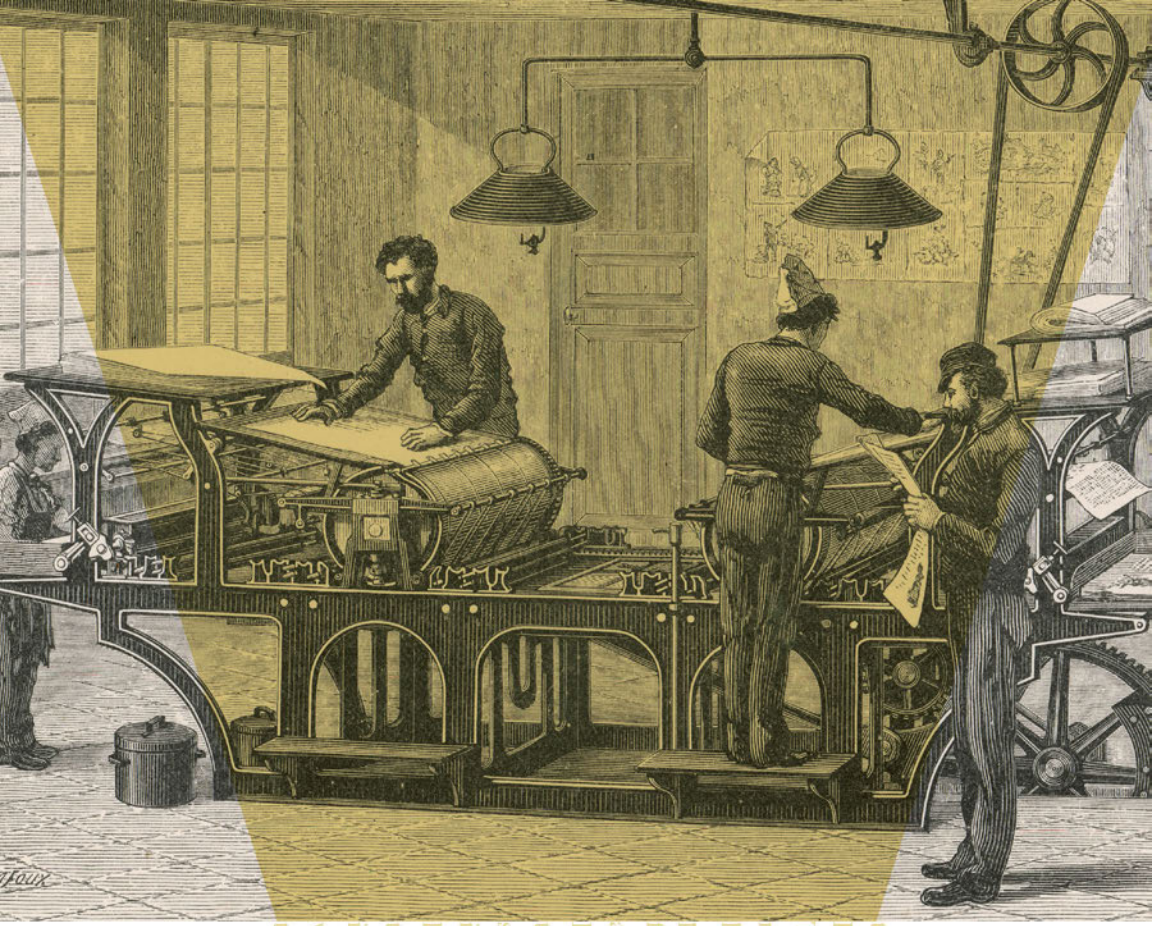

WHITMAN'S DRIFT

IMAGINING LITERARY DISTRIBUTION

Matt Cohen

WHITMAN'S DRIFT

THE IOWA WHITMAN SERIES

Ed Folsom, series editor

WHITMAN'S DRIFT

IMAGINING LITERARY DISTRIBUTION

MATT COHEN

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For my brother Dan

Forth from the war emerging, a book I have made,
The words of my book nothing, the drift of it every thing,
A book separate, not link'd with the rest nor felt by the intellect,
But you ye untold latencies will thrill to every page.
—Walt Whitman, "Shut Not Your Doors," *LG* 91–92

But the small continual creeping of the silent footsteps of the sea
Mineth the wall of adamant, and stealthily compasseth its ruin.
—Martin Tupper, "Of Indirect Influences," passage marked in
Whitman's copy of *Proverbial Philosophy* in 1875

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chapter 3 first saw the light in "Walt Whitman's Eidólon of Exile: Distribution and the Literary Imagination," in *Censorship and Exile*, ed. Johanna Hartmann and Hubert Zapf (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2015).

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

The primary scholarly edition of Walt Whitman's works consulted in this book is the *Walt Whitman Archive*, coedited by Kenneth M. Price and Ed Folsom, available at http://www.whitmanarchive.org. For *Leaves of Grass*, publication dates will be indicated in the citation (*LG* 91–92, for example, for the version of 1891–1892); for Whitman's correspondence cited from the *Walt Whitman Archive*, the unique identifier of each letter assigned by the *Archive* will be listed (*WWA* loc.01869, for example) along with the names of the correspondents and the date of the letter or postcard.

BAL Jacob Blanck, Virginia L. Smyers, and Michael Winship, eds., *Bibliography of American Literature*. 9 vols. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1955–1991.

CO Edwin Haviland Miller, ed., *Walt Whitman: The Correspondence*. 6 vols. The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman, Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley, gen. eds. New York: New York University Press, 1961–1977.

CW Richard Maurice Bucke, Thomas B. Harned, and Horace Traubel, eds., *The Complete Writings of Walt Whitman*. 10 vols. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1902.

DB William White, ed., *Walt Whitman: Daybooks and Notebooks*. 3 vols. The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman, Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley, gen. eds. New York: New York University Press, 1977–1978.

LG Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass.* 1855–1892. *Walt Whitman Archive.* Ed. Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price. http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/LG/index.html.

NP Edward F. Grier, ed., *Walt Whitman: Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts.* 6 vols. The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman, Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley, gen. eds. New York: New York University Press, 1984.

WA Walt Whitman, *Correspondence. Walt Whitman Archive.* Ed. Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price. http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/index.html.

WC Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, 1904–1996. Ed. Matt Cohen. 9 vols. *Walt Whitman Archive.* Ed. Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price. http://www.whitmanarchive.org/criticism/disciples/traubel/index.html.

WWA *Walt Whitman Archive.* Ed. Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price. http://www.whitmanarchive.org.

WWQR *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review.*

WHITMAN'S DRIFT

INTRODUCTION ✷ THE DRIFT OF IT EVERY THING

In the spring of 1870, with her latest novel, *An Old-Fashioned Girl*, on its way to readers, Louisa May Alcott headed to Europe. Accompanied by her sister May and John Bridge Pratt, she began the journey by taking the train from Boston to New York, where the three were to rendezvous with a good friend who would join them for the steamer trip to France. Signs of Alcott's fame were plentiful on the way, and, as she reported in her journals and letters, sometimes surprising:

> "O.F.G." came out in March, and sold well. Train-boy going to N.Y. put it into my lap; and when I said I didn't care for it, exclaimed with surprise,—
>
> "Bully book, ma'am! Sell a lot; better have it."
>
> John told him I wrote it; and his chuckle, stare, and astonished "No!" was great fun. On the steamer little girls had it, and came in a party to call on me, very sea-sick in my berth, done up like a mummy.[1]

We might call this a *distribution scene*, a minidrama of the uncanniness of literary circulation. First, we have the charmingly startling short-circuit of the communications chain, with the author's own book put into her lap as she travels. Her mock insistence that she doesn't "care for it" then leads to a classic marketing appeal: the "Train-boy" claims a large readership for the book (which his mere crossing paths with the author herself seems to prove), and that this circulation justifies its purchase. With the Alcotts' "great fun" at the boy's expense, their and our shared, superior knowledge of the literary

situation is cemented. Following this comes less biased evidence of the real and wide circulation of the book, in the form of actual devotees visiting the seasick author. Alcott tracks, throughout her journal and letters, the publication of her texts, their place and schedule of production, their reception. But less clear are the manner and means of their distribution, and moments like this one are unusual. Still, this scene is a production too; its mummified author maintains, for middle-class readers, her distance from the agent of the work's transmission.

Alcott's drama of distribution was one of many reported in the nineteenth century.[2] There is a kind of wonder at the workings of publicity and circulation inscribed in these stories: they link authors with readers in a world of seemingly vast media circulation, even as they create a categorical distance, the author's celebrity being a function of the reader's position in an undifferentiated mass audience reached by mysterious channels. This double-gesture of revealing and obscuring is emblematic of the way distribution functioned in the literary marketplace of the nineteenth century and, to an extent, today. Authors and publishers want us to believe that literary works are being distributed widely and bought readily, so that we will join the trend. But at the same time, it is not in their interests actually to reveal the full dimensions of distribution. Distribution—reaching particular markets, sometimes creating new ones, at the best cost-to-income ratio—is one of the means, and the principal one in publishing, by which profit is generated and competitive advantage achieved or maintained.

I begin with this episode in Alcott's career because it both opens the question of the role of distribution in literary analysis and exemplifies the relation of the literary critic of today to the historical phenomenon of distribution. Literary scholars and historians often skate over the intricacies and details of distribution, for complex reasons. So little is known about the big picture of distribution that it is hard to situate a given text or author with real clarity and persuasiveness in a convincing, large landscape of distribution. Precise information about distribution can be difficult to find for any single author, or work, or set of works. We think we know something about sales, in many cases, but can seldom be sure of actual numbers or kinds of readers. Especially in recent decades, the tools necessary to that discovery are those of the book historian and the bibliophile more than those of the literary scholar. Finally, underlying all these difficulties are basic problems of methodology, definition, and evidence in the study of distribution. Publishers and authors obfuscate, for

good commercial reasons, the archives of distribution, causing difficulties for each other and for scholars today, who are faced with the task of exploring and characterizing those archives and deducing a story about literary circulation from them.

There are, of course, famous distributors. Parson Weems's dealings with Mathew Carey and practically the entire United States are justifiably storied, if not quite as well known as the apple-tree myth Weems invented about George Washington. Without book smugglers, there might have been no European Enlightenment, as we have learned from Robert Darnton's unveiling of the "clandestine booksellers" of the products of the Société typographique de Neuchâtel. Herman Melville's *The Confidence-Man* (1857) depicts, with characteristic archness, a book-peddler on board the steamboat *Fidèle*. The book distribution business as it was experienced by sellers themselves even became a topic of popular interest by the early twentieth century, as a series of novels, memoirs, and pseudomemoirs—*The Young Book Agent* (1905), for example, and *The Diary of a Book-Agent* (1911)—told the story of lives led navigating between the demands of book distribution agencies and the doubts of potential buyers. But after the heroic period of Parson Weems and Enlightenment-era book smugglers, "the railroad" seems to be the best-known agent in book distribution, until the twentieth century with its proliferation of competing audio and visual media.[3]

This book is about literary distribution and the ways it affected the imaginations of people in the nineteenth-century United States. In part it is spurred by today's urgent conversations about universal connectedness, instant access to the world's information resources, ubiquitous computing, and the new political configurations to result: the dreams of the World Wide Web. Yet computing, like print, is not, and is unlikely to become, materially ubiquitous. There are many competing visions of technological change, what it might mean for books and reading, and how it affects our ways of doing, being, and thinking. The American nineteenth century witnessed a media explosion unprecedented in human history. New communications technologies seemed to be everywhere, offering opportunities and threats that seem powerfully familiar to us as we experience today's digital revolution. Writers like Whitman and Alcott appealed to and tried to shape the imagination inspired by such transformations by composing works that called attention to connectedness and how literature not only moves us emotionally, but moves around in the world among people and

places. Studying that literature and how it circulated can help us not just to read Whitman's works and times, but to understand what is happening to our imaginations now, in the midst of the twenty-first-century media explosion.[4]

This book is also about how we tell the history of books and literature, and to what end we do so. As such, it is shaped by the scholarly practices known collectively as the "history of the book." Book history has brought into being a series of powerful narratives for explaining how literature and the human mind have changed over the centuries in relation to the technologies of writing and printing. Book histories often begin from the premise that the history of ideas or of literary aesthetics cannot be understood apart from the way those ideas were given material form in books, pamphlets, speeches, newspapers, and other means of transmission. From long-standing philosophical or sociological equations of alphabetic literacy with civilization, the field turned to the effect of the materiality of media themselves on human communication and understanding. The medium was the message for Marshall McLuhan, each technology profoundly determining the meaning it supposedly merely passed on, reencoding and digesting the previous media forms represented in "new" media formats. For Elizabeth Eisenstein, the printing press itself could be thought of as an "agent of change," making it possible for texts to be compared against each other, to be more widely consumed. The resulting skepticism and comparativism, Eisenstein argued, catalyzed the humanistic and scientific empiricism that brought about the world as we know it. In recent decades these narratives have been challenged by culturalist approaches that have considered not the grand story of stages of technological development based on the alphabet and print, but the global history of different cultures' media worlds. And even in the West, the work of Adrian Johns has suggested, print's transmission was errant, its authority not self-evident, and its permanence a product more of social forces and sometimes chance than of superior technology. With the rise of the electronic network as a daily experience and a metaphor for thinking about human connections, scholarship has begun to turn to the question of how texts get around, not just how they are made and what they are made of —of their distribution both in space and over time as a factor in how the making of meanings out of texts has shaped literature, science, and human history more broadly.[5]

No less than in the constitution of contemporary science and humanism, the rise of printing is imagined by scholars to have been instrumental in the trans-

formation of political and religious consciousness. The literary marketplace of the nineteenth-century United States has, in the past few decades, become a prime evidentiary site for scholars who see a relationship between the distribution of printed texts and the development of nationalism. The widespread distribution of mass-produced print, fueled by technological revolutions in steam power, increasing literacy rates, and a series of national reform debates, galvanized the United States, we are told, and gave its residents a common feeling of belonging to a nation. Scholars disagree about the timing of this transformation, and some suspect that the widespread embrace of America as a national identity only heightened tensions between people with different ideas of what that nation should be—whether, for example, it should permit slavery, or women's suffrage. Trish Loughran, building on the work of many others, argues that the network that would sustain a unified national consciousness, such as that of newspapers and novels described by Benedict Anderson in his influential book *Imagined Communities*, never really developed in the antebellum United States. Loughran's renarration of the fragmented, localized world of print suggests a larger conceptual problem. The imagination of distribution included a sense that not everyone was in fact reading everything; consequently, it was not that there wasn't a nation, nor that there was a unified one, but that there was a field of conflicting national visions. For every "public" there were numerous "counterpublics," often using the same rhetorical, technological, or bureaucratic structures as mainstream ideologues to transmit their message. Still, ideas about the American nation and its publics are broadly assumed to have been forged in a print-driven technosphere that idealized and then realized the mass distribution of all kinds of texts. Literature, which was imagined at the time to be, at its best, the expression of a collective nation or people through a writer, was a particularly powerful site for assessing the state of the nation, united or not.[6]

Whitman's Drift does not argue that literary distribution had a particular effect on society or consciousness. Rather, it describes a series of imaginations and a distributional sensibility that resulted from the transformations in the media world of the nineteenth-century United States, glimpsed through the lens of one of the most innovative poets of the era. Then, as today, conversation about what media distribution does or might be doing to people was intense and ongoing. Then, as now, Americans lived in a world in which the imagination's vocabulary was constantly shaped by an engagement with questions

of how information and stories get around. Nineteenth-century literature was affected by that sensibility.[7] Walt Whitman's was one of the most powerful, at times contradictory, and problematic visions of distribution and its possibilities. I have come to think that what Whitman was doing with the distributional imagination is more interesting, more nuanced and revelatory, than what scholars have tended to make of it recently. Revisiting the distributional imagination of the nineteenth century can, on one level, inform us of what has gone before and how we might learn from it. But just as important, revisiting Whitman's media concepts and his fascinating attempts to transform the imaginations of his readers can change how we approach the study of literary history.

Whitman's poetry vaunts the technologies of his time, as in this passage from the 1867 version of "Starting from Paumanok":

> See, the many-cylinder'd steam printing-press — See, the electric telegraph, stretching across the Continent, from the Western Sea to Manhattan;
> See, through Atlantica's depths, pulses American, Europe reaching — pulses of Europe, duly return'd;
> See, the strong and quick locomotive, as it departs, panting, blowing the steam-whistle. . . .[8]

Nineteenth-century publishers saw all of this, and promoted similar visions of a progressive, machine-driven destiny. Still, books neither sell themselves nor move themselves: without an efficient set of connections to get books to readers, the American future as imagined here would have remained warehoused. Whitman's works occasionally ran through the "many-cylinder'd steam printing press," and occasionally were carried in bulk on "the strong and quick locomotive." Yet, during his lifetime, his works did not follow a progressive path toward mass production and distribution. Even at the end of his life, in the 1890s as his fame was growing, the poet was selling copies of his latest works by hand to visitors at his small house in Camden, New Jersey. And as this small extract implies, with its mention of American "pulses" reaching Europe and being reciprocated via the transoceanic telegraph cable, the imagination of poetry's circulation is international. Indeed, at the beginning of Whitman's career, it could take as long to get a given book to a backcountry market near the U.S. frontier as it did to get it to London — and then, books tended to sell better in London.

Whitman himself had more than one vision of distribution. As early as 1855 he made bold proclamations about saturating the American consciousness. "This is what you shall do," he commands in the preface to *Leaves of Grass*, including in the long list of imperatives that his readers "read these leaves in the open air every season of every year of your life" (vi). The poet who would bring the new American literary forms is imagined as already everywhere: "When the long Atlantic coast stretches longer and the Pacific coast stretches longer he easily stretches with them north or south," the preface declares, "He spans between them also from east to west and reflects what is between them" (iv). While the "greatest poet" might be the expression of the "float of the brain of the world," the conceptual detritus gathered by its long and chaotic human history, his goal was to master the drift of time, to write "the eternity which gives similitude to all periods and locations and processes" (ix, xi). Unrestricted distribution not only characterized the great American poet, who would "be marked for generosity . . . glad to pass any thing to any one," but in fact defined him as such. "The proof of a poet," the preface concludes, "is that his country absorbs him as affectionately as he has absorbed it" (xii).

In his open letter to Emerson, published in the next edition of *Leaves* in 1856, Whitman made explicit expectations of the material side of that absorption: "A few years, and the average annual call for my Poems is ten or twenty thousand copies—more, quite likely," he wrote. "In poems or in speeches," he elaborated, crucially including aural transmission as one of his distributive means, "I say the word or two that has got to be said, adhere to the body, step with the countless common footsteps, and remind every man and woman of something" (346). In that same volume, Whitman's "Broad-Axe Poem" ambiguously contemplated American identity-formation using the less imposing metaphor of drift in tandem with a print-derived trope of "random types":

> The American contempt for statutes and ceremonies, the boundless impatience of restraint,
> The loose drift of character, the inkling through random types, the solidification;
> The butcher in the slaughter-house, the hands aboard schooners and sloops, the rafts-man, the pioneer. . . . (142)

But Whitman's promotion of "drift" to a principle of thinking about poetry's origins as well as its effects begins four years later, with his poems about the sea in one of the sections titled "Leaves of Grass" in the 1860 version.[9] Here Whitman declared himself a precipitation of time and nature, arrived at the shore to "Gather, and merge myself as part of the sands and drift" (196). Chance and randomness became, with the third version of *Leaves*, imaginative openings to the perception of larger patterns of which poetry was only one part, the axis of a new sensibility of distributed effects conveyed through complex pathways along which even the book that carried this message, *Leaves of Grass*, must pass. By 1867, the very words of the poet, in arrangements presumably the unique products of laborious effort, fade away: "The words of my book nothing, the life of it everything" (8). In its final version, beginning in 1881, the line became "The words of my book nothing, the drift of it every thing," in which life itself has dissolved into drift, yet a drift less metaphorically "everything," more concretely "every thing" (17).

The questions with which I begin *Whitman's Drift* are old ones: What effects did the technological transformations of the nineteenth century have on the writing of poetry such as Whitman's? What effect did poetic visions of the seemingly new pervasiveness of literature have on the ambitions of booksellers, publishers, and authors? And more broadly, to what degree was the distribution of literature a site of contest over visions of the nation, as much as it was a site for that nation's unification? Taking up Whitman's vision of "drift," however, which valorizes randomness, looseness, and the emotional qualities of movement and association, leads one to reformulate those questions in ways that can yield new insights. What did distribution mean to nineteenth-century Americans? What all was actually connected by literary distribution, circulation, and sales? How much was literary presence a matter of feeling, of sensation, whether or not it could be attached to a particular copy of a poem? Finally, what can the relationship between imaginary and material disseminations of literary works, as embodied in Whitman's career, offer us today in our imaginings of a networked world?

Whitman's career, poetry, and market presence revise the story of nineteenth-century modes of distribution, showing them to be surprisingly international, persistently unstable, and patently unpredictable. These factors, no less than mass output and long-distance reach, fueled Whitman's and his fellow authors' imaginations of America, the world, and poetic practice. Whit-

man is helpful for thinking about this problem because he does not resolve the tension between mass and local distribution, between the seductions of an imagined massive sale that so disturbed and fascinated Nathaniel Hawthorne ("worse they could not be, and better they need not be, when they sell by 100,000," he wrote of popular novels in 1855) and the countercultural or parochial hand-to-hand or word-of-mouth circulations that, to this day, have not disappeared from the literary landscape of the United States.[10] For Whitman, the literal drifting of his work, its finding the right readers through not just commercial but intimate and seemingly random pathways, was as important as the transcendent "drift" of meaning that left print and even words behind in the name of human connection. *Whitman's Drift* argues that a more rigorously specific and historically sensitive approach to the analysis of literature in relation to transmission patterns can yield insights into the aesthetic practices of writers, and that considering the imagination of distribution can in turn guide us to think about the politics of aesthetics as a question not just of print sensibility, but of feelings about textual distribution.

WHY WALT WHITMAN?

"The history of American publishing," writes Michael Winship, one of its leading storytellers, "has revolved around efforts to solve the problem of distribution." And yet most scholars agree that there is a great absence at the heart of the historical study of this aspect of publishing. Many new stories of book distribution have been uncovered and told, but there is still no single-volume synoptic history of book distribution in the United States, nor even one that treats the whole nineteenth century.[11] This book does not aim so high as that. But since it does hope to embrace the broad practices of nineteenth-century literary distribution, why isn't it about, say, Mark Twain, Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Dean Howells, or Sarah Josepha Hale, all of whom were likely read by more people during their century? Many authors will, in fact, play parts in what follows, including Emily Dickinson, Herman Melville, and Charles Dickens. But Whitman offers an unusually rich refraction of the literary world of his time, and of the relations among aesthetics, politics, and the material world of texts. He also occasions reflection on how we tell literary history.

Like most writers of his time who have become "classic" today, Whitman cooperated with publishers, earned royalties, published internationally, saw

his work in periodicals widely reprinted without being remunerated for it, and promoted his writing in print and in person. Unlike most of them, he also sold his works by hand. That is to say, Whitman is revelatory because he was one of the primary distributors of his own work, even as he embraced larger-scale publication, and its attendant modes of distribution, by the publishers Thayer and Eldridge, James R. Osgood, Richard Worthington, David McKay, and others. His two-pronged approach to the literary marketplace, working the mass-market spectrum of newspapers and magazines as often as he could, but also maintaining an intimate, face-to-face approach, put him in a position to imagine a poetry that could appeal under multiple circulatory schemes. Not all distribution was equal: small distribution to key players, as was the case with the 1855 *Leaves* or with Whitman's romantic portraits with his lovers, might be as significant for an author's or publisher's purposes as vast but short-lived market penetration. Whitman was also censored, unlike most "classic" authors of his time. And in the United States, the definition of censorship was hitched to distribution; the Comstock Act prohibited the sending of licentious materials (and birth control information or means) through the mails. Whitman's career took him to the most important distribution nodes of the young country, literary capitals that linked the United States to the world: New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and New Orleans. At the same time, Whitman's comparative isolation from African American and Native American audiences allows us to see the boundaries that could limit the seemingly most uncontainable of poets.

Whitman's publishing life also crosses the usual Rubicon — the Civil War — of our histories of American literature. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, Whitman has been among the most analyzed of U.S. writers. The literature on his relationship to the marketplaces and technologies of literary production is particularly vast. Whitman is seen as the herald of "modernity" or the "modern," whether by his early advocates in the twentieth-century literary and literary-critical realms, or by more recent scholars claiming that modernity began in the antebellum period; or arrived with the shock of the Civil War; or was concretized by the racialization of the Reconstruction Era; or finally reached America in the imperialism of the last Indian Wars, the Spanish-American War, or World War I; or manifested itself with the flowering of literary modernism in the 1920s.[12] No author or publisher can be representative of American literary publishing of the nineteenth century, and Whitman's career showcases the instability of the period's publishing world and by exten-

sion the degree to which our literary histories too often depend upon glossing over the material transfer of texts. At the same time, it forces us to counteract the tendency to look only at coteries or counterpublics, on one hand, or major distribution enterprises and publishing houses, on the other, since Whitman engaged both.

Whitman's rise demonstrates not simply the creation of a literary figure through mass distribution, but how a great career may be built out of small print runs. Equally important for our critical moment, Whitman's poetry, its form and imagination, builds its framework of effect and significance on tropes of the distributive imagination. To write literary history with an eye to aesthetics, but to the market as well, with ears tuned to the modulating lilt of a writer's voice as it changes over decades, yet also to the rumblings deep in the bedrock of media competition, political transformation, and religious feeling, is the task critics have set themselves after the past few phases of analytical habit.

Michael Moon's elegant study *Disseminating Whitman* was among the first to make a connection between the material properties of Whitman's work and its intricate, intimate poetics. Moon traced the poststructuralist and homoerotic dimensions of the term "dissemination" across the revisions to the first four editions of *Leaves of Grass*. For Moon, "the generative contradiction at the heart of *Leaves of Grass*" is "the desire to imbue a text with full physical presence and the recognition of the impossibility of doing so."[13] As readers, we are encouraged to desire the breakdown of the material obstacles to union with the author or the poem itself—not just the book or the dematerialized essence of a poem, of course, but distribution, distance, sometimes language (for readers of Whitman in translation). At the same time, inasmuch as the poetry is made *of* these immaterial concepts, and inasmuch as the book is itself something of a fetish-object, with its carefully crafted appearance and heft, we are also encouraged by Whitman to keep our distance, and to realize, as in his reminders about death, the limitations, frustrating and delicious, of the material. *Dissemination* stands for Whitman's imagery of fluidity (drift, float, ebb) and of male bodies in loving, sexual exchange that mediates this generative contradiction.

My argument is a revision of Moon's, and indebted to it. In turning to "drift"—which signifies both fluid movement and the concretization left by that movement—I take up this contradiction as it functions in the larger space of reading Whitman's work: the meanings of how a text comes to a reader; of

what other readers one imagines reading it, or not reading it; and the histories of transmission that inform the imagination of how one might read or what one's act of reading might mean. My approach is to consider the set of *relationships*, *imaginations*, and *temporalities* associated with textual mobility—any spatial transfer of a work. These might better be phrased in terms of a few questions. What possibilities or flexibilities did a distribution method open or preserve for publishers, authors, or readers? What kind of credit, or credibility, attended transfer by one means, as opposed to another? How quickly, on one hand, could a book effect a transformation in thinking or in the reputation of an author, and on the other hand, could a book be turned from a storage, transmission, and credit risk into cash? What difference was made if a book moved from author to reader, from bookseller to reader, or from publisher to reader? What difference did stories about its distribution make in its actual sales? Asking these questions animates the network with the envisionings and desires of its enacters. It also requires specifying its constituent terms, an attention to the diversity of modes of what I term "textual mobility" (modes of the sonic, the illegal, the noncommercial, the reputational), and an eye on the role of time in the life of literature's embodiment (including the publisher's credit terms, the possibilities for experimentation created by stereotyping steady sellers, or Whitman's readers "ages hence").

By drift, then, I mean on one level how texts move, with an emphasis on their less-than-systematic transmission. But on another, I mean how texts move us—how they make meaning and feeling. *Drift* also means something like *intention, roughly or weakly signaled.* I get your drift if I pick up on hints and signs, extrapolate, interpret and run with it. Such a practice is at once necessary to literary and historical study and, according to rigorous Western standards of scholarship, unreliable and possibly paralyzing to a scholarly argument. Book historical work resonates most powerfully across disciplines when it brings the stories of sales, holdings, wills, collections, routes—patterns, statistical or narrated and based on facts—to bear on our interpretations not just of the unfolding of societies, but of the works from those worlds that we love to read or to hear. Drift is both aggregating (a derived meaning, the takeaway, a cultural "movement") and meandering, nonprogress, discovery without plan or proof (the drifter, randomness, seasickness). It enables and frustrates interpretation. And so *Whitman's Drift* rides on the tension between drift as a poetical mediation of circulation or distribution (drifting) and a more

concrete book historical measurement of the movement of books and other inscribed media (drifted). Whitman's "The drift of it every thing" calls us to attempt that relay between history as we know it's done and the imagination, of past and present and future.[14]

We might begin by revisiting some of the common components of literary distribution, whether free or for profit: sales, and the many less clearly profitable circulation forms such as promotional gifts, personal gifts, and outloud reading. A sketch of these practices helps situate Whitman's distribution choices within the common practices of his time. Books seldom were sold without moving. But the sale of a book is and was not as clean-cut as the sale of other commodities. Sales involved an exchange of money or credit for a book or lot of books. Books were sold in many ways and venues, including retail bookstores (sometimes owned by publishers), at auctions and trade sales, by mail, by subscription, or by hand, by authors, colporteurs, preachers, reformers, lecturers, educators, and the newsboys we have already met with Alcott. During Whitman's publishing career, many books were sold by publishers to jobbers or wholesalers at regular trade auctions in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and Cincinnati. Jobbers and wholesalers then transported books to retailers of many kinds, including dry goods stores, stationers' shops, department stores, newsstands, and bookstores.[15] Taking the place of the trade sales increasingly in the last half of the century were "commercial travelers," agents hired by publishers or middlemen to negotiate with retailers in person. Subscription agents went door-to-door, getting commitments from residents to purchase books, and then returning later for—most of the time—payment and delivery. Publishers sold books directly to booksellers as well, at a negotiated discount. But here too, because increasingly publishers allowed booksellers to return books that did not sell in a timely way, a sale was not always final. The practice is still one of the signatures of the publishing industry, and is used to amplify claims for sales numbers on a book's release, to gain places on best-seller lists.[16]

Sales directly by authors are of special interest in Whitman's case, because, while his books were sold in trade sales to jobbers, by jobbers to retailers, by publishers to booksellers, and by booksellers to customers, he also sold his own books by hand, both in person and through the mails. "The poet seems to carry on his small mailing and publisher's business downstairs," William Sloane Kennedy wrote in 1886, "in the little parlour where he sits. By his side,

amid a litter of paper, is to be seen a pile of copies of the two-volume centennial issue of his works."[17] Whitman could maintain this business because of changes in the laws governing what materials could be sent by mail and at what cost. Until 1851, bound books were prohibited from the mails, and had to be sent by express or freight, but in the years around Whitman's first publication of *Leaves*, competition from express and freight companies was forcing rapid change to postal rates and categories. By the time he was established as a poet, Whitman was able to sell books through the mails both domestically and internationally. But he also sold his works in person from his residences, and at his lectures and recitations.

Circulation, as distinct from sales, draws attention to other forms of transmission. While jobbers, wholesalers, and distributors (such as the massive American News Company) would resell books and ship them to retailers, much, perhaps most, circulation happened without sales. Books were stolen. They were given to authors as payment, and to reviewers as encouragement. They were borrowed, from individuals and from the thousands of Sunday school libraries, school district libraries, and circulating or social libraries such as the New York Mercantile library. These latter two sorts of libraries brought books and newspapers to a wide range of readers for a small annual fee, while other libraries brought texts to factory workers, prisoners, and patients in hospitals; ships commonly had libraries as well.[18] People were awarded books as prizes in school contests, gave books as gifts, or passed them on to their children or spouses in wills.

Two other forms of circulation played important roles in Whitman's career: oral transmission and newspaper exchanges. From the public reading of newspapers in small-town taverns, to recitations in churches and on important public occasions, to fireside dramatizations of the Bible and popular novels in households across the continent, out-loud reading was one of the most common ways to receive texts.[19] Whitman's poems were read aloud and recited from memory. Sonic transmission was crucial to their spread and, some critics have argued, integral to their design as well.[20] In 1881, Elisa Seaman Leggett described, in a letter to Whitman, how many years earlier Sojourner Truth had overheard Leggett reading his poetry to her children. Truth declared it to be "God who wrote it," or, at least, who "chose the man to give his message." "After that," Leggett writes, "I often read it to her."[21] Whitman himself was well known for reciting other poets' verses and fragments from Shakespeare

in public. Schoolchildren and adults memorized poems, and, just as today, songs were learned by heart and circulated in the "strong voices" Whitman so loved.[22] Whatever were the preservational and affective powers of print, the aural life of literature held equal, perhaps greater, everyday sway.

Periodical reprinting, a phenomenon that has lately seen much attention from literary scholars, was pervasive during Whitman's publishing career. Editors of newspapers requested gratis copies of other newspapers—from all over the country—from which to clip news or other items to reprint in their own venues. Thomas Jefferson Whitman, writing from New Orleans in 1848, where he and his brother Walter had gone to work on the *New Orleans Crescent*, told their parents, "We get the Eagle and Brooklyn Star quite often, and also the New York, Tribune, Mirror, Globe, Dispatch, Sunday Times, Atlas, &c." "The Sun and Herald," he complained, "seem to think the 'Crescent' not worthey their exchange as we have not received theirs yet, altho we have sent to them ever since the paper began."[23] The reprintings resulting from such exchanges, which often involved alterations to the original text, did not usually entail copyright payments.[24] By this means, interesting news, snappy columns and aphorisms, and compelling poems and songs could see wide circulation in a variety of periodicals.[25] The exchange and reprinting practice created bonds of reciprocity among editors and could shape authors' and publishers' imaginations of a writer's marketplace viability. Whitman on several occasions took advantage of that web of relations, sending, for example, notices to a range of papers about the forthcoming appearance of his latest poems in rival venues.[26] Some writers, like Edgar Allan Poe, absorbed the formal expectations and affordances of the reprinting system, taking advantage of the decontextualization and, at times, unauthorization (in cases in which an author's name was not included in the reprinted text) to create hoaxes.[27] In the world of reprinting, authorial identity, intellectual property, and the economics of literary publishing were unmoored.

Religious organizations, the federal government, reform groups, and political parties hoping to win voters prioritized the free distribution of printed texts. The dissemination of devotional tracts and other religious reading, as David Nord has shown, was one of the most important sites for innovation in text distribution in the nineteenth century. Not profit-based (though books were also sold), the distribution efforts of the American Bible Society and the American Tract Society coordinated text-movers across the continent and

beyond. Such groups, Nord writes, "resolved to use the tools of modernity to resist modernity; they embraced the market revolution in order to thwart it," and "proposed to make good books both cheap and dear."[28] These groups were less interested in forging a nation than in building the invisible body of Christ. Government printing began in earnest on the eve of the Civil War with the establishment of the centralized Government Printing Office in Washington, D.C., which replaced a patronage system.[29] Political or advertising flyers and catalogs were also often distributed for free, as were information-gathering circulars such as those sent by the various groups trying to assemble catalogs of books for sale over the course of the nineteenth century. This dimension of Whitman's media world powerfully links past and present, for if the works of Whitman are to be read in the future, it will be in large part because of their circulation via the Internet.

In 1881, the *New York Tribune* wrote of Whitman, "The celebrity of this phenomenal poet bears a curious disproportion to the circulation of his writings."[30] But as usual with such pronouncements, it depends on what one means by, and then how one measures, "circulation." "Others are more widely read," wrote Edmund Clarence Stedman in his landmark *Poets of America* in 1885, "but who else has been so widely talked of, and who has held even a few readers with so absolute a sway?"[31] Circulation is not merely literary distribution, but reputational circulation as achieved in Whitman's lectures, or in recitations, parodies, or reprints of his works. "Drift," then, calls attention to those intimate or unpredictable forms of textual mobility often overlooked in large-scale theories of the technologization, capitalization, and impersonalization of nineteenth-century publishing. The study of a book's drift is a study of a book's distribution but also a study of a book's (and an author's) wild and unpredictable permeation of places and people for which distribution cannot fully account.

Beneath the great transformational waves of the nineteenth century were fascinating eddies of backward movement, contradiction, failure, and unheralded success. Print never became more important than conversation, nationalism never manifested itself without dissent, and profit and philanthropy (both imagination-driven phenomena, both emotional experiences, as nineteenth-century writers endlessly dramatized) were equally and sometimes simultaneously at work. By moving between the distant and the close perspectives, however, the literary historian should be able to tell a coherent story of incoherence,

of the struggle among the realities of print production, the imagination of print production, chance, personality, and inspiration. As one small step toward that larger history, this book explores the way we imagine or talk about the relations between literature and politics, and the attraction of media dynamics and technologies as evidence supporting our visions.

IMAGINED EDITIONS

Perhaps the first lesson we can learn from the past is that, when it came to that vision of print's power to fulfill political dreams in the antebellum United States, many publishers were living in a fantasy world. It was a time of giant dreams of distribution, even of saturation. John O'Sullivan issued the ultimate political meme for the imagination of distribution when he wrote in 1845 that it was America's "manifest destiny to overspread the continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions."[32] With a future as unlimited as the boundaries of the United States, in this era of expansion, individual publishers imagined filling that space with books, in a fusion of profitable dreams with civic-minded expansions of literacy and informed citizenship.[33] Yet editions of 100,000 were, at least in the literary market of that moment, still unusual, though newspapers, schoolbooks, and Bibles could sell at that level.[34] Perhaps the best-known literary success story for mass book production and distribution is Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—yet in 1853 her publisher, John P. Jewett, had been taken by surprise by the novel's runaway success.[35] And while newspapers became cheaper, book prices did not become low enough in the antebellum period to reach substantially larger percentages of the working-class population.[36]

Dreamy visions of market saturation were also belied by the many failures of the publishing world throughout the century. George Palmer Putnam, one of the U.S. publishing world's leaders for nearly fifty years, had companies rooted in key publishing hubs—New York City and London—that managed relations with distributors, authors, culture leaders, manufacturers, and other publishers. He had star writers on the roster and diversified his approaches to running a publishing business. Yet he experienced a string of collapses, sold off the retail stock twice to pay debts and settle bankruptcy, and reorganized multiple times. Instability ruled the day in this constantly evolving and international business world, despite the increasing size, coordination, and

corporatization of manufacturing and distribution channels. The most common experience of running a publishing business, a newspaper, or a magazine was its failure; mere survival could be claimed as a source of pride. Claims of circulation were themselves important factors in acquiring readers, credit, and trust for periodical owners. Charles Sellers estimates that by 1850, of the 4,000 or 5,000 U.S. periodicals that had been started since 1825, about 600 were still running—and the coming of the Civil War would offer an even greater challenge.[37]

During Whitman's lifetime, as Scott Casper describes it, "Book publishers created and became aware of themselves as participants in a trade: a system of communication, competition, cooperation, and distribution." And yet, as the foregoing description suggests, "system" might not be quite the right metaphor to describe the trade.[38] It would be an exaggeration to say that print distribution made literature ubiquitous or commonplace. In the newly settled West, books were scarce, and in the South, newspapers and books from across the country could be had—but not by everyone, since not just distance from major ports or railroad stations but wealth and race could restrict access to texts. And of course the obstacles to textual mobility were also found *within* urban centers. Linguistic and class barriers, cultural deprecations of women's reading, and censorship both formal and informal impinged on the distribution of literature even at the places of its production.

Bookmaking in these uneven conditions had effects that reached into the very heart of business practices and record-keeping. Not long after joining his father's firm, George Haven Putnam lamented, "I don't know where publishers' profits are to come from."[39] It is a hard question to answer even today. "Most contemporary publishers," W. S. Tryon memorably wrote, "lacking their usual flair for publicity, have mysteriously discouraged research in these accumulations."[40] Studying publishing as a whole is difficult, but the distributor is even harder to access. Early in the nineteenth century, publishers and booksellers themselves had no central source for lists of books available for distribution. Occasional attempts to create such a mainline resource would not bear stable fruit until after the Civil War.[41] As a result, publication data but also overall trade data are obscure, needing to be deduced through collections such as Sabin's Americana, other latter-day aggregations of texts, or studies of individual publishing houses. The monumental *Bibliography of American Literature* drew on extensive archival research. Rich records of publishing

companies are rare. From Putnam's firm, only one account book remains (for the fastidious royalty-seeker Washington Irving), and though good archives are available for a few religious publishers and for Ticknor and Fields (later Houghton Mifflin), the Carey firm, Merriam, and Little, Brown and Company, often actual economic records are missing to supplement correspondence, and records are inconsistent and spotty even when they do remain. The business of distributing texts was often handled in verbal transactions.[42] Much of what we have to rely on, and much of what *Whitman's Drift* draws on for evidence, is found in correspondence—but even that has only survived in part and may well overrepresent certain areas of the marketplace (such as literary and government publishing). Taken together, the extant materials that have been studied only scratch the surface of nineteenth-century publishing.[43]

What emerges across these records and in depictions of the trade is that in many cases, firms and authors knew little about their own actual distribution. At times, thanks to the delayed temporalities and multiple contingencies characteristic of publishing, proprietors were even unaware of the financial situation of the firm as a whole. Authors glimpsed the distribution of their works through a veil. Royalty accounting, based customarily on unit sales minus gratis copies, was reported once a year and en masse, not broken down by type of sale, binding, location sold, or asking price of books or lots. Occasionally, popular authors were paid more frequently, or paid up front the whole amount due for a printing of their works.[44] In practice this meant that more popular writers may have had *less* idea of the rate of sales of their titles or their relative geographic penetration. Reviews in periodicals often spoke of sales, but were notoriously unreliable. "My stories, I believe, have been pretty popular, and extracted liberally," Whitman said of his short fiction, and it is impossible to tell if this was false humility or hedging based on uncertainty of the extent of his republication. His stories might well have been republished much more widely than he suspected, and recently have been discovered to have circulated far more than once thought—but what Whitman had to work with were suspicion, rumor, exchanges, and reports from friends and colleagues about the appearances of his tales.[45]

For much of the nineteenth century and certainly during Whitman's publishing career, in many cases, no one knew the full story of a title's distribution to its first readers. Even if we were to find more publishers' archives, the uncertain knowledge the industry had of itself as a condition of its operation

would still have profound implications for studying distribution's history. It is not possible, it seems, to tell a unified story. And if, as Winship says, the history of publishing was shaped by the problem of distribution, the telling of American literary history has been shaped by it as well, often negatively, or in a ghostly way. If the power of mass distribution, driven by technological innovation, informed one aspect of Whitman's imagination of his poetry's potential effects, so too did the phantasmatic, fluid, unpredictable features of his media world.

SEA-DRIFT AND THE SENSATIONS OF DISTRIBUTION

With a swift, startling gesture, in his short poem "Shut Not Your Doors," Whitman establishes the concept of *drift* at the heart of how we read his poetry.

> Forth from the war emerging, a book I have made,
> The words of my book nothing, the drift of it every thing,
> A book separate, not link'd with the rest nor felt by the intellect,
> But you ye untold latencies will thrill to every page. (*LG* 81–82, 17)

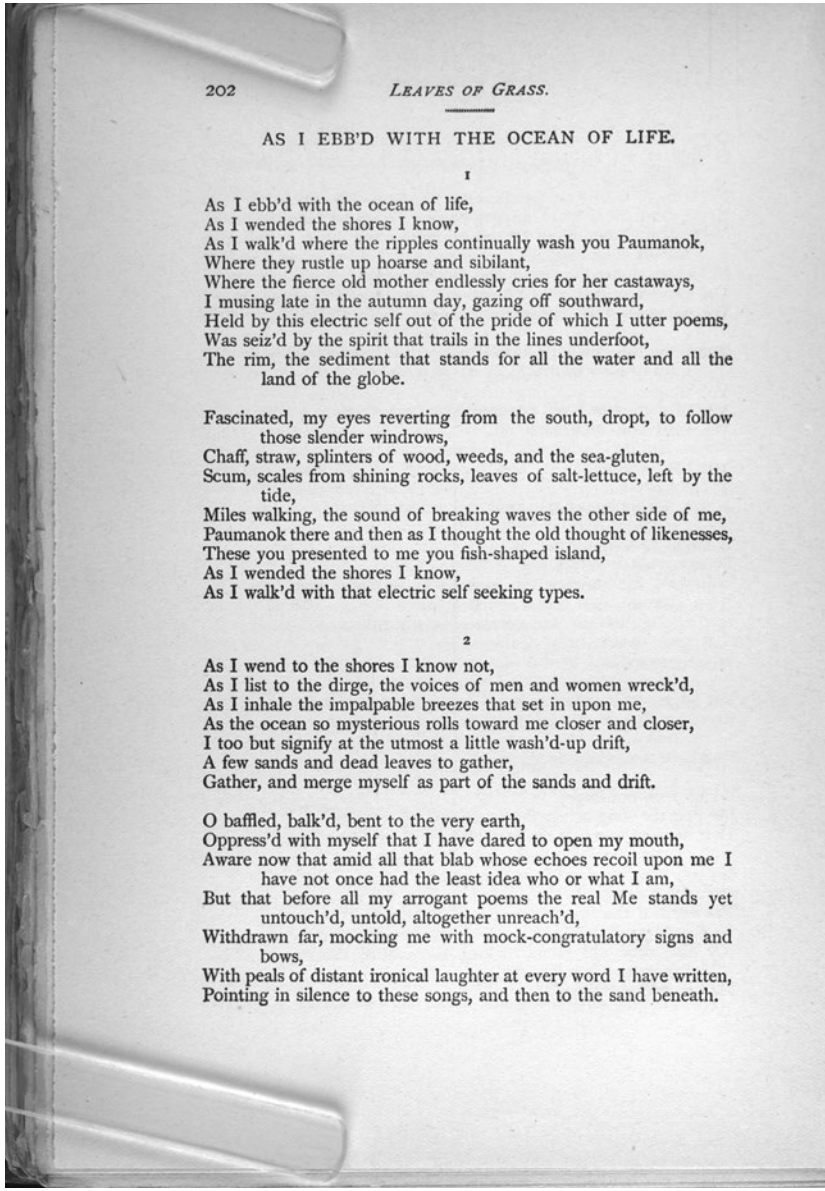
Whitman's "drift" is often Pauline: "the letter good, cannot be better, but, as always, the spirit the main thing," as he put it, assessing one of Edward Dowden's missives in March 1876.[46] Whitman asks something of us that writers and English teachers long have, to think beyond the literal to the spirit of the text, its "drift." Even in this, the poet imagines that the magical powers of print will have their galvanizing effect on the "latencies"—perhaps meaning the unexpressed fears, desires, or affinities among us readers or "untold" numbers of readers themselves. And it is to the "page," a physical carrier, an aggregate of words and spirit, that we will thrill. Yet to achieve those transcendences, those promises of disembodied print and even dematerialized words, we are asked to imagine the book as "separate, not link'd"—not networked, but off the grid. Whitman's poetry characteristically combines a deep sense of the power of linkedness with a fracture, a separation that creates the intimate space of reading *his* poetry, bonding poetic speaker and reader.

In the final two versions of *Leaves*, published in 1881–1882 and 1891–1892, Whitman relocated "Shut Not Your Doors" from the middle to the initial section of the book. There it foreshadows, or heralds, a later group of poems titled "Sea-Drift," which contains the now-famous poem "Out of the Cradle

Endlessly Rocking." Following that poem is another meditation on drift, "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" (which in its initial 1860 version began with an apostrophe to "Elemental drifts!"). *Drift* is used in several senses in this poem, all important here.

As I wend to the shores I know not,
As I list to the dirge, the voices of men and women wreck'd,
As I inhale the impalpable breezes that set in upon me,
As the ocean so mysterious rolls toward me closer and closer,
I too but signify at the utmost a little wash'd-up drift,
A few sands and dead leaves to gather,
Gather, and merge myself as part of the sands and drift.
[. . .]
(See, from my dead lips the ooze exuding at last,
See, the prismatic colors glistening and rolling,)
Tufts of straw, sands, fragments,
Buoy'd hither from many moods, one contradicting another,
From the storm, the long calm, the darkness, the swell,
Musing, pondering, a breath, a briny tear, a dab of liquid or soil,
Up just as much out of fathomless workings fermented and thrown,
A limp blossom or two, torn, just as much over waves floating,
drifted at random,
Just as much for us that sobbing dirge of Nature,
Just as much whence we come that blare of the cloud-trumpets,
We, capricious, brought hither we know not whence, spread out
before you,
You up there walking or sitting,
Whoever you are, we too lie in drifts at your feet. (*LG* 91–92, 202, 203–204)

Here Michael Moon's disseminating Whitman is in full play, if in a half-liquid world, demanding the unity of book and man, the reduction of media distance even as mediation becomes the subject of the poem. In a figure he often employs to call attention to the scene of reading, Whitman hails "You up there walking or sitting," imagining the text as, possibly, mobile in the hands of its reader, asking us as sitting readers to imagine the text in motion.[47] It is a fitting call, for the poem is about reading, comparing, decoding: its speaker walks the shore "with that electric self seeking types" (*LG* 91–92, 202). The



202 *Leaves of Grass.*

AS I EBB'D WITH THE OCEAN OF LIFE.

1

As I ebb'd with the ocean of life,
As I wended the shores I know,
As I walk'd where the ripples continually wash you Paumanok,
Where they rustle up hoarse and sibilant,
Where the fierce old mother endlessly cries for her castaways,
I musing late in the autumn day, gazing off southward,
Held by this electric self out of the pride of which I utter poems,
Was seiz'd by the spirit that trails in the lines underfoot,
The rim, the sediment that stands for all the water and all the land of the globe.

Fascinated, my eyes reverting from the south, dropt, to follow those slender windrows,
Chaff, straw, splinters of wood, weeds, and the sea-gluten,
Scum, scales from shining rocks, leaves of salt-lettuce, left by the tide,
Miles walking, the sound of breaking waves the other side of me,
Paumanok there and then as I thought the old thought of likenesses,
These you presented to me you fish-shaped island,
As I wended the shores I know,
As I walk'd with that electric self seeking types.

2

As I wend to the shores I know not,
As I list to the dirge, the voices of men and women wreck'd,
As I inhale the impalpable breezes that set in upon me,
As the ocean so mysterious rolls toward me closer and closer,
I too but signify at the utmost a little wash'd-up drift,
A few sands and dead leaves to gather,
Gather, and merge myself as part of the sands and drift.

O baffled, balk'd, bent to the very earth,
Oppress'd with myself that I have dared to open my mouth,
Aware now that amid all that blab whose echoes recoil upon me I have not once had the least idea who or what I am,
But that before all my arrogant poems the real Me stands yet untouch'd, untold, altogether unreach'd,
Withdrawn far, mocking me with mock-congratulatory signs and bows,
With peals of distant ironical laughter at every word I have written,
Pointing in silence to these songs, and then to the sand beneath.

FIGURE 1. Page 202 from Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1891–1892) exhibits the visual dynamics of the poet's "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life." Courtesy of the *Walt Whitman Archive*.

debris drifted to the sea's margin, configuring, giving shape to that very sea as "the rim" of the world, serves as synecdoche for the massive, epic, accretive processes of the earth's natural history. The sandy seashore thus becomes resonant with the white strip of the page on which we read the poem, the lines of letters like debris washed up from the giant, fragmenting, drifting tide of literary history. Sea-drift of text (Whitman's repeated "As" piling up at the left edge of the page), sea-drift of identity, as in this poem Whitman's life itself is figured as a product of similar vast and chaotic processes.

We are drift, too, our personalities the products of vast distributive forces, all of us trying to decipher them, none able to know or reconstruct the pattern by which they were "drifted at random." Whitman is sure that there is a meaning to these accretions, not merely Darwinian chance but Hegelian improvement always under way, but he is equally sure that the appearance of chaos matters. The patterns or antipatterns of eddies seemingly leading nowhere and emerging from invisible depths, of drift and jag, of that heaving randomness of the depths that made Louisa May Alcott "very sea-sick" on her steamer to Europe in 1870—these are part of the condition of human perception. They are important, as limitations on human knowledge, to a poetic contemplation of the cosmos. Or at least, Whitman seems certain, it is the poet's job to show us the drift amid too-easily, illusorily claimed order: in *Drum-Taps*, for example, to take us from the contemplation of peace and plenty to that on which it rests, a history of war and loss and its attendant chaos. Whitman steps aside from Emerson's command to abate "Chaos and the Dark," putting *drift* and its consequences, affordances, and potentials into the center of literary production. How fitting, then, that in its original form as "Bardic Symbols," this poem may well have owed its initial and influential publication in the *Atlantic* to the free gift of *Leaves of Grass* to Emerson. Scholars believe that James Russell Lowell, who edited the magazine at the time, was persuaded by Emerson to publish it, against Lowell's instincts.[48]

In *Whitman's Drift*, "drift" is the master-word for the many terms that could be applied to the textual and reputational mobility of the poet and his works. Distribution would seem to be at odds with drift: distribution is something authors hope for but for which marketers and publishers and trucking companies have concrete plans and evaluation metrics. These can all be studied, and in what follows I rely on the work of many observers of the trade to tell my story and to give it specificity. At the same time, distribution is something

that, as we have seen, publishers and authors notoriously mystified, amplified, or, in Whitman's case, downplayed, for a host of reasons having to do with market share or cultural capital. Like the sea, on one hand, there is a *sense of distribution*, that is, a broadly held, perhaps conflicting set of emotions about what texts *feel* like, where they can move, and how they might be connecting and shaping us. Like the land, on the other, is the *distribution of sensibility*, which describes the material limits of both that imagination and the set of texts that carry it.

The five chapters that follow pursue these senses and sensations of distribution by way of categories of circulation not determined by the dreams of publishers, but by Whitman's visions of his poetry's transmission and potential audiences. The chapters range across nineteenth-century landscapes of literary circulation, each synopsizing the latest book historical scholarship on distribution in its topical area: working-class reading, unauthorized printing, international literary distribution and copyright, American Indian and southern space, and electronic literary archives. "To Reach the Workmen Direct" opens the book with one of the persistent questions about Whitman's work: though he depicts himself as a "rough" and one of the masses, to what degree was actually reaching working-class readers a priority for the poet, and did laborers actually read him? For Whitman, connecting with these readers was not just a matter of print, but of his personal appearance, his books' bindings, his oratory, and keeping in touch through, for example, a long relationship with his rural hometown paper in Long Island.

Even as Whitman was spreading himself in these ways, however, he kept careful watch over the circulation of his works—and his profits from them. The second chapter, "The Good Gray Market," turns to the fate of the "pirated" 1860 version of *Leaves*, suggesting that the poet, initially angered at its sale, came to embrace it. Comparing that piracy to Whitman's circulation in England, then setting it within the frame of the many other texts by Whitman available at the time, suggests the surprisingly persistent radicalism of Whitman's poetry at a time when critics have tended to argue he was becoming more conservative. Chapter 3, "Transmitting the Untranslatable," carries further this attention to the career of Whitman's work in Europe, showing that the poet's campaign to depict himself as neglected by readers in the United States was preceded and enabled by a deliberate cultivation of his work in foreign countries. Whitman's reputation as a national poet, it seems, was premised on and effected by his transmission overseas.

One begins to wonder where Whitman *wasn't*. It is this question that drives chapter 4, "Whitman in Unexpected Places," which studies two groups of readers to whom Whitman's work supposedly did not get transmitted during his lifetime, despite their importance to his work's claims of inclusiveness: southerners and Native Americans. These readers were, in fact, finding Whitman, and the uses they made of his vision of a national connectedness take us far afield from both the American nationalism and the transcendent universalism that readers often find in the poet's work. The closing chapter, "Over the Roofs of the World," links past and present, taking up Whitman's concern with his poetry's transmission into the future by studying the radical transformation of artistic distribution that we've experienced in the last twenty years on digital platforms. The *Walt Whitman Archive*, an award-winning free digital research archive that aims to publish all available Whitman material, is built with all of the rigor and accuracy scholarly editorial controls can provide—and yet in this chapter I ask, who out there is using the *Archive*'s images and text, and to what end? What can we learn about the digital preservation and transmission of literature like Whitman's by thinking about its earlier histories, about the long history and politics of the free distribution of poetry?

Together, these chapters aim at filling out the story of Whitman's development as both a writer and a public figure. But they are meant no less to raise questions about literature, its movement, and its role in our visions of connecting with each other. Are our fantasies of distribution shaped by a sense that pervasiveness is an achievable thing? If so, is it because our media industries have had it in their best interests to tell us so for 200 years, or is the story more complex? To what new sense of distribution's importance as a historical dynamic and a political vector can the study of Whitman's navigation of his literary world gesture? To understand Whitman's drift is, as the poet constantly reminds us, to understand it in both aesthetic and material ways. But it is also to pursue it as a provocation to think about our own ways of reading, our own patterns and where they came from—what ocean of history, tendency, habit, institutional gravity, and irresistible proclivity they emerge from and upon whose shores they are strewn.

I want you to reach the workmen direct — treat with the craftsman without an intermediary — with the man who sets the type, the man who puts it into form, the man who runs the foundry.
— Walt Whitman, speaking to Horace Traubel in 1888

CHAPTER ONE ✷ TO REACH THE WORKMEN DIRECT

Walt Whitman's newsboys, unlike Louisa May Alcott's, have names: in June 1888, Horace Traubel, a former newsboy himself, recorded that the poet "gave me a quarter to give Ben Hichens, a newsboy, who stands around the ferry on the Philadelphia side."[1] From his earliest days in journalism, Whitman, born to a hard-working rural artisan family, was attentive to the newsboys, drivers, and other carriers of the written word — distributors all. (Teamsters — also explicitly named, "Pop Rice, Big Frank, Yellow Joe, Pete Callahan" — would become his favored poetic token of the constant motion of the United States, the effecters of flow that made the great drift of the country possible.)[2] "The orange women, the newsboys, and the limping young man with long-lived cakes," Whitman wrote, with an ironic

edge, about the very kind of train scene that Alcott described, "look in at the windows with an expression that says very plainly, 'We'll run along-side, and risk all the danger, while you find the change.'"[3] And in an editorial for the *New York Aurora* in the 1840s, Whitman, lacking material for his column, described a walk he'd taken that day. "Strangely enough," he wrote, self-mockingly, "nobody stared at us with admiration . . . no news boys stopped, and trembled, and took off their hats, and cried 'behold the man what uses up the Great Bamboozle!'" Whitman undermines Alcott's stereotype of the gaping newsboy not just by depicting them as self-composed, but by implying that they are readers, savvy enough not to be impressed by newspaper rivalries like that of Whitman with his former employer Park Benjamin—the "Great Bamboozle," founder of the cheap paper *The New World*.[4]

The relation of Whitman's life and poetry to laboring people has been a preoccupation of his critics since the poet's own time. The image of the rough; his iconoclastic, slangy poetry; and the non-elite circles to which the poet generally confined himself socially serve in part as the provocation for such assessments. "While he is an aggressive champion of democracy and of the working-man," a reviewer in the literary journal the *Critic* put it in 1881, "in a broad sense of the term working-man, his admirers have been almost exclusively of a class the furthest possibly removed from that which labors for daily bread by manual work." This was an overstatement, as we will see, but it characterized Whitman's most powerful and influential admirers. The critic admitted that the poet's representativeness was not undermined by this fact, but rather was reconfigured in Whitman's address to and as one of the non-elite: "He avoids the cultured few. He wants to represent, and does in his own strange way represent, the lower middle stratum of humanity. But, so far, it is not evident that his chosen constituency cares for, or has even recognized him. Wide readers are beginning to guess his proportions."[5]

Was Whitman read by non-elite, non-middle-class readers? Did he care to be? Whitman is not easy to judge, but we keep finding ways to do so, particularly when considering his late career, his nationalism, his attitude toward capital, or his take on race. In this chapter I tell a new story about Whitman's work and career by attending to his ways of inhabiting the literary life. This chapter reconfigures long-standing questions about the role of literature as a mediator of politics and class through an analysis of some little explored ways in which Whitman imagined, in his terms, reaching "the workmen di-

rect." While Whitman meant the words of this epigraph to evoke a material transaction—the workmen mentioned were bringing one of his books into being—I argue for an additional suggestiveness in his choice of these words. *Reaching*, surely, through being read—but not only that, as the gestural metaphor implies. Also hinted at is a more intimate contact and exchange. The workmen, that is to say, represent a broader definition of the other-than-elite audiences with which Whitman was trying to connect—or, perhaps, that Whitman imagined his work might be the occasion for interconnecting. Studies of the nineteenth-century U.S. working class have transformed literary criticism, but often focus largely on urban mechanics, which in Whitman's time would still have excluded most of the poor and most laborers in a heavily rural United States. Whitman, who moved from what was then rural Long Island to the giant and growing New York City, was sensitive to this distinction. He was also careful to attend to those who even in urban areas neither fit into nor necessarily identified with the working class: from the petit bourgeois artisans and shopkeepers to the nonworking poor, soldiers, the incarcerated, and those working in the many gray markets of urbanizing America. Thinking about these groups by way of the experiences, stereotypes, preoccupations, and media that connected them, or by a shared imaginary sense of the category of literature, Whitman formulated a sensitive and flexible conceptual framework for his poetic career. He spoke and acted this framework into being, and without implying that we need to replace more recognizably (to us) political kinds of analysis, I follow its infrastructural elements to see what new purchase on the politics of literary aesthetics Whitman's vision of literary interconnectedness might offer. To rephrase the questions with which this paragraph begins: What were the associations and the channels that Whitman hoped to build with his poetry and his way of being in the world? What articulations of literary form to the material transmissions of his words effected that circulatory imagination?

This chapter explores a range of non-print-based factors in Whitman's circulation, including performance, the oral transmission of stories about the poet, his physical presence and his image, his continued connection with his rural hometown, and the material aspects of his books. Whitman appears to have imagined these elements in the drift of his work as key not just to shaping his relationship with the common people of his day, or to the possibility of his poetry reaching them, but to his distribution over time. Readers in the long

future, his circulation among people of all "places" (one of his preferred terms, blending space and status), would be an authenticating factor in his poetic program of representing America. This series of scenes opens the larger engagements of this book for consideration: What kinds of evidence might we use to study distribution? How might structuring literary historical interrogations by the light of the means and strategies of circulation used by writers and publishers of the past get us out of some of our critical deadlocks? From strategizing with Horace Traubel about bookmaking and labor politics, to the publicity tactics of his poem "After All, Not to Create Only," to his long relationship with the *Long-Islander*, Whitman cultivated multiple circulatory modes simultaneously. This palette of possibility is one dimension of a larger picture of Whitman's imagination of the articulation between literary circulation and the transformation of sensibility: an imagination that was aesthetic, political, and practical, offering insight into the potentialities of nineteenth-century literary worlds. If working-class literary studies have often been concerned to demonstrate and criticize the aestheticization of politics by an increasingly hegemonic capitalist media order, in Whitman's texts and distribution strategies we have a chance to see the very process of aestheticization put into commotion.

"VOICES VEILED, AND I REMOVE THE VEIL"

The study of non-elite, non-middle-class reading has been one of the most methodologically productive, if controversial, areas of book history. From the opening movement of E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class*, with its discussion of popular emblems, to the work of Q. D. Leavis and Richard Altick on British popular readerships, to the landmark studies of dime novels by Michael Denning and romance novels by Janice Radway, a picture has emerged not just of a rich engagement with print by everyday folks, but of that readership's role in transforming the very print and literary industries themselves. The disagreements among scholars in this area have to do, by and large, with the effects and values of such reading and such transformations. Was the spread of literacy and reading an opiate for troubled masses—and literature, one of the agents of capitalist submission? Or did these phenomena enable new conceptions of "the people" or "the working class," and new forms of agency, communication, and organization? Or does it all come out the same in the end: print, only one of many forces in the regimes of industrialization,

militarization, and incarceration, offered a give-and-take that is difficult either to indict or to laud? These debates often hinge on definitions of class, on disagreements about the agency of the common people in relation to intellectual or party leadership, and on the problem of reception—of knowing just how the dispossessed read, given the scarcity or untrustworthiness of the records remaining to us.[6]

"Our knowledge of reading practices is limited, particularly for the period after the Civil War," Barbara Sicherman reminds us. "We do not know whether more people read books or the same people read more books, let alone understand the meaning of reading in people's lives."[7] We do not know with any depth whether with increasing population, education, and library building, more people of certain classes read more, or differently, than they traditionally had, or how ethnicity and immigration affected overall patterns of reading. We know that literacy was important, and increasingly axial to the middle-class imagination of itself and others. "Let every man, if possible," William Ellery Channing advised, "gather some good books under his roof, and obtain access for himself and family to some social library. Almost any luxury should be sacrificed to this." And what of every woman? Sicherman points out that "an older tradition of Bible literacy linked to America's dissenting Protestant origins joined with the ideology of republican motherhood that required a certain level of female learning to produce virtuous male citizens."[8] But what about book reading, or poetry reading in particular? Did these activities become broader or deeper with the undeniable growth and spread of the U.S. population, or with the increase in the numbers of books or magazines printed? How many readers remained unreached? How many books sat unread? How many were heard, or overheard? We may never know the answers to these questions, of course, though they seem foundational to assertions about the power of literature in the shaping of national feeling, or the penetration of a functionalist capitalist mentality, or secularization.

Whitman offers both fascinating, suggestive evidence and interpretive challenges to the investigation of working-class reading. Literature, Richard Brodhead observes, "has been differentially available throughout its history: available on some terms at some periods to some figures and groups of figures, but available on other terms—including not at all—to others." Brodhead emphasizes the social worlds of literature, both those generating it and those it helped generate, transform, or maintain. The transmission of literature in

its material embodiments, on paper or orally, complicates the boundaries of the "literary social worlds" that are Brodhead's focus.[9] Whitman is an author whose works transgressed these worlds, even if he did not.

On one hand, our knowledge of Whitman's reading habits is deep, our archives enormous: thousands of pages of printed text with Whitman's marginal notes remain, and hundreds of pages of free-standing annotations.[10] Whitman's close friendships and romantic relationships were mostly with wage-earning men like Peter Doyle, Harry Stafford, and Horace Traubel. Whitman gave common folks, including, for example, wounded soldiers and Peter Doyle, copies of his books, samples of poetry published in newspapers and periodicals, and photographs of himself.[11] Not only did he circulate his own work among them, he maintained relationships through distribution scenes governed by intimate, embodied protocols of information circulation. An 1868 letter to a young friend offers a window onto this habit:

> Dear friend Harry Hurt — I thought I would just drop you a line for yourself — but no doubt you keep fully posted about me by my letters to Pete, as I am willing you or any of my particular friends who wish to, should read them (he knows who I would be willing should read them — I leave it to him). . . . Harry, I wish when you see Ben. Thompson, conductor, you would say I sent him my love and have not forgot him. Let him read this letter. I send him a Newspaper, the N.Y. Clipper. I have marked the piece about the Five Points. . . . I wish you to tell John Towers, conductor, I send him my love, and we will see each other again one of these days. I send him a Clipper also with an account of the Five Points — Harry, you let one of them lend you the paper, and read the account.[12]

In this exchange, printed stories, manuscript letters, and face-to-face transmission of greetings functioned together as a bonding system among these men.

On the other hand, in this vignette of newspaper circulation and workingmen's intimacy, and in others like it, Whitman doesn't mention any politically marked class identifiers, nor does he figure the nation as the framework or cause for bonding. And certainly in his reading habits, Whitman was unusual even (as we know from his correspondence) in his own family: the intense absorption of news and literary gossip he acquired as a habit in the newspaper industry was still with him in his final years in Camden. Whitman's own experience of work was varied, from stretches of unemployment, to wage-

laboring, to petit-bourgeois real estate investment and construction, to the quasi-middle-class life of an editor and the uncertain one of a salaried government employee. In general, as M. Wynn Thomas points out, Whitman's "use of poetry to call into existence a western society that will be simultaneously individualistic and cooperative" shows his "early education in what Eric Foner has called 'the central ideas and values of artisanal radicalism.'"[13] He worked with or was friends with labor radicals for much of his life—and yet he praised the wealthy capitalist Andrew Carnegie, one of his supporters, despite his notorious record of labor exploitation. And when it came to race, and the role of African Americans in the polity and the workforce, Whitman was—it is hard to put it any other way—a bit of a mess. Eric Lott writes of Whitman's depictions of blackface minstrelsy and the politics of race that "Whitman is a salutary reminder that there is no simple correspondence between individual racial feeling, cultural predisposition, and political ideology." Whitman in this demonstrates "both the potential and the real limits of class egalitarianism as a wellspring for antiracism," and, one might add, for any other clear political reform.[14] In Whitman, a commoner brought to the pantheon, we have an inspiring example of how a writer need not have comfortable origins to rise to literary-canonical status. In his writing and conversation, however, we also find no clear platform for workers' rights or any easy-to-label social transformation, but a vigorous attempt to transform the very language of class, status, value, or appreciation that one might use to organize a political vision.

Even if we dare not generalize overmuch from Whitman's reading and writing habits, there are some certainties. We know that there was a vibrant reading and writing life beyond the parlors and halls of elite and middling America, and one often oriented toward a program of social change. There was the Lowell *Offering*, written by female mill workers; the sensational work of Philadelphia labor organizer and fiction writer George Lippard; and the radical periodical publishing of labor organizers, African American activists, and a range of reformers. How did literary texts get to and among the working men and women of America, or rural farmers, or the nonworking poor? The routes were many, and as scholars have increasingly come to appreciate, often involved surprising uses of print—or no print at all.

Next in significance perhaps only to the free distribution of religious literature by colporteurs and agents discussed in the introduction, the penny press was a crucial route for imaginative writing to the minds of the people.

Story-papers, cheap periodicals and "extras" carrying entire novels, reprinted British novels in paper covers—the formats proliferated in the wake of steam-powered printing, assembly, and distribution. This was the world of Brooklyn and New York newspapers in which Whitman's career began. "In September 1833," writes Robert Gross of this transformation, "a new era of mass communications dawned with the inauguration of Benjamin Day's *New York Sun*. This brash upstart adapted recent innovations in the London press to American circumstances and challenged the business model for an urban newspaper. It was soon followed by a host of imitators in New York and beyond."[15] Whitman's New York life began with those imitators, in his work with *Brother Jonathan* and the Great Bamboozle's *The New World*, which in 1842 published Whitman's temperance novel *Franklin Evans; or, the Inebriate* in its next extra number after the controversial *American Notes for General Circulation* by Charles Dickens. The penny press's new formats and approach to news were explicitly designed to draw a vast audience, to be read aloud in public, and to create eddies of sensation. Whitman's relationship with James Gordon Bennett's powerhouse *New York Herald*, in which he published in a range of genres, would be intense after 1887.[16]

The theater, the minstrel show, lectures, and musical and other public performance genres were also crucial channels for imaginative work, functioning in a complex relation with print. In a cheap story-paper novel published in 1849, George Lippard depicted the den of the Philadelphia gang "The Killers" in a continuum with high-class society, linked by the shared spectatorial space of the popular theater:

> Rougher pieces of old carpet were huddled in the corners—these were the beds of the "lieutenants" in which they slept away the day, after a night of rum and riot—and the mantelpiece was adorned with broken pipes and empty bottles. The walls were quite pictorial, being plastered over with theatre bills, on which the names of "Jakey," "Mose," and "Lize" appeared in conspicuous letters; thus hinting at the fact in city life, that the pit of the theatre sometimes educates Killers, even as the box of the theatre very often produces full fledged puppies, who carry hair on their upper lips and opera-glasses in their hands.[17]

While the chasm between highbrow and lowbrow entertainment modes would grow over the course of Whitman's career, the other-than-textual media environments shaping the literary and its reach to the non-elite were persistently numerous and varied.

These venues catered predominantly to urban audiences. Crucial to reaching rural readers was the strategy of subscription publishing, particularly late in the century. Mark Twain's ideas about the role of subscription publishing in reaching such readers suggest why we might doubt that Whitman's methods of book distribution reached rural laborers in his lifetime. "Harper publishes very high-class books and they go to people who are accustomed to read," Twain wrote to his publisher in 1896. "But there is a vast class that isn't — the factory hands and the farmers. *They* never go to a bookstore; they have to be hunted down by the canvasser. When a subscription book of mine sells 60,000, I always think I know whither 50,000 of them went. They went to people who don't visit bookstores."[18] In turn, reviewers of the time in middle-class or elite periodicals shunned subscription publications. A reviewer in the Boston *Literary World*, for example, wrote that "subscription books are in bad odor and cannot possibly circulate among the best classes of readers, owing to the general and not unfounded prejudice against them as a class."[19] This statement was less descriptive than prescriptive, but it suggests the way distribution operated at the nexus of imagination and material production as a site of contest over the future of literature. As we will see, Whitman used newspaper exchanges but also direct communication with rural editors and his hometown library as tactics for reaching such readers.

Subscription agents offered a wide range of genres for sale. But what about poetry, in particular? Joan Shelley Rubin has eloquently shown the many ways poetry was woven into the lives of nineteenth-century working people, whether through school recitation and memorization, advertising campaigns, church attendance, public performances, or a range of other means. Scrapbooking, Ellen Gruber Garvey has demonstrated, was popular during most of Whitman's life, and poetry played an important part in it. Urban northerners and rural Confederates, for example, clipped and preserved newspaper verse — often the same poems — during the Civil War in their attempts to commemorate triumphs, mourn the lost, and maintain hope. Well into the twentieth century, in "a modern America fueled by consumer capitalism and new media and communication formats, poetry had tens of millions of readers," as Mike Chasar has shown.[20] Were Whitman's working readers our primary concern, the most important edition of his poetry might be the Walter Scott "Canterbury Poets" edition, selected and introduced by Ernest Rhys and first issued in 1886 — yet not widely available in the United States. These small volumes — done in the pocket style that Whitman so often said he favored, and

FIGURE 2. The editions in the Canterbury Poets series of the publisher Walter Scott were perhaps the most widely distributed books of Whitman's poetry during his lifetime. Photo by Dan Cohen.

that promoted the poetry's mobility—probably sold in the tens of thousands in Great Britain, at a range of prices starting at a shilling. Whitman's poetry appeared in Rhys's volume (which Whitman, Edwin Haviland Miller says, "coached" Rhys in the making of, "in exact detail every step of the way"), but also in other books in the series; there were editions of his *Democratic Vistas* and *Specimen Days*, and selected poems appeared in thematic anthologies on, for example, the sea or children.[21] Rhys designed the Whitman volume for laboring readers and addressed his introduction to them. Whitman's international audiences of common people extended to the Continent as well, as Walter Grünzweig and other scholars have shown. Rudolf Schmidt, for example, wrote of Whitman that "the sturdy Slesvic peasants know him very well."[22] The international arena was pivotal to Whitman's spread among all social groups, as we will see in chapter 3.

Our desire to make Whitman a political poet—or a not-political one—at times takes an argumentative shape whose terms were set by the nineteenth

century itself. A politicization of literature was advanced during those years, both in the sense of the politics of caste or "place" (or economic leverage) that figures who had cultural influence used to draw distinctions among genres or media forms and link them to social status, and in the sense of a belief in the reforming power of literature.[23] The review of Whitman's work in the 1881 *Critic* cited earlier, which claims a bourgeois readership for the poet, emblematizes that development. That sense of literature as a battleground for political issues, and our interpretations as front lines of that struggle (in the academy today, for or against formalism or cultural criticism, for example) can at times hamper our appreciation of the way literature was also a mode of theorizing the political, or of reconfiguring the notion of politics itself. Both as a material practice and a set of imaginations or contests for the imagination, distribution puts literary form at the conjunction of interests ranging from immediate to distant, asking us to consider the aesthetic processes of politics, not just literature or art as political precipitates or tools, or expressions of pure form or vision. The three sections that follow, accordingly, treat different modes of distribution across Whitman's career, beginning to sketch a strategic interarticulation of textual mobility and poetic choices that will lay the groundwork for the publication events traced in the rest of this book. We start, in fact, not with Whitman's poetry, but with that of his "disciple" Horace Traubel, and with the question of the body of the book itself, its material features, late in Whitman's life, a period when Whitman has been depicted by some scholars as most out of touch with the economic realities of working America.

CATCH UP MY WORDS AND PASS THEM AROUND

As Whitman aged and suffered a series of damaging strokes, his many schemes to put his work before the public seem rather to have flowered than faded with his physical condition. With the help of Philadelphia bank clerk Horace Traubel, from 1888 to his death in 1892 Whitman published book after book —some short: *November Boughs* (1888) and *Good-Bye My Fancy* (1891); and some long, in the case of *Complete Poems & Prose of Walt Whitman* (1889), the pocket edition of *Leaves of Grass* (1889), and the "death-bed" edition of *Leaves* (1891–92). This flood owed much to Traubel's boundless energy, for without Traubel as a representative, proofreader, and accountant, Whitman could not have issued such a deluge of print. This chapter's epigraph exem-

plifies our understanding of an important detail of Traubel's role as a literary intermediary. Because Whitman was concerned about the material features of his books—type, paper, binding, margins, the whole host of bibliographical codes—he and Traubel are often imagined to have bonded as friends and coworkers by way of their shared interest in bookmaking. Traubel, sharing experience as a printer and journalist with Whitman, seems to have been providentially ideal as a go-between in the production of Whitman's books.

Their connection was certainly not founded in a shared vision of politics. Traubel's commitment to socialism and Whitman's to a sort of antinomian individualism led them to arguments almost weekly, as recorded in Traubel's nine-volume record of conversations with the poet, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*. Given their extensive bookmaking collaboration, it would be easy to assume that, if they didn't agree on politics, at least they agreed on the importance of the physical book and on its aesthetics. Traubel and Whitman, however, had widely different, even conflicting, ideas about how books should be both dressed and distributed. These conflicting ideas might be thought of less as a result of their politics, or an expression of them, than as mutually and dynamically shaped in relation to a sense of the aesthetics of politics. To pursue the implications of the difference between Whitman's and Traubel's ways of representing writing as labor, and thus of interarticulating writing and politics, I take the unusual step of analyzing Traubel's poetry, particularly selections from his 1910 collection *Optimos*. The content and the material form of Traubel's works (including the periodicals he edited and the first few volumes of *With Walt Whitman* itself) together suggest how changes in the context and economics of book design from the mid- to the late nineteenth century made the argument over bibliographical form between Whitman and Traubel a political one. The discussions between Traubel and Whitman about the 1855 edition of *Leaves* thus emerge not as nostalgic communion over the radicalism of Whitman's blending of bibliographical and linguistic systems of meaning, but as flashpoints of a contest over the politics of the literary marketplace and the place of the writer in the world of labor.[24]

My choice to examine the political tensions between Traubel and Whitman through their visions of literary *matériel* (the ingredients of a book's physical embodiment) carries a methodological implication for the study of form and politics. The history of the book as a field asks us to pursue a question Raymond Williams long ago insisted upon: How do the production, distribution,

and reception of a text facilitate its cultural work? But it also asks us to explain how a reading of the material life of literature relates to, changes, shapes a more "textual" reading. Traubel's poetry may be read in a more interesting way in light of its physical form and the debates about such forms that framed his writing. The friction between Traubel's and Whitman's senses of the relationship between the physical features of a printed (and sometimes bound) work and the words within it indicates that literary form at certain historical moments becomes self-consciously a fusion of text and *matériel*. One effect of the late nineteenth-century mechanization of print and industrialization of the literary marketplace was that the mechanisms of writing themselves became part of the work of writing in a new way. "As a consequence," as Jerome McGann insists, "writing carried out in this tradition (or frame of reference) is engaged—and often consciously preoccupied—with the question of the social function of writing and the imagination." Thus to understand the connections among political change, literary form, and the imagination of the reading public in this period demands an expansion of the definition of form to include more of the activities involved in producing a book.[25]

It is fair to say that this question has long been one of the central concerns of Whitman scholarship. Critics have agreed that the issue of authorial labor is rooted in the ways Whitman's poetry struggled spectacularly with the logical problem Chantal Mouffe terms "the democratic paradox." While Whitman's poetry advocates an apparently all-inclusive *polis*, his evidence for the virtue of that public comes from the closed and imperfect example of U.S. republicanism—a fact I examine more closely in chapter 4 in light of Whitman's relationship to Native Americans. Mouffe points out that democratic forms of government always create "a tension with the liberal emphasis on the respect of 'human rights,' since there is no guarantee that a decision made through democratic procedures will not jeopardize some existing rights." The paradoxical nature of liberal democracy, then, emerges from its constitutive insistence on "the idea that it is legitimate to establish limits to popular sovereignty in the name of liberty."[26] When the question of the rights of labor came up, Whitman's commitment to popular sovereignty was challenged. Whitman often found himself, in speaking of the same laissez-faire economics that exploited the working class, "less its critic than its great poet."[27] Still, Alan Trachtenberg points out that if Whitman does not revolutionize the idea of occupation—the invention of labor by capitalism—he at least "subsumes that

system by singing it, subsumes it to an ideal version, a convertible America the poet's work might bring about." His radicalism was lodged in concerns local to him: in a critique of the field of literary production. "Whitman's most revisionary motive for poetry," Trachtenberg tells us, was "to alter and enlarge the identity of the maker of poems. It entailed refiguring the worker-poet's work and simultaneously redefining the work of reading as something itself laborious and difficult."[28]

In addressing the democratic paradox with respect to the question of work, then, Whitman emphasizes the agonistic, processual possibilities of poetry — poetry as an occasion for contest, for argument, or simply for dialogue. Certainly in his arguments with Traubel such an emphasis emerges repeatedly as his chief concern, as a typical bout over socialism illustrates. Whitman was convinced that, unlike in England, the sheer size of U.S. territory made universal land ownership possible, so he rejected at a fundamental level the arguments of British socialism. In an 1889 conversation, Traubel suggests, as he customarily does in such moments, that no form of ownership can be guaranteed to prevent wage slavery. His account of Whitman's reply editorializes more than usual, suggesting but not stating the emotional excess Traubel has taken away from the recent conversation. Whitman asserts, "Indeed, I am more and more persuaded that the ill, too, has its part to subserve — its important part — that if ill did not exist, it would be a hopeless world and we would all go to the bad," which Traubel tendentiously labels "a singular paradox!" Whitman goes on, as he often does, to scold angrily the radical stance; Traubel in turn reminds him that his work argues a radical position, even if not an explicitly political one. "That is so, too," Whitman demurs, "all my sympathies are with the radicals, the come-outers, I know" (*WC* 5:276–277). With this gesture, emotional identification in the form of sympathy (an important term for Whitman) stands in for political conversion, re-fusing Traubel and Whitman's relationship. Whitman — when he is at full strength in the conversations — invests his energies profoundly in their procedures and definitions, being more interested in the ability to have an agonistic confrontation that retains male friendship as its condition of possibility and extension than he is in convincing Traubel not to be too radical.

But while this episode and a long historiography of the question of Whitman's relationship to labor issues help us sketch Whitman's sense of the work of the poet, Traubel's understanding of such work remains unclear — or, at best,

vaguely "socialistic." Bryan Garman has argued convincingly that Traubel, in *With Walt Whitman*, *The Conservator*, and other venues, launched an ongoing and successful "attempt to transform the poet into the prophet of socialism."[29] In the course of what the business world might term this "repurposing" of Whitman, Traubel's own theory of poetic work emerged—most saliently in his poetry collection *Optimos*.

Like Whitman, Traubel takes a range of workers as both subjects of his poems and channels for a broad depiction of social relations. As an internationalist, Traubel is not guided by the framework or perceived importance of "America": the nation is not a source of meaning for work. Partly as a result, Traubel's poetry features a more focused sampling of occupations than does Whitman's. Instead of listing trades and activities that span almost the entire productive spectrum, Traubel sticks to miners, domestic servants, day workmen, engineers—to manual laborers, "the men of the common trades."[30] In this his imperatives align broadly with those of socialism as Traubel knew it at the time, bringing to the fore issues of the representation of laborers as having a common interest and needing a political voice with which to establish fair wages, good working conditions, a minimum working age, and workers' representation in industry.

This focus on manual labor leaves ambiguous what kind of work the singing of this cause is, and why Traubel should be the one to do it. The moments in his poetry in which Traubel addresses these questions, taken together, are equivocal: is his poetry manual labor, or strategic literary martyrdom; leisure time stolen for the cause, or time stolen *from* it? Certainly Traubel and his family worked countless hours at his publications (and Whitman's), lost sleep, and put most of their earnings back into writing projects. Yet Traubel's later poems sometimes express anxiety or even petulance about his lack of an audience. Time and again he returns to the theme of invisibility or inaudibility: "My plain song is not heard"; then when "I am hailed as the courier and promise of social regeneration" only working-class people seem to hear, "And when I try to make love to the people they do not hear" (150, 153, 254).

The beginnings of an explanation lie in Traubel's use of the poetic first person. The work of this poet is not to embody the mass, but to embody a specific ideal form of representation. Traubel's "I" seldom indicates "Horace Traubel Mediating America," as would be the case were he imitating Whitman: rather, it is *socialism itself*. Socialism's song, Traubel says in "My Plain Song Is Not

Heard," is not heard, it is felt, and it is composed simultaneously by an experience of working-classness not accessible to the president, the bourgeois, the "gloved hand."

> And so though I sing forever and I alone hear my song
> I am audience enough and I cheer my journey with sweet acclaim.
>
> Did I say no one hears my song?
> I guess I should not say that: my song too has its answerers,
> But my answerers are not priests who make the creeds of song,
> Nor are they the sleek or the comfortable or the wary:
> They are the people who are as plain as my song. (151)

In this passage the explicit contrast of the literary establishment as an audience with the "people who are as plain as my song" departs from Whitman's model in a way that makes Traubel's poetry difficult to parse. Why would socialism feel pain at not being heard if it is a force independent of its advocates? Arguing under the ongoing influence of a Romantic version of republican ideology, Traubel's poetry claims that social reform is an inevitable good, bound to displace capital. Thus at those moments when the persona of *Optimos* changes his form of address, ceasing to scold himself and turning on readers jeremiadically ("Your next of kin may be the man or woman you hate"), the aggregative force of socialism takes on a disciplinary feel unameliorated by the ambiguities and human inconsistencies of Whitman's "I": a preachiness that earned Traubel condemnation from many readers.[31]

This position introduces structural contradictions in the articulation of Traubel's description of the poet's work to his own position in the literary marketplace. Traubel's materialism seems to melt away when the question of working-class reception rises; the workers whom Traubel represents circulate socialism's words by mysterious channels:

> They hear me, a few of them, and take me to heart—
> They catch up my words and pass them around and make friends of them.
> The man who is picking coal in a mine—he listens, he hears some echo underground, he can't account for it:
> [. . .]
> The engineer in his place in the train dashing on feels himself mysteriously summoned. (152)

This separation of "song" from its transmission opens a problematic gap between the role of poetry for culture workers and the role of poetry for laborers. Poetic work itself is *not social*: "The singer has a song to sing and sings it according to his song, / He does not sing it according to your ear or your applause" (256). When "singing" is enunciated by workmen themselves, it seems to be merely a catalyst or balm for work: in an essay called "The Builder Sings," Traubel asserts that "we will always sing. For the workman who sings can work. Through whatever distress can work."[32] For Traubel, work as process is the primary concern, and its results are secondary and subject to a radical individualism—a calling that one must be allowed to choose, whether that work is useful or necessary or not. Such beliefs found a sympathetic audience among the members of the arts and crafts movement, into which Traubel threw his energies after the turn of the century, and which provides the most important context for understanding how he positioned himself in the sphere of literary production after Whitman's death.

The arts and crafts movement in America was inspired by the work of John Ruskin and William Morris, and took shape as a response to the accelerating industrialization of commodity production and mechanization of labor in the second half of the nineteenth century. Because the United States' recent legacy of republicanism and history of labor relations differed from Great Britain's, the movement as it defined itself in cities like Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston was diverse in ways distinct from the movement's instantiation in England. As Eileen Boris and Jackson Lears have shown, the "craftsman ideal" was characterized by a political diversity that makes it difficult to characterize as a unified movement or full-featured "ideology." In particular, the role of socialism and the reform of industrial education were hotly debated. In Boston, the movement quickly became aesthetically charged—its goal to create beautiful handmade objects to elevate taste—while in Chicago, though improving taste was important, the emphasis was on the creation of training programs, settlement houses, and other social reform institutions.[33] At Philadelphia's Rose Valley utopian craft community, where Traubel spent a summer and whose journal, *The Artsman* (1903–1907), he published, radical socialism and an open democracy informed the community's governance and its political pronouncements. Arts and crafts, then, was a site of contest in America over the role of the middle class in mediating taste and the conditions of production. As Traubel wrote in *The Artsman* in 1904 at the height of the movement's power

(and of its internecine conflicts), "Rose Valley resents being quoted as responsible for what is elsewhere said upon the subject of handicraft."[34]

The axis of disagreement among arts and crafts groups was the question of whether to prioritize aesthetics or labor reform. For Traubel and his peers at Rose Valley, changing the relations of production was primary.[35] In the first volume of *The Artsman*, the editors declare unequivocally their intent to argue against the "taste reform" camp of crafts politics by quoting, as a kind of textual frontispiece, Bliss Perry: "More significant than either success or failure is the courage with which one rides into the lists. It is his moral attitude toward his work which lifts the workman above the fatalities of time and chance, so that, whatever fortune befall the labor of his hands, the travail of his soul remains undefeated and secure." Irrespective of stylistics (bound by historical moments of interpretation), the *process* of production, ideally a marriage of political and cultural circumstance with individual proclivity, makes for transcendent works. As Will Price put it in a short essay called "Man Must Work to Be Man," corporate organization and commercial manufacturing employ a logic of individualism based not on fulfillment but on alienation. Arts and crafts is more than "a mere fad," Price insists, "broken against the hard facts of modern industry" because, by replacing modern industry's mode of production with organized small-scale local production and co-ownership, the ideology of consumer capitalism is revealed as unsatisfying, full of false promises.[36] This position was performed in Traubel's text layout in all of his works, which, along with their content, called attention to their production through, among other things, their handmade appearances, heavy paper, and arts and crafts typefaces. Such performances were not shams—Traubel designed his own layouts and often set his own type.[37] The goal was to emphasize production *as* form; a reform of the relations of production would inscribe its products as progressive regardless of their content, an approach modernists would term "constructivist."[38]

Traubel attempted to associate Whitman with this vision of art and labor by arguing in favor of a connection among Whitman, Ruskin, and Morris. During the time he was recording *With Walt Whitman*, Traubel would bring up Ruskin or Morris in conversation, trying to get Whitman on record as being in harmony (or at least in dialogue) with their ideas.[39] He gave up, eventually, because Whitman objected that Ruskin and Morris depended upon an aesthetic cultural field that was exclusive. Morris was particularly important

to Traubel for his influence on bookmaking, and it was here that Whitman put his foot down with curt evasiveness.

> I said: "Walt: do you like the William Morris books?" He replied: "I may say yes: I may also say no: they are wonderful books, I'm told: but they are not books for the people: they are books for collectors. I want a beautiful book, too, but I want that beautiful book cheap: that is, I want it to be within the reach of the average buyer. I don't find that I'm interested in any other kind of book." I alluded to the medieval illuminated books. Didn't they appeal to him? He said: "Yes and no again: they are pathetic to me: they stand for some one's life—the labor of a whole life, all in one little book which you can hold in your hand . . . yes, I can sense them: but they are exclusive: they are made by slaves for masters: I find myself always looking for something different: for simple things made by simple people for simple people." (*WC* 4:19–20)

Morris and his medieval bookmaking aesthetic come up infrequently after this conversation.[40]

Raised in this interaction, though, is the question of the degree to which Whitman reached a popular audience. As Gay Wilson Allen pointed out long ago, it was *Franklin Evans* that probably reached the most readers during Whitman's lifetime and that formed "the right road to the kind of expression" that would find a popular audience.[41] When Whitman advocates, in this conversation, reaching "the average buyer" with his poetry, he means it literally: he imagines working-class and elite readers as only minor parts of his audience. Whitman seems to have desired that this "average" be a product of the comparatively uncoordinated and unforced drift of his works through the literary marketplace. He reveled in moments in which personal connections were made through his books, sold his editions out of his own house, gave away many copies to friends and potential publishing connections in America and Europe, as we will see in later chapters. Ed Folsom, reflecting on the census of the copies of the 1855 edition of *Leaves* that he and Amy Hezel began assembling in 2005, suggests that in fact it may have been largely through recommendations and gifts of the book, particularly by and from Ralph Waldo Emerson, that it got distributed in America.[42] From such connections Whitman generated his knowledge about the multifaceted reactions to his poetry and the variety of emotional investments in its continued well-being felt by a wide range of readers. His habit of giving away proof slips, newspaper copies, im-

ages of himself, and other ephemera to those who came to visit him reinforced this generation of a web of relationships with his audience.[43] Whitman seldom answered requests for autographs—the consummate indication of a commodified authorial status in the nineteenth century—but an earnest letter like the one Bram Stoker wrote him in 1876, with the promise of a personal meeting, could initiate a protracted relationship (*WC* 4:180). Instead of saying that there is a vague "parallel" between the textual and the socio-bibliographical techniques Whitman used, we might more fruitfully imagine them as mutually extending practices, each designed to amplify the other across realms of the sphere of literary production that were in the process of being separated out by mass-publishing market interests.

It was an approach to the literary marketplace that made Traubel, and many of Whitman's other collaborators, uncomfortable. Traubel reported that Whitman thought

> the author should be in more direct and vital touch with his reader. . . . The author should sell his books direct to the consumer. In the ideal situation the author would have his own type and set the type of his book. Or, he would laughingly say, to carry the ideal notion further, the author should not only set the type of his book and put on its cover, but, after doing this, should not sell it but should give it away.[44]

And while Richard Maurice Bucke was "troubling WW to put out a fancy, expensive edition of his poems" (Whitman responding, "I want no autocrat editions"), Whitman was planning a simple pocket version that would be easily portable, at roughly half the price Bucke advocated.[45] Again, while this edition (whose 300 copies eventually sold for $5.00 each in 1889, twenty times what the shilling Walter Scott volumes cost) was beyond the economic reach of most people, it served the functions simultaneously of advertising Whitman's work and allowing it to be read in shifting environments, to become susceptible to the drift of conversation and influence Whitman encouraged.

The morphology of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass* itself, it can be argued, was enabled by and encouraged a reading practice that made much of the social and gestural aspects of the experience of literature, reaching beyond the physical boundaries of the book in generating its meaning. A book measuring roughly nine by twelve inches, the first edition was closer to the size of a small, cheap

story-paper than to that of the typical poetry volume, and its famous "Preface" was set in the tiny, double-columned modern type of the newspaper or journal. While Michael Feehan suggests that the preface's "presentation, in long double columns with small, rather muddy type, virtually demands that the reader pass by," David Henkin's history of public textuality in New York City reminds us that our reactions to typography are historically specific habits: to a nineteenth-century reader (particularly an urban one), the small, columned type would have evoked the reading tactics one brought to the penny daily, attracting attention as a likely site for new or important information.[46]

Henkin's analysis of posters, newspapers, and signs in nineteenth-century New York City suggests that Whitman's editions might be usefully re-read as a textualization of a more-than-print media field with a widened sense of the textuality of public space in mind. Understanding the "public sphere" as a product of publicly displayed texts rather than a class-delimited conversation among those able to access expensive books, Henkin reads the spaces of the city as integral to the generation of public opinion and the imagination of the possibilities of political representation and resistance. In cities, "one's act of reading was itself a public spectacle" (10). What Henkin says of the penny press could be said of our understanding of the goals of the first *Leaves*' content: that "the metropolitan press created a space in which an increasingly diverse, dispersed, and contentious urban population could appear as a collective entity whose members' shared status as potential readers was inscribed into the columns of the daily papers" (128). Indeed, the gestural qualities of the text and its tendency to attract notice hold the potential to force readers into conversation with others who witness one reading it, and hence into a commitment to (or defense of, or distancing from) the contents of the text. Even Whitman's use of anonymity in the 1855 edition may have drawn upon the games of attribution played by city denizens speculating on the authorship of anonymous public postings. Henkin's study suggests that the "print culture" that influenced and formed the context for decoding the morphological rhetoric of Whitman's texts might in fact be more than just newspapers, popular poetry editions, or photography — might be a synthesis of public reading and performance spaces with these print precedents. The first edition of *Leaves* draws not merely on the potential meanings of the choices of paper or type that shaped it, or ideologically on the mapping of city space to columned text, but

performatively from the full field of interrelated rhetorics of city reading. This formal relationship, I argue shortly, is also crucial to the drift of Whitman's "After All, Not to Create Only."

Even the blank spaces of *Leaves* suggest the bringing closer of public textual space to poetic ones: "We want the margin the narrowest that comports with decency," Whitman would say later, "like the hair on the head of a prize fighter" (*WC* 4:468). Here the concept of decency explicitly names Whitman's challenge to public versus private boundaries, mapping them onto the text and the world, while the simile of the prize fighter emphasizes the spectacular qualities of such a choice. Those qualities, as in the case of the fighter, gesture simultaneously to pragmatics: in this case, Whitman's willingness (repeatedly resisted by Traubel, Bucke, David McKay, and others) to reduce his profit margin in designing his books his way. It is this reduction of the margin, this bringing of the text's movement through space into the generation of the text itself and the design of its physical form, that occasions conflicts over the 1855 edition in *With Walt Whitman*.

An early argument over Ruskin leads, with telling rapidity, to a discussion of the 1855 *Leaves* that illustrates the conflict between Whitman's distributive notion of form and Traubel's production-centered ethos, and begins to suggest how the 1855 edition operated in their relationship. Whitman refuses to say that the first edition sold. He insists that it drifted, never addressing how so many copies of it came to be on the collectors' market, of which Whitman and his circle increasingly hear reports.

> I never knew W. to quote Ruskin. This evening I said so. He responded: "I don't quote him — I don't care for him, don't read him — don't find he appeals to me. I've tried Ruskin on every way but he don't fit." W. spoke about the first edition of the Leaves: "It is tragic — the fate of those books. None of them were sold — practically none — perhaps one or two, perhaps not even that many. We had only one object — to get rid of the books — to get them out someway even if they had to be given away."[47]

For the most part, Traubel collaborates with Whitman at moments like this (though once he refers to the story as "an almost absurd account" [*WC* 2:471]) in depicting the first edition as a kind of pariah: its untraceable (but resolutely unprofitable) circulation is evidence for Traubel of its radicalism, for Whitman of its reconstructing the customary distribution mechanism and its

exploitations. "'You can usually give away books even if you cannot sell them,' he explained: 'But we could not even give that edition away. . . . Copies that were sent out came back to me in many instances with notes expressing the most vigorous repugnance.'"[48] The stories of the first edition told in *With Walt Whitman* and in Whitman's correspondence do not align: we will see in chapter 3 where a good number of copies probably ended up. But Whitman and Traubel both want here to convince us that the first edition was a proof of concept for Whitman's radicalism at the level of book distribution. The meaning of the 1855 *Leaves*' design and circulation differed for each, yet stood at the nexus of their mutual investment in Whitman's relationship to the literary establishment.

In 1903, in a bourgeois fashion magazine called the *Era*, Traubel articulated his critique of Whitman's taste in bookmaking, revealing the tensions between their understandings of literary work more explicitly than he had while Whitman lived. Explaining that when it came to book design, Whitman "wished things his own way. And that way was not always one which I admired," Traubel claims that Whitman "never . . . displayed a very great taste in the finesse of this art."[49] Whitman's sense of bookmaking "seemed to me antiquated and not esthetic," and Traubel did not "know that Whitman had any great appreciation of modern attempts at artistic book-making" (528, 526). Having made this uncharacteristic appeal to "taste," Traubel claims responsibility for the features of Whitman's late books that met the standards of distinction readers of the *Era* could be expected to recognize: "Almost all the free touches given his later editions I had to fight for" (528).

Certainly many of Traubel and Whitman's tense moments came over bibliographical matters. In this area Whitman had put himself at the mercy of the younger man to a degree and, in order to get his work out, had to compromise. But not every time:

> I asked him why he always resented margins in books. . . . And he asked me: "Don't you?" I said no. I liked open-spaced leaded liberal margined books. "Why?" he inquired. "For the same reason maybe that I like lots of windows in a house: they let the air in and the light. So they let the air and light into a book." W. said: "It's a picturesque argument even if it fails to convince me." (*WC* 4:75)

Exchanges like this had a pedagogical purpose and an emotional edge, committed as Whitman and Traubel were to different ideas about the form and

politics of print. But in the *Era*, Traubel mischaracterizes Whitman's appreciation of morphology—and the size of his book—obscuring the politics Whitman explicitly articulated in his objection to Morris's work. Traubel writes that Whitman "evidently understood and did greatly care for the Mediaeval book. . . . And we know that the 1855 edition of 'Leaves of Grass' was a noble folio. None of his later editions were of the first class" (526). The metaphors in this passage are extraordinary for a radical friend of labor: "noble," "first class." Why would Traubel make such a declaration, and why in the *Era* instead of another venue?

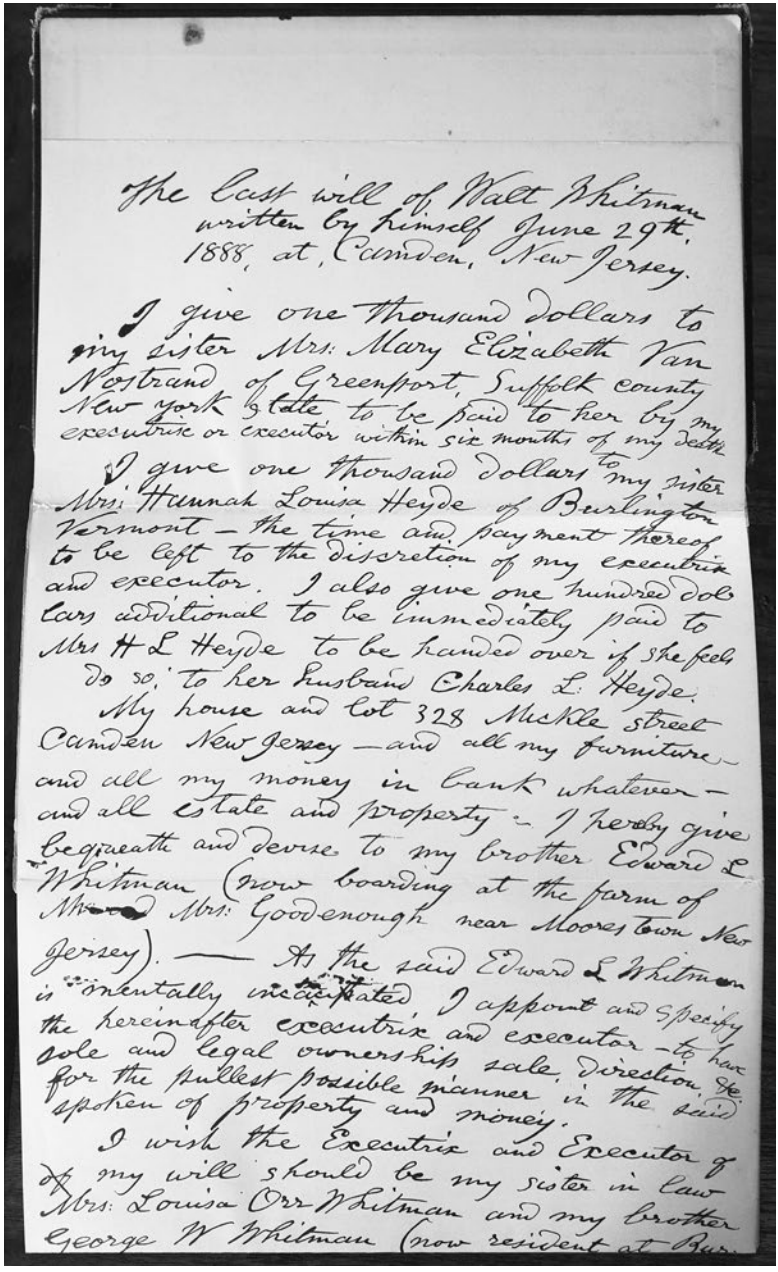
On one hand, the essay attempts to recover Whitman for fine printing, and, on the other, it advertises Traubel's particular taste. After all, 1903 was the year his Rose Valley Press started work, and he was looking for business. But more broadly, Traubel's insistence on formal intervention through production values came at the expense both of his texts' content and their distribution, leaving his work open to parody and to accusations of ineffectuality. Paradoxically, to call attention to his radical approach to production Traubel relied on the publication and distribution architecture of conventional literary culture. *The Conservator*, for example, printed book reviews, poetry, prose, and pages of advertisements for Whitman texts, fine printed books, and Fels-Naptha soap. It prominently displays a list of subscribers, and it uses, for much of its existence, Bodley Head–inspired style, with a Caslon typeface and generous white space: in form, it is a literary journal. In it, Traubel rants against "you writers who are trying to write. You who would do anything rather than be thought of no importance. You who'd murder the language or rape or rob it or do anything rather than not make your point." But, recalling the poetics of inaudibility that haunts *Optimos*, this criticism could all too easily be leveled at Traubel. As Michael Robertson observes, "Traubel was no more successful in attracting working-class disciples than Whitman had been in gaining working-class readers," though he never stopped trying.[50]

In his introduction to *Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman* (1889), Traubel seems aware of this difficulty. With one gesture deprecating labor that enabled the event—"the negro attendants" were among "minor facts to remember"—with another Traubel admits the noticeable "absence of women and of the distinctively mechanical classes" (10, 16). This acknowledgment itself vests Traubel with a kind of literary authority, permitting him to declare that "Walt Whitman is a non-literary man and his books are non-literary

books" (17). Indeed, a more literary account of an author's birthday celebration would be hard to find; structurally, it contains all the elements of the Festschrift, and is written in the baroque style reminiscent of mainstream performances of genteel celebrity. Traubel positions himself explicitly at the fulcrum of a redefinition of the literary that leaves its architecture of promotion, built increasingly on a cult of personality and a commodification of style, untouched: "Walt Whitman's future is in the hands, not of an anti-literary, but of a more than literary America," Whitman having "rung the alarum for behoof of humanism in literature—the only real conservator." Traubel's instrumentality (as editor, chief contributor, typesetter, advertiser) to *The Conservator* perceptibly rustles the curtain here, for those beyond Whitman's circle who might be unaware of his role as Whitman's literary representative and biographer.[51]

The physical form of *With Walt Whitman* itself no less re-dresses Whitman. By the time it began to be printed, the arts and crafts style had already been appropriated by major publishers and used to make gift books, limited editions, and versions of texts that could be published in more than one physical form, to target different segments of the market. The first three volumes of Traubel's text (those over which he had the most control) took part in an aesthetics of book publication that banked on nostalgia for artisanal production. With its facsimile reproductions of letters, photographs, and manuscripts, *With Walt Whitman* was a kind of literary scrapbook, appealing to the commodity fetishism of the day and adapting Whitman's artisanal control over *Leaves* to the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. High paper quality, deckled edges, uncut pages, minimal decoration, and consistent, organic-themed covers unify Traubel's text in a style more reminiscent of the chic aesthetic of Bodley Head than the medievalism of Morris's shop. Yet it evoked the aesthetic side of the arts and crafts movement in ways that may, in the long run, suggest the limits of Traubel's radicalism as much as his ceaseless interrogation of Whitman's politics within the volumes.

"I want you to reach the workmen direct," Whitman said to Traubel, "reach them, yes, with a dollar now and then. We will keep the troubled waters oiled." This is the language of class contract: at this point in history, labor is "troubled," and despite their working-class origins, Traubel and Whitman agree to reach in a pecuniary way the workers whom with their printed poetry they seldom did—though as we will see in a moment, Whitman's poetry and presence circulated in other ways. Yet the troubled labor waters were as high


the last will of Walt Whitman
written by himself June 29th.
1888, at, Camden, New Jersey.

I give one thousand dollars to my sister Mrs: Mary Elizabeth Van Nostrand of Greenport, Suffolk county New York State to be paid to her by my executrix or executor within six months of my death.

I give one thousand dollars to my sister Mrs: Hannah Louisa Heyde of Burlington Vermont — the time and payment thereof to be left to the discretion of my executrix and executor. I also give one hundred dollars additional to be immediately paid to Mrs H L Heyde to be handed over if she feels do so, to her husband Charles L. Heyde.

My house and lot 328 Mickle street Camden New Jersey — and all my furniture — and all my money in bank whatever — and all estate and property — I hereby give bequeath and devise to my brother Edward L Whitman (now boarding at the farm of Mr and Mrs: Goodenough near Moorestown New Jersey). —— As the said Edward L Whitman is mentally incapacitated I appoint and specify the hereinafter executrix and executor — to have sole and legal ownership sale direction &c. for the fullest possible manner in the said spoken of property and money.

I wish the Executrix and Executor of my will should be my sister in law Mrs: Louisa Orr Whitman and my brother George W Whitman (now resident at Bur-

FIGURE 3. Horace Traubel's nine-volume biography *With Walt Whitman in Camden* features high-quality paper and reproductions, such as this foldout facsimile of Whitman's last will and testament, pasted into the endpapers of volume one. Photo by Dan Cohen.

within the space of 328 Mickle Street as within the Ferguson and Brothers printing office or Frederick Oldach's bindery. The term "direct" glosses the problem of mediation underlying both the arts and crafts production-as-form scheme and the ongoing debate about Whitman's labor of writing. Unlike many crafts reformers, Traubel was not trying to protect class interests but literary production as a *form*, while Whitman was tactically ambivalent about the question of the literary field as a kind of labor. Whitman's resistance to the professionalism of the literary world, something Traubel drew in loving detail even as he depicted himself trying to lower Whitman's caution, was a kind of talisman that helped Traubel corral the anxieties of being a literary producer in a contest that seemed to call for a different kind of labor. When he was campaigning in popular papers or in *The Worker* and repurposing Whitman for the labor movement, Traubel was at his most influential. But Traubel's individualism was at odds with the collaborative, decentered nature of the literary marketplace. His vision of handicraft led him, in his own work, to be functionally a self-publisher, more than Whitman had ever been, almost completely self-contained from composition to publication. Traubel's literary reputation stalled upon his death, despite Bliss Perry's promise.

For Whitman, "drift" was the principle of resistance to the literary establishment into which he came. He may have fallen short of refiguring that literary field in a way that addressed its disconnection from the masses; as Ezra Greenspan elegantly puts it, it was hard at the time to "imagine literature 'by' the people."[52] Yet I will argue that drift is the nexus of the textual-formal and distributional form in his work, coupling a range of methods of dissemination with poetic technique and the physical design of books. Whitman's formal innovation of embracing distribution methods modeled a way in which political poetry could, by redescribing literary form, offer a long-term challenge to the commercialization of the idea of authorial "purpose." He needed Traubel and Traubel's project to further his version of literary form—Traubel's unpaid labors of letter-writing and errand-running were as important as his note-taking in this respect—no less than Traubel needed Whitman to broadcast his radicalism. It was in discussions of the 1855 edition of *Leaves* that this interdependence became visible and began to trouble the waters.

Traubel's staging of the tension between his literary ethic and Whitman's revolved around discussions of, as it was being enunciated through, the making of books. The generation of literary "form" included more than a text-context

interplay—it could extend to a conscious consideration of production and distribution as they affected meaning, in what McGann describes as "an effort to come to grips with this problem of poetry's relation to its material encoding" (45). The material properties of a book can carry multiple messages, configured by the content of the text, its historically specific interpretive context, and the set of options its heft, flexibility, durability, movement, and dimensions offered at the time of its reading. Yet that formulation can also too strongly determine our sense of the importance of the text to how its physical form was interpreted. Even without reading Whitman, a sense of his articulation of a new politics of literary aesthetics could be gained by nineteenth-century readers, as well as by listeners and those who met Whitman.[53] And it was this kind of distribution, the transmission of the public image of a laboring-class writer of which a rural hometown could be proud, to which we turn next.

A GIFT DIRECT FROM ITS AUTHOR

"My first real venture was the 'Long Islander,'" Whitman reminisced in *Specimen Days* in 1882, "in my own beautiful town of Huntington, in 1839." It was actually the spring of 1838 that Whitman began the ten-month venture, but his recollections of it are suggestive:

> I was about twenty years old. I had been teaching country school for two or three years in various parts of Suffolk and Queens counties, but liked printing; had been at it while a lad, learn'd the trade of compositor, and was encouraged to start a paper in the region where I was born. I went to New York, bought a press and types, hired some little help, but did most of the work myself, including the press-work. Everything seem'd turning out well; (only my own restlessness prevented me gradually establishing a permanent property there.) I bought a good horse, and every week went all round the country serving my papers, devoting one day and night to it. I never had happier jaunts—going over to south side, to Babylon, down the south road, across to Smithtown and Comac, and back home. The experiences of those jaunts, the dear old-fashion'd farmers and their wives, the stops by the hay-fields, the hospitality, nice dinners, occasional evenings, the girls, the rides through the brush, come up in my memory to this day.

Self-distribution, then, was a feature of Whitman's publishing career from the very start. However profitable his "jaunts" were—and once again in this pas-

sage we see Whitman careless of profit, spending freely, as he might put it, for immaterial returns—the experience of connecting with readers in this direct way would stay with Whitman as an ideal for the whole of his writing career.

Reciprocally, Whitman's career would remain interesting to readers in rural Long Island, during and after the poet's life. Following a brief silent period in the wake of Whitman's selling the paper, the *Long-Islander* would return, and is still published today. The editors of the paper he founded kept track of its originator, offering over time a fascinating refraction of Whitman's development as a writer and public figure. Notices of Walter Whitman's career in journalism (his having joined the *Crescent* in New Orleans in 1848 and having left the *Brooklyn Daily Freeman* in 1849) appeared in the paper. "We hope to hear from him soon," the editor of the *Long-Islander* wrote in 1849, "as connected with some other publication, or at least, that his genius and talent will not be allowed to lie dormant, but that it will secure to its possessor the reward to which it is entitled."[54] The paper would keep up with Whitman's unfolding fame as a poet, an interest stoked in part by the poet himself. A review of the second edition of *Leaves* appeared there in 1858. A note in 1863 informed readers that their former town-mate was at work in the hospitals in Washington, D.C.[55] The 5 July 1872 issue featured a note on its front page titled "Walt Whitman in Town." "The New-York correspondent of the Bucks County (Penn) *Intelligencer*," it announced, "writes this about the 'good gray poet'":

> Walt Whitman is in town, the man whom Swinburne denominates one of the only two original poets in America. . . . As I came across him this morning on Broadway, musing along with his head down and his hands folded listlessly together on his breast, I was struck with the seeming incongruity of the man and the muse. . . . Few of the fastidious and elegant who jostled him on the promenade this morning could have had the faintest suspicion of the relation between that rude looking saunterer and the popular name which has become a household word on two continents. . . . The fact is Walt never looks nature [*sic*] out of Washington. There his coarse sailor garb and bare, collarless neck are regarded as characteristics inseparable from the man. People seek him and point him out as a feature of the capital, while every car driver, porter and newsboy in the city boast of their acquaintance with Walt; for to them a clasp of his great brawney hand is of more value than the favor of princes. (1)

Such attention to Whitman's down-home qualities, his "coarse sailor garb" resonating with the local world of Long Island, suggests the ways in which, whether his poems were read or not, the spectacle of Whitman as a laboring-class-identified poet circulated among readers in rural areas and established him as available to their sympathies.

These connections were not just mediated thirdhand, maintained via the culture of reprinting. In 1871, the editor of the paper mentioned having visited Whitman in Washington a few years prior, reminiscing about "our frequent interviews [in 1838] with him in his sanctum, then located on the ground now occupied by the residence of Dr. Woodend [in Huntington]."[56] Notices in 1876 and 1879 also reminded readers of Whitman's connections to Long Island and to the *Long-Islander.* In 1881, the paper proudly announced the appearance of the Osgood edition of *Leaves*, and while qualifying its praise—the poems are "all composed in the free and capricious measure so peculiar to Whitman (entirely unlike poetry as generally written), and which few people will like at first sight"—the editor chose to reprint "Patroling Barnegat," a poem whose theme of seashore rescue doubtless resonated with coastal residents.[57] Items about the poet from other papers, as well as Whitman poems, were reprinted from time to time in the 1880s and 1890s as well. While it is not clear if Whitman himself had sent a copy of the Osgood edition, the poet certainly donated a copy of *Specimen Days* to the Huntington Public Library, an act that was "highly appreciated as a gift direct from its author" and that earned a few paragraphs' worth of attention.[58]

The paper's commitment to Whitman survived his death: in fascinating ways, Whitman's distribution in time has been assisted by the *Long-Islander.* In October 1894, two years after the poet's passing, Daniel Brinton, Horace Traubel, and Isaac Hull Platt visited Huntington collecting stories about Whitman's youth.[59] A week later, the *Long-Islander* reprinted Brinton's comments on the visit, including his observation that "at the present day there is a very notable ignorance of the poet's ancestry among the people living upon his very homestead," but that "among the oldest inhabitants we found more interest and got considerable information."[60] If it was hard for the professional anthropologist to find what he wanted from the Huntington locals in 1894, knowledge of Whitman, at least as suggested by the *Long-Islander*'s coverage of him, would only increase as time went on. On 22 February 1901 the paper's masthead changed: replacing the statement touting "A Greater Circulation

Than that of any other Suffolk Country paper—that's The Long-Islander," the words "Founded in 1836 by Walt Whitman" brought the poet into the official identity of the paper. (The paper later corrected the originary date to 1838; and, of course, he had been "Walter" at the time.) From notices of Whitman's foreign fame ("What Japs Think of Whitman") to an increasingly intense engagement (accelerating after 1959) with university-based Whitman specialists, anchored by William Allen White and a series of special issues often commemorating the poet's birthday, the *Long-Islander* became one of the most active preservers and extenders of Whitman's fame.[61] The paper thus embodies the way in which the local and international, the elite and the lay reader, have always been interwoven in the making of Whitman's story, linking the poet's earliest days of literary production to the most recent circulations of his fame, in the digital version of the *Long-Islander* now hosted by the *Suffolk Historic Newspapers* site built by the public libraries of Suffolk County, New York.[62]

In chapter 4 I explore more of Whitman's relations with nonurban readers, in particular, those of the South and those in Indian Country. The circulation of his image, not just his text, evidenced in the *Long-Islander*, points the way to the last distribution scene that this chapter takes up in sketching a broad picture of Whitman's modes of reaching common readers. This scene centers on a public performance, by way of a poem that has been more often echoed than engaged.

A TERRIBLE ESTHETICAL COMMOTION

At first glance "After All, Not to Create Only" would seem the least likely candidate for a poem with which to end a chapter about working-class readers. "This performance was carried out very much within a capitalistic, institutional framework," David Reynolds writes of the creation and recitation of the poem for the 1871 Industrial Exposition of the American Institute.[63] The Whitman of "After All" is, Reynolds suggests, denigrated by critics not just because of the quality of the poem, but because in it he appears to be a flag-waving, patriotic, techno-progressive friend of big capital. Daunting though these assessments are, I re-read the poem, which is animated by an infrastructural vision of connectedness and transmission, as a site for thinking about the interdependencies of media forms in Whitman's poetry. Performances like that of "After All" had and were designed to have the potential to reach and

be meaningful to the laboring classes, as well as to the discussion of labor and literature more broadly. The properties of the poem's distribution interarticulate with its textual-formal strategies in telling ways. The meanings of the poem rely upon its character as a circulatory event, designed to interweave aural transmission (as a poetry reading and an event to be talked about subsequently), print circulation (in newspaper, pamphlet, and book formats), and the poet's public figure, or his sensationality.

"After All" opens by establishing a world-historical frame (or at least a Western-world-historical frame) for what follows, zooming out to geological time. Its first numbered section concludes,

> Long, long, long, has the grass been growing,
> Long and long has the rain been falling,
> Long has the globe been rolling round.[64]

Together with its title, taken from its memorable first opening line, these lines implicitly criticize the boosterism of novelty that tended to characterize industrial fairs of the time.[65] (Future president James A. Garfield, when the two men were familiar in Washington, hailed the poet as "after all not to create only!" instead of using his proper name.) Inviting the ancient Muse to come from the old to the new world, in the first movement the poem's speaker insists on the transcendence of the old by the new, but only inasmuch as the latter inherits and shares characteristics with the former. The speaker then imagines this new world of labor given shape in "a Palace, / Loftier, fairer, ampler than any yet," that would contain smaller halls in which the arts and industrial processes are taught and exhibited—a kind of federal paradise of human creation. These spaces are also imagined as a place for the intermingling of different social types: "The male and female many laboring not," the poet writes, "Shall ever here confront the laboring many."

The poem's often-quoted eighth section then banishes the ancient themes and obsessions of culture—"Away with themes of War! away with War itself!" For many critics, this declaration signals the shift of emphasis in Whitman's oeuvre away from the Civil War and toward a reconciliation of North and South, even at the cost of racial violence. The poem does eventually move to that theme of union, listing a series of workers at their occupations across the continent, but the first step toward this American focus is global. The speaker underscores the aesthetic value of the quotidian, anywhere, calling for "prac-

tical, manual work, for each and all—to plough, hoe, dig." He then speaks in powerful generalizations about the new conditions of art and industry, all linked as never before by a massive distribution network, "the Atlantic's delicate cable" and "This world all spann'd with iron rails—with lines of steamships threading every sea, / Our own Rondure, the current globe I bring." The final movement of the poem turns to the theme of security—a product here of class tension and the terrors of internal war—reminding readers and listeners, through an extended play on the U.S. flag (newspaper reports specify that one flew over the ceremonies) and its fate, "to tatters torn, upon thy splintered staff," during the Civil War. Union itself is the goal of all industry, and in this draws together and equalizes "the poets, women, sailors, soldiers, farmers, miners, students thine!"

In the more famous revision of the poem, titled "Song of the Exposition" and published five years later, Whitman magnifies the spiritual quality of his lesson. That refocusing is in part a product of Whitman's trimming the poem from fourteen to nine sections and adding an opening parenthetical:

> (AH little recks the laborer,
> How near his work is holding him to God,
> The loving Laborer through space and time.)[66]

This addition, while seeming to distance the poet and his reader from the laborer with an act of philanthropic, sympathetic condescension, can be read another way, in tune with the unity of "poets, women, sailors, soldiers, farmers"—as a Sufic reminder, a spoken aside among poetic laborers, valuing that perspective in time and space that is the special domain of the poet. God, figured as the first and eternal laborer in creation, summoned first in this revision, stands in tension with the "union" that in "After All" so dominates the poem. This gesture simultaneously helps effect Whitman's move from *an* exposition (the original occasion of the poem) to *the* exposition (which signals both any given actual exposition of the moment and the spiritual, eternal exposition of man's skill that the poem envisions). In turn, the poem becomes abstractly occasional, applicable to any exposition, in tune with Whitman's ongoing attempts to make his poetry portable not just in space, but over time.

The flat-footed poetical moments we saw in Horace Traubel's *Optimos* earlier may be attributable not merely to an ungainly adaptation of Whitman's frank tone. "After All" features poetic stall-outs that rival Traubel's and may

have been, given the poem's theme of labor and invention, particularly important inspirational sources for the young socialist. "Yes, if you will allow me to say so," Whitman writes of the advent of the Muse in America, "I, my friends, if you do not, can plainly see Her." The poem is more humorous than customary with Whitman, yet opens itself all too easily to parody: the line "And I can hear what may-be you do not—a terrible esthetical commotion" probably resonated amusingly with Whitman's live audience for the reading of the poem, amid the sonic chaos of the industrial exposition.[67] In print, it begs for mockery, and it got it, in the form of a parody by Bayard Taylor published in the *New York Tribune* the day after "After All" appeared there. Whitman and his friends had doubts about the poem, too. The talkiness, humor, and at times stiltedness of the piece may have inspired William Sloane Kennedy to put "poem" in quote marks on his copy of the draft: "This ms. given me by Walt Whitman January 2, 1885," he wrote, "Originally written & recited for the 40th Annual ~~Opening of the~~ Exhibition of the American Institute, New York, noon, September 7th, 1871 This ms was used in setting Roberts Bros.' issue of the 'poem.'"[68] "'Magnificent original poem' is putting it on pretty thick," Whitman commented of the Institute's commendatory letter of thanks in April 1889 as he re-read it with Traubel—though when he had the poem printed as a pamphlet, he had quoted that same passage.[69] It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that while it is often cited in one or another of its versions, "After All" is seldom analyzed by critics. Karen Wolfe observes that Whitman must have written the poem hurriedly, and indeed there wasn't much time between its commissioning in August 1871 by the American Institute and the event, which took place a month later.[70] But the many remaining drafts and proof sheets show that the poet's customarily intense revision practices were at work on it, and he had written poems in a shorter time.[71] That in the wake of two phases of revision Whitman ended with a title that designates something between a poem and an oral presentation, a "Song," suggests the way in which its aurality is generically axial to his imagination of the piece and, at the same time, hints at a good starting point for catching its drift.

Whitman distributed copies of the poem to the press in advance of the 1871 recitation. He also, characteristically, wrote his own anonymous report of the performance, highlighting "an audience of perhaps two or three thousand people, with a fringe on the outside of five or six hundred partially-hushed workmen, carpenters, machinists, and the like, with saws, wrenches, or hammers

in their hands."[72] As Ezra Greenspan points out, reports by other reviewers of the event "gave a rather different account. The several thousand people Whitman mentioned were actually several hundred, and they were anything but enthralled. Many, perhaps most, of them could not even hear him; his 'magnificent' voice carried barely beyond the first rows. The workmen, if it is accurate that they really did stop working, certainly were not 'partially-hushed' to attend the recitation" (183–184).

We cannot know for sure what kind of attention Whitman's poem received from the workers in the hall. Yet we should not let our focus on Whitman's textuality blind us to the likelihood that for these workers, *seeing a working man onstage as author*, that is, seeing such an author speaking to those few hundred (doubtless influential) people, meant something. While accounts of the quality of Whitman's voice varied on this as on other occasions, observers agreed on his appearance, his unkempt beard, simple hat, cravat-less customary appearance contrasting with the buttoned broadcloth and black formal hats of the nabobs and industrialists.[73] Even reading about such a performance in the paper, as Whitman and the other reviewers of the event knew, was meaningful. Whitman's *Chronicle* piece concludes with a distribution scene, asserting that whatever the size and class makeup of the audience at the exhibition, "the real audience of this chant of peace, invention, and labor . . . was to follow. Of the New York and Brooklyn evening and morning dailies, twelve out of seventeen published the poem in full the same evening or the next morning."[74] The secondary performance in print is significant for non-elite readers in envisioning, in the person of Whitman and through his poem, a different relationship to literature, or a different potential for it as a medium for representing the concerns and ways of the people. The two experiences were woven together from the start, as Whitman seems, as I suggested earlier, to have anticipated the sonic confusion of the exposition, working it into the poem in a way that must have been amusing in person and that, in print, handed the critics' observances of the din back to them. Whitman's Muse, "striding through the confusion," is "By thud of machinery and shrill steam-whistle undismay'd."

If the aural and performative dimensions of "After All" contributed to how Whitman constructed it, his 1876 revision unfolded hand in hand with new strategies for distributing the poem and its core ideas—though in this case, the poet's bid to perform in person failed. The new occasion was another exposition, the Philadelphia Centennial celebrating the country's 100th year, but

the poem remained largely the same. Whitman's workmanlike repurposing of his writings was a career-long habit, but "Song of the Exposition" is a striking example of it. An occasional poem, one would assume—not least one specifically *commissioned* for an event such as the Industrial Exposition—would not seem a likely candidate for republishing for *a different occasion*. Yet Whitman aggressively tried to get the poem, now titled "Song of the Exposition," into print again. "I believe I mentioned in my note," he wrote in a follow-up to a solicitation made to the editor of the *New York Herald*, "that it had also been sent to the London Times and Chicago Tribune—& may, (or may not,) appear May 10, in them."[75] Certainly the sentiments of the poem remained patriotic, but the drift from a relatively minor exposition (however Whitman may have vaunted it as of national and global significance) to a major exposition here diminishes the particularity of each, and demotes the former occasion in favor of linking "Song of the Exposition" to the grander centennial of the United States. In the same gesture, by asking for more payment for the same poem, Whitman turns the economics of the poem to his advantage against the industrial world, or at least the industry of American publishing. When Whitman asks for $50 for payment of the *Herald* (and possibly each of the several other papers he mentions) after already having been paid $100 to create it by the American Institute in 1871, something is revealed that is not quite the respectful idealization of corporate systems that critics credit Whitman with in this work. Indeed, getting multiple papers to pay for rights to the same content became a main pillar of the newspaper syndication business.[76]

In any case, the attempt failed: his poem didn't appear in any of the venues mentioned in Whitman's letter to the editor of the *Herald*. To add insult to injury, Bayard Taylor, who had parodied "After All" in 1871, was selected to write the official poem for the Philadelphia Exhibition. Whitman attended the exposition, but he did not recite there. In his 1876 book *Two Rivulets*, where "Song of the Exposition" first appeared, Whitman nuances the relationship between the two expositions:

> Two of the pieces in this Volume were originally Public Recitations—the College Commencement Poem, *As a Strong Bird*—and then the *Song of the Exposition*, to identify these great Industrial gatherings, the majestic outgrowths of the Modern Spirit and Practice—and now fix'd upon, the grandest of them, for the Material event around which shall be concentrated and celebrated, (as far as any one event

> can combine them,) the associations and practical proofs of the Hundred Years' life of the Republic. The glory of Labor, and the bringing together not only representatives of all the trades and products, but, fraternally, of all the Workmen of all the Nations of the World, (for this is the Idea behind the Centennial at Philadelphia,) is, to me, so welcome and inspiring a theme, that I only wish I were a younger and a fresher man, to attempt the enduring Book, of poetic character, that ought to be written about it.[77]

Whitman puts a double edge to his use of the term "identify" to talk about these public events—in one sense, he suggests to *identify* as when conferring a *single identity*, and in a second sense, as highlighting the significance of something. Here, too, Whitman places the Centennial's significance within the framework of specifically international labor concerns, those of the "Workmen of all the Nations of the World," despite the poem's emphasis on the United States. The same is true of the headnote that Whitman included to "Song of the Exposition" (which appeared only in *Two Rivulets*), explicitly citing the original aural occasion of the work and lending a strong abstractness to the term "Exposition":

> *Song of the Exposition.*
> *Applied to* THE CENTENNIAL, *Phila.,* 1876—*(Originally recited for Opening the* 40*th Annual Exhibition* AMERICAN INSTITUTE, *New York, noon, September* 7*th*, 1871.)
>
> STRUGGLING steadily to the front, not only in the spirit of Opinion, Government, and the like, but, in due time, in the Artistic also, we see actual operative LABOR and LABORERS, with Machinery, Inventions, Farms, Products, &c., pressing to place our time, over the whole civilized world. . . .
>
> Ostensibly to inaugurate an Exposition of this kind—still more to outline the establishment of a grand *permanent* Cluster-Palace of Industry from an imaginative and Democratic point of view—was the design of the following poem; from such impulses it was first orally deliver'd. (3)

Whitman's use of capitalization here underlines the priorities laid out by his diction. Far from abandoning the question of labor or the poet's relation to laborers, the recontextualization and revivification given this poem in *Two Rivulets* is explicitly linked to the internationalization of the labor question and its articulation to the highest aims of the United States, through the identifying act of a single poem—like *Leaves of Grass* as a whole, revised for a new occa-

sion, but identical in its goal. Whitman is himself one of those actual laborers struggling to the front of artistic spirit, and in this volume, intended largely for nonlaboring readers, he emphasizes that connection in a way that parallels his original appearance—referenced twice in this short headnote—in public among both leaders and laborers.

"After All," as a pamphlet, and the later renditions of it as "Song of the Exposition" circulated coevally—a fact that will become crucial in the next chapter's reading of the 1860 edition of *Leaves*. In October 1889, Horace Traubel recorded the following exchange, in which the physical properties of *After All* as a pamphlet enter the stream of conversation in which Whitman has been trying, as we saw earlier, to bring Traubel around to his vision of book materiality:

> McKay has bound up all the "After All, Not to Create Only"—sheets. Gave me a copy—sent one over for W. to sign for him. W. took and regarded the book with an evident affection. But he laughed about signing it. "I do not think I need to sign it: it does not need signing. There is the name on the title page—then here it is inside again. I do not like to triplicate it—then triplicate the triplicate." He turned it over and over. "It has been a long, long time since I saw it—a long long time." Then he read the Washington Chronicle extract towards the end. "Who wrote it?" I asked, as I read with him over his shoulder. His answer was, "I wonder?"—adding—"It is very good, anyhow," and saying further of the book as a whole—"It is wonderful neat—wonderful! How healthy the print!—the big clean type! Why, yes, it is a revelation to me, also—a new book to me. How many did you say Dave had? Several hundred? It did not sell—did not sell at all. Roberts must have issued about a thousand." And turning to the pictorial cover—"This is my design—I conceived it—it has a good familiar look, after a long absence. The whole book as it is here commends itself to me." I remarked that I suppose Dave got possession of these at auction.[78]

The passage is laced with dodges, starting with the poet's refusal to sign a copy for McKay. Whitman is disingenuous here about the *Chronicle* piece, which he wrote himself, and which Traubel's question seems to indicate he has guessed. Here we see again, as with his tales of the 1855 edition, the disavowal of sales as a factor in his distribution. The redistribution of the text that McKay planned and the presence of old sheets (and dies for the binding) at auction once again call our attention to the heterotemporality of publication events like that of "After All," and the importance of attending to the simultaneity of circulation

of different versions of the poem. David Reynolds complains that in "Song of the Exposition" Whitman's "emphasis has shifted from workers to the workforce, from individuals to industrial 'armies'", and this is true (504). Yet "Song of the Exposition" never appeared in print as a stand-alone poem during Whitman's life, and in the last two editions of *Leaves*, it appears just pages before "Song for Occupations," with which Reynolds contrasts it. There, the poem fills out a palette of perspectives, since between the two poems in the 1881–1882 and later editions is "Song of the Redwood Tree," told from the standpoint of the raw material for labor. While C. Carroll Hollis and many others have observed that, in Reynolds's words, "Whitman's language was far more abstract, formal, and conventional in the poetry he wrote after the war," seemingly distancing his poetry from the common speech, such a concern ignores the fact that his poetry and prose from multiple periods circulated side by side (562). If Whitman's oralisms receded in favor of the "thys" and "thous" of "After All," at the same time, he began to appear in public giving his lecture on the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, reaching audiences that otherwise might not have read his collected poetry for fear of moral corruption. While the Lincoln lectures may have been expensive to attend, as in the case of "After All," long selections were reprinted in a range of inexpensive newspapers.

"THE REAL CHARACTER of working life in the America of the Gilded Age," writes M. Wynn Thomas, "polarized between corporate power and an increasingly unionized labor movement," was something with which Whitman became increasingly out of touch in his poetry.[79] Thomas, one of the most eloquent critics of Whitman's career and works, argues that nonetheless Whitman's prose shows that he retained his working-class identity and sympathies. Prose and poetry, for all that his formal strategies seemed to break down their distinctions, functioned in different ways but to an interdependent end for Whitman. As he writes in the preface to *Two Rivulets*, prose, one rivulet of the book (or of his work more broadly), is the political form, and poetry, its other rivulet, that of immortality or the ideal:

> For some reason — not explainable or definite to my own mind, yet secretly pleasing and satisfactory to it — I have not hesitated to embody in, and run through the Volume, two altogether distinct veins, or strata — Politics for one, and for the other, the pensive thought of Immortality. Thus, too, the prose and poetic, the dual forms of the present book. (6)

The formal entailment of poetry does not displace politics, but rather defers it, and the same is true of immortality or the ideal and prose. Whitman does not make this relationship, which looks structurally a bit like the male-female relationship in the "Children of Adam" cluster, a thing that he demands of all poets or all prose writers. It is his own, "not explainable or definite" even to his "own mind," a particular address to the distribution of sensibility of his time. The maintenance of this distinction is not so much irrational as knowable only in its pleasurableness, "secretly pleasing and satisfactory." It is imaginary, but embodied; it is solid, in "veins, or strata" drawn from geology, and liquid, in rivulets. A political understanding of the labor question and the question of literature's labor, in Whitman's work, is incomplete without an affective, perhaps secret, pensive approach, recontextualizing and redefining the usual flow of political sensation. "The futural turn in Whitman's verse," Cody Marrs writes, is not one away from labor, but rather "issues from a refusal to accept the troubled present as the sole horizon of political possibility."[80]

If we are to take seriously Whitman's attempts to engage and change the language or the sense of politics in his time, we must take his thread of immortality and mysticism along with his thread of politics as the warp and woof of an interpretive suggestion. In this case, to think of the development of Whitman's poetry is important, but to think of the simultaneity of different embodiments of Whitman and his writings in readerly space, effected by the different kinds of distribution the work and Whitman's image received, is key to interpreting the poems in space and over time. Distribution's forms and literary form interarticulate across the many enactments of Whitman's work, but also are woven out of the set of transmissive potentialities he tried to create both in language and in his work as a writer. Whitman's posthumous attractiveness to Eugene Debs and labor leaders across the world was enabled by a range of distribution tactics, as well as the rhetorical gestures of the poetry and prose, speaking to Whitman's creation of an aesthetics of politics in voice, person, image, and text. This question of the potential meanings of the coterminous landscape of distribution for literary interpretation is at the heart of our next exploration of Whitman's drift: the fate of *Leaves of Grass* in the hands of pirates.

Remember my words — I love you — I depart from
materials,
I am as one disembodied, triumphant, dead.
— Walt Whitman, final words of *Leaves of Grass*, 1860

CHAPTER TWO ✷ THE GOOD GRAY MARKET

Emily Dickinson was famously troubled about what literary distribution might mean for an author's integrity. Perhaps around 1863, she wrote a few lines that, leaping beyond her time's more common chariness about the presence of women writers in print, seem to launch a wholesale condemnation on behalf of the human race:[1]

> Publication – is the Auction
> Of the Mind of Man –
> Poverty – be justifying
> For so foul a thing

In the midst of a war being fought over the auction of the bodies of men and women, this poem's sense of publication as dirty commerce contradicts the lib-

eratory strain of publishing's advocates, from the abolitionist tracts and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*s that helped bring on the war to the self-glorifying strains chanted by the gathered literati at the Crystal Palace in New York in 1855. As we have seen, Whitman's insistence that getting his message into the drift-stream of the world of reading was worth forgoing a few dollars was counterbalanced by a restless pursuit not just of book sales but of ever-larger audiences of potential buyers. "They have sold a good many Whitman books, one kind or another, in England," he said to Horace Traubel one day in 1888, when asked about the touchy matter of foreign sales in the absence of an international copyright agreement. "I never got anything of any account out of it—though I don't know as that matters much: the chief thing is, that the books get about."[2] But this stoicism would be sternly tested when the American pirates arrived. For Emily Dickinson, publication was the auction of the mind of humanity, but what dogged Walt Whitman, it turns out, was the auction of his plates.

At first the poet had been excited about his poetry's being published by an ambitious house that offered to pay for stereotype plates, because it signaled that he had finally attracted a substantial investment in his work. In 1860, Thayer and Eldridge of Boston, radical publishers of a recent hit biography of John Brown by James Redpath, solicited Whitman's latest edition of *Leaves of Grass* and gave him the reins in its production. Their offer to pay for the creation of plates of the text represented a vote of confidence, since the power of Whitman's name to move books was as yet unproven, and plates meant that the book could quickly and cheaply be printed again on the event of a sellout. Whitman enthused to his brother about the process and its benefits in a letter written from Boston while the volume was being prepared for the press:

> The book is finished in all that makes the reading part, and is all through the press complete—It is electrotyped—that is, by a chemical process, a solution of copper, silver, zinc, &c. is precipitated in a "bath," so as to cover the face of the plates of type all over, and make it very much harder and more enduring. Plates finished by that process wear well for hundreds of thousands of copies, and are probably a neater impression.[3]

Precipitated slabs of hope, the plates were second in Whitman's estimation only to the energy of William Thayer and Charles Eldridge, antislavery warriors who had sheltered fugitives from Brown's militia and who took confident swings at the distributors who made getting Whitman's works to the public

difficult. "There is considerable opposition among the trade to the book," they wrote to the poet between printings in 1860.

> Brown & Taggard the largest jobbers in Boston to Country booksellers, refuse to supply the orders for it and will not buy a copy. C. N. Lee tho still hold out, and sell all they can. The rest of the trade sell what they are obliged to, but cannot be induced to urge it any — of course we intend to conquer this opposition partly born of prejudices and partly of cowardice, by creating an overwhelming demand among the mass public, which shall sweep them and their petty fears, on its resistless torrent.[4]

If Thayer and Eldridge had not gone out of business within a year, Whitman's drift might have become that torrent.[5]

It was bad enough to lose what Whitman termed his first real publishers. To lose the plates, however, would plant a troublesome seed, borne of that same durability and fungibility that so pleased Whitman and his publishers when the plates were first made, whose fruit was the piracy of the 1860 *Leaves*. Thayer warned the poet about the contingencies, in the wake of the firm's dissolution:

> Horace Wentworth has bought of the assignees the stock of T&E. In said stock are Plates of Leaves of Grass. These plates were included in a lot of plates sometime ago mortgaged to Isaac Tower for money we raised of him. The mortgage purports to belong to Isaac Tower but from all we have seen Wentworth was the real mortgagee & used Tower for a blind — so that the plates are in W's hands fast & tight. . . .
>
> As Wentworth is an illiterate man and knows not real merit in literature I think he will not be inclined go to expense extra to make additions to L of G and yet he may — can't tell. You had best write him. He is a man who loves to be wiley sometimes & therefore may defer giving you a deffinite answer to your questions of him — especially in view of the present unsettled condition of the Country.[6]

With the Civil War on, Whitman had other things on his mind, too; as far as is known, he did not write to Wentworth, though he did verify with Redpath, with whom he was friends, that Wentworth still owned the plates in 1862.[7] By the same token, the economic times were no more favorable for Wentworth, whether or not he was a philistine.[8] He is not known to have printed the book.

After the war, however, Wentworth wrote to Whitman. "I own the stereotype plates of the work, 'Leaves of Grass' by Walt Whitman," he declared, "and also the right to publish, which I bought of the assignees of Thayer and Eldridge, & in which I am protected by the assignees, the master in Chancery, and by the laws of the Country, if I understand them." Wentworth, specifying that he also held the plates of Thayer and Eldridge's promotional pamphlet "Leaves of Grass Imprints," went on ominously to say that he would "unqualifiedly protest against the printing or publication of any work, bearing the title or containing in any way the same matter as the 'Leaves of Grass,'" finishing with a flourish, "I intend to republish if they [the plates] are not soon disposed of." The force of all of these gestures was diminished by a follow-up letter he sent three weeks later, reading only, "What will you give me for the stereotype plates, 'Imprints of the Leaves of Grass' would be pleased to hear from you soon." Wentworth sent three letters in all in late 1866—to which the poet made no response.

Silence worked its magic, calling Wentworth's bluff. It would be thirteen years before Whitman received a letter from Richard Worthington of New York informing him that the plates were now in his possession. Whitman probably saw this coming, since he had been contacted by the auction house of George A. Leavitt ahead of the sale. He noted having written to the Leavitt firm in an entry in his daybook on 30 August 1879, a last bit of business he completed before heading on a long trip to the West. It is likely, therefore, that he received Worthington's letter much later than it arrived, but once again, he didn't respond—which is a bit surprising, considering that this time, the communication came with a cash offer:

> As the edition is not complete although subject as I understand to a copyright of ten percent it seems to me that it would be better for all parties to have it completed. If this idea meets your views on the subject I would be willing to make you an immediate payment of $250.00 on account and will do everything in my power to make the book sell.[9]

Worthington's firm was based a block away from Leavitt's auction house, and was a rapidly expanding affair.[10] Still, the offer implied an unusually strong belief that one of Whitman's books would sell: $250, had Worthington sold the book for the $2.00 at which Whitman's publishers would offer the next edition of *Leaves*, would have been a payment equivalent to that for the sale of 1,250

copies. Whitman's silence did not end until over a year later, when he heard from friends that Worthington was already printing and selling the volume. On 21 August 1880 he wrote to the publisher:

> My dear Sir–
> Some six months ago, you wrote me (I was then laid up ill in St Louis) that you had purchased the electrotype plates of the 1861 Boston ed'n of my Leaves of Grass — & making me some proposals about them — To which I made answer at the time, as you probably bear in mind.
>
> Are you still the owner of those plates? Do you still hold to the offer then made by you? Please write me here.
>
> Walt Whitman[11]

Nothing in Whitman's archives, including the daybook in which he recorded this and subsequent communications with Worthington, corroborates his claim here to have written to the publisher in response to his September 1879 letter.[12] Now the tables were turned; Whitman noted in his daybook that he sent a "letter to Worthington" on 19 September 1880, and Worthington's and Leavitt's addresses appear there on 27 October as well. No reply from Worthington is known.

Frustrated, the poet began to write and talk to his friends about the affair, either venting or asking for advice. He wrote to John Burroughs, and to young Harry Stafford, to whom he expressed his best-known formulation of the case and his reaction to it:

> A rascally publisher in New York named Worthington has been printing and selling a cheaper edition of my book for his own profit, no benefit to me at all — & it has been going on privately for a year — I only found it out for certain about ten days ago — of course it is quite a hurt to me — will lead to a law suit, as I shall have to sue him, & I hate getting into law — it is almost as bad to me to sue, as to be sued then it cost money —[13]

Writing to the journal editor Richard Watson Gilder, Whitman sent a lengthy description of the situation that reads like a deposition, giving his version of events and asking if someone in Gilder's group had legal experience with copyright cases. The poet offered a distribution scene as evidence: "On Nov. 22, 1880, I found the book, (printed from those plates,) at Porter & Coates' store, cor: 9th & Chestnut Sts. Philadelphia. P & C told me they procured it from

Worthington, & had been so procuring it off & on, for nearly a year." Where the earlier distribution scenes we have examined tended to crystallize the thrill of magical marketplace saturation, this one played for terror, a fear of the unknown reaches of surreptitious procurement and transmission. Demanding an injunction, royalties, and Worthington's arrest, Whitman rested his case on his copyright claim and on marketplace injury. "I am the sole owner of the copyright—& I think my copyright papers are all complete," he claimed, hedging sensibly. Then, exaggerating a bit, he made the emotional appeal: "I publish & sell the book myself—it is my sole means of living—what Worthington has done has already been a serious detriment to me."[14]

Difficult to prove though a claim of specific "serious detriment" might have been, Gilder could not but have been concerned. The catch was, however, that "nothing must be done involving heavy fees, as I couldn't pay them," as Whitman noted in a postscript.[15] Two days after the poet wrote to Gilder, he received a letter from Burroughs offering to solve that problem, and reminding Whitman that the poet knew many lawyers—some, like J. Hubley Ashton, assistant attorney general of the United States, in powerful places. His reassurances show that he knew the poet well.

> I see no course to take but to commence proceeding against him at once. If you desire it I will see a lawyer & have the necessary papers drawn up. It would be better to sue him in Camden & bring him there. . . . Why not ask your friend in Camden who defended Hunter, I forget his name. Or write to Ashton & get his opinion on the whole matter. Either of them will no doubt gladly give you their opinion free. If I ask a lawyer here I should expect to fee him. I will undertake to raise some money to put the matter through & will put down $50 myself. . . .
>
> Write me explicitly what you would have me do & I will do it. Don't be afraid of the trouble or the cost of legal proceedings, your friends will see to that.[16]

The first lawyer Burroughs referred to was Camden lawyer James Scovel, who had unsuccessfully defended Benjamin Hunter in a sensational murder trial two years before. Scovel visited Worthington early the next month and extracted a $50 payment from him, the first of several the poet would receive. Scovel charged the poet $10 for his services, and Whitman went so far as to write Worthington a receipt. (The page of Whitman's daybook recording the payment and the receipt, seen in figure 4, gives some sense of Whitman as a circulator of information, selling books, sending papers, clippings, letters, postcards, and advertising circulars to recipients from Colorado to the United

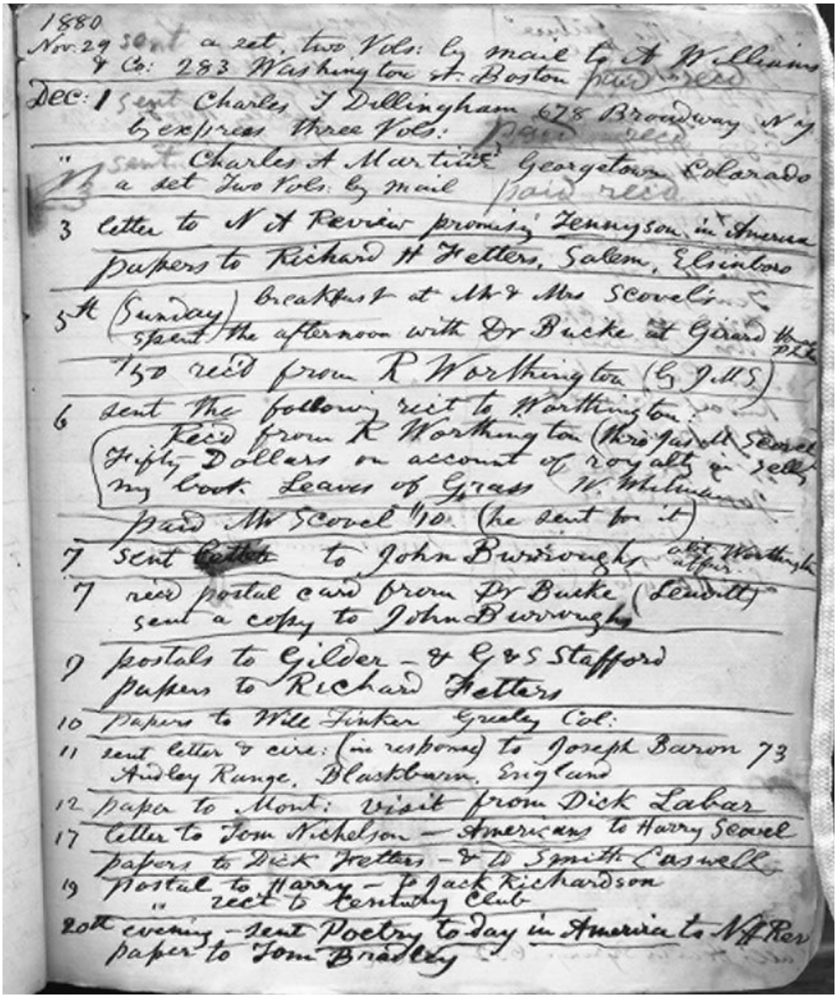

1880
Nov. 29 sent a set, two Vols: by mail to A Williams & Co: 283 Washington st. Boston paid recd
Dec: 1 sent Charles T Dillingham 678 Broadway N Y by express three Vols: paid recd
" sent Charles A Martin Georgetown Colorado a set Two Vols: by mail paid recd
3 letter to N A Review promising Tennyson in America
papers to Richard H Fetters, Salem, Elsinboro
5th (Sunday) breakfast at Mr & Mrs Scovel's
spent the afternoon with Dr Bucke at Girard House Phila
$50 recd from R Worthington (G J M S)
6 sent the following rect to Worthington
Recd from R Worthington (thro' favor of J M Scovel) Fifty Dollars on account of royalty in selling my book Leaves of Grass W. Whitman
paid Mr Scovel $10 (he sent for it)
7 sent letter to John Burroughs abt Worthington affair
7 recd postal card from Dr Bucke (Leavitt)
sent a copy to John Burroughs
9 postals to Gilder — & G & S Stafford
papers to Richard Fetters
10 papers to Will Tinker Greeley Col:
11 sent letter & circ: (in response) to Joseph Baron 73 Audley Range, Blackburn, England
12 paper to Mont: visit from Dick Labar
17 letter to Tom Nicholson — Americans to Harry Scovel
papers to Dick Fetters — & to Smith Caswell
19 postal to Harry — to Jack Richardson
" rect to Century Club
20th evening — sent Poetry to-day in America to N A Rev
paper to Tom Bradley

FIGURE 4. This page from one of Whitman's manuscript daybooks, held at the Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, shows the poet's method of keeping track of his book sales. In the middle the poet makes note of having sent a receipt of payment by R. Worthington "on account of royalty." Courtesy of the *Walt Whitman Archive.*

Kingdom.) Whitman wrote to Burroughs, telling him he had discovered that Worthington had the plates but not any old sheets ready to bind. "I thought I might as well let you know every new discovery &c," the poet insisted, "and shall continue to do so"—yet he did not tell Burroughs about the payment he had received and acknowledged, never took him up on his offer to arrange for

funding and legal support, and told Gilder not to worry about the business further. It is estimated that Whitman cleared $143.50 after expenses in payments from Worthington. No prosecution ever took place.[17]

All this is enough to make one sympathize—if one did not already—with Dickinson's opinion about publication. Such tangles were all too common. Something like it had happened to Herman Melville around the same time. His novel *Israel Potter* had been set adrift when its first publisher failed, the plates purchased and then printed from—under the title *The Refugee*—by the firm of T. B. Peterson and Brothers in 1865. "In connection with that title," Melville wrote in the *New York World* with umbrage, "Peterson Brothers employ my name without authority, and notwithstanding a remonstrance conveyed to them long ago."[18] Notwithstanding this public remonstrance, too, on they printed, well into the 1870s. Major franchises were not immune: a few months after Worthington informed Whitman of his possession of the *Leaves* plates, a notice appeared in *Publishers' Weekly*, sent by the publisher G. P. Putnam's Sons, informing the public of an "entirely unauthorized" edition of Washington Irving's works, "an imposition" by the unnamed publishers "which transgresses at once business equity and literary comity"—to say nothing of the profits of G. P. Putnam's Sons, for whom Irving's works were the mainstay.[19]

Common though such "impositions" might have been, the 1860 plates and the distribution havoc they induced have had a special place in Whitman scholarship. The Worthington version is most commonly described with three words, as "spurious," "unauthorized," and a "piracy." I suggest that it is least usefully thought of as any of these. This chapter argues that the Worthington printings of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass* constitute another authorized "edition" of that work. To avoid the reifying effect of the term "edition" and to suggest the complex way in which the context of publication and dissemination inflect a work's meanings, I use the word "version" to describe the different impressions from those well-traveled plates.[20] This argument contradicts not merely the premises of certain strains of bibliographical analysis, but Whitman's own pronouncements about the "authoritative" versions of *Leaves* as well. The availability of the 1860 edition later in the century had an important effect on the way we should interpret Whitman's work at the time. More broadly, it prompts us to reconsider what "Walt Whitman" as a poet meant in U.S. society during the late stages of his career. Part of this story will be told

in the next chapter, widening the frame to the international distribution of Whitman's work. But new discoveries about the history of reprinting of Whitman's work, together with older insights by Ezra Greenspan and others about Whitman's unceasing commitment to journalism and the start of his career in public lecturing, suggest a different image of Whitman than either of the two dominant ones: the radical innovator in poetic form heralding modernism, or the fallen radical anxiously preaching union in the wake of a traumatic national schism. Rather, Whitman was, in the 1880s, not the avatar of a new form but rather a well-rounded if naughty writer, with a deep connection to traditional poetic forms, an ability to write fiction and criticism, and an energetic commitment to a new style in American poetry. Worthington's so-called piracy, I suggest, was anything but a piracy at the time, and its distribution alongside many other Whitman texts shows us the ways we continue to misunderstand Whitman as a writer, one who was, like most, evolving continuously late into his career.

The state of copyright law at the time is a necessary starting point, for Whitman considered himself to have been "pirated" more than once, and his refusal to pursue legal remedies in response to Worthington's publication of *Leaves* seems out of tune with his furious denouncements. It is, we will see, difficult to make a claim about what might have happened in a court of law had Whitman taken on Worthington, so I turn our attention to the way in which the Worthington printing fit into a larger ecology of Whitman's works. Reading the 1860 *Leaves* as a version in train with, and in the terrain of, other Whitman works in the late 1870s and early 1880s raises a number of questions, some of which can be addressed only indirectly here: Did the market presence of the 1860 version have an effect on Whitman's creation of the 1881 version? Given the claims about large sales of the Worthington impressions, might it be important for making arguments about Whitman's contemporary U.S. readership on the broad scale? If so, how do we catch its drift in the moment of its so-called piracy? A historically rigorous sense of the life of *Leaves of Grass* shows it as a text available in increasing numbers of versions simultaneously as the century went on. How can we read in a way that recognizes this persistence and resurgence, a kind of temporal folding, as well as development, in Whitman's career?[21]

WHITMAN AMONG THE PIRATES

There are good reasons, both historical and biographical, to be suspicious about Whitman's statements regarding the various printings of his poetry that were, or seemed to be, beyond his control—translations, British editions, anthologies, and the Worthington *Leaves*. We have an unusually large archive of Whitman's intimate letters and conversations on which to draw, and the poet was moody about these questions, as anyone might be. Historically, Ed Folsom has pointed out, Whitman was often more involved than he tended to admit in the production of, for example, anthologies of his works. "Something at the very core of his democratic being," Folsom points out, "resented the practice of anthologizing, an activity that seemed faintly feudalistic and antidemocratic in the way it dismissed and privileged and created hierarchy and imposed values and authority."[22] It was, however, the pathway to being a "classic" or "standard" author, and Whitman knew it. Moreover, in thinking about how we might understand piracy or authorization in the nineteenth century, there are questions of law and custom with which to contend. These questions in Whitman's career take at least three major courses, in the case of translations (to be investigated in the next chapter), English versions of the poet's work, and domestic ones. If ever there were cause for Whitman to contradict himself, the confusing relationship between copyright law and what actually happened in the publishing world was one.

The case of William Michael Rossetti's London edition of Whitman's poetry is illustrative. In December 1867, Whitman wrote an important letter—carefully worded, as we know from a draft version—to Rossetti, negotiating the approach to an edition Rossetti had told the poet he planned to publish with John Camden Hotten's firm. Whitman, concerned that his poems would be altered and unsure whether Rossetti was planning a censored full edition of *Leaves* or a volume of selected poems, wrote famously, "I cannot & will not consent of my own volition, to countenance an expurgated edition of my pieces."[23] But this turns out to have been a speech act on two stages. The first stage was the realm of international copyright, which offered in this case no protection, as Whitman well knew. "And now, my friend, having set myself right on that matter," Whitman went on to say, "if, before the arrival of this letter, you have practically invested in, & accomplished, or partially accomplished, any plan, even contrary to this letter, I do not expect you to abandon

it, at loss of outlay, &c. but shall *bona fide* consider you blameless if you let it go on, & be carried out, as you may have arranged."[24] Here friendship, which both men ritually emphasized in this exchange, grounds their understanding, not merely in the absence of a legal basis for Whitman's restriction, but in a context in which it was customary to modify, rearrange, and select when republishing work from across the Atlantic. The second speech act had as its context Rossetti's, or others', representations of Whitman's relationship to the edition. This was a marketplace consideration, as well as a proleptic gesture to Whitman's future reception, conditions more fundamental than law from the poet's perspective, and it required careful, even tortured, phrasing to convey:

> It is the question of the authorization of an expurgated edition proceeding from me that deepest engages me. The facts of the different ways, one way or another way, in which the book may appear in England, out of influences not under the shelter of my umbrage, are of much less importance to me. After making the foregoing explanation, I shall, I think, accept kindly whatever happens. (*CO* 1:353)

While Whitman emits here his customary qualifier, "I think," he begs only the recognition by Rossetti that this wish has been expressed to frame the reputation of the volume in the only way he really can. As it would turn out, he would not appear to have accepted kindly whatever happened—but in a way, that umbrage would be the necessary second act of this drama of speech.[25]

It is difficult to tell whether Whitman knew about the edition of *Leaves* that Hotten subsequently published, which contained all of the naughty bits Rossetti preferred not to include. But even in an 1888 statement that seems to suggest the poet might have been aware of it, which he made to Horace Traubel, there is nonetheless a give-and-take around the question:

> My God! are men always to go on clawing each other—always to go on taxing, stealing, warring, having a class to exclude and a class excluded—always to go on having favorite races, favorite castes—a few people with money here and there—all the rest without anything everywhere? Chatto and Windus printed Leaves of Grass in England—pirated it—never even sent me a copy of the book until Rossetti suggested they should do so. The book came—the books—and I was taxed for duties. Yes, three dollars and a half. (*WC* 1:99)

Whitman mistakes Chatto and Windus for its predecessor, Hotten, and may be referring to the Rossetti edition—but in saying "the books," may also refer

to Hotten's 1872 type-facsimile of the 1871–72 *Leaves*.[26] Several things are of interest here: first, that Rossetti insisted Hotten send copies to the poet despite the potential tenderness of the situation suggests the fuzziness of intellectual property, as the gray area between piracy and authorization was mediated by friendly sanction, sustained information exchanges, and the observance of common courtesy. That, nonetheless, Whitman clearly states this book to be a piracy is suggestive, given that he so carefully negotiated the Rossetti edition. Third, Whitman's ire about piracy is a subset of a larger irritant, that of the tariff on international imports, and is framed in comparison to racism, class conflict, and international warfare. This suggests the degree to which the question of piracy and international copyright were subjugated to other concerns in the larger dynamics of international distribution. Whitman didn't have a leg to stand on legally, though, having collaborated with Hotten on Rossetti's volume, he could complain of failed collegiality.[27] The Hotten *Leaves* might seem more obviously a piracy, but it could only be considered a gray market product by virtue of its appearing so much like the American 1871–72 version. Hotten had originally discussed selling the Rossetti selections in the United States, for which he would indeed have needed the poet's consent and for which Whitman could reasonably have requested payment. But even with a fake New York title page, no royalties were enforceable on Hotten's version of *Leaves.* "Rather than the income lost," Martin Buinicki concludes of the Hotten interactions, "what seems to have irritated Whitman the most was the violation of trust" (185).

When it came to domestic "piracy," however, Whitman had a different stance, as we have seen, one resting firmly on his claims to copyright. When Worthington bought the plates, they cost him $200: not cheap, given their age, the existence of competing editions, and potential copyright entanglements. He must have felt there was a good chance he could use them—legally, conventionally, or otherwise. Yet David Reynolds claims that Whitman's "case against Worthington was solid," and so it would seem from the blanket declaration of an intellectual property treatise published in 1879: "As the copyright in a work is entirely distinct from the property in the stereotype plates from which it is printed," it maintains, "a sale on execution of such plates gives to the buyer no right to print and publish copies of the work."[28] But copyright cases in the nineteenth century, as recent scholarship has shown, were seldom solid even in what would seem to us today the most obvious of circumstances. Whitman himself was not completely sure of his case.

Copyright has been one of the key analytical lenses through which questions of literature and politics have been considered in recent years. The embodiment, at one and the same time, of a liberal individualist, capitalist, and national set of principles of ownership, copyright serves as a powerful locus for studying how literature instantiates or circulates power. Copyright was and is an issue confounded, at the same time, by the problem of defining the relationship between text and work—between a reproducible conceptual product and the particular renditions of it in specific media formats. It also, in biographical studies of writers, seems to tell us something more concrete about an author's marketplace politics than close readings of poetry or fiction do. (With the beautiful exception of Gillian Welch's intellectual property ballad "Everything Is Free Now," copyright tends not to offer an absorbing framework for imaginative writing.) Whitman's defense of international copyright, for example, seems to pit him against the many trade workers in U.S. publishing who lobbied against it, fearing deleterious economic effects not least from large publishing monopolies, which would have the wherewithal to pay foreign writers for their productions printed in the United States but would raise the price of books. "Whitman's support for the passage of an international copyright law in the United States," writes Buinicki, "was more than a matter of simply protecting his business interests: it was inextricably linked to his idea of an equal, open, and connected democracy."[29] We have already seen how the "culture of reprinting" that copyright exceptions for newspapers enabled was key to the evolution of U.S. literary culture and the very idea of authorship in the antebellum period. And in a series of fascinating court cases, U.S. writers contested a range of features of copyright, from the status of translations or dramatic adaptations to the co-opting of specific characters or plot lines, showing that even in domestic matters, copyright was far from a settled matter.[30]

Whitman's experience with Worthington shows how unstable copyright was in the nineteenth-century United States even as it pushes us to widen our imagination of the dimensions of what we would today call the gray market. Meredith McGill has noted that "rather than a simple sign of ownership, the copyright notice bears witness to a multistep process by which the public, which authenticates the book and consents to restrict its distribution, is acknowledged."[31] This paradox of distribution—its restriction in the name of an expanded set of individual rights—resonates with Whitman's poetry's struggle with the relationship between the individual and the mass, the democratic and the personal urges. Less acknowledged in the copyright notice, however,

are the problematic relations, equally interesting to Whitman, between the material and conceptual realms, the text as idea and form and the document as embodied book or newspaper or pamphlet. Between these, of course, was the type, which, as a "master," mediated the relationship between the two. Whitman's midprinting alterations to the 1855 edition of *Leaves* are now notorious, resulting, as Ed Folsom speculates, in the possibility that no two copies of the first *Leaves* are identical.[32] What then is governed by copyright in its case, at a time when registering copyright was still required for its enforcement? And when stereotyping was invented, the ambiguities became greater, because now a master copy of a book could not only be kept for many copyright periods (even lifetimes), but alienated from all of the entities that contributed to its initial creation.

The first Supreme Court case to address the knot of contingencies brought on by the widespread use of stereotype plates was *James Stevens v. Royal Gladding*, in 1854. James Stevens had lost control of the copperplate engraving of a map he had made, which had been sold at auction to settle Stevens's debts. The buyer had then printed and sold copies of the map, for which Stevens took him to court in 1852. The court ruled that Stevens had to repay the cost of the plates in order to get damages, which he refused (and possibly was unable) to do. In 1854, he brought suit again, against the most recent owner of the plates. This time he was successful, as it was ruled that the original decision was in error. In both cases, however, the question was, as the standard report on the case at the time put it, "whether or not the property acquired by the defendant in the copperplate, at the sheriff's sale, carried with it, as an incident, the right to print and publish" that which was "engraved upon its face."[33] Today at first blush the court's conclusion may seem obvious:

> And upon this question of the annexation of the copyright to the plate it is to be observed, first, that there is no necessary connection between them. They are distinct subjects of property, each capable of existing, and being owned and transferred, independent of the other. It was lawful for any one to make, own and sell this copper-plate. The manufacture of stereotype plates is an established business, and the ownership of the plates of a book under copyright may be, and doubtless in practice is, separated from the ownership of the copyright. If an execution against a stereotype founder were levied on such plates, which he had made for an author and not delivered, the title to those plates would be passed

> by the execution sale, and the purchaser might sell them, but clearly he could not print and publish a book for which they were made. The right to print and publish is therefore not necessarily annexed to the plate, nor parcel of it. . . . It would hardly be contended that the sale of a copper-plate passed a press, and paper and ink, as incidents of the plate, because necessary to its enjoyment.[34]

Concluding that "the incorporeal right" of copyright "subsists wholly separate from and independent of the plate," the Court nonetheless acknowledges here implicitly the difficulty that without the right to print from them, plates were a liability. A large expense in an already risky trade, plates were significant collateral in a credit matrix in which execution sales were common to satisfy debts in bankruptcy or simply to raise capital. (Consider, for example, that the plates of the 1860 *Leaves*, before being lost in bankruptcy execution, had been mortgaged.) And in the tiny qualifier "and doubtless in practice is," the Court evidences its distance from the realities of customary or habitual media transmission practices. In fact, the question of the rightful relation among medium, content, and legal transmission is far from settled to this day. *Stevens v. Gladding* continues to have an impact as a precedent cited in the area of what is known as "first-sale doctrine," most familiar perhaps in the question of whether digitally encoded works of art, such as an iTunes download or Kindle book, may be legally resold, and, if so, under what conditions. The first-sale doctrine enables secondary distribution of many kinds, by libraries or through gifts or sales of used books, CDs, and the like, by restricting the control over reproductions by copyright or trademark owners. In the case of plates, a distinction was drawn between plates and printed sheets as products of the process of materializing a text; these days, computers are able to perform the work of press, ink, plates, paper, and, if networked, distribution as well.[35]

The mass reproducibility made possible by printing from plates helped bring these and other questions to the fore, but it did not settle them. The early custom of copyright attaching in some ways to plates was backed by law through the postbellum period, particularly in cases in which the publisher owned a text's copyright. While publishers were prohibited from transferring such a copyright, they were allowed to "sell the stereotyped plates, and authorize [the] vendee to publish, still accounting to the author according to his contract, and not thereby diminishing the sales." In such cases, if only indirectly, the author's interests were protected not just by the requirement

of consent to transfer of copyright but also by the law's insistence that "such publisher is bound to keep the market supplied, and may not refuse to print, if he can sell." But in such cases authors were also restricted, to balance the market. Had Whitman given his publishers his copyright, he would have been allowed "no right to print an edition for himself, or to take out a copyright, so long as the publisher complies with his contract." These customs were made into law in *Pulte v. Derby*, a case that required its judge to make a distinction between an "impression" and an "edition," a necessity suggesting terminological instability and a shaky general awareness of customary publishing practices at the time.[36]

Horace Wentworth's threat of 1866 to reissue the work if Whitman did not buy the plates from him was legally empty, then, as the assignees from whom he received the plates as a mortgage settlement could not have conveyed the right to print without Thayer and Eldridge having held the copyright. Whitman studiously and insistently retained his copyrights, from beginning to end. If Whitman made a contract with Thayer and Eldridge, it is no longer extant, and Thayer's letters to the poet suggest that it could not have been drawn up before the book was issued; by the time Worthington contacted him over a decade later, such an agreement would likely have expired, and other versions of *Leaves* had appeared in the interim.[37] The precedent of *Stevens v. Gladding* would have made a case against Worthington feasible. Yet Leavitt & Co., Worthington, and even Whitman seem to have thought that the plates weren't worthless without an accompanying agreement about the rights to print with them. Mark Twain, indicting the contradictory and violent legal matrix produced by slavery, described race as a "fiction of law and custom," and the same might be said of copyright. The effects of legal precedent are uneven, and the practical interests or economic leverage of the players in any copyright scenario are no less key to understanding a publishing event like that of the Worthington *Leaves* than the law. Whitman and Worthington were both aware of the risks. "Worthington no doubt has a theory justifying it which puts me out of his court," Whitman said to Traubel in 1888. "In a case so obvious it would seem as though things might very easily be brought to a head in my behalf. But who knows? The law's a tricksy thing to fool with, even for righteousness' sake."[38] As Whitman put it himself in the 1860 *Leaves*, the greatest city was that "Where the men and women think lightly of the laws," and who more generously than he saluted "the pirates, thieves, betrayers, murderers, slave-makers of the earth"?[39]

Law as a cultural force has a complex relation to obeisance, enforcement, evasion, and violation. Copyright and publishing, in that light, appear to have been rather a gray market all along. Adrian Johns and Oren Bracha, in wide-ranging studies, have demonstrated the unevenness of the development of copyright law, always unfolding slightly behind the innovations of the publishing world or transformations in conceptions of property. The terrain was uneven in a geographic sense as well, even from city to city, as "a given book might well be authentic in one place," Johns observes, "and piratical in another."[40] For women writers, Caren Irr has suggested, publication could be inherently piratical, in the sense that the law of coverture, which conveyed a woman's property to her husband in marriage, made entering into a contract with a woman author problematic for publishers.[41] More broadly, the customs of the trade and the basic troubles with distribution they were evolved to overcome were often as important as intellectual property protection to authors and publishers. "Where the distribution of books is difficult," McGill observes, "the right to control distribution by limiting copying is of precarious value" (404). This perfectly describes the situation Whitman found himself in—at just the moment, 1879, during which supposedly a national system of distribution was becoming a powerhouse transformer of daily life.

"Although historians and critics have long regarded the emergence of authors' rights as a threshold condition for a mass market for books," McGill writes, "the strengthening of copyright laws was not a significant catalyst for growth in the book industry. Rather, nineteenth-century markets tended to flourish—at times in cutthroat fashion—precisely where the law stopped short of protecting authors' rights."[42] In some ways, the industrialization that stereotype plates represented was responsible for the fracturing, rather than the unification, of book markets, in part because imbalances in pricing and availability were in fact catalytic to capitalism, and in part because of the peculiarity of books as commodities. "Paradoxically, whereas the economics of industrialization encouraged the production of multiple copies of a single work in a single location," Michael Winship observes, "the economics of consumption required that each work be marketed singly, copy by copy, in multiple locations, whether local, national, or international."[43] This meant that, for every big win in a market by a giant firm such as Harper's, there was a jobber or wholesaler underselling big houses with holiday discounts to merchants who only sold books during heavy sales seasons. There were older gray and black

markets as well: from the pornography sold by the suspicious-looking teenager that Moncure Conway witnessed on his walk with Whitman through the New York City streets in the 1850s, to the poetry of the slave George Moses Horton of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, which offers, Leon Jackson has shown, "a rare peek into what has been called the world of 'informal,' 'hidden,' or 'shadow' economies—black markets—in which money is accumulated, expended, and exchanged in illegal, or at least unregulated, ways."[44] Horton sold poems to students at the University of North Carolina, composed on commission. Taken up first by the wife of a faculty member and then by representatives of an African colonization society, Horton soon found his poetry circulated far beyond his unauthorized side-business, in periodicals up and down the Eastern Seaboard.

To our minds, much of nineteenth-century American publishing may seem a bit gray. Key to the industry before the passage of international copyright legislation in the United States in 1892 was a custom called "courtesy of the trade." By this practice, a house that planned to reprint an English work (whether or not it had arranged for a courteous royalty payment to the author and publisher in England) printed an announcement of the intention. Other houses were then bound by custom not to "print on" the impression, that is, not to print a competing one. Never codified in law, the custom for the most part, and for a time, worked well. Yet in the same year Worthington wrote to Whitman with his proposal, John W. Lovell wrote in the trade journal *Publishers' Weekly*:

> I can say to the younger and smaller houses from my own experience, Go in heartily for the "courtesy of the trade" and—starve. You will find everything is expected of you and very little given to you. As for my part, I prefer to follow the examples that led to success in the past rather than the precepts now advocated to prevent others from attaining it.[45]

Courtesy was not a superficial practice, in the sense that, particularly with popular writers, it usually involved payments both to foreign authors and their publishers to secure plates, sheets, or copy ahead of other competitors. But clearly it was not a fail-safe practice, either. Controversies were not infrequent, and publishers did their best to avoid them. Ticknor and Fields wrote to Robert Browning, lamenting the firm's inability to publish his wife Eliza-

beth Barrett's work because another firm had association, "Willingly would we (Ticknor & F) pay Mrs. Browning for her poems; but, as I once told you, Francis would print at any rate, and at a cheaper rate, and perhaps set on our other books full chase. . . . We are a funny set of christians over the waves."[46]

The reaction of James R. Osgood and Company, a new Boston firm that began courting Whitman in the spring of 1881 in pursuit of the latest edition of *Leaves*, suggests the interweaving of gray and above-board markets at the time. Osgood, in one of his earliest letters soliciting Whitman's manuscript, requested that the poet "please tell me if the plates of the original 'Leaves of Grass' as published by Thayer and Eldredge so many years ago are still in existence."[47] A seemingly but not actually casual (in light of the extensively marked-up draft that remains) postscript in Whitman's next letter insisted that all was well (fig. 5). "The Thayer & Eldridge plates of 1860 <u>are</u> in existence in the hands of R Worthington N Y (a bad egg) who has sold languid surreptitious copies," Whitman insisted, "can be stopt instantly by me & will be — (The matter is not of any moment however) — The plates were offered to me two years ago & I refused them as worthless."[48] Worthlessness being in the eye of the beholder, this did not satisfy the Bostonians. "We should like to feel clear that you can control the old Thayer & Eldridge plates," Osgood replied, "so as to stop the issue of any books printed from them."[49] Despite what may read to us today as *Sopranos*-esque phrasing, Osgood carefully does not make Worthington's elimination a contingency. To do so might have implied offering financial or legal support in pursuit of Worthington, which Osgood may not have felt strongly enough about to tender.

He may also not have been overly concerned, since he was working directly with the author, was planning simultaneously to publish the new *Leaves* in England (with a copyright secured by Whitman in Canada), and, as Whitman pointed out, was in possession of the newest poems. Whitman, however, finally was spurred to act. On 11 August 1881, as he was on the way to Boston to finish the Osgood version, he confronted Worthington. In his daybook he wrote:

> [C]all'd on R Worthington 770 Broadway N Y & had an interview of over half an hour — I told him emphatically he must not print and publish another copy of L of G. from the '60-'61 plates — if so it would be at his peril — he offered $50 down if I would warrant his printing a new edition of 500 from said plates, which I peremptorily declined — Mr Williams & one or two clerks in the store

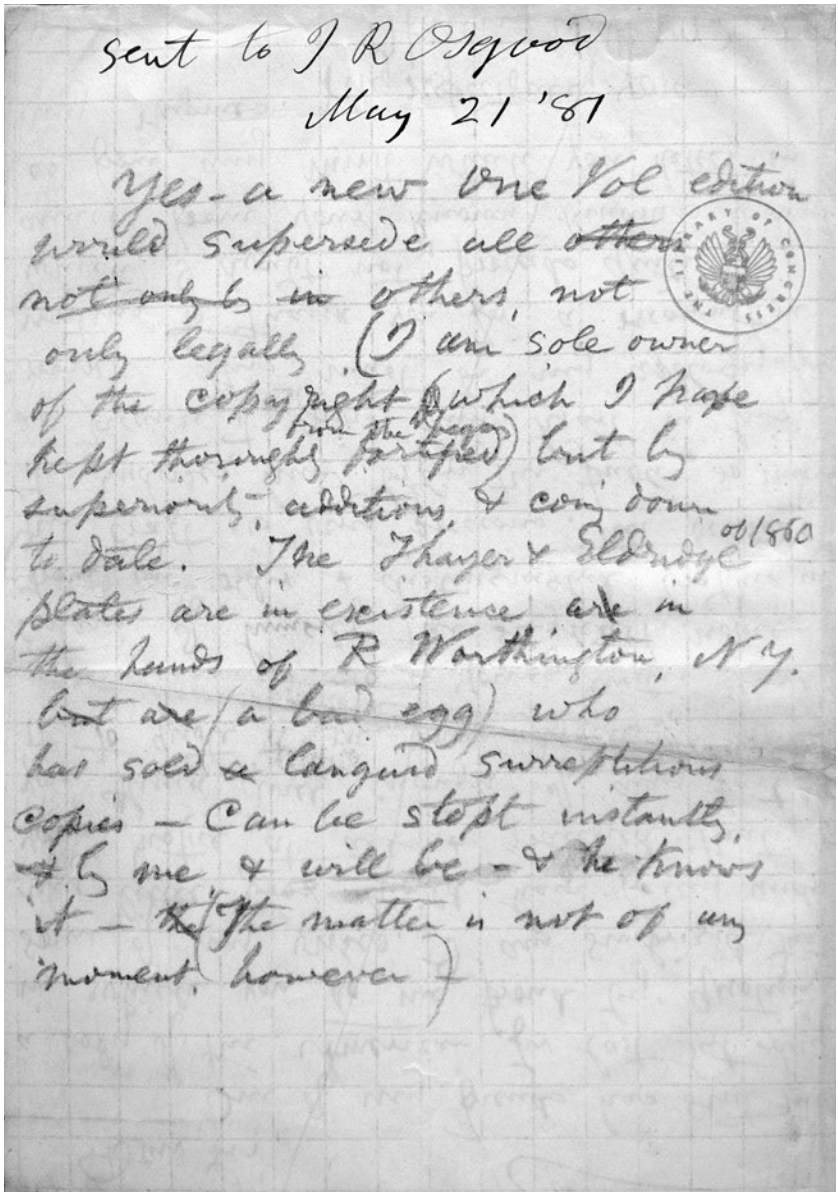


FIGURE 5. Draft, with corrections, of part of a letter from Walt Whitman to J. R. Osgood, 21 May 1887. Library of Congress Manuscripts Division. Here Whitman works out his response to Osgood's letter of concern about his control over the 1860 version of *Leaves of Grass*. Courtesy of the *Walt Whitman Archive*.

> heard the conversation — R.W. paid me $25 due me on back sales — I shall not trouble him for anything past — but shall hold him to strict account for what is done after this date.[50]

Having told Osgood about the situation, and having national distribution once again realistically in front of him, Whitman might have been concerned to shut Worthington down so that he could, as he attempted to do in his letter, assure Osgood of exclusivity. But then the final two phrases in this daybook entry are ambiguous: having accepted a payment for past sales, Whitman says he will not "trouble him" about them, presumably meaning that he understands Worthington to be enjoined not to print more. No such promise is recorded here, however, and Whitman's insistence that he will "hold" Worthington "to strict account" could easily be taken as meaning he will *keep* strict account — that is, accept future payments. Consider, too, that Whitman was at the same time personally selling copies of the most recent *Leaves*, a two-volume "Centennial edition" (including *Two Rivulets*) published in 1876. "We do not think the disposal of the old edition will in the least interfere with the new one," Osgood wrote in response to Whitman's request to sell the rest of his copies, "and shall be very glad if the new attention called to your writings enables you to dispose of them speedily and completely."[51] Those books were also in stock at the bookstores and agents in New York, Boston, and London that Whitman had recently supplied with copies — but they retailed for $10.00 a set; even Worthington's copies were selling for more than the $2.00 at which Osgood eventually advertised its version. With a new, longer, explicitly authorized edition for sale, and a selling base in Boston that could outcompete Worthington and Whitman locally, Osgood had reason not to worry. The firm did, however, exaggerate the contents of its edition in advertisements, claiming that the book held "all the poems Walt Whitman has ever written."[52]

To call the Worthington version a piracy today without risking teleology or presentism, we would have to be certain of what would have happened in a nineteenth-century court of law had Whitman made suit against Worthington. Aside from the many variables listed above, there would also have been those of the reputation and influence of each of the parties and their defenders, to say nothing of the press coverage. Even with a court opinion favorable to Whitman, questions of proper jurisdiction might have hindered an injunction. The result would have been unknowable. However ireful Whitman may have

been about the matter, and whether he received payments with emotions of reluctance or eagerness, he did not make an event of the affair. Whitman's personal confrontation of Worthington was important to his emotional claim on the control of his text's embodiments and circulations. Whitman joined many of his writerly contemporaries in hoping for a publishing world "governed by ethics rather than economics," as Michael Everton puts it, but whose compromises showed an awareness of the advantages of weaving poetry out of the fabrics of both dreams and practices.[53] His cooperation and acceptance of payments introduced complexities that functioned as an acknowledgment, however private and contingent, of the version as, at least, gray. Unlike Herman Melville or the Putnams (on behalf of the Irving estate), Whitman did not go public with his complaints about the Worthington volumes.[54] In this case, the Worthington 1860 *Leaves* precipitates to us as authorized, and prompts us to think both about how this version might have been read, and how as a result Whitman might have been appreciated as a phenomenon. To begin a sketch of the eddies around the Worthington version, I first situate it in relation to the field of distribution of Whitman's works at the time—the "sensibility" of Whitman, one might say—and then turn to the drift of the 1860 *Leaves* at the end of Reconstruction.

DISEMBODIED, TRIUMPHANT

Our biases in favor of Whitman's insistence on the illegitimacy of Worthington's version may not be unwarranted or unproductive. But in light of the complexity of nineteenth-century publishing, it is worth pursuing readings of the Worthington *Leaves* and a way of discussing it that take it as legitimate, or perhaps, rather, that move us beyond the language and the imagination of piracy and fraud that inevitably inflect our understanding of legitimacy.

The usual scholarly way of reading Whitman's works—a mode that for this poet predates the dominance of historicism in literary studies generally—entails looking carefully at his revisions to *Leaves* or the evolution of his form or style as he published new poems. This is a productive method that, in its general application, has taught us much of what we know about writers, their times, and their societies. Still, the congruity of these texts in appearance but not in time prompts us to look not just at historical context or moment, but the eventuality of the poems, Whitman's heterochronic bibliography, the breadth

of potential knowledge available to readers at a given time about the poet. A reading of any of his works was as a result a function of foldings in time, not just unfoldings over time.[55] Because we know so much of the revision history of Whitman's works, an archival depth we do not usually have for writers, such an approach can produce not merely interesting readings but intimations of the diverse imaginary fabric of Whitman's work in the world.[56] Our starting point, then, is a description of what the "sensibility" of Whitman might have been at the time, with the distribution of his texts and persona across a range of points of access and sensation.

Early on, Whitman the poet and Whitman the newspaper man, as Ezra Greenspan puts it, "could have been two entirely separate personalities," from most readers' standpoints (185). But after 1879, the radical 1860 *Leaves* was selling alongside the newer, supposedly less radical ones. These in turn circulated alongside reprints of his short stories; while most of these in the 1870s were unsigned, the extent of the reprinting of Whitman's short stories, beginning to come into clarity through the work of Stephanie Blalock, is unknown, and almost certainly greater than scholars have imagined. Accompanying all of these in the reception field were a host of other transmissions of Whitman's work, including memorized performances by everyday folks of the wildly popular "O Captain! My Captain!"; Whitman's new poems in newspapers; and his essays on various topics. As we saw in the previous chapter, the poet had started to make public appearances as well. By the time the Worthington version appeared, Whitman had already begun delivering his annual lecture on the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. At these events and others, Whitman recited verse, usually rhyming poetry (either "O Captain!" or old favorites by other authors, including Schiller's "The Diver," read at a recitation for the benefit of the Camden poor in 1876, and perhaps at other times Tennyson's lengthy dialect poem "The Northern Farmer").[57] When visiting Kansas, the poet refused to speak publicly at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the settlement, but he did give one of the organizers a few poetic lines, which were printed as the epigraph to the *Kansas Memorial*: lines from "Resurgemus." Whitman had first published that poem in 1850 and subsequently revised it, but as if in tune with the quarter-century memorial, Whitman rolled back the clock on his composition and offered the lines in their earliest state. Whitman was even rumored to have authored a translation, also in a traditional poetic form, of "The Midnight Visitor."[58]

Trade journals from the time give some sense of the breadth of Whitman's textual landscape. Despite Whitman's claims to his surreptitiousness, Worthington did not go out of his way to conceal his relation to *Leaves*. In the publisher's *Trade List Annual* for 1882–1883, he listed Whitman's book among his many others for sale (though, turning Whitman's nationalistic new nomenclature to his advantage, he demanded some mathematics of potential buyers if they wanted to know which edition it was): "WALT WHITMAN. Leaves of Grass. Original edition. Year 85 of the State. Foolscap 8vo, cloth extra. 3 75." That same trade annual contained listings for both the Osgood *Leaves* and the Roberts Brothers' edition of *After All, Not to Create Only*, still being offered for sale a decade after the events described in the previous chapter.[59] In a May 1881 issue of *Publishers' Weekly*, the 1856 *Leaves* and *Franklin Evans* were both listed by James Christopher of New York as being wanted for purchase.[60] Many of the old books were still alive and well, or being collected by bibliophiles.

Drawing on just a few of the sources available to us, the charts in figures 6, 7, and 8 begin to suggest the complex landscape of Whitman texts that we must consider when discussing any single publication. Particularly helpful for understanding how Whitman might have perceived this bibliotopography are the poet's own records of his sales of books in person and through the mail. Whitman had been a bookseller before. Out of one of his residences in Brooklyn, early in life, he had sold books, periodicals, and stationery. Little is known about that business, unfortunately. But we know much more about his sales of books later in life, from the manuscript books he called his daybooks, two of them, full of information (as we saw in figure 4) about Whitman's distribution of newspapers, clippings, advertising circulars, and books as gifts and commodities; correspondence sent and received; debts and payments; and events both major and minor.

Whitman's daybooks record the book orders he filled personally from 1876 to 1891. The charts in figures 6, 7, and 8 focus on the years 1876–1883, four years before and after Worthington began offering his version of *Leaves*. The first shows the yearly totals of books authored by Whitman that the poet gifted, sold personally, or sold to retailers, from March 1876 through December 1883 (fig. 6). Whitman was moving more and more volumes as the 1880s approached. "I am selling quite a good many of my books now," Whitman wrote to Harry Stafford in October 1880, "gives me something to do every

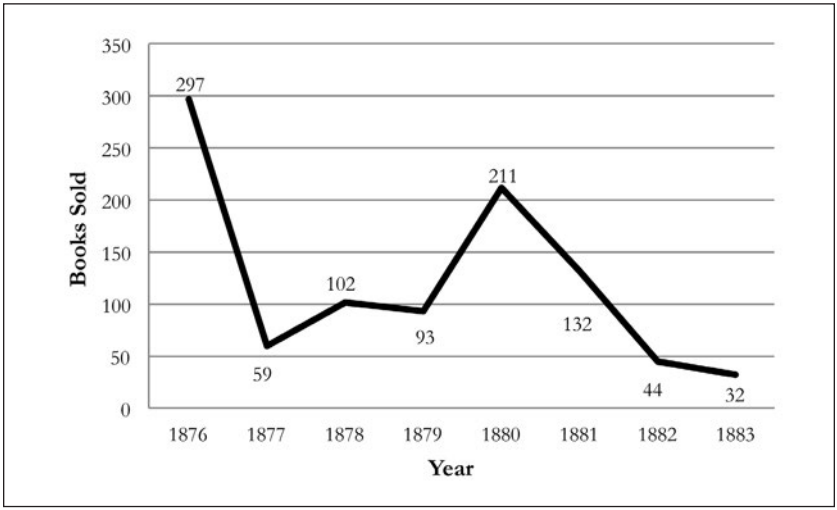


FIGURE 6. Chart of Whitman's total sales and gifts of books by year, 1876–1883. These data, derived from Whitman's daybooks, suggest both the periodicity (regularly spaced periods of low but steady sales with occasional strong peaks) and the strength of the poet's sales leading up to 1881.

day—so you see I have enough to put me in quite a good humor."[61] Good sales in 1876 were in part a result of a publicity stunt that has come to be known as the "West Jersey Press affair," examined more closely in the next chapter. Whitman's personal sales after 1881 were steady, but lower in volume, since the distribution of his new edition of *Leaves* was in the hands of first the Osgood firm and then Rees Welsh in Philadelphia. The second chart shows books by Whitman that the poet distributed grouped by region (fig. 7). Beside the sales totals is an estimate of the income the poet received.[62] During this time, Whitman gave 192 volumes to family, friends, influential figures, and potential reviewers; sold or gave at least 970 volumes of his work; and collected just under $4,000. Some of the implications of these charts will be taken up later: for example, the predominance of the United Kingdom in Whitman's personal sales of his titles during this period, discussed in the next chapter, or the comparative absence of sales to the West and South of the United States, discussed in chapter 4. Judging from this data, it would be difficult to justify Whitman's claims about Worthington palpably damaging his income.

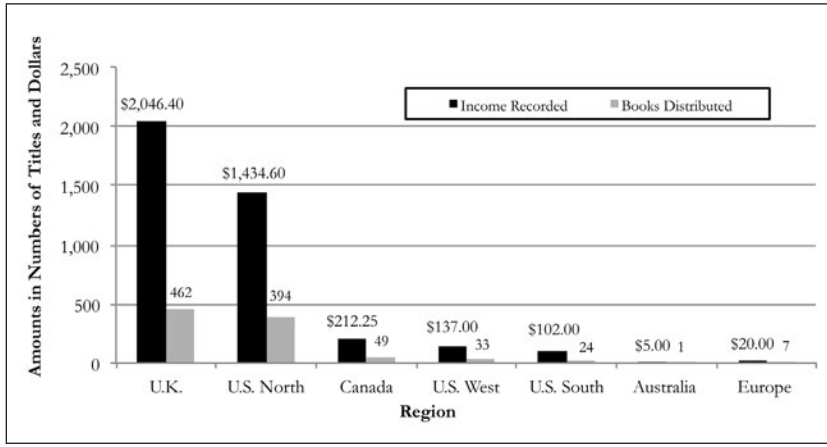


FIGURE 7. Chart of Whitman's sales and gifts, with estimated income, by region, 1876–1883. These data, derived from Whitman's daybooks, suggest that the poet's personal sales were predominantly to the northern part of the Continent and to England.

Finally, it is clear that customers, including bookstores, were ordering not just the latest *Leaves*, but older ones as well. A. Williams and Company, booksellers in Boston, for example, ordered three copies of the 1871–1872 *Leaves* from the poet in 1877, while he was busy filling orders for his two-volume "Centennial edition." In December of that year, W. B. Clarke, another Boston bookseller, inquired about trade prices for and eventually purchased several copies each of the 1871–1872 and 1867 volumes. Whitman sold a few copies of the 1867 *Leaves* during that time as well. During 1876–1877, the poet also sold or gifted copies of *Democratic Vistas*, *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free* (his address at the 1872 Dartmouth College commencement, published with seven other poems), *Memoranda during the War*, a few manuscripts, newspapers, and books about himself by William Douglas O'Connor and John Burroughs.[63] The chart in figure 8 shows the range of titles and the numbers of each sold by Whitman personally from 1876 to 1883.

Geographically, Whitman's book sales were widespread, and in some places deep, over this period. Evidence from Whitman's substantial body of correspondence expands and enriches the picture. Amelia Bates of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, wrote to the poet in 1880, describing herself doing the work of distribution by drift at a Civil War memorial day service, with the influential Unitarian pastor and women's rights advocate William Gannett in alert attendance:

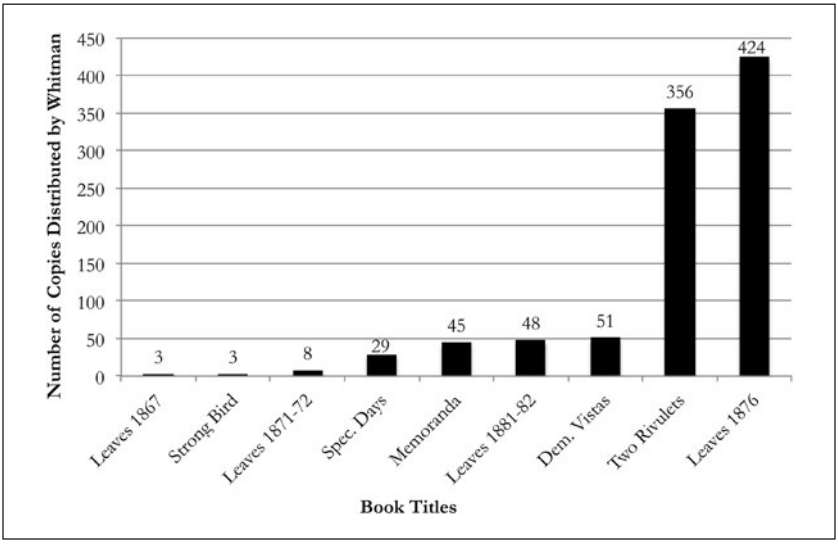


FIGURE 8. Chart of Whitman's sales and gifts by title, 1876–1883. Whitman was still selling copies of much earlier editions into the 1880s; he was also selling a wide range of titles, both poetry and prose, simultaneously.

> I read Joseph B. Marvin's review in [the] "Radical Review" and felt supreme self satisfaction in these words, "Only the voices of the manliest and the womanliest can rightly accentuate the words of "Leaves of Grass" etc. I had been brave enough to read aloud at a "Decoration Day" service in a church one of your pieces "Come up from the Fields Father". I am not a public reader and was trembling with fright, but I must have "accentuated" the poetry for it brought tears to the eyes of many, and at its Close, Wm. C. Gannett came forward to me with a beautiful earnestness in his truly thoughtful face saying "who wrote that" "will you let me take it home". (the copy of Drum Taps). That was my hour of triumph for my poet. For I had heard Mr. Gannett say, a friend of his a lady who knew you, said you were "coarse."[64]

Here is Whitman, being read in Wisconsin, in public, his reputation in what were then the far reaches of the United States turning from coarseness to commemoration—Whitman read not merely in mixed company, but in church. The tracking of Whitman's poetry reprinted in periodicals has just begun, but already it is clear that, adding together reprints, reviews, excerpts, and other quotations of his work, Whitman's writerly presence was nearly constant in print during his working life.[65]

Whitman's literary drift, these patterns suggest, must be understood not in terms of "authoritative editions" but rather as a function of a wide range of texts signaling simultaneously and at times in conflicting ways. Whitman's readers after the Civil War encountered him in a variety of guises and states of political or aesthetic engagement. His closer acquaintances and friends well remembered his earlier editions and phrasings, sometimes criticizing him for later emendations they felt weakened the force of his poetry. More distant readers and followers, too, kept careful track of Whitman's ways, through news items, parodies, interviews, or journal discussions of the poet or by continuing to buy his latest books. A given reader encountering Whitman's textual field in, say, Worthington's New York of 1881 might have known him as a fiction writer, lewd poet, conventional poet, fiery critic, or nostalgic lecturer—or as all or some combination of these. Whitman might have seemed not just a multifaceted but a reasonably "standard" writer. Would this have made his new poetry seem more, or less, radical? Perhaps we should reconsider the picture of the aging radical or fading experimenter that we have inherited, and think Whitman anew.

We could begin by reading the 1860 *Leaves* as it might have appeared in the contexts both of its first appearance and that of Whitman's late 1870s and early 1880s. In 1860, these lines exude a breathless naïvété, charming or silly depending, perhaps, on your estimate of the rest of the book:

> Singing what is sung in this book, from the irresisti-
> ble impulses of me;
> But whether I continue beyond this book, to ma-
> turity,
> Whether I shall dart forth the true rays, the ones
> that wait unfired. . . .
> Whether I shall make THE POEM OF THE NEW WORLD,
> transcending all others—depends, rich persons,
> upon you,
> Depends, whoever you are now filling the current
> Presidentiad, upon you,
> Upon you, Governor, Mayor, Congressman,
> And you, contemporary America. (239, Thayer and Eldridge *Leaves*)

On the eve of Civil War, with emotions running high and the "true rays" as yet "unfired" but soon to come to conflagration, the passage shouts ambition and

perhaps even seems like false modesty, despite its submission to the judgment of "rich persons" and "contemporary America." Given the heft of the book, one could only assume that the poet believed in a positive verdict on his fame, whatever the outcome of "the current Presidentiad," Abraham Lincoln's contentious, liberating, and violent one.

But come 1879, Whitman is one of the better-known articulators of that president's and that presidentiad's meanings, a poet with growing fame. We need to rethink the same passage in a different historical moment:

> Singing what is sung in this book, from the irresisti-
> ble impulses of me;
> But whether I continue beyond this book, to ma-
> turity,
> Whether I shall dart forth the true rays, the ones
> that wait unfired. . . .
> Whether I shall make THE POEM OF THE NEW WORLD,
> transcending all others — depends, rich persons,
> upon you,
> Depends, whoever you are now filling the current
> Presidentiad, upon you,
> Upon you, Governor, Mayor, Congressman,
> And you, contemporary America. (239, Worthington *Leaves*)

Now the 456 pages, to say nothing of the hefty frontispiece portrait of their author (fig. 9), seem like a prophecy fulfilled. Now the "irresistible impulses" appear to have been both those of Whitman's poetic fire and those of history's positive judgment of him. Internationally renowned, if notorious, Walt Whitman's poem increasingly appears already to have been the transcendent statement not just of the New World, but of the new world. And the "current Presidentiad," that of Rutherford B. Hayes, with its restoration of federal order and the authority of the presidency (to say nothing of Hayes's reformation of the Civil Service and vetoing of the 1879 Chinese Exclusion Act), seemed to confirm the poet's predictions, some true rays fired at last. James Garfield's assassination — every step in his slow decline telegraphed constantly to readers across the world — may not quite have resonated with Lincoln's in retrospect, but his successor Chester Arthur's surprising uptake of governmental reform managed to please even the always skeptical Mark Twain.[66]

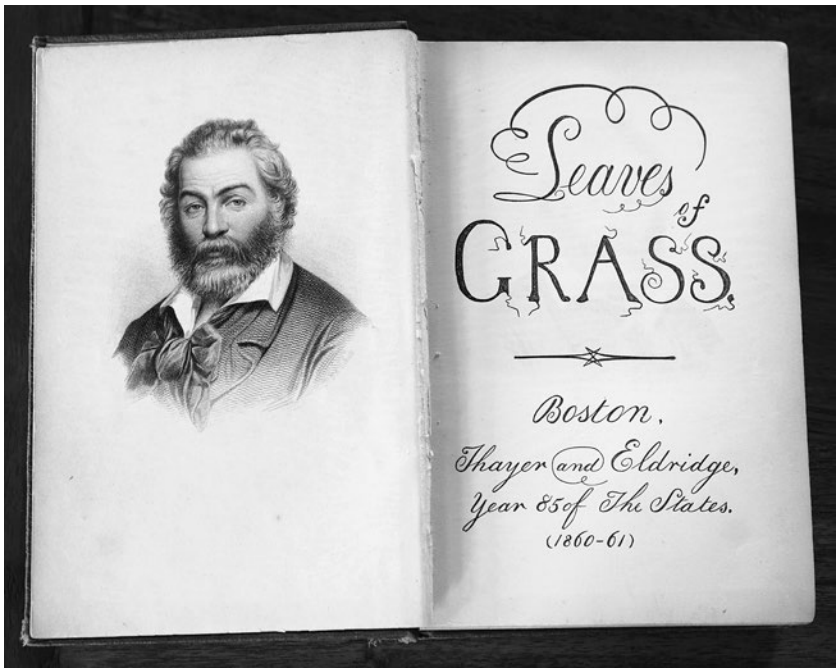


FIGURE 9. Frontispiece portrait and title page of Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (1860). Photo by Dan Cohen.

Still, the 1860 *Leaves* is in other ways more shocking at the end of Reconstruction and during the rise of Jim Crow than it had been on the eve of the Civil War. The sexual content was just as radical as before, perhaps even more so. With the advent of Anthony Comstock's Society for the Suppression of Vice and the passage of what became known as the Comstock Law, prohibiting the mailing of materials deemed erotic or informative about sexuality—including contraceptives and abortifacients—Whitman's work became, as we say today, "actionable." The 1881–1882 edition was threatened to be banned in Boston, and Whitman and his publishers parted ways, in part because the poet was unwilling to alter the text into conformity.[67] Worthington himself fell afoul of Comstock. In 1877, the censor attempted to suppress Worthington's publication of Balzac's *Droll Stories.* That conflict resulted in a compromise whereby Worthington sold the remaining stock of the book to a foreign market. (Comstock would go after the firm again in the 1890s, as the final stock was being disposed upon the company's dissolution; that time, his efforts to

impede the sale of titles he considered salacious would fail.) It seems likely that the tender attentions of Comstock's sympathizers in Boston to Whitman's 1881–1882 *Leaves*, no less than the reputation garnered from the Balzac incident, in the end boosted Worthington's sales of the title. Consider these lines in 1860, the year that saw the first publication of the sexually charged "Calamus" and "Enfans d'Adam" clusters:

> May-be one is now reading this who knows some
> wrong-doing of my past life,
> Or may-be a stranger is reading this who has secretly
> loved me . . . (361, Thayer and Eldridge *Leaves*)

Implicitly a dichotomy is set up here: Whitman's past "wrong-doings" would have been known only by those intimate with him, and the emphasis in these lines is on the magnetism the poem's narrator would have brought into being by the medium of the poem itself, through strangers "reading this." The suspicion that those loves and those wrong-doings might have had to do with sexuality (with whomever) was furthered by the event of the 1860 *Leaves* itself.[68] By the early 1880s, however, reviews, gossip columns, parodies, and portraits had generated a more widespread notion of the poet as at best crude, as witnessed in Amelia Bates's 1880 letter, quoted above, and at worst a pervert. Bates's letter picks up on the language of strangers and intimates: "I am sure you will pardon the liberty I am taking in addressing a stranger," she begins, but continues, "No, not a stranger, for a man or a woman who writes for the people, cannot if he would, be a stranger to even the most ordinary citizen of the world." It is unclear which edition Bates first read, but it was around 1868: "Twelve years ago, when just awaking from the aimless woman life into which I was educated, I was persuaded to read 'Leaves of Grass,' by my brother who believed in you its author. I had heard of it of course, heard very bad things of it too." When Bates wrote her letter, the first phrase in this excerpt had gathered behind it much more force in the way of writerly reputation. Its contrast with the second was stronger, since that too had more force, Whitman being known in part for a committed following that not only wrote him letters like Bates's, but defended him in long critical essays like the 1877 one Bates cited, by Joseph Marvin of the *Radical Review*. This moment now focused a widespread controversy over the cultural meaning and the social politics of adopting Whitman's queer democratic poetics.

Bates had recited Whitman's war poetry—which of course is absent from the 1860 *Leaves*. And here we begin to see other radical dimensions of the text as published in 1879 and after. These were the years of the "romance of reunion," fantasies of national healing fueled by a new cultural codification of transregional white superiority, and of the rise of nostalgic fictions about the Old South and plantation slavery.[69] Contested though these were by writers like Albion W. Tourgée and later Charles W. Chesnutt, as well as an ongoing debate about the South as a national "problem," the dominant mood of reconciliation at the cost of black equality and of justice was one Whitman forwarded in his later work.[70] It seems crucial, then, that someone picking up a copy of *Leaves* in 1880, say, might well have taken up the 1860 in Worthington's version, and read these lines:

> Then my realities,
> What else is so real as mine?
> Libertad, and the divine average—Freedom to every
> slave on the face of the earth. . . .
>
> I SAY where liberty draws not the blood out of
> slavery, there slavery draws the blood out of
> liberty,
> I say the word of the good old cause in These States,
> and resound it hence over the world. . . .
>
> O, while I live, to be the ruler of life—not a slave,
> To meet life as a powerful conqueror,
> No fumes—no ennui—no more complaints or scornful criticisms. (194, 418, Worthington *Leaves*)

Whitman offers a romance of *union* across these verses, but not of reunion, and it is a romance many southerners would refuse. Potentially provocative of grief, anger, confusion, frustration, or dismissal, the Worthington *Leaves* reanimated the specter of slavery as it appeared just before the institution collapsed, dressed in what many readers in the North and South might have considered a hubristic, overbearing ethical righteousness. The context of romances of reunion jars with what is here, reinducing a radicalism of a different order, the absence of legal slavery heightening, rather than diminishing, through a

chronological contrast, the sense of difference that underscores Whitman's use of "slave" metaphorically to talk about the states or the self. Consider, on the other hand, how this passage looked when it first appeared in 1860, alongside Whitman's metaphorizations of slavery as individual intellectual concession or state-level political submission. Coming on the heels of James Redpath's fiery vindication of John Brown, published in Thayer and Eldridge's roster just before *Leaves*, to say nothing of the many other and often radical abolitionist utterances of the time (it was Thayer and Eldridge's plates that were used to print Harriet Jacobs's narrative), these phrases seem tepid.

Perhaps most striking, given the claims that Whitman's late aesthetic was less radical, is the way the Worthington 1860 *Leaves* stands out in the poetic landscape of the post-Reconstruction era. Had Whitman's use of the long, nonrhyming line, repetition and lists, slang, and other formal fractures initiated a compositional revolution among other poets in the antebellum period and after, the case might have been different.

> I do not snivel that snivel the world over,
> That months are vacuums, and the ground but
> wallow and filth,
> That life is a suck and a sell, and nothing remains at
> the end but threadbare crape, and tears.
>
> Whimpering and truckling fold with powders for
> invalids — conformity goes to the fourth-removed,
> I cock my hat as I please, indoors or out. (48, Worthington *Leaves*)

The rough-slung diction and cadence, cocky interruptions and exuberance, shocking juxtapositions, fabricated foreign terms, and refusal of rhyme and common meter that made Whitman's poetry distinct in 1860 only made it more so in the context of a postwar world in which the poet had produced a well-known poem in standard verse, "O Captain! My Captain!"; a reasonably well known one in "Ethiopia Saluting the Colors"; was reading rhyming poems during his public appearances; and was starting to appear in anthologies alongside the leading, and most aesthetically mainstream, poets of his time.[71] More generally, it was a period of American poetry when experimentation was on the wane.

EDDIES

Whitman's accepting Worthington as a distributor to join his many other circulators might be described as a "weak ties" approach to building a network. A sociological concept, the multiplication of weak social ties has been argued to be crucial in the creation of strong information-distribution and -gathering channels. Using the example of rumors, Mark Granovetter, in a seminal article on the concept, argues that the basic problem is that strong ties, such as those Whitman had with his so-called disciples, close friends, and defenders, can stifle the spread of information:

> The contention here is that removal of the average weak tie would do more "damage" to transmission probabilities than would that of the average strong one. Intuitively speaking, this means that whatever is to be diffused can reach a larger number of people, and traverse greater social distance . . . when passed through weak ties rather than strong. If one tells a rumor to all his close friends, and they do likewise, many will hear the rumor a second and third time, since those linked by strong ties tend to share friends. If the motivation to spread a rumor is dampened a bit on each wave of retelling, then the rumor moving through strong ties is much more likely to be limited to a few cliques than that going via weak ones; bridges will not be crossed.[72]

Even if you don't love your enemies, in other words, keep in touch with them. Martin Buinicki has suggested that Whitman might have learned some of his connective techniques during the Civil War, as he gathered contributions from donors across the North to relieve soldiers in Washington hospitals. The term "distribution" appears time and time again to describe Whitman's work in *Memoranda*; Buinicki suggests that, with advice from his brother Jeff, Whitman internalized "the importance of direct solicitation and social networks in large-scale fundraising."[73] In the nineteenth-century literary world, still driven by cliques in the post-Reconstruction era, the top-down, simultaneous broadcast of information by way of newspapers and magazines was powerful, but still in part fueled by the linear, lateral spread of information and debate across populations of influential, but often mutually antagonistic, groups of readers. By allowing "piracies" to circulate but keeping his distance from them, Whitman made it more likely not just that his book would be read by more people, but that it would be read by more sorts of people, not just his friends and fans.

FIGURE 10. The engraved title page plate (left) and brass cover dies (below) for the 1860 version of *Leaves of Grass*, having passed through many hands, are now held at the Library of Congress in the Rare Books Division and the Prints and Photographs Division. Photos by the author.

Those friends, so the story goes, got the plates back in the end. It is unclear when the purchase happened, but it probably was during the sale of the property of the Worthington firm after its collapse in 1893–1894. Doubtless many factors contributed to the Worthington firm's final failure, but not least must have been the new international copyright legislation, which contributed to changes in business models for publishers that had relied upon royalty-free competition for cheap reprints of foreign works. The whereabouts of Whitman's 1860 plates are not known, and they may have been melted down for scrap as many plates were. The title page and frontispiece engravings and the brass dies used to stamp the cover remain, however, safely housed (or so we hope: Whitman items have gone missing from there before) at the Library of Congress (fig. 10).[74] Today you can read the 1860 *Leaves* for free on the World Wide Web. But you can also buy it in more versions than ever before: used copies of twentieth-century facsimiles, a rare but spectacular edition of the "Blue Book" (Whitman's personal copy of the 1860 *Leaves* with revisions), a new facsimile edited by Jason Stacy, and of course the "originals" are all to be had.[75] The Thayer and Eldridge edition is costly, but the Worthington version is among the cheapest copies of Whitman's work available on the market. Whether that is because so many more were printed and survive or because of its piratical reputation it is difficult to say—but probably both. But a new market, not quite gray, and certainly so far legal, has emerged, for e-books and print-on-demand copies of works published before 1923. In either of those formats, you can have the 1860 *Leaves* for only two or three times as much as Worthington charged.

The Worthington episode suggests that, while Whitman insisted that his books simply needed to circulate, he in fact preferred his drift to be initiated in a reciprocal relationship with a publisher. But he was willing to compromise, allowing the many layers of his literary remains to accumulate without making a public matter of what he regarded as illegal appropriations of his work. When it came to the foreign distribution of his work, however—whose dimensions are preluded in the statistics above—Whitman exerted great cultivatory energy, from early in the career of *Leaves of Grass*, and extended his weak ties strategy into the reaches of the United Kingdom, Iceland, Canada, and Europe. As we will see in the next chapter, making a public affair of the meaning of his distribution outside the political boundaries of the United States would be integral to his distribution in both the space and time of American literary history.

I am the actor and the actress . . . the voter . . . the politician,
The emigrant and the exile . . . the criminal that stood in the box,
He who has been famous, and he who shall be famous after today . . .
—Walt Whitman, "Leaves of Grass," 1855

I always ask Americans about you here. Sometimes they say "Oh yes,
I heard of him from an Englishman some time ago." But mostly it is
blank ignorance, & in neither case, interest.
—T. W. H. Rolleston to Walt Whitman, 1881

CHAPTER THREE ✷ TRANSMITTING THE UNTRANSLATABLE

No—no—no—no," Walt Whitman said to Horace Traubel one hot New Jersey day in 1888. "A man is no democrat if he takes the narrow in preference to the broad view." The topic of conversation once again was the import tariff, and Whitman as usual stood firm that his standard of measure was what "the working man gets out of the tariff"—and the tariff was coming up short. "Is a man a citizen of Camden only? No—no indeed. And if not of Camden, not of New Jersey, nor even of America."[1] International questions had been in the air for the past few weeks on Mickle Street; one of Whitman's friends was translating *Leaves of Grass* into German. Traubel's father, a German Jewish immigrant, had done some translating for Whitman before, and soon Whitman would ask him to check the *Leaves* translation as well. Traubel and his family, all of whom paid visits to the poet, doubtless felt

harmony with Whitman's declarations about the many layers of citizenship, the centrality of working people to politics, and the more-than-American nature of democracy.[2]

One has only to look at Richard Maurice Bucke's 1899 list of Whitman's marginalia, gathered from across the poet's long writing career, to see a writer immersed in foreign literature and intensely curious about a global geography in flux and its profound histories.[3] Clippings on Goethe and Brazilian geology sit next to fragments on comets and ancient cosmologies. Translations abound. Persian mystics and Chinese philosophers are annotated and pinned; Chaucer and the latest French writers the same. Distribution channels were a constant and global concern of the poet, pieces titled "Overland Mail to India and China," "The Commerce of La Plata," "Foreign Postage," "Commercial Relations with Siam," and "A Tunnel from England to France" testifying to Whitman's interest in more than just the fancied passage to India. Still, Whitman is one of the best-known and persistent articulators not just of America as an idea or a people, but of a distinctive American literature. "The Americans of all nations at any time upon the earth have probably the fullest poetical nature," Whitman had written in the preface to the 1855 *Leaves.* While "Americans" may be more than national, nonetheless, they just sound better than everyone else. Moreover, Whitman specifies, "The United States themselves are essentially the greatest poem," with an exceptionalism that is hard to deny, particularly in light of his later insistence that the country would absorb Canada, Mexico, Cuba, and possibly more of the South American continent (iii).

So far this book has explored scenes in which choices about the distribution of Whitman's works in the United States were a part of the poet's strategies for implementing a transformation in his readers' senses of what poetry could be. Cultivating readers in a range of media formats and from high-toned journals to the gray market for reprinted copies of *Leaves*, Whitman's fame grew by fits and starts, and his imagination of the relationship between the work of the poet and the patterns created by that work embraced the notion of drift. To follow his international distribution, however, is to set out on deep historical and emotional waters. Much of the discussion of Whitman's visions of nationalism and internationalism has turned, implicitly, on a desire to sort out whether the poet was a cultural nationalist, a racist, a cosmopolitan in rough's clothing, a mystic seer beyond all nationality, or some combination of these—perhaps something like Kwame Anthony Appiah's "cosmopolitan patriot."[4] This chap-

ter suggests two simple things about Whitman's navigation of internationality: first, that his ideas about translation and the planet as a frame for his poetry changed over time, and second, that even still, Whitman did indeed contradict himself when grappling with the relations between his country and the planet. Whitman mounted his international publishing strategy in the absence of a world literary standard, yet in the face of a powerful marketplace architecture of reviews and other forms of literary valorization. The interactions that strategy engendered fed back into the writing of his poetry and into his publishing designs. "World literature is an 'accumulative fund,' with layers of input, tributaries running over the course of many centuries," Wai Chee Dimock writes. "These texts travel."[5] But as works, embodied in books, these texts also *move*, and Whitman's imagination pivoted on the conjunctions between the physical and the conceptual lives of his texts.

Whitman's relationship to the international literary marketplace has important lessons to offer us as we think about the place of American literature more broadly in what seems like a time of relentless global connection-making. Indeed, in the past two decades, American literary studies has taken a marked, contentious international turn.[6] American studies scholars, reacting to their field's history of complicity with U.S. governmental Americanization initiatives at home and overseas, began in the 1990s to articulate "new," "critical," or "postnationalist" approaches to studying the United States. Of course, there had always been scholars both within and outside the United States who took such approaches. This surge of activity, however, brought new critical terms, and new meanings for old terms, to the fore: "transnational," "transatlantic," "diasporic," "circumatlantic." "The assumption that American literature has become transnational only recently—that there is such a thing as an 'era' of transnationalism," writes Colleen Boggs, "marks a blindness to the intrinsic transnationalism of American literature." Nationalism and transnationalism, she insists, "are related discursive strategies for negotiating the linguistic plurality that confounds state boundaries and complicates identity formations, especially when it comes to race and gender."[7] Whether uncovering persistent relations among English-speaking cultural figures and their political milieus or looking across linguistic as well as political boundaries for such relations, this set of approaches began to reconfigure American literature not as a special property of the United States, but rather as a dependent, emergent, and contested phenomenon.

But the problems that have emerged from this transformation of American literary studies have often been most easily visible from the standpoint of the study of "world literature." World literature, whose emergence was paralleled and intersected by the elaboration of translation studies, grew out of the field of comparative literature and the institutional responses to and controversies over globalization accelerated by the end of the Cold War. Comparative literature scholars are engaged in an agonistic debate, not likely to end soon, about the basic motivations for and payoffs of the very notion of a "world literature" or a "global literature."[8] On one hand, there are obvious appeals of a world literature: exposing readers, and in particular rising generations of college students, to other cultures; creating an infrastructure for intercultural communication; breaking down nationalistic notions of the canon and exposing the logics of other xenophobic architectures of mind or of the state. But as many scholars have cautioned, the rise of world literature as an organizing force was in part cultivated by institutions hoping to appeal to students and donors through a discourse of economic and technological globalization that is not always in the best interests of humanistic study and intellectual independence. U.S.-based literary historical work, however well intentioned, might implicitly further the "superpower" of the U.S. academy even as it attempts to dismantle the country's facile patriotism and deep-seated racism. Even performed with a self-critical lens, such work when it is not done in multiple languages might extend the spread of English globally, eroding linguistic diversity, an effect perhaps most starkly visible in the languages of internally colonized Indigenous North Americans. Then again, if one takes a utopian analytic inclusiveness too far the other direction, it becomes too mystical, too universal, or too invested in harmony to direct our attention to the long histories of violence and division that have shaped every sort of literature. Daunting as they are, these and other criticisms at their best call us to consider literary study both in and of the United States as a part of the planet's literary ecology, as having an effect on it even when not addressed to it.

Walt Whitman is one of a relatively small number of U.S. writers who is an anchor both of American literary studies and of world literature. Responding to one of the complaints made about world literature—that it is "all-too-conducive to the downsizing of 'foreign' language departments, and furthers monolingual coverage of literatures and area studies in other languages"—the community of Whitman scholars has, for the last two decades, gathered many

of its planetary members. These efforts have been led by Ed Folsom, whose edited collection with Gay Wilson Allen, *Walt Whitman and the World*, laid the analytical and bibliographical foundations of a planetary approach to Whitman, and the Transatlantic Walt Whitman Association, which since 2007 has hosted an annual symposium and workshop that gathers scholars from across the world.[9] Since Whitman's time, this generation of scholarship has shown, readers and translators across the planet picked and chose from Whitman's oeuvre (as they did from other writers'), and while their diverse home rationales exhibit patterns, their choices of works or of translation strategies can't be reduced to simple formal or political explanations. For some, like British socialist Ernest Rhys or Rudolf Schmidt in Denmark, it was compelling to introduce a work like *Democratic Vistas* to their readers, because of its valorizations of and warnings about the relations among democracy, individual freedom, and world-historical change. For readers in the Russian Revolution, Whitman's poetry's idealism and sense of the inevitability of a more democratic future were powerful. For Central and South American poets grappling with political and cultural change in the wake of nineteenth-century revolutions and a reconfigured relationship to both the United States and Europe, Whitman's equation of America with "the modern" made certain of his poems meaningful, while others remained untranslated for five decades after the poet's demise. Yiddish poets in early twentieth-century New York adopted Whitman as an aesthetic predecessor as a way of subtly indicting the anti-Semitism of emergent mainline modernism. Readers acquainted with Whitman's work in one language context immigrated to the United States, where they found him read in unfamiliar ways, and called attention to a different Whitman to be had, as C. L. R. James did in his writings and lectures on the poet.[10] The terms on which Whitman has become a world writer are, then, contentious, continually circulated, and unreciprocal—if not always untranslatable, at least sometimes crucially and valuably so. They unfolded as a complex function of material distribution norms and limitations, changing ideas about transmission and planetary interconnection (including the role of aesthetics in that interconnection), and the enfolding of those norms, limitations, and ideas into the writing of Whitman's poetry itself.

This chapter begins by extending a claim made by Charles Willard in 1950: Walt Whitman's career was shaped by a dynamic relationship between the poet's growing fame and an image of neglect—the notion that he was ignored

in his own country—that Whitman himself promulgated.[11] This image Whitman created of himself drew on popular printed accounts of important writers from the past, many of which Whitman collected and annotated in the margins. From his residences in New Jersey, Whitman intoned that he, like other famous authors across the planet, was worse than underappreciated in his own time and country, but that his foreign reception augured a healthy future for his poetry. Whitman's so-called disciples and defenders across the world then stoked public debates that amplified his claims to having been shut out by mainstream literary magazines and publishing houses. Yet at times even close friends of the poet, such as Traubel, resisted this narrative. Whitman was, they knew, becoming measurably more central both to high-level conversations about poetry and to the marketplace for poetry in the United States during the last decade of his life.

This story is comparatively well known. Here I hope to recast the role of international circulation and celebrity in the making of Whitman's career. In his study of Whitman's fame, David Haven Blake mentions in passing that Whitman was not a circulator in the way that Oscar Wilde was—the kind of celebrity who frequented elite circles, toured, or curried social favor of various sorts. This deceptively minor point is key to thinking about Whitman's celebrity, because his career unfolded in precisely the era when international tours for literary figures were becoming not just lucrative (as they had been at least as far back as the eighteenth century) but increasingly common as part of marketing plans.[12] The transcendentalists argued that one ought to be able to get all one needed staying at home. "It takes a man of genius to travel in his own country—in his native village," wrote Henry David Thoreau, "to make any progress between his door & his gate."[13] Certainly Whitman spent a lot of time gazing at the door and gate. But for him, the relationship between circulation and celebrity—between the distribution of fame as a function of personal presence and one's bodily ability to move, to distribute oneself—and that of writing or visual images was just as important to imagining a new poetry and what it could accomplish.

Blake acknowledges the transatlantic dimensions of the culture of stardom and describes the importance of British Whitman fans like Rhys, Rossetti, and Anne Gilchrist to the coalescence of his fame. But he focuses principally on Whitman's national, and nationalist, celebrity, and justifiably. After all, Whitman had set the bar for celebrity at the level of national exemplarity in the

same 1855 preface that had vaunted American poetic sensibilities: "The proof of a poet is that his country absorbs him as affectionately as he has absorbed it."[14] Even earlier, in the introduction to his 1842 temperance novel *Franklin Evans*, Whitman had specified that the good effects of that book would emerge from its being "wafted by every mail to all parts of this vast republic."[15] Yet the late nineteenth-century publishing marketplace was internationalizing at a rapid pace, and Whitman's eye was on non-Anglophone audiences after the Civil War no less than it was on Great Britain, New York, Philadelphia, and other U.S. distribution centers. His celebrity was a function of a reciprocal effect between Whitman's aesthetic and formal choices and the imagination of his textual mobility, either as an image of a personality or as a poetic corpus.

This chapter considers Whitman's depiction of himself as a national poetic orphan in light of his engagement of international distribution efforts. After a survey of the landscape of international literary distribution during Whitman's time, I take up the question of Whitman's relationship to celebrity, in particular as it appears in the years following his first major complaint about national neglect, in the newspaper the *West Jersey Press* in 1876.[16] Arguing that the marketing strategy Whitman's essay initiated was shaped fundamentally by a rising foreign fame he himself had been actively cultivating, I then consider the key role played by translation efforts in both Whitman's ideas about poetry and his distribution strategies. Whitman had early doubts about translation, and an Americanistic bent that jarred with some of his larger ambitions as a poet—despite the fact that his short fiction had in some cases already been published overseas and that acceptance in England was the sine qua non of writerly accomplishment for a U.S. author at the time. But later, the poet and his translators employed specific distribution and promotion strategies to create, and create an impression of, international transmission of the poet's works. Finally, I read the poem "Eidólons," which had been rejected shortly before the *West Jersey Press* article appeared, in light of Whitman's adoption of an image of being bereft in the immediate aftermath of its composition. While "exile" was a key term in his poetry and important in his prose writings, the poet never experienced it himself. Yet more than just one of "the petty artifices by which Walt carried out his pose," as one of his acquaintances put it, exile as an image (or what Whitman termed an *eidólon*) poetically mediated his decreasing physical mobility and his control over his increasingly international circulation.[17]

Here as in earlier chapters I am interested in the touch points of material distribution and its imagination. These mutually shaping but not mutually determining dimensions open onto the question of the distribution of sensibility and the sense of distribution, in this case, as an international phenomenon. Whitman gained cultural capital from being considered an author well received abroad, whether in translation or not. In doing so, he participated in a dynamic established by transatlantic writers of the earlier part of the century such as James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, whose works simultaneously expressed a United States–ness and, resonating with the great works of the European canon, the sensibility of a larger literary sphere. How to accomplish that kind of consideration was not immediately evident: Whitman for most of his career did not work with publishers of substantial enough reach to mount an assault on English buyers, and his poetry was designed to jar with dominant standards of taste and a pervasive Anglophilia. That he managed, with the help of important English cultural figures, to accomplish decent sales in England and a substantial presence in the literary press is a well-known story.[18] The work of Betsy Erkkila and Walter Grünzweig has shown the complex landscape of Whitman's reception in France and Germany.[19] But attention to how Whitman's ideas about and participation in translation changed over his career helps track both poetic transformations and the early stages of development of a contradictory and delightfully untranslatable world literary figure.

BOOKS AND BORDERS

The vibrantly multilingual publishing world of the nineteenth-century United States hosted "an internally divided and transnational literary marketplace," in Meredith McGill's words.[20] The textual universe in which Whitman was trying to distribute his works was striated by local, regional, political, religious, transnational, racial, planetary, and cosmic affiliations. Texts were distributed across all of these boundaries—including the cosmic, in the many mystical and spiritual texts that brought the voices of the dead or the gods to nineteenth-century readers. Particularly in the years before Congress passed an international copyright act in 1891, foreign works were reprinted with no obligation for U.S. publishers to make payments to their authors or original publishers. (Some did, in part in order to arrange for early access to text for

typesetting, but for other reasons as well.)[21] Foreign-language publishing in the United States always had a strong presence, with roots deep in colonial-era immigration, missionary and theological publishing, and imperial contests.[22] The first published French translation of Whitman's poetry—part of a hoax, but a telling attempt at promotion—was in a U.S. periodical, the *Saturday Press*, at the hands of Henry Clapp.[23] "The United States embarked on independence," Robert Gross observes, "with a print culture that was at once local and cosmopolitan but hardly national," both in the sense that most texts were imported and that widespread distribution of any single edition was well-nigh impossible.[24] The circulation of texts with extra–United States origins or in languages other than English was substantial and chaotic enough to make us wonder what phrases like "national literature" and "national distribution system" might obscure in our imagination of the nineteenth-century topography of print.

Still, this was not the peaceable kingdom. The nineteenth-century histories of book importation tariffs and of international copyright suggest the intensity with which different interests—those of politicians, authors, publishers, manufacturers, and purchasers, to name the main players—could be at odds over a vision of distribution, even as all were interested in promoting the expansion of print markets at large and American literature in particular. While American authors wanted protection for their copyrights in England and from unauthorized reprinting of British works in America, many publishers could not stay in business without the profits from reprinting foreign works. Sufficiently varied, however, were business models and utopian visions among publishers that they divided into factions over questions such as the wisdom of an international copyright agreement. Readers wanted everything cheap; politicians of one ilk desired whatever politicians of another ilk were known to despise; and domestic manufacturers and suppliers were as interested in import tariffs on type or on raw materials such as paper as in regulations on finished products.[25] "Resistance to international copyright protected a culture of print that was both provincial and cosmopolitan," writes McGill, and though printing trade interests managed to impede international agreements, their "opposition to international copyright did not . . . prevent the consolidation of publishers' power" as they had hoped.[26] Publishers, however nationalistic they were, with a small number of exceptions were interested in economic survival. So were their investors and partners. As a result, the claims they make in the historical

record, both the nationalist-protectionist and the cosmopolitan-universalist, can be deceptive. Most major publishers invested simultaneously in reprinting and in copyrighted works, in both local and other-than-local projects. Whitman, in his way, did something similar.

Imported books dominated the North American market into the nineteenth century. Even after domestic printing began to pervade book production, most texts—that is, titles—read in the United States were ones first published outside its borders. Michael Winship estimates that around 1850, new imprints made up 70 percent of the U.S. book market; the remaining share consisted of reprints, predominantly of foreign texts.[27] The internationality of the print world in which Whitman was raised went both ways, and became increasingly integrated with non-U.S. markets while his career unfolded. That train on which Louisa May Alcott had her uncanny encounter with the boy selling her novel and the ship on which she headed to Europe were also carrying books for distribution in distant locales. "American books, the physical objects as well as the texts and ideas, were exported around the globe by 1880," Scott Casper writes. In the middle of the century, for example, "exports of books to Latin America swelled more than tenfold."[28] Winship finds that between 1846 and 1876, "American book imports grew almost tenfold, exports by a factor of just over thirteen, though imports always exceeded exports by several times." Much of the foreign trade was with Great Britain, but during this time "exports to Canada and various South American countries increased substantially." The increase in Canadian trade was significant, and by 1876 "the greatest value of exported books passed through Niagara and other centers of trade along the Canadian border."[29]

Literary and trade journals took an intense interest in international publishing affairs. English-speaking travelers in Europe, as well as English-speaking continentals, kept up with the latest British and American publications and scandals through English-language papers such as *Galignani's Messenger* and the *London Times*. Exile communities and diasporic coteries vectored international flows of printed matter, from the polyglot publishing sphere of New Orleans to the Société des Hommes de Couleur and its France-based but hemispheric Americas–concerned journal, *Revue des Colonies*.[30] Cuban writers in exile in the United States took Philadelphia—"la famosa Filadelfia"—as a key publishing site and created an activist literary community working for a range of political visions. While the surge of Spanish-language publishing and

mutual translation faded after the 1830s, it never entirely ceased; José Martí's adoption of Whitman as an emblematic American figure later in the century is well known. Latino print culture more broadly emerged simultaneously from the work of writers and publishers in Mexico, Texas, New Orleans, the United States—indeed, across the planet—a literary interchange that moved North and South as well as East and West, not just through the vibrant transatlantic German print world of Philadelphia or New York's famously and persistently polyglot ones. The publishing force of Wong Chin Foo in California was only one of an underexplored set of Chinese diasporic publishing activities in North America, a circum-Pacific but also American transcontinental network.[31] The American Renaissance, as Anna Brickhouse observes, "might more accurately be reconfigured as a *trans*american renaissance, a period of literary border-crossing, intercontinental exchange, and complex political implications whose unfamiliar genealogies we are just beginning to discern."[32]

Ambitious U.S. firms established offices or employed agents in the British Isles. George Palmer Putnam ran a London agency for his New York–based company for years, exchanging books with English and continental firms as he spread the fame of American writers and competed for the latest European productions. Ticknor and Fields employed Nicolas Trübner as an agent in London to hunt down profitable literary opportunities. Ticknor and Fields shipped books, sheets, and manuscripts to and from England, but also operated at a more granular level of distribution. A March 1858 shipment to the firm from Trübner, for example, contained fourteen small parcels, destined for the like not of booksellers, but of Ralph Waldo Emerson and the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.[33] Such connections, together with a letter from the firm to Trübner in April 1856, suggest why a poet of Whitman's status might have found his situation daunting. The firm wrote:

> Books like Rogers' 'Table Talk', Mrs. Gaskell's 'Life of Jane Eyre', Tennyson's 'Poems', &c. &c. are what we want. First rate things you know as well as we do. A new poet, for instance, we should be shy of, but another shot from Alexander Smith, for instance, would suit us exactly. Will it not be a good plan for you to enquire of publishers occasionally what is talked of as coming out?[34]

To the self-publishing poet in 1856, a more intimidating "&c. &c." is hard to imagine—but it would have been a familiar refrain to Whitman. To be first rate in the cosmic scheme of things was one thing, but first rate in the mar-

ketplace of the day was another. In either case, to be "talked of" was key to crossing borders. And to be talked of was achievable.

Whitman adopted the habit of his contemporaries in the publishing world of exhibiting his critical reception in England as early as the 1856 *Leaves*, which contains at its end a long advertising section featuring British and American reviews (as well as Emerson's letter of praise, published without the sage's permission). Arguably, he tried even earlier to jump-start his reception in England by conceiving of his work transatlantically in his anonymous, self-authored review of the 1855 *Leaves*, "An English and an American Poet."[35] Certainly sending the first issue of *Leaves* to Emerson, who was well entrenched in transatlantic literary exchanges, was a good move. Emerson did indeed send the book overseas, to no less influential a figure than Thomas Carlyle. And if the literatus William Bell Scott's story is to be believed, the 1855 edition was distributed in England, and not only by way of London bookseller William Horsell (Fowler and Wells's London dealer, who we know sold a few copies). Ernest Rhys fashioned the story into a distribution scene that authorized Whitman's emergence from the literary underground in his introduction to *Poems of Walt Whitman*. The account is worth quoting at length for the way it illustrates the sensibility of distribution, capturing the English reception of Whitman through the affective attachments of physical distribution:

> The summer following the publication of the book, that is in 1856, a man, James Grindrod by name, arrived in Sunderland from the United States, with a stock of American books—surplus copies, remainders, and so on—among which were the copies of *Leaves of Grass* mentioned. These books he disposed of by a curious system of dealing, called hand-selling, a rough and ready sort of auction, by which an article is first put up at a certain price and then gradually brought down until it finds a purchaser. This unlicensed street auctioneering most of those who are familiar with north-country towns and their market days must have often witnessed, and in this way certain copies of *Leaves of Grass* fell into the hands of Thomas Dixon—a well-known native of Sunderland, to whom Ruskin wrote the famous letters ultimately published as "Time and Tide Weare and Tyne." Thomas Dixon in his turn sent three of the copies thus acquired to William Bell Scott, who at once perceiving the unique quality of the book, sent forthwith one copy, which has become in its way historical, to William Michael Rossetti. For this copy gave the germinal suggestion of W. M. Rossetti's volume of ten years

> later—"Selected Poems by Walt Whitman," which for long well served as the only representative of the poet in England. It is noteworthy in relation to this episode that Mr. William Bell Scott, who first gave greeting and encouragement to another poet, of quite opposite order—a poet of romanticism like Dante Gabriel Rossetti—should act also as the herald of Walt Whitman—poet above everything of the actual, and the higher realism.[36]

From hijacked remainder to higher realism: the furtive, irrepressible poetry tracks its material distribution as Rhys would have us imagine it, richly woven into edgy recent English literary history.

Still, not many people read either the 1855 or the 1856 *Leaves*, and, as we have seen, it would not be until the late 1860s and 1870s that Whitman's poetry would see broader distribution in the United Kingdom. The task remained to widen the sphere of influence to something seeming more like the planet. For while Rossetti depicted Whitman as a prophet-martyr with "little honor in his own country," the 1868 edition in which he did so was not much read in the United States. Transatlantic flows were pervasive, but they were also uneven. How, then, could a minor poet like Walt Whitman imagine his way onto the world literary stage? What version of his Americanness, what vision of the task of the poet, would accomplish the dizzying ends of being, to recall his insistence to Traubel at the start of this chapter, at once of Camden, of New Jersey, of America, and of the world? The answer lay not just in space, but in time.

FOND DREAMS OF THE FUTURE

It is one of the most famous of poetic opening salvos: "I celebrate myself," Whitman begins the poem best known as "Song of Myself." "Celebrate" might mean to laud, appreciate, or honor. But we might also take "celebrate" as meaning "to make into a celebrity." From its first poetic line, *Leaves of Grass* is a project in self-valuation and fame generation, and we readers are along for the ride. The notion of celebrity, according to David Haven Blake, significantly shaped Whitman's writing. Celebrity evidenced the mutual absorption of people and poet that Whitman imagined his new democratic poetics would effect. Readers "would see in his poems a vibrant cultural performance, an individual springing from the book with tremendous charisma and appeal. . . . In the turbulence of American democracy, fame would be contingent on celebrity,

on the degree to which the people exulted in the poet and his work" (xi). The poet did not just express the nation, however; he pressured it, too, to become the sort of public that would adopt the right kind of people as its celebrities.

Not content, then, merely to try to channel the public's feelings in hopes of hitting the right key and becoming a household name, Whitman early in his career promoted his personality. He did so in the marketplace, with anonymous reviews of his own works and by soliciting the attention of the already famous. He did so in his poetry, creating images and scenes of the mutual embrace of poet and public, positioning himself as poet among the crowd, one worker among many celebrating each others' labors. Later in life, Blake argues, as the poet was becoming increasingly adopted by the literary establishment and by audiences who identified him with the martyrdom of Abraham Lincoln and the postwar reuniting of the states, Whitman's tactics shifted. He drew about himself what the historian of celebrity Leo Braudy calls the "sanction of neglect" despite his growing renown, and claimed to have been underappreciated in the United States.[37] That promotional tactic stirred a storm of articles, essays, discussions, and poems about Whitman. It also drew sales and donations from many corners, particularly Great Britain.

Whitman's anonymously published 1876 essay in the *West Jersey Press*, "Walt Whitman's Actual American Position," is regarded by most Whitman scholars as the chief catalyst for this image of the neglected poet.[38] Importantly for our purposes, one of the provocations for Whitman's essay was the rejection of his poem "Eidólons" by *Scribner's* magazine.[39] Whitman's *West Jersey Press* piece claimed that he had been shunned by periodicals and publishers alike and financially ruined in the process. The essay also was written in response to a *Springfield Republican* article that made reference to Whitman's international fame, a claim that Whitman did not deny. In some ways, it is hard to fault Whitman for what might seem to latter-day eyes to be a kind of petulance; after all, at the time the piece was published, he had $600.94 in the bank, and by the end of 1878, only $95.74.[40] Then again, was it the failure of the literary establishment, or of Whitman's poetry, or of his self-promotion, that could be said to carry the blame? As it happens, the international campaign began much earlier. Consider, for example, that at least four years earlier Whitman had encouraged both Edward Dowden and the Danish writer Rudolf Schmidt to spread in Europe the notion of Whitman's domestic neglect. At one point the poet asked Schmidt to include in a review of Whitman's works a statement

almost identical to the one that eventually appeared in the *West Jersey Press* article. Whitman describes himself as underappreciated in the United States, "ignominiously ejected from a moderate government employment," and yet

> abroad, my book & myself have had a welcome quite dazzling. Tennyson writes me friendly letters, inviting me to become his guest. Freilegrath [*sic*] translates & commends my poems. Robert Buchanan, Swinburne, and all the great English & Dublin colleges, affectionately receive me & doughtily champion me. And while I, the author, am without any recompense at all in America, the English pirate-publisher, Hotten, derives a handsome annual income from a bad & defective London reprint of my Poems.[41]

At his first opportunity—the pamphlet printing of his poem *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free* in 1872—Whitman included a set of advertisements featuring a section titled "Foreign Criticism," reprinted from the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, which focused on a piece Schmidt had published in the magazine *For Idé og Virkelighed* the month after he received Whitman's letter. Emil Arctander, vice consul for Denmark at the time, sent Whitman a translation of Schmidt's essay a few months later, which the poet then extensively edited—presumably with no reference to the Danish original, and seemingly in contradiction of his attitude toward the translation of his own works (fig. 11).[42] "Foreign Criticism" also mentions Anne Gilchrist's and Edward Dowden's reactions to Whitman, and stresses Schmidt's claim that, as the summary puts it, Whitman and his work represent "the most significant sign" of "a new epoch in literature."[43] With his first letter to Schmidt in 1871, Whitman had sent a copy of "Democratic Vistas," which Schmidt used as the centerpiece of a critical essay and in 1874 translated in full. Whitman in turn circulated Schmidt's translation, sending it to friends in the United States and Canada.[44] The international distribution of Whitman's work, then, was more than merely part of the emotional fabric of the *West Jersey Press* piece four years later; it was a work in progress, not a spontaneous emergence.

"Whitman takes transatlantic networking to a new level" during the *West Jersey Press* affair, Leslie Eckel points out, "by launching a direct mail advertising campaign through the press."[45] After that piece appeared, the poet sent a copy to contacts in the United States, England, Scandinavia, and Ireland, asking his friends to reprint the essay in whole or in part locally. But editors were skeptical even at an early point—the voice of *Appleton's* described the

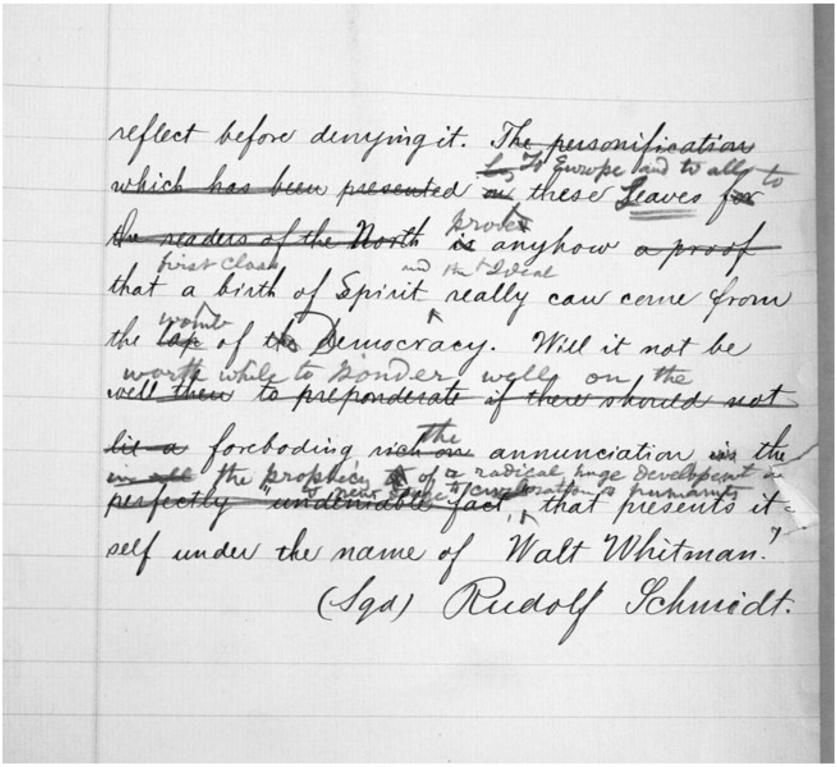


FIGURE 11. Manuscript draft translation, by Emil Arctander, of Rudolph Schmidt's essay "Walt Whitman: The American Democratic Poet," showing the poet's substantial edits. Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, box 77, folder 4. Photo by the author.

public flap as "an advertising trick."[46] Those editors had good reason for skepticism in light of the steady stream of letters from admirers and autograph-seekers worldwide; visits from or to photographers, sculptors, and painters; dinners and lectures in his name; and items in newspapers about his health. All these signs pointed to Whitman's increasing acceptance in mainstream Anglo-American literary culture.[47] In "A Backward Glance o'er Travel'd Roads," Whitman punctuates his condemnation of his American reception with a telling allusion and offers a compact example of his promotional shell game. Whitman writes that he has "not gain'd the acceptance of my own time,

but have fallen back on fond dreams of the future—anticipations—('still lives the song, though Regnar dies'). . . . From a worldly and business point of view 'Leaves of Grass' has been worse than a failure."[48] "Regnar" alludes not just to a foreign text (by the British writer John Sterling), but to one about an English bard who, entertaining the Danish foes of King Alfred, warns of their imminent demise:

> Then stern the minstrel rose, and spake,
> And gazed upon the King,
> "Not now the golden cup I take,
> Nor more to thee I sing.
> Another day, a happier hour,
> Shall bring me here again:" . . .
>
> The Danes ne'er saw that Harper more,
> For soon as morning rose,
> Upon their camp King Alfred bore,
> And slew ten thousand foes.[49]

A rather more violent allusion than customary for Whitman, this parenthetical reference encapsulates the shift in his self-representation to one whose message will best be appreciated once the conflicts of his day have passed—from a lament at a lack of celebrity, we might say, to a hope for fame. Whitman will be a mythic poet sending, as he puts it, his "*carte visite* to the coming generations of the New World." Taken literally, this widens his influence to all of the Americas, but it hints at an even larger frame, a new planetary community to come.

As always, however, it is wise to take Whitman's outbursts with a grain of salt. Sterling's poem about Alfred the Harper appears, among other places, in a popular anthology edited by William Cullen Bryant and reissued by James Grant Wilson in 1880, alongside such literary eminences as Milton, Emerson, Keats, Wordsworth, Byron—and Walt Whitman. Though emphasizing Anglophone contributions, the collection is explicitly international, its title page declaring that it includes "translations from the German, Spanish, French, Portuguese, Persian, Latin, Greek, &c." Whitman's currency in the United States rose steadily after the Civil War, and particularly after the wide publication and anthologization of his poem "O Captain! My Captain!" He was supported financially by a number of different entities, and his work was imported

into Europe through multiple channels.[50] The new planetary community had already received Whitman's *carte de visite* and invited him into the parlor.

Whitman's claims to having been censored in formal ways were stronger than those he made against popular magazines. Whitman's work was censored both by state entities and privately, by a collaborator, during his lifetime. The action taken against Whitman most directly, as a result of the suspicious "moral character" of his poetry, was his dismissal from service at the Bureau of Indian Affairs by Secretary of the Interior James Harlan in 1865. It was reported that Harlan had rifled through Whitman's desk and found a copy of *Leaves* there, which Whitman had been using to prepare a new edition. Harlan is said to have looked the book over and declared it obscene, firing Whitman at the next opportunity. (Harlan himself later denied this version of events, one propagated by Whitman's friends and allies, saying that the poet had been let go as part of a general staff reduction.)[51] A friendlier source of censorship was, as we have seen, William Michael Rossetti, Whitman's first substantial vector into England. Rather than editing Whitman's language or cutting sections, Rossetti diplomatically chose to leave out the poems he felt would raise British hackles. In the end, Whitman was not entirely satisfied; "Damn the expurgated books!" he would famously say to Traubel in 1888, "I say damn 'em! The dirtiest book in all the world is the expurgated book! Rossetti expurgated — avowed it in his preface: a sort of nod to Mrs. Grundy."[52] This episode contrasts with Whitman's generally happy depiction of his reception overseas; his approach to editions in other countries and languages was influenced by his experience of the benefits of compromise and the benefits of appearing as if he would never compromise about the transmission of his poetry.

Whitman's work also came under the eye of state-sponsored censorship, as we saw in the previous chapter. In 1873, Anthony Comstock helped get an anti-obscenity act passed by the U.S. Congress that became known as the Comstock Law. Under its authority, Comstock or his sympathizers in the New England Society for the Suppression of Vice contacted the Boston district attorney about the distribution of Whitman's 1881–1882 *Leaves*. He in turn wrote to its publisher, James Osgood, warning that without purging the volume, its further circulation could violate the obscenity act's provisions. The book had already sold around 1,500 copies. Whitman at first agreed to make some alterations, but Osgood replied that the small changes the poet had proposed would not be sufficient to fend off the "official mind": "Ode to a Common Prostitute" and

"A Woman Waits for Me" would have to be "omitted" wholly.[53] On Whitman's refusal by telegram, Osgood presented his minor changes to the district attorney, who pronounced them "not satisfactory." As we saw in the previous chapter, the outcome of a legal case would have been hard to anticipate, but Osgood, without "express[ing] an opinion on the point of whether there *is* a case against the original book" or the book in its amended form, preferred not "to go into court" and declined "to further circulate the book."[54] Most publishers would probably have made the same decision. Whitman went next with the publishers Rees Welsh in Philadelphia, and then David McKay (who took over Rees Welsh in October 1882). In solidarity, the reformer Ezra Heywood distributed copies of the two most "obscene" poems, "A Woman Waits for Me" and "To a Common Prostitute," in provocation of the act. Heywood (who had tangled with Comstock before) was arrested, tried, and acquitted, Whitman's poems having been dismissed as evidence by the judge.[55]

As in so many cases, though, events like the Heywood trial meant that censorship was something from which Whitman benefited, in the short and long terms. His defenders made the occasion into publicity in periodicals, and it came to mark his work as confrontational, valued in the spectrum of American letters for its formal and political challenges to literary norms. At the same time, from a sales standpoint, the public controversy over the work helped in another way: the 1881 edition, once it changed hands to its Philadelphia publisher, David McKay, went on to sell over 6,000 copies despite competition from the Worthington 1860 version. "I feel drawn to Dave McKay," Whitman reflected in 1888, "because he took me up at a time when I was very poor and everybody else passed me by. . . . That was immediately after the Massachusetts affair: the books sold a-hellin'."[56]

In Whitman's case, the connections between celebrity and distribution like those he accomplished with anthologies or the periodical debate about his neglect—the importance of mediation and its aesthetics to achieving fame—were heightened, because the poet did not, at the apex of his renown, circulate personally in the ways celebrities increasingly did. Though he gave yearly lectures, occasionally attended dinners, and took a few excursions involving groups of literati, for the most part Whitman late in his career was less able or inclined to socialize publicly with the frequency and intensity he had earlier, at Pfaff's beer cellar in New York City or on the streets of Washington or Brooklyn.[57] Though literary and other celebrities had long made touring on

the lecture circuit, for example, a part of their repertoire, celebrity increasingly became a matter of public performances, whether hobnobbing with other stars on the town or in "the right circles," or touring widely in the United States as the nineteenth century progressed. A series of strokes and other health challenges, combined with financial limitations, inhibited Whitman's pursuit of such modes of celebrity. Instead the world—Oscar Wilde, Lord Houghton, Bram Stoker, and many others—more and more came to him. Moreover, despite many invitations from overseas, Whitman only left the United States on one occasion. Thus circulation in writing and in images—photographs or engravings in popular or literary magazines, personal book sales by mail, and exchanges of letters—was the formal framework for Whitman's management of his planetary fame.

It was not merely physical incapacity that prevented Whitman from acting the touring celebrity's part. As Blake points out, Whitman's own poetic persona was an obstacle to his being a social darling of the moment, because it proclaimed itself against the fads and politenesses of the day. The poet's doubts about celebrity and reputation inflected his reading in literary history. In his copy of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus's *Thoughts*, for example, Whitman marked a passage describing the emperor Antoninus Pius that reads, "He was a man who looked to what ought to be done, not to the reputation which is got by a man's acts."[58] But in practice, too, despite a desire to circulate before the public in an era in which the lecture was popular in the United States, to say nothing of his ability to generate publicity out of each of the opportunities he did have to travel, Whitman was unable to make such circulation a regular part of his professional life. "I desire to go by degrees through all These States," Whitman wrote in a draft probably from 1858, "especially West and South and through Canada; Lecturing (my own way) henceforth my employment, my means of earning my living."[59] During the Civil War, he reiterated this plan in letters to his mother. Yet when he went to Canada in 1881—his one trip outside the United States—it was not as an orator, but as a tourist, to visit his friend Richard Maurice Bucke in London, Ontario.[60]

Despite never crossing the Atlantic, Whitman was a global celebrity, or at least a Western celebrity with an increasingly strong sense of his incipient global circulation. This conception affected his self-promotion within and around the poetry, particularly late in his life. The image of exile that Whitman helped create was not simply a matter of false advertising. Whit-

man, it has been demonstrated, was a key poet for exiles all over the world, from the Polish Count Adam Gurowski to the Cuban José Martí to a host of more recent writers, artists, musicians, and political figures.[61] In one of his books Gurowski tacitly claims Whitman as a fellow-traveler, condemning the poet's firing from the U.S. Department of the Interior—an action in Gurowski's words "animated by a spirit of narrow-minded persecution which would honor the most fierce Spanish or Roman inquisitor."[62] The earliest known translations into German of his work were ten poems published in 1868 in the *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, translated by Ferdinand Freiligrath, a friend to Karl Marx and periodic exile.[63] These writers' appreciation of Whitman derived in part from his having undergone censorship and a kind of self-imposed distancing, in Camden, from the social life of literary centers like New York and Philadelphia.[64] The banning of the Osgood *Leaves* is frequently mentioned in Whitman editions published outside the United States, resonating with the experience of other persecuted writers, folding Whitman into a planetary struggle for freedom of expression, and offering a contrast with mainstream U.S. poets of his time. The relay between Whitman's depiction of himself in the United States and his reception, often by the medium of translation, by authors who were censored and exiled complicates the assessment of the importance of censorship for Whitman's work and its diasporic significance. A look at Whitman's engagement with translation suggests the degree to which increasingly not just the imagination of such markets but actual access to them gave rise to Whitman's image of being excluded and to a series of grapplings with the importance of America in his work.

WALTANSCHAUUNG

"Fame's Vanity" (1839), published in the *Long Island Democrat* when Whitman was twenty years old, is a moralistic poem taking up a question that would engage him his whole career, that of the relationship between vanity and literary production. In it, fame is by definition multinational:

> Shall I build up a lofty name,
> And seek to have the nations know
> What conscious might dwells in the brain
> That throbs aneath this brow?[65]

To have those nations know one's imaginative might, however, inevitably requires translation, and early in his poetic career, Whitman was suspicious of translations. In one of many mission statements to himself, Whitman wrote, "Put in a passage in some poem to the effect of denouncing and threatening whoever translates my poems into any other tongue without translating every line and doing it all without increase or diminution."[66] This declaration may have evolved into the more reasonable phrase in which Whitman compares himself to a hawk, saying, "I too am untranslatable, / I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world"—one of the most controversial and now famous lines in the poem that was eventually titled "Song of Myself."[67] In his marginal notes on Shelley, too, Whitman shows himself doubtful about translation, marking this passage in a fragment of a Shelley letter: "What is a translation of Homer into English? A person who is ignorant of Greek, need only look at Paradise Lost, or the tragedy of Lear translated into French, to obtain an analogical conception of its worthless and miserable inadequacy."[68]

Whitman's early anxieties about translation are perhaps understandable, given that he was monolingual. Yet we know that Whitman found literary translation history important. In one of his annotations he writes, "As the first translations (worth mentioning) of the Iliad and Odyssey were published in 1675, Shakespeare was probably not intimate with those poems." Later he crossed this out and wrote in the margin, "1600 ? ?" This is a document in which Whitman, doubtless thinking of his own literary path at the same time, carefully tracks the Bard's career, his income, and the social networks by which he came to prominence.[69] During his extensive, self-directed literary historical research in the 1840s and 1850s, he wrote, in reaction to an article about translators of Homer asserting that "great poets are usually great translators": "The greatest poets can never be translators of the poetry of others—that is in any other way than Shakespeare translated—which was by taking the poor or tolerable stuff of others and making it incomparable."[70]

If the visible form of poetry in his early note to self requires exact one-to-one correspondence, "without increase or diminution," spirituality would seem, in perhaps a Benjaminian way, to be the truest medium of translation in "Starting from Paumanok":

> Here spirituality the translatress, the openly-avow'd,
> The ever-tending, the finalè of visible forms,

The satisfier, after due long-waiting now advancing,
Yes here comes my mistress the soul.[71]

"Translatress" here may indicate acts of transformation or conversion, but it is also tinged with the older root meaning of translate, to move or transfer, drawing together the spatial and linguistic dimensions of the concept. The isomorphism of original to translation matters less than the drift, a kind of distillation of meaning without referential exactness to material instantiations like the words of the poet. Rather than think of this as a contradiction, we might for the sake of analysis regard Whitman's attitude to translation as woven from two strands: one, a poetical-rhetorical function, and the other, a practical, strategic component tied to his self-presentation in the marketplace.

Translation is a key trope in Whitman's verse, one of several terms axial to his description of the role of poetry in the world. Whitman calls himself a translator of forms, ideas, concepts, the messages of birds, the falling rain, and so on, often embodying the entities he wants his readers to experience in order to widen their perspectives. Rather than the threats to would-be translators that we find in his earlier note to self, here we find warnings about the limitations of such poetic transports: "And I swear I will never translate myself at all," he says in "Song of Myself," "only to him or her who privately stays with me in the open air."[72] Distribution's power to carry a text to a reader is overridden by the power of intimate communication, a check on the grand dreams of textual saturation that can also be found in Whitman's poems "Whoever You Are Holding Me Now in Hand" and "Are You the New Person Drawn Toward Me?," the latter of which reads:

Are you the new person drawn toward me?
To begin with take warning, I am surely far different from what
    you suppose;
Do you suppose you will find in me your ideal?
Do you think it so easy to have me become your lover?
Do you think the friendship of me would be unalloy'd satisfaction?
Do you think I am trusty and faithful?
Do you see no further than this façade, this smooth and tolerant
    manner of me?
Do you suppose yourself advancing on real ground toward a real
    heroic man?
Have you no thought O dreamer that it may be all maya, illusion? (*LG* 91–92, 103)

The instant translation of "maya, illusion" here belies the barrier that cannot be crossed, built as much by the unrelentingness of nine straight rhetorical questions as by the Vedic distinction between illusion and reality. The poem offers no translation of Whitman, only a caveat lector, a confrontational invitation that leaves the resolution of the relation between illusion and reality to us. There are moments in which the poet takes this warning farther. In "As Consequent, Etc." Whitman writes that the echoes of time carried by seashells are "Whisper'd reverberations, chords for the ear of the West joyously sounding, / Your tidings old, yet ever new and untranslatable."[73] That there be things acknowledged as untranslatable is key to Whitman's vision, to demarcating the experience of materiality and the spiritual despite the conceptual interpenetration of the two toward which his poetry often bends.

This stance toward language is sometimes called in translation studies the "Untranslatable." As Emily Apter describes it, the Untranslatable can be a "deflationary gesture toward the expansionism and gargantuan scale of world-literary endeavors" (3). In Whitman's case, the expansionism of what he perceived as writerly conformity, a set of rhetorical habits that he perceived to have become literary marketplace gatekeeping standards, might constitute one motive for his pose as Untranslatable. But more broadly, Apter observes, the assumption that literature can be translated at all has meant that scholars have not tended to prioritize "incommensurability," the multiplicative potential of untranslatable terms, or flat-out translation failure in their discussions of what constitutes literature, literary aesthetics, and their histories. She calls for appreciations of "non-translation, mistranslation, incomparability and untranslatability." The Untranslatable may, with such an appreciation in mind, be thought of as "a linguistic form of creative failure with homeopathic uses" (4, 20). As such, Whitman's early suspicions about literal translation are perhaps not to be dismissed entirely: while his note to self seems to partake of a monolingualism that cleaves to a national paradigm, his use of untranslatability in his poetry, his maintenance of it as a mystical self-Othering and a means of untaming literature, or redefining it against formal rules and elite society's purposes, has been a major appeal of his work for readers worldwide. That is to say, untranslatability, no less than the presumption of translation, functions in contradictory but productive ways in Whitman's career and writing.

As he grew in poetic fame, Whitman encouraged translations. He also checked them when he could, asking friends or acquaintances to look over or

even back-translate copies sent to him, reporting the degree to which *Leaves of Grass*'s spirit had been captured. Rumors even circulated that he had authored a translation of Henry Murger's "La Ballade du Désespéré," a translation he often recited. (Whitman claimed to have modified a previous translation, but asked Traubel to "put it in a light" with the press, "to stop the reports.")[74] The poet's growing interest and collaboration in producing his foreign translations is evidenced in the relationship with Rudolf Schmidt discussed above, and by his correspondence with the Irish writer, editor, and translator Thomas William Rolleston and related exchanges with Karl Knortz and John Fitzgerald Lee. These conversations show Whitman's friends' attentiveness to the poet's curiosity about his circulation in all parts. "Your books and portraits have in the last month circulated amongst the ladies of my acquaintance," Schmidt writes, "for especially it is the women who are your friends."[75] Rolleston's letters meticulously paint a picture of Whitman's spreading influence among intellectuals in Ireland and Germany. Standish O'Grady is "a lover and a disciple."[76] Dr. Rudolph Doehn has included him in his "comprehensive properly historical and philosophical account of American literature," from which Rolleston concludes that "he must be a rather wide-minded man, for he is not very greatly offended at you."[77] Rolleston sends tales of Whitman's reception by a group of literary enthusiasts in Dresden in 1883. Of the projected Russian translation, Rolleston wrote the poet in 1881, "The book would doubtless be prohibited by Government but that would not hinder its spread much, rather the contrary."[78] While the Russian translation proposed by Lee was not completed, Whitman's response to Lee (in the form of a preface addressed to the Russian people) is indicative of his attempts to capitalize on such already-existing influences and to craft an international, and internationalist, authorial persona.

Whitman imagined the distribution of the German translation to include not just continentals but German-speaking denizens of the United States. "How is the publication of the German version getting on?" he wrote to Rolleston in 1884. "My guess would be that when fairly afloat it might have quite as much sale here in the United States — as in Germany — perhaps more. . . . Two or three central book jobbing houses should be fixed upon, one in New York, one in Chicago & one in San Francisco."[79] In the previous chapter we saw a similar suggestion by John Camden Hotten, who proposed selling copies of his London-printed selection of Whitman's poetry in New York City. Ferdinand

Freiligrath, Whitman's first translator in Germany, had earlier collaborated with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow on translations that were published on two continents. In 1843, for example, Longfellow wrote to Freiligrath praising his and his wife's German translations of two of his poems, which he had seen in a U.S.-based German-language paper.[80]

Whitman's rough draft of a preface for Rolleston's German edition of *Leaves*, held at the Library of Congress, suggests some of the possible tensions of managing the relationship between Whitman's U.S.-centric poetry and his visions of a wider scope. After claiming his goal as having been, somewhat ambiguously, "to practically start an internationality of poems," Whitman writes that

> The final aim of the United States of America is ~~entire humanity's good will~~ the solidarity of the world. What ~~all else~~ fails so far ~~in doing~~, may yet be accomplished by song radiating, clustering, concentrating from all the lands of the earth, into a ~~a~~ new chorus and diapason. ~~A main~~ One purpose ~~in~~ of my chants is to cordially salute ~~all~~ all foreign ~~other~~ ~~those~~ lands in America's name. And happy most happy shall I be, ~~above all the rest,~~ to gain ~~a~~ entrance and hearing among the great Germanic peoples.

Striking "all else . . . in doing," the United States' specific and practical political, moral, and economic presence in the world becomes diffuse, the effectiveness of poetry less something at odds with industry or politics, more something to be interrogated along with those modes of action. Whitman's phraseological struggle over how to talk about non-U.S. countries (those lands, other lands, foreign lands—and then, all, or not all?) attests to the novelty for him of writing in this mode and for this audience.

If he had not done so already, Whitman was persuaded to modify his position on absolute translation accuracy when faced with the realization of his work in translation. In the first letter in which he proposed a full German translation of *Leaves*, Rolleston gently coached Whitman on the complications entailed by translation by offering a translation of part of the book by Doehn that he had mentioned, *Aus dem amerikanischen Dichterwald* (1881). "I translate, as you mayn't be familiar with German," he begins politely, and then, in short order, offers two options for translating a single term stacked on top of each other ("deficient" and "attenuated"), and then in another spot, two more but with one struck out ("~~enemies~~ opponents"; see fig. 12).[81] "Are you sure about the double text of English and German?" Rolleston asked in a later letter,

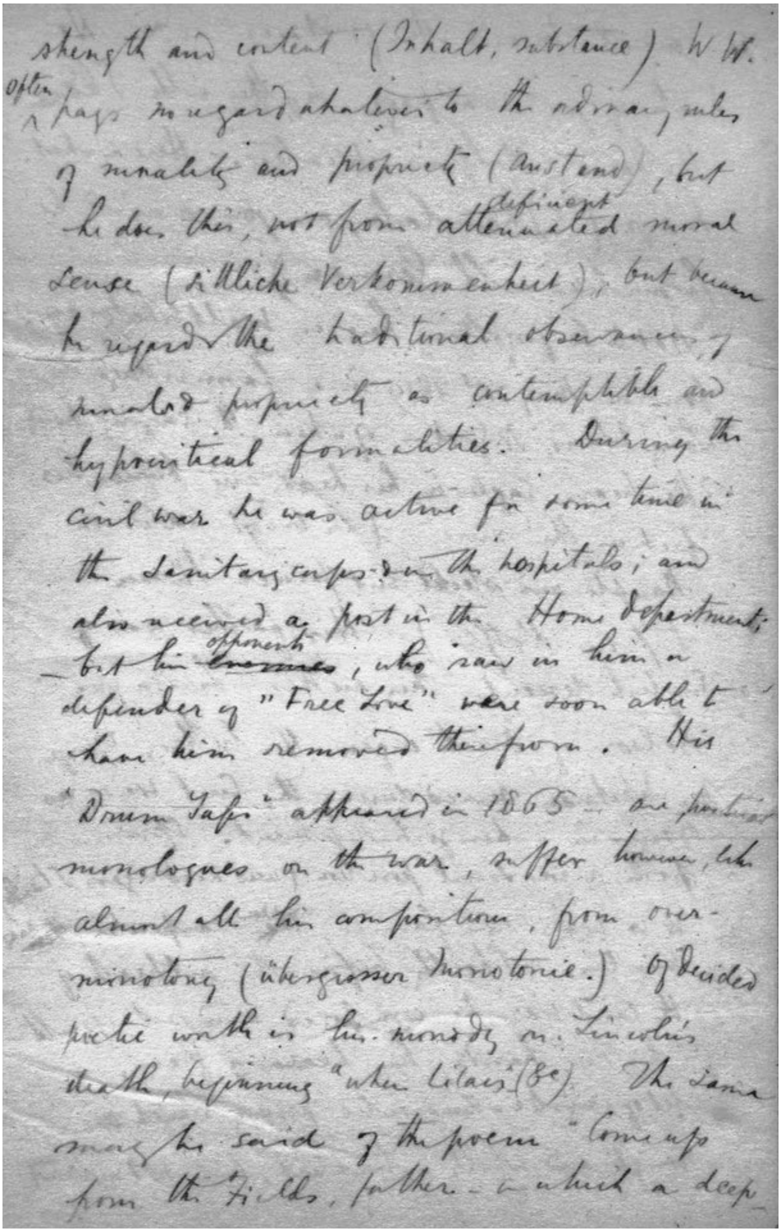

strength and content (Inhalt, substance) W. W.
often pays no regard whatever to the ordinary rules
of morality and propriety (Anstand), but
he does this, not from attenuated deficient moral
sense (sittliche Verkommenheit), but because
he regards the traditional observances of
morality & propriety as contemptible and
hypocritical formalities. During the
civil war he was active for some time in
the sanitary corps in the hospitals; and
also received a post in the Home department;
but his ~~enemies~~ opponents, who saw in him a
defender of "Free Love" were soon able to
have him removed therefrom. His
"Drum Taps" appeared in 1865 — our poetical
monologues on the war, suffer however, like
almost all his compositions, from over-
monotony (übergrosser Monotonie.) Of decided
poetic worth is his monody on Lincoln's
death, beginning "When Lilacs" &c. The same
may be said of the poem "Come up
from the Fields, father — in which a deep

FIGURE 12. Detail of a page of a letter from T. W. H. Rolleston to Walt Whitman, 17 September 1881, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection. Here Rolleston corrects his own translation and offers multiple options for translating particular words. Courtesy of the *Walt Whitman Archive*.

after the poet had insisted on facing-page versions in the two languages. "It seems to me as if it would give the book a formidably scientific appearance," he hinted, playing on Whitman's book-aesthetic sensibility, and then added, "Would people buy largely a book of poems in which half was in an unknown tongue?"[82] Rolleston's cultivation of the poet's sense of translation and its complications worked, in the end. While Whitman expressed his preference for "what you say of getting the carefullest, technical, grammatical (and ? idiomatic) German assistance and collaboration as you go along," he nonetheless conceded to Rolleston in December 1881 that "what you say against the two texts is sound, & I am content (retracting my former suggestion)."[83] The poet characteristically re-retracted his willingness to go without the English in April 1884—it was hard to resist the authoritative feel of books with parallel texts like Longfellow's translation of Dante, which Whitman owned and annotated—but ultimately the book was published to his satisfaction in German translation alone.[84] Or mostly alone: Rolleston's homage to the Untranslatable appears on *Grashalme*'s title page, where he and Knortz put, in English, the following epigraph:

„I do not trouble my spirit to vindicate
itself or to be understood,
I see that the elementary laws never
apologize."
—WALT WHITMAN.

EIDÓLON OF EXILE

Whitman's reputation as having been rejected by his countrymen was largely an illusion created in the midst of his increasing international distribution by an appeal that claimed Whitman's poetry was beyond its time and uncontainable by a U.S. national frame. Still, the contradictions of such a position were clear to many, including his closest friends. Horace Traubel, increasingly in charge of Whitman's correspondence and keeping an eye on the poet's finances during the last four years of his life, reports a representative back-and-forth, triggered by Whitman declaring critics to be "for the most part ignoramuses choked with prejudice carrying a club." Traubel replied:

> "But it looks as if the good would win out: don't you call that enough good?" . . . W. retorted: "You are devilish cute: maybe we can: at any rate you have scored a point on me. The fact remains however that the main body of criticism still remains either ignorant of me or against me." "Well — why shouldn't it? You've got to give the laggards time to catch up: you say so in your own poems."[85]

Time and again Whitman drew Traubel back into conversations like this one, in which the paradox of his isolation and his insistence on his being a poet ahead of his time was the centerpiece of conversation.[86] That the difficulties of a poet out of place and time preoccupied Whitman we also know from his marginalia and annotations. In one of his notebooks — just beneath his recording of Freiligrath's name — he copied the passage from Luke 4:24, "No prophet is acceptable in his own country."[87] In his copy of Omar Khayyam's *Rubaiyat* he marked and underlined a sentence from the introduction: "Omar's Epicurean Audacity of Thought and Speech caused him to be regarded askance in his own Time and Country." Two pages later, he underlined the passage "For whatever Reason, however, Omar, as before said, has never been popular in his own Country."[88] Did Whitman identify with the Persian poet in these underlinings, or simply associate the figure of the poet with that of the exile? It is difficult to say.[89]

Whitman, however, did not regard Camden as a city of exile. "He spoke of the cities he liked best," Traubel writes, "Brooklyn, Washington, New Orleans, St. Louis, New York. 'Camden was originally an accident — but I shall never be sorry I was left over in Camden! It has brought me blessed returns.' He looked at me affectionately."[90] There is a note of caring for the local ego in this expression — Traubel was a child of nearby Germantown — but still, it situates Camden in relation to major U.S. publishing centers. Whitman had good reason not to consider Camden an exilic space. It is not just that it doesn't get more American than New Jersey, or that Camden was at the nexus of major road- and waterways, or that Traubel ran Whitman's literary errands and correspondence tirelessly, keeping him connected to the outside world. But the world visited *him* there — writers, aristocrats, lawyers, literati, and preachers famous and obscure, a steady stream of visitors from all over to his small house across the river from Philadelphia.

To count Whitman an exile is, therefore, to have to reckon with an image

more than a reality. Yet it is important to assess Whitman's notion of such images. Whitman's poem "Prayer of Columbus" is often summoned for close readings to tap Whitman's sense of himself as an overlooked seer; other poems and prose pieces address this theme directly and indirectly. I want to return to the poem that was rejected in January 1876 just before Whitman wrote his *West Jersey Press* piece, "Eidólons," because a reading of it in light of the affair suggests the linking of a poetic imagination of distribution and the creation of a marketplace image. Refashioning his "eidólon"—something of an Untranslatable, as we will see—is what Whitman went on to do after publishing the poem in *Scribner's* failed. He may have felt licensed to exaggerate his relationship to the mainstream press in the wake of that poem (and by extension its ethics) being refused. Censorship, as Whitman more or less cast the magazine's action in the *West Jersey Press* essay, led to an image of the poet whose strategy harmonized with the lesson of "Eidólons," which in turn heralded increasing acceptance and fame at home.

In the composition of "Eidólons," Whitman had done everything it might seem that the mainstream, as represented by *Scribner's*, wanted. Rather than using the devices of long lists or kaleidoscopic vignettes, for which he had been criticized, Whitman employs a refrain, set off visually in a way reminiscent of "O Captain! My Captain!" and unusual in his poetry in general. The word "eidólon" appears in some form in the final lines of each of the poem's stanzas—reminiscent, for example, of "Vino Santo" by H. H. or "The Marriage Knot" by R. H. Stoddard, both published in the January 1876 issue of *Scribner's*. Like J. Soule Smith's "Self-Revealed," which appeared in the December 1875 *Scribner's*, Whitman's poem features stanzas of four lines each and a framing device in which the mortal encounters the supernatural, precipitating a rethinking of the place of the self in time:[91]

I met a seer,
Passing the hues and objects of the world,
The fields of art and learning, pleasure, sense,
To glean eidólons.

Put in thy chants said he,
No more the puzzling hour nor day, nor segments, parts, put in,
Put first before the rest as light for all and entrance-song of all,
That of eidólons.[92]

Sustaining this chantlike form is the poet's tight control over diction and topoi, as "Eidólons" eschews slang, colorful particulars, and sexual topics while maintaining the didactic tone familiar to nineteenth-century American readers:

> Thy body permanent,
> The body lurking there within thy body,
> The only purport of the form thou art, the real I myself,
> An image, an eidólon.

The body that offended with its sexual frankness in his most notorious poems here is made phantasmatic, material principally in its rippling temporal presence as form.

The poem is about America, to be sure:

> The present now and here,
> America's busy, teeming, intricate whirl,
> Of aggregate and segregate for only thence releasing,
> To-day's eidólons.

But then America is ultimately dissolved in a universal spiritual evanescence in this poem, its "present" and to-dayness underlined in their temporariness, as all countries become equal fodder over time:

> These with the past,
> Of vanish'd lands, of all the reigns of kings across the sea,
> Old conquerors, old campaigns, old sailors' voyages,
> Joining eidólons.

The "full-orb'd eidólon" that is Whitman's poetic oeuvre in the poem's last line resonates with the round orb of a potentially global audience. Eidólons are both image and impression over space and time—both the butterfly and its flapping wings, shaping time and space, but in a way that retains the character of the material original. This is not what Whitman's contemporaries who called themselves spiritualists would term the doctrine of correspondences, though William Sloane Kennedy in an early appreciation of the poem suggests as much.[93] Rather, all remains material, eidólons and the things from which they emanate depending upon each other for their synchronic and diachronic

distinctiveness, even as the import for Whitman's readers is intended to be spiritual, "All space, all time . . . Fill'd with eidólons only."

One might view the poem as suggesting that eidólons aggregate toward an ever-progressive future ("purport and end"; "higher stages yet"). Alternatively, eidólons might be the fabric of an evanescent historicity of endless but not necessarily meaningful transformation ("ever the permanent life of life"; "ceaseless exercises, exaltations"). Whitman's poetry often lends itself to competing readings of the relation between historical materialism and spiritual or what Whitman called "religious" meaning. But for my purposes, it is less the definitional than the distributive quality of the eidólon that is interesting: a fantasy of the already distributed, the emissive and transformative qualities immanent in all endeavors, all of the moods of the poet, even, before they hit the page. The tension between fashioning that image that shapes all time and space to follow and its immersion in a sea of other eidólons is unresolved by the poem:

> The ostent evanescent;
> The substance of an artist's mood, or savan's studies long,
> Or warrior's, martyr's, hero's toils,
> To fashion his Eidólon.

Ironically, it was precisely Whitman's eidólon that got the poem rejected. Explaining his rationale for rejecting the poet's work to Edmund Clarence Stedman, J. G. Holland wrote that Whitman's "personal character is disgusting. Much of his work is too nasty to be taken up into a respectable house —work that he has never repented of," and as a result "it has seemed to me to be my duty to American literature to discountenance him entirely."[94] But perhaps the lesson to us today of Whitman's coincident turn to the international stage and to a pose of shaming his country is that, as eidólon, this strategy as much as his poetry effected the persistence of his personality.

WE ARE IN THIS STRUGGLE, too; we are saluted and have to salute in return when Whitman, in "Salut au Monde!," hails "you of centuries hence, when you listen to me!"[95] We need not resolve the paradoxes of affiliation this chapter has taken up, but a look at Whitman's navigations of his translation can help clarify why they manifested in the ways they did, both as paradoxes and as

potential affiliations. What if we regarded Whitman as, over the course of his publishing history, becoming both more self-centered (in a double sense of solipsistic but also self-aware) *and* more planetary at the same time? His world's affordances, after all, its thresholds of sensibility and its multinational critical sphere, had changed from the days when his literary career began, no less than had the conception of the inevitability of the Union in the face of the Civil War. His poem "Poets to Come" is an instructive example; little studied in the U.S. literary academy to this day, the poem was frequently translated outside its borders. The *Walt Whitman Archive* website features a section with comparative translations in six languages that suggest the quite different purposes to which foreign translators and publishers put the poem, which in English seems to emblematize Whitman's handoff of his reputation to a more appreciative future.[96] The poem's success outside the United States seems to affirm Whitman's predictions. But then, would the poem have been as compelling had Whitman written it without already having a sense of a global audience?

In their landmark attempt to study an American literary figure in global circulation, *Walt Whitman and the World*, Ed Folsom and Gay Wilson Allen claim that "until well into the twentieth century," Whitman "was more highly regarded and more widely read in several European countries than he was in the United States" (3). This may be so, but it is a claim that would require more precise delineation of its key terms and that would be difficult to demonstrate empirically in the absence of definitive broad-scale histories of literary distribution and reception for most countries. Yet even a recent attempt at such a global analysis of literary regard and circulation, in which Whitman is a recurring example, is haunted by the image of Whitman's imaginary exile. Pascale Casanova's *The World Republic of Letters* studies the development of major world literary works from a global standpoint, and helps us see how *within* the idealistic realm of the production of literature an economic logic operates to shape aesthetic evolution—how asymmetries of "stylistic novelty" among authors are the products of a contest for literary reputation or a rejection of that contest. The notion of the "universal" is a complex construction, in this view; translators working to smuggle literature from literarily marginal nation-states into the taste capitals of the world such as Paris are the heroes. Casanova claims Whitman as, before his internationalization, among the "deprived and dominated writers on the periphery of the literary world." The translator, poet, and gadabout Valéry Larbaud said of Whitman that "he was

neglected in the United States. . . . It was therefore in Europe alone that he could be recognized and that he was recognized"—a comment Casanova takes as true and symptomatic of larger trends.[97]

It is not a little ironic that we still live with the eidólon given us by Whitman and his supporters in the late nineteenth century. For Whitman, image and substance were interrelated, not phantoms of each other, and his engagement of an international publishing and marketing realm figured authorship as both spiritual and material practice. "Kossuth in captivity, and Mazzini in exile—all great rebels and innovators, exhibit the highest phases of the artist spirit," Whitman wrote.[98] Yet exile for Whitman is a poetic exile, more a matter of time than of space. "The proof of a poet," his or her country's absorption of the poetry, need not happen within the poet's lifetime, as Whitman sees it. Still, however embracingly conceived, the limit of the country as a standard of judgment shows Whitman to be a product of his literary-national times. "He plays the role of the suffering literary genius—the great unappreciated," wrote Whitman's editorial antagonist J. G. Holland, "and has so far seemed to find his account in it."[99] The tension between Whitman's valorization of exile and his self-marketing resonates even today in the poet's popular and critical reception. In fashioning his eidólon Whitman is perhaps less to blame than his followers; or perhaps there is no blame to be assigned here, but questions to pursue together, about the unfolding of radical ideas in the multifarious marketplaces for nineteenth-century literature. Folsom has recently found Whitman's works "announced in newspapers and widely advertised for sale from the 1860s forward in India, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand": much, perhaps most, of the story of Whitman's planetary diffusion has yet to be told.[100]

"World Literature paradigms in general," as Emily Apter summarizes one critical commonplace, either reinforce "old national, regional, and ethnic literary alignments" or project "a denationalized planetary screen that ignores the deep structures of national belonging and economic interest contouring the international culture industry" (177). Whitman's poetry first set sail internationally during the early stages of development of that international culture industry, but its appropriation by a range of translators, culture brokers, politicians, and other writers makes it hard to speak in a totalizing way about its effects. The international publishing world was from an early stage a factor in his "American" creations, not just in terms of content or implied audiences but

as a way of understanding the United States' aesthetic and political potential. The next chapter turns to the internal "other" nations of the United States, the South and Indian Country, to test the limits of Whitman's inclusiveness from what seems to be the inside. Among the portraits hanging in Whitman's house in Camden were those of Rudolf Schmidt—his face a symbol of the opening of world circulation to Whitman's poetic visions—and the Seminole leader Osceola. The latter's meaning, it seems, could not have been more different.

One peculiarity about the Indians, under all circumstances —
they are hard to be on thee-and-thou terms with.
—"Paumanok" (Walt Whitman, ca. 1849–1851)

Walt Whitman closes his eyes. He is a small man and his
beard is ludicrous on the reservation, absolutely insane.
— Sherman Alexie (1995)

What is a poet saying
Down by a Georgia pine
Where a broken body's swaying
Hung to a cotton line . . . ?

With his folk all burdened down,
Pinched by hunger's pang,
Whether he's white or brown,
What shall a poet sing . . . ?
— Don West, "What Shall a Poet Sing" (1940)

CHAPTER FOUR ✷ WHITMAN IN UNEXPECTED PLACES

While Walt Whitman was finalizing his *Leaves of Grass* in Brooklyn in early 1855, another ambitious young man was preparing a different kind of testament to his spiritual and material ideals. Twenty-one-year-old Micah Caswell, a child of Maine, had spent the end of 1854 touring the South Carolina–Georgia border as an agent of the American Tract Society. A student at Furman University and profoundly religious, Caswell composed a detailed report for the Society of his attempts to distribute its Bibles, devotionals, and tracts to the people of Barnwell, Aiken, and Graniteville. He'd done a good job, selling over 660 works and gifting 87, after visiting with more than 200 households during his seven-week trip.[1] But he had also experienced disappointment, frustration, and sadness. It wasn't that south-

erners did not read: even the impoverished mill workers in Graniteville's corporate housing, known as the "Blue Row," wanted to read and accepted tracts from him. And his sales records make clear that it wasn't that northern religious colporteurs were entirely unwelcome in the South, though Caswell might have had a harder time in the backcountry than in these small towns. To be sure, it helped that the Tract Society had excised all discussion of slavery from the books he circulated.

But the elite landowners that he visited tended to look down on his efforts. "I seldom left a house," Caswell recorded with mixed satisfaction and dismay, "except a rich professing Christian's, without leaving some [books], either by sale or gift." Furthermore, the strong-minded individualism and patriarchal hierarchicalism of his middle-class readers could be daunting. At one house, Caswell left tracts with a woman whose absent husband he wished to engage in a conversion effort. When he returned later, the woman reported her husband had destroyed the tracts. Giving her another and colluding in a furtive strategy—telling her to read it on the sly—Caswell returned again, only to be dismissed by the husband himself. "I shall believe what I damned please," the man declared, "and drink what I damned please & no one can prevent me." Another man liked reading, but not religious reading; many houses had no Bible. The mill workers' living conditions depressed Caswell: if these "ignorant & innocent people were frequently visited and encouraged many might be brought into the ark of safety," he lamented. "May the Lord bless my weak efforts. My distribution has been almost gratuitous."[2]

Caswell's experience seems to help explain those low sales numbers for Whitman's books in the South that we saw in earlier chapters. It testifies to the sheer effort necessary to get books into rural areas of the United States, and it shows the pervasive religiosity that, as we will see, shaped reactions to Whitman's work in the South. Yet at the same time, Caswell's distributing struggles were exacerbated by the very spiritual heterogeneity and individualism that might have made Whitman's writing appealing to some in the South. Part and parcel of that heterogeneity and unpredictability, the under-the-table, private reading against the grain of authority that Caswell tapped into was not uncommon—a practice hardly limited to women with domineering husbands, as Frederick Douglass's narrative of his life while a southern slave attests.

This chapter takes up a question inspired by the historiographical threads dangling from Micah Caswell's experience of distribution: Where *wasn't* Walt

Whitman? It tells stories about two groups of readers that Whitman's work supposedly did not reach during his lifetime: southerners and Native Americans. These two distribution fields, as Whitman imagines them in his poetry, are linked, yet face opposite directions. In order to fulfill his self-imposed, explicitly stated role as the first truly national poet, Whitman had to imagine and to portray himself as a southern presence, even an emanation of the South. On the other hand, despite his claims to representativeness not just of the States but of mankind, distribution of his works to American Indians was not only something he did not imagine, it was in fact threatening to his understanding of the United States' continental and racial destiny. Neither to the South nor to Indian Country did his work see much physical distribution in his lifetime—nor, as far as we have long been told, much other circulation or discussion. But I will show that readers in these spaces did find Whitman, and that he drifted to them by many means. Those readers did not find in him a particularly "national" poet, nor did they embrace him with an unqualified "thee-and-thou" feeling. This chapter, then, explores blind spots, closetings, distancings, and, in short, Whitman's failures, from his own perspective, to a degree, and certainly from "ours," at least in the assessments of literary historians and critics. At the same time, the fascinating and politically conflicted readings of Whitman to be found in these supposedly Whitman-vacant spaces reverse the critical lens, giving us an opportunity to broaden our own literary historical vision.

The yoking in this chapter may seem odd. It is deliberately so, inspired by recent work in Native American and southern studies that revisits questions of identity, aesthetics, and affiliation by way of queer studies.[3] Whitman's poetry's imagination of its effect depended simultaneously on the South as a potential audiential space and Indian Country as *not* such a space, rather than on a dream of unlimited spatio-temporal circulation.[4] Whitman's visions of unity and of the poet's representative capacity were built on a double-pronged queer embrace that takes a specifically homoerotic form (young men linked across cities by love, a uniquely "adhesive" emotional bonding) but also features the all-encompassing, omnivorous quality we have seen developed in his internationalized poetry. In turn, this vision relies on competing temporal queernesses: that of the time of Native American racial destiny (vanishing, for Whitman, even as the old world's feudalism vanishes) and of the inclusion of the South, particularly after the Civil War, in an embrace that requires

erasing or rewriting past times. Taken together, these dependencies and the way southern and Native readers respond to them complicate the notion that literary distribution was nationally unifying in the post–Civil War era. If it sometimes served as a platform for national belonging or resistance to that belonging, textual distribution often shaped imaginations not usefully describable in national terms.

Don West's question, "What shall a poet sing?," posed in the face of poverty and racist violence—whether in West's Appalachia or on American Indian reservations—is the hinge between these questions of belonging and the aesthetic challenge offered by Whitman's poetry. Any publication may be said to aim at changing its readers in at least a small way, and poetry often plays formally on a specific set of aesthetic "feelings." By bringing American scenes of all kinds to his readers, and shearing away the laminating metrical forms and thematics of traditional poetry, Whitman would simultaneously express, define, and give hope to "America." To create this sensibility, as we have seen, required cultivating in Whitman's potential readers a sense of his distribution. To change the very valuation of poetry—to release readerly sensibilities from the inherited evaluative matrix by which "age vexes age," as Whitman put it—is, despite its liberatory aura, an imperial project, laced with commands and evocative of philanthropic reform's neocolonial imperativeness. Not content with unsettling one's sense of the literary sphere, Whitman's poetry sings to overhaul the sensibility, to change what one admits or identifies as poetry. Citizenship in this new poetic demos will depend, then, upon an immersive, emotional experience of Whitman's text and a willingness to yield to a new sovereignty of American personality. This goal presented the poet with a twofold task when it came to addressing his southern and Native American readers. First, he had to persuade them to overcome resistance not just to his visions of the body and of religion, but to specific content that might alienate such readers, such as his stereotypical "vanishing Indian" take on indigeneity, or his emphasis on antislavery and social equality. Whitman had to convince such readers to embrace his aesthetic innovations as well, despite the centrality of traditional literary forms not just to the patriarchal elite of the South, but to the resistance efforts of African American and American Indian people who for over a century had been using both religious and secular artistic forms to make their appeal.[5]

Whitman, in deciding that a poet should sing an imagined America, put himself in a difficult position with respect to audiences in the South and in Indian Country. But in turning to the body as the site of unity, Whitman, it has been claimed, drew on his own queer situation (both as a man desiring men and as a poet on the margins of literary power) to reach out across boundaries. "I will make inseparable cities with their arms about each other's necks," he wrote in an apostrophe to democracy, "By the love of comrades, / By the manly love of comrades" (*LG* 1891–1892, 99). Whitman's era thought about sexuality differently from ours, but Whitman's nonreproductivity and his insistence that male affection was a matter of civic bonding made his queerness particularly a matter of politics. In the South and in Indian Country, though, there are some added wrinkles as a result of the colonial relationship of "American" civics to these spaces. Mark Rifkin argues that a Native queer literary vision produces a critique of hegemonic politics by way of the daily emotional experience of a body colonized and scrutinized by the state and cultural sexual norms:

> The effort to deny the relevance of individual and collective feeling for political identification and decision making by categorizing it as merely personal depends on an a priori segregation of sensation from what constitutes the polity as such. Those whose supposedly nonnormative sexual and gender identities are denigrated as personal pathology, then, are in a particularly good position to articulate the potential damage done by the acceptance of settler notions of social life, including what properly constitutes politics.[6]

Whitman at first seems to fit the bill here. "We never really talked about politics," Whitman's longtime companion, the southerner Peter Doyle, told Horace Traubel and Maurice Bucke when they interviewed him about his relationship with Whitman.[7] On the streets of Washington and in the stories about Whitman circulated by his friends, the two men's affection itself represented an alternative social vision, flouting pathologies of heteronormativity (and of relations between men of North and South). Yet at the same time, Whitman again and again encoded in his poetry the consummate settler myth—unchallenged, despite his overturning of so many others—of the vanishing Indian. And while he enfolded the South rhetorically, Whitman's works, we are told, did not take hold there during the nineteenth century, not least because his most famous utterances either celebrated the Union (as in his Lin-

coln elegies) or violated aesthetic and moral norms close to the heart of the patriarchal South (as in much of *Leaves*). If the nation needed to acknowledge its many forms of affiliation and intimacy in order to be truly united, why did Whitman not include Native Americans in his vision of the continent's future — why did they have to vanish in such a hackneyed way in his writings?

I want to queer these visions even further by suggesting that Whitman was read in positive, if contentious, ways in both of these communities to which his work was not in any strenuous way distributed. The uses to which Whitman was put by this chapter's two central figures, Muscogee Creek writer Alexander Posey and Alabama farmer John Newton Johnson, within the complex topography of nonnormativity in Whitman's century, complicate Rifkin's vision of queer critical leverage. Whitman was an important figure for enabling the kind of articulation Rifkin discusses; he could also be the "small man" that Sherman Alexie labels him in his poem "Defending Walt Whitman." It was a world in which texts and economic resources (as West's evocation of poverty "white or brown" insists) were unevenly distributed, and in which visions of Native sovereignty, southern self-determination, and American nationalism were all in mutually shaping flux, envisioned in complex ways through literary endeavor. Given different contexts of distribution and reception, Whitman's transformative valorization of the body and its feelings could be taken up in fantastically different ways.[8]

Posey and Johnson both encountered Whitman during times of rapid political transformation in their homelands: for Posey and his fellow Creeks living in Indian Territory, the General Allotment Act of 1887 — though they received exemption from it at first — heralded the transformation of tribal land titles held in common to individual allotments. Incursion from squatters and from settlers seeking unallotted land opened the way to reformers' claims of the continued need for U.S. sovereignty, the establishment of federal courts, and a stronger U.S. presence generally. Public schools and missions were established in the Creek Nation; the railroad came; and Creeks became divided between progressives and conservatives. Posey's literary and journalistic career was bound up with these transformations, as he held both political office and a position as a publishing writer on Creek and pan-tribal issues. Johnson's north Alabama was undergoing Reconstruction at the time he encountered Whitman's work in 1874. By the time his correspondence with Whitman ended, Reconstruction had come to an end, Jim Crow was solidly in place, sharecrop-

ping was an economic norm, and an uneasy peace, rooted in violently enforced white supremacy, had been established in the States. Johnson and Posey (and subsequent Native writers) talk both *back to* and *by way of* Whitman, not just resisting or selectively deploying him, but weaving him into their own contexts and purposes in ways that are hard to reduce to simple political stances or aesthetic judgments. Whitman read in unexpected ways, in unexpected places, to adapt Philip Deloria's phrase, shows us some of distribution's queer effects.

DISTRIBUTION IN DIXIE

Book historians have brought us a long way from H. L. Mencken's characterization of the South as the "Sahara of the Bozart," but the myth of a print-poor Dixie dies hard.[9] It was, after all, to the South *as* Indian Country that books, in the hands of Spanish invaders both military and religious, first came to North America. Dependent alike upon imports of printed material from Europe, the print worlds of the North and South shared many of the features described earlier in this book. "The North-South divide remains firmly entrenched as the organizing principle of nationalist literary histories," Anna Brickhouse notes, but informational flows between the sections were constant and rich. The South was also woven into an international publishing web that overlapped with but extended outside that of the North.

Still, there were important distinctions. Literary distribution in the South was, in the antebellum period, profoundly shaped by legal censorship. "In response to David Walker's *Appeal . . . to the Coloured Citizens of the World*" of 1829, Amy Thomas writes, "Georgia passed the first law prohibiting the teaching of reading to individual slaves." Walker was a free black man, but the fear of widespread dissemination of ideas like his, together with the terrors attendant upon Nat Turner's rebellion shortly afterward, drove state legislation across the South prohibiting "the writing, printing, and distribution of antislavery materials" and the teaching of reading or writing to slaves.[10] Even as the South saw the creation of an entirely new writing system among the Cherokee people and its rapid adoption in schools, manuscript, and print in the Cherokee nation, the southern black population was increasingly barred from obtaining literacy altogether. Its entire population was increasingly shut off from abolitionist debate by state and local restrictions on the circulation of antislavery literature.[11]

There were exceptions. Before the war, "Washington, D.C., was the southern city with the most schools for free African Americans—at least seventy-two," Thomas writes. "Nashville, Savannah, and Charleston also had many such schools, as did Mobile, thanks to guarantees made to Creoles under the Louisiana Purchase."[12] The landscape of southern reading for all races was uneven, as local conditions, distances from markets or the attentions of religious colporteurs, the enforcement or non-enforcement of literacy laws, and fluctuating white paranoia affected the flow of manuscript and print. Distribution was conditioned by social power, as well as the law. Elite white women in the South had access to schooling on par with any in the nation for women. Reading and writing were, as in the formation of middle-class identities in the North, instrumental for the maintenance of class distinctions, and such women read widely in national, international, and southern periodicals and books. A Georgia planter's daughter, Ella Canton, recorded in her journal having read a seven-year-old issue of *The New World*. Perhaps she did not read the issue containing *Franklin Evans*, but the scene suggests the circulation of periodicals containing Whitman's early work in the Deep South. Exchanges even of politically sensitive journals such as the abolitionist *National Era* across the Mason-Dixon Line were common as well, such that material from northern journals unlikely to circulate whole appeared in fragments. Canton's reading also shows the uneven temporalities emphasized in chapter 2: time and again, southerners record reading works first published years or decades earlier.[13]

Religious emissaries like Micah Caswell brought texts to rural areas. Wealthy planters and middle-class professionals purchased books on trips to towns and cities, as Amy Thomas's account of the diary of David Golightly Harris, a South Carolina farmer, shows. Urban dwellers had access to a broad range of books, and at times, through the mail or personal contacts, could even obtain works ostensibly prohibited by state laws. Like northerners, their reading reflected interests in local, regional, national, international, and cosmic affairs. Southern writers published extensively in national magazines and with major houses in the United States and in England. The publication of North Carolina slave George Moses Horton's poetry offers an example of the way literary works could emerge even from unknown, subaltern pens to national attention. Caroline Hentz, who "discovered" Horton and worked with him on his poetry, sent the Massachusetts *Lancaster Gazette* a letter with two of Horton's poems. Published there, his poem "Slavery" was quickly picked

up by periodicals in Boston, Pennsylvania, and New York, and eventually by papers in North Carolina as well.[14]

The success of the *Southern Literary Messenger* as a national magazine, in part thanks to the efforts of Edgar Allan Poe during his year as editor there and George Bagby later in the century, was unusual. Charleston, one of the leading aesthetic cities of the South, came to be known as the "Graveyard of Magazines," so many titles came and went in the early nineteenth century. Still, belletrism was far from defeated by this instability. The elite of the South sent their sons and daughters to private schools, sometimes in the North or in Europe, and on grand tours of England and the Continent. Then, as today, the wealthiest southerners had access to the world's culture brokers. And as Douglas Cumming has shown, the elite literary tradition in the South was always paired with a more democratic, agrarian one. For farmers and planters of this inclination, the free press was a way of tempering both elites and governors, and newspapers were their format of choice. Newspaper editing, contentious everywhere, was often a physically dangerous occupation in the South, with its code of honor and political contentions, famous for its duels and assassinations.[15]

"Southern firms were not major contributors to the manufacture or publication of books" during the antebellum period, Michael Winship observes, but the South was an important market for northern book and periodical sellers, whether publishers or jobbing firms. Winship finds, however, that estimates taken from national trade surveys and censuses sometimes underestimate the dimensions of local manufacturing capacities in southern towns and cities, particularly in the case of religious publishing. Distribution, too, could be comparatively smooth even in areas not served by major rail or waterways, as Caswell's experience as a colporteur suggests: one man handing out an average of over 100 titles a week was impressive, and impossible without the Bible repository, shipping, and cartage arrangements that the Tract Society facilitated.

Even during the Civil War, with access to northern media and manufacturing cut off, the Confederacy "imagined itself quite beyond the territorial borders of the nation," Brickhouse reminds us, "in relation to and as the potential seat of a Greater South, a slaveholding empire that might encompass Cuba, the Caribbean, the southern hemisphere in its entirety" (7).[16] The circulation of print and manuscripts was key to sustaining and extending that grand vision. Southern publishers bought printing plates and commissioned translations

from overseas during the war; printed newspapers on the fly and sheet music by reams; and made the best of straitened conditions including paper, ink, type, and binding shortages. While it is true, then, that as Winship observes of the early nineteenth century and as was the case for the colonial period, "southern readers were chiefly dependent on imports . . . for reading matter," that same dependency created a richly varied, international reading palette.

"The Civil War was a moment of both crisis and opportunity for American publishing," writes Martin Buinicki, since an infrastructure had to be built for "both the shipment of raw materials of publication and the national mailing of publications themselves." "On a purely technical level," Buinicki concludes, "the national readership that Whitman long craved only truly became feasible following the end of the war" (17). Book production in the South itself did not recover quickly, but the "southern market for books quickly opened up again to northern publishers" after the Civil War, Winship shows, "as bookstores, whether newly formed or long established, throughout the South built up their stock." The pent-up demand for reading among African Americans denied access by antebellum law played no small part in the influx of texts. The book world rapidly expanded by way of black religious institutions, reading clubs, fraternities, secondary schools, colleges, and universities across the South.[17]

WHITMAN'S SOUTHERN RECEPTION

Whitman witnessed some of these transformations firsthand. There was his brief but significant stay in New Orleans as a journalist, where he daily witnessed one of the continent's largest slave auction sites. There he also published a poem, "The Mississippi at Midnight," ostensibly about his trip with his brother Jeff down the river to the Crescent City. Jay Grossman has argued that the ambiguity of the poem's speaker, who could be white or black, hints at the degree to which Whitman had brought slavery's dynamic of entwined identities, white freedom defined by black enslavement, into his thinking quickly upon arriving in New Orleans.[18] Whitman was also famously aligned with a number of important southern literary figures: he was the only literary light to appear in person at the reburial of Edgar Allan Poe, and William Gilmore Simms's call for an American literary nativism in the influential essays collected as *Views and Reviews in American Literature* harmonizes in many respects with Whitman's preface to the 1855 *Leaves*.[19] The poet lived

in the South for many years, in Washington, D.C., first working in Civil War hospitals and then as a government clerk. While there, he spent much of his time with non-southerners, with the important exception of Doyle. But his letters, journalism, and prose writings contain many references to his interactions with southerners, particularly in the hospitals.

Among Whitman's southern friends in Washington during the war was the socialite and later journalist Elizabeth Paschal. Paschal hailed from Austin, Texas, and (as Elizabeth Paschal O'Connor) would go on to write a memoir with the Whitmanesque title *I Myself* (1910) and another called *My Beloved South* (1913). Paschal found Whitman "extraordinarily handsome" and in retrospect regretted that she "was too undeveloped to appreciate the manliness, virility and courage of his work" (*I Myself* 81). He made her feel at home as a host:

> One day [William] Douglas and I went to Walt Whitman's room to see him; he had only one — he was very poor — and it was as sparsely furnished as a monk's, but very clean and tidy, and he made us fragrant Virginia coffee (he loved a little cooking), and brought out some old-fashioned Southern gingerbread for me, and then he read for quite an hour, with an occasional glance at me. (82)

Preparing his audience with the smells and savors of southern cooking, Whitman keeps a wary eye on his reception by the recent debutante from Texas. "You are from the land of mocking birds," Paschal reports Whitman saying after reciting from "Out of the Cradle"; "you know the musical shuttle of his throat all blown to roundness by his thrilling melody" (82). Later, on a day trip with Douglas, Paschal, her son, and the slave Sophy who was his nurse, Douglas presented Paschal with a poem in her honor ("Bessie") that he and Whitman had signed, and which, she writes, "is with other relics of my youth locked in a box and labelled 'Boysie' for my grandson" (83).

So Walt Whitman has found his way into many a southern heart and archive, by many means. The rhetorical embrace of all of the states that Whitman declared the ground condition of the true American bard had its parallel in the promotional efforts for his books. J. R. Osgood's advertisement for the 1881–82 *Leaves* in *Publishers' Weekly*, for example, highlighted responses from the South: "The South, her dead, her memories, included with perfect love," the advertisement takes from an unspecified "Carolina" source. The "Drum-Taps" poems and the paean of "O Magnet-South" would have provoked such

a comment: "O glistening perfumed South! my South!" Whitman's speaker effuses, refracting through one of the poet's many catalogs memories of a South most of which Whitman never visited.[20] But the poem's line "O to be a Virginian where I grew up! O to be a Carolinian!" drew fire, earning the first version of the poem ("Longings for Home") a reprint in the *Southern Literary Messenger* in 1860 and a comment that opens a door on the poet's complex reception in the South:

> The smart scribblers who compose the better part of the northern literati, are all becoming infected with the new leprosy — Whitmancy. This latest "representative man" of the north has his imitators by the hundred, admirers by the thousand, and an organ — the slang-whanging paper called the Saturday Press. A specimen of the twangling-jack style of Whitman is given below. Take a pair of frog-legs, put a tongue to every toe of both legs, and place the legs under a galvanic battery — and you have the utterings of Whitman. In the following slosh, Whitman says he "grew up" in Virginia. We should feel mean if this statement were anything else than a Whitmaniacal license, accent on the first vowel in license. Here is the sample of his obnubilate, incoherent, convulsive flub-drub.[21]

Such has been the take on Whitman from which critics have tended to generalize his southern reception. Yet what is complained of in this review is Whitman's "pantheism" and his aesthetic failure, not his abolitionism or northern sympathies. Indeed, as it is described here, the North follows Whitman, not the other way around — and that is precisely the danger. It is Whitman's sense that his un-Christian, iconoclastic, badly styled poetic persona could be capable of representing the South that is the problem for this reviewer.

Reviews of Whitman were published across the South over many decades, most of them focusing on his twin failings of immorality and flaunting aesthetic standards. In New Orleans, the *Sunday Delta* reprinted Whitman's poetry and complained of its bestial ugliness. John Reuben Thompson's *Southern Field and Fireside* review of the 1860 version took as its explicit motivation the prevention of the distribution of *Leaves* to the South. "It has been widely noticed and even applauded," Thompson worried,

> an immense amount of advertising has been expended upon it by the publishers, and there is danger that it may find its way into respectable bookstores and even pure households, by reason of the attention it has received. To save the latter from

> moral contamination and the necessity of using disinfectants, we feel bound to say so much by way of caution as will enable them to learn the true character of the volume.

This review reprints some fragments of the poetry and pairs them with a recently published parody.[22] Paul Hamilton Hayne of Charleston, one of the South's leading poets and a notorious enemy of Whitman's, time and again indicted Whitman's aesthetics and his morals. Hayne was friends with northern literati, including Edmund Clarence Stedman, and kept up with Whitman's accomplishments in exasperation. In the Baltimore *Southern Society* in 1868, Hayne called Whitman's poetry "intellectual and spiritual rubbish" and accused him of writing "hermaphrodite verses—which are neither poetry nor prose."[23] In an 1882 review of the Osgood *Leaves* published in New Orleans, Lafcadio Hearn carried on the pattern: "In the downright lubricity of certain lines," Hearn wrote, "we can only say that Mr. Whitman has fully equalled, if not exceeded the extant writers of antiquity, and has used phraseology only to be expected in those surreptitiously circulated works the publication whereof is accounted a crime by the law of all civilized nations."[24]

William Moss observes that parodies of Whitman in southern periodicals prove a broad familiarity with the poet's work, even if southern readers more likely knew of Whitman by way of the northern periodical press than through his books.[25] "Walt Whitman," Moss argues of critics like Reuben and Hayne, "came to represent all the ills of the North that threatened to infect the South" (99). A Cavalier devotion to English metrical rules and classical beauty in verse characterized many southern literati, but for these Christian gentlemen, Whitman's depictions of sex, the body, and religion were what principally offended.[26] Moss argues that Hayne and Thompson objected to the social implications of publishing poetry like Whitman's: "a general moral and social egalitarianism" that "became a threat to the very social institutions that the writer was bound to uphold" (106). Thompson and Hayne might have shared Whitman's moral view of slavery, but they both objected to abolitionism, with which Whitman was explicitly affiliated, as we have seen, not just in his poetry but in his choice of publishers. While race and slavery do not appear as explicit elements in most of Whitman's negative reception, they are factors nonetheless. Aesthetic standards stood in for, and were at the root of, social norms equally grounded in racial and gender hierarchies. Thus, even as Hayne

lambasted James Russell Lowell for lacking "the common discretion to exclude his *political* principles from the region of his *art*," he implicitly relocated the matter of politics to the arena of content rather than literary form.[27] Whitman's violation of formal norms broke down the distinction in threatening ways, which may in part explain why criticism came so often in the form of parody.[28]

These negative reactions to Whitman by the southern literary world—and to them could be added the jabs of Sidney Lanier, Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, and William Hand Browne—are illuminating.[29] They are also misleading in at least two ways. First, as we will see, Whitman's presence in southern newspapers speaks to a complex circulation of the poet outside the boundaries of literary magazine readerships. But even within that world, there were differences of opinion about Whitman's work, and the porous boundaries of periodical publishing could mean that a "southern" take on Whitman could be assembled out of extrasectional components. The July 1868 issue of the Baltimore *New Eclectic* offers an example. That issue saw the first publication of an English translation of Ferdinand Freiligrath's essay introducing Whitman to Germany. This enthusiastic piece did not go in without comment: the same issue of the *New Eclectic* reprints a review of the Rossetti edition published two months earlier in the New York *Saturday Review*. Reprinted in this context, the distribution scene that opens that review folds southern readers into the international scene of Whitman's developing reputation:

> Some years ago, when a few copies of a volume called *Leaves of Grass* found their way into this country from America, the general verdict of those who had an opportunity of examining the book was that much of it was indescribably filthy, most of it mere incoherent rhapsody, none of it what could be termed poetry in any sense of the word, and that, unless at the hands of some enterprising Holywell Street publisher, it had no chance of the honour of an English reprint.

The reviewer concludes that Whitman's "grossness" and his refusal to submit to aesthetic limitations make "any attempt to set him up as a poetic model mischievous to the interests of literary art," a position harmonious with those of Hayne and Thompson, yet standing in an agonistic tension with Freiligrath's piece.[30]

More significant, perhaps, for considering the broad impression of Whitman in the South is the way in which he was depicted in newspapers. As early

as 1856 Whitman as author of *Leaves of Grass* appears in a Nashville paper's correspondent's notes from New York City. Identifying the anonymously published first edition of *Leaves* with the Walt Whitman named in the midst of its signature poem, the writer expounds:

> We have, also, our host of literary characters, varying from the elongated and most gentlemanly Shakespeare scholar to the hirsute, brawny, rough and tumble Leaves of Grass. And Leaves of Grass (Walt. Whitman) *is* a character. . . . To see him roll by with that devil-may-care sailor swing, you would as soon think of poetry in a sack of potatoes, as in such an intensified specimen of man, the animal; but his grizzly hair covers brains of no common mould, and his keen though indolent gray eye looks quite through the deeds of men, and nature too.[31]

The physical description of Whitman here is questionable, but the positive vibe comes through clearly. Even during the Civil War, one can find evidence of a complex range of reactions to the poet. A wartime assessment of "lunacy" in American politicians in the *Richmond Daily Dispatch* quotes favorably from a poem eventually titled "Respondez!" but at the time, 1864, either known as "Poem of the Propositions of Nakedness" or section five of "Chants Democratic and Native American." It is a striking choice of reference: among its lines is the invocation "Let the white person tread the black person under his heel! (Say! Which is trodden under heel, after all?)" (*LG* 60, 170). Not mentioning the poem's antiracist bent, the *Daily Dispatch*'s anonymous author insists:

> You will excuse me for quoting a bard who is considered by many of his brethren to be himself as mad as a March hare, but there is much method and not a little wisdom in "Walt. Whitman, one of the roughs, a kosmos, disorderly, fleshly, sensual," who lounges and loafs at his ease, and sounds his "barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world."[32]

Whitman appears dozens of times in the *Memphis Daily Appeal* from the early 1860s through the 1880s. During the war, a typically snarky bit of coverage appeared, of the sort that would be common for decades across the South:

> Walt Whitman is now in Washington making gruel for the wounded soldiers. The *Saturday Evening Gazette* says: "We dare say his gruel is better than his poetry:" and we may add, if it is "warmer" than "Leaves of Grass," there must be some scalded throats in the Washington hospitals.[33]

Whitman's 1871 appearance at the Industrial Exposition was reported in Memphis immediately: "E. G. Squires [*sic*] lumbered and Walt Whitman rattled," the *Appeal*'s front page reported, "at the opening of the New York exhibition of the American Institute, yesterday."[34] Later that year, the paper reported that "Walt Whitman is to read his poems for the benefit of the Chicago sufferers. We would rather be a Chicago sufferer than to hear the 'poems,' by a long chalk."[35] Parodies abounded in the *Appeal*, as well. Yet in 1872, after having reprinted a quotation from the *Missouri Democrat* declaring that "Walt Whitman is going to read his own poems, and he richly deserves the punishment," the paper quoted W. M. Rossetti on Whitman's excellence.[36] Earlier that year, the paper had printed a report sent by Mary C. Ames from Washington, describing Whitman walking down the street with an appreciative tone.[37]

This pattern—positive and negative criticisms of Whitman alternating with parodies and descriptive reportage—is exhibited in many southern papers.[38] Notes negative and positive appear in the *Macon (Miss.) Beacon*, the *Canton (Miss.) Mail* and *American Citizen* (which were generally positive about the poet), the *Charleston (S.C.) Daily News*, and the *Columbia (S.C.) Daily Phoenix*. Papers across South Carolina (Newberry, Edgefield, Abbeville, Sumter), Virginia (Alexandria, Richmond, Staunton, Charlestown), Tennessee (Knoxville, Clarksville, Johnson City, Pulaski, Jackson, Bolivar, Morristown), and the rest of the South covered Whitman's doings, noted his publications, mocked him with parodies, and quoted fragments of his work. Whitman's "Song of the Universal" was reprinted in Winchester, Tennessee, in 1874, and his "Thanks in Old Age" (as "Walt Whitman's Thanks") appeared in Georgia's *Macon Telegraph* in 1887.[39]

It would be hard, in light of this range of personal, critical, and journalistic reactions to the poet, to offer a simple characterization of southern attitudes toward Whitman. Certainly Whitman's fame was established early and steadily grew. The parodies and frequent mentions suggest that Whitman was even becoming a household name, whether or not his books were being read. And in at least one case, Whitman was being read by a southerner—a former slaveholder and Confederate veteran, no less—with a passion equal to that of any of Whitman's famous devotees.

TWO "ENVISIONED" AND FRIENDLY SOULS

John Newton Johnson, of Mid, Alabama, was first prompted to write to Whitman by reading a newspaper account of his dismissal from government office in 1874. His letter of greeting begins by accounting for the distribution chains that brought Whitman into his heart, offering a glimpse into the media sphere of post–Civil War, rural north Alabama.

> About five years ago I read in the Louisville (K.Y.) Courier-Journal a notice of the death of Walt Whitman a Poet. Of that notice I remembered only a few words. Afterwards occasionally saw humorous poems or would-be poems about current events "in the Style of Walt Whitman". About that time I also, obeying an "impulse" or "law of my being" which was effectual if not "irresistible" went for a Poet for my county. Yes, Bret Harte, Joaquin Miller, and myself blazed forth on a world or a county in the same otherwise eventful year 1870. Last winter I saw a short item in a paper making me suspect that Walt might still be in "a state of probation". Again this summer learned in my backwoods hermit home that Walt's Poems were in books, and that "English critics consider him the greatest Poet of America". Accordingly, I sent some money to a New York Bookseller and got "Leaves of Grass" and "As a strong bird on pinions free".[40]

"I think your works are not known here," Johnson lamented, and signed his letter, "John Newton Johnson / The Hermit, eccentric farmer / and self-styled 'Philosopher and Poet'." The newspaper-borne sense of Whitman had reached the Hermit and, far from alienating him, made him curious enough first to keep track of what he was hearing about the poet, then to order books by mail from a faraway dealer, and finally to write to the man himself. In his subsequent letters, Johnson would continue to retrace for Whitman the channels by which he was hearing news of him.

This passage also gives something of the flavor of Johnson's letters, with their pridefulness and sly humor, literary flourishes, and occasional startling detail. It's moments like the last page of his second letter that earned Johnson the label of madman from Whitman, an assessment to which we will return in a moment (fig. 13). "John Newton Johnson / Sane, cold, and calculating," Johnson signs this logically fragmented, multidirectionally inscribed page. It is as if the passion to connect with Whitman has exerted a geological force

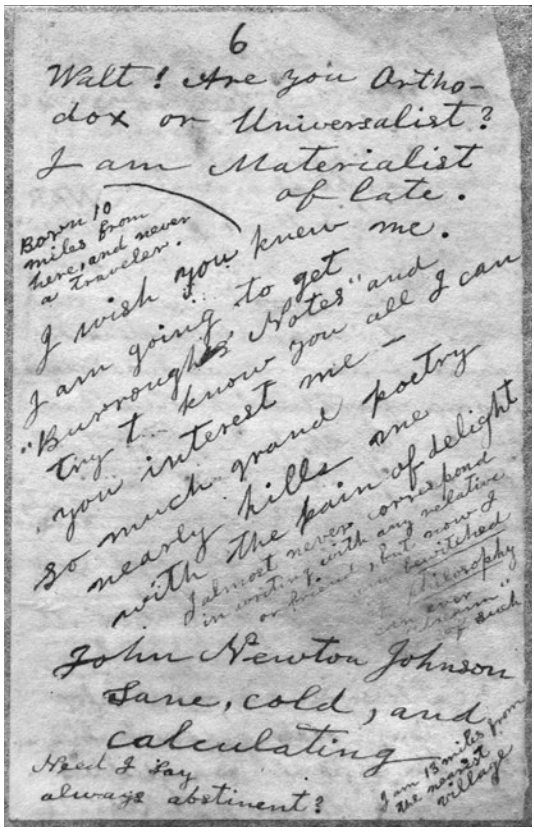

6
Walt! Are you Ortho-
dox or Universalist?
I am Materialist
of late.
Born 10 miles from here and never a traveler.
I wish you knew me.
I am going to get "Burroughs' Notes" and try to know you all I can
you interest me —
so much grand poetry
nearly kills me
with the pain of delight
John Newton Johnson
Sane, cold, and calculating
Need I say always abstinent?
I am 13 miles from the nearest village.

FIGURE 13. Letter from John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 13 September 1874, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection. The last page of Johnson's second letter to the poet is laid out in strata of seemingly tangentially related text. Courtesy of the *Walt Whitman Archive.*

on his writing, compressing topical layers into twisted strata of expression.[41] Still, his passionate declaration of affinity for Whitman and the effect of his work is framed physically by spatial information, at the top left and bottom right, of a kind that recurs in many of his letters and that suggests we keep in mind his perspective as an isolated intellectual: "Born 10 miles from here, and never a traveler," Johnson writes, and "I am 13 miles from the nearest village." More than once Johnson would stress the spatial problems he experienced with communication, "the long way to and from the Post Office" he had to go, seven miles round-trip, as if he anticipated Whitman's writing too frequently (fig. 14).[42] And if there is much to worry a potential interlocutor in these letters, there is also much to charm. "I know the style of my letters is queer," Johnson wrote in another letter, "but if you had thought them absurd or insincere you would not have answered."[43]

FIGURE 14. This photograph of the corner of Meltonsville and South Sauty Roads, Marshall County, Alabama, taken in April 2015, shows some of the landscape that forms an important part of John Newton Johnson's letters to Walt Whitman. Photo by the author.

Johnson thought that his first letter had either not reached Whitman or had been ignored. (He misaddressed it to Washington instead of Camden, and received back, perhaps from William Douglas O'Connor, a clipped article about the poet with the passage "laid up, lame and unfit for work at Camden N.J." underlined in pencil.) In his second, longer one, he revealed himself as a Confederate veteran, living on "about three hundred rarely approaching 400 dollars a year." He qualified another important admission: "was once (by inheritance) a slaveholding youthful 'patriarch,'" he declared. Enclosing a gold dollar, but declaring himself short on other capital, Johnson made another proposition: "I think I can sell books for you — giving you all the profits — as I am a most eloquent reader, and could canvass well," doubtless having often been paid visits by canvassers and colporteurs like Micah Caswell at "Willwell," his cotton farm.[44] To John Burroughs, with whom he corresponded after having introduced himself to Whitman, he proposed the same thing, suggesting that *Democratic Vistas* and *Memoranda* would be likely candidates to sell to his "neighbors of best intelligence."[45]

Public records corroborate Johnson's account of himself, and offer glimpses into a largely obscure life. John Newton Johnson was born in 1832 in Clays-

ville, Alabama, to Joshua and Mary Carter Johnson. The 1840 census lists his father as having thirteen slaves. John Newton married young, and moved across the river to a 160-acre plantation. Before the war, Johnson was reasonably well off. The 1860 census shows the Meltonsville area to be a farming community, mostly planters, tenants, slaves, and laborers, with a few tradesmen. With $1,920 in real property and $8,025 in personal property, Johnson's total holdings put him among the top 10 percent of landowners in the vicinity. He is not listed among the slaveholders in the Slave Schedules for Marshall County, but such oversights—or deliberate evasions—were not uncommon. He joined the Confederate army, was captured and imprisoned twice, and returned to a war-torn county whose seat, Guntersville, had been burned to the ground in a river raid. After the war, Johnson was not destroyed, financially. His land in 1870 was valued at $2,300, though his personal estate had been reduced to $2,700. Jeffrey McClurken estimates that slaveholders in Virginia averaged a loss of around two-thirds of the total value of their personal property, a pattern Johnson's reported worth fits.[46] Johnson expanded his tenant farming operation to support his own cotton farming endeavors.[47] On the 1870 census, his second wife, Sarah Evergreen, is listed as being unable both to read and to write; by the 1880 census, she had learned how to read. And she, like everyone else in the Johnson household, was by then well acquainted with the works of Walt Whitman. In all, Johnson would have fourteen children, one of whom had just been born in 1874, when he was inspired to write to the poet whom he would come to refer to as "my household word."[48]

Johnson's letters shed light on questions of race, religion, and culture in his area as well. Marshall County's uneasy racial détente was shared by much of Alabama. "The white population predominates here enough to free us from the unpleasantness experienced in other parts of our state," Johnson wrote.[49] Whitman knew well enough about the "unpleasantness" of the Ku Klux Klan violence in Alabama and the difficulties of suppressing it from his work as a clerk in the attorney general's office in Washington. There he had written a number of letters on behalf of the office to Alabamans attempting to get federal aid for prosecutions of Klan members.[50] Johnson had a contentious relationship with orthodox religion; in one letter Johnson insists that even from an early age he "accepted naturally, 'normally', the self-existence and eternity of <u>things</u>," and never became "orthodox." He joined the Methodist church at age twenty, but only, he wrote, "as a 'Seeker.'" By thirty-nine, a few years

before he encountered Whitman's work, he had gotten "'off the fence' on the Robert Ingersoll side of the question," that is, a deep materialist skepticism that amounted, in his community, to atheism (loc.02402). As his mention of Ingersoll and the distribution scene quoted above suggest, Johnson was an avid reader. Where he celebrated his departure from the religious norms of his region, Johnson lamented its denizens' "lack of culture and the love of the ideal in any sense other than the old and barbarous" (loc.01840).

Like the best of fans, Johnson became an avid promoter. He put pictures of Whitman and Burroughs in his home. He planned to circulate a copy of *Leaves* by leaving it at the post office for locals to read, "hoping, yet scarcely expecting to do much in behalf of increased sales of the same" (loc.01843). It wasn't an unreasonable goal: while his fellow farmers may not have provided Johnson with the "love of the ideal" he desired, he was not alone in his appreciation of literature or philosophy. Like most newspapers, the local *Guntersville Democrat* featured poetry, fiction, and literary and intellectual news, much of it from exchanges and some from syndicates.[51] Whitman's death was announced there in 1892, for example, as was the size of his estate two weeks later.[52] The paper also reproduced a description of Whitman clipped from Moses P. Handy's "Literary Life in Philadelphia" published in the *American Magazine*.[53] Johnson targeted community leaders and people with key roles in the area for conversion. One day, upon receiving two of Whitman's books in the mail, Johnson buttonholed the postmaster, "an old man of large body, brain, and general solidity, and a consistent Union man," and read him "Song of the Banner at Day-Break." "It seemed to please him powerfully," Johnson reported (loc.01853). Finding "our county tax collector, and county school superintendent &c &c" gathered together one day, Johnson "with a few preliminary remarks, read to them the 'Song at Sunset' and a few other lines." Though the precise reactions Johnson describes are blurred in the manuscript of his letter, it is clear that he then engaged the men in a literary-critical discussion of Whitman's work. He also appealed to individuals by circulating his own copies of Whitman and Burroughs. "I've got my old renter the Methodist (local) preacher on Two Rivulets," he wrote in 1878. In the same letter he mentioned having "a young, poor farmer (of 26) new acquaintance, 1 ¼ miles from me studying Edition 1871 after Burroughs' Notes and Eagle's flight — he seems to get along well (with my clear explanations) — how long will he be a Baptist?" (loc.02405). He read Whitman's poetry to the local schoolteacher and

casual visitors. Johnson only wished he could do more: "If I were a rich man," he wrote in 1876, in one of several similar declarations, "I would print in great big type, that Song [of the Banner at Day-Break] for wide distribution at the Centennial, and if you pestered me about infringement of copy-right, I would pull your beard" (loc.01853).

The letters do not report Johnson circulating Whitman's work to the local black population. Marshall County had been home to hundreds of slaves prior to the Civil War and, like most counties in the slaveholding South, was undergoing an often painful, sometimes violent transition during the years in which Johnson began conversing with Whitman. Johnson's navigation of questions of race, slavery, and national belonging exemplify the way in which the distribution of Whitman's work functioned within a complex landscape of feeling irreducible to ideas about nation, or race, or intimacy. Rather, Whitman's presence enabled Johnson to propose, in his exchanges both with the poet and with his neighbors, a critique of each and a honing of his sense of self.

Johnson opened the conversation about sectionalism in his letter of 7 November 1874 (loc.01839). While he understood "the Northern view of the War and things connected," he remained "quietly, and moderately, but firmly for Dixie, through good and evil report." "Your folks nearly starved me to death at Chicago during the last ten months. Let the war pass away," Johnson wrote, and then quoted the historian Thomas Macaulay's views on war. Yet he immediately followed this up by sending Whitman a transcription he had made of the famous *Charleston Mercury* coverage of the secession of South Carolina, which he had "cut . . . out of an Alabama paper and pasted in the back of Grimshaw's (School) History of the U.S." By copying this widely circulated newspaper piece, Johnson tried to bring Whitman to the sensibility of southern nationalism. At the same time, at the end of the transcription, Johnson writes, "Copied from print, for Walt Whitman, by his admirer, an unprejudiced southerner. Here we rest. 'Alabama.'" "Alabama," the name of an early colonial-era Native tribe from the area, was taken by settlers to mean "here we rest" and adopted as the state's first slogan.[54] With this gesture, putting Alabama in parallel with South Carolina in its demand for separatism and self-determination, Johnson asserts a regional or state-based identity. Some of Johnson's warrant for this approach may be found in Whitman's own writing. "While you show us that Universal Suffrage is certain to not give us the very worst of characters for rulers," Johnson writes, "may it ^not be inferred that the white ascendancy here again will hardly produce any intolerable event"

(loc.02420). The negative construction of Johnson's claim about Whitman's arguments in *Democratic Vistas* suggests the way in which the complex hedges in Whitman's essay opened dialogue, for better or worse, between northern and southern views.

Perhaps Johnson's most extraordinary attempt to engage Whitman's politics of race and space came in April 1875. That month, Johnson wrote Whitman a letter in dialect—baby dialect. In 1874, not long after they had begun communicating, Johnson had named his new son after the poet. The fiction of this letter, then, is that it is from Walt Whitman Johnson to Walt Whitman: a strange, distant mirror. "Me is fine litte 'secesh,'" the little "Modern Man" declares, with "plenty . . . F.F.V." and enough talk of "back-heart bobalition" and "woolly head niggers" to back up the assertion.[55] Johnson's test of Whitman's asserted ability to embrace both slaves and masters extends to his description of how Walt Whitman Johnson got his name. Complaining that he went without a name for some months, the letter's speaker says his father "not like name him babys for live mans—him said live ans do bad fings and make babies shamed—but me fink oo neber do no bad fings, man whan talk dood like oo wont neber do no bad fings." This flattery, however, sets up the challenge to Whitman: "papa not like bobolitions neider, but may-be oo not bobolitions, may-be oo ony make-believe."[56] Perhaps, the child asserts, it was only to "make in der money" that Whitman took his stance against slavery. Extending the make-believe, Walt Whitman Johnson then imagines himself and his namesake sharing a house, obtaining fiddles "for play Dixie," and creating an ideal, unified America together: "if noder war tomes, we will be taptains of Ku Klux banditti, an' me go east, an' oo go west, an' we will clean out all bobolitions." Fantasies of living with Whitman were not uncommon among his admirers, but this one is, thankfully, without compare. It is hard to know what Whitman made of this letter, so mixed with confrontation and flattery, and so unusually straightforward in both its violent racism and its camaraderie. His own poetry was woven into Johnson's appeal, the child referring to its "'gymnastic' mudder"; his Union pride and family's experience of the war tweaked by lines like, "Me bully ittle boy—any ittle Jersey-boo-coat boy say 'Union' to me me tan whip him quicker 'n him Banner an' Pennant tan say 'fap', 'fap', 'fap'—oo bet!" Surely it was his own poetic logic, his own insistence on representing America good and bad, that underwrote the letter's concluding assertion: "oo mus' gib . . . love to ittle secesh mans" who bore his name.

ALABAMA'S ZDENKO

As far as we know, Whitman did give that love. He maintained a long correspondence with John Newton Johnson and even at one point sent cloth for a suit of clothes to Walt Whitman Johnson.[57] The Johnson letters are almost all damaged by water and wear, and none of Whitman's letters in return have been found. There is a gap from May 1878 to August 1885, and probably many letters are missing. As a result, the story we can glean from this body of correspondence is partial. From Whitman's daybooks and from Johnson's letters we know he wrote to Johnson often. It seems, from Johnson's comments about his letters, that Whitman treated him much like he did any correspondent outside his family: he inquired about Johnson, his kin, and his environs, revealed little about himself or his plans, and efficiently navigated Johnson's provocations about theology, philosophy, and his poetry. But we know some of the poet's opinions about him, in part because in 1887, having just settled a legal case for long-owed interest income from his in-laws, John Newton Johnson came to visit Walt Whitman in Camden—and stayed for a month.

"Among the visitors that summer was a remarkable man, who came all the way from Georgia," wrote Sidney Morse of his stay with Whitman in 1887, "a sort of philosopher-farmer, Whitman described him. His name was Johnson."[58] Morse, who was there to make a sculpture of the aging Whitman, had already been somewhat disappointed by the arrival of the artist Herbert Gilchrist: "I coveted the whole loaf," he wrote, "with no disposition to share it with anybody" (373). As we will see, the expression was not merely metaphorical. There was disappointment all around, according to Morse, who reports Johnson as having said he found Whitman "a little starchy and repellent; he checks a feller in his advances and won't quite let him come to familiar conversation" (378). Between the loaf, the dialect, and the mistaking of Georgia for Alabama, there is plenty of reason to distrust Morse's account. Yet Morse quotes Johnson at length, a ventriloquism that at times seems to channel his own feelings about sharing Whitman's aura with the other men who orbited the bard of Camden. And he records a telling detail—Johnson used the power of distribution to his advantage, aware of the spectacle he made and what might be made of it in both the North and the South:

> He made his visits . . . and went home consoled and happy, sending on in advance as herald of his return copies of a Camden newspaper that contained extended

> complimentary notice of his personality and of his visit to Camden, written, I suspect, by Walt Whitman himself. "That'll convince 'em down home that I'm not without honor, save in my own country. And, as they all believe in the Scripters down there, I suppose I may score a point against them as a prophet."[59]

Johnson visited Whitman during a time in which northern periodical culture was grappling with its anxieties about the South and the ways in which southern reform could be leveraged in ongoing and emergent national and international controversies.[60] It is not surprising to find that in Morse's account and in some of the periodical mentions of him, Johnson is depicted as a relic, a product of a supposedly backward and parochial South still undereducated and overprideful. But it is important to note that this version of Johnson did not stand alone. News of Johnson's visit to Whitman, for example, did indeed reach his fellow Marshall County denizens, long before he sent those heralds from Camden papers. The *Guntersville Democrat*'s correspondent in the state's capital reported in late May 1887 that "of interest to many readers of the Democrat" would be an item "clipped from the Associated press dispatches":

> John Newton Johnson, a southern planter from Marshall county, Alabama, called on Walt Whitman, the poet, in Camden to-day. He had traveled 760 miles in two days to see the gray haired bard, whose poem he recites at church fairs and social gatherings in his neighborhood. One of his ten children is named Walt Whitman Johnson in honor of the poet.
>
> Mr. Johnson has been a constant reader of the Democrat since its establishment in 1880.[61]

The editors of the *Democrat* took the hint, and kept an eye on the story. On 9 June the 3,000 readers of the paper found Johnson on its front page, in a story copied from the *Philadelphia Press.* The aging poet Whitman praised Johnson for spending "a good portion of his odd time in circulating my poetry, of which he can repeat from memory page upon page." Concluding that Johnson was a "quaint, queer character" and that he felt "highly complimented" by the visit, Whitman, by way of the exchanges, paid some dues to his most fervent Alabama reader.[62] In interviews like these and those mentioned by Morse, Whitman discussed Johnson with warmth and appreciation for the Alabaman's deep knowledge of his writings. In private, too, Whitman was often kindly toward Johnson. He described Johnson to John Burroughs as "a good affectionate fellow, a sort of uncut gem—I have had five or six letters from him,

all primitive but good."[63] "He is the queerest, wildest, 'cutest mortal you ever saw," he wrote to Susan Stafford on Johnson's arrival in Camden in 1887.[64]

Still, the anxieties about cultural differences and about affiliation with Whitman that are betrayed in Morse's account can be found in others'. In particular, Horace Traubel and William Sloane Kennedy left deferential but skeptical reports of Johnson. In August 1891, Traubel noticed a "curious—most curious" article in the *Christian Register* "in which the queer Georgian Johnson turns up again." Discussing the piece's dismissive characterization of Johnson as a "childlike" and proud naïf, Whitman, Traubel reports, laughed and said, "He was undoubtedly half-crazy. . . . He made himself particularly disagreeable by his determination that I should discuss with him the other literary fellows—*célèbres*—deliver him my opinions. He is the sort of man you are only safe from by avoiding."[65] The next month, Traubel once again noted a mention of Johnson, and preempted Whitman's evaluation. On a drive to the cemetery in company, Whitman "at one point exclaimed,"

> "There's Johnson, of Alabama!" (intimating resemblance to that strange wanderer). But when I said, "He's crazy!" W. said, "So are we all! I suppose I have been called crazy at least a hundred times to my own face!" And yet he went on to explain how queer a fellow Johnson was.[66]

Here is a clutch of queer fellows indeed. Traubel, the Whitman disciple, bisexual, and socialist, never met Johnson.[67] The uncharacteristic inconsistency of Traubel's reporting Johnson's place of origin across these entries (Georgia, Alabama) and Whitman's eagerness to correct Traubel's opinions hint that Johnson induced some anxiety in the poet's disciple, perhaps even a bit of jealousy. Johnson was, after all, in his particular queerness the acolyte who did things the wrong way in handling Whitman, made himself that which Traubel feared being taken as: "the sort of man" to be avoided. Yet Whitman was still thinking of Johnson even as he was practically on his deathbed, in January 1892. "Our talk was very desultory and broken on his part from the difficulties of speaking," Traubel reported. "He said to me after some pause, 'I want to send a book to John Newton Johnson, Mid'—(spelling his name—calling it 'odd')—'Marshall County, Alabama.' I looked inquiringly and he seemed to know why for he immediately added, 'Yes, it is the queer fellow, but I want him to have a book.'"[68] In the end, Traubel would include none of Johnson's

striking letters among the hundreds that he reprinted in *With Walt Whitman in Camden*. In Traubel's report, Johnson remains queer and silenced, his whereabouts uncertain.[69]

William Sloane Kennedy, too, expressed concern about Johnson's effect on Whitman's reputation. In his *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman*, Kennedy quoted from a letter Johnson wrote to him, offering literary criticism of Whitman's poetry. "Mr. Johnson thinks," Kennedy wrote, "that the later editions show a 'toning down of refreshing savagery and grim laconicism.'" On the whole he presents Johnson as a bore and a pedant, "*naïve* and self-confident."[70] In another letter to Kennedy, now lost, Johnson appears to have cast aspersions about "peccadilloes" he presumed Whitman to have had.[71] Interestingly, given Whitman's own occasional hints or assertions to interlocutors about heterosexual encounters, Johnson might have served Whitman's goals in this matter. While John Addington Symonds's famous inquiry to Whitman about homosexuality in the Calamus poems wouldn't arrive until 1890, Symonds had been indirectly querying the poet about the matter for some time. Whitman tamped down Kennedy's concern: "I return Mr Johnson's letter," the poet wrote after Kennedy had forwarded it to him; "I do not see any thing in it more than facts or appearances warrant — as he is & as things are down there poor J is in a bad, unhappy fix — as of coffee being ground in a mill."[72] Whether actually building an intimate knowledge barrier or elaborating a free understanding of sexuality with this gesture, Whitman found no threat in Johnson, and perhaps even something of an ally. As southern authenticator of Whitman's national embrace, combative exotic Other, and inspirer of intimate jealousy in Whitman's circle, Johnson's functions were radically intertwined.

"J N J is certainly crazy," Whitman wrote to Kennedy not long after Johnson had returned to Alabama, "a cross between Zdenko (in Consuelo) & something more intellectual & infernal."[73] George Sand's novel *Consuelo* (1842–1843) had been a favorite of Whitman's Bohemian crowd in New York City; the poet's well-read, decrepit, marked-up copy is preserved in the Library of Congress. The character Zdenko is a Bohemian singer and vagabond (from what is now the western half of the Czech Republic), descended from "an ancient family," but become the local loon. Whitman's parallel is more complex than it may seem: Zdenko seems crazy, but Sand depicts him with tender sympathy. "Our peasants love passionately to listen to him," one character

explains to Consuelo, the gypsy-raised protagonist of the novel, "and respect him as a saint, considering his madness a gift of heaven rather than a disgrace of nature."[74] He is something of a folk archive, knowing thousands of songs from the ancient past and composing new ones in the traditional style of the Bohemians. The source of Zdenko's madness is not clear, but it is insinuated, by his out-of-timeness, that the colonization of the region by Austria and the subsequent ethnic cleansing, migration, and forced cultural reconfiguration are responsible. He is able to speak German, the language of the conquerors, "but like all Bohemian peasants he hates the language" (2:51). Zdenko, then, functions as an organic reminder of the dark past of colonization and war and what they have displaced. Johnson might well have represented something like this to Whitman. Johnson told the poet that he had bouts of depression. "I find myself nothing like so happy a man as I was before the war," he wrote, despite not having lost many relatives in the conflict and being unconcerned about his material losses. He cited as the "chief cause" of his "depression" a combination of chronic indigestion and an increasing sense of the failure of the "moral strength" of the people around him.[75] Johnson and Zdenko may be crazy, but they are so at least in part because of national trauma, and serve as valuable interlocutors and memorializers as a result.

In a letter written to the Whitman collector Charles N. Elliot in 1897, Johnson reflected on his time with the poet in Camden. Appearing without warning, Whitman not having received his letter of notice, Johnson recalled that the poet "seemed stunned or puzzled, and it was only after more than several days of patient insistence and consummate tact, (along with, as I think, the help of that quiet and charming woman [his housekeeper] Mrs Davis,) that I got on a perfectly easy and all-around welcome and brotherly footing" (127). Elliot had asked Johnson for an anecdote from his time with Whitman. The one Johnson offered suggests the tensions that his presence caused:

> The best thing to stand for Anecdote is this—I went into the Dining Room while they two had (as commonly) Morse, the Sculptor, and Gilchrist the English Painter seated at Dinner and my place by W.'s side unoccupied and ready. Being invited, I said, "No, I must rest and cool," and thinking of Whitman seeing Emerson at Sanborn's of Concord in 1881, and what he put in "Specimen Days," about relative seatings, I added: "I have got my own pail to milk in."

> Refined English are a much composed lot, but Gilchrist (and he alone) smiled broadly, and no more was said or done. (129)

Johnson alludes to a visit that Whitman paid to Frank Sanborn's house in Concord, Massachusetts, where—along with Louisa May Alcott and many other literati—he shared an evening with Ralph Waldo Emerson. It was tall cotton:

> A good deal of talk, the subject Henry Thoreau—some new glints of his life and fortunes, with letters to and from him—one of the best by Margaret Fuller, others by Horace Greeley, Channing, &c.—one from Thoreau himself, most quaint and interesting. (No doubt I seem'd very stupid to the room-full of company, taking hardly any part in the conversation; but I had "my own pail to milk in," as the Swiss proverb puts it.) My seat and the relative arrangement were such that, without being rude, or anything of the kind, I could just look squarely at E., which I did a good part of the two hours. On entering, he had spoken very briefly and politely to several of the company, then settled himself in his chair, a trifle push'd back, and, though a listener and apparently an alert one, remain'd silent through the whole talk and discussion. A lady friend quietly took a seat next him, to give special attention.[76]

Johnson, then, had summoned a moment in which Whitman was in a social position like the one he had experienced. Did Johnson not want to be put in the queer position of Emerson's "lady friend," sitting next to Whitman, or did he merely want to "look squarely" at the poet? In any case, Johnson's mention of Gilchrist's smile sorts the room into many attitudes, a tense social mix to which Johnson prefers not to subject himself. Sharing Whitman's loaf was difficult, this scene a far cry from the class-dissolving romance of Whitman's line "You should have been with us that day round the chowder-kettle."

A final claim by Johnson both exemplifies the relationship to Whitman that excited jealousy and derision from his disciples and links our feelings as readers of Whitman today with those of his past aficionados. Playfully claiming in one letter that he might not be able to write to Whitman again, Johnson tells the poet he has imagined something of a collaboration between them. "When I saw that your new book was going to be called Two Rivulets I suspected it might be <u>you and I</u>—two 'envisioned' and friendly souls," he wrote. "You must forgive me (even if you have to <u>laugh</u> enough to complete the resto-

ration of your own health)—but I have really called Two Rivulets our book" (loc.02404). Without summarizing it, Johnson then alludes to a short story titled "John's Hero," published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* in 1876.[77] That story is about a literary collaboration between a famous but aging critic and a talented young writer, John, who becomes the older man's disciple. Idealizing him at first, John comes to realize that the older man is not just worn out, but has been motivated all along by vanity—a desire for "popularity" (51). John, with "a strange sensation in his throat" that could be read as sympathy, pity, or pride, takes up the literary remains of a novel the lion had begun to draft and completes it in his own way—and it becomes a hit (52). The story is told as a reminiscence by a friend, and as an insider story from behind the curtain of a distinctly human, unromantic literary world. Mapping, apparently, himself to John and Whitman to the aging lion, Johnson jokes of the story, "maybe you will find it, and need to be prepared to be indignant for I think you were abused one more time."

After Whitman's death Johnson reiterated his claim to have coauthored *Two Rivulets*. "Then appeared 'Two Rivulets,'" he reminisced in 1897, "to which I think I, indirectly, contributed a good deal, and, probably my influence on him as a Writer of his Verse and Prose never entirely ceased."[78] One could dismiss these assertions as, while an exhibition of the sort of pride that Whitman's poetry valued, fantasies of an obsessed reader. But perhaps more interesting would be to take them seriously. Johnson's claim is premised not just on the harmony of their two minds, but on the differences between his and Whitman's imaginations of nation. *Two Rivulets* extensively theorizes the nation, and puts the states' rights question at the heart of its contemplation of nationalism, demanding a more complex vision of what Whitman at one point in it calls "Nationalism—(and Yet)" (23). The threads of Whitman's conversation with Johnson were often woven of the same stuff. The drift of *Two Rivulets* was doubtless shaped in some small ways by John Newton Johnson, just as it was by Horace Traubel, Sidney Morse, and the many others sharing Whitman's seas. And by way of Johnson, Whitman drifted into the South in unanticipated ways.

Johnson's reading and recirculation of Whitman suggest the ways in which Whitman's version of the South, Whitman's version of the national, and the South's version of Whitman and the nation do not align into a neat description of the dominance of the neoliberal state over subaltern identities, or, alterna-

tively, of a subaltern triumph of minority appropriators of national discourses by way of the organic, the queer, or the sectional. Instead, these modes and discourses are assembled in different configurations over the course of the relationship between Whitman and Johnson, as well as their depictions of each other to people in their respective circles. Whitman maintained his ties with Johnson even to his final days, in the face of the derision of his other disciples. Johnson braved the disdain of a locale that tended to make fun of Whitman at best and regard him as a moral poison at worst. The long conversation between the two men suggests the rich and contradictory processes by which regions, nations, and cosmic ideals interrelated and shifted over time. A turn to Whitman's presence in Indian Country both extends and qualifies this story.

UNBIDDEN WONDERS COME

Sherman Alexie imagines Whitman on the reservation in his poem "Defending Walt Whitman." The scene is a recent summer day, on an unnamed reservation, on a basketball court on which "Every body is brown!" This is how the poem ends:

> Walt Whitman shakes because he believes in God.
> Walt Whitman closes his eyes. He is a small man and his beard
> is ludicrous on the reservation, absolutely insane.
> His beard makes the Indian boys righteously laugh. His beard
> frightens the smallest Indian boys. His beard tickles the skin
> of the Indian boys who dribble past him. His beard, his beard!
>
> God, there is beauty in every body. Walt Whitman stands
> at center court while the Indian boys run from basket to basket.
> Walt Whitman cannot tell the difference between
> offense and defense. He does not care if he touches the ball.
> Half of the Indian boys wear t-shirts damp with sweat
> and the other half are bareback, skin slick and shiny.
> There is no place like this. Walt Whitman smiles.
> Walt Whitman shakes. This game belongs to him.[79]

Whitman appears here as ghost, victor, and clown, as formidable poetic ancestor utterly in his element among beautiful young Native men, and laughable

ethnic, and ethical, outsider, a "small" man in stature, or status, or both. He is defended for the good parts—his praise of beauty everywhere, his advocacy of radical equality and sexual freedom—and left to fend for himself in a game that "belongs" to him, yet in which he takes no part.

Alexie's poem was not the first of Whitman's apparitions on a reservation. Fittingly, perhaps, it took a trip to Canada for the poet of everyday America to approach Indigenous daily life in his own time. Whitman wrote to at least three people in anticipation of his visit to "a Chippewa Indian village" just south of Sarnia in June 1880. The poet visited the Aamjiwnaang First Nation reserve on 21 June that year.[80] He noted that the tribe's name referred to "Rapids" and recorded the names of William Wawanosh and Chief Summer in his diary of the trip to Canada.[81] "I saw and talked conversed with Wa-wa-nosh the interpreter, son of a former chief," Whitman wrote. "He talks and writes as well as I do. In a nice cottage near by lived his mother, who dont speak any thing but Chippewa." In this daybook entry, Whitman records one of his most multifaceted depictions of Indigenous people, discussing the Aamjiwnaang economy, relations with the "dominion government," demography, housing, and even the disjunction between his desire for a vision of the primitive and what, in fact, the reservation presents to him. "Not much to see, of novelty—in fact nothing at all of aboriginal life or personality," Whitman writes. "This beautiful and ample tract, in its present undeveloped condition is quite an eyesore to the Sarnians."[82]

It should not, perhaps, come as a surprise that to readers today, Whitman's take on Native America seems a product more of his era's racialism than of a cosmic consciousness. Whitman "registered the contradiction between white supremacy and staunch egalitarianism," Eric Lott writes, "and while it can scarcely be said that Whitman always found himself on the better side of this problem, he at least has the virtue of having wrestled with it" (78). As Lott points out of his relations with African Americans, Whitman's judgments that exhibit an "evident distaste for black people themselves" reflect a "common split in working-class culture between antislavery beliefs and personal abhorrence of blacks" (79). Whitman's confrontations with his era's conceptions of, feelings about, and politics of race and racialization were neither simple nor conclusive.[83]

The picture seems even less promising when we consider Whitman's relations with and depictions of Indigenous Americans. Recent criticism is almost

univocal in pronouncing Whitman's attitude toward Native America to be the limit of his universal embrace. It's not that Whitman did not see the Native: as Ed Folsom points out, Whitman wrote constantly about American Indians. Whitman "played Indian," taking the pen name of "Paumanok" early in his career. He carefully repaired a print of the Seminole chief Osceola, hung it in his upstairs room in Camden, visible from where he lay in bed, and then wrote a poem about the warrior.[84] In his "Song of the Redwood-Tree," a horrific ode to the California redwoods being cut down for settlement, Edward Whitley sees "an implicit comparison between the doomed trees and the Indigenous peoples, both of whom [Whitman suggests] have no place in the California of the future."[85] In Folsom's words, Whitman wanted "to absorb [Natives] into the American song before they vanish forever, to preserve them in English words," and as a result wrote obsessively, but also stereotypically, about them.[86]

However conflicted the poet might have been about American Indians, it is important to look beyond Whitman's subjective experience and consider his cultural impact in the light of the concerns of Indigenous historians, philosophers, and critics. It is not that Whitman approved of genocide, or ignored Native Americans, or was silent. But Indigenous sovereignty appears nowhere as a concern in his poetry, and in it, landscape represents vigorous white improvement more than sacred memory.[87] "Native Americans could not be integrated into the expansive movement of the frontier as part of the constitutional tendency," Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri assert, "rather they had to be excluded from the terrain to open its spaces and make expansion possible. If they had been recognized, there would have been no real frontier on the continent and no open spaces to fill."[88] Aesthetically and in terms of the imagination of distribution, too, Indian Country is impinged in Whitman's work: one searches in vain for evidence that an Indigenous reader is being hailed, and a key aesthetic prop of Whitman's innovation, the depiction of "modern" everyday life, is not applied to the many Indigenous scenes in his poems. More than racial difference, these factors in Whitman's writing constitute American Indians as the Other of America, and indeed of his poetry itself, as it transcends ancient customs, formal aesthetic traditions, and other-than-democratic social forms. Whitman did not make the interactions that happened at Aamjiwnaang First Nation into poetry. Looking back at Whitman's diary entry, it seems William Wawanosh "talks and writes," but if he reads it is not mentioned.

What Renée Bergland terms the "national uncanny," the "Indian" haunting

Whitman's published writing, yet remaining ever-vanishing there, frustrates the desire to find in Whitman an ideal of absolute inclusiveness.[89] Consider the popularity of Indian-themed poems such as "Death-Sonnet for Custer," for example, which celebrates the settler heroism of the Indian Wars. "Death-Sonnet" was reprinted across the country, appearing in the giant-selling *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* among others. Clippings of the poem can still be found pasted by readers into the flyleaves of copies of *Leaves of Grass*. "If the old bard never pens another line," wrote Vermont's *Rutland Daily Globe* in its reprinting of the poem, "this last grand heart-beat of trumpet-tongued verse furnishes a fitting and noble climax to his literary efforts."[90] Whitman, *noble*—the adjective jars to the ear of social equality, but it exemplifies the paradox of his aesthetic innovation, which depended upon modernity, yet one built out of contrast with the savage pasts of both Europe and Indigenous America.

Whitman's poetry was influential by other means of distribution as well. His verse was important to academics who were key to the institutionalization of notions of the American Indian as a marker—however wise, noble, or shamanistic—of a receding past or as bearer of a primitive identity. It was cited in the lectures of the influential theorist of the frontier, the historian Frederick Jackson Turner, who at the University of Wisconsin and Harvard University trained some of the most important historians of the twentieth century. And Whitman knew well and collaborated with one of the most important ethnographers of his time, Daniel Brinton. Brinton's comparative invisibility as a force in anthropology's development today is a function of his having been displaced by two competitors, Franz Boas and John Wesley Powell, who came to dominate academic and government-sponsored anthropology. But Brinton was a member of the American Philosophical Society, as well as of a number of international scientific societies, and served as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. During the period when he and Whitman frequently conversed, Brinton was at work on a massive project to classify the Indigenous languages of the Americas, published in 1891 as *American Race*. He was already known for his *Library of Aboriginal American Literature*, published in 1882. Brinton's analyses of language were heavily value-based and stadial, drawing on Alexander Von Humboldt's systems of classification. Brinton and Whitman agreed both in their visions of racial developmental "stages" and their sense of the value of preserving American languages. Brinton's belief that

mankind was united by virtue of deeply structured psychological and cognitive processes resonated with, and may have been influenced by, Whitman's poetic visions of the unity of mankind. His relationship with Whitman positions the poet at one of the key nodes in the development of anthropology as a discipline and the different but sometimes intersecting paths of university-based and popular ethnography.[91]

Little wonder, then, that so many Native writers preferred Washington Irving, whose depictions of Native history and ways at least wrote Native particularity and history into ongoing Euroamerican philosophical and ethical debates and supported Indigenous self-determination.[92] Until the last two decades, critics and literary historians have paid little heed to Whitman's relationship to Native America. Even without reading the poetry, one might be tempted to dismiss the question given what one might presume to be the absence of Whitman's circulation in Indigenous media worlds of his time. The chart of Whitman's personal book sales from 1876 to 1891 shows not only no sales to tribal lands, but few even to the West as a whole (fig. 15).

Still, there are hints that some Indigenous people knew Whitman's work. Lauren Grewe's analysis of the publication of Whitman's "Red Jacket, from Aloft" alongside pieces by the Mohawk writer E. Pauline Johnson and the Seneca sachem Ely Parker in an 1884 memorial on the occasion of the reburial of Red Jacket suggests influential Native readers in the Great Lakes region. Robert Dale Parker argues that the long lines in some of Yavapai/Apache writer and activist Carlos Montezuma's poetry are "reminiscent of Walt Whitman," though it is unclear if Montezuma read his work.[93]

As Alexie's poem attests, Whitman has certainly become a part of Indigenous thinking today. One of the most striking uses of an interpretation of Whitman to the ends of Indigenous revitalization is Robert Warrior's reading of the 1881 Osage Constitution in the light of Whitman's 1871 essay "Democratic Vistas." The Constitution is, for Warrior, "an expression of the modern intellectual aspirations of a people confronting the need to transform themselves on their own terms" (51). Whitman's confrontation with the crisis of identity that the Civil War evidenced and did not solve, for Warrior, can be read as a prompt for something Native nations need: "sincere analysis and creative attempts to find viable solutions to Native problems" (58). Warrior turns Whitman's call for "native authors, literatures, far different, far higher in grade" that would help yield "appropriate teachers, schools, manners, and . . .

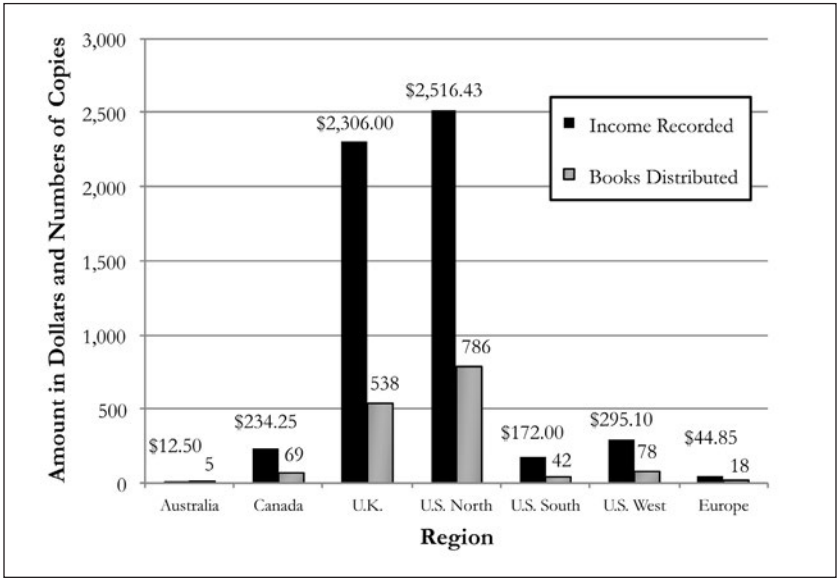


FIGURE 15. Chart of Whitman's personal book sales by region, 1876–1891. These data, derived from Whitman's daybooks and extending the period shown in figure 8, suggest that Whitman's sales to the South and the West, even after he had begun to achieve national fame, were not substantial.

a religious and moral character beneath the political and productive and intellectual bases of the States" to the antipodal but structurally similar purposes of Native American authors and intellectuals, and to a description of the kind of reflection and debate that led to the original Osage Constitution. This brilliant adoption of Whitman enables the insight that, "in spite of the history of betrayal the Osages have experienced, a vision worth pursuing remains" (91).[94]

Such harnessings of Whitman, enabled by the very recognition of Whitman's aporia when it came to Native sovereignty, have a complex history only beginning to be told. Still, we do know that at least one Native had already begun to read Whitman by the time the poet wrote "Osceola": Alexander Posey. Posey's career, writing, and engagement with Whitman offer a glimpse into a much larger world of literary distribution in Indian Country—in his case, specifically, the Indian Territory, in what are now a series of federally recognized Native jurisdictions within the state of Oklahoma.

MYSTERIOUS ROOM

Alexander Posey was born in Eufaula, Muscogee Nation, in 1873. He attended school at Bacone Indian University, became a school teacher and administrator, and wrote and published for much of his short life. Like Whitman, he learned journalism not just as a writer but as a typesetter, in Posey's case for the Bacone *B.I.U. Instructor.* When the Dawes Commission came to Creek country to enforce allotment policy, he worked for it, becoming involved in notoriously shady land and resource deals. A supporter of allotment but one of the most important Creek literary figures, Posey is a complex figure. He died young, drowned in the Oktahutche River (about which he had written many a poetic verse), some Creeks still say as spiritual retribution for his dishonest dealings with tribe members.[95] The *Indian Journal*, which Posey would own, contribute to, or edit on and off for much of his writing life, was founded in 1876 and obtained by the Indian International Printing Company, chartered by the Creek National Council, in 1877.

The *Indian Journal* was one of a number of competing venues in an active periodical world in Indian Territory. In addition to the many national and international newspapers brought to the territory by express companies, booksellers, and other distributors, there were dozens of homegrown papers. In 1893, for example, when Posey was twenty years old, there were at least forty-six papers (including three dailies) being published in thirty-one locales among five nations. That year, the *Indian Journal* had a reported circulation of 1,000, in an area with an estimated population of 400, indicating a readership beyond the bounds of Eufaula. While its circulation estimates are spotty, *Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual* shows at least 21,000 copies of papers being printed weekly across Indian Territory, just under one for every two Indigenous people residing there at the time. With an already deep history of newspaper publication, the Cherokee tribe had the largest single share of that circulation, at over 7,800 copies weekly, including the bilingual *Cherokee Advocate.* As elsewhere on the continent, Indian Territory papers were affiliated with a range of interests. There were of course the religious vehicles—the *Baptist Watchman* in South McAlester and Muscogee's *Indian Methodist*—and there was Purcell's *Fraternal Record.* Democratic affiliations outnumbered Republican ones sixteen to one, but many papers reported themselves as independent or neutral.[96]

By way of the same practices of newspaper exchange we have seen at work in previous chapters and in John Newton Johnson's Alabama, Posey's work was reprinted in newspapers from London, England, to Kansas City, Missouri. Though he wrote with the high tone and elegance of international romanticism, Posey expressly stated that his regional writing was not, as today's scholars often assert of regionalism, ultimately aimed at an urban, northeastern audience: "Heretofore I have always made my letters of territorial importance only, using characters and incidents that all of our people are familiar with," Posey told a reporter for the *South McAlester (Okla.) Capital* in 1903. "I fear that the eastern people would not understand me."[97] The existence of an exchange system linking Indian Territory to the world, even for this romantic, did not guarantee a writing style premised on an eastward, urban drift.

After the U.S. government's forced removal of Native children to boarding schools, Robert Warrior observes, the first wave of modern American Indian intellectuals emerged, and Posey was among them. Indian schools across the country, whether religious (or "philanthropic") or state-sponsored, tended to feature a reading and writing curriculum based in "standard" authors, classical rhetoric, and religious writing. But Posey was an avid reader beyond the curriculum of the schools he attended, as his journals reveal. He recorded his fondness for Irving and for Donald Grant Mitchell (whose popular *Reveries of a Bachelor*, published under the pseudonym I. K. Marvel, exuded Irving's tone). He also enjoyed Whitman's champion and acquaintance Robert Ingersoll, the critic of religion whom Johnson had mentioned to the poet as important in his spiritual evolution. Southern fiction sat side by side with the complete works of Thoreau on Posey's bookshelf.[98] Posey traveled from time to time, but he appears to have obtained these books by means familiar from other rural contexts. A "significant number of Posey's books bear the imprint of subscription book dealers," writes Matthew Wynn Sivils, "and the advertisements in the backs of these volumes hint that he obtained a substantial portion of his collection through the mail" (139).

In addition to the books listed in his journal, he read regional, national, and international literary magazines widely and frequently, including *Puck*, *Truth*, *Judge*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Up to Date*, and the *American Illustrated Magazine*. Posey was reading a great range of newspapers.[99] A layering of local, regional, national, and international interests—sometimes harmonizing, sometimes competing

—appears in the literary world of Alexander Posey, just as it did in John Newton Johnson's South, in Horace Traubel's arts and crafts circles, or in Whitman's antebellum Brooklyn. But in Posey's work, Muscogee politics and cultural concerns join and shape these complex topographies of affiliation and rhetorical engagement. Posey's writing, to be sure, at times hails a universal audience. It does so sometimes in the Romantic mode, nature's evocation approximating the instinctive beauty of the songs of birds, sometimes by way of Creek inspiration, fusing Western poetics with traditional ways of communicating. Yet his writing most often addresses what Phillip H. Round calls "Indian publics": readerships for whom print circulation was inflected by colonial and local Native politics and the possibilities for resistance or the dangers of complicity that circulation offered.[100] "In Indian Country," Round writes, "the printing and distribution of books came to mean preserving tribal sovereignty, protecting traditional religions, and mediating imperial power by turning back upon them the very tools the colonizers had brought to subordinate the Native nations" (96). Printing and distribution were sites of contest within tribes, among them, and between tribes and settlers.

A brief look at some of Posey's poems shows both his stylistic leanings and the way he engaged a range of potential readers. A short, unpublished poem, "The Squatter's Fence," combines Posey's trademark humor with a sharp criticism of the influx of unprincipled settlers to Indian Territory:

> He sets his posts so far apart
> And tacks his barbed wire so slack
> In haste to get the [Injun] land
> Enclosed and squat him qui'lly down,
> Unseen by any, that
> His fence when built looks like
> A country candy pulling![101]

Here Posey mocks the all-too-obvious signs that put the lie to the "unseen" squatter's invisibility. Always a keen observer of the plains, Posey often makes the nexus of landscape and human presence the center of his poetry. His elegiac "Coyote" both reveals some of its author's literary influences and navigates the politics of Indian Territory against mainstream representations of American Indians. It begins:

A few days more and then
There'll be no secret glen,
Or hollow, deep and dim,
To hide or shelter him.

And on the prairie far,
Beneath the beacon star
On Evening's dark'ning shore,
I'll hear him nevermore.

Invoking Poe's persistent raven, or perhaps rather Lenore, the disappearing coyote seems at first blush to symbolize the "vanishing Indian," resonating with Whitman's redwoods in "Song of the Redwood-Tree." The evocation of the "prairie far" seems to push us, with the coyote and the imagined Indian, farther west. But the introduction of the poetic speaker frustrates the trope: the speaker is already on the prairie far, and will remain where he is even as the coyote disappears. The poem's second half further revises the customary narrative:

For where the tepee smoke
Curled up of yore, the stroke
Of hammers ring all day,
And grim Doom shouts, "Make way!"

The immemorial hush
        Is broken by the rush
Of armed enemies
        Unto the utmost seas.[102]

The mention of an "immemorial" hush and the "nevermore" paired with the tepee smoke position the speaker as a Native. The hammers and weapons—since our speaker must be planning to stay put—are not just the settlers', but also the Natives'. Posey shows his progressive side here, yet at the same time the elegiac invocation, the sense of loss and "Doom," and the shifting of perspectives from coyote to speaker and back again with the description of "armed enemies" make this poem a depiction of tensions, of transitions, rather than a straightforwardly positive or nostalgic representation of what was happening on the prairies. The poem's form, too, seems to bear this ten-

sion, Posey's hanging indentations in the final stanza tempering the hammer-ringing couplets into something that looks almost like a sonnet with its final sussurant lines.

Much of Posey's poetry was written for newspaper publication. Given also that he was an editor for much of his writing life, it is perhaps no surprise to find print circulation itself as a theme in his work.[103] One example offers a glimpse into the other side of Micah Caswell's labors in the Carolina hills, and the pervasiveness of bookmen, from colporteurs to door-to-door subscription salesmen, even in Indian Country:

> The whippowill has come
> To chant his dreamy lay;
> The bumble-bees now hum
> Thro' all the lovely day,
> The man with books to sell
> Now knocks upon your door—
> And you could quickly fell
> Him welt'ring in his gore.[104]

It was not by way of a tense interaction with a subscription agent that Posey found Whitman. Nor was Whitman's work included in the vastly reprinted McGuffey's readers that were often used in Indian school contexts. Unsurprisingly, Whitman frequently appears in newspapers across the Oklahoma and Indian Territories during the time Posey was growing up and first attending school. Just as in the case of coverage of the poet in southern papers, opinions about Whitman were mixed, though by the time of his death in 1892, the coverage was either neutral or positive.[105] It is likely that, like Johnson, Posey first encountered Whitman here. It appears that Posey was also purchasing from publishers, agents, or booksellers via an express service, probably Kinsley Express Company: "Received a bill of books from Knisley [*sic*?]," Posey recorded in May 1897, containing "Poems of Whitman, Shelley and Bret Harte; 'Wet Days at Edgewood,' 'My Farm at Edgewood' by Donald G. Mitchell, 'Ik. Marvel,' and the 'Building of the City Beautiful' by Joaquin Miller. My idle moments during the summer will be spent with these" (87).[106]

Complaining about the quality of magazine fiction, Posey wrote in his journal, "I want facts—truth elegantly dressed—interpretations of nature—something to build on and to broaden my views—something to give me a

deeper understanding in all that pertains to life" (Sivils 78–79). If Whitman influenced Posey's sense of nature and helped to broaden his views, his poetry did little to influence Posey's form and style. He often praised Washington Irving's humor and sentiment—Posey named his son not after Whitman, as John Newton Johnson had, but after Irving: Yahola Irving Posey.[107] In poetry, Robert Burns's combination of dialect humor with criticisms of class and colonialism was closer to Posey's heart, shaping not only some of his poetry but also the "Fus Fixico letters" for which he is best known today. Still, Posey stated to a friend that "Old Walt Whitman has wound himself into my affections as thoroughly as 'Bobbie' Burns," and praised the fact that Whitman "celebrates any old thing regardless of how it sounds and jars the over-sensitive and civilized nature of man and maid." Preferring Whitman to Oscar Wilde, Posey insisted that the former's "'yawps' are interwoven with finely spun sentiment and philosophy and there is in him on the whole more gold than dross." Gold, philosophy, sentiment: civilized yet uncivil, Whitman resonates for Posey as both down-to-earth cajoler and global poet.[108]

Whitman's influence may appear in a number of places in Posey's poetry. In "To Walulla Enhotulle (To the South Wind)," the speaker pleads to the wind to be told the secrets of nature. It's a common trope, but specifically resonant with Whitman is the request to know "The pass-word of the leaves / Upon the cottonwood" (78). "Prairies of the West," too, is Whitmanian in form and theme:

> Roll on, ye Prairies of the West,
> Roll on, like unsailed seas aways!
> I love thy silences
> And thy mysterious room.
>
> Roll on, companions of my soul,
> Roll on, into the boundless day![109]

Daniel Littlefield suggests that the thrush in Posey's "Verses Written at the Grave of McIntosh" is taken from Whitman, as is perhaps the elegiac comfort of "the return of life and love in April and in the oaks that stand sentinel at the grave of his friend and 'Indian brother'" (105).

Regrettably, there is a two-year hiatus in the journal at just about the time Posey would have started reading the Whitman book he purchased by way of Kinsley. His reactions to reading the poet in depth, therefore, are lost to

us. But an earlier poem, "Death of the Poets," hints at what Whitman might have offered Posey's navigation of the place of the poet in the nation and on the planet. Written on the occasion of the death of Tennyson and published in 1892, it reads in full:

> Lowell first, then Whitman, Whittier went;
> Next, the lyric bards of songs—the
> English laureate. Who to
> Follow them? Our Wendell Holmes?
> Then, alas! the space and sky their
> Genius lit must darken to its stars!
> How long, oh, will the shadow last?—
> Until as bright or brighter orbs
> Appear, and flood the realms of rhyme,—
> Celestial, glowing, newly born!
> Yes, the poetic sky is scant of suns,
> And only by its minor beacons graced
> But 'tis true, unbidden wonders come
> And meteors flash, and Sol at eve is
> Sinking but to rise.[110]

This poem suggests that Whitman's bold valuation of pride, coupled with his sense of the cyclical nature of human cultural development, may have been as significant to the young Muscogee poet as Whitman's challenge to humankind's "over-sensitive and civilized nature." The seeming deference of a poem memorializing "realms of rhyme" is counteracted by an almost flouting of form; the piece is written in loose tetrameter and employs only the occasional off rhyme, alliteration, and assonance. The seeming rhetorical questions of the adulatory first half of the poem are answered by the "minor beacon" who, bucking the traditional humble pose of the elegist, hails the "unbidden wonders" implicitly of, at least, his own verse. It is a fitting response in form and content to the boldness for which Whitman had called in "Poets to Come":

> Poets to come! orators, singers, musicians to come!
> Not to-day is to justify me and answer what I am for,
> But you, a new brood, native, athletic, continental, greater than
> before known,
> Arouse! for you must justify me.[111]

Though Posey's "Our Wendell Holmes" hints at a U.S. or otherwise American context for this potential achievement, his elegy is for both American and English poets; the English language is his organizing frame for assessing poetry's future. While this international orientation could be leveraged to Creek ends, Posey carefully puts his implication in personal and symbolic terms: he might be the "Sol" to rise next as a successor, "unbidden," to poetic stars like Whitman. Posey carefully navigates into a position that valorizes his poetic abilities, the Anglophone poetic legacy, and his unheralded "minor" position as a Native writer.

In other poems and his prose writings, Posey would lay explicit claim to his role as an Indigenous intellectual and poet, drawing on Creek oral traditions and ways. In his use of Whitman, however, the formal and historical potentials of poetry as an international field are his concern. Posey both roots literature in his land and his culture, in the case of the Fus Fixico letters and several of his poems, and considers the formal traditions from which he has learned on their own terms. There is a way in which Posey's attitude toward literary history obeys a logic of national appreciation within a cosmic framework—an attitude shared by writers in many lands. As Craig Womack writes, despite having worked for the Dawes Commission, Posey "remains hard to characterize as 'progressivist'" because he both respected traditionalists' wisdom and memories and because "the idea of progress is parodied so frequently" in the Fus Fixico letters.[112] Posey has perhaps been susceptible to such a range of readings, from the Creek tribal perspective offered by Womack to the assimilationist traditionalist indictment to the hybrid writer-between-two-worlds framing, both because his attitudes changed over the years and because he studiously and courageously engaged the political complexities of his time and tribe, publishing for contentious Muscogee Creek audiences his whole career.

It is in this context that Posey's selective appropriation of Whitman unfolded. Whitman is put to the purposes of Native nation-building in Posey's work. But he is not invoked in a way that would please every observer of Muscogee Creek history. He is employed to support Posey's development of his poetic identity, too, yet in a way that rather adapts than praises Whitman's larger vision. Posey would surely have agreed with Sherman Alexie's pronouncement of the reservation, "There is no place like this." Possessed of a powerful sense of humor, he may well have been one of the Natives "righteously" laughing at Whitman's pose at times, a pose made possible in part by Whitman's never

having imagined Alexie or Posey as readers. But Posey's elegy and his praise suggest that if the game belonged to Whitman, the planetary, contradictory vision that made such an idea of possession possible—"for every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you"—an authorial owning beyond offense or defense, was one Posey knew he shared.

IN AN 1894 PIECE by the syndicated humorist Bill Nye, we get another brief, and queer, glimpse of Whitman in Indian Country.

> An odd thing about the Indian Territory is that the Cherokees owned negro slaves before the war, and when these were emancipated they had the same rights as the Indians and could take up land and also receive from the government various allowances which have made many of them rich.
>
> So it's a queer, queer complexion that society has here. I was introduced to a tall, good-looking girl in white the other day, a student and up in everything from Walt Whitman to the 'Heavenly Twins,' yet she was the descendant of an old chief.[113]

Nye's column is heavily ironic, if not actually often funny, so it's hard to credit this observation with fact. Yet in its attempt to evince "queer" identity conjunctions—white and black and Indian—it leverages the "queer" poet as a presence in Indian Country. (Elsewhere Nye writes positively of Whitman—for example, praising a friend and collaborator, James Whitcomb Riley, by saying that "his spirit is that of Walt Whitman; he speaks the universal democracy, the equality of man, the hatred of assumption and snobbery, that our republic stands for, if it stands for anything.")[114] Moreover, the social landscape described here, with its miscegenation, racial tension, and competing land and identity claims, was characteristic of Alexander Posey's Muscogee world in the Indian Territory as well. Posey, like John Newton Johnson, emitted passionately racist depictions of blacks, was sympathetic with the Confederacy, and was a reader of nostalgic southern literature. He had in common with Nye (whose work he also read) a talent for satirical and dialect humor, and with the "tall, good-looking girl," fictional or no, a familiarity with Walt Whitman's work.

It has been argued that there is a certain instructive harmony between the critiques offered by the Lost Cause romances celebrating the pre–Civil War

South and American Indian literary resistance to the incursions of the United States. Both communities, Melanie Benson Taylor observes, suffered "a devastating colonial past . . . battered communities and sovereignty, and . . . a corrosive capitalist hegemony."[115] The comparison is jarring and instructive—and surely part of the infrastructure of that capitalist hegemony was the distribution of printed matter by which Walt Whitman's poetry made its way into the far reaches of what he claimed as his America.

Yet the sorts of sovereignty under consideration in this chapter have less in common than might warrant such a yoking, or, perhaps better put, their histories are more entangled than parallel, a product of white supremacy no less than of ideals of manifest destiny. Consider that Whitman drew ideas about the Indigenous history of America—and some of the vocabulary for "Song of Myself"—from a popular essay by the southern writer and pro-slavery advocate William Gilmore Simms. Simms, driven by a romantic vision of early white settlement of the South that would justify claims to white residence and ease the anxieties over the recent violent removal of the Cherokees, reviewed North Ludlow Beamish's *The Discovery of America, by the Northmen, of the Tenth Century* (1841). He concluded that white settlers of the mid-Atlantic, probably from Ireland, had been displaced by marauding American Indians, in the process conveying their architecture and technologies to the Natives. "The nineteenth-century belief in a 'superior race' predating the Indians and the debates over who first discovered America were, at least in part, an expression," Annette Kolodny writes, of an "anxiety of legitimacy." The issue of who discovered America "became intimately intertwined with the question of who *really* belongs here"—a question that palpably pulses through Whitman's poetry. Whitman marked page after page of Simms's review.[116]

John Newton Johnson's Meltonsville had originally been an Upper Creek town in Cherokee territory—home, therefore, to not-so-distant relatives of Alexander Posey.[117] A hand-drawn map of Marshall County from 1900 includes an icon marking the remains of a Creek village only a few miles from Johnson's plantation (fig. 16). A series of signs along Meltonsville Road today mark the path of the Trail of Tears, taken by dispossessed Cherokees not long before Johnson moved to his plantation there (fig. 17).

And where, after all, did young Walt Whitman Johnson end up? In a photograph owned by his descendants, Walt Whitman Johnson appears—tanned, mustached, shirt open at the neck, hat at a rakish tilt, gripping the handle of

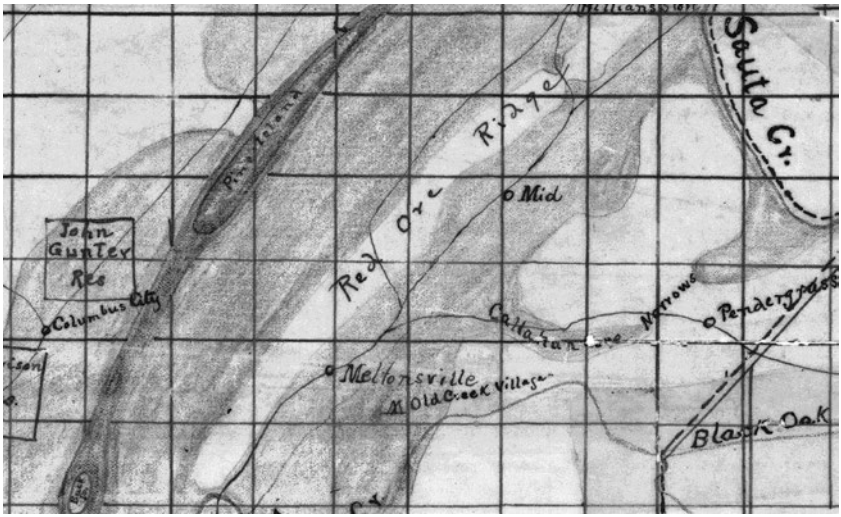
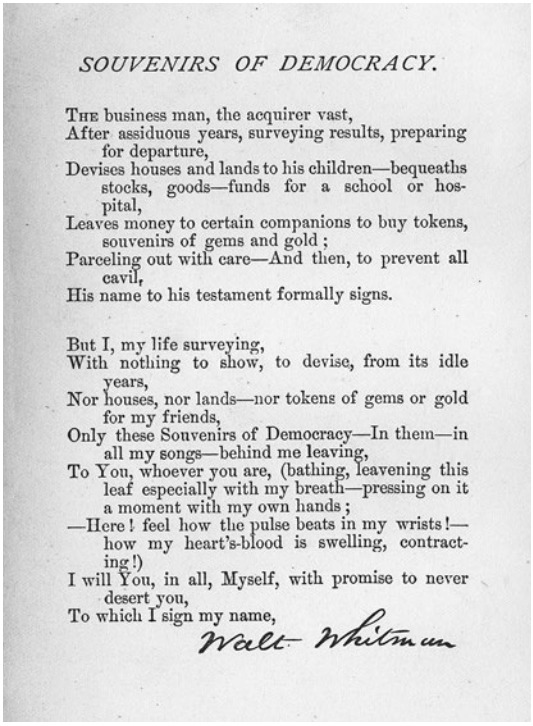


FIGURE 16. (*Above*) Detail from Oliver Day Street, "Map of Marshall County," unpublished, circa 1900, Alabama Department of Archives and History. This hand-drawn map from the turn of the century shows an "Old Creek Village" in close vicinity to John Newton Johnson's Meltonsville. Courtesy Alabama Maps project at the Cartographic Research Laboratory, University of Alabama.

FIGURE 17. (*Left*) Trail of Tears marker at the corner of Meltonsville and South Sauty Roads, Marshall County, Alabama, April 2015. Photo by the author.

a revolver thrust into his waistband—with two of his sons, Frank and Joe Newton Johnson.[118] Here is the consummate frontiersman of Whitman's poetry, and a grim mirror of the poet himself: rough, westward-moving, land-clearing, bringing forth a new generation of Americans. The photograph was taken in Choctaw County, Oklahoma, where Johnson appears in U.S. draft card records in 1918 as a farmer, white, forty-three years of age. Choctaw County was created out of Choctaw lands when Oklahoma was admitted as a state in 1907, replacing the former Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory. Walt Whitman Johnson, then, was also the consummate settler of Posey's slack squatter fences, of his endangered coyotes. This, too, is Whitman in the South, Whitman in Indian Country. What shall a poet sing, indeed?



SOUVENIRS OF DEMOCRACY.

THE business man, the acquirer vast,
After assiduous years, surveying results, preparing for departure,
Devises houses and lands to his children—bequeaths stocks, goods—funds for a school or hospital,
Leaves money to certain companions to buy tokens, souvenirs of gems and gold;
Parceling out with care—And then, to prevent all cavil,
His name to his testament formally signs.

But I, my life surveying,
With nothing to show, to devise, from its idle years,
Nor houses, nor lands—nor tokens of gems or gold for my friends,
Only these Souvenirs of Democracy—In them—in all my songs—behind me leaving,
To You, whoever you are, (bathing, leavening this leaf especially with my breath—pressing on it a moment with my own hands;
—Here! feel how the pulse beats in my wrists!—how my heart's-blood is swelling, contracting!)
I will You, in all, Myself, with promise to never desert you,
To which I sign my name,

Walt Whitman

Whitman's "Souvenirs of Democracy," taken from a copy of *Two Rivulets* emended by its author, held at the Harry Ransom Center at the University of Texas at Austin. Courtesy of the *Walt Whitman Archive*.

No sound art, in fact, could possibly be democratic.
— H. L. Mencken

CHAPTER FIVE ✷ OVER THE ROOFS OF THE WORLD

It is probably, among reviewers, the most-quoted line from Whitman's poetry: "I sound my barbaric yawp over the roofs of the world." Nineteenth-century critics disagreed about whether the unfurling of the yawp was a good thing or a bad thing, but they were all struck by Whitman's formulation, a vision of universal transmission with untranslatable, visceral, uncivilized content. The phrase "barbaric yawp" went viral.

It was the most catchy of many attempts Whitman made during the mid-1850s to broadcast over the roofs of the world. A prose piece Whitman wrote

around the time of the first *Leaves of Grass*, "The Eighteenth Presidency!," was subtitled "Voice of Walt Whitman to each Young Man in the Nation, North, South, East, and West." A spirited plea to the working men of the United States to throw off the tyranny of party, slavery, and timidity, the essay (possibly intended as a lecture) aspires to energize common readers. "Are lawyers, dough-faces, and the three hundred and fifty thousand owners of slaves, to sponge the mastership of thirty millions?" Whitman asks, with a pointedness that resonates into our own time; "Where is the real America?" No less extraordinary is the essay's bold declaration about getting out this word, characteristic of Whitman's early imagination of distribution as capable of saturating the states with his work:

> Circulate and reprint this Voice of mine for the workingman's sake. I hereby permit and invite any rich person, anywhere, to stereotype it, or re-produce it in any form, to deluge the cities of The States with it, North, South, East and West. It is those millions of mechanics you want; the writers, thinkers, learned and benevolent persons, merchants, are already secured almost to a man.[1]

"Whitman's dramatic surrender of a copyright he never held in the name of workingmen with whom he can only hope to speak," Meredith McGill writes, suggests how the fluidity of both intellectual property and distribution norms before the Civil War "contributed to the development of his characteristic modes of poetic address."[2] As we have seen, those modes continued to evolve in Whitman's work as he adapted to the shifting landscapes of distribution and of reactions to his attempts to represent America. The conditions for creativity today, regarded from the standpoint of distribution, are not unlike those in which Whitman emerged. The unpredictable environments both of law and actual textual exchange, new options and new obstacles, as well as a profoundly ambivalent set of feelings about what the electronic age is doing to us, offer creators a potent source of inspiration.

In some ways, the tensions of this passage from "The Eighteenth Presidency!" are the ones that continue to shape distribution of Whitman's works in our time, by way of the free online resource the *Walt Whitman Archive*, for example. On one hand, the web makes widespread distribution possible at a cost that seems much lower than ever before. On the other hand, it takes a lot of resources actually to get "this Voice" of Walt Whitman's out there: to obtain digital images from repositories across the globe, transcribe and encode them

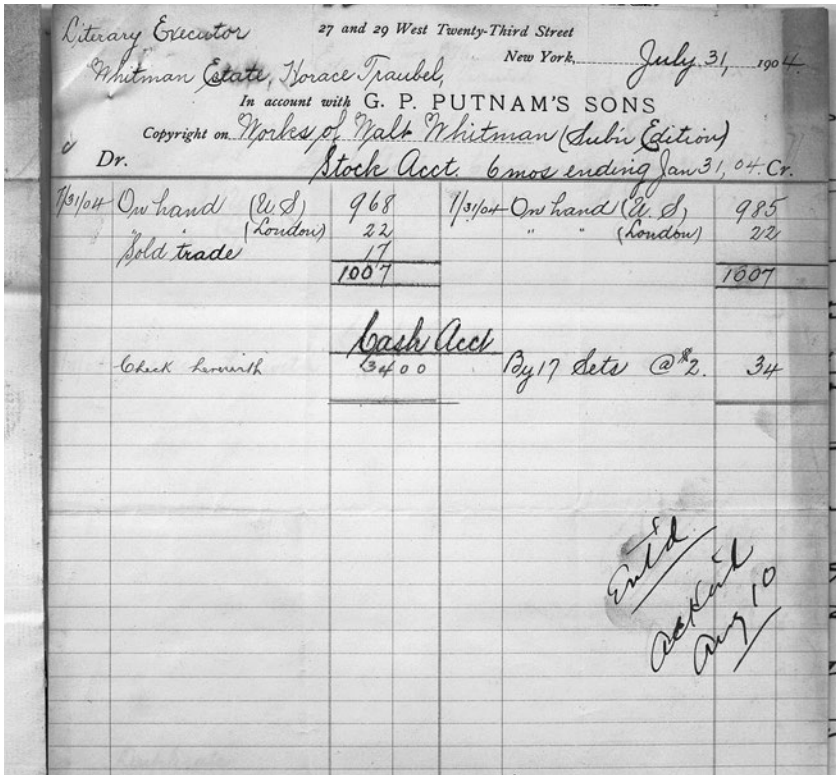
so that they can be displayed and searched, maintain servers and fight off hackers, and stay in touch with the latest software and social media. The *Archive*, in accordance with Whitman's early vision, is pitched at both "writers, thinkers, learned and benevolent persons" and at working men and women. The idealism of a scholarly edition freely reaching worldwide audiences drives those of us who contribute to it in ways similar to, if not as intense as, those that drove the young Whitman's vision of vectoring all of America in his poetry—of becoming the first truly American poet.

But it is even more complex than this. Whitman never published "The Eighteenth Presidency!" And as of this writing, neither has the *Archive*, though many rich—and not-so-rich—persons have donated to its literary-archival dream. Some of the most potent exhibitions of distributional idealism remain in the media of print or manuscript even in this moment of enthusiasm about the entire human record supposedly going digital.[3] What is more, if today we draw inspiration from Whitman's poetry to give out electronic poetic souvenirs of democracy, or even merely to give out souvenirs democratically, that inspiration comes yoked to the fact that, for Whitman, his poetry was meant to be remunerative. Conversing with Horace Traubel one cold night in 1890, the poet reported on his latest correspondence:

> "One letter that came was the funniest, the damnedest—. A woman, in the west, in Iowa, Kansas, somewhere, said she had heard I gave away copies of Leaves of Grass: which proving so, would I not send a copy to her? That seemed the damnedest I ever heard." And he laughed most heartily.[4]

Whitman was telling this story, laughing this laugh, and damning these damns with one of his future literary executors. Even after his death, Whitman expected, someone would be making money from the sale of his poetry (fig. 18). As we have seen in earlier chapters, Whitman did not exclude the possibility of free circulation. He even had copies of his works printed specifically for free private distribution, as in the case, for example, of a few hundred copies of *November Boughs*, which Horace Traubel reported were "not for the market."[5] Still, Whitman's vision of poetic drift was not coincident with what today is called "open access."

The nineteenth-century's dreams of book distribution characterized by saturation, progress, and profit have been extended in the electronic age: in addition to those qualities, now we will have speed and interpersonal connectivity


Literary Executor 27 and 29 West Twenty-Third Street
Whitman Estate, Horace Traubel, New York, July 31, 1904.
In account with G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
Copyright on Works of Walt Whitman (Subscription Edition)
Dr. Stock Acct 6 mos ending Jan 31, 04. Cr.

1/31/04	On hand (U.S.)	968		1/31/04	On hand (U.S.)	985
	(London)	22			" " (London)	22
	Sold trade	17				
		1007				1007
		Cash Acct				
	Check herewith	3400			By 17 Sets @ $2.	34

Entd Aug 10

FIGURE 18. Royalty accounting, 31 July 1904, by G. P. Putnam's Sons to Horace Traubel and Thomas Harned, for *Complete Works of Walt Whitman* (1903), Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Horace and Anne Montgomerie Traubel Collection. Putnam's was disappointed with the slow sales of the edition; this invoice displays the vagueness of the information about distribution customary in publishers' reports to authors and editors. Photo by the author.

in inverse proportion to the human labor necessary to bring it about. Surely we get books, physical and electronic, much faster and from more different places than ever before. Recorded music seems to have gone almost completely digital (though there has been a recent upsurge in vinyl LP collecting). In an age of page counts, trackbacks, retweets, followers, and viral videos, Louisa May Alcott's experience of the drama of distribution seems quaint, her reaction to it a bit naive. But for most of us, many things about the transmissive activities of distribution remain the same: it doesn't take an Edward Snowden

to make us realize that we don't really know what all is circulating on the web or how. All we have to do is hit "View Source" in our web browser's tool bar to peek behind the veil at a Hawthornian forest of code. Furthermore, we have been told enough about the "digital divide" to know that not everyone is online and that in some countries, such as China, access to the World Wide Web is configured in vastly different ways than in, say, Canada. Net neutrality is not a given. The intellectual property laws that we saw fermenting in earlier chapters continue to try to respond to the times, often serving major corporate interests like those of the Walt Disney Company, but occasionally leaving loopholes. In the antebellum period, "a Lockean notion of the book as inalienable private property was defeated in the courts," McGill observes, "by a republican emphasis on the publicity of print and on the political need for its wide dissemination."[6] The Internet has occasioned a revivification of republican ideological discourse—even anarchist discourse, in the case of Siva Vaidhyanathan's work—about the public value of information dissemination. At the same time, it has provoked experimentation, not least importantly in the form of a phalanx of unprecedented legal and technological strictures on media consumption.[7]

Free distribution, in the past as now, did not guarantee circulation, much less saturation, of a communication space. This chapter asks: What is the character of digital distribution? What exactly gets distributed electronically, and how? And, using the example of Whitman's free distribution in the present, it wonders about the implications of the answers to those questions for the literature of the past as it moves into the future. The *Walt Whitman Archive*—the source both of my interest in Whitman and of many of the documents that supported the scenes and conclusions in the earlier chapters of this book—becomes itself the subject of analysis, taking its place in a wide landscape of free movements of Whitman's images and words across the web.

FREENESS IS NOT FREE

Free distribution has never meant "freeness," in the sense that we associate with a gift that has been given to us. For nineteenth-century readers, as for more recent theorists of the gift like Lewis Hyde, for a gift really to be a gift meant preserving its ability to "create a generous and genuine community of the imagination," in Leon Jackson's words.[8] The gift's meaning,

wrapped up in its conditions of transmission, consequently relies on its being kept out of economic transactions. It must remain a thing, as in the intimate metaphor, "handed down." Circulation is key to the understanding of the gift, and inscriptions in Whitman's books, many of which have been handed down through multiple generations, suggest this definitional limitation. As a correlate, however, "to receive a present is to be drawn into a relationship freighted with expectations to reciprocate," and as such "gifts both create and sustain bonds" (92). This is a sense of freeness that, for example, *Wikipedia* tries to activate in users during its annual fund-raising campaigns. Most of the time the Internet doesn't feel quite like a gift, but when we are asked to imagine it without *Wikipedia* (once much more controversial than now as an information source) we pause. Pierre Bourdieu points out that the kind of interaction that gift-giving and -receiving constitutes is one of collective masquerade or delusion: "no one fails to comply with the rule of the game which is to act as if one did not know the rule."[9] In terms of this study, we might say that one of the peculiar features of free distribution is the necessary concealment of its own conditions, an inverse version of the economic-competitive considerations that cause bookmakers to obscure distribution data. And because so much of distribution whose end is profit also nonetheless involves "free" exchange—gifts, puffs, giveaways, samples, returns, newspaper exchanges—much is omitted from the record, "as if one did not know," even about this seemingly generous activity. The absence of an economic record enhances the value of a transmission in the market, as a free gift is more likely to create vibe out of proportion to the economic value of the transaction. Distribution history is thus often at its most salient or most emotional when it is least documented.

The circulation that this chapter explores might then be described as distribution that is *felt* as free. The term "open access," much in use today, finesses both the costs of free distribution (with its ambiguous term "open") and the process of distribution ("access" describing a state of accessibility, not a means). Motive is thus separated from mechanism, free circulation's necessary material constraints detached from the political, religious, or aesthetic motivations that drive it. This separation hampers our ability to escape the anchors of a debate featuring techno-democratic hype, on one hand (resurgent even in the skeptical, snarky age of social media and identity theft), and the dour proclamations of corporate appropriation of all media channels, on the other. Whitman learned over the course of his career that different distribution

mechanisms, as they evolved, competed, and decayed, "spun" the texts they conveyed in different ways. That spin was dependent in complex ways upon the texts' contents, form, and format. A change in the feeling of one form of distribution was unlikely to leave other kinds of distribution unaffected. Mark Twain's championing of subscription sales partook equally of direct sales profits and the positive cultural stamp, for some rural readers, of defying urban publishers' condescension. Whitman's own sales-by-mail business became more a boutique enterprise by the 1890s (when David McKay was publishing his new work and arranging for its distribution and when Whitman's autograph was more sought-after) than it had been in the 1870s, when it was an important source of his income. The same dynamic relations among distribution methods hold today. It's not just platforms (MySpace, anyone?) that come and go or have different connotations, but whole transmissive modes. The e-book has gotten the most attention of late, and is perhaps the most emblematic of the way materiality, aesthetic form, and new distribution capabilities are transforming the literary market today. But as we will see, in the case of Whitman's poetry at least, neither the future dominance of any given platform nor the role of his poetry is predictable. It would have been difficult thirty years ago to imagine a Walt Whitman Facebook presence, and it might be as hard now, if at times pleasant, to imagine a world without Facebook. But to think about these modes of distributing Whitman's work in relation to the dreams of democratic diffusion that inspired his contemporaries and many of our own is to confront the interdependencies of art, technology, and politics.

Whitman's own cut-and-paste practices, together with the correspondence and conversation with his fans that we have already been following to trace his many-threaded distribution paths, elegantly illustrate the long history of remixing that has characterized the field of literature. What Henry Jenkins calls the "participatory culture" that we may say has surrounded Whitman and to which he gave a poetic overture has perhaps become more palpable in the age of "spreadable media."[10] In focusing on what fans do with media, Jenkins, in a way structurally indebted to the Marxist cultural studies of subcultures that preceded his, but perhaps no less so than to the Horace Traubels and Fanny Ferns of longer ago, shows a complex ecological interdependence among individual passions and politics, technological platforms or media formats, and the evolving content of media, "literary" and otherwise. In some ways, this makes the curatorial, preservative, annotational aspirations of academic ed-

itorial projects like the *Whitman Archive* seem a bit out of touch—not just with the media agency conformation of the moment, but perhaps with those of Whitman's own time. If we are to free the archive, why not merely free it as an archive, make it as remixable as possible, by as many means as we can, rather than concerning ourselves overmuch with notes, introductions, or even extensive and expensive copyediting and proofreading, since after all the images of the originals are right there next to the text, and we can always mend transcriptions later?

If you're a scholar, you might feel the objection to that position as a prickly emotion.[11] But defending the cathedral against the bazaar is only one way to approach the issue. Scholars have examined the effects of the electronic environment on literary transmission and preservation and found different patterns. Alan Liu worries, among other things, that the veil cast across the mechanisms by which artistic works of all sort are transmitted desensitizes creators and editors to the contingencies of production that have given an extra edge to artistic works for centuries. Not knowing that server-side includes, stand-off markup, style sheets, and the like are functioning behind the scenes, much less what they are doing, makes it less likely that editors or artists will involve the operating environment in their works.[12] Whether one would involve the transmission matrix and its politics to make one or another particular argument is less important than the general ethics of black boxing the large-scale systems whose affordances, intermachinic intelligibility, and availability are largely in the hands of corporations or speculators for whom human freedom may not be a priority or whose vision thereof may not be coincident with a future for the creative arts and literature.

The *Walt Whitman Archive* has taken some steps to address concerns like these by beginning to reach out to fans. Like many dead authors, Walt Whitman has Facebook and Twitter accounts. The *Archive* has also involved in its work a wide range of contributors both academic and nonacademic—collectors, fans, librarians, scholars, poets, historians, translators. It has made it easy to download images and XML from most of its content pages, and uses largely open-source software to generate, store, track, and host these. Remixing is, if not an affordance of the site, certainly not hard to do with its content, as a Google Image search on any of the pictures at the *Archive* shows. Here, however, a caution recently offered by Virginia Jackson arises about the ecological

role of the *Archive* as a free conveyor of poetry, and it is this concern toward which this chapter will bend.

Jackson, writing about the history of editing Emily Dickinson's poetry, asks how we know, given the complex state of Dickinson's manuscripts and her refusal to publish much in print form, that Dickinson wrote lyric poetry, or even poetry, at all? Without asking such basic questions, Jackson warns, the way in which the history of genre is folded into the presentation of poetry —not just into its analysis—will be overlooked, and our understanding of nineteenth-century poets' meditations on that very history will be limited. As "historical modes of language power," genres assert a force that can be difficult to get behind or around, shaping our expectations before we even read a piece of writing by leading us to expect "poetry" or "lyric" or just something unusually creative, when we open a Whitman or Dickinson book or web page.[13] This happens even when what we are reading is a high-resolution scan, unannotated, of a confusing original manuscript. The cost of freeness, in other words, might be a certain freedom of interpretation. It might also be losing awareness of the artistic struggles of the past. Whitman wrote in many genres, of course, and some of his most famous poetry is far from lyric. But it is true that Whitman's powerful poetic "I" and world-making verses have, as in the case of Dickinson, "been progressively identified with a form of personal abstraction that cannot quite be disowned, and yet cannot quite be embraced by modern critical culture" (236). Underwriting the unveiling of Whitman as manipulator, obsessive reviser, and occasional charlatan, in other words, seems to be a vision of a radically unique lyricist whose solitary effusions connect with us through time and space by way of an ineffable, shared humanness.

It is less with Whitman's poetry's contribution to the dominance of the lyric or the equation of lyric with poetry that I am concerned than with the structure of the relation Jackson identifies. A focus on distribution and its continued heterogeneity—indeed, on how "literature" as it is currently being reconfigured depends upon a variety of distributional paths to have meaning for readers—complicates Jackson's vision at two ends of the problem. First, what have "we" to lose from the lyric, whose tyranny emerges from social need? Second, who is the "we" that made the poem lyric? Readers beyond the academic sphere make different moves with poems, and their recirculations, perhaps particularly the free ones, decenter or replace the critic's focus on genre,

form, historical accuracy, and authority-generating reading. The scholarly sites devoted to Whitman and Dickinson may never be the predominant sources for images, quotations, or text related to their avatars. This does not mean that the perceived-as-free exchanges are free from the motives attached to them, nor does it even mean that all giveaways have a straightforward "ideological" meaning. Bible societies built physical and bureaucratic infrastructures for free devotional literary distribution that are still in operation today, as visits from Jehovah's Witnesses or the ever-present Gideon Bible testify. HathiTrust and Google Books are today's examples of massive collaborations to "free" the book world, the destinies of which we do not know. Political meaning can attach in different ways to different free exchanges of literary works. Freeness means something more than access or what is done with access. Freeness may take a stand for freeness, but it also reshapes the landscape of literary studies in unpredictable ways.

The *Whitman Archive* is only the latest of many free distributions of Whitman's works after his passing in 1892. There are inscriptions on public monuments, copies of his books in libraries, and filmstrips in classrooms. During World War II, the Armed Services Editions freely distributed Whitman to GIs. These state-sponsored appearances have been accompanied by a multitude of mass-mediated ones, as Andy Jewell and Kenneth Price have shown.[14] Walt Whitman tattoos abound. ("And your very flesh shall be a great poem" begs for ink, though one of my favorites is a simple "Passing stranger!") The free distribution of Whitman's works has served functions from spurring collective thinking about the future of democracy to efforts to control or celebrate the emergence of homosexuality as a public identity.[15] And of course one of the more famous free Whitman circulations—exemplary of the way in which the poet's works have made intimate gifts from his early freebie to Emerson down to *Breaking Bad*—was President William Clinton's gift of a copy of *Leaves of Grass* to White House intern Monica Lewinsky.

That relationship was one of the first scandals to "go viral" on the Internet, in 1998, and it is the tip of the iceberg of Whitman's Internet presence.[16] Once Whitman went electronic, as with many past cultural figures, the purposes to which he was being put flowered spectacularly. Delivered digitally, Whitman and his poetry represent opportunities for self-expression, therapy, political contest, historical curiosity, and aesthetic inspiration or homage. The endless sprawl of Whitman's drift throughout the Internet would be difficult

to account for systematically, so vast and heterogeneous is Whitman's online presence. There are fan sites, mockeries, casual mentions, historical investigations, and inspirational appropriations. Many of the quotations attributed to Whitman that circulate the web weren't written by him at all (such as the seemingly ubiquitous "We were together. I forget the rest"). If ever a poet *seemed* like the representative of the "information wants to be free" notion, it's the free-flowing Whitman.[17]

As one of the earliest electronic representations of a U.S. literary figure, the *Walt Whitman Archive* (founded as the *Walt Whitman Hypertext Archive* in 1995) has unfolded in a complex relationship to this ecology of Whitman on the web.[18] The vibrant life of Walt Whitman online and the complex way in which his work is appropriated—and the work of others is appropriated as his—offer food for thought for the literary archivist and historian. What sort of authority, what sorts of audiences, might a digital literary archive seek to create or extend, given the efflorescence of poetic and visual remixings of Whitman now blooming across the technosphere? What kind of freedom does the *Archive* want to encourage and embody, and at what cost? How much of the rest do we want to forget? The *Whitman Archive*'s policy of recording its own history of development and its detailed access statistics offer a pathway into such questions, and an opportunity to think about what constitutes electronic distribution and how it might tell us something about the imagination of Whitman today.

DISTRIBUTING THE ARCHIVE

The *Walt Whitman Archive* was founded under the banner of open access, and has fought for funding more or less continuously to support that activity since it was founded in the mid-1990s. It receives funding from individual donations, private foundations, a range of universities, and state and local governments. It describes itself as "the most comprehensive record of works by and about Whitman," with the goal of making "Whitman's vast work freely and conveniently accessible to scholars, students, and general readers."[19] The terms "comprehensive" and "conveniently" carry a great deal of weight, and at times pull in opposite directions as the *Archive* considers both the kinds of funding it will seek and how to divide up its labor among the tasks of generating content, maintaining and updating what is already there, and creating new interfaces

to keep up with the rapidly changing expectations of users with respect to web interaction and site affordances. To a certain extent, then, our ability to enable interaction with a constantly shifting phalanx of media platforms (social and otherwise) is constrained by our purpose to get documents that have never before been published online and edited with scholarly standards.

The term "freely" in the *Archive*'s self-description is also more layered than it appears. Like other archival sites, the *Archive* has long struggled with how to describe the intellectual property status of its contents. Our textual content (at least, that by Whitman) is out of copyright, but the site's code is not. Because we encode texts in Extensible Markup Language (XML), translating them into web-browser readable HTML by style sheets, our documents are open to quick appropriation into, say, a printing context, at a time when printed Whitman books are still lucrative properties. At the moment, the *Archive*'s XML-encoded Whitman documents contain a Creative Commons license that allows for noncommercial reuse with attribution.[20] Users are asked to indicate if material is altered from the *Archive*, and to reshare under the same license conditions. The images on the site offer a more complex landscape, because they have been purchased from or donated by a wide range of institutions: some are provided without circulation restrictions, while others require at least attribution. Images taken by the *Archive* may be (and frequently are) freely circulated or manipulated, as a web index search from almost any image in the Whitman portrait gallery will show.[21] Our ability to enforce any of these restrictions in court is dubious, as it would be dependent upon institutional backing from one of the affiliated universities.

More broadly, to speak of *distribution* when it comes to Internet-based transmissions, free or otherwise, is trickier than it seems. The *Archive* does not, as web content managers and systems engineers would put it, "push" content in the way that, say, advertisers on websites do. It makes its resources available for free, without password protection, without advertisements, and without requiring a user account or the submission of any personal information. That is saying a lot, given web norms. Still, at the time of this writing, the *Archive* did not have an RSS feed to update interested readers about new additions to the site, and it has not habitually self-advertised on scholarly email lists. The closest the *Archive* comes to pushing content might be with the fragments of preview text dredged up by search engines or by way of social media, such as Whitman's Facebook entity. Even there, though, it would be hard to define

such distribution as strategic. The *Archive* has dabbled in Search Engine Optimization, the process by which metadata and other web features are manipulated to make a site appear earlier in search rankings. But it has not done so in a concerted way, either by committing a programmer's time to brave the shifting sands of search engine algorithm development or by outsourcing such work. And without getting into the details of the evolving labyrinth of Facebook's privacy policy, for the most part those who follow "Walt Whitman" by way of social media do so by choice.

The difficulty of defining "distribution" on the Internet reflexively raises questions about how we think of the free distribution of texts. When Whitman's poems were read out loud—by John Newton Johnson in Alabama, or Amelia Bates in Wisconsin, or Elisa Leggett to her children and Sojourner Truth—did people listen? Truth did, reportedly, but the sonic confusion of Whitman's address to the Industrial Exposition is only one of many potential obstacles to hearing, some of the most important of which are internal. And then, to receive a free text is not necessarily to read it; U.S. soldiers at the front in World War II may have encountered Whitman randomly, but just as likely either steered away from or toward him based on previous impressions. When we post something on a website, it's available, but that does not mean it is distributed. To study Internet distribution, then, is to study the reappearance of media units in different contexts or the convergent relations between a resource and its visitors.

The architectures of the Internet and the web make possible some of the dreams of measuring the flow of information that past information regimes were unable to manage. And countering the historical tendency to obscure distribution information, the *Archive*'s usage statistics are open for investigation. The *Archive*'s use is logged both by a common Unix program, AWStats, and by Google Analytics, which allows for more detailed analyses (but which is not yet publicly accessible in the case of the *Archive*). A few screen shots of the data from early 2016 hint at the actual uses of the *Archive*, as well as some of the methodological cautions to be taken in deciphering them. The statistics shown in these figures were from the period 1 January to 26 May 2016.[22]

The *Archive* gets tens of thousands of visits a month, and usually more during common school semester periods (fig. 19). The statistics in the screen shot in figure 19 do not include visits by "robots," automated scripts looking for links on behalf of search engines or others. The high number of "hits"

Month	Unique visitors	Number of visits	Pages	Hits
Jan 2016	54,521	81,497	258,562	2,196,230
Feb 2016	55,460	83,093	281,089	2,282,067
Mar 2016	57,818	84,523	263,086	2,481,010
Apr 2016	63,639	92,276	286,227	2,633,107
May 2016	48,558	71,629	204,092	1,943,711
Total	279,996	413,018	1,293,056	11,536,125

FIGURE 19. Visits by month to the *Walt Whitman Archive*, 1 January–26 May 2016. http://cors1202.unl.edu/awstats/awstats.pl?config=whitmanarchive.org.

shown in this figure is deceptive as a reading indicator—it results in part from the many page components, including graphics, frames, and text chunks, each display of which counts as a "hit." Most visitors to the *Archive* are still coming from laptops or desktops, as one might expect given heavy school usage, but about one-third of the visits shown here came from mobile devices, and that number has been steadily increasing. A quarter of this total are return visits, a rate that has been steady for at least the last few years and a good proportion of which, as we will see below, is *Archive* staff traffic.

Where are these visitors coming from? All over, it seems (fig. 20). Given the story told in chapter 3 of Whitman's international fame, the statistics here are unsurprising, but they suggest a complex audience for American literary studies that may not be generally taken into account by online U.S. literary-archival projects. Consideration of our growing international audience has shifted the *Archive*'s priorities in the past few years, encouraging us to include more audio files of Whitman's works (as non-Anglophone users are often using Whitman's work to learn to speak English), and to consider developing a multilingual interface.

What exactly is the *Archive* distributing to these many and various visitors? It depends on how you look at it (fig. 21). From the standpoint of data types, most of what you see on the *Archive* is images (the files listed here as jpg, gif, and png)—not pictures of Whitman, though certainly those are on every page, but chunks of color, rasterized text, spacers, and other design elements. The framework of the *Archive* (the files here listed as css, html, js, and php) is an artful scaffolding, within which the audio-visual-textual content it offers

Visits and Avg. Visit Duration by Country / Territory

Country	Sessions	Avg. Session Duration
United States	196,148	00:02:05
United Kingdom	7,884	00:01:40
India	5,708	00:01:03
Canada	4,993	00:01:39
Italy	3,210	00:03:05
France	2,947	00:02:02
Spain	2,877	00:02:13
Australia	2,534	00:01:22

Visits by Continent

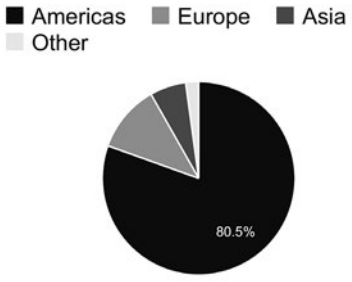


FIGURE 20. Top visits by country of origin to the *Walt Whitman Archive*, 1 January–26 May 2016. Google Analytics dashboard for http://www.whitmanarchive.org.

is delivered. That content's popularity is complex (fig. 22). The first item on the list in figure 22 is the set of rules called by each XML file, used to validate the markup of our texts. The "/" indicates the *Archive* homepage. The URLs beginning with /mediawiki/ are largely used by the *Archive* staff to do their work—clearly, they are hard at it. The 1891–1892 version of "Song of Myself"

File type

File type		Hits	Percent	Bandwidth
jpg	Image	8,496,739	73.5 %	349.27 GB
css	Cascading Style Sheet file	861,324	7.4 %	5.89 GB
html	HTML or XML static page	536,774	4.6 %	91.69 GB
gif	Image	433,552	3.7 %	428.78 MB
js	JavaScript file	301,481	2.6 %	1.70 GB
Unknown		274,300	2.3 %	19.34 GB
php	Dynamic PHP Script file	241,295	2 %	6.83 GB
rng		224,279	1.9 %	111.54 GB
png	Image	75,883	0.6 %	145.80 MB
pdf	Adobe Acrobat file	55,392	0.4 %	264.38 GB
xml	HTML or XML static page	19,227	0.1 %	1.07 GB
mp3	Audio file	8,359	0 %	8.94 GB

FIGURE 21. Top file types accessed at the *Walt Whitman Archive*, 1 January–26 May 2016. http://cors1202.unl.edu/awstats/awstats.pl?config=whitmanarchive.org.

Pages-URL (Top 10)

25,394 different pages-url	Viewed	Average size	Entry	Exit
/downloads/wwa.rng	224,268	521.48 KB	522	561
/	115,160	7.13 KB	90,417	75,175
/mediawiki/load.php	59,563	72.11 KB	48	1,551
/published/LG/1891/poems/27	48,872	170.85 KB	41,700	39,915
/mediawiki/	40,780	25.38 KB	6,457	15,451
/multimedia/gallery.html	26,958	9.61 KB	8,835	8,720
/published/books/other /rhys.html	23,567	827.90 KB	16,138	15,903
/mediawiki/index.php /Whitman_Encoding_Guidelines	15,091	224.69 KB	13,382	4,881
/published/	14,840	6.55 KB	2,436	3,467
/published/LG/	12,388	11.30 KB	3,701	2,862

FIGURE 22. Leading URLs accessed at the *Walt Whitman Archive*, 1 January–26 May 2016. http://cors1202.unl.edu/awstats/awstats.pl?config=whitmanarchive.org.

Downloads (Top 10) - Full list

Downloads: 877	Hits	206 Hits	Bandwidth	Average size
/criticism/current/pdf/anc.01063.pdf	19,585	0	139.13 GB	7.27 MB
/criticism/current/pdf/anc.01051.pdf	17,666	0	59.26 GB	3.43 MB
/multimedia/America.mp3	3,192	2,002	606.47 MB	119.57 KB
/criticism/current/pdf/anc.01049.pdf	1,299	0	26.25 GB	20.69 MB
/criticism/current/pdf/anc.01052.pdf	1,163	0	8.52 GB	7.50 MB
/multimedia/som_1.mp3	1,043	739	1.11 GB	654.08 KB
/criticism/current/pdf/anc.01050.pdf	1,042	0	17.91 GB	17.60 MB
/criticism/current/pdf/anc.01053.pdf	730	0	1.30 GB	1.83 MB
/criticism/current/pdf/anc.02006.pdf	721	0	1.94 GB	2.75 MB
/criticism/current/pdf/anc.01055.pdf	710	0	6.61 GB	9.54 MB

FIGURE 23. Top download requests from the *Walt Whitman Archive*, 1 January–26 May 2016. http://cors1202.unl.edu/awstats/awstats.pl?config=whitmanarchive.org.

and gallery of Whitman images are next most popular, perhaps unsurprisingly, but certainly worth contemplating is the popularity of the Rhys edition of Whitman's poetry—a continuing testament to the influence of the British reception of *Leaves*.

One other way to look at what people are doing with the *Archive* is to study the files that are deliberately downloaded (fig. 23). The *Archive* makes available a number of critical essays and book-length studies for which it has obtained permission from authors or from the journal the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*. These files are popular; the two most frequently downloaded are Edwin Haviland Miller's *Walt Whitman's "Song of Myself": A Mosaic of Interpretations* (1989) and *Leaves of Grass: The Sesquicentennial Essays* (2007), edited by Susan Belasco, Ed Folsom, and Kenneth Price. In the first five months of 2016 alone, these two works have been downloaded over 37,000 times. These files are perhaps in such demand as much because they contain the two most frequently searched titles from Whitman's poetic work as because of the critical essays therein. But high on these lists also are two audio recordings: one, a recording purportedly of Whitman himself reading "America," and the other, a contemporary recording of the first section of "Song of Myself."[23] That prominence is in keeping not just with our expanding international audience but also with the steadily increasing book market share of audio texts.

Finally, how do people get to the *Archive*? The three chief means by which distribution is achieved on the Internet for the *Archive* are social networking

Connect to site from					
Origin			Pages	Percent	Hits
Direct address / Bookmark / Link in email...			596,716	68.7 %	830,948
Links from an Internet Search Engine - Full list			232,031	26.7 %	412,441
- Google	217,808 / 381,710				
- Microsoft Bing	7,255 / 20,972				
- Yahoo!	4,351 / 4,765				
- Unknown search engines	559 / 675				
- Baidu	504 / 2,068				
- Ask	458 / 513				
- Yandex	379 / 469				
- Google (Images)	307 / 746				
- AOL	173 / 194				
- SoGou	87 / 139				
- Others	150 / 190				
Links from an external page (other web sites except search engines) - Full list			35,387	4 %	93,469
- http://www.nytimes.com/2016/04/30/books/walt-whitman-promoted-a-...	3,575	3,575			
- http://wordsmith.org/board/ubbthreads.php	2,386	2,386			
- http://zunal.com/process.php	1,962	1,962			
- http://www.poetryfoundation.org/bio/walt-whitman	1,478	1,521			
- http://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2016/04/14/474123288/a-po...	885	885			
- http://mobile.nytimes.com/2016/04/30/books/walt-whitman-promoted...	794	794			
- http://m.facebook.com	750	795			
- http://www.english.illinois.edu/maps/poets/s_z/whitman/bio.htm	712	712			
- http://hubpages.com	621	621			
- http://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems-and-poets/poets/detail/wal...	596	622			
- Others	21,628	79,596			
Unknown Origin			3,665	0.4 %	8,754

FIGURE 24. Top connections by hyperlinks to the *Walt Whitman Archive*, 1 January–26 May 2016. http://cors1202.unl.edu/awstats/awstats.pl?config=whitmanarchive.org.

(in person and electronically mediated), search engine referrals, and hyperlinks (fig. 24). As the statistics in figure 24 show, Google is the primary search engine, but direct links are the majority pathway. This is presumably because many people (not least its own many encoders and editors) have the *Archive* bookmarked or are giving assignments to their students through emails that contain links. Links from external web pages are also a substantial source of traffic; the Wordsmith.org references are numerous in part because threads on that board often repost links when users reply to each others' messages, and so are overrepresented. Still, these statistics fluctuate tellingly when major news sources (or entertainment sites) link to the *Archive*. In this period's case, the announcement in spring 2016 of the discovery of Whitman's "Manly Health"

Keyphrases used on search engines

8,188 different keyphrases	Search	Percent
walt whitman	504	3.8 %
walt whitman leaves of grass	369	2.8 %
leaves of grass	284	2.1 %
leaves of grass poem	247	1.8 %
leaves of grass walt whitman	114	0.8 %
walt whitman archive	66	0.5 %
whitman archive	66	0.5 %
leaves of grass by walt whitman	59	0.4 %
thewaltwhitmanarchive	58	0.4 %
betac	56	0.4 %
walt whitman as a poet of democracy	53	0.4 %
waltwhitmanarchive-publishedworks-booksbywhitman-leavesofgrass-thewaltwhitmanarchive	49	0.3 %

FIGURE 25. Top Internet searches that found the *Walt Whitman Archive*, 1 January–26 May 2016, by phrase and word. http://cors1202.unl.edu/awstats/awstats.pl?config=whitmanarchive.org.

series heavily inflected accesses through major news outlets like the *New York Times* and National Public Radio websites. Though a lower percentage of connections, these links are significant vectors for new users outside the educational world.

When people do come to the *Archive* from a search, what got them there (fig. 25)? The generic instability of "Leaves of Grass" delightfully shows itself in the fourth most frequent search, "leaves of grass poem." Perhaps most interesting to the editors of the *Archive* is the presence of 190 searches in the first five months of 2016 alone on the *Archive* qua archive. These searches may indicate that the *Archive* is beginning to be regarded as a significant resource—a place to browse and keep up with, not merely to come upon by chance. Still, the large number of other phrases and terms input for searching shows how the *Archive* serves more as portal and preserver of text than as an experience or a destination unto itself for the Whitman curious.

These statistics and the broader presence of Whitman on the web allow us to return to the questions raised by Virginia Jackson about the effect on the perception of literature and literary genres of online presentation, with all of its promises of vast access and access to the originals—or at least reasonable facsimiles of them. The *Archive* is never going to be the most important site for access to Walt Whitman, and that's fine, though our images and texts can be

found appropriated to various ends across digital space. Its thoughtful editing and passionate pursuit of Whitman documents give it a niche role created as much out of the long history of social-intellectual relations among scholars, students, collectors, and archivists as out of a series of grants or web visits. Jackson's concern, however, is that the ability profoundly to question the definition of poetry, or its identification with the lyric, is precisely a product of the way in which academic representations of nineteenth-century poetry beg the question of genre or of definitions of the literary, allowing cultural predilections to carry the weight of justification that a more rigorous interrogation of those categories might undermine. My sense is that the *Whitman Archive* and its place among the Whitmans of the web offers three refractions of this important caution.

First, Whitman's challenge to generic definitions and his self-promotional strategies as a writer remain central to the way in which he is taught. The *Archive* in its early versions privileged Whitman's poetry, measured in sheer data content. Lately, with the addition of decades' worth of correspondence, fiction, and journalism, as well as Horace Traubel's nine-volume biography *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, the balance has tipped back toward prose genres. But in either case, genre and the definition of the literary are not just meta-topics one can find if one reads carefully, but obsessions of a poet making his mark in a society beginning to make literary value contests one of the key signs of its "culture." The second factor to consider is that Jackson's focus on academic transmissions of Dickinson presumes a definition of the lyric or of poetry that may not hold up if one were to take into account the many web users of nineteenth-century poetry discussed in the previous section. "The cultural mediation of lyrics," she insists, "is primarily interpretative and largely academic" (52). It seems to me that the jury is increasingly out with respect to this question. Jackson's warning is still an important one, for if Whitman teaches us anything, it is to interrogate boundaries, to "unscrew the doors themselves from their jambs," and his ongoing popularity attests to a sense that age continues to vex age, the pall of definitions, expectations, tunnel vision, and hierarchy still hampering us. But it is equally worth remembering that the "many long dumb voices" that Whitman's speaker claims to represent — slaves, prisoners, women — did indeed have voices, and they spoke in the powerful medium of conventional poetic forms. The contradictions of Whitman's oeuvre, in content, form, and apparent politics, are things that the *Archive* has tried to preserve and display.

In doing so, the *Archive* has ended up in a state that grounds a third response to Jackson's provocative challenge. The astonishing heterogeneity of the textual objects left behind by Whitman defeats simple or streamlined treatment of them in electronic form.[24] Different sections of the *Archive* have been designed to be responsive to the different affordances of these documents, both intellectually and as objects with certain material properties: envelopes, dictated formal documents, pasted-on flaps, pinned-together newspaper clippings, hair, leaves. In part because of familiarity with the idiosyncrasies of these objects, and in part by virtue of the *Archive*'s embrace of scholars of different inclinations, the contributors to the site do not always agree on editorial policy. Some of us are less invested in scholarly annotations, others more; some feel we should spend more time and intellectual energy on developing interfaces that take advantage of the complexity of XML markup, while others are more concerned with intensifying the fabric of archival documents to create the richest sense of Whitman's textual environment. In writing this book, it has become clear to me that many of the documents that help tell the story of Whitman's distribution, such as his daybooks, have not been priorities for the *Archive*, whether coincidentally or no, nor have the kinds of visual interfaces that would make it easier to observe distribution patterns (such as maps of publications or visualizations of networks of correspondence).

Internal editorial diversity at the *Archive* makes it difficult to pin a single signal on it. Critics often take an editorial project as a work in itself, a bit as if it were a lyric uttered by a monadic speaker with, if not a purpose, a single bent. In fact, editorial disagreement and uneven implementation, irrespective of interface similarities or mission statements, sometimes render editions at odds with themselves. The *Archive* also makes available previous versions of itself, such that users encounter an archive both synchronically and diachronically heterogeneous. For the most part editorial disagreements have tended in the long run to produce a better resource with respect both to referential integrity with the original sources and responsiveness to scholarly discoveries, as we work through priorities and strategies in annual meetings and by email. Keeping the *Archive* free—in a world in which literary historical data sources are snapped up and sold for subscription by major corporations and small archives alike—is something that all contributors to the *Archive* value, and may in the long run stand as the *Archive*'s most radical contribution as a model of literary historical endeavor based in the academy. To make that possible, the *Archive* has had to build its own bureaucratic systems and land and maintain major

commitments by a range of institutions. But that very commitment means that we let our stuff go, let it be repurposed, let it wander the web into strange corners and sometimes delightful and illuminating configurations, reflected back to us in unanticipatable ways. At times this breaks down expectations about poetry, the lyric, and "American" literature, and at other times it builds them up, but always on a distinctly global stage, with an unpredictable audience.

THE POEM FROM WHICH this chapter's first epigraph is taken, "Souvenirs of Democracy," appears online most often without Whitman's dramatic signature at the end. One of a small number of occasions on which the poet mixed facsimile manuscript with print in the actual presentation of a work, the poem changes meaning palpably, its affective, somatic appeal, a simulated gift through Whitman's body, vitiated when the autograph is removed. The web makes it easy to mix text and images—but not too easy, apparently. *Two Rivulets* does not yet appear on the *Whitman Archive* itself, in part because its bifurcated, multigenre, nonhierarchical page layouts make it hard to represent in XML and force choices in the presentation of the volume that are still being debated by the editors. Whitman himself revised this poem almost immediately. It appears in this state only in *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free* and *Two Rivulets*, having been retitled "My Legacy" and restructured so that the autograph is no longer needed in the 1881–1882 and subsequent *Leaves*. We get contradictory signals from the history of Whitman's poetry—do we prefer souvenir or legacy?—its messages of intimacy and democracy mixed and shifting no less than the poet's real-life strategies for getting his work into readers' hands and laps.

The cautions of Liu and Jackson are salutary. But there is something in Whitman's poetry and increasingly in the way in which we are able to show it emerging out of a complex publication ecology that supplies basic lessons to would-be artists about their need to learn about the transmissive worlds they would speak to and through, and about the problem of freedom as a literary problem—in sum, about the power of writing to change stories and change worlds. In what he calls our "late age of print," Ted Striphas argues, "it will be necessary to identify and exploit vulnerabilities in the legal and technological infrastructure according to which control sustains itself" in the media industries. But Whitman's working of the many, even competing systems of distri-

bution in his time suggests the long history of what Striphas calls "control's endemic precariousness" (186). The gray markets of today may well contain the germs of both control and freedom in the future. The maintenance of freeness and the desire to reach more readers have helped put the *Archive* in its unusual position not just of longevity (still, as in the nineteenth century, a triumph in itself for a publishing venue) but of intellectual ferment. Freeness has required strategy, collaboration, and compromise. These are not automatic results of a conjunction of an archive with institutions, distribution technologies, and funding agencies. It also took editors with patience and curiosity, student encoders with both of those and the courage to speak to their visions, and institutional partners willing to take a chance on all of us. The *Archive*'s mission drifted—and to remain healthy, it must continue to drift.

Still, to return to the imaginations with which this book began: should we, even as we try to learn the secrets of its technologies of distribution or critique its politics, fully let go of the feeling of magic of the Internet? The mystical element in Whitman's poetry, its appreciation for the Untranslatable, the unknowable, is hard to appreciate in the form of literary history, even literary criticism, whose operational tendencies work against unknowing. But can't we have a mystical criticism, not just a prophetic one? Is Whitman popular today because he's American, or patriotic, or revolutionary, or democratic—or because he sounds like Rumi (who is also wildly popular)? Is Whitman still popular because he's canonized, or despite it? "Notwithstanding his profession of modernity," Norman Foerster wrote of Whitman in the 1920s, "his vision was in essentials that of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, that of the naturalistic stream of thought and feeling (with its modifying tributaries) running all the way from Shaftesbury to Emerson." And yet Whitman somehow let in the mystical mode as well—his time's spiritual power, or the power of the spiritual to leverage human will against the heavy formations of government, industry, war, and the uncertainties of the marketplace. Uninspirited with our own breath, unpressed with our own hands in a promise never to desert each other, how can our words drift, even in this age of information?

NOTES

Introduction: The Drift of It Every Thing

1. Edna Dow Cheney, ed., *Louisa May Alcott: Her Life, Letters, and Journals* (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1889), 211.

2. In Fanny Fern's *Ruth Hall*, the evil mother-in-law falls for the pseudonymously published work of her hated daughter-in-law, only to have the truth revealed by an amused neighbor. See also J. C. Derby's anecdote of Mary J. Holmes, in J[ames] C[ephas] Derby, *Fifty Years among Authors, Books and Publishers* (New York: G. W. Carleton, 1884), 573.

3. Robert Darnton, *The Literary Underground of the Old Regime* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982); Horatio Alger Jr. [Edward Stratemeyer], *The Young Book Agent, or, Frank Hardy's Road to Success* (New York: Stitt Publishing, 1905); Elizabeth Lindley, *The Diary of a Book-Agent* (New York: Broadway Publishing, 1911); Herman Melville, *The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade* (New York: Dix, Edwards, 1857). See, among others, James N. Green, "From Printer to Publisher: Mathew Carey and the Origins of Nineteenth-Century Book Publishing," in *Getting the Books Out: Papers of the Chicago Conference on the Book in 19th-Century America*, ed. Michael Hackenberg (Washington, D.C.: The Center for the Book, Library of Congress, 1987), 26–44; John J. Garcia, "The 'curiousaffaire' of Mason Locke Weems: Nationalism, the Book Trade, and Printed Lives in the Early United States," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 108.4 (2014): 453–475; Richardson Wright, *Hawkers and Walkers in Early America* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1927); John Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing in the United States*, vol. 1 (New York: R. R. Bowker, 1972). See Madeleine B. Stern, "Dissemination of Popular Books in the Midwest and Far West during the Nineteenth Century," in Hackenberg, *Getting the Books Out*, 76–97, especially 81–82, for a description and timeline of the transportation innovations af-

fecting U.S. distribution, from the Erie Canal to the Overland Railway's completion; but see also Michael Winship, "Distribution and the Trade," in *The Industrial Book: 1840–1880*, ed. Scott Casper et al., A History of the Book in America, vol. 3 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and the American Antiquarian Society, 2007), 117–130, which points out that in 1880, "the transportation of goods from manufacturer to consumer remained a central problem of distribution" (120).

4. This approach is partly indebted to Lisa Gitelman, *Always Already New: Media, History, and the Data of Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2006).

5. See Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965); Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Adrian Johns, *The Nature of the Book: Printing and Knowledge in the Making* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998). On the metaphor and materiality of networks, see, most recently, Caroline Levine, *Forms: Whole, Rhythm, Hierarchy, Network* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2015); Regina Schober, "Transcending Boundaries: The Network Concept in Nineteenth-Century American Philosophy and Literature," *American Literature* 86.3 (2014): 493–521; and Alexander R. Galloway and Eugene Thacker, *The Exploit: A Theory of Networks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

6. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991); Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770–1870* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007).

7. This use of "sensibility" draws upon Jacques Rancière's notion of the politics of aesthetics as rooted in the "distribution of sensibility." This idea breaks down the artificial and affective barriers between formalist and culturalist approaches. The means by which the "distribution" of which he speaks are my main focus here, as a companion to and in some cases reconfiguring of the notion of a sense or a sensibility of "Walt Whitman" or the Whitmanian, which has been the subject of a vast body of scholarship. Jacques Rancière, *The Politics of Aesthetics: The Distribution of the Sensible* (New York: Continuum, 2006).

8. *LG* 71–72, 26.

9. Meredith McGill suggests, however, that at least a "fascination with processes of circulation that are beyond his control" characterizes Whitman's 1856 *Leaves* broadly, as seen perhaps particularly in the collection of far-flung reviews included at the back of the book. Meredith L. McGill, "Walt Whitman and the Poetics of Reprinting," in *Walt Whitman: Where the Future Becomes Present*, ed. David Haven Blake (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2008), 37–58, quotation 42.

10. Nathaniel Hawthorne to William Ticknor, January 1855, quoted in Caroline Ticknor, *Hawthorne and His Publisher* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1913), 141–142.

11. Michael Winship, "The Rise of a National Book Trade System in the United States," in *Print in Motion: The Expansion of Publishing and Reading in the United States, 1880–1940*, ed. Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway, *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 4 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and the American Antiquarian Society, 2009), 56–77. See also Stern, "Dissemination," 76; and James Gilreath, "American Book Distribution," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 95 (1985): 501–583. Despite the absence of a monolithic study, landmark works in this area have appeared since the 1980s; a number of these will be engaged in the chapters that follow, but a few of the most influential include Michael Winship, *American Literary Publishing in the Mid-Nineteenth Century: The Business of Ticknor and Fields* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African American Literary Societies* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002); Joanna Brooks, *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African American and Native American Literatures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003). The five-volume *A History of the Book in America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and the American Antiquarian Society, 2000–2010), together with the three-volume *History of the Book in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004–2007), affords an unprecedented breadth of vision for the book history of the continent. More recently, scholars using digital archives and computational analysis have extended our knowledge of the distribution of texts, particularly in periodicals; see, for example, David A. Smith et al., "Infectious Texts: Modeling Text Reuse in Nineteenth-Century Newspapers," *Proceedings of the Workshop on Big Humanities* (IEEE Computer Society Press, 2013); and Stephanie Blalock, "Walt Whitman's Early Fiction in Periodicals: Over 250 Newly Discovered Reprints," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 30.4 (2013): 171–180.

12. On Whitman and modernism, see Alan Trachtenberg, "Walt Whitman: Precipitant of the Modern," in *The Cambridge Companion to Walt Whitman*, ed. Ezra Greenspan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 194–207; but also Betsy Erkkila, *Whitman the Political Poet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

13. Michael Moon, *Disseminating Whitman: Revision and Corporeality in Leaves of Grass* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 73. For the political effects of the exchange system, see Robert K. Stewart, "The Exchange System and the Development of American Politics in the 1820s," *American Journalism* 4 (1987): 30–42.

14. Authorial intention has long been at the center of struggles over literary analytics; see for a start William K. Wimsatt and Monroe C. Beardsley's influential essay "The Intentional Fallacy," *Sewanee Review* 54 (1946): 468–488, but also the more recent argument for intention as a "speculative instrument" by the book historian D. F. McKenzie (who takes that phrase from I. A. Richards) in *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 37.

15. See Michael Winship, "Getting the Books Out: Trade Sales, Parcel Sales, and

Book Fairs in the Nineteenth-Century United States," in Hackenberg, *Getting the Books Out,* 4–25; and Winship, "Distribution and the Trade." For precedents of the trade sale, see also Green, "From Printer to Publisher."

16. See Andrew Laties, *Rebel Bookseller: How to Improvise Your Own Indie Store and Beat Back the Chains* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Vox Pop, 2005).

17. William Sloane Kennedy, *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman, with Extracts from His Letters and Remarks on His Writings* (London: Alexander Gardner, 1896), 7, 8.

18. See Thomas Augst, *The Clerk's Tale: Young Men and Moral Life in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003); Kenneth E. Carpenter, "Libraries," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 303–318; and Hester Blum, *The View from the Masthead: Maritime Imagination and Antebellum American Sea Narratives* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

19. Out-loud transmission of reading is still popular; while the e-reader market is rapidly expanding, the audiobook share of the market has been growing steadily for decades. On the audioscapes of the American nineteenth century, see, among many others, Barbara Sicherman, "Ideologies and Practices of Reading," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 279–302; Sandra Gustafson, *Eloquence Is Power: Oratory and Performance in Early America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Mark Smith, *Listening to Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); and Erica Fretwell, "Senses of Belonging: The Synaesthetics of Citizenship in American Literature, 1862–1903" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 2011).

20. See C. Caroll Hollis, *Language and Style in Leaves of Grass* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983).

21. Elisa Seaman Leggett to Walt Whitman, 22 June 1881, *WA* nyh.00004, http://whitman-dev.unl.edu/biography/correspondence/tei/nyh.00004.html.

22. *LG* 81, 245.

23. Thomas Jefferson Whitman to Walter Whitman Sr. and Louisa Van Velsor Whitman, 23 April 1848, *WA* nyp.00133, http://whitman-dev.unl.edu/biography/correspondence/tei/nyp.00133.html#nyp.00133_n7 . For more on Whitman and newspaper work in New Orleans, see Kirsten Silva Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture: The Transamerican Origins of Latino Writing* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2002).

24. See Will Slauter, "Toward a History of Copyright for Periodical Writings: Examples from Nineteenth-Century America," in *From Text(s) to Book(s): Studies in the Production and Editorial Process*, ed. Nathalie Colle-Bak, Monica Latham, and David Ten Eyck (Nancy: Editions universitaires de Lorraine, 2015), 65–84.

25. On what she terms the "culture of reprinting," see Meredith L. McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting, 1834–1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003); for a comparative case in Nathaniel Hawthorne's career, see Ryan Cordell, "'Taken Possession of': The Reprinting and Reauthorship of Haw-

thorne's 'Celestial Railroad' in the Antebellum Religious Press," *digital humanities quarterly* 7.1 (2013).

26. Whitman's promotion of "A Child's Reminiscence" is discussed in Amanda Gailey, "Walt Whitman and the King of Bohemia: The Poet in the *Saturday Press*," *WWQR* 25.4 (2008): 143–166.

27. See J. Gerald Kennedy and Jerome McGann, eds., *Poe and the Remapping of Antebellum Print Culture* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012).

28. Nord, *Faith in Reading*, 149. See also Candy Gunter Brown, *The Word in the World: Evangelical Writing, Publishing, and Reading in America, 1789–1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

29. Casper, "The Census," especially 179. See also the account of the extensive distribution of government printing in the United Kingdom and the United States in Oz Frankel, *States of Inquiry: Social Investigations and Print Culture in Nineteenth-Century Britain and the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

30. Anon., "New Publications," *New York Tribune* 41 (19 November 1881): 4.

31. Edmund Clarence Stedman, *Poets of America* (New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1885), 349.

32. John O'Sullivan, "Annexation," *Democratic Review* 17 (July 1845): 5.

33. See Scott Casper, "Introduction," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 1–39.

34. Green observes that this problem of an illusory world of sales numbers and problematic bookkeeping also characterized, for different reasons, publishing earlier in the nineteenth century. James N. Green, "The Rise of Book Publishing," in *An Extensive Republic: Print, Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790–1840*, ed. Robert A. Gross and Mary Kelley, *A History of the Book in America*, vol. 2 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press and the American Antiquarian Society, 2010), 75–127, quotation 93. See also Leon Jackson, *The Business of Letters: Authorial Economies in Antebellum America* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2008), 37. Ronald Zboray, in *A Fictive People: Antebellum Economic Development and the American Reading Public* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), argues that the imaginations readers had of writers and publishers, and vice versa, were largely fictions as well.

35. On Thomas, see Gilreath, "American Book Distribution," 540; on Jewett and Harriet Beecher Stowe, see Michael Winship, "'The Greatest Book of Its Kind': A Publishing History of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," 1999 James Russell Wiggins Lecture in the History of the Book in American Culture (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 2002).

36. Zboray, "Antebellum Reading," 182. Zboray observes, extending the work of William Charvat, that "rather than distributing literature evenly throughout the country, the coming of the railroad created geographical biases in literary distribution and, by extension, in the experiences of readers" ("Antebellum Reading," 192).

37. Charles Sellers, *The Market Revolution: Jacksonian America, 1815–1846* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 371; see also Jack Larkin, "'Printing is something every village has in it': Rural Printing and Publishing," in Gross and Kelley, *Extensive Republic*, 145–160.

38. Casper, "Introduction," 4. "The system of distribution that publishers such as G. P. Putnam & Co., Ticknor and Fields, and Harper & Brothers sought to create," Casper writes, "never worked entirely smoothly, and it never included all of the nation's book publishers" (5).

39. Quoted in Ezra Greenspan, *George Palmer Putnam: Representative American Publisher* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 432.

40. W. S. Tryon, "Book Distribution in Mid-Nineteenth Century America: Illustrated by the Publishing Records of Ticknor and Fields, Boston," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 31 (1947): 210–230, quotation 210.

41. In 1880, *Publishers' Weekly* settled in as the trade journal of record. See Jeffrey Groves, "Trade Communication," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 130–139, for an account of the many short-lived efforts to offer collations of publishers' lists for general access by the trade and individual book buyers.

42. Groves points out that "in many cities, the proximity of publishers, printers, and booksellers made word of mouth an important means of sharing information" ("Trade Communication," 131).

43. For Ticknor and Fields, see Tryon, "Book Distribution"; William Charvat, *Literary Publishing in America, 1790–1850* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1993); and Winship, *American Literary Publishing*. For Merriam, see Larkin, "'Printing,'" 156; and Jack Larkin, "The Merriams of Brookfield: Printing in the Economy of Rural Massachusetts in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* 96 (1986): 39–73. For Putnam, see Greenspan, *George Palmer Putnam*, especially 77 and 424n23. On religious publishing, see David Nord, *Faith in Reading: Religious Publishing and the Birth of Mass Media in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); on rural publishing in the early nineteenth century more generally, see Philip F. Gura, *The Crossroads of American History and Literature* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), 114–139. On the exaggeration and obscuring of information about circulation in nineteenth-century periodical publishing, see Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 5 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1938), especially vol. 3.

44. See Winship, *American Literary Publishing*, 133–135.

45. Walter Whitman to Nathan Hale Jr., 14 June 1842; *CO* 1:25–26, quotation 26. See also Blalock, "Walt Whitman's Early Fiction in Periodicals."

46. Walt Whitman to Edward Dowden, 4 March 1876, *WA* duk.00671, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/tei/duk.00671.html.

47. For other versions of "you up there" see, in *LG* 91–92, "The Wound-Dresser," "By Blue Ontario's Shore," and "Song of Myself."

48. *CO* 1:46n3.

Chapter 1. To Reach the Workmen Direct

1. *WC* 1:338.

2. Walt Whitman, *Complete Prose* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1892), 18. One of Whitman's New York driver acquaintances, George Storms, would name a child Walt Whitman Storms. See *DB* 1:144.

3. Anon. [Walter Whitman], "Brooklyniana; A Series of Local Articles, on Past and Present. No. 36," *Brooklyn Standard* (20 September 1862), *WWA* per.00236, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/journalism/tei/per.00236.html.

4. Quoted in Joseph Jay Rubin and Charles H. Brown, eds., *Walt Whitman of the New York Aurora, Editor at Twenty-Two: A Collection of Recently Discovered Writings* (State College, Pa.: Bald Eagle Press, 1950), 44–45.

5. Anon., "Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass,'" *The Critic* (5 November 1881): 302–303, *WWA* anc.00080, http://whitmanarchive.org/criticism/reviews/leaves1881/anc.00080.html. Even the poet's sympathizers made such suggestions; see particularly Moncure Conway, in "Walt Whitman," *Fortnightly Review* 5 (15 October 1866): 538–548; but also John Burroughs, *Notes on Walt Whitman, as Poet and Person* (New York: American News, 1867); and Edward Carpenter, *Days with Walt Whitman: With Some Notes on His Life and Work* (London: G. Allen, 1906), 25.

6. Q. D. Leavis, *Fiction and the Reading Public* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1932); Richard D. Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957); Michael Denning, *Mechanic Accents: Dime Novels and Working-Class Culture in America* (New York: Verso, 1987). For a summary of recent debates, particularly in the wake of *Mechanic Accents*, see Barbara Sicherman, "Ideologies and Practices of Reading," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 279–302. For Sicherman, "Denning's equation of cheap and commercial with sensational fiction is also overdrawn." See also Jochen Schulte-Sasse, "Can the Disempowered Read Mass-Produced Narratives in Their Own Voice?" *Cultural Critique* 10 (Fall 1988): 171–199; Robert E. Weir, *Beyond Labor's Veil: The Culture of the Knights of Labor* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); David Stewart, *Reading and Disorder in Antebellum America* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2011); and the essays in Guglielmo Cavallo and Roger Chartier, eds., *A History of Reading in the West* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), especially 269–344.

7. Sicherman, "Ideologies," 279.

8. Channing quoted in Sicherman, "Ideologies," 286; Sicherman, "Ideologies," 279–280.

9. Richard Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 109, 5.

10. On Whitman's reading, see Floyd Stovall, *The Foreground of Leaves of Grass* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1974); Kenneth M. Price, *Whitman and Tradition: The Poet in His Century* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press,

1990); Maurice O. Johnson, "Walt Whitman as a Critic of Literature," *University of Nebraska Studies in Language, Literature, and Criticism* Paper 7 (1938): 1–73; Hargis Westerfield, "Walt Whitman's Reading" (Ph.D. diss., University of Indiana, 1949); and Matt Cohen et al., eds., "Walt Whitman's Annotations," *WWA*, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/manuscripts/marginalia/.

11. On Whitman and Doyle, see Martin Murray, "Pete the Great: A Biography of Peter Doyle," *WWQR* 12 (Summer 1994): 1–51. To Bucke, in a conversation recorded by Traubel, Doyle is reported to have said Whitman "gave us papers, books, and other such articles, too." Richard Maurice Bucke, ed., *Calamus: A Series of Letters Written during the Years 1868–1880 by Walt Whitman to a Young Friend (Peter Doyle)* (Boston: Laurens Maynard, 1897), 24. For a list of "complimentaries," most likely free copies of *LG* 76, including the names of a number of Whitman's farming and laboring friends (including a "Conductor — Market St Phil"), see *DB* 1:31–32.

12. Walt Whitman to Harry Hurt, 2 October 1868, reprinted in Bucke, *Calamus*, 19–20.

13. M. Wynn Thomas, *Transatlantic Connections: Whitman U.S., Whitman U.K.* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2005), 95.

14. Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 79.

15. Robert A. Gross, "Building a National Literature," in *A Companion to the History of the Book*, ed. Simon Eliot and Jonathan Rose (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2007), 315–328, quotation 318.

16. For discussions of the carnivalesque qualities of these newspapers and other inexpensive print media in American cities of the antebellum era, see Isabelle Lehuu, *Carnival on the Page: Popular Print Media in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), especially 59–75.

17. Anon. [George Lippard], *The Killers. A Narrative of Real Life in Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: Hankinson and Bartholomew [by the author], 1850), 32.

18. Mark Twain, *Mark Twain's Letters to His Publishers, 1867–1894*, ed. Hamlin Hill (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), 7. For a compact overview of the history of U.S. subscription publishing more generally, see Gilreath, "American Book Distribution," 501–583.

19. Quoted in Bryant Morey French, *Mark Twain and the Gilded Age: The Book That Named an Era* (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press, 1965), 10–11.

20. Mike Chasar, *Everyday Reading: Poetry and Popular Culture in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 6; Joan Shelley Rubin, *Songs of Ourselves: The Uses of Poetry in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007); Ellen Gruber Garvey, *Writing with Scissors: American Scrapbooks from the Civil War to the Harlem Renaissance* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); Catherine Robson, *Heart Beats: Everyday Life and the Memorized Poem* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012).

21. *CO* 6:xxii. See, for example, Eric S. Robertson, ed., *The Children of the Poets: An Anthology from English and American Writers of Three Centuries* (London: W. Scott, 1886); Charles G. D. Roberts, ed., *Poems of Wild Life* (London and Toronto: W. Scott and W. J. Gage, 1888); and Mrs. William [Elizabeth Amelia] Sharp, ed., *Sea-music: An Anthology of Poems and Passages Descriptive of the Sea* (London and New York: W. Scott and W. J. Gage, 1889).

22. Schmidt quoted in Kennedy, *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman*, 33.

23. For this story, see Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); Brodhead, *Cultures*; Shelley Streeby, *American Sensations: Class, Empire, and the Production of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). On reform, see, among many others, John Ernest, *Resistance and Reformation in Nineteenth-Century African-American Literature* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1995); Robert Fanuzzi, *Abolition's Public Sphere* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003); and Caleb Smith, *The Oracle and the Curse: A Poetics of Justice from the Revolution to the Civil War* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013).

24. There are evidentiary difficulties in taking *WC* as both source and object of critique. I attempt here to answer this difficulty by using evidence from beyond Traubel's work and by drawing on conversational exchanges to which the participants in *WC* revert more than once (often in more than one volume).

25. Jerome McGann, *Black Riders: The Visible Language of Modernism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), 112; Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977). See also Jerome McGann, *The Textual Condition* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991); D. F. McKenzie, *Bibliography and the Sociology of Texts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981).

26. Chantal Mouffe, *The Democratic Paradox* (New York: Verso, 2000), 4.

27. Alan Trachtenberg, "The Politics of Labor and the Poet's Work: A Reading of 'A Song for Occupations,'" in *Walt Whitman: The Centennial Essays*, ed. Ed Folsom (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1994), 130.

28. Trachtenberg, "Politics of Labor," 131, 123. See also M. Wynn Thomas, "Whitman and the Dream of Labor," in Folsom, *Walt Whitman: The Centennial Essays*, 149; Andrew Lawson, *Walt Whitman and the Class Struggle* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2006); Nicholas Bromell, *By the Sweat of the Brow: Literature and Labor in Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); and discussions of labor and class in biographies of Whitman, including, among others, Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer* (New York: Macmillan, 1955); Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980); and Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

29. Bryan Garman, "'Heroic Spiritual Grandfather': Whitman, Sexuality, and the

American Left, 1890–1940," *American Quarterly* 52.1 (2000): 91. See also Bryan Garman, *A Race of Singers: Whitman's Working-Class Hero from Guthrie to Springsteen* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); and Betsy Erkkila, *Whitman the Political Poet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

30. Horace Traubel, *Optimos* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1910), 256.

31. Traubel, *Optimos*, 249 (from "What Do I Have to Do with Lives").

32. Horace Traubel, *Chants Communal* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1904), 22–23.

33. Eileen Boris, *Art and Labor: Ruskin, Morris, and the Craftsman Ideal in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986). For a vivid exemplar of the movement, see arts and crafts icon Elbert Hubbard's *The Book of the Roycrofters: Being a History and Some Comments* (East Aurora, N.Y.: Roycrofters, 1921).

34. *The Artsman* 1.4 (January 1904): 148. See also T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880–1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994); and Elizabeth Cumming and Wendy Kaplan, *The Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991).

35. Rose Valley was funded by architect William Price and soap magnate (and Traubel family friend) Joseph Fels, with contributions from Swarthmore College. Boris, *Art and Labor*, 162–163.

36. Perry quoted in *The Artsman* 1.1 (October 1903): viii; Will Price, "Man Must Work to Be Man," *The Artsman* 3.4 (January 1906): 104.

37. William Innes Homer, "The Rose Valley Press and *The Artsman*," *Mickle Street Review* 16 (Winter 2004), http://micklestreet.rutgers.edu/16index.html. Traubel offered the services of Rose Valley Press for hire, but, according to Homer, found few customers.

38. "In every case," as McGann characterizes constructivism, "the fundamental subject is the craft and the art of the making which is brought to one's attention through the work-as-imitation" (*Black Riders*, 46).

39. See John F. Roche, "The Culture of Pre-Modernism: Whitman, Morris, and the American Arts and Crafts Movement," *American Transcendental Quarterly* 9.2 (June 1995): 102–119.

40. For moments in which Whitman is even more dismissive, see *WC* 1:221 (an inquiry about Morris that leads to an often-cited upbraiding of Traubel for his radicalism) and *WC* 3:413. Traubel managed to work Morris into *Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: McKay, 1889) by writing to Morris on the occasion of Whitman's seventieth birthday; Morris offered an ambiguously respectful reply.

41. Allen, *Solitary Singer*, 60. While the newspaper version of the novel sold for less than a quarter, there was also a version published in paperback form for 6¼ cents in the "Books for the People" series. See *BAL* 9:28, item 21393.

42. Ed Folsom, "The Census of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*: A Preliminary Report," *WWQR* 24.2 (2006): 71–84.

43. For an important limitation to this dynamic in the case of the photographs of

Whitman with his male partners, see Ed Folsom, "Whitman's Calamus Photographs," in *Breaking Bounds: Whitman and American Cultural Studies*, ed. Betsy Erkkila and Jay Grossman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 193–219.

44. Horace Traubel, "Walt Whitman at Fifty Dollars a Volume, and How He Came to It," *The Era* 11.6 (June 1903): 525–526.

45. *WC* 2:156. On the pocket edition, see *WC* 4:146, 155–159.

46. Michael Feehan, "Multiple Editorial Horizons of *Leaves of Grass*," *Resources for American Literary Study* 20.2 (1994): 224; David M. Henkin, *City Reading: Written Words and Public Spaces in Antebellum New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

47. *WC* 1:92. See similar moments at *WC* 1:24–25; *WC* 6:289; *WC* 4:151-152; and *WC* 2:471. An advertisement for *LG* 56 in *Life Illustrated* claimed that the "1st edition of 1000 rapidly disappeared"; see *BAL* 9:32. Edmund Clarence Stedman described the 1855 edition as "now so valued by collectors" in 1885; his chapter on Whitman in *Poets of America* is attentive to, and at times critical of, the material properties of the different editions and the general character of the poet's revisions over time. Edmund Clarence Stedman, *Poets of America* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1885), 349–395, quotation 354.

48. Traubel, "Walt Whitman at Fifty Dollars," 525.

49. Traubel, "Walt Whitman at Fifty Dollars," 534, 525.

50. Horace Traubel, "You Writers Who Are Trying to Write," *The Conservator* 25.1 (March 1914): 3; Michael Robertson, "The Gospel according to Horace: Horace Traubel and the Walt Whitman Fellowship," *Mickle Street Review* 16 (Winter 2004): 10.

51. See also Christopher P. Wilson, *The Labor of Words: Literary Professionalism in the Progressive Era* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985).

52. Greenspan, *Walt Whitman*, 28.

53. For more on the way in which nineteenth-century American poetry was "used" whether or not it was in fact read, see Michael C. Cohen, *The Social Lives of Poems in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015); for a comparative context, see Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2012).

54. See items in the *Long-Islander* (14 September 1849): 2; and *Long-Islander* (17 March 1848): 2. The *Long-Islander* wasn't the only hometown link Whitman cultivated. In 1855, Whitman placed what Ezra Greenspan terms a "hometown flavored" review in the *Brooklyn Daily Times*, and throughout the Civil War the poet maintained connections with papers local to his family's home (Greenspan, *Walt Whitman*, 184). Whitman also gave news of his returns to Long Island to be spread by way of New York papers: "Walt Whitman, who has been spending his annual vacation at his Long Island home, has just returned to Washington," the *Tribune* reported (3 August 1871), "very fat, and very much sunburnt by his open-air recreations" (5).

55. *Long-Islander* (10 December 1858): 2; *Long-Islander* (8 May 1863): 2.

56. *Long-Islander* (29 September 1871): 1; at this point the paper was edited by George H. Shepard and Charles E. Shepard.

57. Anon., "Walt Whitman's New Book," *Long-Islander* (11 November 1881): 3. The poet had paid a visit to Huntington in late July and early August 1881, on his way to Boston to finish preparations for the 1881–82 edition, and published an essay about the trip, "A Week at West Hills," in its wake.

58. Anon., "Walt Whitman," *Long-Islander* (21 September 1883): 2; the poet also sent a copy of his *Complete Works* in 1888; see Anon., untitled notice, *Long-Islander* (29 December 1888): 2.

59. Anon., "Walt Whitman Fellowship: Reminiscences of the Dead Poet Gathered at His Old Home," *Long-Islander* (21 October 1894). See, for the other side of this report, Anon., "Huntington: A Hunt for Mementoes of Walt Whitman, the Poet," *New York Tribune* (13 October 1894): 4; and Daniel G. Brinton and Horace L. Traubel, "A Visit to West Hills," *Walt Whitman Fellowship Papers* 1.10 (December 1894): 59–66.

60. Anon., "Walt Whitman's Birthplace," *Long-Islander* (28 October 1894): 1.

61. Anon., "What Japs Think of Walt Whitman," *Long-Islander* (20 February 1920): 3; for an example of Whitman scholars publishing in the paper, see the issue of 24 June 1976.

62. The monumental archival efforts of *Suffolk Historic Newspapers*, however, have to date been unable to recover the issues of the *Long-Islander* that Whitman himself worked on.

63. David Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1995), 500–504, quotation 502.

64. Quotations from "After All," unless otherwise noted, are taken from Anon., "The Fair of the American Institute. Walt Whitman's Poem," *New York Evening Post* (7 September 1871): 2, *WWA* per.00005, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/published/periodical/poems/per.00005.

65. On Garfield, see *WC* 1:324; Doyle also mentions this habit of James Garfield's (Bucke, *Calamus*, 32).

66. Quotations from "Song of the Exposition," unless otherwise noted, are taken from Walt Whitman, "Song of the Exposition," in "Centennial Songs," in *Two Rivulets: Including Democratic Vistas, Centennial Songs, and Passage to India* (Camden, N.J.: Author's Edition, 1876), 3–11.

67. The fact that machines were in operation by the start of the ceremonies was praised in the annual report as a new achievement, and may have been a hope that the board expressed to Whitman and E. G. Squier, the other speaker at the event. "After All" was reprinted in the annual report, and so in theory reached not just the influential board and committee members of the Institute, but the New York State Assembly

as well, to which the report was submitted 10 April 1872. See American Institute of the City of New York, *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the American Institute of the City of New York, for the Year 1871–72* (Albany, N.Y.: printed by the Argus Company, 1872), 103–110.

68. "After all, not to create only," Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Whitman Collection, bv1.

69. *WC* 4:484. "After All" also appeared in John Camden Hotten's 1871 version of *Leaves of Grass*, discussed in the next chapter. As a result, it saw distribution in England shortly after its issue in the United States, though Whitman was likely unaware of it at the time.

70. Karen Wolfe, "Song of the Exposition [1871]," in *Walt Whitman: An Encyclopedia*, ed. J. R. LeMaster and Donald D. Kummings (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998). On Whitman's capacity for satire, see Emory Holloway, "Whitman as Critic of America," *Studies in Philology* 20 (July 1923): 345–369.

71. See the list of manuscripts in "An Integrated Finding Guide to Walt Whitman's Poetry Manuscripts," *WWA*, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/manuscripts/finding_aids/integrated.html.

72. Walt Whitman, *After All, Not to Create Only* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1871), n.p., "From the Washington Chronicle, September 11." The poem was published in many New York papers and at least one in Boston, the *Daily Advertiser* (8 September 1871): 2.

73. Much has been written on Whitman as lecturer. See, for example, C. Caroll Hollis, *Language and Style in Leaves of Grass* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1983); James Perrin Warren, *Culture of Eloquence: Oratory and Reform in Antebellum America* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999); Tyler Hoffman, *American Poetry in Performance: From Walt Whitman to Hip Hop* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2011), especially 1–54; and Larry Don Griffin, "Walt Whitman's Voice," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 9.3 (Winter 1992): 125–133.

74. Whitman, *After All*, n.p.

75. Walt Whitman to the editor of the *New York Herald*, 7 May 1876, *WA* uva.00373, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/tei/uva.00373.html.

76. Whitman sometimes sent copies of an original piece simultaneously to many serials, seeking payment from each. In a daybook entry dated June 1880, Whitman noted having sent copies of "Summer Days" to fifteen different periodicals, asking prices ranging from nothing (of the *Camden Post*) to $12 (of the *New York Tribune*). *DB* 1:192. On syndicates, see Charles Johanningsmeier, *Fiction and the American Literary Marketplace: The Role of Newspaper Syndicates, 1860–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

77. Whitman, *Two Rivulets*, 10–11.

78. *WC* 6:48, 7 October 1889.

79. M. Wynn Thomas, "Labor and Laborers," in *A Companion to Walt Whitman*, ed. Donald D. Kummings (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 60–75, quotation 60.

80. Cody Marrs, "Whitman's Latencies: Hegel and the Politics of Time in *Leaves of Grass*," *Arizona Quarterly* 67.1 (Spring 2011): 47–72, quotation 62.

Chapter 2. The Good Gray Market

1. Emily Dickinson, "Publication – is the Auction," Houghton Library 59b, Poems: Packet XII, Fascicle 37, circa 1863, Houghton Library, Harvard University. Transcribed from the digital image of Dickinson's manuscript held at the Houghton Library, Harvard University, http://www.edickinson.org/editions/1/image_sets/236108.

2. *WC* 1:450.

3. Walt Whitman to Thomas Jefferson Whitman, 10 May 1860, *WA* wwh.00003. On stereotype and electrotype plates, see Winship, *American Literary Publishing*, 112, 131; and a description of the process in Michael Winship, "Printing from Plates in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Printing History* 5.2 (1983): 15–26.

4. Thayer and Eldridge to Walt Whitman, 14 June 1860, *WA* loc.00576. For more on Thayer and Eldridge's handling of *LG* 60, see Gailey, "Walt Whitman and the King of Bohemia," 143–166; Ezra Greenspan, *Walt Whitman and the American Reader* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990); and Ted Genoways, *Walt Whitman and the Civil War: America's Poet during the Lost Years of 1860–62* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), especially 59–67.

5. For more on Thayer and Eldridge, see Albert J. Von Frank, "The Secret World of Radical Publishers: The Case of Thayer and Eldridge in Boston," in *Boston's Histories: Essays in Honor of Thomas H. O'Connor*, ed. James O'Toole and David Quigley (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2004), 52–70. For more on *LG* 60 across its various impressions, see *BAL* 9:32–33, item 21397; Joel Myerson, *Walt Whitman: A Descriptive Bibliography* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1993); and the magisterial footnote 81 to Whitman's letter to Gilder about the affair, in *CO* 3:196–197.

6. William Wilde Thayer to Walt Whitman, 19 April 1861, *WA* loc.00584.

7. James Redpath to Walt Whitman, 26 May 1862, *WA* loc.00859. Like Thayer, Redpath warned Whitman to contact Wentworth personally. Worthington was in Boston from 1867 to 1869; it seems possible that he learned of the plates there, and may at least have established contact with Wentworth. In 1875, in a *Publishers' Weekly* special book fair edition, R. Worthington advertised a crown octavo *Leaves* for sale at $2.50. Perhaps these were remainders of the 1856 or, more likely, the 1860 *Leaves* (which better fits the "crown octavo" description), but it does raise the possibility that the 1860 plates were used prior to the Leavitt sale through which they were obtained by Worthington. See the R. Worthington catalog, *Book Fair Supplement*, *Publishers' Weekly* 8 (1875):

49; and also the 3 July 1875 *Publishers' Weekly*, where R. Worthington advertised *LG* 71–72 for sale (cited in *BAL* 9:37).

8. On the general contraction of the trade during the Civil War, see Michael Winship, "The American Book Trade and the Civil War," in *The Cambridge History of American Civil War Literature*, ed. Coleman Hutchison (forthcoming).

9. Richard Worthington to Walt Whitman, 29 September 1879, *WA* yal.00312.

10. Worthington's career was full of eddies, yet not unusual for the publishing industry. An English-born emigrant to Canada, he started his first of many short-lived publishing ventures in 1855. Bankruptcies and new opportunities led him to Boston and then to New York, where in the 1870s and 1880s he became a major figure in the publishing field. More bankruptcies and other legal tangles awaited him in New York. See coverage in *The American Bookseller*, in issues 21.10 (16 May 1887): 290; and 21.1 (1 January 1887): 8–10, 14–15. On Worthington's career, see Timothy K. Conley, "R. W. Worthington & Company," in *Publishers for Mass Entertainment in Nineteenth-Century America*, ed. Madeleine B. Stern (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980), 317–322; and on his tangles with Comstock, see Dawn B. Sova, *Literature Suppressed on Sexual Grounds*, rev. ed. (New York: Facts on File, 2006), 22–23.

11. Walt Whitman to Richard Worthington, 21 August 1880, *WA* wwb.00001.

12. See *DB* 1:198, 1:199, 1:206, 1:213, 1:214, and 1:252. In fact, Walter Eitner observes that Whitman "had Louisa mail him what letters had accumulated in Camden" and "wrote about two dozen business letters in this St. Louis period"—which had ended seven months before he wrote to Worthington. Walter H. Eitner, *Walt Whitman's Western Jaunt* (Lawrence: Regents Press of Kansas, 1981), 79.

13. Walt Whitman to Harry Stafford, 1 December 1880, *WA* loc.04010.

14. Walt Whitman to Richard Watson Gilder, 26 November 1880, *WA* hyb.00015.

15. Walt Whitman to Richard Watson Gilder, 26 November 1880, *WA* hyb.00015.

16. John Burroughs to Walt Whitman, 28 November 1880, *WA* loc.01136. Whitman had recently traveled for over two weeks with another Philadelphia-based lawyer acquaintance, E. K. Martin. See Eitner, *Walt Whitman's Western Jaunt*, 8–9.

17. Walt Whitman to John Burroughs, 7 December 1880, *WA* uva.00385; Walt Whitman to Richard Watson Gilder, 9 December 1880, *WA* prc.00056. Whitman did not completely let the matter drop. Perhaps encouraged by McKay, in 1885 he raised the question with Charles Eldridge again. Once again, no formal measures were taken, though Scovel extracted another payment from Worthington. Whitman's final stab at the publisher, a bid for posterity's sympathy, came in his conversations with Traubel, at some point during which he made a new description of the case, specifying that Worthington had the advantage of him in distribution, "putting into the market by his traveling salesmen & 'drummers' . . . a printed book of mine, from plates the right to issue which run out twenty years ago & over." Walt Whitman, "Facts in the matter of Worthington illegally publishing 'Leaves of Grass,'" Huntington Library manu-

scripts, HM 6710; *WA* hun.00043. This document is dated in pencil "1889." It may also have been spurred in part by continuing reports of Worthington editions; P. J. O'Shea wrote to the poet from Chicago about one, to which Whitman replied asking for clarification: "I did not know of any 'pirated edition' in Chicago," he wrote. "Do you mean that some one has printed the book surreptitiously there — & is or has been selling it?" O'Shea's letter and reply are unknown. Draft letter from Walt Whitman to P. J. O'Shea, 13 December 1886, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, *WA* loc.03478.

18. Herman Melville, *Correspondence*, ed. Lynn Horth (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press and the Newberry Library, 1993), 538.

19. G. P. Putnam's Sons, "Communications: The 'Works' of Washington Irving," *Publishers' Weekly* 412 (6 December 1879): 807.

20. In this practice I follow McGill, who uses "the term reprinting and not piracy in order to emphasize the fact that the republication of foreign works and particular kinds of domestic texts was perfectly legal; it was not a violation of law or custom, but a cultural norm." McGill, *American Literature*, 3.

21. For parallel approaches to rethinking literary historical chronological methods, see Jordan Alexander Stein, "American Literary History and Queer Temporalities," *American Literary History* 25.4 (2013): 855–869; and Virginia Jackson, "Introduction: On Periodization and Its Discontents," in *On Periodization: Selected Essays from the English Institute*, ed. Virginia Jackson (Cambridge, Mass.: The English Institute and the American Council of Learned Societies, 2010).

22. Ed Folsom, "Leaves of Grass, Junior: Whitman's Compromise with Discriminating Tastes," *American Literature* 63.4 (1991): 641–663, quotation 643. A good starting point for a list of books that contain reprinted Whitman works is *BAL* 9:94–103.

23. *CO* 1:352.

24. *CO* 1:353.

25. In a letter written around this time to Moncure D. Conway, who was acting as a go-between with Rossetti, Whitman, a strong supporter of international copyright legislation, described his position vis-à-vis Rossetti's choices this way: "indeed, the sovereignty of the responsibility is not at all mine, in the case." Walt Whitman to Moncure D. Conway, 1 November 1867, *CO* 1:347. See also Leslie Eckel, *Atlantic Citizens: Nineteenth-Century American Writers at Work in the World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), especially 153–188.

26. On Hotten's *Leaves*, see Morton D. Paley, "John Camden Hotten and the First British Editions of Walt Whitman — 'A Nice Milky Cocoa-Nut,'" *Publishing History* 6 (1979): 5–35; and Martin Buinicki, "Negotiating Copyright: Authorship and the Discourse of Literary Property Rights in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Iowa, 2003), especially 187.

27. See Buinicki's discussion of the Hotten relationship, in "Negotiating," 177–187.

Whitman did receive at least one payment from Walter Scott for his edition of *Democratic Vistas*; the receipt for ten guineas is in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, Box 42, folder 12.

28. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America*, 553; Easton Sylvester Drone, *A Treatise on the Law of Property in Intellectual Productions in Great Britain and the United States* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879), 324.

29. Buinicki, "Negotiating," 210. Buinicki concludes that "Whitman's publishing practices and his approach to copyright also represent persistent attempts to overcome the contradiction between his social and economic views by emphasizing the connection between tradesmen, authors, and readers in place of the profit-driven self-interest he felt was coming to dominate society" (180).

30. For a good recent summary, see Meredith McGill, "Copyright and Intellectual Property: The State of the Discipline," *Book History* 16 (2013): 387–427.

31. Meredith McGill, "The Matter of the Text: Commerce, Print Culture, and the Authority of the State in American Copyright Law," *American Literary History* 9.1 (1997): 21–59, quotation 45.

32. *BAL* notes that even the supposedly authoritative *LG* 91–92 "Deathbed" edition is not self-identical, appearing in two different versions, one reusing sheets that do not feature changes Whitman made for his *Complete Poems & Prose* in 1888, and another that does (based on the 1889 *Leaves* plates with a few small changes). *BAL* 9:52–53, item 21441.

33. Benjamin C. Howard, *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States, December Term, 1852* (New York: Banks, 1885), 529; for the full case, see *Stephens v. Cady* in Howard, *Reports*, 528–532.

34. William G. Myer, arr., *Federal Decisions: Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme, Circuit and District Courts of the United States*, vol. 25 (St. Louis: Gilbert Book Company, 1886), 1107–1108.

35. For an important recent decision engaging first-sale doctrine, see *Capitol Records, LLC v. ReDigi, Inc*, No. 12-0095, 2012 U.S. Dist., in which the court ruled in favor of Capitol Records in March 2013, defining the copying of music files from one storage medium to another as unauthorized reproduction.

36. Frederick Charles Brightly, *A Digest of the Decisions of the Federal Courts: From the Organization of the Government to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: Kay and Brother, 1868), 180. For *Pulte v. Derby*, see John McLean, *Reports of Cases Argued and Decided in the Circuit Court of the United States, for the Seventh Circuit* (Cincinnati: H. W. Derby, 1855), 328–337.

37. Whitman told Richard Watson Gilder that the agreement had been for five years. Walt Whitman to Richard Watson Gilder, 26 November 1880, *WA* hyb.00015.

38. *WC* 1:195–196.

39. *LG* 60, 132, 254.

40. Adrian Johns, *Piracy: The Intellectual Property Wars from Gutenberg to Gates* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 13; Oren Bracha, "Early American Printing Privileges: The Ambivalent Origins of Authors' Copyright in America," in *Privilege and Property: Essays on the History of Copyright*, ed. Ronan Deazley et al. (Cambridge: OpenBook, 2010): 89–114. See also, with similar conclusions about the relationship between practice and the letter of the law, Will Slauter, "Toward a History of Copyright for Periodical Writings: Examples from Nineteenth-Century America," in *From Text(s) to Book(s): Studies in the Production and Editorial Process*, ed. Nathalie Collé-Bak, Monica Latham, and David Ten Eyck (Lorraine, France: Editions Universitaires de Lorraine, 2015), 65–84.

41. See Caren Irr, *Pink Pirates: Contemporary Women Writers and Copyright* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010).

42. Meredith McGill, "Copyright," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 158–178, quotation 158–159.

43. Winship, "Distribution and the Trade," quotation 118.

44. Jackson, *Business*, 59; Moncure Conway, "Walt Whitman," *Fortnightly Review* 5 (15 October 1866): 545–546. For a sense of the broader underground economy and print's place in it, see the essays in Brian P. Luskey and Wendy A. Woloson, eds., *Capitalism by Gaslight: Illuminating the Economy of Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

45. John W. Lovell, "Communications. 'The Canadian Incursion,'" *Publishers' Weekly* 379 (19 April 1879): 470–471, quotation 471.

46. Ticknor quoted in Jeffrey Groves, "Courtesy of the Trade," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 139–148, quotation 143.

47. James R. Osgood to Walt Whitman, 12 May 1881, *WA* loc.05156, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/tei/loc.05156.html.

48. Walt Whitman to James R. Osgood, 20 May 1881, *WA* tex.00423, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/tei/tex.00423.html. For the draft, see http://whitmanarchive.org/private/warehouse/LC/loc_nk.00268_large.jpg.

49. James R. Osgood to Walt Whitman, 31 May 1881, *WA* loc.05158, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/tei/loc.05158.html.

50. *DB* 1:252.

51. James R. Osgood to Walt Whitman, 13 December 1881, *WA* loc.05164, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/tei/loc.05164.html.

52. *Publishers' Weekly* 516 (3 December 1881): 790; see also *Educational Weekly* 9.223 (8 December 1881): 209; and the emphasis on revision and completeness in Anon., "Walt Whitman in Boston," *Publishers' Weekly* 502 (27 August 1881): 213.

53. Michael J. Everton, *The Grand Chorus of Complaint: Authors and the Business Ethics of American Publishing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 91. "The decentralization of the literary marketplace" more broadly, McGill argues, "was upheld by a strong appeal to republican values" (*American Literature*, 3).

54. William Sloane Kennedy did denounce Worthington publicly, though he, like the Putnams, did not name the transgressor (perhaps wary of libel), and his statement was not published until 1888, when Worthington had been printing *Leaves* for years. William Sloane Kennedy, "Fraudulent 'Leaves of Grass,'" *The Critic* n.s. no. 231 (2 June 1888): 272.

55. Two recent essays exemplify this approach, which combines the transtemporal with the phenomenological in trying to understand the effects of reprinting, archivalism, and digital reproduction on our understanding of book history—what Nicole Gray terms "a way of reading that accounts for a print edition as a locus of material and phenomenological iteration and as an index of collective desire." For Whitney Trettien, the "zombie-like" reappearance of printed volumes via digital transmission opens questions about the long history of reprinting and editing; the "anomalous presence within the literary marketplace" of print-on-demand books, she writes, "shifts the material weight and cultural significance of the past in our present moment" (par. 3). See Nicole Gray, "Aurality in Print: Revisiting Roger Williams's *A Key into the Language of America*," *PMLA* 131.1 (2015): 64–83; and Whitney Anne Trettien, "A Deep History of Electronic Textuality: The Case of *English Reprints Jhon Milton Areopagitica*," *digital humanities quarterly* 7.1 (2013), http://www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/7/1/000150/000150.html.

56. As far as is known, there is only one difference within the text of *LG* as published by Thayer and Eldridge and by Worthington. On the copyright page of the earlier version, attributions were made to both the printer and stereotyper. These were removed at some point, and the Worthington copies lack them.

57. See Whitman's annotated copy of "The Diver," a proof of the poem prior to its printing in the Camden *New Republic* in the wake of his performance, in the Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Box 77, "Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von, 'The Diver.'"

58. For the resurgence of "Resurgemus," see Eitner, *Walt Whitman's Western Jaunt*, 47. Ed Folsom, "Lucifer and Ethiopia: Whitman, Race, and Poetics before the Civil War and After," in *A Historical Guide to Walt Whitman*, ed. David S. Reynolds (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 45–96, argues that Whitman turned in times of tension and trouble to standard verse.

59. For the Worthington advertisement, see *The Publishers' Trade List Annual, Tenth Year* (New York: F. Leypoldt, 1882), Worthington catalog, 26; for Osgood, see page 49 in the same; and for Roberts Brothers, see Roberts Brothers catalog, 5, 21, in the same. *After All* was still being advertised for sale (for 50 cents) at the back of Robert Ingersoll's 1890 *Liberty in Literature: Testimonial to Walt Whitman* (New York: Truth Seeker, 1890).

60. "Books Wanted," *Publishers' Weekly* 489 (28 May 1881): 572.

61. Walt Whitman to Harry Stafford, 31 October 1880, *WA* nyp.00416, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/tei/nyp.00416.html.

62. Whitman's sales accounting in the daybooks appears disorderly, but there are patterns. The poet was fastidious about recording income received from booksellers, and generally offered his works at around a 30 percent discount to them. Rarely did he not receive payment for a volume, no matter to whom it sold; those few times he became irate. He did not always record a specific amount received from individual buyers, but he always marked the entry "Paid"; from these I have made my estimate, based on the prices Whitman was charging for each title at the time. When he was sending copies gratis, there is usually a clear indication that the entry records a gift or "compliment." For a broader picture of the poet's income during this period (estimated at $20,610.10 from 1876 to 1892), including an abstract of individual payments taken from bank records, David McKay's copyright and sales records for *Leaves of Grass* and *Specimen Days*, daybooks, and correspondence, see Edwin Haviland Miller, "Introduction: Walt Whitman's Income, 1876–1892," *CO* 6:xi–xxxvi. My estimate of the total income from book orders in this period is slightly more conservative than Miller's $6,076.10.

63. For these sales and inquiries, see *DB* 1:73–75. The occasional manuscript, gifted to a friend, Whitman sometimes referred to as a "Blade o' Grass." Whitman sold Burroughs's *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* (New York: J. S. Redfield, 1871), which he had helped write; that book gave, as its advertisement in *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free* (Washington, D.C., 1872) put it, "the typographical history of LEAVES OF GRASS, especially of its first or initial edition," which is to say that the history of *Leaves* as an evolving phenomenon was itself a subject of the conversation about Whitman's work all along.

64. Amelia W. Bates to Walt Whitman, 18 January 1880, *WA* loc.01083, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/biography/correspondence/tei/loc.01083.html.

65. See the results of Stephanie Blalock et al., *Whitman's Poetry Reprints, 1838–1892*, at http://viewshare.org/views/mxcohe/walt-whitmans-poetry-reprints/.

66. Richard Menke reads the sensationality of Garfield's passing as most importantly an event that reified U.S. citizens' investment in the simultaneity and ideal bonding power of telegraphic media; see also his discussion of Whitman's tribute to Garfield, "The Sobbing of the Bells," in Richard Menke, "Media in America, 1881: Garfield, Guiteau, Bell, Whitman," *Critical Inquiry* (Spring 2005): 638–664.

67. The banning of the Osgood version of *Leaves* has been the subject of much analysis dating back to Whitman's time; the event drew attention from trade journals interested in the implications of Comstock's actions for other publishers and booksellers. Comstock's focus on distribution through the mails, a function of the still comparatively limited domain of federal oversight in matters of censorship, brought the circulation of Whitman's works into discussion. As the editor of *The American Bookseller* put it, responding to the Comstock crowd's appeal to fears about the corruption of the young and uneducated by immoral books, "It must be remembered

that books like those of Swinburne and Whitman . . . never obtain general circulation under ordinary circumstances, and their readers are commonly able to judge the contents for themselves." The qualification here "under ordinary circumstances" is ambiguous, pointing either to the potential for such works to become more popular or to the unstated existence of more widely circulated works of questionable character. Anonymous untitled paragraph, *The American Bookseller* n.s. 13.16 (1882): 432.

68. The Boston district attorney who demanded alterations to *Leaves of Grass* does not seem to have been concerned with the "Calamus" poems, but more with the representation of sexual acts and women's sexuality. For the list, see Richard Maurice Bucke, *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1883), 148–153.

69. On the cultural force of the concept of reunion and its enactments, see Francis Pendleton Gaines, *The Southern Plantation: A Study in the Development and Accuracy of a Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924); Nina Silber, *The Romance of Reunion: Northerners and the South, 1865–1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); and David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002). On *LG* 60 as a text in the mode of disunion rather than of unifying America, see John Mac Kilgore, "The Free State of Whitman: Enthusiasm and Dismemberment in the 1860 *Leaves of Grass*," *ESQ* 58.4 (2012): 529–565.

70. On this tension between the cultural impulses of reunion and of diagnosing a problematic South, see Natalie J. Ring, *The Problem South: Region, Empire, and the New Liberal State, 1880–1930* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012).

71. Folsom points out that Whitman's poetry chosen for inclusion in anthologies and textbooks tended to be radical in form and style for the time, but conventional from the standpoint of content. Ed Folsom, "'Affording the Rising Generation an Adequate Notion': Whitman in Nineteenth-Century Textbooks, Handbooks, and Anthologies," in *Studies in the American Renaissance*, ed. Joel Myerson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991): 345–374.

72. Mark S. Granovetter, "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology* 78.6 (May 1973): 1360–1380, quotation 1366; for a more recent application of this notion to the study of information technology, see Clive Thompson, *Smarter Than You Think: How Technology Is Changing Our Minds for the Better* (New York: Penguin, 2014), especially the chapter "Ambient Awareness."

73. Martin Buinicki, "The 'need of means additional': Walt Whitman's Civil War Fundraising," *WWQR* 31 (2014): 135–157, quotation 139.

74. The plates seem to have been in existence at least as late as 1902. That year, in an announcement of the forthcoming publication of the ten-volume complete works of Whitman, *Publishers' Weekly* reported that "Horace L. Traubel proposes to publish in facsimile Whitman's personal copy of 'Leaves of Grass,' the edition printed by Thayer and Eldridge, Boston, 1860–'61, in which he did much of the work of revision for the

edition that followed five years later. . . . The text matter of the volume will be printed from the original plates, which still exist. The chirographical matter in Whitman's hand will be superimposed and printed in exact facsimile." Anon., *Publishers' Weekly* 1588 (5 July 1902): 18.

75. See Jason Stacy's introduction to his facsimile for a discussion of the historical context and meanings of *LG* 60, in Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass, 1860: The 150th Anniversary Facsimile Edition*, ed. Jason Stacy (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009), ix–lviii.

Chapter 3: Transmitting the Untranslatable

1. *WC* 2:55.

2. Traubel himself had by this time undertaken German translations to promote Whitman; his English version of part of T. W. H. Rolleston's *Ueber Wordsworth und Walt Whitman* was published in the *Camden Post*, 13 February 1884.

3. "List of Certain Magazine and Newspaper Articles Studied and Preserved by Walt Whitman and Found in His Scrapbooks and among His Papers," in *Notes and Fragments*, ed. Richard Maurice Bucke (London, Ont.: printed for the editor by A. Talbot, 1899), 193–211.

4. Kwame Anthony Appiah, "Cosmopolitan Patriots," *Critical Inquiry* 23.3 (Spring 1997): 617–639. See Hsuan L. Hsu, *Geography and the Production of Space in Nineteenth-Century American Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), for example, which elegantly argues that Whitman's late poems about "globe-circling transportation technologies" exhibit a sense of cosmopolitan despair about the persistence of undemocratic, unevenly developed places. Such "despair derives from the poet's often repressed consciousness of international imperial rivalries and the immense concentrations of capital and labor required by public works" (131).

5. Wai Chee Dimock, "Epic and Lyric: The Aegean, the Nile, and Whitman," in Blake, *Walt Whitman: Where the Future Becomes Present*, 17–36, quotation 19.

6. See John Carlos Rowe, ed., *Post-Nationalist American Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Anna Brickhouse, *Transamerican Literary Relations and the Nineteenth-Century Public Sphere* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Colleen Glenney Boggs, *Transnationalism and American Literature: Literary Translation, 1773–1892* (New York: Routledge, 2007); Gretchen Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings: The Monroe Doctrine and Narratives of U.S. Empire* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2005); Ralph Bauer, "Hemispheric American Studies," *PMLA* 124.1 (January 2009): 234–250; Virginia Jackson, "American Victorian Poetry: The Transatlantic Poetic," *Victorian Poetry* 43.2 (Summer 2005): 157–164, part of a special issue on transatlantic poetics; and another special forum more recently, organized by Max Cavitch, "New Sitings and Soundings for Transnational Poetics," *J19* 1.1 (Spring 2013): 179–213.

7. Boggs, *Transnationalism*, 3.

8. For a compact, elegant summary of these issues, see Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Verso, 2013), 5.

9. Apter, *Against World Literature*, 177; Gay Wilson Allen and Ed Folsom, eds., *Walt Whitman and the World* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1995); and see also Ed Folsom, ed., *Whitman East and West: New Contexts for Reading Walt Whitman* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2002). Pivotal studies taking international approaches to Whitman include Harold Blodgett, *Walt Whitman in England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1934); Gay Wilson Allen, *Walt Whitman Abroad: Critical Essays from Germany, France, Scandinavia, Russia, Italy, Spain and Latin America, Israel, Japan, and India* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1955); Fernando Alegría, *Walt Whitman en Hispanoamérica* (Mexico City: Ediciones Studium, 1954); Iwao Matsuhara, "Walt Whitman in Japan: From the First Introduction to the Present," *Thought Currents in English Literature* 29 (January 1957): 5–42; Maurice Herra [Roger Asselineau], "'Feuilles d'herbe' en Europe et en Amerique Latine," *Europe* 33 (1955): 137–145; T. R. Rajasekharaiah, *The Roots of Whitman's Grass* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970); Guiyou Huang, *Whitmanism, Imagism, and Modernism in China and America* (Selinsgrove, Pa.: Susquehanna University Press, 1997); and those of Betsy Erkkila and Walter Grünzweig discussed below.

10. Rachel Rubinstein, "Going Native, Becoming Modern: American Indians, Walt Whitman, and the Yiddish Poet," *American Quarterly* 58.2 (June 2006): 431–453; Maurice Mendelson, *Life and Work of Walt Whitman: A Soviet View*, trans. Andrew Broomfield (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1976); C. L. R. James, "Whitman and Melville," in *The C. L. R. James Reader*, ed. Anna Grimshaw (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1992), 202–219; Helga Essmann and Armin Paul Frank, "Translation Anthologies: An Invitation to the Curious and a Case Study," *Target* 3 (1991): 65–90.

11. Charles B. Willard, *Whitman's American Fame: The Growth of His Reputation in America after 1892* (Providence, R.I.: Brown University Press, 1950). For a nuanced recent study of the disciples, see Michael Robertson, *Worshipping Walt: The Whitman Disciples* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2008).

12. Authors have been "touring" for a long time. See Frank Lambert, *Inventing the "Great Awakening"* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999); Joanna Brooks, *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan: Leadership and Literature in Eighteenth-Century Native America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); and Loren Glass, *Authors Inc.: Literary Celebrity in the Modern United States, 1880–1980* (New York: New York University Press, 2004).

13. Entry of 6 August 1851, Henry David Thoreau, *A Year in Thoreau's Journal: 1851,* ed. H. Daniel Peck (New York: Penguin, 1993), 148.

14. *LG* 55, xii. David Haven Blake, *Walt Whitman and the Culture of American Celebrity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006), 181, points out that this sentence was omitted in Whitman's post–Civil War editions that included the preface.

15. Walt Whitman, *The Early Poems and the Fiction*, ed. Thomas Brasher (New York: New York University Press, 1963), 126–127.

16. Anon. [Walt Whitman], "Walt Whitman's Actual American Position," *West Jersey Press* (26 January 1876), reprinted in Clifton Furness, ed., *Walt Whitman's Workshop* (Cambridge: Russell and Russell, 1928), 245–248. The controversy begun by this essay has come to be called the "*West Jersey Press* affair"; see Robert Scholnick, "The Selling of the 'Author's Edition': Whitman, O'Connor, and the *West Jersey Press* Affair," *Walt Whitman Review* 23 (1977): 3–23. For a recent summary account of Whitman's evolving fame in this era, see Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price, *Re-Scripting Walt Whitman: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2005), especially 106–116.

17. William Roscoe Thayer, quoted in Blake, *Walt Whitman*, 3. The trope of the eidólon was important to the poet—he quoted "Eidólons" in the introduction to *Two Rivulets*, where it first saw book publication, and returned to it in one of his many death-contemplations, "Sail Out for Good Eidólon Yacht," published in 1891 in *Lippincott's Magazine* and then in *Good-Bye My Fancy*.

18. With the rise of transatlanticism as a framework of study for literary history, this well-known story is under revision. See, most recently, Christopher Looby and Cindy Weinstein, eds., *American Literature's Aesthetic Dimensions* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); and Joseph Rezek, *London and the Making of Provincial Literature: Aesthetics and the Transatlantic Book Trade, 1800–1850* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

19. See Betsy Erkkila, "'To Paris with My Love': Whitman among the French Revisited," *Revue Française d'Études Américaines* 108 (May 2006): 7–22; Betsy Erkkila, *Walt Whitman among the French: Poet and Myth* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1980); Walter Grünzweig, *Constructing the German Walt Whitman* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1994); and Ward B. Lewis, "Message from America: The Verse of Walt Whitman as Interpreted by German Authors in Exile," *German Life and Letters* 29 (1976): 215–227. For a focus on "intercultural transfer" and local receptions of Whitman in the United Kingdom, see Wynn Thomas, *Transatlantic Connections*, xiv and passim.

20. McGill, *American Literature*, 7.

21. See Greenspan, *George Palmer Putnam*; Wallace Putnam Bishop, "The Struggle for International Copyright in the United States" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1959), 57–64; and Robert L. Patten, *Charles Dickens and His Publishers* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

22. See Werner Sollors, ed., *Multilingual America: Transnationalism, Ethnicity, and the Languages of American Literature* (New York: New York University Press, 1998); and Patrick M. Erben, *A Harmony of the Spirits: Translation and the Language of Community in Early Pennsylvania* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012).

23. See Gailey, "Walt Whitman and the King of Bohemia," 159.

24. Gross, "Building a National Literature," 316.

25. See Greenspan, *George Palmer Putnam*; James J. Barnes, *Authors, Publishers and Politicians: The Quest for an Anglo-American Copyright Agreement, 1815–1854* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974); and Casper et al., *Industrial Book*.

26. McGill, "Copyright," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 166. See Simon Nowell-Smith, *International Copyright Law and the Publisher in the Reign of Queen Victoria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), for a depiction of the planetary contingencies of the transformation of literary property concepts and transnational Anglophone publishing's debt to the model of Bernhard Tauchnitz's reprint series on the continent. See also Catherine Seville, *The Internationalisation of Copyright Law: Books, Buccaneers, and the Black Flag in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

27. Winship, *American Literary Publishing*, 12; see also Boggs, *Transnationalism*, 157n34.

28. Casper, "Introduction," 30.

29. Michael Winship, "The International Trade in Books," 148–157 in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 148.

30. Nancy Vogeley, *The Bookrunner: A History of Inter-American Relations—Print, Politics and Commerce in the United States and Mexico, 1800–1830* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2011). On the *Revue des Colonies*, see Brickhouse, *Transamerican*, especially 86–90.

31. See Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture*; Rodrigo Lazo, *Writing to Cuba: Filibustering and Cuban Exiles in the United States* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Raúl Coronado, *A World Not to Come: A History of Latino Writing and Print Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013); Rien Fertel, *Imagining the Creole City: The Rise of Literary Culture in Nineteenth-Century New Orleans* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014); Hsuan L. Hsu, *Sitting in Darkness: Mark Twain's Asia and Comparative Racialization* (New York: New York University Press, 2015); Larry Reynolds, *European Revolutions and the American Literary Renaissance* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1988); Wai Chee Dimock and Lawrence Buell, eds., *Shades of the Planet: American Literature as World Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007); and Murphy, *Hemispheric Imaginings*.

32. Brickhouse, *Transamerican*, 8.

33. Winship, "International Trade," 153.

34. Quoted in Winship, "International Trade," 153. Whitman himself would employ Trübner's services for a time, and filled British orders for his books through Lippincott on at least one occasion.

35. Anon. [Walt Whitman], "An English and an American Poet," *American Phrenological Journal* 22.4 (October 1855): 90–91; the English poet named in the review's title was Alfred Lord Tennyson. For a discussion of *LG* 56 as a volume Whitman designed

with a cosmopolitan appeal, see Thoren Opitz, "By All Necessary Genres: Whitman Writing the 'Beginning of a Great Career,'" conference presentation, Seventh Annual Symposium of the Transatlantic Walt Whitman Association, University of Bamberg, 25 July 2014.

36. Ernest Rhys, "Walt Whitman," in *Poems of Walt Whitman (From 'Leaves of Grass')* (1886; London: Walter Scott, n.d. [1890s]), xix–xx.

37. See Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986); other influential broad-spectrum studies of celebrity include P. David Marshall, *Celebrity and Power: Fame and Contemporary Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997); and Richard Schickel, *Intimate Strangers: The Culture of Celebrity* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1985). See also Bonnie Carr O'Neill, "The Personal Public Sphere of Whitman's 1840s Journalism," *PMLA* 126.4 (October 2011): 983–998.

38. For a transcription of the essay and early discussion of the controversy, see Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, 245–248.

39. See Robert Scholnick, "Walt Whitman and the Magazines: Some Documentary Evidence," *American Literature* 44 (May 1972): 222–246.

40. See Edwin Haviland Miller, "Introduction: Walt Whitman's Income, 1876–1892," *CO* 6:xix.

41. Walt Whitman to Rudolf Schmidt, 16 January 1872, *CO* 2:150–153; Walt Whitman to Edward Dowden, 18 January 1872, *WA* loc.01491, http://whitman-dev.unl.edu/biography/correspondence/tei/loc.01491.html.

42. See Rudolf Schmidt, "Walt Whitman, the American Democratic Poet," Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, box 77, folder 4 (DCN 43); see also "Walt Whitman: article with corrections," Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, box 78, folder 16.

43. Walt Whitman, *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free* (Washington, D.C., 1872), advertisements, 7–8. The advertisement lists its source as the *New York Commercial Advertiser* of April 1872.

44. See, for example, an entry in Whitman's daybook for 5 May 1881, "Sent Danish papers & trans Vistas to Dr. Bucke — also postal." *DB* 1:239.

45. Leslie Eckel, *Atlantic Citizens: Nineteenth-Century American Writers at Work in the World* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 170.

46. Blake, *Walt Whitman*, 205; for a full account of the unfolding of the affair in the periodical press, see Scholnick, "Selling of the 'Author's Edition.'"

47. See Blake, *Walt Whitman*, 5.

48. *LG* 91–92, 425.

49. William Cullen Bryant and James Grant Wilson, eds., *The Family Library of Poetry and Song* (New York: Fords, Howard, and Hulbert, 1880): 645–646. An excerpt from "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" (here titled "The Mocking-Bird") is

reprinted in the volume (470–471), and a facsimile of one of his poems in manuscript, "The Prairie States" (402). The poet is also referred to in the epigraph to a poem by Mary Mapes Dodge, "The Two Mysteries" (297–298).

50. For Whitman's emerging reputation in textbooks and anthologies, see Ed Folsom, "'Affording the Rising Generation an Adequate Notion': Whitman in Nineteenth-Century Textbooks, Handbooks, and Anthologies," in *Studies in the American Renaissance: 1991*, ed. Joel Myerson (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 335–364; and Folsom, "Leaves of Grass, Junior," 641–663. On the presence of literature in translation in American anthologies see Boggs, *Transnationalism*, especially 113–121.

51. See Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 290–292; and Daniel Mark Epstein, *Lincoln and Whitman: Parallel Lives in Civil War Washington* (New York: Random House, 2005), 303–304.

52. *WC* 1:124.

53. James R. Osgood & Company to Walt Whitman, 29 March 1882, *WA* loc.05362.

54. James R. Osgood & Company to Walt Whitman, 10 April 1882, *WA* loc.05603.

55. See Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price, *Whitman Making Books/Books Making Whitman: A Catalog and Commentary* (Iowa City, Iowa: Obermann Center for Advanced Studies, 2005), 50–51; Walt Whitman to William D. O'Connor, 12 November 1882, *WA* nyp.00453; Walt Whitman to William D. O'Connor, 14 April 1883, *WA* nyp.00489.

56. *WC* 2:421.

57. Epstein, *Lincoln and Whitman*, emphasizes the publicity extravaganza of Whitman's Madison Square Theatre lecture, and Whitman's tour of the West and of Canada, as his daybooks from the time show, involved meeting a great many people and publishing a series of accounts of his trip. These activities, however, did not constitute sustained annual circuit tours of the kind that other literary celebrities were making. See also Eitner, *Walt Whitman's Western Jaunt*; and William Sloane Kennedy, ed., *Walt Whitman's Diary in Canada: With Extracts from Other of His Diaries and Literary Note-Books* (Boston: Small, Maynard, 1904).

58. M. Aurelius Antoninus, *The Thoughts of the Emperor M. Aurelius Antoninus*, trans. George Long (London: George Bell and Sons, 1885), 1:74. Whitman's copy is held by the Rare Books Division of the Library of Congress.

59. Quoted in Furness, *Walt Whitman's Workshop*, 197. On lyceum culture in the United States in the first half the nineteenth century, see Angela Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2005); and the essays in Tom F. Wright, ed., *The Cosmopolitan Lyceum: Lecture Culture and the Globe in Nineteenth-Century America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2013).

60. For more on the relationships among oratory, publishing, and Whitman's authorial aura, see Hollis, *Language and Style*; and Nicole Gray, "Spirited Media: Revision,

Race, and Revelation in Nineteenth-Century America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2014).

61. See the introductory essays in Allen and Folsom, *Walt Whitman in the World*; see also Christopher Clausen, "Czeslaw Milosz: The Exile as Californian," *Literary Review: An International Journal of Contemporary Writing* 3 (Spring 1983): 337–349; and Julian Levinson, *Exiles on Main Street: Jewish American Writers and American Literary Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008).

62. Adam G. de Gurowski, *Diary: 1863–'64–'65* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 372–373.

63. Ferdinand Freiligrath, "Walt Whitman," *Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, Wochenausgabe no. 17 (24 April 1868): 257–259. A sample of Whitman's poetry also appeared in Adolf Strodtmann's *Amerikanische Anthologie* (Hildburghausen: Verlag des Bibliografischen Instituts, 1870), 149–154; see Joel Myerson, *Supplement to "Walt Whitman: A Descriptive Bibliography"* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2011), 69.

64. Evan James Roskos, "Home Isn't Where the House Is: Whitman's Camden Exile," *Mickle Street Review* 17–18 (2005), www.micklestreet.rutgers.edu/.

65. Whitman, *Early Poems and the Fiction*, 23.

66. Quoted in *CW* 6:19.

67. *LG* 55, 55.

68. See *Works of Shelley* (1847), Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, Whitman Collection, R.B.R. 821.2 qSh4 Ed. 1847, p. 138.

69. *NP* 5:1744.

70. *CW* 6:222.

71. All quotations in this section are taken from *LG* 91–92, unless otherwise noted; the "translatress" line appears first in *LG* 60.

72. *LG* 91–92, 75.

73. *LG* 91–92, 277.

74. *WC* 8:285. See also Horace L. Traubel, "Walt Whitman and Murger," *Poet-Lore* 6 (October 1894): 484–491; and the revelations about the origins of this poem in Stephanie Blalock et al., "Walt Whitman's Poetry Reprints and the Study of Nineteenth-Century Literary Circulation," manuscript essay, available by request.

75. Rudolf Schmidt to Walt Whitman, 25 April 1872, *WC* 1:274.

76. Horst Frenz, ed., *Whitman and Rolleston: A Correspondence*, Indiana University Publications Humanities Series 26 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1951), 33.

77. Frenz, *Whitman and Rolleston*, 38–39.

78. Frenz, *Whitman and Rolleston*, 45.

79. Whitman to Rolleston, 20 August 1884, in Frenz, *Whitman and Rolleston*, 92.

80. See the discussion of this relationship in Boggs, *Transnationalism*, 120–121.

81. Rolleston to Whitman, 17 September 1881, *WA* loc.05122, http://whitman-dev.unl.edu/biography/correspondence/tei/loc.05122.html.

82. Rolleston to Whitman, 28 November 1881, in Frenz, *Whitman and Rolleston*, 46.

83. Frenz, *Whitman and Rolleston*, 52. Rolleston's approach to translating the edition, as Grünzweig has observed, was designed to unsettle German readers. Indeed, one might argue that for Rolleston, the Untranslatable was picked up from Whitman's approach to Anglophone readers. In a letter to Bucke, Rolleston wrote that his "aim was not to make [Whitman] acceptable, but simply to make the German translation for a German reader as far as possible what the English original is for an English reader." Were the translation not at times "ridiculous or coarse" it would "not be Whitman at all." Rolleston to Richard Maurice Bucke, 8 January 1885, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, box 53, quoted in Grünzweig, *Constructing*, 27.

84. See Whitman's copy of Longfellow's translation at the Library of Congress Rare Books Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, PQ4315.L7 1867; and also his copy of the John Aiken Carlyle et al. translation of *The Inferno*, in Bryn Mawr College Special Collections, Whitman Collection, RBR 851 D23dEca.

85. *WC* 3:326.

86. See, for example, *WC* 6:353; *WC* 6:365.

87. Whitman notebook held at the Beinecke Library, Special Collections, YCAL MSS 202, box 3, folder 141.

88. *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám, the Astronomer Poet of Persia*, trans. Edward FitzGerald, 3rd ed. (London: B. Quaritch, 1872), xi, xiii. Whitman's copy of the *Rubaiyat* is at the Harry Ransom Humanities Center, PK6513.A1.1872, copy 5.

89. Whitman's use of the "l'envoi" tradition speaks to the question of exile, too; see Kenneth M. Price and Cynthia G. Bernstein, "Whitman's Sign of Parting: 'So long!' as l'envoi," *WWQR* 9 (Fall 1991): 65–76.

90. *WC* 2:29.

91. H. H., "Vino Santo," *Scribner's Monthly* 11.3 (January 1876): 416–417; J. Soule Smith, "Self-Revealed," *Scribner's Monthly* 11.2 (December 1875): 226; R. H. Stoddard, "The Marriage Knot," *Scribner's Monthly* 11.3 (January 1876): 432.

92. All quotations from "Eidólons" are from *LG* 81–82, 12–14. The poem first appeared as "Eidólons," *New York Daily Tribune* (19 February 1876): 4; and then in *Two Rivulets*, 17–20. In *Two Rivulets*, the poem is accompanied by prose discussions of democracy in America, and followed by two poems with international dimensions, "Spain, 1873–'74" and "Prayer of Columbus."

93. "Whitman," Kennedy writes, "takes this old idea" of the Greek notion that objects emit effluxes from their surfaces which we perceive, and turns it to "a doctrine of universal immortality, that each part of the visible world, organic or inorganic, has its spiritual counterpart (eidólon) in the invisible world." Kennedy, *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman*, 141. The scholarly literature on spiritualism is vast; recently, see Molly McGarry, *Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

94. John G. Holland to Edmund Clarence Stedman, 22 March 1879, quoted in Scholnick, "Whitman and the Magazines," 228.

95. *LG* 56, 118.

96. See Ed Folsom et al., "Translating 'Poets to Come,'" *WA*, http://whitmanarchive.org/published/foreign/. Another such resource is *WhitmanWeb*, published by the International Writing Program at the University of Iowa; the fifty-two sections of the poem "Song of Myself" were published, one per week, over 2012–2013 in English and in translation in eleven other languages. *WhitmanWeb* (Iowa City: International Writing Program at the University of Iowa, 2012–2013), http://iwp.uiowa.edu/whitmanweb/en/section-1.

97. Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2007), 128. While my argument here more broadly attempts to complicate Casanova's, I support her claims for the methodological importance of translation, and for valorizing it, in part because the generally unremunerative economics of translation do not always align with the long-term impacts of literary works or movements. For discussions of Casanova's work, see Christopher Prendergast, ed., *Debating World Literature* (New York: Verso, 2004); Aamir Mufti, "Orientalism and the Institution of World Literatures," *Critical Inquiry* 36 (Spring 2010): 458–493; and Pheng Cheah, "World against Globe: Toward a Normative Conception of World Literature," *New Literary History* 45.3 (Summer 2014): 303–329.

98. Whitman, *Complete Prose*, 372.

99. John G. Holland to Edmund Clarence Stedman, 27 April 1880, quoted in Scholnick, "Whitman and the Magazines," 229.

100. Personal communication, 2014.

Chapter 4: Whitman in Unexpected Places

1. For an extraordinary recovery of Caswell and analysis of his report, see Amy M. Thomas, "Reading the Silences: Documenting the History of American Tract Society Readers in the Antebellum South," in *Reading Acts: U.S. Readers' Interactions with Literature, 1800–1950*, ed. Barbara Ryan and Amy M. Thomas (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2002), 107–136.

2. Quoted in Thomas, "Reading the Silences," 115, 120, 128.

3. In particular, I have been inspired by the work of Lisa Tatonetti, *The Queerness of Native American Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014); Mark Rifkin, *The Erotics of Sovereignty: Queer Native Writing in the Era of Self-Determination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012); Michael Bibler, *Cotton's Queer Relations: Same-Sex Intimacy and the Literature of the Southern Plantation, 1936–1968* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009); and Michael Bibler, "Queering the Region," in *Cambridge Companion to the Literature of the American South*, ed. Sharon Monteith (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 188–203.

4. My use of the phrase "Indian Country" draws on the term's colloquial use by American Indians. It embraces, as Phillip H. Round puts it, both identifiable locations and a "cultural 'place' characterized by specific structures of 'feeling, communicating, producing, [and] remembering' across the Indian nations of North America." Phillip H. Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663–1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 9, and see Round's general discussion of the phrase, 7–10.

5. See Joanna Brooks, *American Lazarus: Religion and the Rise of African-American and Native American Literatures* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); Joanna Brooks, "From Edwards to Baldwin: Heterodoxy, Discontinuity, and New Narratives of American Religious-Literary History," *American Literary History* 22.2 (2010): 439–453; Carla L. Peterson, *"Doers of the Word": African-American Women Speakers and Writers in the North (1830–1880)* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Ivy Wilson, *Specters of Democracy: Blackness and the Aesthetics of Politics in the Antebellum U.S.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

6. Rifkin, *Erotics*, 3–4. This chapter's approach is also inspired in part by Leigh Anne Duck, "Southern Nonidentity," *Safundi: The Journal of South African and American Studies* 9.3 (July 2008): 319–330; see also Tara McPherson, "On Wal-Mart and Southern Studies," *American Literature* 78.4 (December 2006): 695–698.

7. Bucke, *Calamus*, 28.

8. On the history and experience of the queer South, see, among others, John Howard, *Men Like That: A Southern Queer History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); John Howard, ed., *Carryin' On in the Lesbian and Gay South* (1997); and Carlos L. Dews and Carloyn Leste Law, eds., *Out in the South* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001). Rifkin's argument is in part historically anticipated by writers like Whitman themselves; see Edward Whitley's argument that John Rollin Ridge, Whitman, Eliza Snow, and James Whitfield "positioned themselves with respect to the nation much as Whitman did: by recasting their liabilities as assets and claiming to be uniquely situated to address the nation because of, and not in spite of, their status as national outsiders." Edward Whitley, *American Bards: Walt Whitman and Other Unlikely Candidates for National Poet* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), ix.

9. Philip J. Deloria, *Indians in Unexpected Places* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2004). See, among many others, David D. Hall, *Cultures of Letters: Essays in the History of the Book* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 97–150; David S. Shields, *Civil Tongues and Polite Letters in British America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); E. Jennifer Monaghan, *Learning to Read and Write in Colonial America* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2005); Drew Gilpin Faust, *A Sacred Circle: The Dilemma of the Intellectual in the Old South, 1840–1860* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977); Michael T. Bernath, *Confederate Minds: The Struggle for Intellectual Independence in the Civil War South*

(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); Ellen Gay Detlefsen, "Printing in the Confederacy, 1861–1865: A Southern Industry in Wartime" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1975); Amy Thomas, "Literature in Newsprint: Antebellum Family Newspapers and the Uses of Reading," in *Reading Books: Essays on the Material Text and Literature in America*, ed. Michele Moylan and Lane Stiles (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1996), 101–116; Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861–1865* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001); Winship, "American Book Trade and the Civil War"; Coleman Hutchison, *Apples and Ashes: Literature, Nationalism, and the Confederate States of America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012); Jackson, *Business of Letters*; and Gruesz, *Ambassadors of Culture.*

10. Amy M. Thomas, "Literacies, Readers, and Cultures of Print in the South," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 373–390, quotation 374.

11. William H. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion: Secessionists at Bay 1776–1854* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 291.

12. Thomas, "Literacies, Readers, and Cultures of Print," 375.

13. See Barbara Sicherman, "Ideologies and Practices of Reading," in Casper et al., *Industrial Book*, 279–302, quotation 298; see also Amy Thomas, "Who Makes the Text? The Production and Use of Literature in Antebellum America" (Ph.D. diss., Duke University, 1992), 8–98. Gamaliel Bailey, "Readers of the Era in the South," *National Era* 8 (19 January 1854): 12; see also Stanley Harold, *Gamaliel Bailey and the Antislavery Union* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1986).

14. See Jackson, *Business*, 57–65.

15. On Charleston, see Douglas O. Cumming, *The Southern Press: Literary Legacies and the Challenge of Modernity* (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University Press, 2009), 29.

16. See also the discussion of the South and international copyright in Melissa J. Homestead, *American Women Authors and Literary Property, 1822–1869* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 196.

17. See James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Heather Andrea Williams, *Self-Taught: African American Education in Slavery and Freedom* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); Ronald E. Butchart, *Schooling the Freed People: Teaching, Learning, and the Struggle for Black Freedom, 1861–1876* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010); and Christopher Hager, *Word by Word: Emancipation and the Act of Writing* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2013).

18. Jay Grossman, *Reconstituting the American Renaissance: Emerson, Whitman, and the Politics of Representation* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2003), 190.

19. William Gilmore Simms, *Views and Reviews in American Literature, History and Fiction*, 2 vols. (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845). Whitman, among other

items, clipped Simms's essays "The Humorous in American and British Literature" and "The American Sagas of the Northmen."

20. For other work on Whitman's attitudes toward the South, see Joann P. Krieg, "Walt Whitman and the City," *Mickle Street Review* (2005): 17–18, www.micklestreet.rutgers.edu/index.html; Jacob Wilkenfeld, "Re-Scripting Southern Poetic Discourse in Whitman's 'Longings for Home,'" *WWQR* 29 (Fall 2011/Winter 2012): 47–65; Frank R. Shivers, *Maryland Wits and Baltimore Bards: A Literary History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998); and Frances Oakes, "Whitman and Dixon: A Strange Case of Borrowing," *Georgia Review* 11 (Fall 1957): 333–340.

21. Quoted in Gailey, "Walt Whitman and the King of Bohemia," 157.

22. Anon. [John Reuben Thompson], "A New American Poem," *Southern Field and Fireside* (9 June 1860): 20. *WWA* anc.00184, http://whitmanarchive.org/criticism/reviews/leaves1860/anc.00184.html; Paul Hamilton Hayne, "The Whittington Club," *Southern Field and Fireside* 2.3 (9 June 1860). One of a weekly series of satirical literary-critical dialogues, this like other southern criticisms blames Whitman for his refusal to observe traditional aesthetics, his "*unmorality*," and his "blasphemy." See W. T. Bandy, "Whitman Viewed by Two Southern Gentlemen," *WWQR* 3 (Summer 1985): 16–22, quotations 21.

23. See Rayburn S. Moore, "The Literary World Gone Mad: Hayne on Whitman," *Southern Literary Journal* 10 (Fall 1977): 75–83, quotation 77. Hayne also ranted against "A Carol of Harvest" (published in the Washington, D.C., *Galaxy* in 1867) in the Richmond weekly *Southern Opinion* just after the poem appeared.

24. Lafcadio Hearn, "Leaves of Grass!," *New Orleans Times-Democrat* (30 July 1882): 4, *WWA* anc.00093, http://whitmanarchive.org/criticism/reviews/leaves1881/anc.00093.html.

25. William Moss, "Walt Whitman in Dixie," *Southern Literary Journal* 22.2 (Spring 1990): 98–118. Gailey suggests that Whitman had become "a distinctly factional, Northern poet" in the eyes of the American reading public as a result of the marketing of the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass* ("Walt Whitman," 143).

26. On the early modern quality of southern literary writing of the mid-nineteenth century, see Ritchie Devon Watson, *Normans and Saxons: Southern Race Mythology and the Intellectual History of the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008); on early U.S. Anglophilia more broadly, see Elisa Tamarkin, *Anglophilia: Deference, Devotion, and Antebellum America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

27. Hayne quoted in Moss, "Walt Whitman," 112. But also, it was a small world: Hayne's bile was partly fueled by a personal beef with Whitman's Bohemian crowd, among whom famously reigned his cousin Jane McElhenny—otherwise known as the celebrated and notorious actress and writer Ada Clare. A model of Hayne's ideal of southern pedestalized womanhood she was not. For the role of the South in Whit-

man's bohemia, see Edward Whitley, "The Southern Origins of Bohemian New York: Edward Howland, Ada Clare, and Edgar Allan Poe," in Shawn Bingham, ed., *The Bohemian South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, forthcoming).

28. The most explicit southern labeling of Whitman as abolitionist that I have located appeared during the war, in Thompson's parody in the *Southern Literary Messenger.* It begins:

> I sing of War—
> Grim-visaged, bloody-handed, rough-shod War, striking out from
> the shoulder,
> Down there around Washington, waged by Abe Lincoln.
> Yes, Sir!—
> War upon the diabolical rebellion—
> War for the little niggers and a cotton plantation—

The speaker in this poem becomes drunk after a few rounds at Pfaff's beer cellar; Thompson may be in part responding to Whitman's temperance tale *Franklin Evans* and its depiction of the South. Anon. [John Reuben Thompson], "The War: By Walt Whitman," *Southern Literary Messenger* (1 January 1862): 72–73, quotation 72. See also Moss, "Walt Whitman," 115.

29. University of Virginia professor of Greek Basil Gildersleeve's serialized history of Athenian oratory, "On the Steps of the Bema," features a parodic translation of a Greek drama ("The Fatal Philtre") that showcases Whitman. Basil Lanneau Gildersleeve, "On the Steps of the Bema: No. V. Philoneos, or the Fatal Philtre," *Southern Magazine* 13 (August 1873): 129–137, quotations 136.

30. Ferdinand Freiligrath, "Walt Whitman," *New Eclectic* 2 (July 1868): 325–329; the review of the Rossetti Whitman edition first appeared in the *Saturday Review* (2 May 1868): 589–590, here quoted from *New Eclectic* 2 (July 1868): 371. This review also appears in *Littell's Living Age* 1253 (6 June 1868): 637–640, where Whitman had the victory of two negative reviews of the edition followed in the next number of the journal by a reprint from the *Athanaeum* of "A Word out of the Sea"; *Athanaeum* 1254 (13 June 1868): 702–703. "That Whitman can write noble poetry," the journal editorializes at the end of the poem, "this one example conclusively testifies" (703).

31. Anon., *Daily Patriot* (14 May 1856): 2.

32. Anon., *Daily Dispatch* (30 March 1864): 1.

33. Anon., *Memphis Daily Appeal* (17 June 1863): 1.

34. Anon., *Memphis Daily Appeal* (8 September 1871): 1.

35. Anon., *Memphis Daily Appeal* (5 November 1871): 2.

36. Anon., *Memphis Daily Appeal* (29 December 1872): 2.

37. Mary Clemmer Ames, "The Capitol Grounds," *Memphis Sunday Appeal* (2 June 1872): 2.

38. See, for example, neutral mentions in Anon., "Personal and General," *Huntsville Gazette* 4.27 (1 August 1885): 1; Anon., "Personal and General," *Huntsville Gazette* 7.23 (24 April 1886): 1; and Anon., "Lecture on Lincoln," *Huntsville Gazette* 8.21 (16 April 1887): 2.

39. Walt Whitman, "Song of the Universal," *Winchester Home Journal* 16 (2 July 1874): 1; Walt Whitman, "Walt Whitman's Thanks," *Macon Telegraph* (27 November 1887): 2.

40. Later Johnson would add that he "was taking Scribner's Magazine from October '72 till June 74—saw in it two little 'flings' at what was about to become so much to me." John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, *WA* loc.02420, date unknown.

41. John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 13 September 1874, *WA* loc.01838.

42. See John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 9 November 1875, *WA* loc.01847.

43. John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 7 October 1874, *WA* loc.01840.

44. John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 13 September 1874, *WA* loc.01838.

45. John Newton Johnson to John Burroughs, 20 December 1876, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, box 11.

46. 1860 U.S. census (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), Eastern Division of Alabama, Marshall County, Meltonsville Post Office, pp. 101–121, also numbered 889–909; 1860 U.S. census, population schedule (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), roll M653_16, pp. 889–890, image 431; 1840 U.S. census (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), record group 29, Marshall, Alabama, roll 13, pp. 100–101, images 206–207. For estimates of the average decline in total wealth for slaveholders versus nonslaveholders in Virginia, see Jeffrey McClurken, *Take Care of the Living: Reconstructing Confederate Veteran Families in Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), chapter 2.

47. John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 13 September 1874, *WA* loc.01838, says that the war reduced his "inherited fortune from ten to three thousand," which more or less accords with the census records.

48. 1870 U.S. census, population schedules (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.), subdivision 45, Marshall, Alabama, roll M593_29, p. 202B, image 408.

49. John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 7 October 1874, *WA* loc.01840.

50. See, for example, Amos T. Akerman to John A. Minnis, 11 November 1871, *WWA* nar.02134, http://www.whitmanarchive.org/manuscripts/scribal/tei/nar.02134.html.

51. Guntersville editors had long been participating in exchanges, judging from the town's presence on the published exchange list of the *Washington Daily Globe* of 10 December 1853, a few years after the town was incorporated.

52. See *Guntersville Democrat* (31 March 1892): 2; and *Guntersville Democrat* (14 April 1892): 2.

53. *Guntersville Democrat* (23 June 1887): 1.

54. John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, n.d., *WA* loc.02416. See also a clipping that Whitman kept, *DB* 3:706: "Alabama was so called in 1814, from its principal river, it being an Indian name, signifying here we rest." The word's actual meaning is unknown, and it is uncertain even to which Indigenous language it belongs.

55. John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 3 April 1875, *WA* loc.01842. "F.F.V." stands for "first families of Virginia"; Walt Whitman Johnson's ancestors indeed hailed from Virginia (by way of the Carters), though their social rank is not known. Baby dialect also appears briefly in John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 7 February 1876, *WA* loc.01850.

56. "Bobalition" by this time was a passé satirical dialect rendering of "abolition," originally put in the mouths of black characters to mock the abolitionists' appeal to a population imagined as ignorant and degraded. Johnson's trope here is, then, racially entangled in a way familiar to students of American literature. See Corey Capers, "Black Voices, White Print: Racial Practice, Print Publicity, and Order in the Early American Republic," in *Early African American Print Culture*, ed. Jordan Alexander Stein and Lara Langer Cohen (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 107–126.

57. See *DB* 2:423.

58. Sidney H. Morse, "My Summer with Walt Whitman, 1887," from *In Re: Walt Whitman*, ed. Horace L. Traubel et al. (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1893), 376.

59. Traubel et al., *In Re*, 378. For examples of such coverage, see Anon., "Jottings through Jersey," Philadelphia *North American* (20 May 1887): n.p.; and Anon., "Personal Mention," *Philadelphia Inquirer* (20 May 1887): 3. Kennedy, *Reminiscences*, quotes an interview with Whitman from the *Camden Courier* (19 May 1887) in which the poet discusses Johnson at length and with praise (18–19).

60. See Bill Hardwig, *Upon Provincialism: Southern Literature and National Periodical Culture, 1870–1900* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2013); on the imperial dimensions of southern literature as a national interest, see Jeremy Wells, *Romances of the White Man's Burden* (Nashville, Tenn.: Vanderbilt University Press, 2011).

61. S. P., "Montgomery Letter," *Guntersville Democrat* (26 May 1887): 2.

62. Anon., "Walt Whitman's Visitor. From Marshall County, Ala.," *Guntersville Democrat* (9 June 1887): 1.

63. Walt Whitman to John and Ursula Burroughs, 2 March 1875, *CO* 2:325.

64. Walt Whitman to Susan Stafford, 28 May 1887, *CO* 4:94–95.

65. *WC* 8:388–389, 5 August 1891. The article quoted by Traubel suggests that Johnson came again to Camden, this time not visiting Whitman; curious indeed, as there is no corroborating evidence of such a journey.

66. *WC* 8:473, 5 September 1891.

67. For Traubel's romantic relationship with the dentist Percival Wiksell, see Mi-

chael Robertson, "The Gospel according to Horace: Horace Traubel and the Walt Whitman Fellowship," *Mickle Street Review* (2004), http://micklestreet.rutgers.edu/archives/Issue%2016/essays/robertson.htm. For the possibility that Traubel also engaged in sex with Frank and Mildred Bain (and may have fathered one or more of their children), see Marylin J. McKay, "Walt Whitman in Canada: The Sexual Trinity of Horace Traubel and Frank and Mildred Bain," *WWQR* 30 (2012): 1–30.

68. *WC* 9:342, 14 January 1892.

69. In what appears to be his first mention of Johnson in *WC*, quoted above, Traubel's "again" even suggests that perhaps an earlier mention of him had been removed from the text.

70. Kennedy, *Reminiscences*, 18, 21.

71. William Sloane Kennedy to Walt Whitman, 7 March 1888, *WA* yal.00296.

72. Walt Whitman to William Sloane Kennedy, 26 March 1888, *CO* 4:159.

73. Walt Whitman to William Sloane Kennedy, 9 July 1887, *CO* 4:107.

74. George Sand, *Consuelo*, trans. Frank H. Potter, 4 vols. (1842–1843; New York: Dodd, Mead, 1889), 2:49. Whitman at times generalized this diagnosis to all southerners: "Yes, these damned curious Southerners," Traubel reports him as saying, "they baffle us — a morbid sensitiveness — pride they call it — I call it lunacy, insanity, and it drives 'em into many a well." *WC* 8:446.

75. John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 10 May 1875, *WA* loc.01844. Elsewhere Johnson says, "Also (so much the worse for me) I have always had a leaning towards suicide as a relief in case of great trouble" — a route that one of his sons took (John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, [8 February] 1875, *WA* loc.01848). He refers to his "discordant household," intimating marital difficulties in several letters, including John Newton Johnson to Walt Whitman, 17 July 1876, *WA* loc.01851.

76. Whitman, *Complete Prose*, 189–190.

77. Anon. [Julian Sturgis], "John's Hero," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Monthly Magazine* 120 (1876): 43–52.

78. John Newton Johnson to Charles N. Elliot, October 1897, quoted in Charles N. Elliot, *Walt Whitman, as Man, Poet and Friend* (Boston: Richard Badger, 1915), 126.

79. Sherman Alexie, "Defending Walt Whitman," *Beloit Poetry Journal* 46.1 (Fall 1995): 27–28.

80. See Walt Whitman to Tilghman Hisky, 20 June 1880, *CO* 3:182–183.

81. Today's Aamjiwnaang First Nation translates its name as "meeting place by the rapid water." http://www.tourismsarnialambton.com/communities/st-clair-river-district/aamjiwnaang-first-nation/. In 2000, the band unsuccessfully attempted to reclaim parts of its former land in and around Sarnia; see *Chippewas of Sarnia Band v. Canada* (AG), 195 D.L.R. (4th) 135 (21 December 2000).

82. *DB* 3:617.

83. Much has been written about Whitman and African America. M. Wynn Thomas

observes of Whitman's time in Washington, D.C., that "little would one realize from his poetry that the 'free' blacks of his city were a ghettoized underclass." "Whitman's real constituency," he summarizes bluntly, "was white America, and his favorite constituents by far were the working-class 'boys' and 'comrades' who, for him, constituted the best hope of a future American democracy." Wynn Thomas, "Labor and Laborers," 60–75, quotations 70, 71. For work in African American studies on Whitman's notions of race and racial citizenship, see Luke Mancuso, *The Strange Sad War Revolving: Walt Whitman, Reconstruction, and the Emergence of Black Citizenship, 1865–76* (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 1997); Martin T. Buinicki, *Walt Whitman's Reconstruction: Poetry and Publishing between Memory and History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2011), especially 33–35; Eric Lott, *Love and Theft: Blackface Minstrelsy and the American Working Class* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Ed Folsom and Kenneth M. Price, *Re-Scripting Walt Whitman: An Introduction to His Life and Work* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2005), especially 49–55; the work of George Hutchinson, but most recently "Race and the Family Romance: Whitman's Civil War," *WWQR* 20 (2003): 134–150; Wilson, *Specters*, especially 80–99; and Ivy G. Wilson, ed., *Whitman Noir: Black America and the Good Gray Poet* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014).

84. On this portrait and the poem "Osceola," see most recently Kathryn Walkiewicz, "Portraits and Politics: The Specter of Osceola in *Leaves of Grass*," *WWQR* 25.3 (2008): 108–115.

85. Edward Whitley, "The First White Aboriginal: Walt Whitman and John Rollin Ridge," *ESQ* 52.1–2 (2006): 105–139, quotation 114. See also M. Jimmie Killingsworth, "The Voluptuous Earth and the Fall of the Redwood Tree: Whitman's Personifications of Nature," in Folsom, *Whitman East and West*, 14–25; and Steven Blakemore and Jon Noble, "Whitman and 'The Indian Problem': The Texts and Contexts of 'Song of the Redwood-Tree,'" *WWQR* 22 (Fall 2004): 108–125.

86. Ed Folsom, *Walt Whitman's Native Representations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 77.

87. This is true for the most part of his published prose as well, though in his early journalism, Whitman — publishing anonymously — at one point writes, "it makes one think better of humanity when he doth discover such a fact as I did in my travels, that the valuable tract of land is kept thus unseized and unsold by the town of Easthampton, principally because the few remaining Indians hold it in a usufructuary interest, or right of enjoying and using it." Emory Holloway, ed., *Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman*, 2 vols. (Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1972), 2:316–317.

88. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 170.

89. Renée Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (Lebanon, N.H.: University Press of New England, 2000).

90. "A Dirge for Custer," *Rutland Daily Globe* (15 July 1876): 4; *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (5 August 1876): 358; and as "From Far Dakota's Cañons," in *LG* 81–82 and subsequently. Whitman's description of John Mulvaney's painting *Custer's Last Charge*, discussed at length by Folsom, appeared in Anon., "Custer's Last Rally. A Notable Canvass from the Brush of John Mulvany," *New Haven (Conn.) Evening Register* (23 December 1881): supp. 1; and Walt Whitman, "Custer's Rally: Walt. Whitman's Description of Mulvaney's Picture," Dakota Territory *Jamestown Alert* (26 August 1881): 2.

91. On Daniel Brinton, see, among others, Lee D. Baker, *Anthropology and the Racial Politics of Culture* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2010); George Stocking Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1968), especially 158–159; and Regna Darnell, *Daniel Garrison Brinton: The "Fearless Critic of Philadelphia,"* Publications in Anthropology 3 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Department of Anthropology, 1988).

92. See Phillip Carrol Morgan, "'Who Shall Gainsay Our Decision?': Choctaw Literary Criticism in 1830," in *The Native Critics Collective: Reasoning Together*, ed. Janice Acoose et al. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008), 126–146.

93. Lauren Grewe, "'To Bid His People Rise': Political Renewal and Spiritual Contests at Red Jacket's Reburial," *NAIS* 1.2 (Fall 2014): 44–68; Robert Dale Parker, ed., *Changing Is Not Vanishing: A Collection of American Indian Poetry to 1930* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011): 36. I have found no direct evidence of Montezuma's reading the poet. Whitman's "An Indian Bureau Reminiscence" was reprinted in the *Quarterly Journal of the Society of American Indians*, gen. ed. Arthur C. Parker, supp II.4 (1914): 291–293.

94. Robert Warrior, *The People and the Word: Reading Native Nonfiction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 49–93.

95. For Posey's biography, see Daniel Littlefield Jr., *Alex Posey: Creek Poet, Journalist, and Humorist* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1992); and Bernd Peyer, *"The Thinking Indian": Native American Writers, 1850s–1920s* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), 197–251.

96. *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer and Son, 1893–94), 207–210, 967. Estimates here are based on comparisons of the *Newspaper Annual* data with the report of an Indigenous population of 51,279 in "Condition within Indian Territory in 1890," Department of the Interior, *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians Not Taxed in the United States, except Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1894).

97. Anon., "Fus Fixico in Town," *South McAlester (Okla.) Capital* (16 July 1903): 7. On the urban orientation of regionalism, see Brodhead, *Cultures of Letters*; and Amy Kaplan, "Nation, Region, and Empire," in *The Columbia History of the American Novel*, gen. ed. Emory Elliott (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 240–266.

98. Alexander Posey, *Lost Creeks: Collected Journals*, ed. Matthew Wynn Sivils (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009). Sivils includes a handlist of Posey's 200-volume personal library (139–160).

99. The broader history of the book in Indian Country, of which Posey's life and works offer a glimpse, has only in the last decade become a subject for historians. See Round, *Removable Type*; Warrior, *People and the Word*; and Maureen Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827–1863* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). On Posey's reading, see Littlefield, *Alex Posey*, 48.

100. See Round, *Removable Type*, 97–149.

101. Alexander Posey, *Song of the Oktahutche: Collected Poems*, ed. Matthew Wynn Sivils (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008), 45, probably from 1897, and not known to have been published; held in the Posey Collection, folder 156, at the Helmerich Center for American Research at the Gilcrease Museum, University of Tulsa. "[Injun]" is supplied by Sivils, as the manuscript is difficult to read in this place.

102. Posey, *Song*, 66, date unknown, and not known to have been published.

103. See, for example, in "O, Oblivion!" (Posey, *Song*, 20), "There's a Tide" (32), "The Whippowill Has Come" (29), "Saturday" (198–199), and "What a Snap" (204).

104. This poem was first published in the *Indian Journal* (25 May 1894); it appears in Posey, *Song*, 29.

105. A piece in the Darlington, I.T., *Cheyenne Transporter* (10 October 1881): 2, reporting on English reactions to Americans at a Methodist conference, offers a negative aside on Whitman. But the Vinita, I.T., *Indian Chieftain* 3.46 (30 July 1885): 1, refers to Whitman as "the venerable poet." See also coverage in *Indian Chieftain* 4.17 (7 January 1886): 1; *Indian Chieftain* 5.2 (23 September 1886): 1; *Indian Chieftain* 5.22 (10 February 1887): 1; *Indian Chieftain* 10.30 (31 March 1892); Darlington, I.T., *Cheyenne Transporter* 7.7 (28 January 1886): 6; *Cheyenne Transporter* (30 April 1885): 2; *Oklahoma City Daily Times* 1.109 (4 November 1889): 5; *Oklahoma Democrat* 1.36 (31 October 1891): 2; *Oklahoma Daily Times-Journal* 5.202 (14 January 1892): 1; and *Cherokee Telephone* 5.39 (25 February 1892): 1.

106. Posey owned thirteen books by John Burroughs, including copies of his *Whitman, a Study* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1896) and *Birds and Poets, with Other Papers* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1877), which contains a laudatory chapter on Whitman; Posey's poetry frequently features birds and avian imagery, deeply influenced as it was by both lyric romanticism and Creek song and narrative. On Kinsley and other express companies, see Winship, *American Literary Publishing*, 151.

107. His naming of his second child, a daughter, Pachena Kipling Posey seems harder to explain, but exemplifies Posey's complex relationship to colonialism, literary history, and American Indian identity.

108. Quoted in Littlefield, *Alex Posey*, 121.

109. Posey, *Song*, 87; see also the related poem, "The Homestead of Empire" (224–225).

110. Posey, *Song*, 7. Posey may have read the *Boston Globe*'s coverage of Whittier's death, a short piece that may have been widely reprinted and which mentions Whitman. Referencing Edmund Clarence Stedman's argument that American poetry was in a "twilight" phase, it reads in part: "The 'twilight of the poets' deepens with the death of Whittier. He was the last but one of that great group of writers who made American literature memorable. That one, Oliver Wendell Holmes, still lives, the lonely survivor of a mighty epoch. But because we are passing through the twilight of the poets is no reason to apprehend that there will never be another sunrise. . . . Our 'twilight of the poets' will in due time be succeeded by a sunburst of morning." Reprinted as "The Twilight of the Poets," *Chicago Daily Inter Ocean* (15 September 1892): 11.

111. *LG* 91–92, 18.

112. Craig Womack, *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999), 131. See Womack's broader contextualization of the Fus Fixico letters within Creek social life and history (131–186).

113. Edgar W. (Bill) Nye, "Bill on the Border. Nye Rides through the I.T. and Sees the Cherokee Strip," *Wheeling (W.Va.) Sunday Register* 29.258 (27 May 1894): 7. *The Heavenly Twins* (1893) was a novel warning women about the dangers of syphilis, written by Sarah Grand (Sarah Clarke).

114. Edgar W. (Bill) Nye, *A Guest at the Ludlow and Other Stories* (Indianapolis: Bowen-Merrill, 1896), 265.

115. Melanie Benson Taylor, *Reconstructing the Native South: American Indian Literature and the Lost Cause* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2012), 2.

116. Simms, *Views and Reviews*, 2:57–100; Annette Kolodny, *In Search of First Contact: The Vikings of Vinland, the Peoples of the Dawnland, and the Anglo-American Anxiety of Discovery* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2013), 14. See her discussion of Simms and Beamish (121–131); see also Paul Giles, *The Global Remapping of American Literature* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2011), 92–101. "The mounds of Apalachia are probably in humble imitation of the great teocallis of Central America," Simms writes (82). Simms recorded the white settlement myth as historical fact in William Gilmore Simms, *The History of South Carolina from Its First European Discovery to Its Erection into a Republic* (Charleston, S.C.: S. Babcock, 1840).

117. For the history of Guntersville and its surrounding areas, see "A Brief History . . . ," *Marshall County Online*, http://www.marshallco.org/history.php.

118. This photograph was available on the genealogical research site Ancestry.com as of May 2015.

Chapter 5. Over the Roofs of the World

1. Walt Whitman, "The Eighteenth Presidency!," in *Walt Whitman: Poetry and Prose*, ed. Justin Kaplan (New York: Library of America, 1996), 1307–1325, quotation 1323.

2. McGill, "Walt Whitman and the Poetics of Reprinting," 37.

3. See my discussion of some such visions in Matt Cohen, "The New Life of the New Forms: American Literary Studies and the Digital Humanities," in *The Blackwell Companion to American Literary Studies*, ed. Caroline Levander and Robert Levine (London: Blackwell, 2011), 532–548.

4. *WC* 6:314–315.

5. Horace Traubel to Larson Butler, 10 April 1903, an endpaper inscription in a copy of *November Boughs*, advertised for sale at Abebooks.com, 30 April 2015. Whitman also gave away untold numbers of proof slips of individual pieces; see the list in *BAL* 9:69–88, which suggests the extensiveness of this practice.

6. McGill, *American Literature*, 43.

7. See Siva Vaidhyanathan, *The Anarchist in the Library: How the Clash between Freedom and Control Is Hacking the Real World and Crashing the System* (New York: Basic Books, 2004); Siva Vaidhyanathan, *The Googlization of Everything (and Why We Should Worry)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011); and Eva Hemmungs Wirtén, *No Trespassing: Authorship, Intellectual Property Rights, and the Boundaries of Globalization* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

8. Jackson, *Business of Letters*, 91. For a meditation on the concept of "freedom" in the context of digital humanism, see Amy Earhart, "Can Information be Unfettered? Race and the New Digital Humanities Canon," in *Debates in the Digital Humanities*, ed. Matthew K. Gold (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 309–318.

9. Pierre Bourdieu, *Pascalian Meditations* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000), 192.

10. Henry Jenkins, *Textual Poachers: Television Fans and Participatory Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Henry Jenkins, *Spreadable Media: Creating Value and Meaning in a Networked Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2013). See also Mark Poster, "Cyberdemocracy: The Internet and the Public Sphere," in *Reading Digital Culture*, ed. David Trend (London: Blackwell, 2001): 259–271. On what he terms the "radiant textuality" of electronically mediated literature, see Jerome McGann, *Radiant Textuality: Literature after the World Wide Web* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001). The study of literature, multimedia, and the World Wide Web has exploded over the past decade; inspiring for this chapter have been Danielle Fuller and DeNel Rehberg Sedo, *Reading beyond the Book: The Social Practices of Contemporary Literary Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2013); Rita Raley, *Tactical Media* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009); Gitelman, *Always Already New*; Matthew Kirschenbaum, *Mechanisms: New Media and the Forensic Imagination* (Cambridge,

Mass.: MIT Press, 2007); and Jerome McGann, *A New Republic of Letters: Memory and Scholarship in the Age of Digital Reproduction* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2014).

11. For a reflection on textual editing's costs of labor and time, and how they relate to editorial strategies, see Peter M. W. Robinson, "The Ends of Editing," *digital humanities quarterly* 3.3 (2009), http://digitalhumanities.org:8081/dhq/vol/3/3/000051/000051.html. On the *Whitman Archive*'s costs and choices, see Kenneth M. Price, "Dollars and Sense in Collaborative Digital Scholarship: The Example of the *Walt Whitman Hypertext Archive*," *Documentary Editing* 23.2 (2001): 29–33, 43. For the development of the "social edition," a class of collective "crowdsourced" editing projects, see Ray Siemens et al., "Toward Modeling the Social Edition: An Approach to Understanding the Electronic Scholarly Edition in the Context of New and Emerging Social Media," *Literary and Linguistic Computing* 27 (2012): 445–461.

12. See Alan Liu, *Local Transcendence: Essays on Postmodern Historicism and the Database* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), especially 209–238. But see also Cory Doctorow, *Information Doesn't Want to Be Free* (San Francisco: McSweeney's, 2014).

13. Virginia Jackson, *Dickinson's Misery: A Theory of Lyric Reading* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005), 235.

14. Andrew Jewell and Kenneth M. Price, "Twentieth-Century Mass Media Appearances," in *A Companion to Walt Whitman*, ed. Donald B. Kummings (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 2006): 341–357; Kevin McMullen, "Who Watches This, Watches a Man: Walt Whitman in Educational Films," *Mickle Street Review*, forthcoming.

15. See Kenneth M. Price, "Whitman in Selected Anthologies: The Politics of His Afterlife," *Virginia Quarterly Review* 81.2 (Spring 2005); and Kenneth M. Price, *To Walt Whitman, America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 3, 35, 83; see also Tyler Hoffman, "Walt Whitman 'Live': Performing the Public Sphere," *WWQR* 28.4 (2011): 188–208. For a wide range of examples of the public Whitman, see the posts at the "Looking for Whitman" project, Matthew K. Gold, director, http://lookingforwhitman.org/.

For an analysis of the interface design and public interactive practices of the *Archive* focusing on 2013–2014, see Meg Meiman, "Digitizing the Nineteenth Century: Scholarly Editing, Interface Design, and Affordances for Public Scholarship" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 2015), especially 111–134. Meiman observes that the *Archive*'s habit of acquiring permission from authors to distribute criticism about Whitman in electronic form and its Creative Commons license, allowing users to repurpose and circulate *Archive* content, are integral to its creators' effort to offer "the broadest possible means for promoting a digital collection's reuse" (95). See also Elena Pierazzo, "Digital Documentary Editions and the Others," *Scholarly Editing* 5 (2014), http://www.scholarlyediting.org/2014/essays/essay.pierazzo.html.

16. Lewinsky has recently begun a campaign against Internet bullying. See Raf Sanchez,

"Monica Lewinsky: I Was in Love with Bill Clinton," *The Telegraph* (20 October 2014), http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/northamerica/usa/11175531/Monica-Lewinsky-I-was-in-love-with-Bill-Clinton.html.

17. Stewart Brand, *The Media Lab: Inventing the Future at MIT* (New York: Penguin, 1987), 202.

18. The first state of the *Archive* is available at http://whitmanarchive.org/archive1/index.html.

19. "About the *Archive*," *WWA*, http://whitmanarchive.org/about/index.html.

20. See Creative Commons, Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 3.0 Unported License (CC BY-NC-SA 3.0), http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/3.0/.

21. "Conditions of Use," *WWA*, http://whitmanarchive.org/about/conditions.html.

22. See "Statistics for: whitmanarchive.org," http://cors1202.unl.edu/awstats/awstats.pl?config=whitmanarchive.org.

23. Whitman's work is also available in audio form for free from Librivox.org, a reading collective that creates digital audio files of famous works out of copyright. While much attention has been paid to the e-book phenomenon, the market share of audiobooks has been rising alongside that of electronic books. While audiobooks tend to be expensive, Librivox.org serves as both distribution source and organizational platform for readers who want to create their own versions of works for free. http://www.librivox.org/.

24. Kenneth Price discusses some of the challenges of editing Whitman in the electronic age, as well as the *Archive*'s attempt to represent the collaborative dimensions of Whitman's authorship, in "'Many Long Dumb Voices . . . Clarified and Transfigured': The *Walt Whitman Archive* and the Scholarly Edition in the Digital Age," *Nuovi annali della Schuola Speciale per Achivisiti e Bibliotecari* 28 (2014): 241–256.

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