150 Notes f or G

354. JS was extremely fond of his grandfather, Samuel
Hamilton's, copy of Gunn's treatise. JS's sister recalled the "big and thick black" book in their Salinas household, and said that JS "was raised on this well known book as were we alL .. " (Mrs. Eugene Ainsworth/RD, 30 November 1979). In the novel version of "The Green Lady," immediate predecessor
to TGU, JS remarked that Be th Willetts "had read with care
and interest every page of Doctor Gunn's Family Medicine"
(TMS, p. 4; SUL). Later, when JS wrote EE, he drew heavily
on Gunn's book for various medical details, moral and ethical attitudes, and thematic configurations. See my essay, "'A Great Black Book': East o f Eden and Dr. Gunn' s Family Medicine," Ameri can Studie s, 22 (1981), 41-57, for a full account, and Section II of my introduction above for an overview.

NOTES FOR H

357. JS was fond of nineteenth-century books on health,
medicine and various pseudo-sciences, notably palmistry and phrenology (which he read as a college student in the 1920s). He was amused by Hall's book and enjoyed hearing it read aloud. See also entries 354 and 371.

363-365. JS was aware of what he called "divine coincidenc es" in Hardy's fiction, and even thought that at times they could be "absurd." But he steadfas tly believed Hardy--unlike G.B. Shaw--"was always the artist and never the charlatan" (JS/RC, 14 April 1928; SUL). See also Peter Copek, "Ste inbeck's 'Naturalism'?" SQ, 9 (1976), who writes, "Except for this almost spiritual element in the natural world, Steinbeck's world would seem as bleak as Thomas Hardy's" (11).

366. In 1936 JS told Ben Abramson that he rarely read any-
thing which he "admired" so much as Hargrave's novel (HRC). For more on the book's background and reception (not entirely as harsh as JS claims), consult Hargrave's reminiscence, "Steinbeck and Summer Time Ends," SQ, 6 (1973), 67-73. Bobbs-Merrill issued the novel with a dust jacket (in eye-catching yellow) which prominently reproduced a large portion of JS's letter to Hargrave. See also Moore, who writes JS "was strongly moved by John Hargrave's Summer Time Ends ... " (NJS, p. 92).

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368-369. Consult Paul McCarthy, John Steinbeck (1980), p. 98,
for a brief notice of similarities between Harte's fiction and
JS's; and Lisca, WWJS, who notes that JS's story, "Johnny
Bear," is "reminiscent" of Harte (p. 96). The degree to which
Harte's characterization of women, and his alternately real-istic and romantic technique affected JS needs more attention.
370. EO thought JS had also read some of Hawthorne's tales,
but could not specify them, nor could she say how important
Hawthorne was to him. She felt fairly certain his reading
of Hawthorne took place in college or earlier (EO/RD, 20
August 1979). Hawthorne is not mentioned in the survey of
American letters in A&A, but that does not minimize certain
relationships between the two writers. For parallels between
GOW and Hawthorne--less with The Scarlet Letter than with the,
tales--see Agnes McNeill Donohue, "'The Endless Journey to No
End': Journey and Eden Symbolism in Hawthorne and Steinbeck,"
in her A Casebook on "The Grapes of Wrath" (1968), pp. 257-
266. Mark Govoni discusses EE's parallels with Hawthorne's
concepts of good and evil in "'Symbols for the Wordlessness':
A Study of John Steinbeck's East of Eden," (Dissertation, 1968),
Chapter Four.
377-384. Initially, JS minimized the presence and influence
of Hemingway, but as his own career succeeded, he became
freer in his praise and more revealing in his comments. In
a 1929 letter to AGD he claimed he had read only "The Killers"
(SLL, p. 19). The following year he told Amassa Miller: "My
chief reading has been pretty immaculate. I have re-read
Xenephon and Herodotus and Plutarch and Marcus Aurelius and
... Fielding, and yet I suppose I shall be imitating Hemingway
whom I have never read" (SLL, p. 25). But despite JS's dis-claimers (he once told Peter Lisca that he didn't read
Hemingway "until about 1940"), he had in fact read at least
The Sun Also Rises and the first four stories in Men Without
Women (1927) by 1934. By the late 1930s he had not only read
much more of Hemingway (including A Farewell to Arms, numerous
Esquire pieces and Green Hills of Africa), but willingly con-fessed his admiration. In his biography, Ernest Hemingway:
A Life Story (New York: Scribner's, 1969), Carlos Baker
prints a portion of a letter from JS to Hemingway (23 January
1939) in which JS praised "The Butterfly and the Tank" (Esquire,
December, 1938) as "one of the very finest stories in all
time" (p. 428). A month later JS told PC, "I'm convinced
-that in many ways he is the finest writer of our time" (WWJS,
p. 52). And while JS was not above ridiculing Hemingway's
dialogue in The Sun Also Rises, as George Frazier recalls in
his otherwise execrable character assassination, "John Steinbeck!

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John Steinbeck! How Still We See Thee Lie," Esquire, 72 (1969), 150, he was genuinely moved by Hemingway's work. In a long section on novel writing and trends in fiction, originally intended to be part of EE, JS admitted that as a beginning writer he had been an imitator of Hemingway, whose "method
or style not only conditioned the stories but the thinking
of his genera tion." Hemingway, he said, "wrote a certain kind of story better and more effectively than it had ever been done before" (TMS, p. 101; HRC). When Hemingway won the Nobel Prize in 1954, JS was "greatly" pleased and told EO, "He should have had it before this" (SLL p. 500). The original manuscript of WOD, written in 1960, also contains
a reference to Hemingway. In what is now the sixteenth para-graph of Chapter VI (WOD, p. 95), Ethan Allen Hawley, the protagonist/narrator, said to himself, "I wanted to think things I had put aside, like wondering what Ernest Hemingway is writing ... " (TMS, p. 115; PML). Later, when JS learned of Hemingway's death in 1961, he told PC that Hemingway "had only one theme"--"a man contends with the forces of the world, called fate, and meets them with courage"--and that concept, coupled with his unchanging style, "had the most profound effect on writing--more than anyone I can think of" (SLL, pp. 703-704). For an overview of the two writers, including additional comments by JS, see Peter Lisca, "Stein-beck and Hemingway," SLD (pp. 46-54); for the ways in which JS and Hemingway transmuted the legacy of Naturalism, see Chapter XI of Charles C. Walcutt's American Literary Naturalism, A Divided Stream (1956), pp. 258-280; for a helpful manual, see Tetsumaro Hayashi, ed., steinbeck and Hemingway: Dissertation Abstracts and Research Opportunities (1980), which gives information
on several comparative dissertations; for another version
of the notorious Hemingway-JS-John O'Hara meeting in 1944 (recorded in Baker's Ernest Hemingway, p. 387), see GS's account in "cw" (pp. 177-178, 184); and finally for a comparison of Ma Joad in GOW and Pilar in For Whom the Bell Tolls, consult Mimi Gladstein, "Ma Joad and Pilar: Significantly Similar,"
SQ, 14 (1981), 93-104.

385. Between 1926 and 1928, JS's interest in magic led him
to this book in the Stanford University Library, and to one
now lost by Philip of Ravenna (RC/RD, 24 November 1979).

386. Despite Mac's promise that Jim Nolan will learn more by experience than by reading, an important turning point in their roles (Mac as teacher, Jim as apprentice) occurs in Chapter 10 of IDB when Jim puts his reading of Herodotus to good use by paraphrasing the account of Themistocles' strategy which allowed the Greeks to win the naval battle at Salamis in 480 BC. Mac is impressed by the strategy and its possible

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implications to the striking workers' situation. Given the frequent group-man statements in the novel, Herodotus's description of the disorganized Greek fleet suddenly working together as a whole also fits the thematic and philosophical integrity of IDE. In chapter 34 of EE, JS used a truncated version of Herodotus's story of Croesus in a similar way, both as a part of the novel's universal theme of good and evil, and as a link in the continuity of judgment levied on such men as Rockefeller, Hearst and Roosevelt. See also SLL (p. 144) and WOD (pp. 247-248) for allusions to Herodotus's account of Polycrates' ring.

398-399. As a young man JS read Homer's epics avidly and frequently discussed them (especially The Iliad) with his sister Mary. In her dissertation, "John Steinbeck: On the Nature of the Creative Process in the Early Years," Agatha Te Maat records an interesting anecdote which occurred in
the early 1960s: JS autographed a copy of MOON and referred to himself as "the poor man's Homer" (p. 19). PC had earlier concluded his introduction to the first Portable Ste inbeck (1943) by claiming that JS's "great, intuitive feeling for folklore, his magnificent use of the vernacular, his use of simple themes, and his poetic rhythms recall to me the Homeric spirit in American prose" (p. vi). See also JS's letter
to Edith Wagner, ([23 November 1933]) about the reception
of TGU and the critics' failure to recognize the Homeric influence on characterization (SLL, p. 89). The sentimental-ity in Steinbeck's fiction may be less the result of artistic failure, as commonly charged, than of his belief that senti-mentality was part of the full range of human nature: "The only people I know who are afraid of being corny or sentimental are adolescents and second raters. Homer wasn't afraid of it, neither was Shakespeare." See "Conversation at Sag Harbor," Holiday, 19 (1961), 60. Apparently JS's interest in Homer never wavered; during his third marriage he owned a copy of The Iliad, translated by Alston Hurd Chase and William G. Perry (Boston: Little, Brown, 1950). Courtesy of ES and JB.

40 3. JS's wife, Carol, discovered the title for GOW in
Howe's hymn on 2 September 1938. In his GOW journal JS wrote: " ... the book is beginning to seem real to me. Also Carol got the title last night 'The Grapes of Wrath.' I think that is a wonderful title ..•. The looks of it--marvelous title. The book has being at last" (TMS, p. 38; HRC).

40 7. This identification courtesy of Joel W. Hedgpeth (14
May 1979).

409. JS's copy of The Hymnal is now at SPL.

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NOTES FOR I

414. JS had seen Elia Kazan's produc tion of Inge's The
Dark at the Top of the Stairs in Boston, and was asked to suggest improvements before the play opened in New York.
See his letter to EO, 23 November 1957 (LTE, pp. 86-87).

415. The inclusion of Irving in JS's survey of authorial
trends in A&A is historically correct, but his allusion to The Sketch Book (which he read in the early 1920s) seems slanted toward its most famous pieces, "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." It is doubtful that JS read much more of Irving than this book; certainly his attitude toward Irving became more tolerant--an early draft of TGU contains a pejorative reference.

NOTES FOR J

418-423. JHJ was book critic for the San Francisco Chronicle; he and JS retained fairly close ties with each other and obviously exchanged books. Along with Lewis Gannett and Wilbur Needham, JHJ was one of the few reviewers whose IDpinion JS generally respected. Besides reviewing his novels favor-ably, JHJ also.wrote introductions to the Limited Editions Club GOW (1940) and The Short Novels of John Steinbeck (1953); JS "approved" of both introductions (Mrs. Joseph Henry Jackson/RD, 17 July 1980). See, however, the note to entry
242. JS maintained an interest in books of all kinds about California (see the entries for Atherton, Helen Hunt Jackson, Jeffers, Markham, Frank Norris, Josiah Royce, for example), and he also owned JHJ's anthology, Continent's End: A Collec-ti on of California Writing (New York: McGraw-Hill/Whittlesey House, 1944), which includes a section from IBD, as well as selections by James Cain, George Lyman, Josephine Miles, William Saroyan, Budd Schulberg, Upton Sinclair, Stewart Edward White and others. In a gesture of friendship, JS presented his copy of JHJ's The Christmas Flower to GG; it
is now at Ebulon, Johann Strauss Society of California, San Diego.

428. Although Astro's findings in JS /EFR have modified the
traditional beliefs about JS's reliance, in his 1930s fiction, on American philosophical tradition, including William James (see note to entry 262 above,. and again, Carpenter's "The

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Philosophical Joads," in SARC, p. 244), it is worth reitera-ting that JS had read parts of Pragmatism (1907) by James (who had taught at Stanford in 1906) as a college student (RC/RD, 24 November 1979). The Jamesian connection is more apparent, however, in EE: Samuel Hamilton owns the two-volume principles of psychology and Lee, the Chinese savant, owns the one-volume textbook version, Psychology, A Briefer Course (1928). While Genesis contributed its inspiration for the religious aspects of the the novel, JS was also doing his homework, notably in Fromm's Psychoanalysis and Religion (see entry 316 and note), which led him to James's 1902 varieties of Religious Experience and to John Dewey's 1934 A Common Faith (see entry 236a and note).

430-438. Between the copies he owned and those which he borrowed from EFR, JS read all of Jeffers' poetry which appeared from the mid-1920s until the late 1930s--that is, through Jeffers' Selected Poetry (1938)--after which Jeffers' polemical stance caused JS to lose interest in his writing (there is one isolated reference to Jeffers' "Apology for Bad Dreams" in IN, p. 115), though not necessarily in the man (in November, 1944, JS told EO, "Robinson Jeffers and his wife came to call the other day. He looks a little older but that is all." [SUL]). Except for Carl Sandburg and Archibald MacLeish, Jeffers was the only contemporary poet whose work JS deeply appreciated. In An Autobiography (New York: Dutton, 1965), Van Wyck Brooks claims that JS regarded Jeffers as a "great poet" (p. 488), an observation borne out by JS's correspondence with Lawrence Clark Powell. On 14 February 1937, JS responded enthusiastically to the news that Jeffers had been elected to the National Institute of Arts and Letters, and added that he believed Jeffers should get the Nobel Prize: "I don't know any American who can compete with him for it" (Houghton). The following year, on 7 August 1938, JS replied to Powell's request for a contribution to
a proposed book on Jeffers by saying "what could I do that his poetry hasn't done [?] I admire his work so much that I hesitate in commentary" (Houghton). Among the poems he admired most, JS singled out "Roan Stallion," "The Loving Shephardess," and "The Tower Beyond Tragedy" for special praise (MDQ. pI), as well as "Tamar" (GS/RD, 27 February 1971). See also Fontenrose, JSII (p. 3); and William Everson, Archetype West (1976), pp. 83-99.

443. JS told PC that he had not read Jones' From Here to Eternity (1951). See IN (p. 114).

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445. Although it was one of the books GS kept after their divorce in 1948, I have been unable to determine exactly where or when JS got his copy of Finnegans Wake. It may have been the result of EFR's enthusiasm, as this selection from a letter to Toni Jackson (4 February 1948) attests: "Last night In [John Steinbeck] came over alone for dinner, no one else showed up, we had a quiet evening of In reading. Alice playing the phonog and I working on ideas in my note-book. Of the very greatest things The Art of the Fugue,
Don Giovanni, Goethe's Faust, the Beethoven quartette No. 16, and Finnegans Wake. Now I know the Wake is the greatest
book I've ever come in contact with ... " (as, 2, p. 95).

447-454. JS's interest in Jungian psychology and its concom-mitant mythic dimensions (which augmented his lifelong fascina-tion for all aspects of mythology), was a discovery indepen-dent of his relationship with EFR (CH/RD, 20 August 1979).
It was, however, intensified by his conversations with him
in the early 1930s (Joseph Campbell/RD, 12 April 1972), especially by EFR's knowledge of Jung's Contributions to Analytical Psychology (1928), with which EFR classified people according to their "psychological types": JS combined "Intui-tion" and "Feeling"; EFR classified himself as "Intuition-Thinking" (EFR, "Ideas on Psychological Types," TMS, nd, courtesy of Joel Hedgpeth; see also Astro JS/EFR, p. 39). During the 1930s JS knew two people who had worked with Jung. One was Dr. Evelyn Ott, a Monterey psychiatrist, and the other was his friend Dick Gregerson, who "had studied with Jung" (JS/GA, [1935]; Bancroft). He discussed Jung' s works with both of them, though it is uncertain how often or how deeply. Beginning with his unpublished detective novel, "Murder at Full Moon" (ca. 1930; HRC) , which explicitly
relies on Jung's Psychology of Dementia Praecox, to his last book, A&A, where a passage in the chapter "Paradox and Dreams" (p. 38) distills some of Jung's statements about dreams and
the unconscious in Jacobi's anthology Psychological Reflections, JS drew on Jung's writings and theories for ritual actions, individual and collective psychological characterizations, natural symbolism and totemic imagery. Some of the scholar-ship which has appeared in the last decade addresses his in-debtedness to Jung. Besides Lewis, "John Steinbeck: Architect of the Unconscious," see J.F. LeMaster, "Mythological Con-structs in To a God Unknown," Forum, 9 (1971), 7-11; Todd Lieber, "Talismanic Patterns in the Novels of John Steinbeck," American Literature, 44 (1972), 262-275; RD, "Toward a Redefi-nition of To a God Unknown," Windsor Review, 8 (1973), 34-53; Charles E. May, "Myth and Mystery in Steinbeck's 'The Snake': A Jungian View," Criticism, 15 (1973), 322-335; Clifford Lewis,

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"Jungian Psychology and the Artistic Design of John Steinbeck," SQ, 10 (1977), 89-97; Donal Stone, "Steinbeck, Jung, and
The Winter of Our Discontent," SQ, 11 (1978), 87-96; Clifford Lewis, "The Grapes of Wrath: The Psychological Transition
from Clan to Community," American Examiner, 6 (1978-1979), 40-68; RD, "The Interior Distances of John Steinbeck," SQ,
12 (1979), 86-99; and James Van DeVyvere, "Psychological Naturalism: The Jungian Myths of John Steinbeck," (Disserta-tion, 1979). See also entries 602 and 726.

NOTES FOR K

457-458. JS read The Metamorphosis in the late 1940s
(VS/RD, 28 February 1979), but I have been unable to deter-mine if he actually owned any of Kafka's works then.

459. In "John Steinbeck: A Reminiscence," Webster Street
reports that JS and EFR discussed "Nietzsche, Schopenhauer, and Kantian philosophy .•• " (SMW, p. 37).

460. This limited edition, signed by Kantor, bears a presen-
tation to JS from Elmer Adler and Frederick B. Adams, pub-lishers of Pynson Press, who had also printed JS's Nothing
so Monstrous (1936). See BMC 118 (p. 147). In "cw" Halladay records the following statement by GS: "We had dinner once with MacKinley Kantor, the author of Andersonville, at the Twenty-One Club while his book was still a manuscript. John and he ended up fighting and arguing about books, question-ing each other with, 'Well, why did you say this?'" (p. 256).

463. See JS's letter to EO (22 June 1966): "I shall be
delighted to read Margaret Kennedy's view on the novel. I have been thinking about it a lot since I am in the process of trying to write one" (SLL, p. 835). Kennedy's book was in JS's library at Sag Harbor. Courtesy of ES and JB.

464. At a meeting with students at the University of
Helinski in 1963, JS spoke enthusiastically about Kerouac's novel (Joseph Waldmeir/RD, 17 May 1959). Besides the tech-nique of duration and spontaneous prose rhythms which JS appreciated in Kerouac (and in the work of the Beat writers), he could not have failed to notice that Kerouac's narrator, Sal Paradise, mimics a snatch of dialogue from the movie version of OMM (Chapter l3).

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465. In his introduction to the Viking Critical edition of
One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest (New York: Viking Press, 1973), John Clark Pratt mentions Kesey's "deep" admiration for JS's handling of "point of view, his synchronicity" (p. x). The relationship between Lennie and George Milton in OMM does have some subtle echoes in Kesey's Chief Bromden and R.P. McMurphy.

470. This entry courtesy of Preston Beyer.

474. For the object of Kittredge's ferocious attack on Rhys,
see entry 681.

477. JS was in Mexico when he received this copy of Kronen-
berger's anthology (PC/JS, 27 June [1945]; HRC).

NOTES FOR L

478. In "John Steinbeck's Way of Writing," which appeared
as an introduction to the second Portable Steinbeck (1946), Lewis Gannett said that JS's interest in Scandinavia was

partly due to his "fondness for Selma Lagerlof's Gosta Berling" (rptd. in SAHC, p. 31). Gannett's essay was originally pub-lished as "John Steinbeck: Novelist at Work," Atlantic Monthly, 174 (1944), 55-60; JS was "happy" with it (JS/Lewis Gannett,
11 January [1946]; Houghton).

485. See Peter Lisca's "Cannery Rowand the Tao Teh Ching,"
San Jose Studies, 1 (1975), 21-27. Lisca asserts that the Tao is Cannery Row's "informing spirit." Hedgpeth properly identified Goddard's edition, but countered Lisca's claim with his belief that the "genesis" of JS's novel was in the "personality, conversation, and writings of Ed Ricketts" (as, 2, pp. 22-24).

486-487. JS was particularly fond of "The Golden Wedding." How much more of Lardner's work JS read is unknown, but it was enough for him to regard Lardner as one of the few writers--the others were Aldous Huxley and O. Henry--aware of the potential for "tragedy" in mundane lives. See also A&A (p. 160) for Lardner's inclusion among American writers who started out as journalists.

488-491. According to AGD (24 September 1979), Lawrence was not one of the writers JS had read by 1926, so his exposure must have taken place from 1927 or 1928 until 1936 or 1937,

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after which the Laurentian influence waned. As Moore succinctly states, JS "partly" admired Lawrence (NJS, p. 92); his extant comments range from belittling gossip to grudging respect. In 1928 he told Katherine Beswick that Lawrence's notion of women was "highly erroneous" because he "only knew his mother" (SUL)-- and allusion to Sons and Lovers. Later, in 1936, he told
Louis Paul, "The whole idea of the man turns my stomach. But he was a good writer ••• " (SLL, p. 120). JS thanked Lawrence Clark Powell for sending a copy of his The Manuscripts of
D.H. Lawrence (1937), and added, "What an amazing collection
it is. Did the man ever destroy anything?" (11 January 1938; Houghton). Interesting as these comments are, they do little to identify specific works by Lawrence which JS considered "good." (If JS owned copies of Lawrence's books, they have not yet come to light.) Several people have discussed Lawrence's apparent influence on the characterization in TGU and on the theme of sexual frustration in LV: besides Moore, see Lisca, WWJS (p. 95), Reloy Garcia, Steinbeck and D.H. Lawrence: Fictive Voices and the Ethical Imperative, SMS #2 (1972); Richard Peterson, "Steinbeck and D.H. Lawrence," SLD (pp. 67-82); and Marilyn Mitchell, "Steinbeck's Strong \~omen: Feminine Identity in the Short Stories," in Hayashi, ed., Steinbeck's Women: Essays in Criticism, SMS #9 (1979), who writes, "Steinbeck's women, with their rather bi-sexual identities, naturally recall certain female characters created by D.H. Lawrence, notably Gudrun Brangwen in Women in Love
and March in 'The Fox'" (p. 27). Given JS's interest in myth and psychology it is possible that TGU owes something to Lawrence's curious Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious (1921) and Fantasia of the Unconscious (1922).

495-498. For more on JS's reaction to Main Street--he mistakenly recalls having read it in high school (JS graduated in 1919)-- see TWC (pp. 80, 130). On 19 February 1959 JS told Mark Schorer, Lewis's biographer, "Of course I admired his work tremendously and was deeply saddened by his last days" (Bancroft). See also SLL (pp. 757-758).

501a. In his Preface, Lisca writes, "Mr. Steinbeck's coopera-tion ..• was, of course, invaluable. In addition, he took time from his work to talk with me about this study and to answer some questions in writing" (p. ix).

503-504. In "John Steinbeck: Novelist as Scientist," Novel,
10 (1977), JB states that JS had read London's work as a teenager, and that it contributed to his penchant for adven-ture fiction and his desire to become a writer (253).

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NOTES FOR M

517. I am indebted to Joel Hedgpeth and Richard Albee for
identification of this edition. Hedgpeth is correct in ob-serving JS's "curious misinterpretation of the creation of LIeu Llaw Gyffes' wife" (it was Math who conjured a woman
for LIeu out of flowers), but is wrong in suggesting that JS "had not read the Maginogian for himself" (OS, 2, p. 41). Lady Guest translated, collected and gave the title Maginogian to four Mabinogi of The Red Book of Hergest, and seven other ancient tales. JS read Guest's translation (1838-1849) for Welsh mythological background in COG (pp. 18-19), and later went back to it (Guest's version incorporated Arthurian materials) in preparation for ACTS (see p. xii). See also the entries for Sir John Rhys, 681-683.

518. JS refers to Volume IV (pp. 55-56). The entire set was
owned by Carol Henning's father. Volume I, the only extant copy from the set, carries the signature of W.F. Henning, Jr., on the front flyleaf, and the ownership stamp of Carol and
John Steinbeck on the front pastedown (Collection of RD).
Pages 82, 90, 186 and 310 have single pencil marks. On
page 280, the paragraph beginning, "The charge of the English ordnance in the seventeenth century was, as compa red with other military and naval charges, much smaller than present .•. " is marked with a pencil cross and small brackets. JS's inter-est in military tactics and weaponry may have led him to this passage, perhaps as background for COG.

519. JS never got over his animosity toward Mary T. McCarthy,
and waited thirty years for his chance to get even in print. His feud stems from his erroneous belief that she hostilely reviewed TF in The Nation. (It was actually written by Helen Neville.) When McCarthy did review IDB for The Nation--she called it "academic, wooden, inert"--JS assailed her int elli-genc e in a letter to Louis Paul (SLL, pp. 121-122). Much later, JS r ead Elizabeth Niebuhr's interview with McCarthy (in Paris Review, 27 [Spring, 1962], 52-94), and told EO:
"I have been thinking how styles change, in criticism even more than in writing. What caused Mary Ann [sic] McCarthy suddenly to denounce Salinger and Updike just now?" (10 August [1963], LTE, p. 111).

522-524. JS read Machen in the early 1920s, and at least one critic has written that TGU develops a theme "broadly sugges-tive" of The Hill of Dreams, though without its "romantic effusiveness." Consult Joseph Warren Beach, "John St einbeck: Journeyman Artist" (1941; rptd. in SAHC, p. 85). JS's copy
of Ornaments in Jade was signed by Machen. See BMC #8 (p. 147).

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531. JS's copy of the first edition carries numerous marginal
pen marks, and, on page 183, the words "uncomfortable awkward realization that they did not like each other at all" are under-lined and accompanied by a marginal exclamation mark (Richard Pryor/RD, 15 August 1980). In the mid-1960s, JS allegedly
told Thomas Kiernan that Mailer had a "promising career as
an important writer. Now he's no longer a writer, but a per-former with a pen." See The Intricate Musi c (1979), p. xii.

532. See Richard Astro, "Steinbeck and Mainwaring," SLD
(pp. 83-93), for an excellent discussion of similarities between Mainwaring's novel and JS's IDB and GOW.

534-543. JS's love for Malory's Morte d'Arthur remained un-diminished during his lifetime, as this letter to C.V. Wicker (16 January 1957) testifies: "The first book that was my own-- my very own--was the Caxton Morte d'Arthur. I got it when
I was nine years old. Over the years I have been more affected by it than by anything else except the King James Version. Later it caused a fairly intensive study of Anglo-Saxon, Old and Middle English all of which I suspect had a profound influ-' ence on my prose" (quoted in WWJS, p. 23). Besides the edi-tions listed here--all of which JS read scrupulously--he also had his own microfilms of both originals: Caxton's version courtesy of PML; the Winchester manuscript courtesy of the Library of Congress. See his letter of 7 July 1958 to EO (ACTS, p. 318; rptd., LTE, p. 95). Nearly all of the major books on JS comment on Malory's influence. A convenient starting place is Tetsumaro Hayashi's Steinbe ck and the Arthurian Theme, SMS #5 (1975), which collects essays by Warren French, Arthur Kinney and Roy Simmonds, and includes
a useful bibliography. Refer also to Section III of my intro-duction.

546. JS's reading of Mandeville took place sometime during
the 1920s. Neither of his first wives recalled any edition of The Travels among his books in the 1930s and 1940s. As with his treatment of the tale of LIeu Llaw Gyffes' wife (see note to entry 501 above), JS's memory tricked him in regard to details. A chapter in Mandeville on "diverse" and "mar-velously disfigured folk" (including headless men, and men whose flat faces lacked noses and mouths) followed directly a description of "geese that have two heads"; the conjunction of these oddities seems to have forged JS's "two-headed men." Flying serpents do not appear in Mandeville, but rather in Herodotus. JS was, however, correct about the magical quality of Mandeville's world.

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5 48. CS confirmed JS's enthusiasm for Marco Polo's Travels.
A short story which JS started sometime between 1929 and 19 31 (but did not complete) contains this line: "Mi zpah [the young protagonist] thought tenderly of the rare loneliness
of the Book of Marco Polo." The fragment is in J S ' s POH notebook (pp. 119-121) at SUL. See also Riggs, Sea (pp. 142-143).

549. JS ' s copy of the Meditations has not turned up (JB/ RD,
21 June 1982).

552. Eric Duncan's The Rich Fisherman (see entry 249b)
contains "The Man With the Hoe--Canada" (originally published in the New York Witnes s, 1899), subtitled "A Reply to Mr. Markham." In the poem Duncan glorifies the stooped, down-trodden peasant of Millet' s painting and Markham' s poem: "great Atlas I,/Kings, n oble, millionaires, all hang on me;/I, self-suffic ient, have no need of them,/They, should I l eave them, soon would starve and die," etc. Sometime after 1946 Francis Aldham planned a small pamphlet called "The Men With the Hoe--Duncan v s. Markham," but never succeeded in publishing it. A sur viving planbook for the manusc r ip t, howev er, inc ludes a two-page introduc tion allegedly written by JS. The intro-duc tion i s unsigned, and I agree with JB that its s tyle i s uncharacteristic of JS (JB/RD, 21 June 1982).

559. Black Marigolds was one of JS's "favorite" books (GS/
RD, 27 Feburar y 1971). See also "cw" (p. 41).

565. JS read these short stories in the 1920s with an eye
to Maupassant's deft characteri zation, suggestive plot and immediacy of detail. He was impressed by "The Piec e of String" and offered it as a model for GA to f ollow in his writing: "In other words I would s e t you a situation and make you write it. I am conv inced that story i s not particu-larly a matter of background at all, but of ability to see together with the ability to a rrang e, together with an in-ventive strain." Lat er in the same letter he encouraged
GA to avail himself of the social materials in Hollywood and c laimed that if he handled them with detachment, "you will have stories that would make Maupassant turn over in h i s grave" (JS/GA, [19 33J; Bancroft). The controversy over whether the breast-feeding s c ene that conc ludes GOW i s in-debted to Maupassant' s story "Idy1le" (originally in Le Gil Blas, February 1884), in which a young wet nurse allows a hungry man to suckl e her, has been the subject of two recent notes: Ray Lewis White, " Steinbeck and de Maupa ssant: A Parallel Occurrence," SQ, 12 (1979), 27-29; and Robert J.

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Robbins, "Additional Comments on 'Steinbeck and de Maupassant: A Parallel O~currence, '" SQ, 13 (1980), 86. But "Idy11e"
does not appear in JS's copy of Maupassant, and I am inclined to accept his claim, in a letter to PC on 16 January 1939, that he had never read the story: "The incident of the earth
mother feeding by the breast is older than literature" (SLL, p. 178; S&C, p. 19). See also JHJ's introduction to the Limited Editions Club GOW ' (1940), p. xvi; and Celeste T. Wright, "Ancient Analogues of an Incident in John Steinbeck," Western Folklore, 14 (1955), 50-51.

568-569. JS discovered Melville in 1951, the centennary of Moby-Dick's publication, and the year JS wrote EE. Besides Melville's reflexive and symbolic technique which JS adapted to his own purposes, he considered Moby-Dick's treatment at the hands of nineteenth-century reviews to be a type and forerunner of his own reception. On 28 January 1963 J5--
who had just read Publishers Weekly, 183 (21 January 1963)-- wrote a long letter to PC in which he mused on the differences between fiction and non-fiction (perhaps instigated by Donald Mac Campbell's "What's Happened to Fiction?," p. 39). In
the process JS responded to Arthur Mizener's essay, "Does
a Moral Vision of the Thirties Deserve a Nobel Prize?" (New York Times Book Review, 9 December 1962), and ended by saying, "You can almost hear Kazin's and Mizener's guffaws of rage if a book should come out called Moby Dick. They would do just what the critics did when it was published" (S&C, p. 230).
JS was obviously unaware that Kazin had edited Moby-Dick for Houghton Mifflin's "Riverside Editions" in 1956, but the spirit of his pronouncement remains consistent with his life-long disparagement of critics. JS's comments on the sale of Moby-Dick evince a similar bias, but they are generally re-liable, for the book's two editions sold less than 4000 copies from 1851 to Melville's death in 1891. His interest in Horsford's edition of Melville's Journal stemmed from his discovery, while in Israel in 1966, that the man Melville called "Deacon Dickson" was JS's great-grandfather. CH eventually located the book for him (JS/EO, 19 February [1966]; SUL) . See also A&A (pp. 72-73), and en try 500.

570-573. The measure of Mencken's influence on JS's formative intellectual tastes, his social criticism, and on his early reading has yet to be taken. Mencken's long section on "The National Letters" in Prejudices: Second Series reflects a number of JS's preoccupations, and many of the writers
Mencken championed, notably Cabell, Conrad, and Dreiser, were important to JS. In the mid-1920s JS frequently read Mencken's

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American Mercury (AGD/RD, 24 September 1979), but by 1933,
JS's interest in "realism" waning, he considered Boileau a "wiser man than Mencken" (SLL, p. 87). He understood the importance of Mencken's contributions to the shifting American language, however, a topic which always fascinated JS.

576. JS had terrific admiration and respect for Arthur Miller,
both as a man and as a writer. When Miller was cited for con-tempt of Congress in 1957, JS supported his refusal to "name names" at the HUAC hearings the year before. See "The Trial
of Arthur Miller," Esquire, 47 (1957), 86, and for related information, SLL (pp. 555-556). In the opening paragraph
of his Esquire piece, JS calls Miller "one of our very best" writers. Besides All My Sons (1947) and Death of a Salesman (1949), JS was impressed with Miller's 1948 essay, "Tragedy and the Common Man," because it was close to his own beliefs about the nature of the hero in literature (ALW/RD, 12 May 1973).

579. For mention of JS and EFR, see pp. 269-270, 276.

582. The best discussion of similarities between Paradise

Lost and IDB occurs in Fontenrose, JSII (pp. 44-53). John Gribben's statement, in "Steinbeck and John Milton" (SLD,
p. 98), that "it would be rash to claim a Miltonic influence" on EE is accurate and sensible, as is his discussion of free will elsewhere in that essay. JS was also fond of Milton's "II Penseroso." He told his future wife that "language reaches its greatest height in sorrow and despair . •.. The fierce despair of Satan in Paradise Lost. L'Allegro is not nearly the poem Il Penseroso is" (JS/ES, [25 July 1949]; SLL, p. 317).

583. Edith Mirrielees was JS's creative writing instructor
at Stanford, and, by his own admission, one of three greatest teachers he ever had, as he recalled in " .•• Like Captured Fireflies," eTA Journal, 51 (1955), 7. Even after he left college he sent some of his manuscripts to her for comment (AGD/RD, 24 September 1979). Her book appeared in at least three earlier editions, and it is reasonable to assume that her classes on Short Story Writing (English 136, which JS took both Winter and Spring semesters of 1924) included much that later appeared in her book. Thus JS was not only exposed to her aesthetic (in his Preface he wrote: "The basic rule you gave us was simple and heartbreaking. A story to be effective had to convey something from writer to reader, and the power of its offering was the measure of its excellence. Outside of that, you said, there were no rules"), but to her "Suggested Reading" lists as well.

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585a. Moore's criticism of JS's handling of "phallic geography" in TGU (see NJS, pp. 27-28) brought the following reaction: "His hill valley fixation is a little disgusting to me. Freudian criticism has always seemed a •.. waste of time.
r can still look at a valley without getting an erection" (JS/CS, 23 Jun.e 1939; SUL).

589. Morrison's book later provided JS with background material for a proposed filmscript on the life of Columbus (ALW Collection, Columbia University). See also SLL (p. 476).

595. For more on Denis Murphy, see SLL (pp. 538, 549-551).

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608-609. JS shared certain thematic and aesthetic affinities with Norris (especially in The Octopus and GOW) as Warren French outlines in "The 'California Quality' of Steinbeck's Best Fiction," San Jose Studies, 1 (1975), 18. Yet sur-prisingly little has been written to explain the relationship. Fontenrose says that JS' s "native landscape moved him deeply, and from it he drew a special quality of mind which has suf-fused his writings. It is like the quality visible in other California writers--Norris, London, Sterling, Jeffers--an awareness of and sympathy with the non-human, with the physical and biological environment in all its power and magnitude, dwarfing and absorbing humanity" (JSII, p. 3). More stimu-lating, and closer to the mark, is Leonard Lutwack's chapter on GOW in his Heroic Fiction (1972): "The line of descent
from The Octopus to The Grapes of Wrath is as direct as any that can be found in American literature. The journey of the Okies ... is certainly in the spirit of one of those 'various fightings westward' that Norris identified as pro-ductive of epic writing ... " (p. 47). Earlier, in The Boys in the Back Room: Notes on California Novelists (1941; rptd. in Classics and Commercials [1950]), Edmund Wilson wrote that "Steinbeck's close relationship with Norris is indicated by what is evidently a borrowing from McTeague in Of Mice
and Men," specifically similarities in dialogue between
Zerkow and Maria Macapa in the former, and Lennie and George in the latter. "Steinbeck's attitude toward his rudimentary characters," Wilson continued, '''may, also, owe something to Norris--who, like him, alloys his seriousness with trashiness." (p. 50). An interesting bit of back-biting stands behind Wilson's comments. On 2'5 November 1940, Fitzgerald told him: