WALT WHITMAN
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CIRCULATING MULTITUDES: FROM ANTIQUITY TO CELL THEORY

STEFANIE HEINE

As has often been pointed out in Whitman studies, the speaker of "Song of Myself" shares two essential traits with the collection the poem is part of: mutability and limitlessness. *Leaves of Grass* was published in six substantially different editions during Whitman's lifetime and consists of over 400 poems, depending on the version considered. The question arises: what are we speaking of if we are speaking of *Leaves of Grass*? It is at once both one large poem and many different ones, a singularity and multiplicity. The tension emerging when a single entity has to be considered simultaneously as plural is voiced by the first-person speaker of "Song of Myself" concerning his own nature: two of the poem's most well-known lines read "Do I contradict myself? / Very well then I contradict myself, (I am large, I contain multitudes.)"[1] The speaker asserts himself as a singularity, one specific instance uttering "I"—in four versions of *Leaves of Grass* (1856, 1860-61, 1867, 1871-72), the poem's title even includes the name "Walt Whitman," pointing to the author as an individual. At the same time, this speaker is determined by continual transformations: he does not only speak for, but literally becomes, other people of different professions and social positions, expands into infinite space and time, and fluidly merges with other spheres of the earth: in the epigraph for *Leaves of Grass*, the speaker assumes that he will "keep on" in lithosphere, biosphere, atmosphere, and hydrosphere, "tallying Earth's soil, trees, winds, tumultuous waves" (*LG*1892 8). After having addressed a catalogue of various people, the speaker states: "And these tend inward to me, and I tend outward to them, / And such as it is to be of these more or less I am, / And of these one and all I weave the song of myself" (*LG*1892 41-42).

Considering these lines in more general terms, we can summarize that the speaker weaves his "Song of Myself" by becoming others, other, all. The speaker's dissemination neither leaves the "I" dissolved

nor disembodied; rather, we encounter a transmutable, permeable body without fixed boundaries, breaching and questioning clear-cut categorizations and attributions. The radically democratic implications of *Leaves of Grass* are not least due to the interrelation between the "I" and a multitude of different species, objects or substances that are ascribed equal value. Thus, Whitman insists that human and non-human spheres are interdependent, involved in mutual exchange, and constantly intermingling. Whitman's "I" is engaged in an on-going process of dispersion, rampant growth, proliferation, and circulation. It is staged as a ceaseless uttering power and a limitless life force that does not only bond with and speak through non-human organisms, but also through what is usually considered inorganic matter.

In this essay, I want to call attention to some intertexts and possible sources for these aspects that have long been recognized, and thus offer a new context for understanding them: the conceptions of the body and organic life depicted in "Song of Myself" can be traced back to antiquity, in particular to Pre-Socratic and Stoic philosophy, but at the same time go hand in hand with some of the latest discoveries in biology in Whitman's time: "cell theory." With regard to the tension between singularity and multiplicity in the organic poetics sketched in *Leaves of Grass*, tracking resonances of these two seemingly widely divergent discourses is revealing. Both early Western philosophy and cell theory negotiate individual bodies whose quality of being alive or animated disrupts their unity as singular beings; as *living* bodies, they disperse into assemblages of multiple entities. The focus on breathing, a concrete bodily process, in a central passage in the beginning of "Song of Myself" shall serve as a starting point to pursue what I roughly outlined in abstract terms.

> The smoke of my own breath,
> Echoes, ripples, buzz'd whispers, love-root, silk-thread, crotch and vine,
> My respiration and inspiration, the beating of my heart, the passing of blood and air through my lungs,
> The sniff of green leaves and dry leaves, and of the shore and dark-color'd sea-rocks, and of hay in the barn,
> The sound of the belch'd words of my voice loos'd to the eddies of the wind .... (*LG*1892 30)

Cross-references between this passage and Whitman's celebration of empowered masculinity and idyllic, animating nature in his 1858 journalistic series *Manly Health and Training* are not far to seek: "Song of Myself" obviously praises the good fresh air granting a "feeling of health" (*LG*1892 30) that is so often mentioned as a basis for a wholesome life in *Manly Health and Training*. The encouragement "to raise the voice in some cheerful song—to feel a pleasure in going forth into the open air, and in breathing it—"[2] almost sounds like the prose version of the respiration-passage in "Song of Myself." However, Whitman's lyrical presentation of breath is far more complex than the rather straightforward arguments in *Manly Health and Training*: it unsettles the gender-ideological implications and offers a reflection of life forces reaching far beyond a promotion of the vitalizing power of unspoilt nature.

The specification of "my own breath" as "respiration and inspiration" invokes discourses around life forces rooted in the domains of ancient philosophy and contemporary biology. "Respiration" designates what Whitman describes in minute anatomical detail: the physiological "action of taking air into the lungs . . . and expelling it again" (as the *OED* describes it). Moreover, by the time Whitman wrote "Song of Myself," the term "respiration" was already used in a biochemical context, referring to the gas exchange performed by both human and non-human organisms. The *OED* gives an example from the field of botany, quoted from the *Journal of the Royal Institution of Great Britain* in 1831: "this function, which is performed chiefly by the leaves and petals, . . . is attended with . . . the conversion of oxygen into carbonic acid; it is the respiration of plants." Another example from a text that was published only a year after the first version of "Song of Myself," Karl Gotthelf Lehmann's and James Cheston Morris's 1856 *Manual of Chemical Physiology*, confirms the use of the word "respiration" for chemical gas exchanges in animals' bodies by questioning its accuracy: "This exchange of oxygen and carbonic acid, which we improperly call respiration, is not confined to any single spot of the organism."[3] These two examples provided by the *OED* show that in the mid-nineteenth century, "respiration" indicated a process that shares qualities with the speaker of "Song of Myself": it links vegetable and

animal bodies, involves transformations, and is "not confined to" one specific location. As a process that involves a continuous exchange between living organisms and their environment, respiration can be considered a distinctive physiological activity of Whitman's speaker. Whitman's "I" is what Marcel Duchamp many years later chooses as his self-definition as an artist: a breather.[4] The contemporary uses of "respiration" in the context of biology thus entail some essential poetic concerns of "Song of Myself."

So does "inspiration," pointing back to antiquity. In its Latin meaning, inspiration also refers to physical breath, that is, to the act of inhaling. In addition, the term is heavily invested with ancient thought beyond a biological context: the Latin *inspiratio* implies a life-giving spirit pervading the body. When Whitman equals "respiration" and "inspiration," he challenges an opposition between physical and spiritual life that was firmly established in the mid-nineteenth century. Thereby, he treads similar paths as Joseph Priestly, whose work Whitman was familiar with, as we know from a note written 1857.[5] Pursuing a career as scientist, philosopher and theologian, Priestly investigated breath both in the chemical and philosophical sense: he published essential findings about the relations of respiration and blood in 1776 and scrutinizes the biblical image of the breath of life as well as conceptions of the soul that are linked to breath in his materialist treatise *Disquisitions Relating to Matter and Spirit* (1777), where he argues that man is "not split into spirit and body."[6] Priestly draws on the semantic shift towards the incorporeal that the network of terms around "spirit" underwent in the Christian tradition[7] when he describes how "the moderns . . . refined upon the former notion of spirit, excluding from it every property which it held in common with matter" (223). As Priestly notices, and it is well possible that Whitman was influenced by this observation, the increasing body-mind/spirit dichotomy did not exist in antiquity with regard to conceptions of the soul: "what the ancients meant by immaterial being, was only a *finer kind* of what we should now call *matter*; something like *air* or *breath*, which first supplied the name for the *soul*" (222). Priestly here refers to the word *πνεύμα* (*pneuma*), which means physical breath and spirit at the same time.[8] It is plausible to assume that in his refer-

ences to breath, Whitman recalls conceptions of *pneuma* as a material substance in Pre-Socratic and Stoic philosophy as well as Ancient Greek medicine, a line of thought that did not maintain a dualism of body/matter and mind/soul. When looking for a direct influence of Whitman's negotiations of breath in his poetry, it at first sight seems obvious to consider Emerson's reflections of "spirit," an expression of the "universal soul"[9] that "conspire[s]" with nature (63) and "hath life in itself" (35). Even though, for Emerson, this spirit "manifest[s] itself in material forms" (43-44), the spiritual "foundations of man are not in matter" (87). Along with the Christian connotations of the concept, Emerson's spirit is immaterial. Similarly, the Romantic notion of a natural spirit, which is often addressed in terms of wind and breath, is highly invested with such Christian implications. It has been observed that Whitman's "strain of meaty materialism" is what "distinguishes his work from that of Wordsworth and Emerson."[10] Whitman's negotiations of life forces in "Song of Myself" highlight the corporeal and material, and he famously resists a dualistic relation between body and soul, for example in his epigraph to *Leaves of Grass*: "Come, said my Soul, / Such verses of my Body let us write, (for we are one)" (*LG*1892 1).

By the end of his life, Whitman possessed a "broad, general knowledge of classical . . . literature";[11] even though one cannot trace a systematic adaption of a particular thinker or school in "Song of Myself," the poem clearly takes up ideas from antiquity. Especially the notion of *pneuma* in Stoicism and Pre-Socratic philosophy offers a promising point of reference for an investigation of life forces and breath in the corporeal and material sense they are negotiated in "Song of Myself." By mentioning the "*smoke* of my own breath" (my emphasis), Whitman does not only allude to the Germanic origins of the English word breath, indicating an "exhalation from heat" or "steam."[12] The smoke of the breath also recalls ancient, especially Stoic conceptions of *pneuma* as a fiery element or vital heat connected to and sometimes identified with breath—again, Priestly, who discusses notions of the soul as "*vital fire*,"[13] may have been a direct influence on Whitman in this respect.[14] *Pneuma* has continually been thought along with one of Whitman's most prominently invoked addressees,

the soul, ever since Anaximenes's famous equation "Just as our soul [ψυχή], . . . which is air [ἀήρ], holds us together, so wind/breath [πνεῦμα] and air [ἀήρ] surround the whole cosmos."[15] The Stoic idea of a material soul consisting of fiery *pneuma*, evoked in "the smoke of my own breath," ties in with Whitman's insistence on a physical soul to which the body is not inferior. The identity of soul and body Whitman postulates turns out to be crucial for the physical transformations the speaker undergoes throughout the poem.

Whitman's assumption that the soul *is* body, or is part of the body, read along with the close link between breath, especially hot breath, and soul in antiquity, gives the breath-passage in "Song of Myself" a new twist: "the smoke of my own breath" can be read as fiery *pneuma* leaving the body—as that part of the body which is considered the soul leaving the body—or, in other words, as the body extending itself beyond its boundaries when a part of it—"the smoke of my own breath"—goes adrift. What streams out fuses with an array of seemingly heterogeneous elements and phenomena of the external world, "Echoes, ripples, buzz'd whispers, love-root, silk-thread, crotch and vine." The initially somewhat obscure line anticipates later passages of the poem in which it becomes obvious that the speaker himself diffuses into outside objects, organisms, and substances. Towards the end of "Song of Myself," the speaker scatters into air and physically merges with the surroundings:

> I depart as air, I shake my white locks at the runaway sun,
> I effuse my flesh in eddies, and drift in lacy jags.
>
> I bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the grass I love,
> If you want me again look for me under your boot-soles. (*LG*1892 78)

In these lines, which recall the passage on breath, the speaker merges with the exhaled air; it is now the "smoke of my own breath" itself that speaks. It is crucial to mention that air is designated as one of the substances the speaker's body is created of in the beginning of the poem: "My tongue, every atom of my blood, form'd from this soil, this *air*" (my emphasis) (*LG*1892 41-29). Thus, the body that is said to be made of and emerge from air and soil in the first part of "Song

of Myself" literally diffuses back into these substances in its last part.[16] Mysteriously, that which leaves the speaker's body with the exhaled air, the very air that gave life to it, seems to remain part of the body and part of the "I" that keeps speaking as air, when its flesh fuses with the wind and it becomes soil and grass. The material continuity of air is a central factor for the "I's" insistence throughout the transformations it undergoes. Air functions analogous to the ancient notion of *pneuma*: according to various Stoic sources, *pneuma* was assumed to exist in the body as an animating force. However, it is also described as a transmutable vital substance outside the human body that holds the world together, has part in everything and permeates all: "Just as this *pneuma* [the 'substance that permeates a living thing and makes it alive'] makes a man a living, organic whole, so the cosmic *pneuma* makes the cosmos a living, organic whole, with each single part grown together."[17] The idea that the human body/soul and the outside world are physically and materially connected through a life-(giving) force, an airy substance that has the capacity to enter and be emitted from the body, resonates in Whitman's fluid speaker that extends to the cosmos, which is made most explicit in the following passages: "Walt Whitman, a kosmos," "Partaker of influx and efflux I," "Through me the afflatus surging and surging" (*LG*1892 46-48).

In "Song of Myself," substances from outside constitute the speaker, and what he emits to the outside retains his identity. The elements in motion and their transformations are often described as being involved in processes of *circulation*—and here we enter the field of biology. The passage on breath in "Song of Myself" displays cyclical movements of different substances: the breath leaves the body and extends into a multitude of elements of the natural world ("The smoke of my own breath, / Echoes, ripples, buzz'd whispers, love-root, silk-thread, crotch and vine"). Subsequently, the focus is inside the body, on the organs and the processes taking place there ("My respiration and inspiration, the beating of my heart, the passing of blood and air through my lungs"). The next line is devoted to inhaling; the smells that enter the nose and the objects emanating the smells are addressed ("The sniff of green leaves and dry leaves, and of the shore and dark-color'd sea-rocks, and of hay in the barn"). Finally, the sound

of the voice carried by exhaled air passing over into the wind is described ("The sound of the belch'd words of my voice loos'd to the eddies of the wind"). What is depicted in this passage clearly draws on interrelated physiological processes: the pulmonary cycle and bloodstream as well as respiration. The respirational process is itself determined by a circulation of air entering and leaving the body, including gas exchanges, transmissions and transformations of chemical substances. The movement of the processes within the body, palpably put into words in "the beating of my heart, the passing of blood and air through my lungs," is extended to the passage, if not the poem as a whole. One could argue that the vital exchanges and organic confluences taking place in "Song of Myself" are modeled on the physiological act of breathing. The organic process of respiration—in fact the very process that keeps the organism alive—relies on the participation of a non-organic substance, air. Adapting and stretching the biological assumptions he draws on, Whitman presents an open body that lives because it is enmeshed in cyclical dissemination processes involving substances and elements that are outside and other than itself. A life force is maintained because the parts of the speaker that detach, but still contain the "I," fuse with elements of the outer world and other beings. The already quoted passage at the end of the poem takes this to extremes: "I depart as air . . . [,] I effuse my flesh in eddies . . . [,] I . . . grow from the grass." Such a conception of life differs substantially from the vitalism common in Whitman's time, which holds "that living organisms are fundamentally different from non-living entities because they contain some non-physical element or are governed by different principles than are inanimate things."[18] In stark contrast, the animating process Whitman depicts implicates an interdependence and intermingling of inorganic and organic substances and entities.

The line "My tongue, every atom of my blood, form'd from this soil, this air" suggests that the parts floating between the speaker and the outside world or its inhabitants are small: atoms, particles. The poem's third line reads "every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you" (*LG*1892 29). "You," which is not specified at this point, later invokes a multitude of addressees: the soul, the reader, various humans from all social levels, a long list of the speaker's own body parts and

fluids, organs, vapors, brooks, dews, winds, fields, the sea, oxen, a leave of grass, etc., etc. The unspecified "you" in the very beginning of the poem anticipates them all—every atom of the "I" also belongs to the "you": smallest particles are shared and can be exchanged. Whitman's transferrable atoms relate back to antiquity by recalling Democritus's assumption that everything consists of atoms in motion: "the atoms are unlimited in size and number, and they are borne along the whole universe in a vortex, and thereby generate all composite things."[19] In "Song of Myself," the Pre-Socratic notion of an all-pervading airy and fiery *pneuma* meets the atomists' idea of "soul atoms," which induce and maintain a being's life, exist outside and enter and leave the body in the breathing process: "[l]if is attributable to the presence of these swiftly moving atoms . . . . The dispersion of the 'soul' atoms brings death, [… which] is prevented by breathing in the surrounding air . . . likewise composed of the mobile atoms."[20] Despite their different material consistency, *pneuma* as an extensive fluid substance, and the soul atoms as smallest particles, are both life-giving and pervade the bodies they animate.

In a footnote to "creation's incessant unrest" mentioned in "The Great Unrest of which We Are Part" (*Specimen Days*),[21] Whitman situates the idea of particles in motion in the context of contemporary science:

> Every molecule of matter in the whole universe is swinging to and fro; every particle of ether which fills space is in jelly-like vibration. Light is one kind of motion, heat another, electricity another, magnetism another, sound another. . . . The processes of growth, of existence, of decay, whether in worlds, or in the minutest organisms, are but motion.[22]

The citation, for which Whitman does not give a source, is taken from the Methodist *City-Road Magazine*, published in 1876. The passage occurs in a section titled "Notes on the Science of the Month" by Rev. W.H. Dallinger, who presents new scientific findings of the British chemist and physicist William Crookes. The article focuses on Crookes's discovery of the "motive power of light"[23], which "is only one more proof to the many which modern investigation has supplied of the constant and intense molecular and atomic activity of matter"

(178-188). In such "investigations," made possible by the "modern microscope" (189), the speculation that the world consists of moving atoms in antiquity is empirically substantiated. In the very same magazine issue—an issue that Whitman obviously studied—another entry by Rev. W.H. Dallinger about latest scientific findings is dedicated to the tiny particles of living organisms: Dallinger mentions the "minute forms of life . . . revealed to us by the microscope" (138). In the discussion of how new "discoveries in Biological Science" reveal a "*continuity* of the animal and vegetable series of organic forms" and thus blur the "sharp line of division between them" (138), Dallinger refers to the core findings of a branch of biology that just came up in the time Whitman wrote *Leaves of Grass*, then referred to as "cell theory": "Schwann and Schleiden have shown that the fundamental basis of both animal and vegetable life is the same—a cell" (138).

The magazine was published after the first version of *Leaves of Grass* was written and it cannot be proved for certain that Whitman read the article referring to cell theory, but it is at least likely because he quoted from another text in the same issue. In Whitman's time, cell theory was rigorously discussed in the English-speaking world. The pioneers of cell theory came from Germany, but their work was soon translated into English. Matthias Jakob Schleiden's article "Contributions to Our Knowledge of Phytogenesis" (1838), arguing that plants consist of "*peculiar small organism[s],*" "cells,"[24] was published in English in 1841. The English translation of Theodor Schwann's foundational essay *Microscopical Researches into the Accordance in the Structure and Growth of Animals and Plants* (1839), extending Schleiden's findings to animal organisms, was published in 1847. The third major study in cell theory, Rudolf Virchow's *Cellular Pathology* (1858) was translated in 1860. Virchow investigated the importance of cell theory in medicine and presented a finding essential to the notion of cell division: "Where a cell arises, there a cell must have previously existed (*omnis cellula e cellula*)."[25] The temporal coincidence of the translation of Virchow's work with the third edition of *Leaves of Grass* and the fact that cell theory emerged while Whitman started working on *Leaves of Grass* is telling. Even though no direct references to cell theory, its foundational texts and their authors,[26] have yet been

discovered in Whitman's work, it is improbable that this new branch of biology escaped Whitman, who, as many studies have shown,[27] had a genuine interest in the science of his time. That Whitman knew about cells as minute particles of the body is shown in a chapter of *Specimen Days*, "Plays and Operas Too," when he remembers having felt Fanny Kemble's acting "in every minute cell."[28] Whitman explicitly stresses the indebtedness of his poetic endeavors to science in two of the prefaces of *Leaves of Grass*: scientists are considered "as lawgivers of poets" whose "construction underlies the structure of every perfect poem"[29] in the 1855 preface, and in the preface to the two-volume Centennial Edition of *Leaves of Grass* and "Two Rivulets," Whitman writes: "Without being a Scientist, I have thoroughly adopted the conclusions of the great Savans and Experimentalists of our time . . . and they have interiorly tinged the chyle of all my verse."[30] In the following, I want to show how cell theory "tinges the chyle" and "structure" of "Song of Myself," how it correlates with the poetic questions posed in the text as well as with the constitution of its speaker, and how the terminology of cell theory resonates in the poem with respect to the life forces invoked.

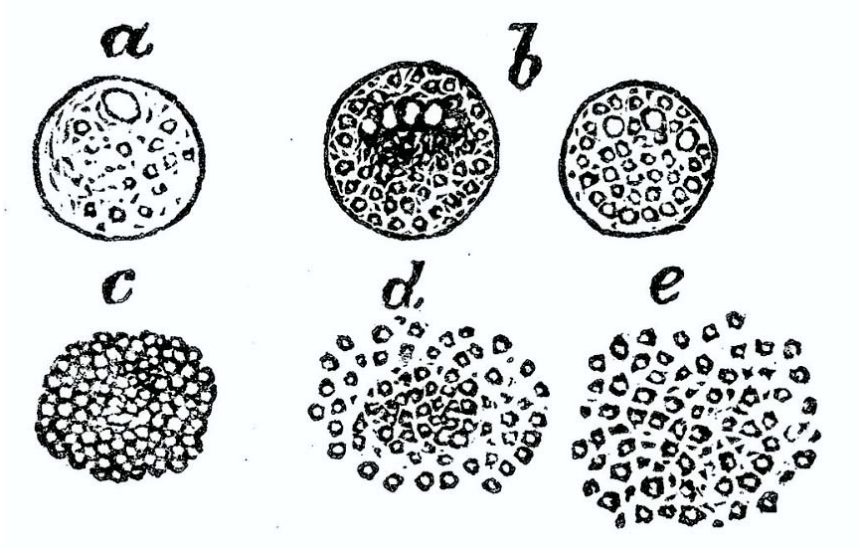

Figure 1. Cellular Pathology, according to Virchow (*Cellular Pathology*, 216).

Already Dallinger's short summary of cell theory in the magazine Whitman quoted from shows in how far the new branch of biology tackles the central issues negotiated in "Song of Myself." Dallinger's text ties in with Whitman's passage on breath, as he extensively addresses the respiration of plants and animals while discussing the similarity or difference between animals and plants. The new insights of cell theory, that the boundary between "the animal and vegetable series of organic forms" is fluid, goes hand in hand with the picture presented in "Song of Myself." As Dallinger recounts Schwann's and Schleiden's research, it is the cell, "the fundamental basis of both animal and vegetable *life*" (my emphasis), that accounts for such a continuity between plants, humans and animals. In terms of cell theory, Whitman's claim that every "atom" of the "I" also belongs to "you" could be reformulated as "every cell belonging to humans as good belongs to plants." In turn, Schwann's claim that "the elementary particles of animals and plants must be shown to be products of the same formative powers, because the phenomena attending their development are similar; that all elementary particles of animals and plants are formed on a common principle"[31] could be summarized with the line "every atom belonging to me as good belongs to you."

In "Song of Myself," the atoms of the blood occur in the context of birth, the emergence of the speaker and its lifespan: "My tongue, every atom of my blood, form'd from this soil, this air / Born here . . . I . . . begin, / Hoping to cease not until death" (*LG*1892 29). Here, another life-sustaining fluid of the body besides air enters the poem. Whereas in "Song of Myself," the classical discourse of live-giving breath, air, soul and *pneuma* is linked to physiological respiration, the idea of life being maintained in smallest particles in the context of cell theory can be pinpointed most specifically by considering blood. It is worth noting that the connections of respiration and blood were scientifically proved for the first time by Whitman's possible inspiration Joseph Priestly. Whitman's atoms of the blood resonate with the terminology of cell theory. In the English translation of Theodor Schwann's *Microscopical Researches*, what from 1900 on was increasingly called "blood cells" was termed "blood corpuscles." The "cellular nature of the blood-corpuscle" was already confirmed by Schwann:

the blood-corpuscle "is a flattened cell furnished with a cell-nucleus, which is fixed to a spot on the internal surface of the cell-membrane."[32] Drawing from sources between 1660 and 1812, the *OED* defines a corpuscle as a "minute body or particle of matter. Sometimes identified with *atom* or with *molecule*."[33] Terms like "corpuscularism" or "corpuscular theory of light"[34] show the prominence of the term designating the smallest particles matter consists of, but "atom" and "molecule" were equally used in the scientific contexts across different fields from the seventeenth century on. While "cell" became the prominent term to refer to smallest vital particles of living organisms, the proximity of "cells," "blood corpuscles" and "atoms of the blood" is apparent. Molecules and atoms are used as terms for minute particles of any kind of animate or inanimate matter; in "Song of Myself," where the focus is on the blood of a living organism, it would have been more scientifically accurate to talk of corpuscles or cells in a nineteenth-century context. One could see Whitman's conflation of terms regarding smallest particles, and his indistinct use of them, as symptomatic for his pseudo-scientific approach and his lack of profound knowledge about the scientific discourses he implements in his poetry. However, it is also possible to read it as the articulation of an ethics in line with Whitman's democratic demands in "Song of Myself." Whitman's claim for equality exceeds that of animals and plants, including the inanimate and inorganic. Living beings and inanimate matter share atoms; they do not only connect plants and animals, like the cells. What Whitman seems to take from the insights of cell theory, and transfers to atoms, is that minute particles can be small forms of life.

A pivotal passage of Schwann's *Microscopical Researches* stresses a vitality of individual cells that is enabled by the mobility of smallest particles (molecules):

> we must ascribe to all cells an independent vitality, that is, such combinations of molecules as occur in every single cell, are capable of setting free the power by which it is enabled to take up fresh molecules. The cause of nutrition and growth resides not in the organism as a whole, but in the separate elementary parts—the cells.[35]

The conception of smallest units of life, "separate elementary parts"

capable of growth and "independent vitality" resonates in Whitman's "I," which keeps on speaking and living when severed from the organism it originally belongs to and detaches from a human body, to disseminate and merge into other elements. "Song of Myself" displays principles of sustaining life by division and fusion. In the passage where the "I" claims to "depart as air," "effuse" its "flesh in eddies" and "bequeath" itself "to the dirt to grow from the grass," the speaker's principle of growth structurally resembles what Virchow describes as "the mode of growth, not only in vegetables, but also in the physiological and pathological formations of the animal body":

> This growth is effected thus: a division takes place in some of the cells, and a transverse septum is formed; the newly-formed parts continue to grow as independent elements . . .. Every protuberance is therefore originally a single cell, which, by continual subdivision . . . pushes its divisions forwards, and then, when occasion offers, spreads out . . . .[36]

When Whitman's "I" "departs as air" and "effuses its flesh in eddies," it divides itself, and the "newly-formed parts continue to grow as independent elements": "I," the newly formed part, "bequeath myself to the dirt to grow from the grass." The cellular growth Virchow describes takes place within a specific organism; in Whitman's scene, the model of growth sketched by Virchow is extended to a growth across singular organisms and entities. What a present-day handbook of cell biology states about the processes in which cells are involved in living organisms applies to the speaker of Whitman's poem: "Cells are sites of busting activity. Materials are transported from place to place, structures are assembled and then rapidly disassembled, and, in many cases, the entire cell moves itself from one site to another."[37] Analogous to cells, Whitman's speaker has the capacity of transforming himself and his body, and that body is connected to the outside like a cell's permeable membrane. The speaker of "Song of Myself" has cell-like traits, and is at the same time sketched as an organism containing multitudes of detachable cells.

In this analogy, the "I" can be compared to cells that separate from the organism they belong to—an ability that some organisms, notably not human ones, have. This leads to a further crucial trait of

the speaker: the "I" exceeds a human's lifetime. That the "I" assumes to be there after "five thousand" (*LG*1892 69), "ten thousand or ten million years" (*LG*1892 45) can be read as a reference to evolution when one focuses on the level of species. Zooming in on a single living being and taking into account findings that exceed Whitman's lifetime, findings that almost seem to be anticipated in his writing, cell biology offers an equally plausible reading. Cells have the capacity to generate new life, to pass on their genetic information to future generations and to live on after the organism they were part of died. To speak with Whitman: "The smallest sprout shows there is really no death, / And if ever there was it led forward life . . . / All goes onward and outward, nothing collapses" (*LG*1892 34). Paradoxically, however, the speaker's claim "I know I am deathless" (*LG*1892 44) also implies death. "And as to you Life I reckon you are the leavings of many deaths, / (No doubt I have died myself ten thousand times before.)" (*LG*1892 77). From the perspective of cell biology, this does not represent an inconsistency: cell-turnover implicates that cells in a living organism constantly die and are renewed. Of the multitudes of cells contained in a living organism some die while the organism is alive and some keep on living after it dies. If we stick to the perspective of cell biology, the picture ensuing is plausible: what makes Whitman's speaker last for millions of years is not granted by a notion of eternity, but by continual replacement and transposition of the smallest living particles it consists of.

This brings us back to the contradiction addressed in the beginning of this essay: given these circumstances, how can the speaker continue speaking as an "I," as a singularity? Schleiden addresses the question of individuality in "Contributions to Our Knowledge of Psychogenesis":

> At most we can speak of an individual in its true sense only in some of the lowest orders of plants, in some Algæ and Fungi, which consist only of a single cell. But every plant developed to a somewhat higher degree, is an aggregate of fully individualized independent beings, even the very cells.
>
> Each cell leads a double life: an entirely independent one, belonging to its own development alone; and an incidental one, in so far as it has become the constituent and part of a plant.[38]

According to Schleiden, a living organism is a *dividuum* consisting of multiple independent living individuals: the cells.[39] Schleiden's most striking argument is that cells themselves "lead a double life": they are both independent individuals and part of a larger living entity. That the living organism is an assemblage of small independent individuals does not put its existence as a specific being in question for Schleiden: the organism, in Schleiden's case the plant, also leads a double life: it is *one* organism, the "whole" that the individual cells are part of, and an "aggregate of fully independent beings." Such a conception makes Whitman's speaker plausible: "I am large": I am one organism, "I contain multitudes," I am an aggregate consisting of individual parts. In "Song of Myself," the "I" seems to be able to speak from the perspective of the organism as a whole, and from the perspective of the cell (both attached to the organism and detached from it): it leads a fourfold life.

This does not offer a "resolution" of the contradiction inherent in the claim "I am large, I contain multitudes." It is still a mystery how a multitude can be considered as a singularity at the same time. Here I want to take a comparative look at how the two influential discourses discussed in this essay, Pre-Socratic and Stoic philosophy and cell theory, approach the "contradiction" addressed in "Song of Myself." At first sight, ancient notions of *pneuma* or the soul and cell biology appear to be as opposed as it can get: on the one hand, we have the assumption of *one* overarching and in itself lasting live-giving substance, or *one* soul that has a share in this substance; on the other, we have a *multitude* of smallest units of life that are subject to decay. However, there are more similarities between the two discourses than one would expect. Both conceptions of life are centered on materials, a fluid substance on the one side, smallest organic particles on the other, and both imply that parts of a being may de-part from it, only to go on living or engender new life. Strictly speaking, the notion of a unitary subject or organism has to be dismissed in both discourses. In antiquity, living beings are constituted and animated by a substance entering from without that is other and external to them, and in cell theory, the living organism consists of a vast number of smaller living organisms.

"Song of Myself" seems to extend these assumptions with respect

to what the speaker is capable of: the "I" can expand to an overarching fluid substance—it is large—or it can scatter into smallest particles—it contains multitudes. How the severed or diffused parts keep being the same as the organism they departed from remains unclear in both discourses Whitman appears to be drawing from. Tracing their juxtaposition in "Song of Myself," however, enables a more concrete localization of the historical, philosophical, and scientific threads that inform the contradiction at the heart of the poem. That the complexity resulting from their superimpositions and interferences adds open questions rather than answering them is by no means a deficiency. The intertwining discourses contribute to the poem's proliferations, its twigs and paths branching out into various directions that may cross, but do not coalesce into closure. Concerning the cells, it has already been discussed how the continual replacement of the smallest vital particles accounts for an organism's persistence in time; its life is based on the continual de- and re-composition of cells. At first sight, the notion of life-giving and life-sustaining *pneuma* does not seem to provoke the question of how a being's identity is upheld with respect to what keeps it alive, as *pneuma* is conceived of as one pervading substance. However, one has to keep in mind that this substance is fluid and in constant motion. The question how a *pneuma*-perfused being can be *one* being is as paradoxical as Heraclitus's river containing ever-new waters.

The central contradiction implied in the on-growing, expanding, plural "I" also pervades the poem's poetological dimension. Literature seems to be the place *par excellence* where such ambiguities can be articulated, as language itself contains multitudes and is determined by circulation. Whitman considered language as a living organism. This is especially highlighted in some parts of William Swinton's *Rambles Among Words* that are attributed to Whitman.[40] The chapter in question is titled "The Growth of Words"; it is noteworthy that already in the beginning of the book, it is stated that the "growth of language repeats the growth of the plant,"[41] which further substantiates a parallel between Whitman's writing and the findings of cell theory. The chapter "The Growth of Words" opens with a quote from Wilhelm von Humboldt: "One must not consider a language as

a product dead and formed but once: it is an animate being and ever creative" (265). Further, it is argued that "Each language is a living organism; . . . Language throbs with the pulses of our life" (265). It displays characteristics "of every living organism," for example "in the exhibition of growth, progress, decay" (266). Such a conception of language as a living body makes it obvious that, in "Song of Myself," the emphasis on life and life-giving forces also concerns the life of the poem as a literary text. By mentioning its "inspiration" and "respiration," the speaker points to the life-giving impulses for the poem. As its contemporary use as an umbrella term for creative ideas suggests, inspiration is particularly associated with the creation of artworks. Numerous accounts of inspiration, especially in antiquity, hold that artistic works are initiated by a rush of breath from an external source.[42] Whitman modifies this model by equating inspiration and respiration. Inspiration, a one time live-giving act turns into respiration, the physical process a living organism continually has to partake in order to sustain life. In "Song of Myself," on-going inspiration as an act of breathing is connected to the act of speaking (the poem).

The respiratory imagery in "Song of Myself" is certainly linked to the fact that the poem embraces orality and the spoken word, which requires breath as a medium. The title of the poem already highlights such a focus on oral articulation and the "I" claims to "sing" (*LG*1892 29) rather than to write itself. Whitman thereby evokes the earliest chapters in the history of literature, when the ancient bards sang poetry. There is a debate about the degree and development of oral characteristics in Whitman's poems, including *Leaves of Grass*,[43] but their musicality is unquestionable. The specific arrangement of Whitman's long lines in *Leaves of Grass* was expansively discussed in terms of orality and breath in the later reception of his work, especially in the context of the Beat Generation that celebrated Whitman as the father of free verse and the inaugurator of an American poetry liberated from British literary tradition. Especially Allen Ginsberg repeatedly refers to Whitman as a model for his respirational technique of composition: "I write poetry because Walt Whitman opened up poetry's verse-line for unobstructed breath."[44] Ginsberg claims to end the lines of his poems when he runs out of breath: "Ideally each

line of Howl is a single breath unit. . . . My breath is long—that's the measure, one physical-mental inspiration of thought contained in the elastic of a breath."[45] Although we do not know whether Whitman also used such a compositional method, his "life-long interest in oratory" and the fact that he gave a few public lectures[46] suggest that he was aware of oral structuring of language when he wrote his poems and probably knew about the relevance of breath for recitation.

Against this background, I want to turn back to the passage on breath in "Song of Myself." What is exhaled by the speaker is "The *sound of the belch'd words of my voice* loos'd to the eddies of the wind" (my emphasis). Here, the anatomical fact that breathing is necessary for speaking and that articulated sounds are carried by exhaled air meets a linkage of two etymological traces of the word "breath." That the words are "belch'd" points to the "smoke of the breath" emitted, and thus to the etymological connection of breath and soul. Moreover, the words' dissolution into wind via breath recalls one of the meanings *pneuma* used to have: wind. The words disseminate into air and merge with the "eddies," the circular movement of wind. This is a description of what is performatively shown before. The emitted "smoke of my own breath" turns into a circulatory extension of language in the line "Echoes, ripples, buzz'd whispers, love-root, silk-thread, crotch and vine." The echo is a sound wave reflected back and transmitted by air. Its movement is continued in "ripples," circular wave expansions in water spreading outwards, and "buzz'd whispers," which again point to a transmission of sound as well as to the whirring movement of a circulating current. Love-root, the name of a plant with ramifying leaves and umbels of flowers moves the notion of circular spreading to the level of organic nature, referring back to "ripple" in its meaning of "woodland" and "thicket." Silk-thread also designates a natural product; the woven silk-cocoon can be read as a self-reflexive gesture alluding to the textual interweaving we are faced with in the very moment we read the line. The twine on which silk-threads are coiled for textile use then again displays a circular form. Concerning a tree, river or street, "crotch" designates a bifurcation, which relates us back to the diverging growth of the "love root," spreading outwards in different directions. Also its

meaning with regard to human anatomy, genitals, opens a connection between "crotch" and "love root"—thereby stretching the meaning of "love root" in an erotic, sexual direction. Finally, the "vine," a trailing, climbing plant, brings us back to the botanical domain of "love root"—although the implications of growth and spreading are also in line with the connotations of erotic encounters and sexual reproduction.

The vital streams described also mirror the movement between the words placed next to each other in a flowing free-verse line—the circulation of their meaning as well as the quality of their *s*ounds: *s*moke, echoe*s*, ripple*s*, bu*zz*'d whi*s*per*s*, lo*v*e-root, *s*ilk-*th*read, crot*ch*, *v*ine. Each of the words contains a fricative, that is, a consonant produced by air being forced through a narrow channel between the articulators. There is a special emphasis on sibilants in which the airflow is audible as a hissing sound. If we, the readers, pronounce the passage, *we* become participate in the circulation, and thus potentially encounter the speaker who concludes the poem by saying "I stop somewhere waiting for you" (*LG*1892 78). Moreover, when reading the poem out loud, we take the "I" in our mouth and emit it into the outer world again with the air carrying the uttered letter. The language-cell "I" splits into new life once we take it in and up. This is anticipated and pushed further by the speaker in the end of the poem, when it figures itself not only as expanding into other elements within the text via air, but thereby also extending the pages of the book, sprouting into the reader's body, acting as a vital force in her blood cycle:

I depart as air . . .
I effuse my flesh in eddies . . .

You will hardly know who I am or what I mean,
But I shall be good health to you nevertheless,
And filter and fibre your blood. (*LG*1892 78)

When Whitman writes that the speaker has the capacity to filter the blood, it is probable that he alludes to quack medicine like Benjamin Brandreth's pills that were said to cure impurities of the blood and were promoted extensively in the 1830s and 40s. An article in *The*

New York Herald in 1849 states the following:

> These celebrated Pills . . . have in their composition a vegetable corpuscle, analogous to the corpuscle of the blood; this corpuscle, of vegetable origin, becomes incorporated with a mass of the circulating life-giving fluid, and IMPARTS A FERMENTATIVE POWER which occasions the blood to throw out all infective, poisonous, or peccant matters, thereby entirely purifying the whole volume of blood in the circulation.[47]

What the article describes and the language it uses to do so, shows how closely Whitman's idea of small vital particles of the blood is related to cell theory (the research conducted in the field of botany, the notion of "corpuscles," etc.). In "Song of Myself," the speaker embodies (at least) two forms of life that coincide with the central idea of the "individual" in cell theory: it is an organism containing particles, "atoms of the blood," and it is a particle—a vegetable corpuscle analogous to the corpuscle of the blood, maybe—that filters the blood. In Whitman's outline, the "atoms of the blood" are transferrable from one organism to another. Whitman's allusions to blood circulation are closely related to physiological characterizations of the breathing process: respiration is determined by "ventilation, diffusion [and] circulation."[48] "Song of Myself" anticipates what has only been scientifically verified later, namely the interconnection between external respiration, inhaling oxygen and exhaling carbon dioxide, and internal or cellular respiration, which involves the transportation of oxygen by the blood cells as well as the production of energy vital to the organism through the gas exchange. In "Song of Myself," the respirational process of a single organism, which as such interconnects inside and outside, is extended to relations between entities, between addresser and addressee, speaker, poem and readers.

The rare use of "fibre" as a verb Whitman employs in "Song of Myself" refers to a plant's forming or throwing out fibers.[49] The speaker thus for a moment coincides with the title of the collection of poems, the leaves of grass, when the "I" morphs into a plantlike organism, spreading through sound particles, merging with the human organism who might encounter the poem and read it out loud. Following the biological connotations of the verb Whitman weaves into the final

line of his sprouting poem, I want to conclude my essay with an exploration of some intriguing intertextual fibers connecting "Song of Myself" and Schwann's *Microscopical Researches*. The second class of cells Schwann discusses in his book is called "[i]ndependent cells united into continuous tissues" (66). This characterization alone marks these kinds of cells as the most appropriate point of comparison to the processes sketched in "Song of Myself," especially the "I's" unification with other beings and things, its transformation from an individual to an assemblage. It is also worth noticing that according to Schwann, "[t]his class presents us with the greatest similarity between animal and vegetable structure, and indeed, in so high a degree, that even an experienced botanist cannot distinguish some of the objects which belong to it from vegetable tissue" (73). The independent cells uniting into continuous tissue are the domain where the boundary between animals and plants becomes porous in Schwann's research, which resonates well with the space of fluid transitions between different species, organic and inorganic matter presented in "Song of Myself." In Schwann's claim that "[t]he cells of these tissues generally remain independent, but more or less intimate blendings of the cell-walls with one another also occur in this class" (73), Whitman's central concerns resound: the "blendings" of an independent entity, a singularity, with others.

In Schwann's book, "these tissues" refer to "horny" ones such as hoofs and feathers as well as to "the crystalline lens" (73). It is at this point where reading Schwann's and Whitman's texts together opens up a most compelling poetological scene. Read hand in hand with "Song of Myself," the examples Schwann uses to characterize "independent cells united into continuous tissue," feathers and the crystalline lens, invite us to make a connection: between the tool with which Whitman wrote "Song of Myself," a quill, and the "I"/eye that speaks and observes in the poem. When Schwann mentions that class-two cells elongate into "long cylinders (called *fibres*)" (92; my emphasis), the movement of growth and extension described does not only meet what Whitman ascribes to his "I"/eye through his quill in analogy, but in a particular word. Moreover, Schwann stresses the similarity between the extension of cells in the crystalline lens

and the cellular constitution of grasses—the eponymous vegetable organism of Whitman's collection of poems: "in this flat and serrated condition, the cells of the crystalline lens perfectly resemble those of the epidermis of some grasses" (92)—"I . . . grow from the grass" (*LG*1892 78). Schwann outlines two opposite processes of how cells form continuous tissue; one is typical for pigment cells, but possibly also for the crystalline lens, the other for feathers:

> Probably, the prolongations of two cell-cavities join a certain point, the cell-walls unite together there, and the partition-wall becomes absorbed, and thus an uninterrupted passage from one cell-cavity into another is produced. I am not certain as to whether a similar process does not take place in some fibres of the crystalline lens. A completely opposite process occurs in the cortical substance of the shaft of feathers, viz. a division of the cells into fibres. By this process, out of a single cell fibres are generated, which, in the first instance, are united together by the rest of the substance of the cell, but at a later period of development may be insulated to a considerable extent. An elongation of the cells into these fibres takes place, indeed, at the same time, but the major portion of each fibre is formed by the division of the bodies of the cells. (92-93)

The movements of division and fusion described here by reference to the crystalline lens and feathers respectively go hand in hand with the ones described in "Song of Myself": the extension of the speaker merging with a connecting *pneuma*-like substance and the "I's" "division into fibres," its atomization and diffusion into particles that continuously uncouple and couple. What "Song of Myself" describes with respect to its speaker can be transferred to the movements of the poem itself: Whitman's quill divides into fibers that sediment on the page where they generate the poem's self-reflexive speaker who anticipates a fusion with an interlocutor and opens a passage for readers who may coalesce with the word-cells they are confronted with.

University of Toronto
stefanie.heine@uzh.ch

NOTES

1 Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1891-92), 78. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org). Hereafter: *LG*1892.

2 Mose Velsor [Walt Whitman], "Manly Health and Training, With Off-Hand Hints Toward Their Conditions," ed. Zachary Turpin, *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 33 (Winter/Spring 2016), 184-310, 216.

3 "Respiration," *The Oxford English Dictionary*. Online version available on www.oed.com.

4 When he was asked about his profession, Duchamp used to say "Je suis un respirateur." See, for example, Dalia Judovitz, "Rendevous with Marcel Duchamp: Given," *Marcel Duchamp. Artist of the Century*, ed. Rudolf E. Kuenzli and Francis M. Naumann (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1996), 199.

5 See Whitman, *Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts,* Vol. 6, ed. Edward F. Grier (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 2032.

6 Joseph Priestly, *Disquisitions Relating to Matter and Spirit* (London: J. Johnson, 1777), xiii.

7 Ernst Lutze, *Die Germanischen Übersetzungen von Spiritus und Pneuma. Ein Beitrag zur Frühgeschichte des Wortes "Geist"* (Bonn: Rheinische Friedrich Wilhelms-Universität,1960), 52, 60.

8 Henry George Liddell, and Robert Scott, *An Intermediate Greek-English Lexicon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1889). Available on the Perseus Digital Library (www.perseus.tufts.edu).

9 Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature* (Boston: James Munroe, 1836), 34.

10 M. Jimmie Killingsworth, "Nature," *A Companion to Walt Whitman*, ed. Donald D. Kummings (Malden: Blackwell, 2006), 313.

11 R.W. French, "Whitman's Reading," *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Walt Whitman*, ed. J.R. LeMaster and Donald D. Kummings (New York: Routledge, 1998), 573.

12 *Oxford English Dictionary.*

13 Priestly, 172.

14 See *Origins of Stoic Cosmology, ed. David E. Hahm* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1977), 70; Edward Vernon Arnold, *Roman Stoicism* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), 180-181.

15 *Selections from Early Greek Philosophy*, ed. Milton C. Nahm (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Meredith Publishing Company, 1964), 43.

16 For a similar formulation of how the dead dissolve back into nature and

persist in atomic form through breath and air see the following passage from Whitman's *Drum-Taps*: "Absorb them well, O my earth, . . . lose not an atom; / And you streams, absorb them well, taking their dear blood; . . . In blowing airs from the fields, back again give me my darlings—give my immortal heroes; / Exhale me them centuries hence—breathe me their breath—let not an atom be lost" ([New York: 1865], 71; available on the *Whitman Archive*).

17 *Origins*, 163.

18 William Bechtel and Robert C. Richardson, "Vitalism," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* ed. Tim Crane (Abingdon, England: Taylor and Francis, 1998), www.rep.routledge.com/articles/thematic/vitalism/v-1.

19 *Selections*, 155.

20 *Selections*, 150.

21 Whitman, *Specimen Days*, in *Complete Prose Works* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1892), 196. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

22 *Specimen Days*, 196-197.

23 W.H. Dallinger, "Notes on the Science of the Month," *The City-Road Magazine* 6 (London: Wesleyan Conference Office, 1876), 187.

24 Matthias Jakob Schleiden, "Contributions to Our Knowledge of Phytogenesis," *Scientific Memoirs*, ed. Richard Taylor (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1841), 281.

25 Rudolf Virchow, *Cellular Pathology* (New York: Robert M. De Witt, 1860), 54.

26 T. W. Rolleston drew Whitman's attention to Virchow in an 1882 letter. The context, however, is Virchow's criticism of Darwinism. See Rolleston to Whitman, 26 December, 1882. Available on the *Whitman Archive* (loc.02192)

27 See, for example, Alice Lovelace Cooke, "Whitman's Indebtedness to the Scientific Thought of His Day," *Studies in English* (1934); Joseph Beaver, *Walt Whitman, Poet of Science* (New York: King's Crown Press 1951); Robert J. Scholnick, "Science," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Walt Whitman*, 616-619; Harold Aspiz, "Science and Pseudoscience," *A Companion*, 216-232.

28 Whitman, *Specimen Days* 19.

29 Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (Brooklyn, New York, 1855), vii. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

30 Whitman, "Preface, 1876," *Specimen Days & Collect* (Philadelphia: Rees Welsh & Co, 1882-1883), 286.

31 Theodor Schwann, *Microscopical Researches into the Accordance in the Structure and Growth of Animals and Plants* (London: Sydenham Society, 1847), 161.

32 Schwann, 68.

33 *Oxford English Dictionary.*

34 As already mentioned, Whitman cited an article discussing William Crookes's research, which draws on the corpuscular theory of light; in summarizing Crookes, Dallinger mentions the "molecules" of light.

35 Schwann, 192.

36 Virchow, 47.

37 Gerald Karp, *Cell Biology* (Singapore: Wiley 2014), 6.

38 Schleiden, 281.

39 The same matter is also discussed by Virchow; interestingly, Virchow uses the term "individual" to address both the organism as a whole and its parts, the cells: "Hence it follows that the structural composition of a body of considerable size, a so-called individual, always represents a kind of social arrangement of parts, an arrangement of a social kind, in which a number of individual existences are mutually dependent, but in such a way, that every element has its own special action, and, even though it derive its stimulus to activity from other parts, yet alone effects the actual performance of its duties" (Virchow, 40).

40 For a discussion of Whitman's collaboration with Swinton and plausible evidence that some parts of *Rambles Among Words* were written by Whitman, see James Perrin Warren, "Whitman as Ghostwriter: The Case of *Rambles Among Words*," *WWQR*, 2 (Fall 1984), 22-30.

41 William Swinton, *Rambles Among Words: Their Poetry, History and Wisdom* (New York: Dion Thomas, 1864), 10.

42 Greene, Roland et al., eds., "Inspiration," *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 708.

43 See John B. Mason, "Oratory," *Routledge Encyclopedia of Walt Whitman*, 489.

44 Allen Ginsberg, "Improvisation in Beijing," *Collected Poems 1947-1997* (New York: HarperCollins 2006), 937.

45 Ginsberg, "Notes for *Howl* and other Poems," *The New American Poetry 1945-1960*, ed. Donald M. Allen (Oakland: University of California Press, 1999), 416.

46 Mason, 489.

47 "To the Vanguard of Intelligence, Brandreth's Pills," *The New York Herald* (New York, Tuesday, April 17, 1849).

48 Balfour Slonim, *Respiratory Physiology* (Saint Louis: The C.V. Mosby Company, 1976), 10.

49 *Oxford English Dictionary*.

WHITMAN'S NATIVE FUTURISM: FRONTIER EROTICS IN THE 1860 *LEAVES OF GRASS*

BENJAMIN MEINERS

From January 1 to June 30, 1865, Walt Whitman held a post as a clerk at the Bureau of Indian Affairs. During this six-month stint, besides the required bureaucratic tasks, Whitman encountered a number of delegations of indigenous peoples, who would often arrive there for the negotiation of land treaties. He was also making marks and marginalia for future revisions of a book that would, in the twentieth century, come to dominate discussions of gender and sexuality in Whitman's oeuvre: the third, 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, the first edition of *Leaves* to include the now-immortalized "Calamus" and "Enfans d'Adam" poem-clusters.[1] At the same time that he was meeting indigenous delegates (and, reportedly, visiting some of them in their hotel rooms to speak with them with the help of an interpreter), Whitman was revising the edition of *Leaves* that not only makes the sexual element of his democratic-poetic project hyper-explicit, but places it at the very forefront of that project. [2] In moods ranging from rhapsodic to morose, Whitman's expansive poetic "I" moves from lover to lover, from gender to gender, from the Atlantic coast and its metropolitan port cities to the Pacific. In the 1876 *Two Rivulets*, Whitman would later write of the "Calamus" cluster specifically: "Important as they are in my purpose as emotional expressions for humanity, the special meaning of the 'Calamus' cluster of *Leaves of Grass* (and more or less running through that book, and cropping out in 'Drum-Taps,') mainly resides in its political significance."[3]

It took a great deal of time for Whitman critics not only to take this pronouncement seriously, but to investigate its full import. Since 1979, gay, queer, and feminist critics have offered powerful interpretations of "the special meaning" of the "Calamus" cluster. That year marked the appearance of Robert K. Martin's highly influential work, *The Homosexual Tradition in American Poetry*, which offered the

first sustained account of the homoeroticism in Whitman's poetry.[4] In Martin's radical reframing of Whitman's sexual-poetic politics, he argues that "Whitman's ideal society requires socialism, democracy, and homosexuality" (21). While this position has been both nuanced and critiqued, his identification of the intertwining of the sexual and the political in Whitman's work has (rightly) become commonplace. So, too, has the connection between sexuality and radical egalitarianism. Since Martin, critics such as Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Byrne Fone, M. Jimmie Killingsworth, Alan Helms, Michael Moon, Michael Warner, Vivian Pollak, and Betsy Erkkila have countered a long-standing tendency in Whitman criticism that has both intentionally and unintentionally evaded, obscured, or erased the intimate entanglement of the (homo)erotic and the political that *Leaves of Grass* poetically performs.[5] Following this counter-tradition, contemporary Whitman criticism seems to have reached a consensus that, as Michael Warner succinctly puts it, "Whitman wants to make sex public" (40).

While I am indebted to this relatively recent queer and feminist counter-tradition of Whitman criticism, I want to temper and critique a line of thought that runs through it, one that sustains its own divisions: by emphasizing the "radical" and "democratic" nature of Whitman's sexual-political-poetic project, critics have tended to de-emphasize its spatiality, focusing instead on his temporal (that is, his future-oriented), progressivist social vision. These critics have focused on his desires for what America will or might or could be: an America that he believed erotic intimacies between men might engender. But, the intimate entanglement between Whitman's "radical" and "democratic" sexual politics and his nationalist, imperialist vision of United States expansion has remained overlooked. Whitman's third edition takes as its primary investment the "reproductive futurism" of the United States, a concept now famous in American academic queer theory by Lee Edelman's important if highly contested work, *No Future*.[6] While Edelman attaches reproductive futurity to the heteronormative logics of political investments in the future (the Child), I recast Edelman's concept in terms of Whitman's "native futurism." This future not only includes but demands the sexually errant, the perverse, the "queer." But, while Whitman's poetry often disrupts the

heteronormative, biopolitical imperatives of the United States nation-state, that disruption nonetheless depends upon an imperialist, expansionist vision. What America will or might or could be depended on an expansionist vision of both poetic self and nation and the "open space" of an imagined frontier. This essay thus traces the frontier erotics of one of Whitman's earliest efforts to describe the possibilities of queer futurity in the 1860 edition of *Leaves of Grass*.[7] When we theorize Whitman's "radical" sexual politics and forgo its relation to a national/personal expansionist vision, Whitman critics run the risk of naturalizing settler colonialism in the nineteenth century—as well as in the present. Recently, Chandan Reddy has cautioned against a queer theory in which "sexuality names the normative frames that organize our disciplinary and interdisciplinary inquiries into our past," forgoing the ways in which such frames can reify, skirt, or obscure racist thought.[8] With this in mind, it is vital for Whitman criticism to interrogate those frames and ask how Whitman's radical sexual vision of democracy in many ways depended upon violence—obscured at times as it may be—against indigenous peoples in the U.S.[9]

I investigate Whitman's queer frontier erotics—imagined in terms of expansion, fluidity, and abundant futurity—through an analysis of one of the first sustained poetic treatments of male-male intimacy written in the nineteenth-century U.S. I began this essay (and will end it) with Whitman's involvement in the Bureau of Indian Affairs in order to draw an explicit connection to Whitman's erotic poetry and his involvement with an agency that played a pivotal role in shaping U.S. government policy relations between the State and indigenous peoples and the mapping of national space. While the "frontier" has often been associated with masculinist and heteronormative visions of national space, reading the "frontier" erotics of Whitman's third edition of *Leaves of Grass* reveals the complex historical interconnections between queer sexualities and national expansion in the mid- to late-nineteenth-century United States.

As I attend to Whitman's many explicit gestures toward national/self-expansion in the third edition of *Leaves of Grass*, I also analyze more quotidian moments of intimate belonging, dissecting the ways in which the erotics of Whitman's "I"—expansive, limitless, ever-

fluid—imaginatively depend upon the logics of settler colonialism.[10] Rather than concentrate on poems that explicitly celebrate U.S. expansionism (like, for example, "O Pioneers!" first published in the 1865 poetry collection entitled *Drum-Taps)*, I focus on Whitman's erotic poetry because it reveals the expansionist implications of the "queer" forms of intimacy he hoped to engender. [11]

"Proto-Leaf": Inseminating Westward

It is not uncommon for literary critics to note the marked differences between Whitman's 1860 edition of *Leaves* and the previous two, in content and in form. These critics take their cue from Whitman himself, who advertised it in these very terms. Months before its publication, Whitman outlined his ambitions for the third edition of *Leaves of Grass* in an anonymous article published in the *Saturday Press*, declaring both its difference from and superiority to the first two editions:

> Those former issues, published by the author himself in little pittance-editions, on trial, have just dropped the book enough to ripple the inner first-circles of literary agitation, in immediate contact with it. The outer, vast, extending, and ever-wider-extending circles of the general supply, perusal, and discussion of such a work, have still to come. The market needs to-day to be supplied—the great West especially—with copious thousands of copies.
>
> Indeed, Leaves of Grass has not yet been really published at all.[12]

In articulating a vision of readership in terms of "outer, vast, extending, and ever-wider-extending circles," Whitman imagines an expanding social body—one that depends upon "the great West especially." This was more than a mere advertising ploy. In a manuscript dated June 1857, he calls this project upon which he was embarking "The Great Construction of the New Bible."[13] Indeed, the edition has the very look of the popular King James Bibles widely available at the time.[14] And his portrait inside, a more conventional image of the "Poet," marks a shift from the sexy, cocky, full-bodied Whitman of the first edition. One might argue that this shift in self-presentation was a conscious act on Whitman's part to downplay the charged eroticism of this new

edition, to promote his own legitimacy as a poet to be taken seriously. However, this would too readily dichotomize the sexual and the religious, as Whitman represents them. It also obscures the highly "Adamic" shift of that persona in the third edition: the simultaneously religious, political, and sexual significance to which I will attend below.

If Whitman's ambitions were biblical, they were also highly national. This Bible would, he hoped, bind a fragmented nation. Publishing the third edition on the cusp of the Civil War, Whitman sought a means by which he might poetically unify a divided country: this was to be the Great Bible to which all citizens might adhere, thus engendering a single body politic. As his anonymous review makes clear, the strength and sustainment of that body politic prioritizes neither "North" nor "South," but the "West." Whitman's expansionist longing for an "outer, vast, extending, and ever-wider-extending" readership was not a mere literary or market ambition. He sought, as Peter Coviello has argued, "a visionary nationalism, structured around the promise of anonymous intimacies."[15] His aim to extend that literary network to the "great West" reveals the import of unbounded space to the survival of the anonymously intimate, unified nation for which he longed. It also reveals the ways in which his "expansive," future-oriented poetic vision ("still to come") had a physical-spatial reality, one of expansion to the "great West."

One important and early noticeable difference is its opening poem, entitled "Proto-Leaf," which poetically, aesthetically, and erotically frames how the remainder of the third edition might be read. While the title of this new initial poem might simply seem to indicate its position as the first poem in the edition, alternative definitions of the prefix "proto" also suggest the biological and the sexual—the reproductive—aims of the poem: "at an early stage of development, primitive, incipient, potential."[16] And while this title might seem to emphasize the temporal dimension of Whitman's sexual-political project, it is in this poem that he continues to elaborate the unique potential of the U.S. landscape and its direct effect upon its art, its social character, and its place on the world stage. If in the first edition Whitman announced himself "Walt Whitman, an American, one of

the roughs, a kosmos" who would dialectically and democratically absorb his national readership, in the third edition he takes on the position of a guide, a leader, shepherding his readers into a westward future.[17]

The logics that frame that guidance are the logics of displacement. To explain, in Whitman's advocacy of what Emerson had called "an original relation to the universe,"[18] he appropriates—as he had done in previous editions—tropes associated with indigenous peoples, announcing himself at the edition's beginning as "Fresh, free, savage."[19] It is through these tropes that he is able to imagine an unencumbered "I": free from the state and free from normative, hierarchized modes of belonging. But that unencumbered self is tethered to and depends upon the expansiveness of land.

In the poem's first stanza, in a catalogue typical of his aesthetic, Whitman sweeps across the soil; and while some have noted the continuous present tense in this poetic practice, here we see a definitively *future*-oriented cataloguing: he begins as a "Boy of the Mannahatta" then presents alternative places from which he might come: "Or raised inland, or of the south savannas, / Or full-breath'd on Californian air, or Texan or Cuban air, / Tallying, vocalizing all—resounding Niagara—resounding Missouri" (5); and his catalogue continues until, by the stanza's end, the multivalent boy-figure becomes a single "I": "Solitary, singing in the west, I strike up for a new world" (6).[20] These alternatives—made accumulative by the repetition of "or"—allow this (emphatically male) child-figure not only to encompass vast expanses of space but to tally them, to *vocalize* or *name* them. This vocalization, this naming speaks to an act of claimed ownership.[21] Here, we should not underestimate the colonialist metaphor linking the "west" with the "new world." If Whitman's "I" attempts to lead his readers forward in time, he also attempts to lead them forward in space, expanding outward to the north and the south (he lists Canada, Cuba, and Mexico as sites toward which he sounds his chants) but especially to the west (5-7).[22]

Whitman later highlights the indicatively reproductive aspect of his westward advance. In the thirteenth stanza of "Proto-Leaf," he writes, "Take my leaves, America! / Make welcome for them everywhere,

for they are your own offspring; / Surround them, East and West! for they would surround you, / And you precedents! connect lovingly with them, for they connect lovingly with you" (8). These lines, of course, are reproductive, with references to "offspring" and "precedents"; however, they invite an understanding of reproductivity that is not limited to (though it may include) heterosexuality or traditional marriage.[23] The distinctions between male and female, active and passive, are blurred by a receptivity that is simultaneously command and plea to a feminized yet agential "America." And while "leaves" is of course a pun on the book's title and the physicality of its pages, it is also seminal. But who has inseminated whom? Has Whitman inseminated the reader? Or by reading has the reader inseminated the page, and thus Whitman? The queer erotic potential of reading that Whitman imagines here then takes on a spatial component: he (rather vaguely) commands his reader to make space for his "leaves" but also to "surround them." This is not a mere metaphor for parental nurturing but also suggests containment and perhaps even the preservation of sameness.

As the poem continues, and Whitman's "I" continues to expand, cataloguing and encompassing peoples and places from Maine to California, he pauses. In this pause is his first explicit reference to indigenous peoples. The poem's "I" stops his forward march in time and space to account for them, to take stock of them, to mark their place in national time:[24]

On my way a moment I pause,
Here for you! And here for America!
Still the Present I raise aloft—Still the Future of The States I harbinger, glad and sublime,
And for the Past I pronounce what the air holds of the red aborigines.

The red aborigines!
Leaving natural breaths, sounds of rain and winds, calls as of birds and animals in the woods, syllabled to us for names,
Okonee, Koosa, Ottawa, Monongahela, Sauk, Natchez, Chattahoochee, Kaqueta, Oronoco.
Wabash, Miami, Saginaw, Chippewa, Oshkosh, Walla-Walla,
Leaving such to The States, they melt, they depart, charging the water and the land with names. (20)

Whitman's pause here suggests a delay, a deferral of futurity. He addresses a "you," the reader, and syntactically parallels that "you" alongside "America." He gives primacy to the "Present" and, in a fashion typical of Whitman's persona since his 1855 preface, "harbinger[s]" the "Future." The "Future" here takes on a particularly imperialistic tone. Even as the 1855 Preface employed the language of American exceptionalism in national and literary terms under the rubric of "race" ("The American poets are to enclose old and new for America is the race of races," he writes there [*Poetry and Prose* 6-7]), it is far less clear where indigenous peoples fit into his grandiose nation-as-world vision. In "Proto-Leaf," however, this issue is thrown into sharp relief: the "red aborigines" are not only distinguished from Whitman's literary audience (they are distinct from the "you" addressee) but are consigned to the "Past" that Whitman's "I" both claims and abandons. He claims indigenous languages for their incorporation into English in order to establish a unique "American" language, while the peoples themselves "melt" and "depart," with seeming inevitability.[25] Immediately following this stanza, Whitman's "I" announces "A world primal again—Vistas of glory, incessant and branching, / A new race, dominating previous ones, and grander far" (20). Having passed, temporally *because* spatially, the "red aborigines" who have "melted" and "departed," Whitman envisions new "vistas": new future possibilities on the western landscape in which his readers, carrying his vision, are "incessant and branching"—in other words, reproducing. Because of the proximity of these lines from those explicitly representing—indeed, cataloguing—indigenous tribes, "race" here cannot be understood as merely metaphorical or merely abstract nationalism. And the language of "domination" also forces us to examine the interrelations of U.S. imperialism and Whitman's "radical, democratic" vision. Who is included, who is excluded, in that political future-vision? And what are the logics of that inclusion and exclusion? While the 1860 *Leaves of Grass* may indeed offer a vision of—or a struggle toward—"vistas of glory," at whose expense does that vision depend? We turn now to "Calamus"—that cluster of poems that has most preoccupied Whitman's queer readers and critics since its publication—to further explore the stakes of Whitman's queer future that never came to be.[26]

"Calamus": Making the Continent Indissoluble

In the first poem of the "Calamus" cluster, Whitman invokes both a familiar and unconventional pastoral landscape, familiar in its masculinist mythologizing of man's domination over nature, but unconventional in its queer attachments and its emphasis on sociality over individualism:

> In paths untrodden,
> In the growth by the margins of pond-waters,
> Escaped from the life that exhibits itself,
> From all the standards hitherto published—from the pleasures, profits, conformities,
> Which too long I was offering to feed to my Soul;
> …
> Here, by myself, away from the clank of the world,
> Tallying and talked to here by tongues aromatic,
> No longer abashed—for in this secluded spot I can respond as I would not dare elsewhere,
> Strong upon me the life that does not exhibit itself, yet contains all the rest. (341)

Desire does not disintegrate the "I" into elemental Nature; it allows him to "escape" from "civilization"—"from the pleasures, profits, conformities" that have left his "Soul" malnourished. The poem seems to beg for an (albeit anachronistic) identitarian gay male reading: in such a reading, Whitman, having escaped from the heteronormative polis, imagines a space wherein men might live "the life that does not exhibit itself"; as he writes later in the poem, "To tell the secret of my nights and days" (342). But the reason it seems to beg for such a reading is precisely because of the stability of the "I" in this poem and in others in the "Calamus" sequence. That stability, I suggest, derives from Whitman's imagined sovereignty—the "givenness" of both a self and the availability of land on which that self might roam.

Robert K. Martin's analysis of these opening lines is worth quoting in full, because it highlights the possible pitfalls of such readings:

> This figure introduces a spatial element to the contrast already established between two points in time: the new space, like the new time, announces Whitman's conversion. The new man is to inhabit a new world. The "untrodden" paths represent Whitman not only as the pioneer but also the "first man," as Adam. Whitman's dramatization of his conversion demands that we see himself

as radically new, going alone into virgin land, whatever his knowledge of other authors. While Whitman makes use of the pioneer and explorer metaphor, it is significant that he does not situate himself in a western landscape. In Whitman space is not a territory to be conquered (as is characteristic of male heterosexual literature) but a place "by the margins" to be explored, a "secluded spot" which is not a territory beyond but alongside. Instead of an extension in length, as in the metaphor of conquest, there is a broadening, an extension in width to include what was once seen as "marginal." (54)

The "conversion" about which Martin writes is an avowedly secular one, a kind of "coming out" in temporal terms that the poem then maps out in spatial ones. Space in this poem, as Martin would have it, becomes a temporalized metaphor, and as such begins to take on a far more democratic approach to land (gendered as female) than standard masculinist tropes of land conquest. But this temporalizing and metaphorizing of space too hastily rejects the possibility that the politics of the Adamic "pioneer" figure and the desire for "gay" space might in fact be working in tandem. Martin argues that "it is significant that he does not situate himself in a western landscape," and yet the "Calamus" cluster is littered not only with references to the "West," but also to western expansion: of self, of nation, of progeny. Whitman's passage, "the life that does not exhibit itself, yet contains all the rest," highlights the reproductive potential Whitman saw in male adhesive love[27] on the "frontier."[28] Whitman's sovereign "I" contains not only life—in the seminal metaphor that we also see in "Enfans d'Adam" that is present as well in "Calamus"—but "all the rest": not only new life but the land that makes that possible, land that is imagined as empty, available, "untrodden."

In the fifth poem of the "Calamus" cluster, later entitled "O Democracy!," Whitman makes the reproductivity of adhesiveness most explicit. Writing in the future tense, his Adamic persona prophetically announces the future America that his sexual-political poetry will bring forth:

There shall from me be a new friendship—It shall be called after my name,
It shall circulate through The States, indifferent of place,
It shall twist and intertwist them through and around each other—Compact they shall be, showing new signs,
Affection shall solve every one of the problems of freedom,

Those who love each other shall be invincible,
They shall finally make America completely victorious, in my name. (349)

For Whitman, it is only through adhesiveness—and his adhesive poetics—that "The States" might be "Compact." This "new friendship," which "circulate[s]," "twist[s] and intertwist[s]," binds bodies and "States" in an almost orgiastic sense; if in "Calamus" 18 (later entitled "City of Orgies"), he celebrates a city of "Lovers, continual lovers," this represents to him a small-scale form of his primary desire: an orgiastic *nation*. If "Those who love each other shall be invincible," so too will America be "completely victorious." In other words, for Whitman, the State *depends* upon individual lovers, and empire depends upon quotidian eros. If, according to the Foucauldian model of bio-power, the State's investment in the management and maintenance of life is fundamentally a hetero-reproductive one, Whitman's investment in a future inaugurated by "a new friendship" highlights the ways in which queer modes of belonging may not necessarily be antithetical to the State's biopolitical imperatives—the production of a coherent, healthy, recognizable, yet expansive body politic:[29]

I will make the continent indissoluble,
I will make the most splendid race the sun ever yet shone upon,
I will make divine magnetic lands.

I will plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America, and
along the shores of the great lakes, and all over the prairies,
I will make inseparable cities, with their arms about each other's necks. (351)

The language of race and of land here speak to the political stakes of Whitman's reproductive-poetic project. Making not only the State but the *continent* "indissoluble," the sense of land in "Calamus" is not merely temporal or metaphorical (though they are indeed those as well). Expansive land is absolutely necessary for the expansive self, who expands by way of his progeny, "the most splendid race." Again, in a quasi-seminal metaphor, Whitman proclaims, "I will plant companionship thick as trees along all the rivers of America," and if this metaphor is seminal, it also upends the masculinist pioneer trope of (hetero)sexual conquest in intent but finally upholds it in effect. In

the landedness of companionship as Whitman presents it exists the perceived self-evidence of the (future) State's sovereignty over land, as well as the perceived absence of Native Americans on that land. Vivian Pollak argues of the "Calamus" cluster: "Here race as a category of social analysis is subsumed by gender and perverse sexual desire. Implicitly, we read 'Calamus' as the story of unconventional *white men*."[30] If gender and sexuality are often fluid, anti-hierarchical, and "democratic," as Pollak suggests, the racialized logics that undergird that vision compel us to re-examine our frameworks for what constitutes the radical sexual citizenship Whitman attempted to poetically (re)produce in the third edition of *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman's utopic frontier is not, I contend, racially homogenous by accident nor lack of imagination. When in poem 25 of the "Calamus" sequence, prairie-grass divides for Whitman and his progeny and his lovers, can we merely read this as metaphorical or as temporal? When in poem 30, Whitman offers "A promise and gift to California" "to teach robust American love," and writes, "For These States tend inland, and toward the Western Sea—and I will also," is this merely a gesture toward sexual-democratic communalism (371)? In Whitman, *temporal* expansion into the future for which he calls depends upon the *spatial* expansion of "Americans" for whom he longed to follow him.

In the last poem of the "Calamus" cluster, Whitman explicitly imagines such a future. Writing to a future reader, he enjoins his present and theirs in a palpable yet fraught erotic union:

> Full of life, sweet-blooded, compact, visible,
> I, forty years old the Eighty-third Year of The States,
> To one a century hence, or any number of centuries hence,
> To you, yet unborn, these, seeking you.
>
> When you read these, I, that was visible, am become invisible;
> Now it is you, compact, visible, realizing my poems, seeking me,
> Fancying how happy you were, if I could be with you, and become your lover;
> Be it as if I were with you. Be not too certain but I am now with you. (378)

Whitman projects into the future an ideal reader who not only seeks him but realizes his poems, realizing them in the sense of both discovery and making real: this reader, in their ideal form, is the product of

Whitman's sexual-political project having come to full fruition, a reader who can perceive the intimacy and eroticism of Whitman's poetics and politics. Near the end of his life, Whitman would call this ideal reader (who is also an ideal American citizen, who is also an ideal lover), a "native American." But as Ed Folsom has noted, "Whitman . . . would never grant the Indians the word 'natives.' That was a word he reserved for what 'real' Americans would come to be when they fully and democratically absorbed the world around them." Folsom goes on to explain, "Whitman sought to associate the quality of being native American with the qualities of absorption and democratic inclusiveness; in this sense, Indians could at best become a part of the native Americans, but were themselves pre-Americans, native to the land but not native to the country that in Whitman's view brought that land to life."[31] But even as indigenous peoples could at best become a part of the native Americans, Whitman's "native American" project depended upon the further colonization of land. And similarly, I would add, they are nonetheless written out of Whitman's queer nationalist project. He positions them firmly within the realm of the past, as well as he imagines land as lifeless before expansion. Whitman's reproductive future—by so many accounts "democratic," "radical," and "queer"—elides the lives of those whose citizenship is precarious within the U.S. nation-state, and operates within the logics of displacement.

Whitman's Native Futurism

In 1871, Whitman published *Democratic Vistas*, a long prose work of political philosophy in which he developed and intermingled theories of democracy, poetry, and sexuality that would return to the themes of the 1860 *Leaves of Grass* and would continue to shape his literary efforts for the rest of his life. In *Vistas* we find the following passage in the form of a footnote:

> It is to the development, identification, and general prevalence of that fervid comradeship, (the adhesive love, at least rivaling the amative love hitherto possessing imaginative literature, if not going beyond it,) that I look for the counterbalance and offset of our materialistic and vulgar American democracy, and for the spiritualization thereof. Many will say it is a dream, and will not follow my

> inferences: but I confidently expect a time when there will be seen, running like a half-hid warp through all the myriad audible and visible worldly interests of America, threads of manly friendship, fond and loving, pure and sweet, strong and life-long, carried to degrees hitherto unknown—not only giving tone to individual character, and making it unprecedently emotional, muscular, heroic, and refined, but having the deepest relations to general politics. I say democracy infers such loving comradeship, as its most inevitable twin or counterpart, without which it will be incomplete, in vain, and incapable of perpetuating itself. (*Poetry and Prose* 1005-1006)

Ten years later, Whitman's dreams for the future had, as yet, receded unrealized. There is continuity with the third edition of *Leaves* evident here: the intermingling of the erotic and the political, the fervent hope for that ambiguous-and-yet-clear-as-day signifier, comradeship, and the utopic future imagined in reproductive terms. There is also change: he de-couples amativeness and adhesiveness and prioritizes the latter, suggesting shifting conceptions of sexual object-choice into the more (supposedly) stable, binaristic terms of "homo-" and "hetero-." So, too, does the passage suggest the givenness of American space as a knowable, albeit abstract, entity, with a discernible and singular character with its unique "worldly interests."

Juxtapose these theories with another passage written in 1888, near the end of his life. Whitman's *November Boughs*, a collection of poetry and prose, looks back fondly on the time he spent at the Bureau of Indian Affairs. He recounts:

> Along this time there came to see their Great Father an unusual number of aboriginal visitors, delegations for treaties, settlement of lands, &c. . . . the most wonderful proofs of what Nature can produce, (the survival of the fittest, no doubt—all the frailer samples dropt, sorted out by death)—as if to show how the earth and woods, the attrition of storms and elements, and the exigencies of life at first hand, can train and fashion men, indeed chiefs, in heroic massiveness, imperturbability, muscle, and that last and highest beauty consisting of strength—the full exploitation and fruitage of a human identity, not from the culmination—points of "culture" and artificial civilization, but tallying our race, as it were, with giant, vital, gnarl'd, enduring trees, or monoliths of separate hardiest rocks, and humanity holding its own with the best of the said trees or rocks, and outdoing them. (1194-1195)

In this flowing passage, Whitman retrospectively looks upon these

"aboriginal visitors" with admiration—an admiration that, as clause builds upon clause, suggests an "adhesive" quality. Admiring their "heroic massiveness, imperturbability, muscle, and that last and highest beauty consisting of strength—the full exploitation and fruitage of human identity," Whitman's gaze not only begins to take on an erotic charge; he describes them in terms remarkably similar to the ideal companions of the "Enfans d'Adam" and "Calamus" sequences: "the most wonderful proofs of what Nature can produce." But the passages that frame that gaze indicate the difference between the men here and the men and women and erotically charged land of those poems. His parenthetical, "(the survival of the fittest, no doubt—all the frailer samples dropt, sorted out by death)," draws on the discourse of Spencerian social evolution and circumscribes indigenous peoples—with the exception of those "most wonderful proofs of what Nature can produce"—to the site of inevitable decline and death; indeed, evolution is the agential figure here who "sorts out" the "frailer samples" rather than the realities of settler colonialism, the conquest of land, and biopolitical imperialism.[32] At the end of this passage, Whitman attributes the "full exploitation and fruitage of a human identity" of these men to their distinction from Anglo-European culture. Here his language returns to the geological: "tallying our race, as it were, with giant, vital, gnarl'd, enduring trees, or monoliths of separate hardiest rocks, and humanity holding its own with the best of the said trees or rocks, and outdoing them." As he assumes the global dominion of "humanity" ("our race"), and indeed notes that his "aboriginal visitors" provide proof to support that dominion, that idea of superiority legitimates the imperialist project of land acquisition—and thus, the theft of land from indigenous peoples, despite their nominal inclusion here in "our race."

Between the time in which Whitman published the third edition of *Leaves of Grass* and his death in 1892, the United States' expansionist policies—formal and informal—led to "the countless battles and massacres of the 1860s and 1870s (when names like Birch Coulee, Canyon de Chelly, Rosebud, and Warbonnet Creek entered the American common vocabulary), culminating in the Wounded Knee massacre at the end of 1890" (Folsom 56). Alongside these battles and massacres followed shifting understandings of what constituted U.S.

national space. If these were political battles and massacres, these were also biopolitical ones. What Achille Mbembe writes of the "necropolitics" of the colony in a colonial state also describes the necropolitics of nineteenth-century American contact zones: they "are zones in which war and disorder, internal and external figures of the political, stand side by side or alternate with each other. As such, [they] are the location par excellence where the controls and guarantees of judicial order can be suspended—the zone where the violence of the state of exception is deemed to operate in the service of 'civilization.'"[33] The naturalization of this necropolitical space, whether "ignored or appears necessary or complete," defines the settler colonialism that undergirds Whitman's "queer" sexual-political project.[34]

In *November Boughs*, the logics of settler colonialism—the naturalized "modernity" dependent upon national expansion—inform Whitman's forward-looking proclamation: "As for native American individuality, though certain to come . . . it has not yet appear'd" (*Poetry and Prose* 667). For Whitman, the "native American" exists in the future. And this is a future that Whitman's poetic persona, his famous all-encompassing "I," attempts to engender from the outset of his poetic career. In the preface to the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass*, he calls for a poet who "places himself where the future becomes present"; because of him, "a new order shall arise."[35] Whitman calls this "new order" in the "Calamus" sequence "the most splendid race the sun ever shone upon" (351). As is clear in the "Calamus" and "Enfans d'Adam" poetry sequences, Whitman believed that sex, both as a reproductive and a social or communal act, was imperative in the creation of that "race of races," that "new order," that "native American individuality." But if Whitman held fast to the belief that in America lay the promise of new modes of erotic citizenship, this promise depended on the logics of indigenous displacement; the conceptualization of land-as-tabula rasa on which he could project a better, "queerer" national union; and the imaginary utopic not-yet of the United States that consigned indigenous peoples to a distant past.

Washington University in St. Louis
b.meiners@wustl.edu

NOTES

1 At the time that he was fired from his post, the Secretary of the Interior, William T. Otto, reported to Whitman that "he had seen on Mr. Harlan's desk a volume of Leaves of Grass, in blue paper covers, and the pages of the poems marked more or less throughout the work" (in Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, vol. 3 [New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1914], 475). These "blue paper covers" indicate that this edition was Whitman's "Blue Book"—his personal, annotated copy of the 1860 *Leaves of Grass*.

2 For accounts of the brief time Whitman spent at the Bureau, see Gay Wilson Allen, *The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 344-350; Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980), 303-306; and Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 283-295, and *Walt Whitman's Champion: William Douglass O'Connor* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1978), 54-65.

3 Walt Whitman, *Poetry and Prose*, ed. Justin Kaplan (New York: Library of America College Editions, 1997), 1035.

4 Robert K. Martin, *The Homosexual Tradition in American Poetry* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979). I want to clarify that, in arguing that Whitman places his sexual themes at the forefront of his third edition, I am avoiding broad claims about Whitman's career trajectory *vis-à-vis* his sexual politics. These concerns fall outside the purview of my discussion here. It is worth noting, however, the range of readings gay, queer, and feminist critics have offered: some claim that Whitman reaches the peak of his sexual-political radicalness with the third edition and subsequently becomes more conservative (the common narrative). M. Jimmie Killingsworth, on the other hand, notes a "progressive chastening of Whitman's sexual politics and the corresponding changes in his poetics" from the *first* edition onward (xix). See his *Whitman's Poetry of the Body: Sexuality, Politics, and the Text* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

5 For brief but illuminating twentieth-century histories of homophobic Whitman criticism, see Martin, 3-8, and Erkkila, "Whitman and the Homosexual Republic," in *Walt Whitman: The Centennial Essays*, ed. Ed Folsom (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1994), 153-171. As Erkkila notes, this tradition "has insisted on silencing, spiritualizing, heterosexualizing, or marginalizing Whitman's sexual feelings for men" (153). But Erkkila also takes many gay male critics to task for having "tended to maintain a distinction between Whitman the private poet and Whitman the public poet, Whitman the homosexual poet and Whitman the poet of democracy, that unduly privatizes and totalizes Whitman's sexual feeling for men" (153). Instead, she argues that the public and the private, the political and the erotic cannot be disentan-

gled. For other important treatments of Whitman in gay, feminist, and queer Whitman criticism (though this list is by no means exhaustive), see Erkkila, *Whitman the Political Poet* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989); Byrne Fone, *Masculine Landscapes: Walt Whitman and the Homoerotic Text* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992); Alan Helms, "Whitman's 'Live-Oak with Moss,'" in *The Continuing Presence*, 185-205; Michael Moon, *Disseminating Whitman: Revision and Corporeality in Leaves of Grass* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Vivian R. Pollak, *The Erotic Whitman* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000); Eve Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); and Michael Warner, "Whitman Drunk," in *Breaking Bounds: Whitman and American Cultural Studies*, ed. Betsy Erkkila and Jay Grossman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 30-43.

6 Lee Edelman, *No Future: Queer Theory and the Death Drive* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 2.

7 In my discussion of the 1860 *Leaves* and particularly the "Calamus" cluster, readers may note that I forgo discussion of Whitman's "Live Oak, with Moss" sequence, which has gained critical traction over roughly the last two decades. Since Alan Helms published "Whitman's 'Live Oak with Moss,'" critics have debated over whether this sequence is a personal, private, and more emotionally fraught poetic precursor to the more public, political, and more celebratory "Calamus" sequence. I focus on the 1860 edition proper because of its more significant presence in gay and lesbian, feminist, and queer traditions of Whitman criticism. It is worth noting, however, that I am skeptical of the neat division of public and private that this debate seems to maintain. Certainly, the logics of settler colonialism that I am tracing here can also be found in the "Live Oak, with Moss" sequence; however, it is outside the scope of this essay to track their different iterations. See Helms's essay in *The Continuing Presence of Walt Whitman: The Life After the Life*, ed. Robert K. Martin (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992), 185-205. Hershel Parker's "The Real 'Live-Oak, with Moss': Straight Talk about Whitman's 'Gay Manifesto'" is highly critical of both Helms's interpretation and his reprinting practices (*Nineteenth-Century Literature* 51 [1996], 145-160). See also Helms's and Parker's rather heated exchange the following year (in *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 52 [1997], 413-416). Finally, for an excellent overview of the textual and critical history of "Live Oak, with Moss," as well as rich and insightful readings of the sequence, see Betsy Erkkila's afterword in *Walt Whitman's Songs of Male Intimacy and Love* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2011), 99-162.

8 See Reddy's *Freedom with Violence: Race, Sexuality, and the US State* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011), 18.

9 As Ann Stoler contends, "the discursive and practical field in which nineteenth-century bourgeois sexuality emerged was situated on an imperial land-

scape where the cultural accouterments of bourgeois distinction were partially shaped through contrasts forged in the politics and language of race" (*Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault's History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* [Durham: Duke University Press, 1995], 5). Scott Lauria Morgensen builds upon Stoler's insights by drawing close attention to the biopolitics of settler colonialism in a specifically U.S. context. He makes the historical argument that "[the] late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw institutions and discourses of modern sexuality proliferate along with the 'closure' of the frontier as a central feature of national consciousness in a white settler society." He argues further that "[settler] colonialism is a primary condition of the history of sexuality in the United States" (*Spaces Between Us: Queer Settler Colonialism and Indigenous Decolonization* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011], 42). Morgensen's provocative claim challenges scholars to interrogate the settler colonial logics of Whitman's sexual-political project. In analyzing the queer nationalism of Whitman's 1860 work, I am indebted to recent work in queer Native studies, and particularly to Mark Rifkin's *Settler Common Sense: Queerness and Everyday Colonialism in the American Renaissance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014). Here Rifkin theorizes the specifically *literary* significance of the biopolitics of settler sexuality. Tracing modes of what he calls "queer antistatism" in canonical texts in nineteenth-century American literary studies, Rifkin argues that, "while opening room for envisioning queer possibilities for occupancy and selfhood (deviations from nuclear domesticity), these writings treat processes of settlement as a given in developing their ethical visions" (3). Where my analysis departs from Rifkin's work, however, is in its attention to queerness that consolidates and depends upon—in fact endeavors to *reproduce*—the U.S. nation-state.

10 My focus on "quotidian" articulations of queer intimacy and belonging is influenced also by Rifkin's work, as he is invested in theorizing the ways in which settler colonialism might be "naturalized" in those articulations.

11 For works that examine Whitman's imperialist tendencies, see Leadie Clark, *Walt Whitman's Concept of the American Common Man* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1955); Ed Folsom, *Walt Whitman's Native Representations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Walter Grünzweig, "Noble Ethics and Loving Aggressiveness: The Imperial Walt Whitman," in *An American Empire: Expansionist Cultures and Policies 1881-1917*, ed. Serge Ricard (Aix-en-Provence: University of Provence Press, 1990), 151-165; and Albert Weinberg, *Manifest Destiny: A Study of Nationalist Expansionism in American History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1935).

12 Whitman, "All About a Mockingbird," *New York Saturday Press* (January 7, 1860, 3). Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

13 Whitman, *Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts*, ed. Edward F. Grier. 6 vols. (New York: New York University Press, 1984), 1:353.

14 Jason Stacy, "Introduction." *Leaves of Grass, 1860: The 150th Anniversary Facsimile Edition*, ed. Jason Stacy (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2009), xviii-xxi.

15 Peter Coviello, *Intimacy in America: Dreams of Affiliation in Antebellum Literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 130.

16 "proto-, comb. form." *OED Online*. Oxford University Press, July 2017. Web.

17 As Jason Stacy argues, "Proto-Leaf" "[*frames*] a cosmos" (xxiii, emphasis mine). Establishing the term "proto's" rhetorical connection to the Book of Genesis, Stacy suggests that the poem's first stanza, whose first and last lines are "Fresh, free, savage/ Solitary singing in the west, I strike up for a new world," "[appeals] to original creation and unencumbered living. . . . 'Proto-Leaf,' like Genesis, [establishes] the parameters for the rest of the stories, visions, and exhortations: past and future [collapse] in the poet's seminal nature as he [guides] the reader *back* to a new world" (xxiii).

18 Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature," in *Emerson's Poetry and Prose*, ed. Joel Porte and Saundra Morris (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 2001), 27.

19 Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860), 5. Available on the *Whitman Archive*. All references to Whitman's poetry are from this edition, unless otherwise noted.

20 For a fuller account of the continuous present tense in Whitman's poetry, see Mark Kinkead-Weeks, "Walt Whitman Passes the Full Stop By," in *Nineteenth Century American Poetry*, ed. A. Robert Lee (Totowa: Barnes and Noble Books, 1985), 56-59.

21 Whitman does not capitalize the word "west" in the 1860 edition. In later editions, he would do so regularly. This suggests a marked historical shift in the concept's definitions: in the yet "unsettled" "west" of this edition, the word carries, to my mind, more amorphous symbolic meanings, whereas the later "West" assumes that the act of settling has not only occurred but stabilizes its geographic and ideological meanings.

22 In another memorable moment, Whitman positions himself in the South—specifically Alabama (14). This, along with his references to Canada, Cuba, and Mexico, suggest that his nationalist-expansionist vision was not only directed westward but in other directions as well.

23 I mark heterosexuality in quotations because the term "heterosexual"—like its counterpart, "homosexual"—was not, in 1860, an established identity category. It is commonly remarked by scholars of sexuality that the category "homosexual" in fact preceded "heterosexual." "Homosexuality" and "heterosexuality" were "invented" categories of identity in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, respectively, in Europe and the U.S. For discussions

of these histories, see Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Eve Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Jonathan Ned Katz, *The Invention of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); and George Chauncey, *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture, and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994). On the co-implicated histories of this "invention" and discourses of race, see Siobhan Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2000). For a more recent account of the queer temporalities and affective lived experiences of literary figures negotiating these shifting discourses, see Peter Coviello, *Tomorrow's Parties: Sex and the Untimely in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

24 For three brilliant discussions of nineteenth-century U.S. discourses of teleological modernity and the "death of the Indian," see Renée Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 2000); Dana Luciano, *Arranging Grief: Sacred Time and the Body in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); and Molly McGarry, *Ghosts of Futures Past: Spiritualism and the Cultural Politics of Nineteenth-Century America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

25 This is Ed Folsom's insight. See "Whitman and American Indians" in *Walt Whitman's Native Representations,* especially 80-88. Whitman's poem might invite a contrast to the popular poet Lydia Huntley Sigourney, whose poem "Indian Names" insisted on the ethical challenge to "modernity" presented by the embeddedness of "Indian" nomenclature on the land. There the temporality of Indian presence is far more complex. On one hand, Native Americans seem to have all but "disappeared"; on the other, she signals ongoing disputes and violence. Never, though, is their death presented as the inevitable sign of American progress.

26 I borrow this phrase from Peter Coviello's *Tomorrow's Parties*.

27 "Adhesiveness" was a phrenological term that denoted one's capacity for emotional attachment. Whitman, Michael Lynch argues, reframed this term to refer specifically to same-sex attachments. His is still the best study to my knowledge that relates theories of phrenology to the history of sexuality and Whitman's place in that history ("'Here Is Adhesiveness': From Friendship to Homosexuality," *Victorian Studies* 29 [1985], 67-96). Another phrenological term Whitman deployed was "amativeness," which described men's capacity for attachment to and sexual desire for women and vice versa.

28 Recent historical work has shown that queer intimacies were very real features of the "American frontier" social and geographic landscape. See Peter

Boag, *Re-Dressing America's Frontier Past* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).

29 Michel Foucault first develops this theory in the last chapter of *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1*. He would elaborate on this later in some of his lectures, particularly his lecture of March 17, 1976, in *"Society Must Be Defended": Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-1976*, trans. David Macey (New York: Picador, 2003), 239-264.

30 Pollak, 124.

31 Folsom, 85.

32 On Whitman's interest in evolutionary theory, and especially Lamarckism, see James T. F. Tanner, "Walt Whitman, Poet of Lamarckian Evolution" (Ph.D. diss., Texas Technical College, Lubbock, 1968); Frederick W. Connor, *Cosmic Optimism: A Study of the Interpretation of Evolution by American Poets* (Gainesville, FL.: University of Florida Press, 1949), 92-127; and Harold Aspiz, *Walt Whitman and the Body Beautiful* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press).

33 Achille Mbembe, "Necropolitics," *Public Culture* 15 (2003), 24. The term "contact zone" derives from Mary Louise Pratt's 1991 article, "Arts of the Contact Zone." While I have insisted on maintaining use of the term "frontier" in relation to Whitman, I do so because I believe it conceptually most closely resembles Whitman's understanding of and poetic treatment of U.S. borderlands and contact zones. This understanding/treatment has a long imperialistic history and contains within it the supposition of inevitable American expansion, one that is ethically suspect to say the least. I use "contact zone" *here* to highlight the inter- and intra-culturality of these spaces. The histories of these spaces are far more complex, and terms such as the "contact zone" or Gloria Anzaldúa's "borderlands," allow a more capacious understanding of their complexities. See Pratt's "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991), 33-40; and Anzaldúa's still-provocative and generative *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987).

34 Morgenson, 16.

35 Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (Brooklyn, NY, 1855), 13, 25. Available on the *Whitman Archive*.

NOTES

"TILL THE GOSSAMER THREAD YOU FLING CATCH SOMEWHERE": PARVIN E'TESAMI'S CREATIVE RECEPTION OF WALT WHITMAN

The work of Parvin E'tesami (1907-1941), the first major twentieth-century woman poet of Iran, has sometimes been criticized for too blindly endorsing patriarchy[1] and for choosing "the calm niche of traditional poetry" rather than "fishing for new ideas."[2] Parvin's poem "God's Weaver" (1941)—a poem familiar to most Iranian readers of poetry—provides a reply to those criticisms. Throughout her work, Parvin borrowed freely from multiple sources, including classical Persian poetry, the fables of Aesop and La Fontaine, and her father's translations from Western literatures.[3] But the resulting work remained distinctly her own: "Even when borrowed, elements are infused with a spirit and mood completely of Parvin's own."[4] Just as her father used his knowledge of foreign languages to transfer cultural and literary elements from other traditions into Persian society, Parvin did the same thing through her creative reception of Walt Whitman's "A Noiseless Patient Spider."

A number of critical studies have investigated the relationship between Parvin's poem and various texts that inspired or influenced it. Abdolhossein Zarrinkub wrote that this poem reminds readers of Rumi's thought and style.[5] Other critics have suggested that the piece was inspired by American journalist Arthur Brisbane's work as translated by Yusef E'tesami and published in his *Bahar*. These critics argue that the poem "is based" on an article entitled "Azm va Neshat-e Ankabut" ("The Spider's Determination and Vivacity"), a translation into Persian of an editorial by Brisbane.[6]

As Maryam Mosharraf rightly mentions, however, Parvin scholarship has so far ignored the Iranian poet's knowledge of English.[7] In his study of the relationship between Parvin's poem and Brisbane's essay, Karimi-Hakkak says he did not attempt to "locate Brisbane's [original] essay since Parvin did not know English and could not have

read it herself."[8] But in fact among the most influential factors on Parvin's work is her experience at Iran Bethel, the American school for girls in Tehran.[9] Learning and teaching English there contributed to her knowledge of Western literatures and modern ideas. Mosharraf is the first critic to mention the relationship between Whitman and Parvin's poem.[10] I want to develop Mosharraf's insight by examining "God's Weaver" in relation to Whitman's "A Noiseless Patient Spider" in order to begin to illuminate this yet unexplored creative reception.

Parvin would most probably have come across Whitman in her student days in the American school. Devoid of the "controversial" elements that Whitman's poetry is (in)famous for, "A Noiseless Patient Spider" was one of his more commonly anthologized poems. Unlike some of his explicitly sexual poems, this poem may have been considered "appropriate" for the Iranian girl students, and it was probably available to the students of Iran Bethel. In encountering this poem, Parvin discovered some interesting and fresh characteristics in Whitman's spider, in particular its tireless endeavor and its isolation, and imported them into her own poetry.

Through her versification of fables Parvin preserved the long Persian tradition of advisory and didactic poetry in twentieth-century Iran. Belonging to the *monazereh* genre, her most famous works create a dialogue or debate between what Karimi-Hakkak calls "two emblematic entities opposed to one another in an important character trait."[11] "God's Weaver," a poem in rhyming couplets (*masnavi*) with a spider protagonist, is one such debate. The first part of the poem depicts a scene in which a lazy person looks at a spider busy at work. The poem starts with the persona's description of a lazy person who is "languid, / weary, and feeble, yet able-bodied."[12] This character contrasts the other character of the poem, a spider "above the door, warmly at work." In the second part, the lazy person criticizes the spider, its activity, and its product, providing the spider with some advice such as "Go rest today, there is tomorrow too." In the third part, the spider responds to the lazy person's comments. The fourth part of the poem can be read either as the spider's concluding remarks or as the persona's moral lesson; this part deals mostly with the importance of human endeavor to make the most out of the limited time

one possesses.

One of Whitman's more commonly anthologized poems, "A Noiseless Patient Spider" is, according to James Perrin Warren, a "clear experiment in analytic form, balancing two five-line stanzas in a web of description and analogy."[13] The first stanza deals with a series of images depicting a spider trying hard to attach the first filament to build a connection. In the second stanza the poet addresses his own soul. He is trying hard to build "the bridge" between his poetry and his future readers to ensure his immortality. Paul Diehl demonstrates how Whitman's revisions in the final version of the poem, particularly in punctuation, intensify the sense of spider/poet trying to catch its "gossamer thread" somewhere.[14] By examining Whitman's poem in relation to Parvin's "God's Weaver," we can see how Whitman's spider's thread traveled through time and space and eventually latched onto a twentieth-century Persian woman poet.

The spider in "God's Weaver" has a number of connections with "A Noiseless Patient Spider." The spider in Whitman's poem is depicted as active, energetic and hard-working: "It launch'd forth filament, filament, filament, out of itself, / Ever unreeling them, ever tirelessly speeding them." These lines can be compared to the spider's description of itself in Parvin's poem: "We have seized every opportunity we have had / to weave, and weave, and weave." The triple repetition of "weave" refers to the perseverance and tireless endeavor of the spider just as does the triple repetition of "filament" in "A Noiseless Patient Spider." Whitman's spider is "noiseless"; similarly, the spider in "God's Weaver" "gave lessons without speech and words" and "her spindle turns, but noiselessly." The spider in Whitman's poem is "patient," and Parvin's spider demonstrates the same quality to calmly accept frustration and disappointment: "We who have spent a lifetime inside the veil / have learned patience in the face of adversity: / one moment it is the broom, another it is dust and the wind, / this ancient struggle never gets old. / We are not afraid of fate and fortune." Finally, the spider in Whitman's poem is "isolated," just as the persona in "God's Weaver" describes the spider as "گوشه گیر" (*gushehgir*), signifying "isolated" and "secluded."

In both poems, the spider clearly represents the poet. The spider

in Whitman's poem, longing tirelessly for the connection, represents Whitman himself, who tries to capture the attention of readers through "the ductile anchor" of poetry in order to ensure his own survival and immortality. One can trace a comparable association between the spider and the poet in "God's Weaver." Starting from the very title the spider is called a "weaver," and weaving is the metaphor that drives the whole poem. In Persian "بافتن" (*baftan*) can refer to both the acts of weaving and of using language. The association can be traced back to ninth-century Persian poetry.[15] Neither this nor the image of a spider as a weaver is Parvin's innovation, but her linking the two concepts and introducing a spider to stand for a poet is her original contribution to Persian poetry. Reading the poem in the light of this finding leads us to see how the persona/poet of "God's Weaver" is Parvin herself.

The spider as a symbol of effort and action in "God's Weaver" has much stronger connections with the energetic, and hard-working spider in Whitman's poem than it does with the spider of Persian literary tradition. In classical Persian poetry, the spider is seen primarily as the weaver of intricate webs and secondarily as the hunter of insects. In classical usage, "the spider's web most frequently exemplifies the ephemerality of human work."[16] However, Persian culture also has a positive view of the spider as an instrument of God's will. And, in Persian tradition, the "spider's unattractive shape has also provided the basis for moralizing on the insignificance of worldly beauty or the relative merits of beauty in comparison with other human faculties."[17]

There is no doubt Parvin's spider inherited mystical characteristics from its Persian predecessors. After the thirteenth century all Persian poetry has been at least tinged with Sufism, and the language of mysticism appears to a Persian reader to be intrinsically poetic.[18] It is no surprise, then, to find Parvin's spider having the qualities of piety and indifference toward worldly pleasures that tie the creature to medieval Persian poetry, particularly Hafiz's ghazals. Parvin's spider, after all, is "*God's* weaver," and, as her spider tells us, "We move along the path He has set us. / He is our Master, aware of our work." But, within this mystical framework, Parvin imports some key elements of Whitman's more secular spider.

As mentioned earlier, "God's Weaver" is a *monazereh*, which has been called "presumably the most effective Persian poem celebrating effort and action."[19] Present in a wide range of contexts and in both prose and poetry, the *monazereh* can be traced back to pre-Islamic times. After the introduction of Islam in Persia, the *monazereh* remained popular. In the medieval period Nezami and Rumi inserted it in their romantic and mystic narratives.[20] In this genre, argues critic Heshmat Moayyad, Parvin "surpasses all her predecessors throughout the history of Persian literature both in quality and quantity."[21] *Monazereh*'s exposure to the long tradition of Persian poetry provided Parvin with characters who possessed predefined characteristics. As a sign of her inventiveness as a poet, she sometimes chose objects and organic material from everyday life and turned them into living entities—including a needle, a thread, an onion, or garlic—whose characteristics had not been previously defined in the Persian poetic tradition.

Even when Parvin utilized characters already known in the Persian tradition, her originality frequently assigns them new characteristics, and the spider in "God's Weaver" is one such character. Out of the five traditional concepts a Persian spider could signify, Parvin focused on the insect's weaving and on the spider as an instrument of God's will, as suggested in the title of the poem. The Persian poet then entered this arachnid into a debate, a common technique in Persian poetry and one she favored herself, to create her own unique spider—one that combined characteristics of Whitman's spider with some characteristics of a Persian spider to produce a cross-bred spider that is part Persian and part Whitmanian. This new spider is Parvin's most distinctive poetic innovation.

While there is no reference to the gender of the spider in "A Noiseless Patient Spider," the spider/poet in "God's Weaver" clearly represents a woman. She is a "weaver," "placed behind the door," working with a "spindle," and hanging "drapes." The spider is described as "hanging" a "پرده" (*pardeh*), the Persian term for drape, signifying both "veil" and "female virginity" and closely associated with femininity. The spider is also described as "having put the spindle of effort to work." The spindle is traditionally associated with women.

In classical Persian poetry such as that by Ferdowsi, Asadi, and Nezami, one can find reference to the spindle as a feminine tool in contrast to a dagger, mace, spear, and arrow, which are manly tools. In part two of Parvin's poem, the lazy person tells the spider, "none shall see you behind this door, / none shall call you any kind of artist." In these lines the feminine aspect of the spider—a female poet who is severely restricted to the domestic sphere and not recognized as an artist by the patriarchal system—is highlighted.

The poem's debate between the spider and the lazy person can be read, then, as a debate between a female poet/Parvin and the patriarchal system. The debate is not between two equally convincing positions that allow the reader to choose. Parts one and four of the poem belong to the persona/Parvin, where she expresses herself more openly in celebrating the spider/Parvin and condemning the lazy person/patriarchal system. From the very first line, where readers meet the lazy person who "fell into a corner languid, / weary, and feeble, yet able-bodied," they have no difficulty identifying which character should be sympathized with. Except for this very first *bayt*, the entire opening part of the poem is devoted to the spider/female poet. In part one, Parvin offers an early conclusion to the debate; taking advantage of her poetic license, she easily defeats the lazy person/patriarchal system before the debate has even really started. Following part one, the whole poem is the celebration of the spider/Parvin against the lazy person/patriarchal system. The spider is the dominant character and ultimately the winner who concludes the entire debate. The concluding part of the poem, which culminates with the spider/Parvin as "God's weaver," is the celebration of this character. Just as God, the Omnipotent, is the winner of any fight or competition, whoever is associated with Him—including His weaver—must win the debate.

As her brother once claimed, Parvin may have been too busy composing her own poetry to have paid much attention to the pioneering modernists of Persian literature, Nima and Hedayat.[22] Nevertheless, Parvin's embrace of an American literary character and her use of that character to speak for the personal feelings of the poet herself challenges the idea that she limited herself to her Persian literary heritage and that she was an impersonal poet. God's weaver is a mid-twenti-

eth-century Iranian spider that has its roots in quite different sources, some of which were clear to the contemporary readers of the poem and others of which are discussed here for the first time. Parvin found the image of the spider in Whitman's poem—a noiseless, patient, isolated, tirelessly working creature—particularly relevant to her own condition as a woman and her activity as a poet in mid-twentieth-century Iran, and she employed this spider in her debate with the patriarchal structure.

Despite all the connections between the two spiders, a significant point of divergence remains. Whitman's spider has ambitions to connect to the universe using its "gossamer thread," whereas Parvin's spider is satisfied to keep doing what she perceives to be her God-given mission in life. This divergence might signal the difference between the male psyche of a pioneering American poet and the condition of being a woman poet and heir to a poetic tradition dominated by men for a thousand years that has left little room for a woman to entertain notions of reaching out to an unknowable universe.[23]

Parvin's social concerns for the women of her society, along with her concerns for herself as an intellectual woman in a patriarchal society, led her to invent a mixed-breed spider that could become a spokeswoman for mid-twentieth-century Iranian women in general and for herself as a female poet in particular. The birth of the spider-woman-protagonist of "God's Weaver" was the result of the interaction between many forces—including, but not limited to, Parvin's personal situation as a female poet, her poetic inventiveness, Persian poetic traditions of *monazereh* and mystical poetry, Iranian society, and, last but not least, the active arachnid in Whitman's "A Noiseless Patient Spider." This interplay of texts and contexts forms Parvin's creative reception of an American poem into Persian poetry.

TU Dortmund BEHNAM MIRZABABAZADEH FOMESHI

NOTES

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1 Leonardo Alishan, "Parvin E'tesami, The Magna Mater, and the Culture of the Patriarchs," *Once a Dewdrop: Essays on the Poetry of Parvin E'tesami*, ed. Heshmat Moayyad (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1994), 20-46.

2 Fereshteh Davaran, "Impersonality in Parvin E'tesami's Poetry," *Once a Dewdrop*, 74.

3 Yusef E'tesami (1874-1938), a form-oriented translator and literary journalist, trained his daughter in Arabic and Persian literature. He translated some forty works from French, Turkish, and Arabic into Persian and encouraged Parvin to write poetry based on those translations. He was familiar with the contemporary cultural issues of the world and was the first to introduce Esperanto to a Persian audience. He translated into Persian *Tahrir al Mara'a* (1899) by the Egyptian writer Qasem Amin (1863-1908) on the freedom and rights of women and published it in Tabriz. He was among the first to publish on the issue in Persian, and this book is the earliest dedicated solely to women's issues written or translated in Iran.

4 Heshmat Moayyad, "EʿTEṢĀMĪ, PARVĪN," *Encyclopedia Iranica*, available at www.iranicaonline.org.

5 Abdolhossein Zarrinkoub, *Ba Karvan-e Holle* (Tehran: Elmi, 1991), 367.

6 Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry: Scenarios of Poetic Modernity in Iran* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995), 173; Heshmat Moayyad, "Parvin's Personality and Poetry," *A Nightingale's Lament: Selections from the Poems and Fables of Parvin E'tesami (1907-41)*, translated by Heshmat Moayyad and A. Margaret Arent Madelung (Lexington, KY: Mazda, 1985), xi-xxxviii; Margaret Arent Madelung, "Commentary," *A Nightingale's Lament*, 202-227; Gholamhossein Yusefi, *Cheshme-ye Roshan* (Tehran: Elmi, 1990), 417; Maryam Mosharraf, *Parvin E'tesami: Payegozar-e Adabiat-e Neokelasik-e Iran* (Tehran: Sokhan, 2012), 189. Arthur Brisbane (1864-1936) was a wildly popular journalist in the United States, whose editorials in the *New York Journal* and *Evening Journal* had a vast readership and a huge influence on the development of American editorial writing.

7 Mosharraf, *Parvin*, 31.

8 Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting*, 304.

9 In 1921 Parvin went to Iran Bethel, a school for girls in Tehran established by American missionaries in 1874. After graduation from the school in May 1924, she worked there as a teacher for two years.

10 In the preface Mosharraf wrote to the book-length translation of Whitman into Persian by her mother, Mansureh Bakvai, she mentioned this point. Maryam Mosharraf, "And in the beginning was the Word," in Mansureh Bakvai trans., *Bargha-ye Alaf: Gozide-ye She'r-e Walt Whitman* (Tehran: Lian, 2016), 7-17.

11 Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting*, 161-162.

12 The English translation of "God's Weaver" cited in this essay is from Karimi-Hakkak, "Appropriation: Parvin's 'God's Weaver,'" in *Recasting Persian Poetry*, 161-182 which offers a partial translation of the poem. A complete translation is available in *A Nightingale's Lament*, 63-68.

13 James Perrin Warren, "Style," *A Companion to Walt Whitman*, ed. Donald D. Kummings (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006), 377-391.

14 Paul Diehl, "'A Noiseless Patient Spider': Whitman's Beauty—Blood and Brain," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 6 (Winter 1989), 117-132.

15 Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting*, 164.

16 Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting*, 180.

17 Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting*, 179.

18 Dick Davis, "On Not Translating Hafez," *New England Review* 25 (2004), 313.

19 Heshmat Moayyad, "Moghaddame: Dar Zendegi va She´r va Andishe-ye Parvin," *Divan-e Parvin*, ed. Heshmat Moayyad, (Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda, 1986), 8-31.

20 Asghar Seyed-Gohrab, "The Rose and the Wine: Dispute as a Literary Device in Classical Persian Literature," *Iranian Studies* 47 (2013), 69-85.

21 Heshmat Moayyad, "Parvin's Personality and Poetry," xix.

22 Abolfath E´tesami, "Name-ye Aqa-ye Abolfath E'tesami," *Divan-e Parvin*, 274-276.

23 I owe this reading to Professor Karimi-Hakkak's comment on my manuscript.

WALT WHITMAN: A CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Athenot, Éric, and Cristanne Miller, eds. *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017. [Collection of eleven original essays on intersections between Whitman and Dickinson, each essay listed separately in this bibliography; with an "Introduction: Transatlantic Convergences and New Directions" (1-8) by Athenot and Miller.]

Bagoo, Andre. *Pitch Lake*. Leeds, England: Peepal Tree, 2018. [Contains two poems about Whitman: "Walt Whitman in Trinidad I" (56-58), in three sections ("On His Novel Against Drinking"; "Erasure from Page One of Walt Whitman's Introduction to His Novel Against Drinking"; "Erasure from Page Two of Walt Whitman's Novel Against Drinking"); and "Walt Whitman in Trinidad II" (59), beginning "Your brother, too, drinks. You flee to Trinidad."]

Bates, Mason. "Drum-Taps." 2017. [Musical setting of two of Whitman's *Drum-Taps* poems, "First O Songs for a Prelude" and "Come Up from the Fields Father"; joint commission from Chanticleer, a male vocal ensemble, and the Kennedy Center; Chanticleer premiered the piece in May 2017 at the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C.]

Berardinelli, Alfonso. "L'irresistibile Whitman." *Il Foglio* [Milan, Italy] (November 19, 2017). [Review of Walt Whitman, *Foglie d'Erba*, translated by Mario Corona.]

Camboni, Marina. "'Beginners': Rereading Whitman and Dickinson through Rich's Lens." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 207-223. [Examines "three different phases in Adrienne Rich's interpretive process of Emily Dickinson's and Walt Whitman's work," while also analyzing "the relationship linking the three poets together"; argues that "when Rich ceased to consider Dickinson and Whitman as opposites negating one another and envisioned them instead as relational complementaries she became . . . the poet capable of leaving behind the legacy both of nineteenth-century patriarchal sex-gender isolating antagonisms and of the separatist and oppositional logic of twentieth-century feminisms and ethnic and racial essentialisms."]

Conrad, CA. "From Whitman to WalMart." *Poetry Foundation* (June 18, 2015), poetryfoundation.org. [Describes the author's "Whitman awakening," when he discovered that Whitman made racist comments in his prose and decid-

ed Whitman is "just like the other white supremacists where I grew up," "the underside of the rock that America has so beautifully constructed to fool the world."]

Dorkin, Andrew, and Cristanne Miller. "Hyperbole and Humor in Whitman and Dickinson." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 129-148. [Argues that, for Whitman and Dickinson, "the figure of hyperbole is both intrinsically linked with humor and a key element in what makes both poets' work at once colloquially familiar and radically disorienting," and that, "rather than ridiculing others or satirizing nineteenth-century life, Whitman and Dickinson use humor to encourage readers to think through the challenges of their poetics and poems."]

Doty, Mark. *Deep Lane*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2015. [Book of poetry, containing "What Is the Grass?" (67-68), beginning "On the margin / in the used text / I've purchased without opening /—pale green dutiful vessel—/ some unconvinced student has written, / in a clear, looping hand, *Isn't it grass?*"]

Dussol, Vincent. "Whitman, Dickinson, and Their Legacy of Lists and 'It's." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 187-205. [Examines how Whitman and Dickinson "share common features, most notably the combination of lists and indefinites ('it' in particular) to give body to the idea that we mean more than we can say"; argues that Dickinson's lists are shorter than Whitman's because "her often prominent use of the indefinite 'it' is probably both a conscious and an ironic substitute for other possible translations of the ineffable, longer lists among them," while "Whitman's use of the indefinite 'it' testifies to an unslaked and fully embraced thirst for exhaustiveness," with both poets thus "showing awareness of language's impossible completion"; concludes by tracing a poetic tradition, deriving from Whitman and Dickinson, of using 'it' in similarly suggestive and disorienting ways.]

Erkkila, Betsy. "Radical Imaginaries: Crossing Over with Whitman and Dickinson." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 149-169. [Proposes that, although Whitman and Dickinson have often been treated by critics as "diametrical opposites of each other," they "both were not only sex radicals but radical imaginaries in the nineteenth-century United

States, . . . in conversation with each other, and mutually illuminating in relation to the major political, social, sexual, racial, and cultural struggles that marked their time and ours"; goes on to "sketch out several instances of personal and poetic intercourse between Whitman and Dickinson," with sections on "Politics," "The American 1848," "Radical Imaginaries," "Love Crisis," "The Civil War," and "Immortality," seeking to illuminate how their "unsettled and unsettling *interiors* existed *inside* rather than *outside* the political and social struggles of their times."]

Fernanda Pampín, María. "La tradición norteamericana en José Martí entre filosofía y literatura." *Anales de Literatura Hispanoamericana* 45 (2016), 47-73. [Examines Cuban writer José Martí's interest in American philosophy and literature, and argues that his responses to Emerson's and Whitman's work relocate him to the center of the nineteenth-century Western canon; in Spanish.]

Folsom, Ed. "In Memoriam: Charley Shively, 1937-2017." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 35 (Fall 2017), 218. [Memorial tribute to Whitman scholar Charley Shively.]

Folsom, Ed. "Rethinking the (Non)Convergence of Dickinson and Whitman." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 9-26. [Traces the complex history of what works of Whitman would have been accessible to Dickinson, and what works of Dickinson would have been accessible to Whitman, and shows how the creation of Whitman and Dickinson as the founding poets of the American poetic tradition was the work of two warring Transcendentalists, Ralph Waldo Emerson and Thomas Wentworth Higginson; documents the publishing intersections of Dickinson and Whitman and shows for the first time that Whitman definitely did know who Emily Dickinson was.]

Folsom, Ed. "Walt Whitman: A Current Bibliography." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 35 (Fall 2017), 210-217.

Franklin, Kelly S. Review of Karen Karbiener, ed., *Poetry for Kids: Walt Whitman*. *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 35 (Fall 2017), 206-209.

Freitag, Kornelia. "Meena Alexander 'In Whitman's Country.'" *Arcade* (April 17, 2015), arcade.stanford.edu. [Examines Indian-American poet Meena Alexander's poem "White Horseman Blues," as a response to Whitman's "Passage to India," viewing Alexander's poem as a "rebuke, as 'Passage

to India' encapsulates exactly the ghost of the 'White Horseman' that Alexander tried to exorcise in the poem"; sets out to "show how Whitman and Alexander establish and re-configure national and transnational poetic discourses," and examines "how Alexander *starts* from the conceptual and formal openings established by Whitman and how she then proceeds to create a genuinely different kind of transnational Indian-American poetic space from what the nineteenth-century poet had and could have envisioned."]

Gerhardt, Christine. "'We Must Travel Abreast with Nature, if We Want to Understand Her': Place and Mobility in Dickinson's and Whitman's Environmental Poetry." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 111-128. [Acknowledges how ecocritical analyses of Whitman and Dickinson have argued that "what is environmentally most significant about their work is its keen attention to local realms and lasting forms of place-attachment," but proposes that these poets also "wrote about places characterized by remarkable degrees of mobility and engaged the world from perspectives of speakers who are themselves on the move, all in the context of an increasingly mobile American culture and transnational dynamics of travel, exploration, and colonization"; goes on to examine how their "abiding interest in a mobile world, and in mobile ways of relating to such a world, forms an integral part of their environmental imagination and constitutes an important connection between their bodies of work": "both engaged with precisely the tension between mobility and rootedness at this watershed moment in the development of a modern ecological outlook and practice."]

Goode, Abby L. "Democratic Demographics: A Literary Genealogy of American Sustainability." Ph.D. Dissertation, Rice University, 2016. [Chapter 4 "traces Walt Whitman's development of eugenic agrarianism—a discourse that adapts American sustainability to a global context"; *Proquest Dissertations and Theses Global*; *DAI*-A 79/04(E).]

Grossman, Jay. "Queer Contingencies of Canonicity: Dickinson, Whitman, Jewett, Matthiessen." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 171-185. [Analyzes Dickinson's exclusion from F. O. Matthiessen's influential *American Renaissance* (1941) and rethinks that exclusion by taking "a closer look at Matthiessen's interest in Dickinson, as well as the terms

within which his understanding of her writing sharpens our understanding of his reading of Emerson's and Whitman's poetry"; concludes by considering how Matthiessen's student Adrienne Rich extended his thinking about Dickinson, becoming "the student teaching her teacher."]

Haslam, Jason. "Punishing Utopia: Whitman, Hawthorne, and the Terrible Prison." *Arizona Quarterly* 73 (Autumn 2017), 1-22. [Evokes Victor Brombert's notion of "The Happy Prison," a literary construct wherein "the materiality of physical incarceration melts away in the face of spiritual, intellectual, or otherwise creative transcendence on behalf of the self-contained, post-Enlightenment subject, a transcendence enabled by the isolation provided in the prison cell," and examines how this construct "is haunted and supported by its dehumanizing double: the 'Terrible Prison'"; argues that Whitman's "The Singer in Prison" is a "Happy Prison" poem that "already has its double chained to it, in the form of the material prisoner that is left over as an unnameable remainder of reformative prison practices and their literary echoes in the Happy Prison"; and compares Whitman's poem to Hawthorne's *Blithedale Romance* in terms of how "the early penitentiary had lying in its heart both a theoretical and a very much acknowledged praxis of terror that simultaneously supported and undermined its supposedly humanitarian goals."]

Hellman, Jesse M. "Grace Gilchrist's Childish Jealousy and Bernard Shaw's Idiotic Thoughtlessness." *Shaw: The Journal of Bernard Shaw Studies* 37, no. 2 (2017), 227-244. [Examines Bernard Shaw's relationship, in the 1880s, to Anne Gilchrist's family, particularly his affection for Anne's daughter Grace; notes Shaw's admiration for Whitman; and suggests how "Anne Gilchrist's passionate pursuit of Walt Whitman . . . may have contributed to, and become fulfilled, in Shaw's creation of Ann Whitefield" in *Man and Superman*.]

Karbiener, Karen. Review of Walt Whitman, *Song of Myself: With a Complete Commentary* by Ed Folsom and Christopher Merrill. *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 35 (Fall 2017), 201-206.

Lawrimore, David. "Temperance, Abolition, and Genre Collision in Whitman's *Franklin Evans*." *Studies in American Fiction* 44 (Fall 2017), 185-209. [Examines how the Washingtonian temperance narrative and the Garrisonian antislavery narrative have "shared ideological elements—particularly the belief in the progressive nature of their society's ill which requires immediate eradication," with both insisting that "the logic of gradualism

is foundationally flawed"; goes on to analyze how "the Margaret Episode" in Whitman's *Franklin Evans*, which keys elements of "the pro-slavery romance," creates a "collision" of genres in the novel as Whitman tries unsuccessfully to "subordinate the pro-slavery romance to the logic of the temperance narrative," a singular narrative experiment that "fails to gain traction and ultimately goes extinct."]

Leader, Jennifer. "'No Man Saw Awe' / 'In the Talk of . . . God . . . He Is Silent': (Not) Seeing and (Not) Saying the Numinous in Dickinson and Whitman." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 65-83. [Argues that Whitman and Dickinson "both had keen, startlingly original, religious imaginations and were explicit in their insistence on the spiritual components of their visions, despite a heterodox inventiveness that was (in Whitman's case) or would have been (in Dickinson's), offensive to a majority of the Christian reading public"; uses the poets' divergent religious backgrounds (Quaker for Whitman, Reformed for Dickinson) to inform our understanding of the ways they both invoke "a non-anthropomorphic and numinous Other as a limit to set [their] own poetic acumen in relief," though "Dickinson's spiritual and poetic universe is far less democratic than Whitman's."]

McGough, Roger. "I Hear America Sighing (after Walt Whitman)." *New Statesman* 147 (January 26-February 1, 2018), 45. [Poem, beginning "I hear America sighing, the varied complaints I hear," and ending, "Stop sighing America, start singing. Time to come back."]

McInnes, Marion K. "Following You: Second Person in Walt Whitman's 'As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life.'" *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 35 (Fall 2017), 153-173. [Explores "the different ways Whitman puts the second person 'you' to work," including "the strangest second person of all—the moments when instead of using the second person pronoun 'you,' and almost in its place, he conjures up in his mind's eye a ghostly second person split off from himself and standing at a distance, but nevertheless still himself in a new guise"; follows the "rhetorical chaos" of Whitman's use of second person in "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" and especially in "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life," tracking the use of apostrophes and "apostrophes-within-apostrophes" and Whitman's distinctive "proleptic apostrophe" as he follows "the 'trails of debris' along the shore" and encourages us to "push through self-doubt even when it is disguised to look like authority."]

Miller, Mark. "Song of the Open Road." 2018. [Cantata based on Whitman's

"Song of the Open Road," performed by the Harmonium Choral Society in Morristown, New Jersey, in March 2018.]

Molina, Sergio. "Song of the Universal: Quintet No. 2 for Piano and Guitar Quartet." 2017. [Quintet based on Whitman's "Song of the Universal"; world premiere at Round Top Festival Hill Institute in Texas, in March 2018, by the Quaternaglia Guitar Quartet with James Dick, pianist.]

Noble, Marianne. "Phenomenological Approaches to Human Contact in Whitman and Dickinson." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 85-110. [Investigates how Dickinson and Whitman "engage the philosophical question of what it means to contact others," and how "both reject their own received metaphysical thoughts and reconceive the nature of human identity—and contact between human selves—by refusing to separate matter and spirit," thus turning "away from Romantic idealism and toward twentieth-century phenomenology," thinking "beyond dualisms" and finding "human contact as possible, though different from what they had first imagined"; goes on to examine how both poets foreground "the presence of the writer in the act of writing," how both "explore the idea that the self does not antedate the act of writing but instead is created in it," and how "both also depict intersubjective selves, selves that exist only in relation to others."]

Parmar, Nissa. *Multicultural Poetics: Re-visioning the American Canon*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2018. [Chapter 1, "Emily Dickinson and Walt Whitman: The 'Beginners'" (31-70), investigates "the revolutionary, hybrid, and democratic nature of Whitman and Dickinson's poetic form" and how "blurring boundaries, mixing, and the signature techniques of each poet—Whitman's catalogues and free verse and Dickinson's dashes—exemplify their intention to create poetic forms that reflected the democratic ideologies of the nation's inception and rebelled against the Eurocentric culture and canon that continued to dominate American culture and inform social structures despite over fifty years of political independence"; goes on to suggest how "their political revolutions were driven by America's post-colonial status and part of an effort to forge a distinctly American, culturally and socially reflective poetic"; and argues that the work of these two poets, "Whitman's in particular," is "intended to lead to the emergent poets and poetries of the late twentieth century"; later chapters suggest Whitman's influence in the work of William Carlos Williams, Adrienne Rich, Marilyn Chin, and Sherman Alexie.]

Raymond, Brytani L. "Whitman and the Elegy: Mythologizing Lincoln and the Poetic Reconstruction of Mourning." M.A. Thesis, Eastern Kentucky University, 2017. [Examines "Whitman's series of elegies following the death of Abraham Lincoln" in order "to demonstrate that [Whitman's] process of grief could not be broken down to a simple formula as suggested by past elegists"; *Proquest Dissertations and Theses Global* (MAI 57/02M).]

Reynolds, David S. "Fine Specimens." *New York Review of Books* 65 (March 22, 2018), 41-42. [Review of Lindsay Tuggle, *The Afterlives of Specimens: Science, Mourning, and Whitman's Civil War*; and Walt Whitman, *Drum-Taps: The Complete 1865 Edition*, ed. Lawrence Kramer.]

Roudeau, Cécile. "'Sickly Abstractions' and the Poetic Concrete: Whitman's and Dickinson's Battlefields of War." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A Colloquy* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 27-46. [Examines how the Civil War, for Whitman and Dickinson, "pushed poetry to its crisis," so that their poems "both confronted the 'litter of the battlefield' and the clutter of the Real with the injunction to write in spite of the disarticulation between world and word"; finds that "Dickinson and Whitman's are sentient battlefields in which the feeling of the Real emerges through the violent conflagration between the abstract and the concrete," and "abstraction itself is exposed, made palpable in its wounded, derelict, becoming" so that "poetic language proves the locus of its excruciating and paradoxical embodiment."]

Schöberlein, Stefan. "Walt Whitman." In George Parker Anderson, ed., *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, vol. 381: *Writers on Women's Rights and United States Suffrage* (Farmington Hills, MI: Gale [Bruccoli Clark Layman], 2018), 287-296. [Examines how Whitman's "literary life falls squarely into the height of the first wave of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States," from his "early success as a journalist and editor at the time of the convention at Seneca Falls (1848) and Worcester (1850) to the first states in the union granting women the right to vote in the early 1890s, at around the time the poet's 'deathbed edition' of *Leaves of Grass* came out"; reviews how, over his career, Whitman "advocated for women's equal status in the American democratic experiment, associated himself with what might be considered the radical feminists and queer activists of his day at home and across the Atlantic, defended female work and women's labor rights, endured his books being banned for obscenity, adorned himself in women's clothes, and volunteered as a caretaker alongside female nurses in soldiers'

hospitals," as well as creating "a radically new kind of verse that would emphasize, unlike any American poetry before him, a fundamental sense of equality between men and women."]

Shames, David. "Leaves of Whitman: Felipe, Borges and the Hybrid Translator." *Colloquy: Text Theory Critique* 32 (September 2016), 37-64 [http://artsonline.monash.edu.au/colloquy]. [Examines "some of the transatlantic exchanges which shaped Whitman's reception in the world of Hispanic letters" and analyzes specifically "the fierce polemic which erupted" between Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges and Spanish poet Léon Felipe over "how to translate Whitman," a debate that "highlight[s] a number of aesthetic, philosophical, and political questions which relate to the historical context in which each translation was produced"; goes on to "unpack the ways in which Borges and Felipe read a key disjunctive element in Whitman's 'Song of Myself'—the fluctuating relationship between self and other," thus shedding light "on the matrix of aesthetic and political ideologies which Borges and Felipe encounter in Whitman, which they were informed by at the time of their translations and which, in turn, become encoded through their translations."]

Shelly, Kevin C. "Walt Whitman's Final Resting Place: A Hillside Crypt in Camden He Designed." *Philly Voice*, phillyvoice.com. [Offers background on why Whitman ended up buried in Camden, New Jersey, and reports on how his grave is now listed on several "LGBTQ tourism sites," called by one such site one of the "coolest, most inspiring LGBTQ+ landmarks in the world."]

Shor, Cynthia, ed. *Starting from Paumanok . . .* 30 (Summer/Fall/Winter 2017). [Newsletter of Walt Whitman Birthplace Association, with news of association activities, including the announcement of Vijay Seshadri as the 2018 Walt Whitman Birthplace Poet-in-Residence.]

Simpatico, David. *Wilde about Whitman*. 2017. [Two-man play about Oscar Wilde's visit to Whitman in Camden, New Jersey, in 1882; premiere reading took place at the Bridge Street Theatre in Catskill, NY, in August 2017; performed by A Howl of Playwrights; originally completed as an MFA Thesis at Southern New Hampshire University, 2017.]

Steinroetter, Vanessa. "Walt Whitman in the Early Kansas Press." *Kansas History* 39 (Autumn 2016), 182-193. [Reviews Whitman's 1879 Western trip through Kansas and examines how Whitman was portrayed in Kansas

newspapers during that trip and in the years before and after it, noting the "range of responses to the poet, from laudatory to critical and irreverent"; also looks at Whitman's poetry that was reprinted in Kansas papers, and points to one 1882 piece in the *Weekly Kansas Chief* that offers a detailed "tongue-in-cheek account of a meeting and conversation between Whitman and Oscar Wilde," remarkable for its emphasis on the "romantic" nature of this "encounter."]

Taylor, Bayard. *The Annotated Joseph and His Friend: The Story of America's First Gay Novel*. Annotated by L. A. Fields. Maple Shades, NJ: Lethe, 2017. [Reprints Bayard Taylor's 1870 novel *Joseph and His Friend*, "the strongest candidate" for "America's first gay novel"; includes substantial annotations by L. A. Fields after each chapter, many of them having to do with Whitman and many offering reprints of letters, documents, and criticism ("Taylor and Whitman" [104-108], "*Leaves of Grass*" [115-126], "Whitman and Emerson" [133-134], "Perceptions of Whitman" [140-148], "Bucke, Traubel, and the Multitudes of Whitman" [156-160], "Avowals to Walt Whitman" [168-176], "Whitman, Stoker, and Wilde" [183-185], "Whitman and Stoker" [192-195], "Whitman and Wilde" [202-206], "Contemporary Camerados" [222-228], "Whitman's Boys" [237-238], "Whitman's Peter" [246-249], "The Good Gray Poet [267-269], "The Civil War" [277-283], "Lincoln and Whitman" [312-314], "Leaves and Fruits" [321-322]; with lengthy appendices [370-480] reprinting many documents, including Taylor's correspondence with and writings about Whitman, the entire 1856 "Poem of Walt Whitman, An American" [later "Song of Myself"], and letters to and writings about Whitman by Charles Stoddard, Bram Stoker, Oscar Wilde, and W. D. O'Connor.]

Vander Zee, Anton. "Whitman's Late Lives." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 35 (Fall 2017), 174-200. [Sets out, through a "survey of various biographical constructions of Whitman in age," to "hasten a more informed conversation about Whitman's late life and poetry, a span of time and a body of work that deserves more—and more nuanced—attention in biography and criticism alike"; surveys how Whitman biographers have dealt with Whitman's later years, from Henry Bryan Binns in 1905 through Jerome Loving in 1999, finding that these biographers have largely ignored "the more complex and layered relationships between Whitman's late work and his late life."]

Varzi, Achille C. "'All the Shadows / Whisper of the Sun': Carnevali's

Whitmanesque Simplicity."*Philosophy and Literature* 41 (October 2017), 360-374. [Examines in detail Emanuel Carnevali's (1897-1942) four-line poem entitled "Walt Whitman" that was published in Harriet Monroe's *Poetry* magazine in the 1919 Whitman issue; views the poem as Carnevali's "present to Whitman, like a postcard . . . the watercolor of a moment," since, for Carnevali, the "Whitman way" was "the way that leads to poetry starting from the small things," capturing a "Whitmanesque simplicity."]

Whitman, Walt. *Der Schöne Mann. Das Geheimnis eines Gesunden Körpers* [*Manly Health and Training*]. Translated by Hans Wolf. Munich, Germany: dtv, 2018. [First German translation of *Manly Health and Training*; with illustrations from the U.S. edition by Regan Arts (2017); closes with an afterword by the translator ("Der Weisse Mann und seine Bürde" ["The White Man and his Burden," 263-277]) that contextualizes the work historically and biographically.]

Whitman, Walt. "Dichters fan de Takomst" ["Poets to Come"]. *Ensafh* 4 (September 2017), 29. [Frisian translation, by Lubbert Jan de Vries, of Whitman's "Poets to Come."]

Whitman, Walt. *Leaves of Grass*. Eastford, CT: Martino Fine Books, 2017. [Facsimile reprint of the 1855 edition.]

Whitman, Walt. *Poetry for Kids: Walt Whitman*. Edited by Karen Karbiener; illustrated by Kate Evans. Lake Forest, CA: Quarto, 2017. [Selection of Whitman's poetry for young readers, with brief introduction and notes ("What Walt Whitman Was Thinking," 45-48) by Karbiener; color illustrations by Evans.]

Wilder, Burt Green. *Recollections of a Civil War Medical Cadet*, ed. Richard M. Reid. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2017. [Prints neurologist Burt Green Wilder's (1841-1925) previously unpublished "recollections of his service as a medical cadet in the Judiciary Square Hospital in Washington, D.C., where he worked in the second half of the [Civil War]," written in 1910; Green did not know Whitman, but encountered the poet's criticism of Judiciary Square Hospital in Richard Maurice Bucke's 1898 *The Wound Dresser*, and he reprints and annotates those criticisms in an unfinished appendix to the manuscript, "Walt Whitman as critic of the Washington hospitals" (118-120).]

Wolosky, Shira. "Dickinson/Whitman: Figural Mirrors in Biblical Traditions." In Éric Athenot and Cristanne Miller, eds., *Whitman and Dickinson: A*

Colloquy (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2017), 47-64. [Examines "how the Civil War drew upon . . . biblical traditions" of the "figural system" (that "connect[ed] time to eternity, events to integrated pattern, and self to immortality") and how "Whitman emerges into figural complexity when seen from a Dickinsonian perspective," while "reading Dickinson with Whitman opens paths toward seeing her engagement in culture"; goes on to probe how, "for both authors, . . . such figural construction was put under severe pressure by the Civil War period, in the context of the many social, historical, and religious transmutations erupting in and through nineteenth-century America"; concludes that "both poets weave texts out of multiple figural strands, whose very correspondences are at stake."]

The University of Iowa ED FOLSOM

"Walt Whitman: A Current Bibliography," now covering work on Whitman from 1838 to the present, is available in a fully searchable format online at the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* website (ir.uiowa.edu/wwqr/) and at the *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org).

IN MEMORIAM: JOANN PECK KRIEG, 1932-2017

Joann Peck Krieg was a groundbreaking scholar, fierce "Whitmaniac," valued teacher and mentor, and cherished friend. She will continue to be a role model for many, for her professionalism and determination to build a remarkable career after raising a family and in what Whitman called "the years of middle age" (which he agreed "ought to be those of your best performances" in "Manly Health and Training"). She generated influence in and out of academic settings at a time when such scholarship was uncommon from a female perspective; for example, she chaired a panel on "Whitman on Women" and edited a collection of papers from the "Walt Whitman: Here and Now" conference at Hofstra University in 1980, in which not a single presentation of 25 was delivered by a woman ("America has been catching up with the Whitman who waits," she shrewdly notes in her unsigned "Preface"). Joann assembled a year-by-year, often day-by-day *Whitman Chronology* that is still a standard scholarly reference two decades on; her discussions of race, ethnicity, and sexuality in *Walt Whitman and the Irish* (2000) resonate through the latest work in Whitman studies. She loved her "Walt"—and she adored opera as he did. After retiring from her professorship at Hofstra University in her mid-70s, Joann moved to an apartment within walking distance of Manhattan's Lincoln Center and became an opera aficionada, as passionate about Luciano Pavarotti as Whitman had been over Marietta Alboni. At the time of her death, Joann left unfinished a book on Whitman and opera that her daughter, a professional editor, is currently revising.

Joann Peck, like Walter Whitman, was a native Long Islander; and both were equally proud of "starting from Paumanok." Born in Jamaica, Queens, Joann graduated from secretarial school in 1950. After marrying John Krieg in 1952 and raising two children on Long Island, she returned to school in her late thirties to earn her BA in 1974, an MA a year later (both at Hofstra University) and her PhD from CUNY in 1979. She began teaching in Hofstra's English and American Studies departments in 1978 and retired in 2005. Elected to Phi Alpha Theta and the Fulbright Specialist Program, Joann wrote or edited fourteen books and numerous articles, organized major conferences for Hofstra and edited the proceedings of several of them, including two of the university's presidential conferences. She was involved in Hofstra's Long Island Studies Institute from its beginnings in 1986; indeed, from early on, her writings reflected her own deep-rooted interest and engagement in local history and literature. The almost palpable connection she felt to her subject matter can be sensed in the precision and details of such books as *Long Island and Literature*, and encouraged such comments as she offered after verifying a manuscript of "Thou Vast Rondure Swimming in Space," found in a Long Island basement in 1986: "I don't know how to say it," Joann told a *Newsday* reporter; "But it is overwhelming . . . touching something that was touched by the hands of this great person and was part of his creative life."

Much of the Whitman scholarship accomplished by women in the twen-

tieth century focused on the poet's Long Island roots: Florence B. Freedman, Katherine Molinoff, Joan D. Berbrich, and Bertha H. Funnell all contributed significant research on the poet's least-known years. Joann's work on local poetry and history stands apart from such efforts: it was never simply regional or provincial in nature, and its impact reached well beyond academic audiences. From 1970 to 1985, she served as a trustee of the Whitman Birthplace and later as president of the Walt Whitman Birthplace Association. She was president in the mid-1990s, when the Birthplace's multi-million dollar Interpretive Center was approved, funded, and constructed; and she saw to conclusion a prolonged paper war over the content of one of the Center's information panels, originally titled "I Am He That Aches With Love—Whitman's Life of Love." In June 1996, Joann gave "final approval" on text that included the title poem, a discussion of "same-sex love" and photographs of Whitman with Peter Doyle and Harry Stafford; six months and ten edits later, the panel was renamed "For the Love of Comrades," no longer used the offending phrase, and featured a dominating image of Whitman and Anne Gilchrist (with the image of Walt and Pete reduced in size, and the other of Whitman and Stafford removed). Finding herself overruled by Association board members who expressed concern about the original content's reception by exhibition viewers, Joann reluctantly approved the Board's revisions and stated in her final notes: "WW can still be a good American even if he is gay. Perhaps the kiddies needed to learn this, even if the parents—and teachers—haven't."

The omissions made in the so-called "love panel" have been the subject of much scrutiny and protest, and have encouraged the Birthplace Association's current initiative to replace its signage. Joann—and her Walt—would be pleased to learn that plans for new panels on Whitman's celebration of all types of sexuality (as well as the story of how the Birthplace came to express Whitman's words as openly and joyously as the poet himself did) are in the works for 2019, the bicentennial of Whitman's birth.

I miss you, Joann, and the ways you brought Whitman's message of love to your work and to the people in your life.

—Karen Karbiener, New York University

IN MEMORIAM: DONALD J. KUMMINGS, 1940-2017

Donald J. Kummings was, in the Whitman community, a scholar's scholar. He was responsible for four books that are in a handy place on nearly every Whitman scholar's bookshelf because they are still consulted (in my case) nearly daily. With J. R. McMaster, Don edited *Walt Whitman: An Encyclopedia* (1998), the greatest single reference book on Whitman ever compiled. Don coordinated and edited the work of over 200 scholars who authored the encyclopedia's more than 750 articles. He also did the hard work of narrowing 5,000 possible topics down to the 750 that finally appeared in the book. Earlier, along with Scott Giantvalley, Don pioneered vital bibliographical work on Whitman as well. Following Giantvalley's *Walt Whitman, 1838-1939: A Reference Guide* (1981), Don's massive *Walt Whitman, 1940-1975: A Reference Guide* appeared in 1982, cataloging well over 3,000 books and articles. Together, these two volumes provided the first comprehensive annotated list of all work about Whitman over nearly a century and a half. They became the basis of the continually updated and expanded searchable online bibliography now available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, just as the articles in the *Encyclopedia* also have found an online life on the *Whitman Archive*, where users can now consult most entries.

Don also edited two important collections of essays on Whitman. The first, *Approaches to Teaching Walt Whitman*, was one of the earliest and most distinguished of the ongoing MLA "Approaches to Teaching" series. It's safe to say that Don's volume revolutionized the teaching of Whitman, offering a broad range of approaches to specific works, from introductory to graduate courses. More recently, Don's *A Companion to Walt Whitman*, part of the Blackwell Companion series, appeared in 2006 and remains a superb gathering of essays on the wide array of topics about and critical approaches to Whitman and his work. Exploring cultural contexts, literary contexts, and particular poetic and prose texts, the thirty-five essays by some of the most distinguished Whitman scholars of our time form a kind of monument to the continuing importance of studying Whitman.

Don received his B.A. in creative writing and an M.A. in English, both at Purdue University. He then taught at Adrian College for a couple of years before earning a Ph.D. in English and American Studies at Indiana University in 1971. He soon became a professor at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside, where he stayed for thirty-six years, retiring in 2006. During his tenure at Parkside, Don earned every teaching award possible (some twice), culminating in the Carnegie Foundation Wisconsin Professor of the Year Award in 1997. A poet as well as a scholar, Don published a chapbook of his Whitman-inflected poems, called *The Open Road Trip*, in 1989. In 1991, he was the recipient of the University of Wisconsin-Parkside Excellence in Research and Creative Activity Award.

Don loved to travel, and he did it often, visiting over fifty countries on five continents. He was a man of broad vistas with an admirable eye for detail. His work in Whitman studies—energized by that same Whitmanian mix of vista and detail—endures, and it has nurtured countless books and articles that continue to define the field.

GUIDELINES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF STYLE

Essays: Place the author's name two inches below the title and the institutional affiliation at the end of the essay. (Note: this information will be excised for peer review by the editor.)

Notes, Book Reviews, Bibliographies: These are configured like essays, except the author's name follows the work.

References: Follow *The MLA Style Sheet*, Second Edition. Mark references in the text with raised footnote numbers, not author-year citations in parentheses. Double-spaced endnotes should follow the essay on a new page headed "Notes." Do not use Latin abbreviations for repeated citations. Do not condense the names of publishers or titles. Make references complete so that a bibliography is unnecessary. When citing journal articles, give the volume number of the journal followed by the issue date in parentheses, followed by a comma, followed by the page number(s)—e.g., Joann P. Krieg, "Whitman and Modern Dance," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 24 (Spring 2007), 208-209.

QUOTING AND CITING WALT WHITMAN'S WORK

When quoting from individual editions of *Leaves of Grass* (the 1855, 1856, 1860, 1867, 1870-1871, 1881, 1891), please use the facsimiles available online on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, and cite the edition, date, and page numbers, followed by "Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org)." Do not list the URL of individual page images or the date accessed. After the initial citation, contributors should abbreviate as "*LG*" followed by the year of the edition and the page number (e.g., *LG*1855 15).

The standard edition of Whitman's work is the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org) in addition to *The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman*, twenty-two volumes published by the New York University Press under the general editorship of Gay Wilson Allen and Sculley Bradley, and supplemented with volumes published by the University of Iowa Press and Peter Lang. Citations and quotations from Whitman's writings not yet available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* should be keyed to the specific volumes in this edition.

After the initial citation, contributors should abbreviate the titles of the *Collected Writings* in the endnotes as follows:

EPF	*The Early Poems and Fiction*, edited by Thomas L. Brasher (1963)
PW	*Prose Works 1892*, edited by Floyd Stovall. Vol. 1: *Specimen Days* (1963); Vol. 2: *Collect and Other Prose* (1964). with a Composite Index (1977); Vol. 7, edited by Ted Genoways (2004).
DBN	*Daybooks and Notebooks*, edited by William White. 3 vols. (1978).

NUPM	*Notebooks and Unpublished Prose Manuscripts*, edited by Edward F. Grier. 6 vols. (1984).
Journ	*The Journalism*, edited by Herbert Bergmann, Douglas A. Noverr, and Edward J. Recchia. Vol. 1: 1834-1846 (1998); Vol. 2: 1846-1848 (2003).
Corr	*The Correspondence*, edited by Edwin Haviland Miller. Vol. 1: 1842-1867 (1961); Vol. 2: 1868-1875 (1961); Vol. 3: 1876-1885 (1964); Vol. 4: 1886-1889 (1969); Vol. 5: 1890-1892 (1969); Vol. 6: A Supplement; Vol. 7: edited by Ted Genoways (2004).

For Whitman's correspondence, letters available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* take precedence over the *The Correspondence* edited by Edwin Haviland Miller. These should be cited in this format: Sender to recipient, month, day, year, followed by "Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org, ID: xxx.00000)"—e.g., Herbert Gilchrist to Walt Whitman, August 20, 1882. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org, ID: loc.02192).

Horace Traubel's *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (9 Vols) is available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*. After an intial citation followed by "Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org)," it should be abbreviated *WWWC*, followed by its volume and page number (e.g. *WWWC* 3:45).

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Our email address is wwqr@uiowa.edu.

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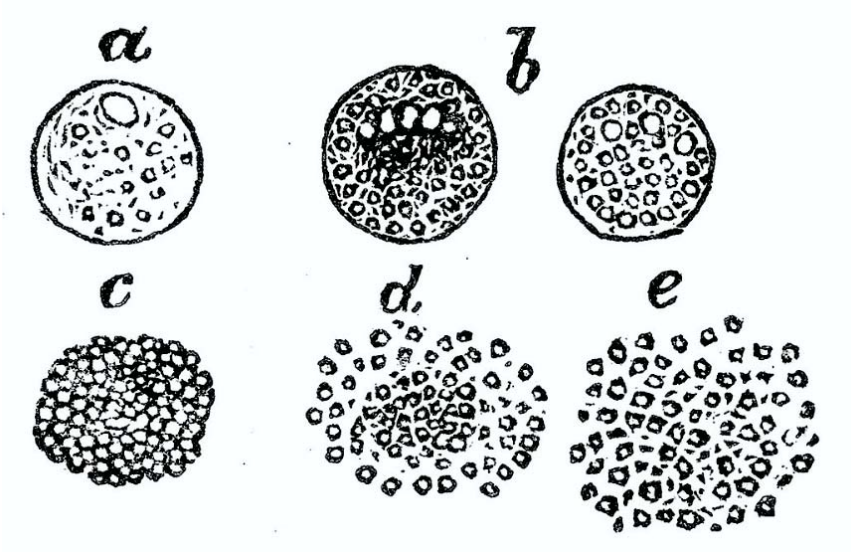
The following issues are not available for purchase: 4:2/3 (Fall/Winter 1986/1987); 5:4 (Spring 1988); 12:1 (Summer 1994); 13 1/2 (Summer/Fall 1995); 16 3/4 (Winter/Spring 1999).



Cellular Pathology, according to Rudolf Virchow (1858).
See pp. 219-244.