WALT WHITMAN'S POETRY REPRINTS AND THE STUDY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY LITERARY CIRCULATION

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Walt Whitman's poetry appeared frequently in nineteenth-century serials—newspapers, magazines, and journals. It was also reprinted in anthologies, advertisements, pamphlets, and a range of other formats. Some of the newspapers in which his poetry was published had single-day circulations greater than any of the poet's editions of *Leaves of Grass* saw in the nineteenth century, and some poems that never made it into *Leaves of Grass* may have been read by thousands. At times serials that printed Whitman's work were remote from literary centers or devoted to political or religious concerns seemingly unharmonious with those of the good gray poet, raising questions about the breadth or foundation of his appeal to contemporaries. Scholars have traced individual poems through such contexts, but until the advent of the widespread digitization of nineteenth-century serials and books, depicting the larger picture of the circulation of Whitman's works has been a daunting prospect.

The *Walt Whitman Archive*'s Poetry Reprints project is dedicated to creating a list of the reprints of Whitman's poetry that appeared during his lifetime. We hope to assist researchers in considering the many instances in which a text appeared in order to address questions of authorship, literary production, and the interpretation of poetry in new ways. We also aim to gather as comprehensive a list as possible so that compelling assertions may begin to be made about how Whitman's reprinting related to larger patterns of poetry recirculation. To that end, our list of reprints is published at ViewShare, a free data visualization site hosted by the Library of Congress. From there you can download our spreadsheet, which is updated every few months.
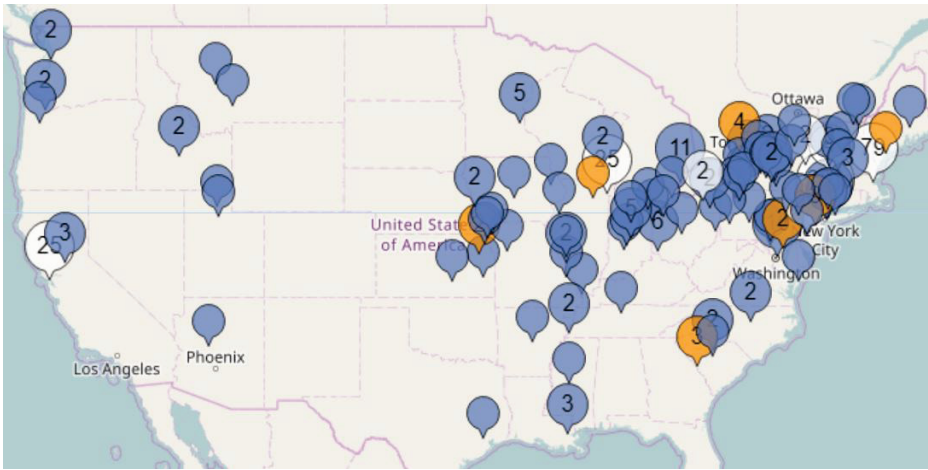
Figure 1. Some locations of reprints of Whitman's poetry, seen in the Library of Congress's *ViewShare* interface (viewshare.org/views/mxcohe/walt-whitmans-poetry-reprints).

We draw from a wide range of nineteenth-century venues, including newspapers, magazines, advertisements, reviews, correspondence, interviews, and anthologies. The net we cast is wide because of the challenging realities of nineteenth-century publishing. Poems were not always reprinted in full, and often had their titles removed or altered. The names of authors sometimes only appeared as initials, if they appeared at all. In studying any nineteenth-century poem or short story, it is methodologically significant that the author might not have been a meaningful figure for readers of a text because of the era's rampant reprinting and excerpting. While the Poetry Reprints effort emerges from the increasing use of digital archives to study nineteenth-century textual circulation, it speaks back to that emerging methodology as well, which is full of possibilities but laced with pitfalls. Some of our initial discoveries also have implications for the study of Whitman's poetry, his career, and his approach to the literary marketplace. In what follows, we describe the background of this work and our approach. We then offer two case studies from our early findings, and we conclude with reflections on their implications for the wider effort to study the circulation of nineteenth-century literature.

In many ways, our effort can be traced back to the transforma-

tive work of Meredith McGill on reprinting in the antebellum United States. McGill discovered that the print sphere of that era, contentious and many-layered, was nonetheless in important ways animated by a commitment to the democratic circulation of texts, in contrast with English practices—a stance held by some authors, many journalists and publishers, and not a few jurists. In practice, this meant that texts from anywhere could and should be circulated to anywhere else: from distant shores to big cities to small towns in the U.S. backcountry, but also the other way up the chain. An elaborate exchange system among newspaper editors who freely copied each other's content resulted in a "culture" of reprinting, as McGill termed it, that was "regional in articulation and transnational in scope."[1] This non-state-regulated circulation was enabled (though not determined) by a copyright system that, during this period, "explicitly reject[ed] individual rights as its ground of value" (75). As a consequence, McGill calls into doubt the familiar "narrative of the triumphant emergence of the rights-bearing author from within the market" (75).

Still, she warned, when we rethink authorship, we shouldn't go so far as to "relinquish the nineteenth-century belief in the existence of a public sphere that was not coterminous with the market" (75). This strong and salutary way of thinking about nineteenth-century American literary history extends the insights of book historians and textual scholars like Robert Darnton, D.F. McKenzie, and Jerome McGann, but also grounds them in the specific historical conditions of U.S. publishing during a transformative period. Its appeal comes in part from the way it resonates with and might inform the thinking of a "digital commons" today, as we are pressed to consider anew the relationship between information circulation and political expression and agency. Equally importantly, the very organization of literary study is challenged, given the need to consider publishing venues, formats, editors, unexpected readers, far-flung contexts, and proliferating revisions both intentional and accidental, alongside the usual anchors of author-based study: the author's *oeuvre*, biography, manipulations of form, intentions, associations, manuscripts, reviewers, and publishers.

McGill has shown, for example, that while Whitman was meticulous about maintaining his copyrights and keeping track of his income

from publishing, he was also committed to submitting his works through the "uncontrolled and uncontrollable mediation of other hands" that characterized the literary marketplace of his time.[2] Indeed, she concludes that the fragmented multivocality of Whitman's poetic "I" drew upon the conventions of widespread reprinting, anonymization, and recontextualization that seemed to offer a chance to create a literary voice less invested in traditional forms of authority or elite judgments. In this way, at a broad level, Whitman's publishing world and the uses to which he put it speak to our own moment, in which the fate of literature in an age of electronic distribution seems uncertain. Then and now, interrogating the relationship between how information actually circulates and how literature shapes the imagination of circulation puts literature at the center of debates about how access to or restrictions on communication shape human freedom and creativity.

The vision of a mid-nineteenth-century American "understanding of culture as iteration and not origination" has spurred new scholarship, cultivating fascinating insights into a range of works and literary situations.[3] Recent research into the reprinting of Whitman's short fiction shows it to have been far more pervasive than previously thought, suggesting that prior to authoring *Leaves of Grass* Whitman was a relatively widely known writer. Other studies have explored how Harriet Jacobs and other former slaves used their power to reprint newspaper texts about slavery to establish claims to media literacy, professionalism, and by extension a public subjectivity in their antislavery narratives.[4] Perhaps the most highly visible wave of scholarship drawing on McGill's insights has turned to notions of the "network author" or the "use"—as opposed to the reading—of poetry. Employing the former concept to draw attention to a wider range of texts as "information literature," Ryan Cordell argues that

[t]he social and technological operations of a newspaper network often proxied the author function, as the names of source newspapers stood in place of an authorial byline. Through the process of selection and republication, editors appropriated the collective authority of the newspaper system, positioning their publication as one node within larger political, social, denominational, or national networks, their content as drawn from and contributing to larger conversations across the medium.[5]

This approach decenters the author as an agent in order to draw attention to the force of a publication system in shaping interpretation. But what of the *content* of reprinted texts? In *The Social Lives of Poems in Nineteenth-Century America*, Michael C. Cohen turns away from "poetry" as a concept to examine "how people used poems," in an effort to "build a history of literariness and genre from a wide array of engagements with poems, of which reading is one option among many."[6] It can begin to seem as if no one wrote poems and no one read them. But in fact, of course, Cohen spends plenty of time close-reading poems—in particular, works by John Greenleaf Whittier, the avatar of nineteenth-century American poetic authorship. These studies have provided fascinating ways of tackling the difficult problem identified by Will Slauter: that, considering all of these insights, it is clear that we do not really know how readers in the nineteenth century actually read newspapers.[7] By demonstrating the prevalence of hitherto-ignored genres and by asking us to understand how verse printed in serials "took on meaning through its location" in each issue and on each page, these studies extend possibilities for reading nineteenth-century literature.[8]

Still, there are caveats. Datasets might undermine analyses of the network. As Elizabeth Lorang and Brian Pytlik Zillig have warned, the methods used to extract text from scans of serials are uneven, producing inaccurate transcriptions and search results laced with false positives, while leaving some content areas of pages unrepresented. Sometimes it is even difficult for a researcher to know enough about the approach a digitization initiative has taken to assess the reliability or thoroughness of search results.[9] With respect to McGill's analysis of free textual circulation as a catalyst for a democratic public sphere, Phillip Round has studied the appropriation of American Indian authorial identities in the context of nineteenth-century print circulation. He warns that reprinting and the ambiguities of authorship celebrated in some scholarship, when considered in the context of indigenous-authored works, raise "important questions about cultural sovereignty"—questions that, in fact, remain unaddressed in important respects both in law and by advocates for open access to information.[10] At a broader level, Lisa Gitelman cautions against the comforting categorization

of all of this circulating print under the label of "culture." It can be easy to forget, since our access to the past is so mediated by writing, that most daily communication in the nineteenth century happened face-to-face, sonically and visually, and that, as Trish Loughran has observed, print was important in part because of the way in which it allowed cultural differences and conflicts to flourish. More fundamentally, we must question what is gained and lost to the historiographical imagination by using a term like "culture."[11] The same holds for the metaphor of the "network" as an agent. The network is not the message any more than the medium is. The ultimate value of a vision of reprinting networks will be interpretive, grounded in how it helps us understand those "larger conversations across the medium" and how it shapes those to come.

Inspired by these projects and controversies, we decided it was time to begin the effort to catalog all of the reprints of Whitman's poetry during his lifetime. We began by harvesting existing records of Whitman's poetry using resources from the *Whitman Archive*. First we imported all of the citations from Elizabeth Lorang and Susan Belasco's edition of first periodical printings of Whitman's poems.[12] Then we listed full and partial reprints found in the extensive collection of contemporary reviews of Whitman's work.[13] When searching these reviews, we understood a reprint to include any text that appeared as one or more stand-alone lines of Whitman's poetry that were indented and offset in relation to the body of the review's text. Because we were looking for ways readers might have encountered Whitman's poems inadvertently, presumably these offset lines of poetry would be more likely to stand out on the page and capture a reader's attention. After recording the data available on the *Whitman Archive*, our team selected individual Whitman poems for targeted database searches.

Facing a methodological question of where to begin, we decided to prioritize less-canonical Whitman poems, such as "The Midnight Visitor" and "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," in our initial database searches instead of documenting, for example, the widely reprinted "O Captain! My Captain!" Starting with more idiosyncratic poems, we reasoned, might reveal interesting and unexpected insights about circulation. We were hoping to see, for example, which

of Whitman's poems circulated in the South and to what extent; how much circulation his poems received in Anglophone contexts outside the U.S.; or if the poems that didn't make it into *Leaves of Grass* might have had a more influential print presence than scholars have previously known. Thus, while the fully realized version of this project will include the reprints of all of Whitman's poetry published in his lifetime, we made the choice at the outset of our work to postpone tracking some of Whitman's more popular poems in favor of first exploring reprints that might evince complicated relationships to authorship and circulation, as the case studies below exemplify.

To locate these reprints, we scoured a variety of nineteenth-century newspaper and periodical databases for versions of these poems that were published before Whitman's death on March 26, 1892. We have also consulted original documents in several cases, and received and verified contributions to the list from scholars working independently in a few others. To search for specific poems, members of our team ran queries that focused on distinct phrases ranging in length from two words to an entire line from the beginning, middle, and end of the targeted poem, in an effort to locate both complete and fragmented reprints of the poem.[14] To ensure that we searched each poem in the maximum number of databases available to us, members of our team collaborated to replicate the same queries in databases for which one of us had access that the primary researcher did not have.

Our collaborative work across institutions has strengthened our results in several ways, including enhancing the geographic coverage represented by our set of databases. Most of the databases we searched, unsurprisingly, contained a high concentration of holdings from publication hubs such as New York, Boston, and Philadelphia; indeed, we suspect that the Northeast region of the United States is the best-represented region in our databases. Even so, the geographic range of our institutions' subscriptions, including regional publications from the American Midwest, provided access to periodicals in Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Ohio, and Michigan, among others.[15] Coverage of periodicals outside the United States varies as well. Whereas the Trove database searches Australian periodicals, many of our databases (such as *American Periodicals*, *Chronicling America*, and *Nineteenth Century*

U.S. Newspapers) emphasize North American content. It is important to keep in mind that our results are shaped by this access.

While our leveraging of several different institutions' database subscriptions has expanded the scope of our research, it also serves as a reminder of the limitations accompanying the use of digital archives. Despite the expanded coverage we gain by working across institutions, other databases remain out of our grasp, while some of those we currently use are augmented periodically, requiring return visits. Furthermore, there are likely reprints that are not represented in the databases we are searching or, in some cases, in any database at all. Potential omissions resulting from the scanning process add to the possibility that our searches have missed reprints. As we do our best to access as many digitized periodicals as possible, we recognize that the scope of our coverage is incomplete and that the process of digital research remains to some extent imperfect, unfinished, and always changeable. With these complexities in mind, we remember that while the data we are collecting can tell interesting stories, they remain partial, mediated stories.

A commitment to rendering visually the stories these reprints tell has shaped our organization strategy for the spreadsheet that lists our finds. Each time we locate a reprint, we add it to our individual spreadsheets, which we collate regularly into a master spreadsheet. Our goal in choosing the data categories for this spreadsheet has been guided by user-friendliness in later translating that information to present online in infographics and maps on ViewShare. We took advantage of the *Walt Whitman Archive* ID number (indicated in the "WorkID" column), a labeling system used by the *Whitman Archive* to disambiguate works that have multiple versions or titles. Using the *Archive* ID number is particularly helpful in the case of serial reprints because poem titles were often omitted or altered. Researchers unfamiliar with the *Whitman Archive*'s classification system can easily identify an entry using the "Standard Title" column. Other columns in the spreadsheet record the signature or byline that ran with the poem; the standard title the poem has in Whitman's accepted canon; the title under which it was published; the name and type of the serial in which it appeared; the serial's location and date of publication; whether

the reprint was complete or a fragment; whether this instance was the poem's first known publication; the volume, issue, and page on which the poem appears in the serial reprinting it; and, if possible, a URL for our source.

In some respects, the data set we have generated so far is skewed by our strategy of beginning our search with the contemporary reviews, which were likely to appear in places like New York or London (consequently the two most highly represented regions so far). Of the more than 800 entries we currently have, over half originate from contemporary reviews. As we continue to add entries generated from specific poem searches, we expect to see the data continue to diversify geographically. At this stage, we believe we have generated a set of results sufficiently diverse and deep to begin to examine for interesting patterns. The findings of other projects that attempt to understand nineteenth-century American periodical circulation, such as the Viral Texts project, more or less accord with McGill's, but broaden the time frame within which reprinting was a common practice.[16] Our explorations support the Viral Texts project's observations about the longevity of the practice of reprinting and the longevity in print, past early clusters of periodical printings, of certain poems, whether topical (as in the case of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold") or not (as in the case of "The Midnight Visitor").

As our first example will show, however, our hybrid approach of leveraging mass datasets and close reading also provokes basic questions about authorship and the significance of attribution to the understanding of writers like Whitman, whose poetic *oeuvre* has seemed comparatively well known. It would have been hard not to notice the presence of "The Midnight Visitor" in our results—not least because, for all we knew, it was not a Whitman poem at all.

Many Midnight Visitors

Here are the facts in the case of "The Midnight Visitor." Whitman was associated with two poems called "The Midnight Visitor." He was reported to have recited both with delight to listeners in groups small and large. The first of these was his edited rendition of Thomas

Moore's translation of an Anacreon poem called "Ode XXXIII."[17] That poem is not the subject of this study. The second is a translation of a poem entitled "La Ballade du Désespéré," originally composed by French writer Henri Murger, best known for his novel *Scènes de la vie de bohème* (1847-49, and the basis for Puccini's more enduringly popular opera, *La Bohème*). This text is doubly unusual for Whitman, as it is a translation of another poet's work and employs traditional meter and rhyme. Yet the relatively impressive range of distribution we can show for it even in the early stages of our work is a perfect example of the heterogeneity—some might say chaos—of periodical printing in nineteenth-century America. Using the data collected about its reprints thus far, we offer a timeline for the poem, briefly discuss its reception, and attempt to determine who actually deserves authorial credit for Whitman's version of "The Midnight Visitor."

Thus far, our team has discovered 93 reprints of "The Midnight Visitor" following its initial publication in the October 26, 1890, issue of the New York *World*. For what is now a little-known work by a writer famous for formally radical poetry, "The Midnight Visitor" enjoyed a notable level of circulation during Whitman's lifetime. "The Midnight Visitor" saw print in one form or another in 24 states and the U.S. capitol, as well as in four other countries (Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom). 79 of these 93 reprints occurred during Whitman's lifetime. Of the poem's posthumous publications, one saw print as late as June 1916. All 93 printings have been verified by consultation of digital scans—a lengthy process, because of the unevenness of subscription-based database access.

The reprint data collected about the poem paints an intriguing picture with respect to assigning authorial credit. 67 of the 93 reprints list Whitman as author outright. Ten designate Whitman as a translator of Murger's work, either in the byline or in the surrounding text. Fourteen, including the only publication of "The Midnight Visitor" found so far in New Zealand, ran unsigned. The remaining two do not discuss authorship; they merely comment on Whitman's public readings of "The Midnight Visitor" and include transcriptions of the poem. This disharmony about the poem's authorship is not unusual. Copyright protections were initially denied to literary works published

in newspapers, were not challenged in court until the 1880s, and were unevenly asserted and enforced.[18] Despite its uncertain authorship, the poem's circulation is impressive. According to circulation totals listed in N.W. Ayer's newspaper annuals, we have determined that "The Midnight Visitor" reached over three quarters of a million readers (776,594) between 1890 and 1916. Because periodical circulation totals were self-reported and oftentimes unavailable in Ayer's annual, we extrapolate that it could have reached as many as 1.1 million readers between its first and last recorded appearances.[19] Such wide distribution may not have been unusual for a poem attributed to Whitman at this stage of his career. It is odd, however, that the poem's first known appearance in English was in 1873—seventeen years *before* Whitman's name began to appear under its title.

"The Midnight Visitor" first materialized in English as an untitled, eight-stanza translation in an anonymously published article about Murger. This article, written by English novelist and historian Walter Besant, first appeared in the February 1, 1873, issue of *Every Saturday*, a Boston literary periodical. A month later, it was reprinted in London's *Temple Bar*, another literary magazine. Besant got sole credit for the article in the latter publication, and the piece was later collected with his other essays in book form. It appears that Besant himself translated the poems excerpted there. The September 15, 1893, issue of the British periodical *The Review of Reviews* verifies that Besant was capable of translating French; there, a lengthy article about Besant briefly touches on his English language translation of *Gringoire*, a play by French writer Theodore de Banville. Besant's translation of Banville's drama ran briefly on Broadway. Whitman himself confessed that he had little knowledge of French, and Horace Traubel, his friend and chronicler, reported that "Whitman was no French scholar, nor even a reader of French."[20] How, then, did a 'translation' of Murger's poem appear in newspapers across the world with not only a new title but Whitman's name in the byline?

To answer this question, we must flash forward to 1890, when Henri met Walt. The first mention of "The Midnight Visitor" in *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Traubel's nine-volume record of conversations with the celebrated poet, appears in the October 21,

1890 entry. Traubel tells us that, during a gathering following Robert Ingersoll's lecture "Liberty and Literature" (at which Whitman also briefly spoke), the poet "at one point took Murger's poem from his pocket—reciting it with gusto—was much applauded."[21] Five days later, "The Midnight Visitor," described as Whitman's translation of Murger's French, made its 'debut' in the New York *World*'s coverage of the event.[22] This version, like all known subsequent versions tied to Whitman's name, is six stanzas long, rather than the eight of Besant's translation or the fourteen of Murger's original (see Figures 3 and 4 for facsimiles of Besant's and Whitman's versions).

Whitman's documented relation to Murger seems puzzling. Surely he learned of Murger's work during his time among the Bohemian crowd that frequented Pfaff's Beer Cellar in the antebellum.[23] Yet in volumes seven and eight of *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Traubel demonstrates Whitman's lack of interest in Murger's work beyond the poem that became "The Midnight Visitor." On November 7, 1890, Whitman was offered "five manuscript translations" of Murger's fiction. He remarked, "I will enjoy them: *ought* to enjoy them anyhow" (*WWWC* 7:256). "Murger's one piece had always possessed him," Traubel wrote, "but whether Murger as a whole would so appeal to him was a question, or at least to be seen" (*WWWC* 7:258). Presumably, the "one piece" Traubel referenced was "The Midnight Visitor." By this point, Whitman's version of the poem had seen six printings in the American press: its premiere in the *World* and subsequent appearances in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, *Boston Weekly Globe*, the *Inter Ocean*, the *Washington Post* and the *Milwaukee Sentinel*. When Traubel asked him about Murger's fiction later in the month, Whitman returned the few pages he had read, saying, "I did not get far" (*WWWC* 7:309). Even in late December 1890, when asked about the remaining Murger manuscripts, Whitman replied, "I tried several times—they did not touch me. I have therefore left them alone" (*WWWC* 7:368).

Despite his seeming distaste for Murger's other work, Whitman was garnering attention from the sustained circulation of "The Midnight Visitor." Traubel reports that the New York periodical *Current Literature* ran "The Midnight Visitor" as though Whitman had translated it from Murger's French. "This raised our laughter,"

he writes, "Many papers have copied it in like error" (*WWWC* 7:350). Clearly, neither Traubel nor Whitman thought of "The Midnight Visitor" as a Whitman original. And yet, Whitman did not seem willing to disavow a kind of ownership over the poem. According to Traubel, Whitman claimed to have received "a miserable translation . . . from someone [he] met through John Forney," the editor of the *Philadelphia Progress* and a close friend (*WWWC* 7:350). Whitman is quoted as saying, "though I do not know a word of French—I am to be credited with something in that poem . . . I had to put it in some shape myself—polished it, so to speak" (*WWWC* 7:350). Here, the term 'translator' does not seem to indicate accurately Whitman's relation to "The Midnight Visitor." Translations were certainly not immune to the revisionary impulses of the former newspaper editor; the archives hold many examples of Whitman "polishing" translations made by others (see Figure 2 for an example). Still, if Whitman had no French, who provided him with the translation that was supposedly the source of his version of the poem?

Traubel's account of June 23, 1891, features a transcription of a letter sent to Traubel by New York literary luminary Joseph Gilder. In the letter, Gilder inquires about the authorship and provenance of "The Midnight Visitor," which he had seen attributed to Whitman in the *New-York Tribune*. At this point in the poem's historical record Whitman comes closest to admitting to literary chicanery. "Well, that poem threatens to have a history," the poet remarked to Traubel, "And with that history you are about as familiar as I am. I am a little amazed to think Gilder is taken in by it. Almost comical when the literary fellows are gulled. . . . Though Joe suspects a rat, too" (*WWWC* 8:283). It should be noted that 1891 was a banner year for "The Midnight Visitor," with the poem reprinted 54 times, in five different countries, fourteen states, and Washington, D.C. Out of these 54 publications, three list Whitman as translator and eight are unsigned; the rest proclaim him the poem's sole author. In the same conversation with Traubel, Whitman offered a tantalizing anecdote about the poem's origins:

I knew a Frenchman—we used to sit over our wine together—in an inn, anywhere—and in that familiar way he would give, I would take, off-hand, great things from the French—off-hand, rendered in prose—almost literally. This poem of Murger's I got that way—from that fellow. And the verse rendering, though partly mine, is mainly someone else's. And if credit goes anywhere, it should go to that someone else (*WWWC* 8:283).

Referring to Joseph Gilder's questions about the poem's origins, Traubel quotes Whitman as saying, "You know all about it: write him a sentence your own way—he wants something authoritative" (*WWWC* 8:283). Authoritative: one begins seriously to wonder what that could mean.

The next day, in Traubel's June 24 entry, Whitman mentions Bartram Bonsall, then the publisher of the *Camden Daily Post*, who "disclaims for Walt Whitman all authorship" of "The Midnight Visitor" (*WWWC* 8:285). Though Whitman is reportedly amused by Bonsall's claims, he nonetheless instructs Traubel to "Send a little note to Gilder. . . . You can put it in a light to stop the reports" (*WWWC* 8:285). Four more reprints followed that June, each solely crediting Whitman. While Whitman might not sound anxious here, he demonstrates an awareness of Gilder's influence over the publishing world at the time—and of how such an influence could affect him negatively. Whitman had reasons for keeping matters on the level; after all, he was a friend of the Gilder family, which had published his work. The day before asking Traubel to communicate with Gilder, Whitman is said to have been laughing over the reprinting of "The Midnight Visitor" in a paper Traubel only refers to as 'the Ledger' (probably the *Philadelphia Public Ledger*). Whitman said that the poem "never would have been quoted if it had not been a rhyme," perhaps betraying some pique over the mixed reception of his free verse style over the years (*WWWC* 8:284).

On July 6, Traubel cited an unnamed correspondent of the *Tribune* (presumably the New York paper) asserting that Whitman "never claimed to have written [the poem] himself" and "always assured [him] that the poem was a translation from the French of Henri Murger" (*WWWC* 8:304). The article then quotes Traubel describing the poem as a work "in which several hands, including

Mr. Whitman's, have had a share" (*WWWC* 8:305). Again, it seems that the rhyme and meter of "The Midnight Visitor" were important factors of the poem's notoriety. The *Tribune* piece cites the fact that "The Midnight Visitor" rhymes as proof that Whitman did not translate it, again emphasizing the popular perception of Whitman as a free-verse experimenter. Yet this literary-critical insight about traditional prosody did not put an end to the controversy—perhaps unsurprisingly, given that Whitman's best-known poem at this time was the rhymed and metrical "O Captain! My Captain!" In a late October 1891 issue of literary journal *The Critic*, there is proof that Traubel had obeyed Whitman's request and contacted the Gilders, writing that "The Midnight Visitor" was "translated for [Whitman] off-hand" and that Whitman "(perhaps with assistance or counsel from others) put it into shape as now found" (*WWWC* 9:60). "We reproduced the poem," *The Critic* snootily declared, "partly to show that Mr. Whitman can make rhymes and conventional rhythms, if only in translating" (*WWWC* 9:60). The controversy over "The Midnight Visitor" seemed to have grown in part out of the literary establishment's hot-and-cold relationship with the outspoken, perennially experimental Whitman.

His penchant for publicly reciting "The Midnight Visitor" also contributed to the confusion over his authorship of the poem. "The Midnight Visitor" was a favorite of Whitman's to perform, as attested to six times by Traubel in *With Walt Whitman in Camden*. According to Matthew L. Ifill, the poem "was in Whitman's recital canon as early as 1877."[24] In an entry on November 6, 1891, Traubel quotes Whitman as saying, "'You know I don't like to sing my own songs," and then describing "The Midnight Visitor" as "often a good escape for me, when I am pestered for recitations" (*WWWC* 9:125). This is the last remark about "The Midnight Visitor" that can be found in Traubel's compendium. Between this comment and Whitman's passing in March 1892, "The Midnight Visitor" was reprinted thirteen more times. All of those publications were credited solely to him.

Who, then, should get the authorial credit for this widely distributed, English-language version of Murger's poem? Seventeen years before Whitman's name appeared as the byline for "The Midnight Visitor," Walter Besant published an eight-stanza translation of

Murger's "La Ballade du Désespéré." In *With Walt Whitman in Camden* there are five mentions of a Frenchman who supposedly furnished Whitman with a casual English translation of the Murger original. Despite multiple, sometimes jocular references to this supposed translator, the historical record leaves him nameless. It seems likely there was no such mysterious translator, but that Whitman came across Besant's translation, which formed the basis of "The Midnight Visitor" as we see it today.[25] This is further corroborated by a galley proof slip of the poem found pasted in Whitman's Lincoln Lecture notebook, indicating that he may have been working on the poem as early as the late 1870s (Figure 5).

The similarities between the Besant and Whitman versions of the poem are undeniable, but the differences are equally striking. Aside from small punctuation differences, their first two stanzas are identical. In the third stanza, things get interesting: while Besant foregrounds "Love" and "Youth" as well as the figure of a girl whom his speaker once loved, Whitman's version banishes Youth entirely and instead lays out the trifecta of Song, Love, and Art. With this gesture, Whitman hybridizes Besant's third and fourth stanzas. He also queers the poem by neutralizing the gender of the speaker's love-object. The lover whose name Whitman's speaker can "chant no more" replaces the young woman from Besant's version.[26] By stanza four, the poems are significantly different, as Whitman has imported and streamlined the contents of Besant's fifth stanza, reducing the frequency of its mentions of gold and again removing any mention of a female love interest by replacing her with the genderless, potentially abstract "wish" held in the midnight visitor's hands. In the Whitman version, the speaker's youth replaces the bemoaned past from Besant's fifth stanza. Whitman's speaker continues to favor abstraction. Whitman's fifth stanza rushes to reveal that the titular visitor of the poem is Death, where Besant's version delays this surprise until the sixth stanza. Besant's seventh and eighth stanzas are meditative, as their "broken" speaker demonstrates a desire to be remembered or mourned in some way, even if even only by his dog. Whitman's poem, however, closes on its sixth stanza, focusing entirely on his "heart-sick" but unbroken speaker's welcome of Death. There need be no dog to mourn Whitman's speaker, nor

a young woman for him to recall wistfully; all that he desires is his own demise. While the speaker of Besant's translation seems reluctant to shuffle off his mortal coil, Whitman's speaker can't shuffle fast enough: Murger's *memento mori* has been brought in tune with Whitman's poetic proclivity for challenging readerly attitudes about death.

Twentieth-century editors, guided by a modernist version of heroic authorship, appear unanimously to have excluded the poem from anthologies of Whitman's work.[27] Clearly there was some concern in the 1890s to definitively establish the poem's creator, which would seem to indicate an evolution from the idea of authorship as a reworking of tradition to the idea of authorship as ownership that McGill has described. Yet in the end, and practically speaking, the episode did not become a scandal, and the poet used the occasion as he had so often before to play with the conventions of the literary world. He did not translate the poem in the conventional sense, but neither did he purloin it: we suggest that Walt Whitman should be called the author of "The Midnight Visitor," not least because his version of the poem can be read as a nineteenth-century instance of culture 'jamming' that may have persisted as a mode of authorship well into the industrialization of print. Lacking evidence that the controversy over the poem's authorship spread in print beyond the confines of the few periodicals that addressed it, and given a poetic rendering of Death characteristic of the poet, we are left to imagine that to many, perhaps most, of its nineteenth-century readers, this was a Whitman poem. Kenneth M. Price and Janel Cayer have observed that it is increasingly clear that Whitman "was anything but the author as solitary genius."[28] The mystery of "The Midnight Visitor" illustrates Whitman's unflagging dedication to styling himself as America's good gray poet, radically experimental, "Always a knit of identity . . . always a breed of life," even in the face of death—and what was perhaps more threatening, anonymity.[29]

Figure 2. Whitman's "polishing" of a translation by Emil Arctander from the Danish of Rudolph Schmidt's "Walt Whitman, the American Democratic Poet" (Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Feinberg Whitman Collection, box 77, folder 4 [DCN 43]).

Musette, the faithless! why, again,
  It leaps up still, in truth.
Come back and share once more my fare —
  Bread, with the mirth of youth.

"Why, see; the very chairs, the same
  That loved your face so fair,
Only at mention of your name,
  Put on a brighter air.
Come back, my sweet, old friends to greet,
  In mourning for you still :
The old arm-chair, the great glass where
  Your lips have drunk their fill.

"The white dress that became you so,
  Put on, my eyes to please ;
On Sundays, as we used to do,
  We'll wander 'neath the trees.
And in the arbor, as of yore,
  We'll drink the white wine clear,
To bathe thy wing ere yet it spring
  In full song to the air.

"Well ; she remembered ; yestermorn,
  When carnival was done,
To her old nest the bird was borne ;
  Musette has come and gone.
My arms flew wide, but yet I sighed ;
  My heart was so estranged,
It was Musette ; 'twas I ; but yet —
  We both were, somehow, changed."

Like most men brought up in the midst of great cities, Murger was passionately fond of the country. A few years before his death he found a little thatched cottage at Marlotte, that village in the Forest of Fontainebleau where the artists love to find subjects for their easels. Thither he went at the first breath of spring, trying to revive his youth among those quaint interminable alleys, all alike save for the play of the cross lights. Among those he used to wander, thinking, we may suppose, of his faded illusions, of the better fortunes of that imaginary Rodolphe, his own *umbra.* Perhaps in those latter days, the black domino and soiled kid gloves were forgotten, put into a pocket. But at all times they represented that sort of gayety which he could describe and *convey,* though he never seems to have felt it. For he was never a light-hearted man, never of bright and happy disposition : latterly, irritable, perhaps from the contrast between his conception of life and his execution ; morose and sensitive to the highest degree. Something always jarred ; he was never in tune with nature.

The great charge always thrown in his teeth is that he failed in his promise. This seems to me a short-sighted and imperfect way of putting it. He was a man who had the rare faculty of accurately describing. He told what he knew, not adding to the details of reality, but setting them off with the bright and happy touches of genius. He knew, unfortunately, only one kind of life. He described this perfectly, inimitably. As he knew nothing else, he went on describing it. But when he attempted to go beyond what he knew, as in "Madame Olympe," or the "Victime de Bonheur," he appears to me to be vague, commonplace, and insipid. On the other hand, no one can read the stories of Francine, Hélène, Marianne, so full of sympathy and sorrow, without feeling that they are real stories, only put into shape by the artist. Because they are true, they are lifelike.

I cannot persuade myself that he has done much harm. None but a very youthful mind could be attracted by the life which he describes. His scenes are so full of misery and poverty ; we see present always before us the yearning eyes with which the poor artists gaze upon the world of respectability and plenty. Their *amourettes* are so sad and so full of bitter results ; their surroundings are all so mean and sordid. No one can be hurt by the story of Rodolphe. At the same time his books are absolutely, totally, incredibly devoid of moral sense or religious principle. I believe that Murger never had either. Perhaps his father, the

concierge, was too busy looking after the lodgers to inculcate morals or religion. Perhaps the Voltairean De Jouy was too busy repeating the works of his master, which he perhaps still had by heart. His obvious fault, that on which everybody fixes, is, of course, his inability to see anything in life but youth. Youth means joy, health, love; if money goes with it, it means flowers, expeditions to Ville d'Avray and Asnières, with champagne. When youth goes there is nothing left. One might as well die at once as grow old. Life only has twenty years in it — between eighteen and thirty-eight. So, getting close to that turning point when, with men of his "persuasion," the years bring nothing but dust and ashes, he wrote those melancholy verses of his, of which the reader may take the following as a translation, for want of a better : —

"Whose steps are those? who comes so late?"
  "Let me come in ; the door unlock."
"'Tis midnight now ; my lonely gate
  I open to no stranger's knock."

"Who art thou? Speak." "Men call me Fame ;
  To immortality I lead."
"Pass, idle phantom of a name."
  "Listen again, and now take heed :

"'Twas false. My names are Love and Youth !
  Why, God himself is young and true."
"Pass by ; the girl I thought all truth
  Has long since laughed her last adieu."

"Stay, stay ; my names are Song and Art.
  My poet, now unbar the door."
"Love's dead. Song cannot touch my heart,
  My girl's pet name I know no more."

"Open then now ; for see, I stand,
  Riches my name — with gold — with gold —
Gold and your girl in either hand."
  "Too late ; the past you still withhold."

"Then, if it must be, since the door
  Stands shut till first my name you know,
Men call me Death. Delay no more ;
  I bring the cure of every woe."

"'Tis Death? Ah ! guest so pale and wan,
  Forgive the poor place where I dwell ;
An ice-cold hearth, a broken man,
  Stand here a welcome thee to tell.

"Welcome at last ; take me away ;
  Whither thou goest let me go ;
Only permit my dog to stay,
  That even for me some tears may flow."

Lines very sickly and morbid, are they not? But at the same time, in one so *real* as Murger was, they no doubt expressed a mood which more than once clouded his brain. To show that he was not always moaning over himself and his ruined aspirations, take the following, which I have rendered as faithfully as is in my power : —

"It was Saturday saying to Sunday,
  'The village is still and asleep ;
By the clock it is twelve, and for one day
  Rouse up, your own watches to keep.
I am tired of my trouble and labor,
  I must rest for a week from my care;
Your hour is striking, my neighbor.'
  Quoth Sunday, 'My friend, I am here.'

"He awoke, and the night lay behind him,
  The night in its royal array :
The spangles of stars seemed to blind him ;
  He rubbed his dull eyes as he lay.
He yawned as he dressed, like a mortal,
  And then, when his toilette was done,
He knocked at the dark Eastern Portal,
  To wake up his comrade the Sun.

"He climbed to the top of the mountain,
  He gazed on the village beneath;
No sound but the drip of the fountain,
  'Tis as still,' murmured Sunday, 'as death.'

Figure 3. Walter Besant's translation of Henri Murger, "La ballade du désespéré," *Every Saturday* (February 1, 1873), 120.

The words whistled through the poet's thick beard as they came in aspirate puffs from his thin lips. Several ladies looked around at the darkness, and, shivering, moved up closer to the patch of light. Here are the lines he read:

THE MIDNIGHT VISITOR.

"Whose steps are those? Who comes so late?"
  "Let me come in, the door unlock."
"'Tis midnight now; my lonely gate
  "I open to no stranger's knock.

"Who art thou? Speak!"—"Men call me Fame;
  To immortality I lead."
"Pass, idle phantom of a name."
  "Listen again, and now take heed.

"'Twas false. My names are Song, Love, Art.
  My poet, now unbar the door."
"Art's dead, Song cannot touch my heart,
  My once love's name I chant no more."

"Open then now, for, see, I stand,
  Riches my name, with endless gold,
Gold, and your wish in either hand."
  "Too late—my youth you still withhold."

"Then if it must be, since the door
  Stands shut, my last true name to know,
Men call me Death. Delay no more;
  I bring the cure of every woe."

The door flies wide. "Ah, guest so wan,
  Forgive the poor place where I dwell;
An ice-cold hearth, a heart-sick man,
  Stand here to welcome thee full well."
Not a sound had disturbed the reading.

Figure 4."The Midnight Visitor," from "Beloved Walt Whitman," *The World* [New York] (October 26, 1890).

THE MIDNIGHT VISITOR.

"WHOSE steps are those ? Who comes so late ?"
  "Let me come in--the door unlock."
"'Tis midnight now--my lonely gate,
  I open to no stranger's knock.

"Who art though ? speak !"--"Men call me FAME;
  To immortality I lead."
"Pass, idle phantom of a name."
    "Listen again--and now take heed.

"'Twas false—my names are SONG, LOVE, ART ;
  My poet, *now* unbar the door."
"Art's dead—Song cannot touch my heart,
  My once love's name I chant no more."

"Open then, now--for see, I stand,
  RICHES my name, with endless gold,
Gold, and your wish in either hand."
    "Too late—my *youth* you still withhold."

"Then if it must be, since the door
  Stands shut, my last true name to know,
Men call me DEATH.   Delay no more ;
  I bring the cure of every woe."

The door flies wide. "Ah guest so wan,
  Forgive the poor place where I dwell,
An ice-cold hearth, a heart-sick man,
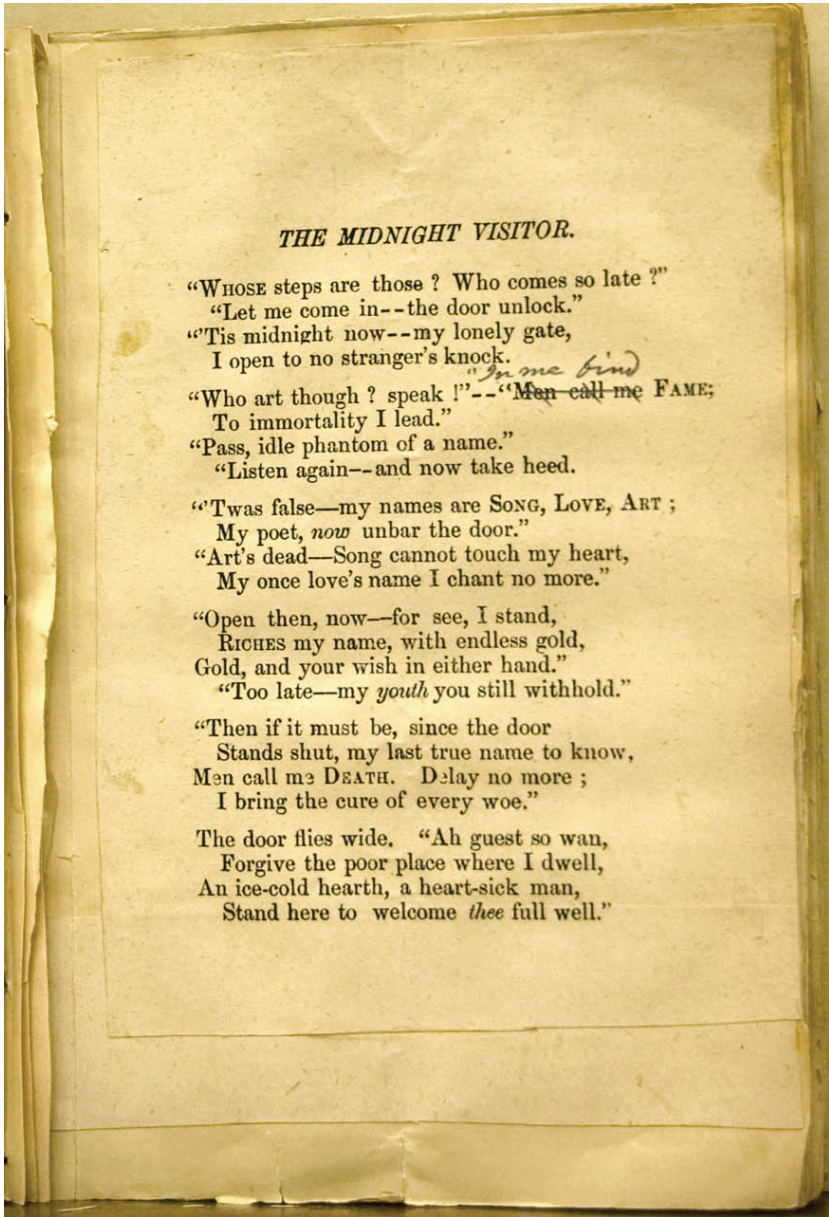 Stand here to welcome *thee* full well."

Figure 5. Walt Whitman's privately printed proof slip, with corrections, of "The Midnight Visitor." From a notebook held in the Library of Congress Manuscripts Division. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

By Walt Whitman; Not by Walt Whitman:
"Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" in the Periodical Press

If "The Midnight Visitor," by virtue of its traditional form and its purported status as a translation, stands out in Whitman's poetic *oeuvre*, then at first glance, his poem "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" does not. Whitman penned the brief poem to commemorate the February 21, 1885, dedication of the Washington Monument—a 555 foot tall granite and marble obelisk raised in the nation's capital in honor of the first President of the United States, George Washington.[30] Even though Whitman's lines explore the question of what constitutes a fitting memorial to Washington, they do not carry the canonical weight of, say, "O Captain! My Captain!," the poet's widely anthologized elegy for Abraham Lincoln. Nevertheless, the poetry reprints project team chose to explore the circulation of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" because it is typical of Whitman's writing in the last years of his life when his health declined and public events and figures became the inspiration for a number of poems he submitted to newspapers and magazines.[31] Applying our search methodology to the poem reveals a remarkable publication and reprint history that presents Whitman as the author of multiple poetic tributes to Washington and his monument, ranging from selected and altered excerpts of the original poem to a parody that mimics Whitman's distinctive writing style.

 "I write a little," the poet wrote to friend and fervent defender William Douglas O'Connor in January 1885, "sort o' sundown sonnets:—have some nice visitors."[32] The "sundown sonnets" Whitman mentions likely include "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," a poem he would first publish less than a month later on February 22, 1885, in the *Philadelphia Press* (Figure 6).[33] Compared to the hazy history of "The Midnight Visitor," there is a substantial paper trail documenting the poet's careful composition of the first published version of "Ah, Not this Granite Dead and Cold." Known for his incessant editing and revising, Whitman produced several manuscript drafts of the poem, and would later make more changes before reprinting it himself under the functional if less metaphorical

Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold.

Ah, not this granite, dead and cold!
Far from its base and shaft expanding—the
round zones circling, comprehending;
Thou, Washington, art all the world's, the
continents entire — not yours alone,
America;
Europe's as well, in every part, castle of lord
or laborer's cot,
Or frozen North, or sultry South—the Arab's in
his tent—the African's;
Old Asia's there with venerable smile, seated
amid her ruins;
(Greets the antique the hero new? 'tis but the
same—the heir legitimate, continued
ever,
The indomitable heart and arm—proofs of the
never-broken line,
Courage, alertness, patience, faith, the same—
e'en in defeat defeated not, the same:)
Wherever sails a ship, or house is built on land,
or day or night,
Through teeming cities' streets, indoors or out,
factories or farms,
Now, or to come, or past—where patriot wills
existed or exist,
Wherever Freedom, poised by Toleration,
swayed by Law,
Stands or is rising thy true monument.
February 21, 1885. WALT WHITMAN.

Figure 6. Whitman, "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," *The Philadelphia Press* (February 22, 1885), 4.

title "Washington's Monument, February, 1885," in *Sands at Seventy*, a collection of poems first published in *November Boughs* (1888) and later included as an annex to the final printings of *Leaves of Grass*.[34] Though the poem is best known by its later title, this case study focuses solely on the earlier version of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" and its circulation, first in the *Press*, and then within an 1880s "culture of reprinting" in U.S. newspapers.

The Morgan Library & Museum (formerly the Pierpont Morgan Library) holds four manuscript drafts of the poem that was first printed as "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold." These documents shed light on the processes of composition and extensive revision that Whitman

undertook before submitting the version he wanted in print to the *Press*. At the top of one of the earliest drafts Whitman wrote what he may have seen as the central idea of the poem: "Thou Washington art the worlds—not yours alone, America," and he dedicated the rest of that page of notes to imagining how George Washington and his monument resonated with and belonged to all of humanity.[35] In a later draft, Whitman titled the poem-in-progress "Beyond this marble dead and cold." He then appears to have decided against describing the monument as "marble," substituting the word "granite."[36] In later drafts, Whitman continued to revise the poem's title before finally settling on "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold"—a seeming refusal to accept the monument as a fitting tribute to Washington—for both the title and the opening line of the poem, as it appears in the *Press*.[37] The poem was first published as "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," the day after the official dedication ceremonies commemorating the monument's long-awaited completion.

When Whitman submitted "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" to Talcott Williams, who had assumed the editorship of the *Press* in 1881, the poet had already published several articles, letters, and at least four poems in that paper.[38] On April 16, 1880, the *Press* had published "The Martyr President / The Good Gray Poet's Personal Recollections of Him," a detailed transcription of the lecture on Abraham Lincoln that Whitman had delivered the previous day in Philadelphia.[39] Williams himself, along with attorney and author Thomas Donaldson, had arranged for Whitman to give the lecture, and the poet had concluded it with a reading of "O Captain! My Captain!"[40] Like "The Martyr President," several of the works Whitman contributed to the *Press*, including poems like "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," were intended to celebrate or commemorate public figures and events. In December 1879, for example, Whitman's poem "What Best I See in Thee," his tribute to Union Civil War General and eighteenth U.S. President Ulysses S. Grant, was published in the *Press*, and in October 1884, Williams printed "Red Jacket (from Aloft)," Whitman's poem about the reburial of the Native American diplomat and orator in Buffalo, New York.[41] By this time, Williams had become "an ardent friend" of the poet, and one of several subscribers who

funded the purchase of a horse and buggy so that, despite his failing health, Whitman could leave his Camden home for brief visits and excursions.[42] Whitman in turn respected Williams' work at the *Press*, seeing him as an "original talent of no common order" and even "[t] he only thing that saves the Press from entire damnation."[43] Given Whitman's opinion of Williams and the editor's recent history of publishing Whitman's writing, it makes sense that the poet submitted his "sundown sonnet" about the Washington Monument to the *Press*.

But Whitman was not satisfied simply to send the carefully crafted "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" to Williams. Ever determined to oversee the printing of his works, Whitman also sent along a series of instructions about how he wanted the poem published, including a request for the poem to be printed in a particular column. "I send you the bit for Sunday's paper," Whitman wrote to Williams on February 20, 1885, "If convenient I should like to have it put at head say of 6th column on 4th (editorial) page." He informed Williams that he "had it [the poem] put in type" himself for "private satisfaction & greater correctness" and explained that Williams need not send him a proof.[44] Although Williams did publish the poem on the fourth page, it was placed at the bottom of the fifth column rather than at the head of the sixth as Whitman had suggested. On one side of Whitman's poem, readers of the *Press* encountered a series of witticisms, and on the other, news and articles about Paris and London. The poet and frontiersman Joaquin Miller also contributed a poem with the practical title "The Washington Monument" for the same issue, and Miller's lines were printed at the bottom of the seventh column on the same page as Whitman's.[45]

A Tale of Two Washington Monuments

On February 22, 1885, the *Philadelphia Press* not only published Whitman's poem to mark the occasion of the dedication of the Washington Monument, but featured an account of the official ceremonies that had taken place the previous day: "A raw penetrating wind blew across the Potomac Flats this morning and chilled to the marrow about 5000 people who had assembled around the monument." When Ohio Sena-

tor John Sherman addressed the shivering crowd, he declared, "The monument speaks for itself—simple in form, admirable in proportions, composed of enduring marble and granite. . . . It is the most imposing, costly and appropriate monument ever erected in honor of one man."[46] Following the speeches and the parade, President Chester Arthur accepted the monument on behalf of the nation. The day's festivities could be seen as the culmination of a more than thirty-seven-year effort to honor Washington with a monument, one that had begun with the soliciting of funds and, later, the laying of the cornerstone in 1848.[47]

"Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" was not the first piece Whitman wrote about a monument intended to honor George Washington. Nearly a year before construction of the obelisk began in the city of Washington, in the October 18, 1847, issue of the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, Whitman wrote about a great procession and the laying of the cornerstone for an intended monument dedicated to Washington, to be constructed in the Hamilton Square neighborhood on Manhattan's Upper East Side. The monument, which was never built, was to consist of a tower with a statue of Washington on top.[48] Whitman was not impressed by the design; he believed it was too costly and "without the least appropriateness." He insisted that "[t]o commemorate a character as Washington we want, (we say), no monument but his country, and his countrymen's hearts." The living citizens of the United States and many other countries, he went on to argue, hold Washington's memory—a far more fitting tribute than any "pile of brick, stone, and mortar raised."[49] Sixteen years later, when Whitman visited injured soldiers in the Civil War hospitals of Washington, D. C., he expressed similar reservations about the capital city's architecture. In an 1863 letter to his former New York barroom companions Nathaniel Bloom and Fred Gray, Whitman wrote, "My first impressions, architectural, &c. were not favorable," insisting that in fact there was "no fit capital here yet." He told the young bachelors that the Washington monument was then "not half finished," and in a *New York Times* article the same year, he wrote of "Washington's one day necessarily ceasing to be the Capital of the Union," in favor of a more central location as the country expanded westward.[50]

When the poet took up Washington and his monument as the subjects of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," he echoed the ideas he had articulated thirty-eight years earlier in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. Beginning with the title and the first line of the poem, Whitman questions whether any manmade structure, even a monument designed to symbolize a historical and heroic person like Washington, can completely or justly represent his memory.[51] Whitman had written in 1847 of New York's Washington monument that the best place for Washington's memory would be within "children's bosoms"; after all, "Is not *that* mausoleum—warmed by vital life-blood which will never forget the sainted hero as long as it flows—better than the cold pomp of marble?"[52] In "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," Whitman likewise locates Washington's "true monument" not in the inanimate materials used for the construction of monuments and tombs alike but rather, as Amanda Gailey puts it, in "the living world as the true measure of a figure's legacy."[53] Whitman begins at the base of the monument, looking outward to imagine Washington's influence. In doing so, Whitman sees the first president's relevance not just to the U.S., but internationally, because for him, Washington's memory and influence are most present, most alive in all those who sail ships, build houses, roam the "teeming cities," or possess a "patriot will." For Whitman, Washington's spirit and remembrances of him are not contained by physical structures, national or geographic boundaries, or even time, but rather exist in anyone who believes, has believed, or may one day believe in "Freedom, poised by Toleration, swayed by Law."

"Thy True Monument": The "Culture of Reprinting"

"Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," Whitman's meditation on how best to honor and preserve Washington's memory for and within the living, was reprinted in a variety of U.S. newspapers. Our queries revealed that the poem was reprinted at least 36 times in full or in part between February 23, 1885, the day after the poem's publication in the *Press*, and the poet's death on March 26, 1892.[54] Each of these reprints has been verified by consulting digital scans of both the

poem and the masthead of the newspaper issue in which the poem was reprinted. There are at least three additional candidates that are yet to be examined because they are located in subscription-based collections of digital newspapers that are not among the holdings of our team members' institutions.

Whereas "The Midnight Visitor," a poem that was sometimes attributed to Whitman and at others designated a translation, had a noteworthy circulation of 93 reprints, "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," a poem certainly authored by Whitman and typical of his later periodical poetry in style and subject matter, does not seem to have been as widely reprinted. But "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" has a history that, at least at this early state of our project, appears comparable to that of another poem commemorating a public figure: Whitman's 1876 poem "A Death Sonnet for Custer."[55] "A Death Sonnet for Custer" was written to honor the memory of George Custer's defeat and death at the battle of the Little Big Horn, and it was reprinted at least 33 times in the poet's lifetime following its original publication in the June 10, 1876, issue of the *New York Daily Tribune*. Both "A Death-Sonnet for Custer" and "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" were reprinted in local and regional news-papers in New York. "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" was also reprinted by both the *New York Times*, a leading paper of the era with an estimated circulation of 40,000 reported in 1885, and the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, which, at that time, had an estimated circulation of more than 36,000.[56] But "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" was most often reprinted in New York newspapers that typically reached between one thousand and twelve thousand readers. Geographically, the reprinting of the poem stretched from the poet's native New York and the Northeast to several Midwestern states and even as far west as the Dakota Territory. By the end of 1885, as the one-year anniversary of the dedication of the Washington Monument was fast approaching, the poem had already reached newspaper readers in at least thirteen states and Washington, D.C.

All the confirmed reprints of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" assign authorial credit to Whitman, whether they are partial or full or whether they were edited or simply reprinted as the poem

originally appeared in the *Press*. At least twenty of these newspapers also included attribution to the *Press* as the source of the poem, even when the version of the poem printed did not correspond precisely to the original printing in title or content. The editorial interventions that come to light when examining the reprints of this poem, particularly the altering of the work's original title, are parallel to those found in reprints of Whitman's short fiction, which circulated within the earlier 1840s "culture of reprinting," and the reprints of other poems we have been tracking in the later period. "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" appeared under at least five different titles ("Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" [the original title], "Ah, Not this Granite," "Thy True Monument," "The Washington Monument," and "Ah Not this Marble Dead and Cold"), and the poem was actually reprinted more often—at least fifteen times—as "Thy True Monument," words taken from its final line, than with its original title.

Several newspapers printed an even more drastically altered version of Whitman's poem, removing several lines from the original. In most cases, this selected version of Whitman's poem is also accompanied by a parody of the poet's description of the Washington Monument and his insistence on its international resonance. One newspaper even reprinted this parody as a stand-alone poem and seems to list Whitman as the sole author. If the very attribution of "The Midnight Visitor" presents us with a reconsideration of nineteenth-century ideas about authorship, the first published version of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" was edited and re-circulated in ways that stand to alter the meaning of Whitman's original, carefully constructed poem.

The authorial and editorial control that Whitman attempted to exercise over "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," as demonstrated by his manuscript drafts and his instructions for printing, seems hopeless in light of the liberties newspaper editors and other writers took with the poem after its initial publication. Less than a month after the Washington Monument was dedicated and Whitman's poem debuted, a parody began circulating among newspapers. Whitman's poetry, with its characteristic long lines and untraditional meter and diction, had long been the subject of parodies—a 1923 collection of parodies of Whitman's poetry compiled by Henry S. Saunders attests to the

many attempts to satirize the poet. Saunders's volume includes this parody of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" on the last page, where it is titled "The Washington Monument" and listed as having an "unknown" date of composition.[57] The first appearance of the parody that we have located was in the *Daily News* in Galveston, Texas on March 13, 1885, printed with the title "A Barbaric Yawp" and what is presumably an attribution line that reads, "[Walt Whitman on the Monument]" (see Figure 7).[58] This parody poem, with its title phrase taken from "Song of Myself," is written in Whitman's distinctive style, complete with his catalogs of place names. When the writing style and title are considered in combination with the line that offers this poem as Whitman's perspective on the Washington Monument, newspaper readers are presented with a new poem of uncertain authorship that readers in Texas may well have taken to be Whitman's.
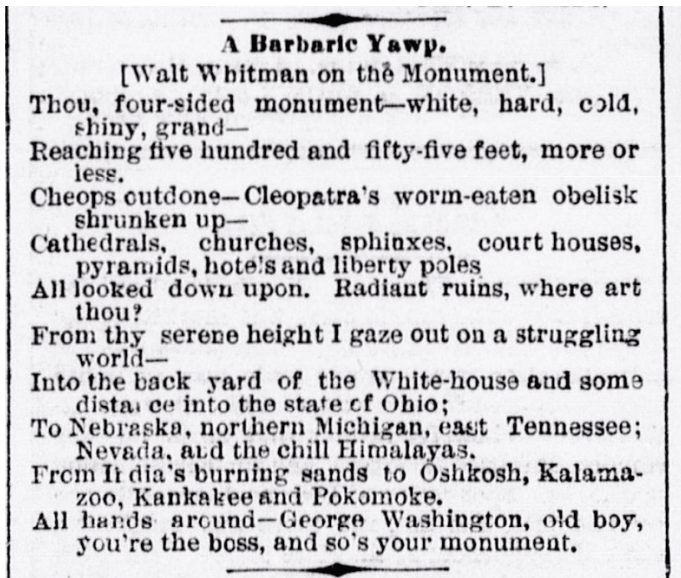

Figure 7. "A Barbaric Yawp," *The Galveston Daily News* (March 13, 1885), 8.

Readers in the Western United States and in New York would not have read it that way. Thus far, we have been unable to locate additional reprints of the parody as a stand-alone poem. By April 25, 1885, however, this parody was being published along with an excerpt from "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" (See, for example, Figure 8). The earliest such yoking we have located was published in the *Devil's Lake Inter Ocean* in Dakota Territory (now North Dakota) on April 25, 1885.[59] At least six other newspapers published the excerpt of Whitman's poem and the parody together, and as early as May 1, 1885, the new pairing was circulating in a newspaper in the Mt. Kisco and Katonah area in New York.[60] Although the pieces appeared together in Ohio and Pennsylvania, a majority of these paired reprints seem to be concentrated in New York newspapers, including papers in Niagara Falls, White Plains, and Rome.

Whether the parody originated in Texas or not remains uncertain; however, what is evident is that in each of these reprints pairing the excerpt with its parody, the parody was not separately titled. Furthermore, it was consistently published immediately after the lines by Whitman, with only a dividing line and the attribution "—by Walt Whitman" separating the two pieces. Following the parody section of the poem, the papers offered only the disclaimer "—not by Walt Whitman" in the place of further attribution. As a result, in these cases, it is tempting to read both the lines written by the poet and those explicitly "not by Walt Whitman" as two parts of a single work published under the title "The Washington Monument," especially given that they continued to be printed together.

When accompanied by the parody, the shortened version of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" begins, interestingly enough, with one of the early spinal ideas from Whitman's drafts, "Thou, Washington, art all the world's." It ends with "—e'en in defeat defeated not, the same," which means that three lines had been cut from the poem's opening and that Whitman's entire declaration of what stands as Washington's "true monument" was missing from the end of the poem. Newspaper readers who saw this excerpt missed the core of the original poem: the then-topical debate over how to best honor and remember George Washington, or, as Kirk Savage puts it, "whether

Poetry.

The Washington Monument.

Thou, Washington, art all the world's, the
    continents entire—not yours alone, Am-
    erica;
Europe's as well, in every part, castle of lord
    or laborer's cot.
Or frozen North, or sultry South—the Arab's
    in his tent—the African's;
Old Asia's there with venerable smile, seated
    amid her ruins;
(Greets the antique the hero new? 'tis but the
    same—the heir legitimate, continued
    ever,
The indomitable heart and arm—proofs of the
    never-broken line.
Courage, alertness, patience, faith, the same
    —e'en in defeat defeated not, the same).
                —Walt Whitman.

Thou, four-sided monument—white, hard,
    cold, shiny, grand—
Reaching five hundred and fifty-five feet high
    more or less.
Cheops outdone—Cleopatra's worm-eaten obe-
    lisk shrunken up—
Cathedrals, churches, sphinxes, court-houses,
    pyramids, hotels and liberty poles
All looked down upon. Radiant ruins, where
    art thou?
From thy serene hight I gaze on a struggling
    world—
Into the back yard of the White House and
    some distance into the State of Ohio:
To Nebraska, Northern Michigan, East Ten-
    nessee, Nevada and the chill Himalayas,
From Indiana's burning sands to Oshkosh,
    Kalamazoo, Kankakee and Pokomoke,
All hands around—George Washington, old
    boy, you're the boss, and so's your mon-
    ument.   —Not by Walt Whitman.

Figure 8. Whitman, "The Washington Monument," with accompanying paro-
dy, "Not by Walt Whitman," *The Roman Citizen* (August 14, 1885), 1.

public monuments helped sustain a genuine collective memory, or were simply useless and dead."[61] Here, rather than moving away from the monument at the start as Whitman did in the title "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," the shortened version is simply titled "The Washington Monument"—a far cry from "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" or even "Thy True Monument," the most popular title and a distillation of the poem's message. With no indication that the selected version was actually an excerpt from a longer, differently titled Whitman poem, the parody poem that follows serves not only to mimic Whitman's writing style, but to criticize the monument as a symbol of the first president and American nationalism.

While the excerpted version of Whitman's poem still insists upon the Washington Monument and the man it honors as belonging to all the world, the author of the parody sees the structure as steeped in American supremacy. The monument, according to the parody, reaches "five hundred and fifty-five feet, more or less," and the author insists that the completion of the monument—the tallest structure in the world at that time—meant that "Cathedrals, churches, sphinxes, courthouses, pyramids" and other structures were "all looked down upon." Far from Whitman's attempt to look outward from the base and shaft of the monument in the original version, the parody imagines a poetic speaker looking out from an immense height as if surveying a vast kingdom that stretches from "Nebraska" to "India's burning sands" and from "Oskosh" to "Kalamazoo." The parody ends on a similar note, declaring "George Washington, old boy, you're the boss, and so's your monument," which presents Washington and, by extension, the U.S. as master of all that is below the obelisk. With this reading, even the attribution line "[Walt Whitman on the Washington Monument]" takes on new meaning, suggesting that the poet has ascended to the top of the monument, linking him with Washington in a visionary command over this occasion and the public figures and events he observes.

Despite Whitman's careful planning and efforts to put into print what would have been, at least at that time, an authoritative version of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," the poem took on a life of its own in an 1880s network of reprinting that was alive and well

among U.S. newspapers. As Whitman became an influential poetic voice, writing about public figures and occasions in his later periodical poetry—poems that, once printed, were given up to the "uncontrolled and uncontrollable mediation of other hands"—questions about authorship and what version of a particular work reached newspaper readers in various states and regions multiplied.[62] Although "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" was certainly Whitman's poem and not a translation, its reprinting and parodying in the press raise similar questions about authorship. After all, the excerpt of Whitman's original poem that circulated in the months following the dedication of the monument were the poet's lines, but they mean differently when removed from their original context, or when printed with a parody that one paper had already attributed to Whitman and that others insisted was "not by Walt Whitman." Whitman was simultaneously credited and discredited as the author, and, depending on whether readers purchased their newspapers on the east coast or in Texas, they stood to receive very different impressions of the Washington Monument and of America's most controversial poet.

At the same time, the expanding circulation of Whitman's "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" in its varied forms reveals the many ways in which editors and readers were making use of Whitman's poetry. The processes of excerpting and parodying play important roles both in a literary marketplace defined by reprinting and in the production of the new literary works that emerge when others respond to Whitman's lines in parody, borrow his verses, or recombine them with new content. The parodies and recombined texts, as much as "The Midnight Visitor" and "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold," are also, to borrow Whitman's words, poems that threaten to have histories—histories at once separate from and inextricably tied to the Whitman poems upon which they are based.

Some Conclusions

What have we learned so far, about the possibilities of digital bibliographical research or about the larger picture of nineteenth-century publishing? For starters, serials databases offer extraordinary oppor-

tunities for tracking literary circulation and for resituating texts and authors within the media experience of nineteenth-century readers. But we can't take lightly the challenges of uneven optical character recognition (OCR), ever-emerging new datasets, heterogeneous search interfaces and algorithms, and not-yet-standardized digitization and metadata policies. We had to leverage the database subscriptions of three different institutions in order to get the results on which this essay is based, and we know there are still more out there to be found.[63] The digitization of serials is proceeding in much the same way that the development of newspapers did—with a transnational scope and significance, but local variation in imperatives, standards, and access.

Using digitized periodicals, Mary Hammond notes, "we have begun to rediscover long-lost non-canonical texts which, based on their reprint histories, might once have been of equal popularity and importance."[64] In doing so, we extend the past half-century's recovery efforts, initiated by those studying gender and race in literary history. Hammond adds that "digitization has not only enabled what Franco Moretti has called 'distant readings,' by which he means the analysis of patterns occurring across large numbers of texts," but has also "opened up new ways of *close* reading" (179). We have attempted here to show the value of moving between analytical scales not just to bring meaning to the statistics, but to suggest that the claims of big data analysis for the diminishing significance of outliers or errors in large dataset analysis may in fact hinder certain kinds of literary historical interrogation. Hammond is only the latest of many scholars to observe that "it cannot be assumed that the simple repetition of . . . any n-gram . . . in numbers of newspapers is incontrovertible evidence of widespread acceptance or understanding" (182). Reprinting a poem exposed it to a community of readers, sometimes of identifiable dimensions and sometimes not, but we have to look elsewhere for that poem's social history. To imagine the potentialities of poems during an era when they were more powerful cultural presences than they are now, we need a range of instruments for speculation, and the context of a reprint may be as important as both its text and the network from which it came.

With respect to literary history, we tentatively support a few revi-

sions to the current understanding of literary circulation. Despite what McGill characterizes as the abandonment of courts and publishers of the vision of democratic circulation that grounds her claim to call reprinting practices a "culture," those practices persisted well beyond 1853, when McGill's study ends. This was the case for domestically produced works and foreign reprints in the U.S. (at least until the enactment of international copyright legislation in 1891). Poems continued to circulate through exchange networks and by other means, sometimes with and sometimes without identification. Even titling poems seems like a presentist enterprise: it is difficult to know how to name the poems that were circulating in the aftermath of the publication of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" in the *Philadelphia Press*. Those poems titled "The Washington Monument" or "Washington Monument" are not easily labeled reprints of "Ah, Not This Granite," since they only reprint part of the poem and combine those lines with a reprinted parody, such that a new piece is born in the process. Misattributions abounded, healthy authors were reported to have died, and well-known authors published anonymously or under pseudonyms. Works were purloined, parodied but passed off as pure, and pirated—and as with "The Midnight Visitor," Whitman could be both debunked as translator or author *and* recirculated as such at the same time.

Today, large-scale analyses of periodical or literary "networks" jostle uncomfortably with utopian claims for the world-changing nature of the digitization of particular archival resources. Our focus on rather traditional methods for studying literary history—making a list, checking it twice, and tracking down contexts—suggests the advantages of regarding all of these methods as part of an ecology of literary historical research, rather than vaunting one or another as "the next great thing" or a panacea for our bibliographical woes.[65] And while we need not worship the author as genius or as exemplar of the benefits of liberal modernity, we might consider the potential of the figure of the author as a methodological foil. The author regarded as both process and product offers a way of interrogating our desire to declare "cultures" and "systems" as functioning with a kind of technological power. Writers like Whitman had attitudes that cannot be

reduced to the market capitalism of the rights-bearing author; to the republican public sphere of disembodied rational authority; or to the commons-oriented radical. Just as it produced neither one midnight visitor nor one "true" poetic monument but many of both, might the heterogeneity of modes of circulation in Whitman's time have produced a palette of navigational options for writers and publishers—options emerging from the combinations of geographic, political, marketplace, and distribution factors offered to a potential publication at any given moment?

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NOTES

1   Meredith L. McGill, *American Literature and the Culture of Reprinting: 1834-1853* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), 1. Any study of Whitman's readership is also indebted to Ezra Greenspan's *Walt Whitman and the American Reader* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

2   McGill, "Walt Whitman and the Poetics of Reprinting," in *Where the Future Becomes Present: Whitman and Leaves of Grass*, ed. David Blake and Michael Robertson (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2008), 38.

3   McGill, *American Literature*, 4; see also William Huntting Howell, *Against Self-Reliance: The Arts of Dependence in the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015).

4   Stephanie Blalock, "Walt Whitman's Early Fiction in Periodicals: Over 250

Newly Discovered Reprints," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 30 (Spring 2013), 171-180; Samantha Sommers, "Harriet Jacobs and the Recirculation of Print Culture," *MELUS* 40.3 (2015), 134-149. See also Ryan Cordell, "'Taken Possession of': The Reprinting and Reauthorship of Hawthorne's 'Celestial Railroad' in the Antebellum Religious Press," *Digital Humanities Quarterly* 7.1 (2013) (www.digitalhumanities.org/dhq/vol/7/1/000144/000144.html).

5   Ryan Cordell, "Reprinting, Circulation, and the Network Author in Antebellum Newspapers," *American Literary History* 27 (2015), 417-445.

6   Michael C. Cohen, *The Social Lives of Poems in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 9.

7   See, among other essays, 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. A similar effort is undertaken with respect to books by Leah Price in *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012). "The difficulty lies with reading itself," Robert Darnton writes; "Nothing could be more misleading than the assumption that [readers of the past] made sense of typographical signs in the same way that we do" (*The Forbidden Best-Sellers of Pre-Revolutionary France* [New York: Norton, 1995], 85).

8   Cohen, 13.

9   Lorang and Pytlik Zillig, "Electronic Text Analysis and Nineteenth-Century Newspapers: TokenX and the Richmond *Daily Dispatch*," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 54.3 (2012), 303-323; see also the Early Modern OCR Project, led by Laura Mandell, which aims to improve optical character recognition methods (emop.tamu.edu); Laurel Brake, "Half Full and Half Empty," *Journal of Victorian Culture* 17 (2012), 222-29; and M. H. Beals, "Musings on a Multimodal Analysis of Scissors-and-Paste Journalism (Part 1)" (mhbeals.com/multimodal/), which advocates, as we do here, for what Beals terms a "multimodal research methodology" that leverages mass searching and attention to individual texts and contexts.

10   Phillip H. Round, *Removable Type: Histories of the Book in Indian Country, 1663-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 173; on the broader question of traditional cultural heritage and digital access, see Kim Christen, "Does Information Really Want to be Free? Indigenous Knowledge Systems and the Question of Openness," *International Journal of Communication* 6 (2012), 2870-2893.

11   Lisa Gitelman, "Print Culture (Other than Codex): Job Printing and Its Importance," in *Comparative Textual Media: Transforming the Humanities in the Postprint Era*, ed. N. Katherine Hayles and Jessica Pressman (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), 183-198; Trish Loughran, *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770-1870* (New York:

Columbia University Press, 2007).

12   Susan Belasco and Elizabeth Lorang, ed., "Whitman's Poems First Published in Periodicals," available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org).

13   The "Contemporary Reviews" are available on the *Whitman Archive*.

14   Each of our team members had access to different databases, which played a formative role in our research strategies. In some cases, holdings for the same database varied by institution: for example, each of our universities subscribed to *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, but Indiana University Bloomington was the only of our three institutions whose subscription included the *Detroit Free Press*, and the University of Iowa was the only of our institutions whose subscription included the *Atlanta Constitution*. For a full list of the databases we currently consult, broken down by institution, please contact the authors.

15   Some of the major databases we searched, such as *ProQuest Historical Newspapers*, feature mainly urban publications, such as the *New York Times, Boston Globe,* and *Chicago Tribune*. Others, such as America's Historical Newspapers, include holdings from all 50 states. Among the institutions' regionally specific holdings, the Indiana University Bloomington subscription to Newspaper Archive covers publications from the states of Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Iowa.

16   David A. Smith, Ryan Cordell and Elizabeth Maddock Dillon, "Infectious Texts: Modeling Text Reuse in Nineteenth-Century Newspapers," *Proceedings of the IEEE Workshop on Big Humanities* (2013), doi: 10.1109/BigData.2013.6691675.

17   Nicole Gray, "Spirited Media: Revision, Race, and Revelation in Nineteenth-Century America," Ph.D. dissertation (University of Texas at Austin, 2014), 225; see also Matthew L. Ifill, "Whitman's Two 'Midnight Visitors,'" *Conversations: The Newsletter of the Walt Whitman Association* (Winter 2015-16), 1-8; and Arthur Golden, "The Text of a Whitman Lincoln Lecture Reading: Anacreon's 'The Midnight Visitor,'" *WWQR* 6 (Fall 1988), 91-94.

18   See Robert Brauneis, "The Transformation of Originality in the Progressive-Era Debate Over Copyright in News," *Cardozo Arts & Entertainment Law Journal* 27.2 (2009), 1-37; and McGill, *American Literature*, 71.

19   Circulation figures are taken from *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual Containing a Catalogue of American Newspapers* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1885). Projected circulation is based on the average circulation of newspapers that printed "The Midnight Visitor" for which Ayer's *Annual* records totals.

20   Horace Traubel, "Walt Whitman and Murger," *Poet-Lore* 6.10 (1894), 488; Walter Besant, "Henry Murger," *Temple Bar* 37 (1873), 47-60; John Underhill, "Character Sketch: Mr. Walter Besant," *The Review of Reviews* (15 September 1893), 250-61; "The Ballad Monger," *IBDB.com* (www.ibdb.com/Production/View/411922). On Whitman's relationship to France and the French language, see Betsy Erkkila, *Walt Whitman Among the French: Poet and Myth* (Princeton:

Princeton University Press, 1980). Murger changed the spelling of his name over the course of his life, anglicizing it from Henri to Henry.

21 Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, 9 vols. (1906-1996), 7:226. Hereafter: *WWWC*. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

22 "Beloved Walt Whitman: An Ambrosial Night with His Devoted Friends and Admirers," *The Globe* [New York] (26 October 1890). Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

23 See the discussion of Murger and America's "King of Bohemia," Henry Clapp, as well as the Irish-American Bohemian Fitz-James O'Brien, in Justin Martin, *Rebel Souls: Walt Whitman and America's First Bohemians* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2014), esp. 12-19; Mark Lause, *The Antebellum Crisis and America's First Bohemians* (Kent: Kent State University Press, 2009); and the essays in Joanna Levin and Edward Whitley, ed., *Whitman among the Bohemians* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2014). On Whitman's familiarity with French poetry more generally, see Erkkila, esp. 31-33.

24 Ifill, 6.

25 The closest known link between Whitman and Besant is its own curious story, featuring a brazen impostor. A clipping from the April 9, 1891, issue of the *Philadelphia Press* mentions "an English imposter . . . fleecing American literary men" by posing as one Wilfred H. Besant, the supposed brother of Walter Besant, who brought an end to the whole affair by denying, via cablegram, the man's existence (*WWWC* 8:139). This unnamed con artist paid visits to and managed to get money from various American writers, even being politely received by Whitman: "I was not moved—I suspected him, some—and to whatever hints about money was dumb," he told Traubel, "He was a thoroughly good-looking fellow—good eye, all that—easily to be deceived with, perhaps—but so far as I saw him, warm, straightforward, acceptable" (*WWWC* 8:140). The only other known link between Whitman and the Besant family is, as Traubel also reports, that Whitman gave Traubel two tickets to a lecture by Annie Besant, Walter's sister-in-law, a socialist and advocate of Indian self-rule. "They came with a complimentary letter which I confess I have not yet taken the trouble carefully to read," the ailing, housebound Whitman said, "But you can take the tickets—of course I can't use them" (*WWWC* 9:187). On the day that Traubel left to attend Besant's theosophy lecture, Whitman commented, "I have no message to send. I do not know what she stands for—what exactly is her ground—and she probably knows nothing of me—of 'Leaves of Grass'; so that messages hardly belong between us. Yet she is heroic—a good woman, no doubt—and we *always* have some heart for good women" (*WWWC* 9:202).

26 Henri Murger, "The Midnight Visitor," translated by Walt Whitman, *Current Literature* 5.6 (1890), 424.

27 "The Midnight Visitor" does not appear in any of the major complete or se-

lected editions of Whitman's poetry.

28   Kenneth M. Price and Janel Cayer, "'It might be us speaking instead of him!': Individuality, Collaboration, and the Networked Forces Contributing to 'Whitman,'" *WWQR* 33 (Fall 2015), 114.

29   Whitman, "Song of Myself," *Leaves of Grass* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1891–92), 31. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

30   The Washington Monument was constructed primarily in two phrases, the first extending from 1848 to 1854 and the second from 1876 to 1884. A shortage of funds and the American Civil War (1861-1865)—among other factors—halted construction in the intervening years. For more on the history of the construction and the dedication of the monument, see "The Monument," *The Evening Star* 66.9 (February 21, 1885), 1-2; "The Immortal Name," *Philadelphia Press* (February 22, 1885), 3; John Steele Gordon, *Washington's Monument: And the Fascinating History of the Obelisk* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016); and Kirk Savage, "The Mechanical Monster," in *Monument Wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the Transformation of the Memorial Landscape* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 107-146.

31   Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 343-344.

32   See letter from Walt Whitman to William D. O'Connor, January 26, 1885. Available on the *Whitman Archive* (ID: nyp.00539).

33   Whitman's "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" was published in the *Philadelphia Press* on February 22, 1885. The text and images of the poem are available on the *Whitman Archive*. See also Walt Whitman, "Ah, Not this Granite Dead and Cold," *Philadelphia Press* 27 (February 22, 1885), 4.

34   See Whitman, "Washington's Monument, February, 1885," *November Boughs* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1888), 27; Whitman, "Washington's Monument, February, 1885," *LG*1892, 393.

35   The "Thou, Washington, art the worlds" manuscript is the earliest of the four drafts of "Ah, Not This Granite Dead and Cold" in the collection of the Morgan Library & Museum. It is included in the *Whitman Archive*'s "Integrated Catalog of Manuscripts," and images of the manuscript are available there.

36   The "Beyond this granite dead and cold" manuscript is written on a piece of paper and continued on an envelope that is postmarked February 18, 1885, four days before the poem was printed in the *Press*. Images of the manuscript are available on the *Whitman Archive*.

37   A later draft than both "Thou, Washington, art the worlds" and "Beyond this granite dead and cold," the "Ah, Not this granite dead and cold" manuscript reveals Whitman's further revision of the poem's title from "Beyond this granite

dead and cold" to "Ah, not this granite dead and cold." An even later manuscript draft, "Ah, not that granite dead and cold," the latest of the four held at the Morgan Library & Museum, shows additional revisions to the title and various lines of the poem, although Whitman would make further changes before arriving at the version of the poem that was published in the *Press*. Images of these manuscripts are available at the *Whitman Archive*.

38   Philip Leon, "Williams, Talcott (1849-1928)," *Walt Whitman: An Encyclopedia*, ed. J. R. LeMaster and Donald D. Kummings (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 791. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

39   For a complete citation of this and other "rediscovered" pieces on Whitman published in nineteenth-century newspapers, see Gary Scharnhorst, "Rediscovered Nineteenth-Century Whitman Articles," *WWQR* 19 (Winter 2002), 183-186. Two years later, in January 1882, a *Press* reporter interviewed Whitman and recorded the poet's enthusiastic first impressions of Oscar Wilde, who had visited him in Camden that afternoon; the story of Whitman and Wilde's meeting was published on January 19, 1882. See "Wilde and Whitman," *Philadelphia Press* (January 19, 1882), 8. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

40   Carolyn Kinder Carr, "A Friendship and a Photograph: Sophia Williams, Talcott Williams, and Walt Whitman," *The American Art Journal* 21.4 (1989), 3-12.

41   See Whitman, "Red Jacket (from Aloft)," *Philadelphia Press* (October 10, 1884), 4. The poem is available in the "Whitman's Poems in Periodicals" section of the *Whitman Archive*.

42   See Whitman to William D. O'Connor, July 9, 1882 (WWA ID: nyp.00459)

43   *WWWC* 1:202,341.

44   See Whitman to Talcott Williams, February 20, 1885 (WWA ID: loc.07003).

45   Joaquin Miller, "The Washington Monument," *Philadelphia Press* (February 22, 1885), 4.

46   "The Immortal Name," *Philadelphia Press* (February 22, 1885), 3.

47   For newspaper coverage of the dedication ceremonies of the Washington Monument, see also "George Washington: Dedication of the Great Monument," *Richmond Dispatch* (February 22, 1885), [1]; "Dedication Services," *Daily Evening Bulletin* (February 23, 1885), [1]; "Washington Monument," *The Abbeville Press and Banner* (March 11, 1885), [1]. These and other primary sources about the Washington monument have been collected in a series titled "Topics in Chronicling America—Construction of the Washington Monument." These topics pages feature links to newspaper articles in the Library of Congress's freely accessible historical newspaper collection, *Chronicling America*. Topic pages include news coverage of events such as Lincoln's assassination and articles about Whitman himself. For articles about the construction and dedication of the Washington Monument, see

www.loc.gov/rr/news/topics/monument.html. For materials related to Whitman's seventieth birthday and his death in 1892, see www.loc.gov/rr/news/topics/walt-whitman.html.

48   Whitman, "Some Thoughts about This Matter of the Washington Monument," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (October 18, 1847), in *Walt Whitman's Selected Journalism*, ed. Douglass Noverr and Jason Stacy (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 2015), 37-38; "Towering Monument to Washington that New York Began and then Forgot," *New York Times* (February 18, 1912).

49   Whitman, "Some Thoughts," 37-38.

50   Whitman to Nathaniel Bloom and John F. S. Gray, 19-20 March 1863 (WWA ID: uva.00345); Walt Whitman, "Letter from Washington," *New York Times* (October 4, 1863), 2.

51   Lauren Grewe suggests that Whitman "criticizes Washington's monument's inability to represent his spirit," and that spirit "surpasses the limits of its expensive but inert monument to wander the earth." See her "'To Bid His People Rise': Political Renewal and Spiritual Contests at Red Jacket's Reburial," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 1.2 (2014), 53-54.

52   Whitman, "Some Thoughts," 38.

53   Amanda Gailey, *Proofs of Genius: Collected Editions from the American Revolution to the Digital Age* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 55-72.

54   Despite Whitman's emphasis on Washington belonging to all the world, we have not yet discovered reprints of the poem in international newspapers.

55   See Whitman, "A Death-Sonnet for Custer," *New York Daily Tribune* (July 10, 1876), 5. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

56   All circulation figures are taken from *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual: Containing a Catalogue of American Newspapers* (Philadelphia: N.W. Ayer & Son, 1885).

57   See Henry S. Saunders, ed., *Parodies on Walt Whitman* (New York: American Library Service, 1923).

58   Whitman, "A Barbaric Yawp," *The Galveston Daily News* 43 (March 13, 1885), 8.

59   See "The Washington Monument," *Devil's Lake Inter-Ocean* 3 (April 25, 1885) [3].

60   See "The Washington Monument," *The Recorder* 12 (May 1, 1885), [1].

61   For a detailed discussion of the history of the construction of the Washington Monument and an assessment of the debates in the press at the time about the appropriateness of such a monument to represent George Washington and preserve his memory, see Savage, 107-146.

62   McGill, "Walt Whitman," 38.

63   See similar discussions of these complications in McGill, "Literary History, Book History, and Media Studies," in Hester Blum, ed., *Turns of Event: Nineteenth-Century American Literary Studies in Motion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 23-39, 176-179; and Cordell, "What Has the Digital Meant to American Periodicals Scholarship?," *American Periodicals* 26.1 (2016), 2-7.

64   Mary Hammond, "Tracking Pirates through the Digital Archive: The Case of Dickens," *Yearbook of English Studies* 45 (2015), 179; see also Daniel J. Cohen, Michael Frisch, Patrick Gallagher, Steven Mintz, Kirsten Sword, Amy Murrell Taylor, William G. Thomas III, and William J. Turkel, "Interchange: The Promise of Digital History," *Journal of American History* 95 (2008), 452-91.

65   See a similar claim for the broader endeavor of mass corpus analytics in the study of literary history by Ted Underwood, "Distant Reading and Representativeness," *The Stone and the Shell* (April 1, 2013), tedunderwood.com/2013/04/01/distant-reading-and-representativeness.