WALT WHITMAN
QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOLUME THIRTY-EIGHT NUMBER ONE

A SCHOLARLY OPEN ACCESS JOURNAL

WALT WHITMAN QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOLUME THIRTY-EIGHT NUMBER ONE SUMMER 2020

Walt Whitman Quarterly Review is an open access literary quarterly sponsored by the Graduate College and the Department of English and published by The University of Iowa.

Address all correspondence to:
Walt Whitman Quarterly Review
The University of Iowa
308 English Philosophy Bldg.
Iowa City, IA
52242-1492

wwqr@uiowa.edu ir.uiowa.edu/wwqr

Front Cover: Facsimile of the frontispiece of the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass* / Courtesy of the Special Collections Department, The University of Iowa Libraries.

CONTENTS

ESSAYS

BIBLIOGRAPHY

FELLOW JOURNEYERS WALT WHITMAN AND JESSE TALBOT: PAINTING, POETRY, AND PUFFERY IN 1850s NEW YORK

JESSICA SKWIRE ROUTHIER

Walt Whitman scholars have long known of the existence of Jesse Talbot: he is the Brooklyn-based artist-friend of Whitman's whose name appears inside the eponymous Talbot Wilson notebook, in which Whitman first jotted down the ideas that would one day become *Leaves of Grass*.[1] Whitman wrote about and promoted Talbot's paintings in several newspaper and journal articles in the 1850s, and he also owned one: *Christian at the Cross*, a scene from *The Pilgrim's Progress*, recently rediscovered in a private American collection (figure 1).[2]

Several Whitman scholars, including Ruth Bohan and, recently, Wendy Katz,[3] have looked into Talbot as one of Whitman's circle of friends and as a subject for his art journalism—but until now little has been written about Talbot's own artwork and personal history. This article will trace Talbot's professional development in tandem with Whitman's, exploring how both artists, in different media, used related imagery and punning motifs, as well as the theme of pilgrimage, to articulate and promote a shared vision for American arts and culture. It draws on new primary evidence about Talbot and Whitman's promotion of him to demonstrate how Whitman's critical response to Talbot's work shaped both men's careers—for better and for worse.

I first encountered Talbot not as a Whitman scholar but as an art curator, back in 2008, in my first days as director of the Saco Museum, a small museum of art and history just south of Portland, Maine.[4] While familiarizing myself with the paintings collection, I saw on the racks what was clearly an exceptional mid-nineteenth-century landscape painting, even though it was darkened with age (figure 2). A small plaque on the frame read "*Tropical Scenery—Early Morning*—Talbot's Masterpiece,"[5] and my first thought was, "Talbot who?" Although I'd been researching and writing about mid-nineteenth-century American landscape painting for more than a dozen years by then, I had never heard of him.

Figure 1: Jesse Talbot (American, 1805–1879), *Christian at the Cross*, 1847, oil on canvas, 29 x 57 in. Private collection. Photo by Bif Hendrix.

A look into the object files gave me the artist's first name and the information that he was one of a group of artists known to have painted scenes from *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the mid-1800s. In this regard he was at least marginally connected to another important object in the Saco Museum's collection: an original, eight-foot-high, eight hundred-foot-long moving panorama based on *The Pilgrim's Progress* that was made by artists associated with New York's National Academy of Design between 1850 and 1851 (figure 3).[6] As I prepared for a major exhibition of the *Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress* in 2012, including a book and a full-scale performance replica,[7] I learned that several major New York-based artists also exhibited work based on *The Pilgrim's Progress* in the years preceding the Panorama's debut, and nearly all of them ended up contributing designs to it and being part of its creation—but not Talbot. Why? And why didn't anybody know anything about him? And where were his Pilgrim's Progress paintings today?

Figure 2: Jesse Talbot, *Tropical Scenery–Early Morning*, 1850, oil on canvas. Collections of the Dyer Library and Saco Museum, Saco, Maine. Photo by Martha Cox.

A partial answer to the latter question, at least, came relatively soon, when I was contacted by a private collector who had seen *Tropical Scenery* on the museum's website and wanted to learn more about Talbot—because he owned a painting by him titled *Christian at the Cross*, a scene from *The Pilgrim's Progress*. It seemed like a sign from God—and yet there was still so much we didn't know. The art-historical literature on Talbot is extremely scant; David Dearinger's definitive book on the artists of the National Academy just guesses at his birthdate and states that "nothing is known about him before 1838," which is when he first appears in the Academy's exhibition records.[8] Dearinger also does not mention Talbot's connection to Whitman, and this is partly why it would be some time before either the collector or I would understand that this *Christian at the Cross* painting was the same composition, if not the same actual canvas, as the one once owned by Whitman.

Part of the reason that Talbot's personal history has been something of a

Figure 3: Jacob Dallas, Joseph Kyle, and Edward Harrison May, *The Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*, 1851, distemper on muslin, 8 x 800 feet. Collections of the Dyer Library and Saco Museum, Saco, Maine, Gift of the heirs of Luther Bryant, 1896. Photographed at Pepperell Mill Campus, Biddeford, Maine, June 18, 2012, by Shawn Patrick Ouellette, courtesy *Portland Press Herald/Maine Sunday Telegram*.

mystery up until now is that, while he was demonstrably prolific with paintings, he was less so with words. If diaries or other substantial archives exist, they have not yet been found;[9] he also did not apparently give lectures or write newspaper columns in the way that so many of his colleagues did. Dearinger's speculative birth date of 1806 to 1807 seems to have been based on the mathematical knowledge that he was seventy-three years old when he died in 1879.[10] But Talbot died in January from injuries sustained a few days earlier by slipping on the ice, which means that he turned seventy-three the previous year, 1878, and was born in 1805. Indeed, that small adjustment has opened the door to Talbot's full biography. I detail it here for the first time, before going on to discuss his relationship with Whitman and some compelling parallels between their work.

Jesse Talbot was born April 1, 1805, in Dighton, Massachusetts, near the Rhode Island border. He was fondly remembered in an 1883 history of Bristol County as a "worthy representative" of the town in the world of art.[11] The author

of this local history identifies him as the son of Josiah and Lydia Talbot and writes that he was raised "on a farm in the northwest part of the town" before outlining a brief early biography: "Before he had reached the age of manhood he went to Dedham, in this State, and was employed as a clerk in the store of Dr. Wheaton. From Dedham he removed to New York City, where he was appointed secretary of the American Tract Society and married the daughter of a clergyman." Local birth records confirm that Jesse Talbot was, indeed, the eighth and last child born to Josiah Talbot and one Lydia Wheaton, who in turn was the eleventh of thirteen children.[12] Lydia's youngest brother, the baby of the family, was Jesse Wheaton, the future Dr. Wheaton[13]—almost certainly the source of the name she gave her own youngest child.

Talbot must have been very young—"before the age of manhood," as his hometown biographer wrote—when he left home to work in his uncle's store in Dedham, Massachusetts, outside of Boston.[14] Under his uncle's care, Talbot was exposed to a world of ideas. Wheaton was active in many local and national charitable causes, all of which were at the time inextricably linked with the rising Christian evangelical movement, including the American Tract Society, of which he was identified as a "life member" in 1823.[15] This last affiliation apparently made a particular impression on the young Talbot, because by 1829 his employer was no longer his uncle but the American Tract Society, at its Nassau Street headquarters in New York.[16]

For the first ten years of his New York life—from 1829 until 1838—Talbot was not an artist at all, but rather a committed member of and worker for the city's religious reform community.[17] He also seems to have had some involvement in the anti-slavery movement—Christian evangelism and social justice reform generally went hand-in-hand in pre-Civil War America—although it seems likely that a later genealogist confused him with a different Jesse Talbot in describing him as "one of the original abolitionists."[18] Talbot's real vocation, at least at first, was spreading the gospel. He began by doing this in the most literal way: distributing tracts along the wharves of New York City.

Sometime before 1834 Talbot had risen to the position of "Assistant Secretary" in the American Tract Society[19]—close to, if not exactly, what his Dighton biographer had described—and also became involved with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM), a national Christian missionary organization whose stated goal was to spread Christianity worldwide, including to America's Indigenous populations.[20] The ABCFM was also known for its progressive politics, notably its outspoken resistance to the Indian Removal Act of 1830. It was through this latter connection that he came

in contact with the Reverend Richard Sluyter of Claverack, New York, whose daughter he married in the Dutch Reform church there, with Sluyter presiding, in 1836.[21]

Also around this time, Talbot's name begins to appear in the annual reports of the New York Tract Society—an auxiliary of the American Tract Society—with a new title, "recording secretary," signaling that he was the individual responsible for preparing, and most likely authoring, those same reports.[22] With that role in mind, the annual reports published under his tenure from 1835 to 1837 may be the only extensive words we have in Jesse Talbot's voice. If that is the case, they offer some tantalizing hints of his future interests as a landscape painter whose works would one day be held up by Walt Whitman as exemplars of the ideal practice of art, spirituality, and republican American values.

To begin with, there are many references to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which is only to be expected during a time and place in which the book was second in popularity only to the Bible; it was also among the titles printed by the American Tract Society itself.[23] Written by the English Reform preacher John Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678) is an allegory that tells the story of the protagonist, Christian's, journey from his home in the City of Destruction, representing the world in its fallen state, to the Celestial City, representing salvation. Correspondingly, in Talbot's 1835 report, readers are warned of the day "when this and every city . . . 'shall be burned up'" in an "'awful conflagration'" and are exhorted to "flee from the wrath to come"—a direct quote from Bunyan—in order to one day "enter into the heavenly city individually."[24]

Talbot's minutes also embrace and expand upon Bunyan's metaphor of landscape as the setting for Christian pilgrimage. The report for the tenth annual meeting exalts the society's primary mission of publishing and distributing evangelical tracts by saying that the enterprise "blooms like the tree on the banks of the river of life"—the Tree and the River of Life are both material presences in *The Pilgrim's Progress*—"which gives her monthly fruit, rich and nutritious, while its *leaves* are for the healing of the people" (emphasis original).[25] The moment in *The Pilgrim's Progress* in which Christian is healed by applying the leaves of the Tree of Life to his wounds, after fighting the monster Apollyon, is not one of the best remembered or more commonly illustrated scenes from the book, but it is depicted in the *Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*, where it serves to demonstrate just how literally nineteenth-century readers would have perceived these words (figure 4).

Nineteen years later, Walt Whitman would similarly conflate natural leaves with the leaves of a book in the title for his magnum opus, *Leaves of Grass*. It was

Figure 4: *Christian Reposing after the Combat*, design attributed to Joseph Kyle, from *The Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*. Photo by Matthew Hamilton, Williamstown Art Conservation Center.

a metaphor that retained relevance to him throughout his many revisions of that work. In the poem "Starting from Paumanok" that first appeared as "Proto-Leaf" in the 3rd edition of *Leaves* (1860), Whitman writes about "*applying these leaves* to the new ones from the hour they unite with the old ones" (emphasis added), a phrase that is somewhat confounding without the supporting idea of the laying on of natural leaves for healing purposes, as a kind of wound dressing.[26] Whitman kept these lines in the poem throughout the subsequent editions of *Leaves of Grass*, and it is intriguing to consider the implications of his sustained attraction to this metaphor throughout his life, in the years after his work as a nurse to the wounded of the Civil War and into the time when he was dependent upon caregivers himself. None of this, of course, is to suggest that Whitman was looking to Talbot, or even necessarily to Bunyan, for cues in crafting and refining the imagery for *Leaves of Grass*. Instead, we might read all of this as evidence of a fertile cultural field in which Talbot was an active

participant and in which Whitman's ideas would one day take root as well.

Abruptly, in 1838, Talbot disappears from the annual reports of New-York Tract Society and instead makes his first appearance in the annual exhibition records of the National Academy of Design, where he exhibited two portraits and a landscape.[27] The career change seems so sudden and irrevocable—Talbot never went back to professional missionary work—that it is tempting to believe that we are, once again, dealing with two different Jesse Talbots. How does a religious paper-pusher, a Massachusetts farm boy with no apparent background in the visual arts, vault himself directly into the galleries of the National Academy? Some likely answers are primarily speculative. It seems probable, although it is not yet confirmed, that he had been taking classes at the National Academy for some time before the 1838 exhibition and thus already had a relationship with the institution as a student. We also know that he had dabbled in artistic work while still affiliated with the Tract Society; his earliest known extant work is a portrait frontispiece for a biography printed by the society at Nassau street, in the heart of New York's publishing world.[28] Another early coup that bridges Talbot's two careers—and one that better showed his skills and interests as an artist—was the engraved reproduction of his 1840 painting *Rockland Lake* in *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir* of 1842 (figure 5), a kind of lavish holiday gift book known for its illustrations and its early publication of authors like Nathaniel Hawthorne and Edgar Allan Poe.[29]

The painted version of *Rockland Lake* is currently unlocated, but the engraving from *The Token* remains. It is an astonishingly mature view for a novice artist, demonstrating a complete understanding and adoption of the

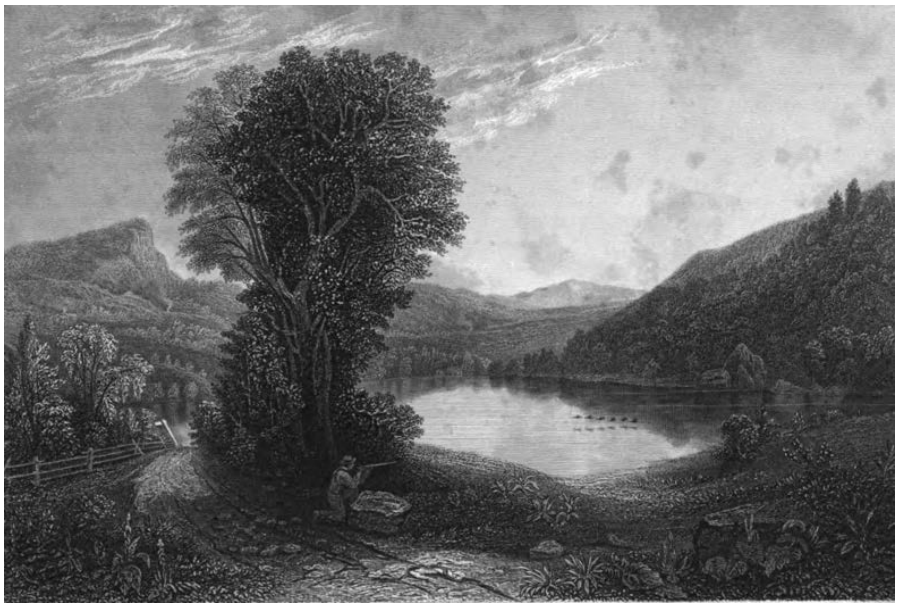


Figure 5: After Jesse Talbot, *Rockland Lake,* in *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir: An Offering for Christmas and the New Year* (Boston: David H. Williams, 1842).

Figure 6: Jesse Talbot, *The Happy Valley*, from *Rasselas, the Prince Meditating His Escape*, 1841, oil on canvas, 48 x 72 in. Private collection. Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images.

ideals of American landscape painting as developed by Thomas Cole, the widely acknowledged star and innovator of this genre, and promoted by the National Academy. A writer for the *Spectator* began his preview of the original oil painting of *Rockland Lake*, presumably viewed in Talbot's studio, by making a direct comparison between Talbot and Thomas Cole, advising the latter to "have a care, or he will have an aspirant by the side of him in his own peculiar art before he is aware of it."[30]

It is not known what Cole might have thought of such a comparison—if he "had a care" at all—but it does seem that the reviewer's remarks may have nurtured Talbot's aspirations. In the National Academy's 1841 exhibition he showed another painting, *The Happy Valley*, that drew additional comparisons to Cole (figure 6). A reviewer for the *New York Mirror* wrote of *The Happy Valley* that "at first sight we took this picture for one of Cole's" and noted approvingly that its "atmosphere and water [are] warm and transparent."[31]

The subject was an ambitious one, derived from Samuel Johnson's 1759 apologue, *Rasselas*, about a fictional prince of Abyssinia. The Happy Valley is an earthly paradise in which Rasselas is nevertheless bored and unhappy, but to which he can never return if he decides to leave it. There is an obvious thematic connection to both *The Pilgrim's Progress* and to the biblical subject of the garden of Eden, which Cole had treated in two already canonic paintings some twelve years before;[32] the canvas represents Talbot's first foray into the literary/allegorical landscape genre at which Cole excelled. Within only two or three years of dedicating himself to the fine arts, Talbot was not only completing such ambitious works but also receiving individual praise of the highest order: a positive comparison to Thomas Cole. Years later, Walt Whitman would claim that *The Happy Valley* was the first painting by Talbot that caught his eye.[33]

Notably, the 1841 National Academy exhibition that featured *The Happy Valley* also provided the premier venue for Daniel Huntington's influential and much-praised *Mercy's Dream* (figure 7), a scene from *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Huntington's affecting canvas—it was described as "transcendently beautiful" by one critic[34]—seems to have provided a genesis for the many additional Bunyan-themed paintings by Academy painters in the 1840s, including Talbot's 1847 *Christian at the Cross*. In this context, but also more broadly, Talbot's exhibition history and critical reception continually intertwined with those of Huntington and Cole. Both, unlike Talbot, represented the art establishment of the time: Cole was a founder of the National Academy, and the Yale-educated Huntington had been elected a full member in 1840 at just twenty-four years old.[35] Their credentials stand in stark contrast to the scrappier origins and more irregular rise of Jesse Talbot. Whatever Cole, Huntington, and other National Academy insiders thought of Talbot's paintings, they must have found it disorienting to see the culminating works of their years of dedication and study share wall space and praise with those of an upstart tract distributor.

The critics' tendency to frame artistic achievement as a zero-sum, entrepreneurial game may have thrown such distinctions into high relief and allowed rivalries to fester. Much of this criticism reflected the contemporary debate among critics, artists, and other observers of culture about whether American art, particularly landscape painting, should be more "natural" or more "ideal"—a binary opposition that was roughly equivalent to a distinction between "American" and "foreign" that was happening in literature as well as art at the time.[36] Charles Briggs and a core group of critics, mostly associated with populist, Whig-owned newspapers, concurred that American landscape painters should look to nature, rather than to tired European academic tradi-

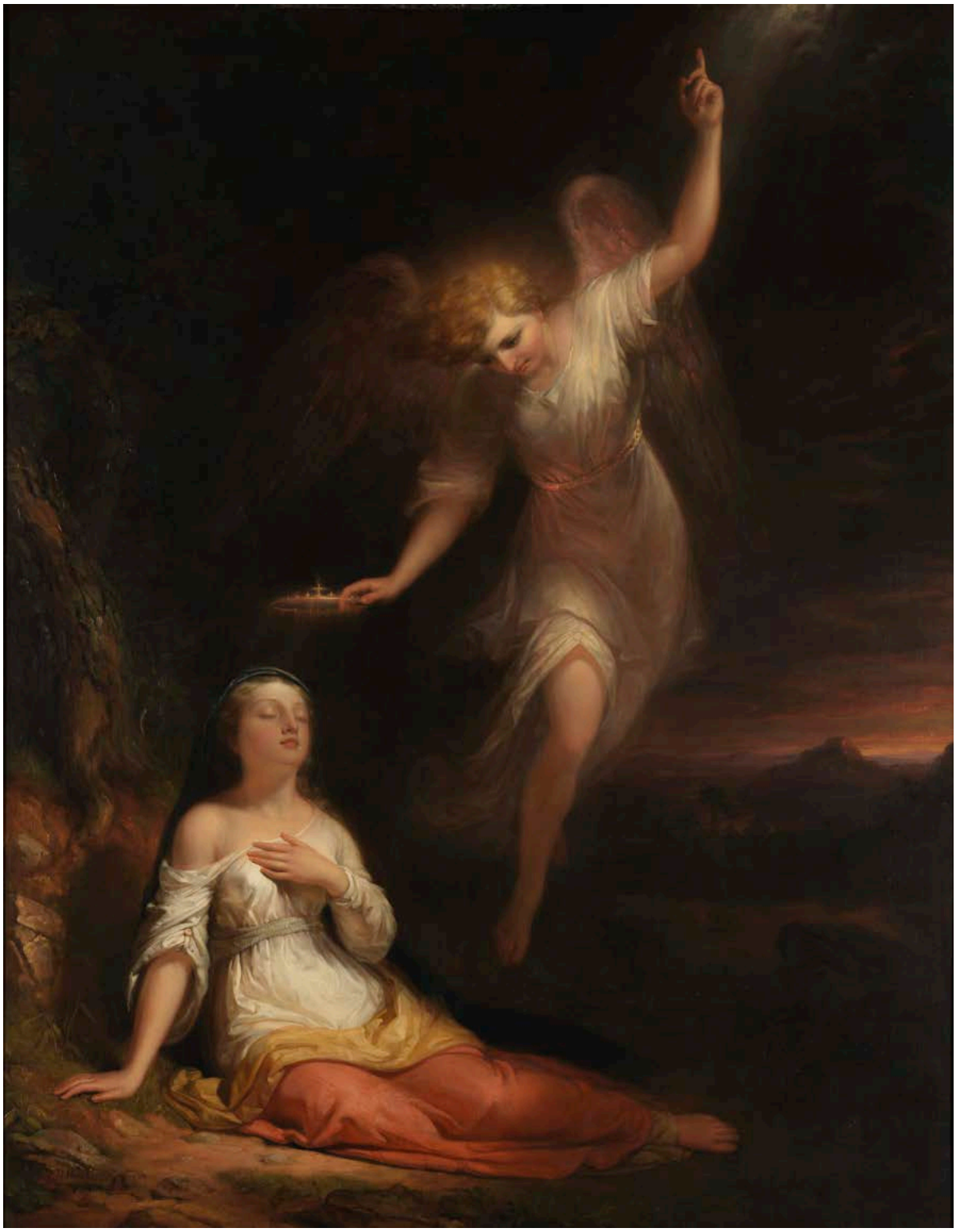


Figure 7: Daniel Huntington (American, 1816 – 1906), *Mercy's Dream*, 1841, oil on canvas, 84 5/8 x 66 1/2 in. Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Bequest of Henry C. Carey (The Carey Collection).

tions, for guidance and inspiration.[37] On the other hand, critics for opposing Democratic papers bemoaned the lack of quality and distinction in American art and exhorted painters to reach beyond the banalities of the everyday for their subjects and effects.

These were surely the maligned "connoisseurs" that were in Walt Whitman's crosshairs in the article he wrote for Briggs's *Broadway Journal* in 1845, "Art-singing and Heart-singing."[38] Although the art Whitman discussed was of the musical rather than the visual variety, his words nevertheless make clear that he advocated for a kind of artistic expression that was new, natural, and uniquely American—and that he scorned those whose preferences differed. "We have long enough followed obedient and child-like in the track of the Old World," he wrote. The new American arts must "supplant the stale, second-hand, foreign method, with its flourishes, its ridiculous sentimentality, its anti-republican spirit, and its sycophantic influence, tainting the young taste of the republic."

Whitman was at this time beginning to write frequently about the arts for various New York and Brooklyn newspapers, including the *Brooklyn Evening Star* and the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, both of which he edited for brief periods between 1845 and 1848.[39] His opinions are passionate, unmediated, and absolutely consistent. Beyond promoting a specific brand of republican-hued American art generally, he also made clear the fact that Brooklyn artists were particularly admirable and authentic and praiseworthy—and, needless to say, undervalued by the reigning New York art establishment.

Brooklyn would one day be the arena for the friendship between Jesse Talbot and Walt Whitman—but that day would have to wait. Just as Whitman was wading into the treacherous waters of cultural criticism in antebellum New York, Talbot was temporarily taking refuge from it. In 1844 Talbot moved to Paterson, New Jersey, an industrial town about twenty miles outside of Manhattan, situated on the falls of the Passaic River.[40] The reasons for the move, just as Talbot's artistic career was taking off, are not clear. Talbot and his wife had recently lost two young sons, presumably to disease, so it could be that they sought to leave the squalor of the city.[41] But it is also possible that the city held additional dangers.

Thus far we have had some success in treading through Talbot's biography and cultivating a sense of who he was as a professional—first a missionary and then a painter, first Massachusetts, then New York, then New Jersey. Less easily determined is a sense of who he was as a man, and again, the dearth of sources in his own voice is a disadvantage. A few passages in the words of others provide

hints but no clear picture—the *Knickerbocker* described him as "diminutive"; the *New York Herald* said he was "tall and gaunt."[42] Whitman and others who spent time with him in the 1850s suggest an agreeable sort of person: humble and diffident, a genial host.[43] But we should temper this perception with the knowledge of some posthumous remarks about Talbot's lack of discipline that may be coded language for a darker sort of failure in self-governance.

In memorial remarks that he made shortly after Talbot's 1879 death, Daniel Huntington, then president of the National Academy, said that Talbot's "first brilliant promise as an Amateur was not fulfilled in later years from the lack of severe discipline."[44] It is certainly possible that Huntington was talking about discipline only in the context of artistic practice. However, a diary entry from landscape painter Jervis McEntee from the day of Talbot's funeral makes it clear that the perception of Talbot at the time of his death was of a man who had squandered more than just his artistic opportunities. McEntee wrote, with evident surprise: "There were quite a number of very nice looking people at the funeral. I feared there would be but few."[45] He was also somewhat relieved to find that "the house looked poor enough but much better than I feared it would." McEntee also remembered that Huntington offered to help defray funeral expenses on behalf of the Academy, and there is evidence that he did indeed do so.[46]

The problem may have been alcohol, possibly combined with other vices that often accompany its abuse. It seems a bold thing to levy such an accusation 140 years after the fact, and yet the evidence is there. The painter Jasper Francis Cropsey visited Talbot in Paterson in 1846 and, recalling the trip later in a letter to his fiancée, called Talbot one of the "drunkest men in Passaic [County]."[47] There are other, more circumstantial, hints as well. Talbot changed studio locations frequently throughout his career, with stints at prestigious addresses like New York University, Post's Buildings, and Dodworth's.[48] But in 1858, city directories gave his studio location as 600 Broadway, an infamous address that was, at that very time, the location of a brothel known as "Gaieties," which offered an array of pleasures and boasted of its "pretty waiter girls."[49] This is not outright evidence of any kind of indiscretion, but it certainly demonstrates the close proximity of Broadway's temptations to Talbot's everyday life.

A love of alcoholic spirits was in direct conflict with Talbot's faith. The temperance movement in America was closely associated with evangelical Christianity,[50] and Talbot would surely have understood moderation, if not total abstinence from alcohol, to be a moral and spiritual standard that he as a Christian man was obliged to uphold. There is ample evidence that, both

through the Tract Society and through his membership in the First Presbyterian church in Paterson, Talbot conducted what we would today term interventions with parishioners who struggled with alcohol—and his involvement in this specific kind of ministry supports a theory that he himself knew the challenges of addiction.[51]

Viewed in this light, Talbot's *Christian at the Cross*, which he completed in Paterson[52] and exhibited at the National Academy and the American Art-Union in 1847, may have special significance. The scene is a centrally important one in Part One of *The Pilgrim's Progress*: the moment at which Christian fully invests himself in his journey along the "narrow path," or the "King's highway," as Bunyan refers to it, and accepts the obligations that go with it. For the first part of Christian's journey, he is compelled to travel with "a great burden upon his back," a physical manifestation of his burden of sin. It is only when he reaches a walled-in area of the path called "Salvation," and follows it to a hilltop where there is a cross, that his burden of sin falls from his back into the sepulcher below. Bunyan's point, although framed in allegory, is unambiguous: those who are burdened by sin must humble themselves before a higher power in order to be redeemed. If Talbot himself struggled with alcohol abuse or other vices, and if his faith had helped him to overcome his weaknesses—or if it simply offered the promise of one day doing so—the subject may have been deeply personal.

Of course, the subject was politic, as well. It gave Talbot an opportunity to capitalize on the popularity of Huntington's earlier *Pilgrim's Progress*-themed work, *Mercy's Dream*, which had received such lavish praise in the press. Talbot's work was similarly well received when it was shown at the National Academy, with more than one critic praising it, and Talbot, at the expense of others whose work was on view. The *Knickerbocker* wrote that "we have seen nothing from [Talbot's] pencil to compare with his *Christian and the Cross*" before taking a jab at the other exhibitors, encouraging Talbot to "leave imitations of particular schools and particular artists to less original and capable painters."[53] The writer, probably Lewis Gaylord Clark, closed with a pun on Talbot's name, a combative phrase meaning, essentially, "give 'em hell": "No matter whether critics or brother-artists praise or blame; do you 'give 'em Jesse,' and that will suffice." It's unclear whether Clark was actively trying to engineer a rivalry or was merely stoking the fires of what already existed.

Paintings inspired by *The Pilgrim's Progress* were thick on the ground in the late 1840s, with new works by Huntington, Frederic Edwin Church, and Edward Harrison May in addition to Talbot's; Talbot's second painting on the theme, the *Departure of Christian from the Palace, Called Beautiful*, as well as

another painting by Church, appeared in the National Academy annual of 1849. (Of these, only Huntington's works and the two earlier canvases by Talbot and Church are known today.) It would shortly become public knowledge that many of the very artists who were painting scenes from *The Pilgrim's Progress* were also developing plans to produce a moving panorama of the same subject. The first official notice appeared in the August 1850 *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*; however, subsequent reports dated the panorama's genesis back to the winter of 1848, when Talbot was painting *Pilgrim's Progress* scenes along with everybody else.[54] But where Huntington, Church, May, and others ended up being formally credited with designs for the panorama and enjoyed enhanced visibility and critical attention because of it,[55] Talbot was not.

We have already looked at some of the class distinctions, controversies, and personal conflicts that might partially explain this. But it's worth digging a little deeper here. We have already discussed how the debate over the "natural/American" versus the "ideal/foreign" made this a contentious time for American art across media, and we saw Whitman offer his own two cents in his "Art-Singing and Heart-Singing" article. In the visual arts, these lines were drawn, to some extent, between the National Academy, which espoused a traditional European approach to art production and display, and the American Art-Union, which offered itself as a more populist alternative, with a complicated lottery system of art distribution.

Ultimately, controversy over the Art-Union's selection process and business practices led to its gradual downfall, beginning around 1848 and ending with its dissolution four years later.[56] Talbot had been heavily invested in the Art Union, although he showed work at both institutions.[57] But after the first public murmurings of discontent, he never again exhibited there and instead recommitted himself to creating work for submission to the National Academy's annual shows. It was the only reasonable decision to make, since the National Academy would soon be the only game in town—but as Talbot went on to suffer various career disappointments at the hands of the Academy, he surely mourned the loss of the somewhat more welcoming Art-Union.

This is the point at which Walt Whitman reenters our story. By the end of 1848, Talbot and Whitman were both back in New York—Talbot having alighted from Paterson and Whitman recently returned from New Orleans—and by 1850 they were both in Brooklyn, although Talbot maintained a studio in Post's Buildings in Manhattan.[58] Thanks to Whitman, their friendship is documented in the pages of the New York newspapers. Whitman wrote about Talbot three times in 1850, once a brief account of visiting the artist's third-

story studio at Post's; once as part of a review of the new Brooklyn Art-Union; and once a lengthy encomium entitled "American Art—Jesse Talbot."[59]

The latter, written for the May 19 *New York Sunday Dispatch*, takes the form of a retrospective of Talbot's career to date. While ardent in its praise, it also seems to address obliquely the reality of some career disappointments on Talbot's part. Whitman traces his interest in Talbot back to the 1841 display of *The Happy Valley*, writing of it that "Nature is full of glowing blood—Earth throws out her vitality in manifold and most delicious forms," and mentions other key works, including *Rockland Lake*, before going on to write: "Two very beautiful works of Mr. Talbot's that gained the approval of the most fastidious, and the popular voice too, are a couple of ideas from Pilgrim's Progress, 'Christian and [*sic*] the Cross' and 'Departure of Christian from Palace Beautiful,' exhibited, we believe by the National Academy some years since."

The reference to these works and their connection to the Academy seems pointed. *The Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*, that massive undertaking of Academy insiders, would be announced to the public just three months hence, in the August 1850 issue of the *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, and just three months after that the panorama would debut at New York's Washington Hall to widespread critical and popular acclaim.[60] In other words, the project was already well underway at the time that Whitman's article appeared. Talbot would have known this, and through him Whitman would have known it, too. Whitman's article is a cautiously worded reminder that Talbot was an early innovator of the theme and that he did so within the bounds of the Academy and with wide popular and critical support.

The article reflects Whitman's participation in what Jason Stacy has described as "an age of unrivaled puffery";[61] it was clearly meant to promote Talbot and place him at an advantage relative to competitors. Less clear, however, is whether the immediate intent (presumably a collaborative one between Whitman and Talbot) was a last-minute effort to persuade the panorama's showrunners, Joseph Kyle and Edward Harrison May, to invite Talbot to design a scene for the panorama, or to condemn a decision that had already been made to exclude him.

Either way, Whitman's declaration that Talbot's paintings had received critical as well as popular acclaim could have also been a poke at Church, whose *Christian at the Borders of the Valley of the Shadow of Death* had been nowhere near as well received as Talbot's *Pilgrim's Progress* paintings but was adapted for the panorama nonetheless. Whitman goes to some pains to describe Talbot as "one of the most modest and the least 'pushing' of all of our artists"—implying

some deficiency of these qualities in others—and also pays him the now-familiar compliment of allegiance to "the great source of Art and Beauty, Nature herself."[62] Explaining how Talbot spent "months and months" studying nature and "transferring [it] to his canvas," he adds, "We are sure that this is better than even 'visiting Europe.'" This is as close as the article comes to a direct insult, here levied at Huntington, who had recently traveled to Europe and received some grief for it in the press.

It was a risky gambit that did not pay off; the panorama debuted in November 1850 without Talbot's involvement. The article also did not obviously increase affection between Talbot and the National Academy of Design. With no works on view that year at either the Academy or the Art-Union (which he had broken with two years earlier), he was more or less absent from the scene. As a result, his notices in the press were limited largely to Whitman's three pieces as well as a brief mention in the *Home Journal* of December 28: "Mr. Talbot is busy at his easel. . . . We have seen none of this gentleman's work abroad [i.e., around] for a long time, and hence conclude that he is busily employed on commissions. We hope it is so."[63]

In this light, it is possible to view Whitman's articles about Talbot in the 1850s as a by-product of an overall publicity campaign, one that, in some sense, had two authors rather than one. The words were Whitman's and the sentiments expressed were in firm alignment with Whitman's long-established views of art in America and in New York. What is new is Whitman's promotion of Talbot as the model artist of the time and his acceptance of his friend's grievances and disappointments as his own.

The friendship was a real one and not just for the papers. If nothing else, Whitman's notation of Talbot's name and address in the inside front cover of the Talbot Wilson notebook demonstrates their intimacy to the extent that Whitman visited the Talbot family home on Brooklyn's Wilson Street (figure 8). But there is also a more direct and detailed account of such a visit from Talbot's eldest daughter, Mary Augusta Burhans (who has erroneously—and understandably, given her eccentric penmanship—been identified as a "Mrs. Buckny" by previous scholars).[64] Years later, as Whitman lay dying in New Jersey—and as the final days of his life were recorded in the newspapers—Mrs. Burhans wrote to the Good Gray Poet and reminisced (figure 9):

> I carefully read the long article in the "Herald" drawing a clear cut picture of the thirty five years of your life, and found my self weeping at the close—for it brought back as plainly as if but yesterday my earliest recollection of yourself in connection with my father, and "dear Old Brooklyn."

Believe me Honored Sir, I can see the Yorkville Stage stopping at our door pleasant summer afternoons in 1852 and Walt Whitman and Jesse Talbot getting down from the upper most [stage?] and then the long and instructive chats, over good coffee, and paintings. . . .

You I think, fully understand my father—the American people have yet to learn his *real* merit. I have deeply studied Art and find his best works all stand the *best*.[65]

The letter allows present-day scholars to construct a compelling picture of these two men—one blessed with manly beauty and still young at thirty-three; the other "gaunt" and well into middle age at forty-seven—accompanying each other on Manhattan adventures and then rehashing everything in front of the older man's Brooklyn home-fire. Their "instructive chats" would probably have included talk of the politics of the New York art world, and perhaps some strategizing of the type that seems to have informed Whitman's contemporaneous articles about Talbot. Beyond that, it is also appealing to imagine that these two men shared their mutual views about the responsibilities and rare opportunities related to being citizens of New York, of America, and of the world.

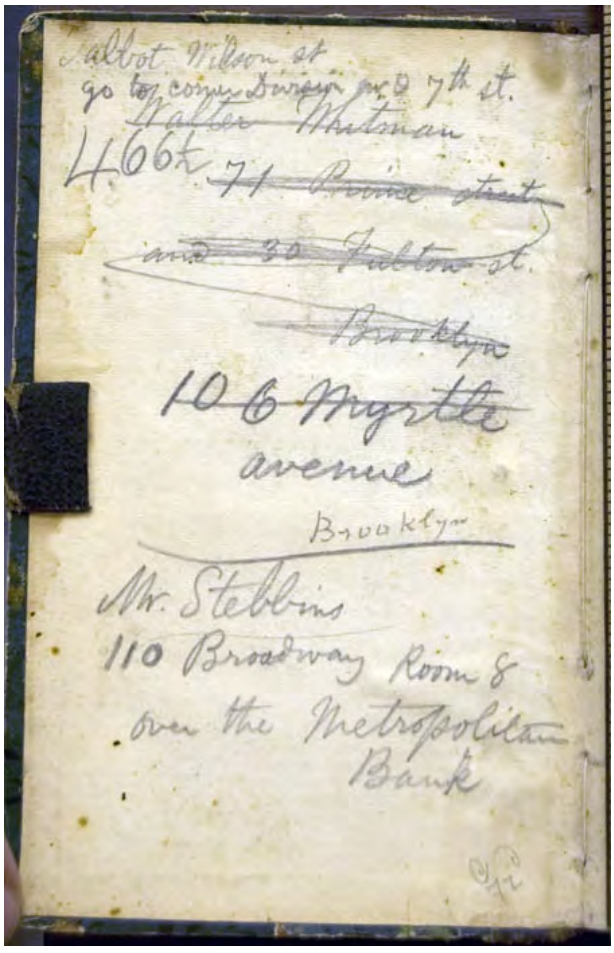
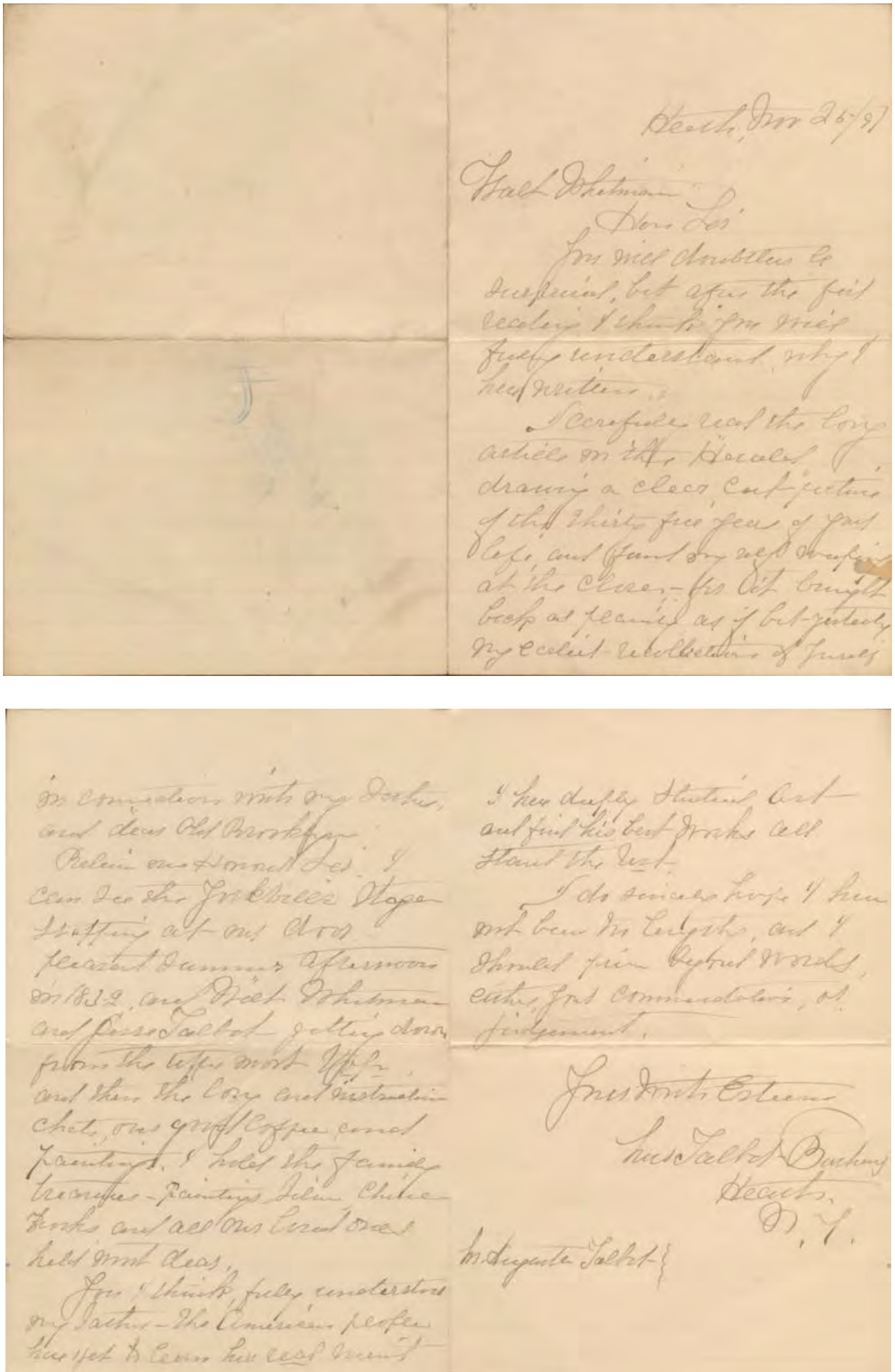


Figure 8: Talbot Wilson notebook, inside front cover. Notebook LC #80, The Thomas Biggs Harned Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman, 1842–1937, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*.



Heath, Nov 25/91

Walt Whitman

Dear Sir

You will doubtless be surprised, but after the first reading I think you will fully understand why I have written.

I carefully read the long article in the Herald drawing a clear cut picture of the thirty five years of your life, and found my self weeping at the close,— for it brought back as pleasing as if but yesterday my earliest recollections of [illegible] in connection with my Father, and dear Old Brooklyn.

Believe me Honored Sir, I can see the [illegible] Stage stopping at our door [illegible] pleasant summer afternoon in 1852, and Walt Whitman and Father Talbot getting down from the upper most step and then the long and instructive chat, over [illegible] coffee and painting. I [illegible] the family [illegible] painting [illegible] works and all our [illegible] held most dear.

You I think, fully understood my Father — the American people have yet to learn his real merit

I have deeply studied Art and find his best works all stand the test.

I do sincerely hope I have not been too lengthy, and I should prize helpful words either of commendation, or judgement.

Yours with Esteem

Mrs Talbot Burhans

Heath, N.Y.

M. Augusta Talbot

Figure 9: Mrs. Talbot Burhans to Walt Whitman, November 25, 1891, Whitman-Feinberg collection, Library of Congress, reel 2.

Both men's thoughts on this broad subject had been evolving over a period of years, beginning with their shared early beginnings in the print shop and continuing through what they learned and adapted from each other. Talbot's engagement with such Whitman-esque ideals of individuality, authenticity, and advocacy, albeit in a specifically Christian context, are already evident in his previously quoted minutes for the tenth annual meeting of the New-York Tract Society, from 1836: "Christianity has made a kind of republicanism unknown in classic lands," Talbot writes, "but Christianity has no magic by which it operates, independently of the laws of the mind." The argument is one in favor of not just believing but also doing, of taking lofty ideals and living them in the real world. Regarding the poor, his exhortation is to "Go to them and bless them."[66]

As many scholars have noted, Whitman would adopt the rhetorical style of the pulpit in *Leaves of Grass*, whose 1855 prologue positions the author as a kind of secular preacher:

> This is what you shall do: Love the earth and sun and the animals, despise riches, give alms to every one that asks, stand up for the stupid and crazy, devote your income and labor to others, hate tyrants, argue not concerning God, have patience and indulgence toward the people, take off your hat to nothing known or unknown or to any man or number of men, go freely with powerful uneducated persons and with the young and with the mothers of families, read these leaves in the open air every season of every year of your life, re-examine all you have been told at school or church or in any book, dismiss whatever insults your own soul, and your very flesh shall be a great poem.[67]

We have already noted how in this, his opening salvo as a major poet, Whitman puns on the word "leaves," referring to both blades of grass and the pages of his book, just as Talbot years before had likened the Tract Society's publications program to the Tree of Life in *The Pilgrim's Progress*, whose "*leaves* are for the healing of the people." Both men tied their ministries to semi-sacred texts—religious tracts and *The Pilgrim's Progress*, in Talbot's case, and his own volume of poetry, in Whitman's—which they in turn connected to the natural world through the same punning analogy. Further, both men's artistic outputs argue for an outward existence that honors the inner life of the soul, and they express the nature of that existence not as a fixed state of being but as a journey, a pilgrimage. It was most likely during the course of their friendship that Whitman wrote, in the notebook that bears Talbot's name, "I will hook my left arm around your waist till I point you to the road along which are the cities of all living philosophy and pleasure. Not I, not God can travel this road for you. —It is not far, it is within the stretch of your thumb. Perhaps you shall find you are on it already, and did not know" (figure 10).[68]

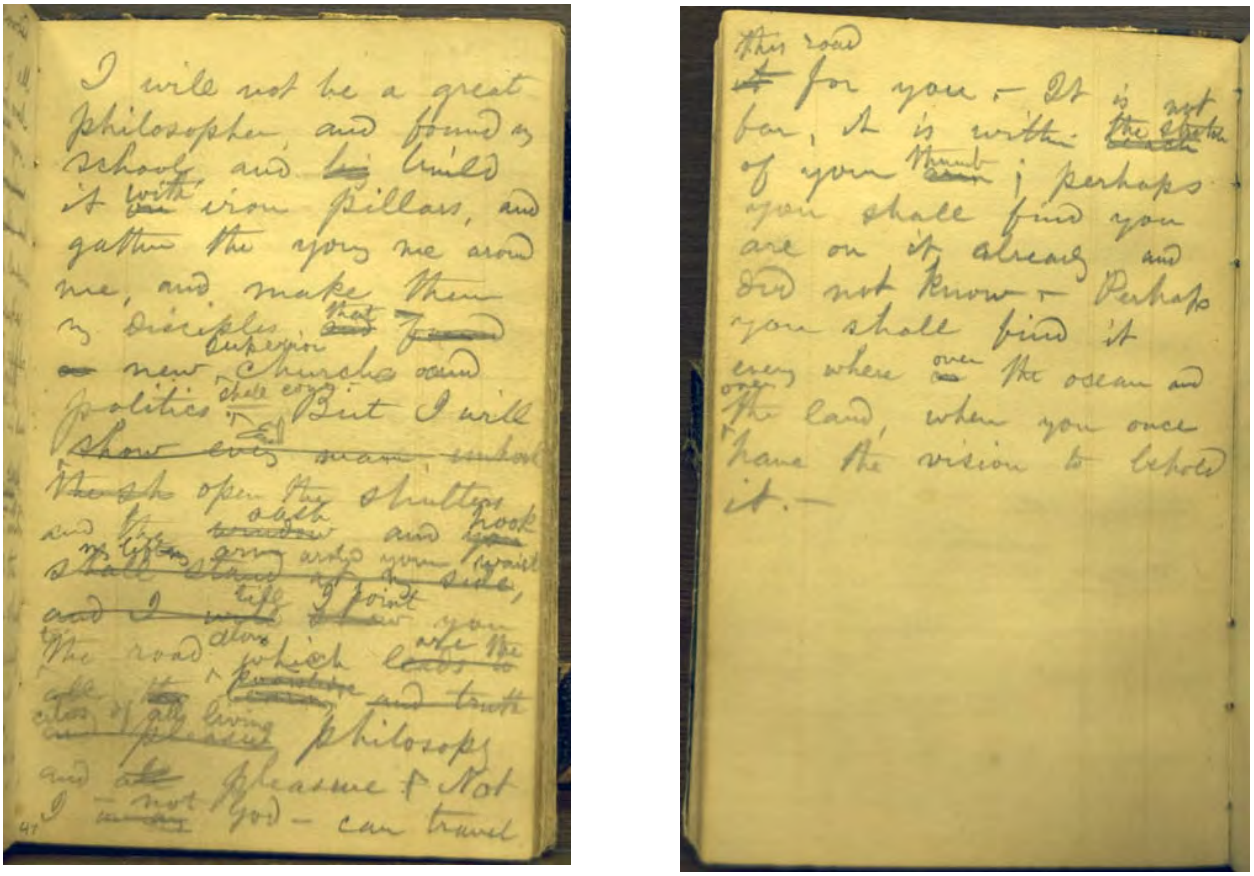


Figure 10: Talbot Wilson notebook, folio 25, recto and verso. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*.

Little wonder, then, that Whitman came to own a version of Talbot's *Christian at the Cross*, in which ideas of body, spirit, and pilgrimage come together. Whitman acquired the painting, which could have been made especially for him, sometime before February 1853, when he referred to it in another piece of Talbot apologetics, this time in the *American Phrenological Journal*. "*Christian and* [*sic*] *the Cross* is another warm and glowing work by Talbot, in the possession of Walter Whitman, of Brooklyn," he writes, under a thin veil of anonymity. "It has some exquisite touches of color and delicate outlines. The large picture, of which it is a reproduction, in smaller size, equally delighted the critics and the public, on its first appearance some years ago."[69] This description, in addition to a later letter to a creditor in which he refers to the painting as "an oil painting, an original" by Talbot, should lay to rest previous scholars' arguments that what Whitman owned was an engraved print of this subject by Talbot.[70] No such engraving was ever produced, and so it seems indisputable that Whitman owned

a smaller oil version of the painting that exists today, which is surely the original canvas shown at the National Academy in 1847.[71]

At any rate, here again, the reference to the original painting's debut and widespread acclaim demonstrates that Talbot's talent had been universally acknowledged, so if he was now being excluded it was through no fault of his own. Indeed, the *Phrenological Journal* article begins with a complaint of injustice: "One of the New York journals speaks of a new work by Jesse Talbot, 'The Encampment on the Desert,' and regrets that it was not procured for the recent exhibition of the National Academy." In writing this, Whitman once again third-persons himself, for as Wendy Katz has recently confirmed, he was the one to express that initial regret nearly a year before. "Why was not Talbot's 'Encampment of the Desert' and other lately finished work of the highest class in art . . . secured for this Exhibition?" he had groused (as "W.W.") in the April 25, 1852 issue of the *New-York Sunday Dispatch*.[72] That reference recalls an even earlier piece by Whitman, who under the single initial "W." printed an extended, complimentary account of the painting (currently unlocated), then still at Talbot's easel, in the 1851 *New-York Evening Post*, presumably in the hopes that the Academy, or a private collector, would take notice.[73]

"It is a picture with camels," Whitman begins somewhat prosaically, but then he fully deploys his gifts of persuasive rhetoric. He lavishes particular attention on the "oriental" features of the scene, dwelling on the tents, the camels, and particularly the banana trees: "Long, long and lingeringly will the eye remain on these beautiful trees, on their slender stems, and on their broad leaves, an effusion of the royal richness of the drapery of nature." Whitman's enthusiastic prose reflects his well-documented interest in the Near East[74] and also resonates with the prominent—and indeed "supple" and "vigorous" palms in *Tropical Scenery—Early Morning*, made around the same time. We can discern in *Tropical Scenery* some of the same aesthetic qualities that Whitman praised in *Encampment*, including an "effect" that, by now, more critics than just Whitman had identified as "a distinctive mark of this artist . . . a likeness of air in the picture: palpable, yet clear sun-warmed air."[75] This and other aspects of the picture, Whitman wrote, were not likely to "be surpassed by any living artist."

Having mounted such lavish praise on *Encampment*, Whitman was probably offended on his own behalf as well as his friend's when it was not selected for the 1852 exhibition at the National Academy. Using the same strategy that the artist Thomas P. Whitley had deployed against the Art-Union two years earlier,[76] Whitman magnified an individual complaint into evidence of wide-scale failures endemic in the organization. Whitman accused the Academy lead-

ership of being "too lazy" and standing "on the stilts of its own dignity."[77] "It is not a favor at all for you to give audience to a superior performance of a genuine artist," he wrote, referring to Talbot, "it is rather a piece of grace on the part of the painter." The Academy's failure to recognize this, he argued, had led to the observed "deficiency of fervor and warmth" in the works on view in the current exhibition. "Many of the pictures are coldly correct," he wrote, "but the blood in their veins moves by rote; and O, so languidly—so tamely. We would have it in jets from the heart—in spasms, if you please—only the real scarlet, charged, to the full."

Impossible to ignore here is the resonance with Whitman's lines from "I Sing the Body Electric" as they appear in the 1855 edition of *Leaves of Grass*:

> Within there runs his blood . . . . the same old blood . . the same red running blood;
> There swells and jets his heart . . . . There all passions and desires . . all reachings and aspirations:
> Do you think they are not there because they are not expressed in parlors and lecture-rooms?[78]

It is beyond the scope of this paper to adequately address these words in the context of the racial politics of Whitman's time. I will only speculate that these words indicate some meaningful connection between the unnamed, imagined, enslaved man on the auction block in Whitman's poem and the specific, flesh-and-bone man who was his friend. In both cases, a man is being held up for judgment; the vital life forces that make him who he is are exploited for consumption; and those who are doing the judging and exploiting and consuming are deserving of criticism themselves.

While the time of Talbot and Whitman's relatively brief intercourse—it has only been documented between 1850 and 1853—was, in retrospect, a prelude for Whitman's success (though not without some bumps in the road), it proved to be more of a denouement for Talbot's. If we accept the theory that Talbot worked with Whitman to launch a kind of publicity counter-campaign around the debut of the *Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*, we can also determine that it misfired and that Whitman's public advocacy ultimately did his friend no favors. (Whitman would go on to commit a similarly fatal error in the promotion of *Leaves of Grass*, when he used a private communication from Ralph Waldo Emerson as a public endorsement, without Emerson's permission.)[79] It could not have helped that Whitman's tone, regarding Talbot, devolved from one of forceful appreciation—"Is it not indeed beautiful!"—to righteous outrage—"The Academy is in danger of falling into the serious error of not understanding its own position"—to one something like defeatism, in

his final article dedicated to his friend, the February 1853 *Phrenological Journal* article—"We hope our citizens, who prize art and would patronize the true artist, will not allow his pencil to be idle or his works to remain in obscurity."[80]

After all the fuss, *Encampment of the Caravan* did ultimately make it into the 1853 Academy exhibition. It seems plausible that its inclusion was at least indirectly related to the notoriety it gained from Whitman's articles—but if that is the case, it was a Pyrrhic victory. If nothing else, it was a tragic misstep for Talbot to set himself in opposition to the National Academy as the Art-Union was falling apart and the Academy's dominance once again became unchallenged. After the 1853 show, Talbot's work would not be seen again at the Academy again for four years, and his days of regular attention from the press were over.

By this time, it must have become clear to both men that whatever success Talbot would continue to enjoy, it would not be as a leading light of the New York art establishment; their friendship also seems to have gone fallow along with Talbot's professional reputation. Combined with whatever personal demons Talbot battled—whether substance abuse or some less definable "lack of discipline," to quote Huntington—his erratic and ill-judged self-fashioning also contributed to the long twilight of his career. Notwithstanding Whitman's assessment of him as the "least pushing" artist in his acquaintance, Talbot aggressively promoted himself from the early 1850s on. He paid for a listing (under "Painters, Landscape") in the directory for the New York Mercantile Union and, by the spring of 1851, he was advertising in the *New York Post* that he intended to open a "School of Art" in his new studio location at 579 Broadway, ten blocks north of the National Academy (he offered his Associate status at the Academy as a credential).[81] On the one hand, by associating himself with a category of craftsmanship derided by the National Academy elite as "grosser materials" that had "always been repugnant to the American artist,"[82] and, on the other hand, by exploiting his National Academy credentials in order to launch a competing art school, he attempted to claim both insider and outsider status. In both cases, it seems, his efforts were unsuccessful.

Talbot's fall was gradual. Through the 1850s, he still was able to secure and complete several important commissions, including *Tropical Scenery—Early Morning*, probably made for the diplomat Joseph Nerée Balestier,[83] and a two-painting series depicting the famous Phantom Ship of New Haven, made for the town's Trowbridge family (c. 1850).[84] He received some attention—though rarely from the Manhattan papers—for works like *On the Juniata* (which was engraved to accompany a text by Bayard Taylor for *The Home Book of the Picturesque*, another gift book); *Discovery of the Hudson*; *Indian's Last Gaze*; and a

Figure 11: Jesse Talbot, *The Last Gaze*, 1860, oil on canvas, 18 x 24 in. Private collection. Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images.

biblically inspired series on the sons of Noah, which was exhibited at Brooklyn's Polytechnic Institute in 1862.[85] Perhaps seeking to fill the gap left by Whitman—with whom he had no documented contact after 1853—he also seems to have consciously cultivated friendships with other men of letters, including Taylor and Park Benjamin, among others.[86]

But by the 1860s Talbot was once again living a peripatetic existence, with home and studio addresses that changed every few years: Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Rondout, New York, in Ulster County, where he lived at least temporarily with his married daughter Mary Augusta, the one who wrote to Walt Whitman in 1893.[87] He still exhibited occasionally at the National Academy—his Associate status gave him that opportunity—but to the extent that he made his living as a painter, he seems to have done so primarily through small-scale compositions created on speculation—multiple variations on *Indian's Last Gaze* (for example, figure 11), possibly meant to depict Tecumseh looking pensively over a cliff,

appear somewhat frequently in today's art marketplace—or exhibited and sold through the Cosmopolitan Art Association, a re-formation of the American Art-Union in Sandusky, Ohio, where the lottery laws were more lax than in New York City.[88]

By 1879 Talbot was back in Brooklyn, where he took his ultimately fatal fall on the ice at the corner of DeKalb and Broadway.[89] He was carried back to his home on Lafayette Avenue, and there, a few days later, he died. There, too—"clear out in the outskirts of Brooklyn," as Jervis McEntee wrote—his funeral was held, attended by McEntee as well Daniel Huntington, Sanford Gifford, and Richard William Hubbard, and ultimately paid for by the National Academy. He was buried in the cemetery of the Dutch Reformed Church in Claverack where he was married, alongside three of his children who predeceased him.[90]

The careers of Walt Whitman and Jesse Talbot ultimately led in very different directions: one light brightening as another faded; one artist mourned internationally at his death, the other pitied and all but forgotten. But during the brief time that these pilgrims' paths intertwined, they moved together toward a shared vision for American art and letters, a vision that ultimately sustained them both through long lives dedicated to their art.

Association of Historians of American Art

NOTES

This paper is derived from a talk of the same title presented at the "Walt Whitman in New York" symposium at the Grolier Club, New York, June 1, 2019, held in conjunction with International Walt Whitman Week 2019. I am grateful to Karen Karbiener and the selection committee for inviting me to present, and to the Whitman scholars who offered valuable feedback during and following that event: Eric Conrad, Betsy Erkkila, Sascha Pöhlmann, Ken Price, Zach Turpin, and Edward Whitley. My research would never have advanced far enough to have those conversations without early support and feedback from other Whitman scholars whose interests overlap with my own, and whose contributions are cited in what follows: Ruth Bohan, Jason Stacy, and especially Wendy J. Katz.

1 "Talbot Wilson" notebook, Notebook LC #80, The Thomas Biggs Harned Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman, 1842–1937, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org).

2 Some previous scholars have suggested that what Whitman owned was an engraving of the same composition produced by the American Art-Union; see Ruth L. Bohan, *Looking into Walt*

Whitman: American Art, 1850–1920 (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 17; and Wendy J. Katz, "Previously Undocumented Art Criticism by Walt Whitman," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 32 (Spring 2015), 218. However, such a print apparently does not exist; see the New York Public Library's "Guide to the American Art-Union Print Collection, 1850–51," dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/nyhs/artunion/bioghist.html. The confusion seems to arise from Whitman's own use of the word "reproduction" to refer to his painting in an article in the *Phrenological Journal* ("Talbot's Pictures," *American Phrenological Journal* [February 1853], 45); however, a letter from Whitman to a creditor later in life confirms that what he owned was "an oil painting, an original, of marked beauty & value, by Jesse Talbot, illustrating a scene from Pilgrim's Progress, worth from four to five hundred dollars." Walt Whitman to William D. O'Connor, September 28, 1869, The Charles E. Feinberg Collection of the Papers of Walt Whitman, 1839–1919, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. (hereafter Feinberg Collection), available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org). The painting illustrated here is probably not the painting Whitman owned but rather "the large picture, of which it is a reproduction, in smaller size," that he refers to in the 1853 *Phrenological Journal* article.

3 Bohan, *Looking into Walt Whitman*, 17; Katz, "Previously Undocumented Art Criticism"; Katz, *Humbug! The Politics of Art Criticism in New York City's Penny Press* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2020), 115–118.

4 Formerly known as the York Institute, the Saco Museum is now affiliated with the Dyer Library, the public library for the City of Saco. For a history of the institution, see Kerry A. O'Brien, "Science-Art-History: The Early Years of the York Institute, Saco, Maine, 1866–1971," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 26, no. 4 (Spring 1987).

5 The frame appears to be original to the work; it is not clear if the plaque itself is original, though it has clearly been attached to the frame for a long time.

6 Moving panoramas, popular in mid-nineteenth-century America, are unstretched paintings presented in a horizontal scroll format; they were "performed" in front of an audience, by rolling the painting from one scroll to the other, so that the depicted scenes appeared to be progressing before the viewers' eyes. Wikipedia has a useful definition and illustration: wikipedia.org/wiki/Moving_panorama. Two versions of the *Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*, often referred to in period accounts as "Bunyan's Tableaux" or "The Bunyan Tableaux," were produced. The first debuted in 1850 and is unlocated; the second, which is the version now at the Saco Museum, debuted in 1851. For a history of this panorama, see Thomas Hardiman Jr., "The Panorama's Progress: A History of Kyle and Dallas's *Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress*," in Jessica Skwire Routhier, Kevin J. Avery, and Thomas Hardiman Jr., *The Painters' Panorama: Narrative, Art, and Faith in the* Moving Panorama of Pilgrim's Progress (Hanover: University Press of New England, 215), 89–102.

7 Details of these efforts can be found in Jessica Skwire Routhier, "Epilogue," in Routhier et al., *The Painters' Panorama*, 108–113; the efforts were also the subject of a paper I presented at the International Panorama Conference at Gettysburg National Military Park on September 15, 2011. For a brief video of the physical replica in motion at Saco City Hall on August 8, 2012, see youtu.be/VNpeGSrHhp0; for an online digitization with a historic script, see youtu.be/1XMwkpnewxw (brief introduction at youtu.be/0_vkGKCOHSI); for a gallery talk in front of the original panorama, see youtu.be/OXgYkznUdXg.

8 David B. Dearinger, ed., *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design, Volume 1, 1826–1925* (New York and Manchester: Hudson Hills Press, 2004), 382–383.

9 I have succeeded in identifying only four pieces of correspondence in Talbot's hand: J. Talbot to W[illiam]. C[ullen]. Bryant, undated (but probably 1844–46, when Bryant was president of the American Art-Union), Bryant-Godwin Papers, box 12, New York Public Library (hereafter NYPL); J. Talbot to J[ohn]. R[ussell]. Barlett, Esq. April 14, 1847, Box 48, Ford Autograph Collection, NYPL; Jesse Talbot to T. Addison Richards, Esq., March 15, 1876, T. Addison Richards Papers, The Pennsylvania State University; and Jesse Talbot to A. J. Davis, Esq., June 5, 1876, private collection (sold through liveauctioneers, July 2018). The letters contain little of personal interest, apart from confirming that Talbot lived with his daughter Mary Augusta later in life and that she, too, had artistic ambitions (see n. 87); they are all correspondence of a professional nature.

10 "Fatal Effects of a Fall," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (January 30, 1879). Talbot fell on the ice on January 24, 1879, and died on either January 29 or January 30.

11 D. Hamilton Hurd, ed., *History of Bristol County, Massachusetts, with Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men* (Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis & Co., 1883), 250.

12 Vital records of Dighton and Rehoboth, Massachusetts, accessed through ancestry.com.

13 Despite the disadvantage of having, in the words of the 1854 *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, "only a limited medical education," Jesse Wheaton was appointed a surgeon in the Massachusetts militia, established a "considerable medical business" at Wheaton and Dixon on High Street in the center of Dedham Village, and even, if one can believe the broadsides, secured patents for proprietary medicines, which he offered for sale at his Dedham apothecary. "History of the Medical Profession in Norfolk County," in *The Boston Medical and Surgical Journal*, ed. J.V.C. Smith, M.D., vol. 49 (Boston: David Clapp, 1854), 204. I am grateful to Sandra Waxman, Librarian/Archivist at the Dedham Historical Society and Museum, for information about the militia appointment and the location of Wheaton's store (correspondence with the author, December 22, 2015). Citations for broadsides advertising "Wheatons' genuine jaundice bitters," supposedly patented in 1799 and 1802, as well as "Wheaton's itch ointment" (1802) can be found on WorldCat.com; however, a search of US Patent records for "Jesse Wheaton" revealed no results.

14 US Census records from 1820 show a "free white male" between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six residing in Wheaton's home; this must surely be the young Jesse Talbot, although in fact he could not have been more than fifteen in 1820 (Census 1820). Wheaton did not marry until 1815, so it is unlikely that this was a child of his.

15 Other affiliations include the Norfolk [County] Auxiliary Educational Society, the American Temperance Society, the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions. Annual reports of all these organizations, which list members, donors, and their years of involvement, are easily accessible on Google Books. Wheaton's life membership in the American Tract Society is documented in the *Ninth Annual Report of the American Tract Society 1823* (Andover: Printed for the Society by Flagg & Gould, 1823), 39; however, it is important to acknowledge that this is not exactly the same American Tract Society that was centered in New York beginning in 1825 (which in turn is distinct from the New-York Tract Society, one of its auxilia-

ries). The complicated history and interrelationship of the Boston-based New England Tract Society, which went by that name from its founding in 1814 until it was renamed the American Tract Society in 1823, and the New York-based American Tract Society, founded in 1825, is detailed in *A Brief History of the American Tract Society, Instituted at Boston, 1814, and its relations to the American Tract Society at New York, instituted 1825* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1857). Also helpful is S. J. Wolfe, "Dating American Tract Society Publications Through 1876 from External Evidences: A Series of Tables," an online publication of the American Antiquarian Society, americanantiquarian.org/node/6693.

16 The *Fourth Annual Report of the American Tract Society* (New York: Printed for the Society by D. Fanshaw, 1829) lists Talbot as the "Assistant" for the Executive Committee. Additionally, the report lists Talbot as one of many "directors" on the masthead and also lists him as a member of the Shipping and Steam-Boat Committee, the City Committee, and the Division of Labor, with responsibility (with four others) for the fourth district, from Burling Slip to India Wharf.

17 He is also remembered as having co-founded a "Sabbath School" on Baxter Street around 1830; Rev. Moses H. Wilder, *Book of the Wilders: A Contribution to the History of the Wilders* (New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1878), 27.

18 *The Anti-Slavery Record* of 1836 notes "Canada, a friend, per Jesse Talbot," as the source of a $25 donation to the American Anti-Slavery Society; *The Anti-Slavery Record* 2, no. 8 (August 1836), 12. The *Magazine of the Daughters of the Revolution* 2, no. 1 (February 1896), in its listing for Talbot's wife, née Mary Augusta Sluyter, notes that her husband was "an artist of repute" who was also "one of the original Abolitionists" (219); this language is repeated in a later genealogy, Richard Wynkoop, *Schuremans, of New Jersey* (New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1902), 95. In this the authors were probably confusing our Jesse Talbot with another by that name, a Baltimore resident who was associated with Captain Paul Cuffe, who helped to colonize Sierra Leone with freed American slaves. See H. N. Sherwood, "Paul Cuffe" in *The Journal of Negro History* 8, no. 2 (April 1923), 185, and, in Dorothy Sterling, *Speak Out in Thunder Tones: Letters and Other Writings by Black Northerners, 1787–1865* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1998), 48–49, a transcription of a letter from Cuffe to James Forten dated January 23, 1817, which references a "Jesse Talbot of Baltimore." Our Talbot would have been only twelve years old and living in Massachusetts at the time. For more on the connection between Christian evangelism and social justice movements in antebellum New York, see Diane Winston, *Red-Hot & Righteous: The Urban Religion of the Salvation Army* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), 30.

19 *Ninth Annual Report of the American Tract Society* (New York: Printed at the Society's House by D. Fanshawe, 1834), 23; *Religious Intelligencer* (May 1834), 807.

20 In 1836 and 1837, Talbot appears on the rolls of the "Receiving Agents of the Board" for the ABCFM. For an overview of the organization during Talbot's time, see *New York As It Is*, 6th edition (New York: T. R. Tanner, 1840), 78–79. For a broader but still contemporaneous history, see Joseph Tracy, *History of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions* (New York: M. W. Dodd, 1842).

21 Sluyter is listed as a member of the ABCFM board in 1835; *Report of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Read at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting* (Boston: Printed for the Board by Crocker & Brewster, 1835), 14. For a record of the marriage, see *Christian Intelligencer of the*

Dutch Reformed Church, October 29, 1836.

22 Talbot's name first appears in this role in the *Ninth Annual Report of the New-York Tract Society* (New York: New-York Tract Society, 1836), 3. Robert's Rules of Order identify "Recording Secretary" as the proper title for the officer responsible for keeping the minutes of meetings, when there is also a "Corresponding Secretary," responsible for scheduling meetings and conducting correspondence. The report shows that one Rev. Charles Hyde served as Corresponding Secretary alongside Talbot. Roberts Rules Online, article X, item 59, "Secretary or Clerk," rulesonline.com/rror-10.htm.

23 See David E. Smith, "Publication of John Bunyan's Works in America," *Bulletin of the New-York Public Library* 66 (1962), and Galen K. Johnson, "The Pilgrim's Progress in the History of American Public Discourse," *LATCH* 4 (2011), 1–31. The description of the American Tract Society in the 1935 edition of *New York As it Is* (New York: J. Disturnell, 1835) lists the title among their publications, p. 62. As early as 1824, the Society published a life of John Bunyan: "The Life of Rev. John Bunyan, Author of the Pilgrim's Progress," in *The Publications of the American Tract Society*, 1, no. 6 (New York: The American Tract Society, 1824), 81–96.

24 "Ninth Annual Meeting," *Ninth Annual Report of the New-York Tract Society*, 6, 11. From *The Pilgrim's Progress*: "Then said Evangelist, If this be thy condition, why standest thou still? He [Christian] answered, Because I know not whither to go. Then he gave him a parchment roll, and there was written within, Flee from the wrath to come." Project Gutenberg EBook of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, gutenberg.org/files/131/131-h/131-h.htm. All subsequent quotes from *The Pilgrim's Progress* are from this source.

25 "Tenth Annual Meeting," *Tenth Annual Report of the New-York Tract Society* (New York: New-York Tract Society, 1836), 10.

26 Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (Boston: Thayer and Eldridge, 1860), 19, available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*. I am grateful to Sascha Pöhlmann for bringing this passage to my attention (in the context of the so-called "deathbed edition" of 1891–92) in his concluding course lecture for International Walt Whitman Week, delivered at the Walt Whitman Birthplace State Historic Site, Huntington, New York, May 31, 2019, and for discussing it with me at the "Walt Whitman in New York" symposium at the Grolier Club the following day.

27 Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826–1860*, vol. 2 (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1943), 150. All subsequent indications of when a work was shown at the National Academy are from this source; the source for American Art-Union exhibition records is also Cowdrey, *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union Exhibition Record 1816–1852* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1843).

28 Rev. Miron Winslow, *Memoir of Mrs. Harriet Winslow, Thirteen Years a Member of the American Mission in Ceylon* (New York: American Tract Society, 1840). The book had previously been printed, under varying titles, by different publishing houses in New York, Boston, and London; this is the only edition known to include Talbot's frontispiece. The book itself is typical of nineteenth-century hagiographies of missionaries, particularly female missionaries; Talbot's own daughter Blanche would one day have a similar volume written about her: *Memorial of Blanche Talbot: born in Paterson, N.J., June 23, 1848, died in Brooklyn, N.Y., October 2, 1871* (New York: John Ross & Col, 1873).

29 *The Token and Atlantic Souvenir, An Offering for Christmas and the New Year* (Boston: David H. Williams, 1842). Talbot's engraving is accompanied by a poem of the same name by H. T. Tuckerman. For more on the *Token* and similar gift books, see Kristina Huff, *Souvenirs of America: American Gift Books 1825–40* (master's thesis, University of Missouri-Columbia, 2006).

30 The writer describes the painting as "just completed" (begging the question of the context in which it was reportedly exhibited at the Apollo Association ten months earlier) and ends the piece by giving the location of Talbot's "room" as "the University Building," corresponding to city directory listings that show Talbot's studio location at New York University at this time. "Landscape Paintings," *New-York Spectator*, December 23 1840. It is noteworthy that another early notice of this painting appeared in *The Evangelist*, the newspaper "dedicated to revivals, doctrinal discussion, and religious intelligence generally," according to the masthead. G., "Rockland Lake," *New-York Evangelist* (January 25 1840).

31 *New York Mirror*, May 15, 1841.

32 For more on these, see Franklin Kelly and Claire M Barry, *Thomas Cole's Paintings of Eden* (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1995).

33 "Some years ago we saw for the first time 'the Happy Valley,' an idea from Rasselas. . . . With one or two minor faults, it yet struck us as being a production of very remarkable beauty; and we have since kept the run of the man who did it." [Walt Whitman], "American Art—Jesse Talbot," *New York Sunday Dispatch*, May 19, 1850. I am grateful to Wendy Katz for providing her research photographs of this source. For more about Whitman's interest in Johnson, and some literary and biographical parallels, see Jeffrey Meyers, "Samuel Johnson and Walt Whitman," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 26 (Spring 2009), 213–215.

34 *American Repertory of Artists, Sciences and Manufactures* 3, no. 5 (June 1841), quoted in William H. Gerdts, "Daniel Huntington's *Mercy's Dream*: A Pilgrimage through Bunyanesque Imagery," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14 (Summer 1979), 180.

35 For concise biographies, see "Thomas Cole: American, 1801–1848," National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.) website, accessed August 11, 2020, https://www.nga.gov/collection/artist-info.1155.html; and Dearinger, *Paintings and Sculpture*, 291-292.

36 The groundbreaking study on this is Perry Miller, *The Raven and the Whale: The War of Words and Wit in the Era of Poe and Melville* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1956). A passage from the prologue, written with Herman Melville in mind, is also a useful framework for regarding the rise and fall of Talbot's career: "An artist can, once he has caught the ear of his people, abruptly discover himself cut off not because he thunders some clear sanity against their insanity, but because he participates completely in their befuddlement" (4). Wendy J. Katz also parses this conflict, specifically in the context of Talbot and Whitman, in her "Previously Undocumented Art Criticism," and more broadly in the fourth chapter, "The Penny Press's Utopian Alternative," of *Humbug!,* 124-125. I am grateful to Katz for sharing this chapter with me in manuscript form.

37 See Rachel N. Klein, "Art and Authority in Antebellum New York City: The Rise and Fall of the American Art-Union," *The Journal of American History* 81 (March 1995), 1534–1561; esp.

1538–1540. As a particularly relevant example, Briggs wrote exasperatedly of Talbot that "If he will forget that he ever saw one of Cole's pictures, and look quietly at Nature with a clear eye, and make his own interpretations of her language, without asking the aid of any other commentator than his own heart, she will reward him as she does all who seek communion with her in the integrity of their instincts." Charles Briggs, "The Fine Arts: The Art Union Pictures," *The Broadway Journal* 1 (January 11, 1845), 21–22. Miller also discusses Briggs's contempt for romanticism in *Raven and the Whale*, 53–55.

38 Walt Whitman. "Art-Singing and Heart-Singing." *The Broadway Journal* 2 (Saturday, November 29, 1845), 318–319. Whitman scholar Jason Stacy has said that in his "heart-singing" article, Whitman "conflates aesthetic simplicity with personal integrity and personal integrity with American republicanism"—and so raised the stakes even further for artists who, presumably, sought to be men of honor as well as successful artists. Jason Stacy to the author, February 22, 2016.

39 A useful overview of Whitman's early art journalism is in the first chapter of Bohan, *Looking into Walt Whitman*, 13–29.

40 Cowdrey's *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record* lists his address in Paterson from 1844 through 1847 (150–151). Records of the First Presbyterian Church of Paterson show that he was elected an elder of the church on July 31, 1844, and Chairman on December 12, 1844. William Nelson, ed., *The First Presbyterian Church of Paterson, New Jersey* (Paterson: Call Printing and Publishing Company, 1893), 66, 395. The Passaic County Historical Society's information sheet on the Talbot family shows that two of Talbot's children, Emily (b. 1843) and Arthur (b. 1846), were baptized at the church on June 16, 1844, and in 1847 (no specific date), respectively.

41 Lyman Beecher Talbot was born August 10, 1839 and died on November 29 of that year; Richard Sluyter Talbot was born December 6, 1840 and died January 11, 1843. Wynkoop, *Schuremans, of New Jersey*, 95.

42 "Editor's Table," *The Knickerbocker* 29 (June 1847), 571; "Exhibition of the National Academy of Design," *New York Herald* (April 20, 1846).

43 Whitman described him as "one of the most modest and the least 'pushing' of all our artists" in "American Art–Jesse Talbot"; the *Herald* reviewer who described him as "gaunt" also recalled that he "was only happy to be able to say an encouraging word to some more timid and distrustful aspirant"; a writer for the *Home Journal* later recalled being received cordially during a studio visit: "A few steps, and a warm welcome from the kind-hearted artist" ("Mere Mention: An Artist's Studio," *Home Journal*, [July 19, 1856]).

44 Minutes of the National Academy of Design, February 10, 1879, quoted in Dearinger, *Paintings and Sculpture*, 383.

45 Jervis McEntee Diaries, entry for January 31, 1879, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, aaa.si.edu/collection-features/jervis-mcentee-diaries/diary-entry?date=18790131.

46 Dearinger states this as fact: *Paintings and Sculpture*, 382. This is probably based on McEntee's

later diary entry, in which he wrote that he "Went to the Council meeting" [presumably referring to a committee of the Academy], where he "appropriated $50 towards paying Jessie [*sic*] Talbot's funeral expenses and reduced the commission on the sale of pictures from the Academy from 10 p. ct. to 6." Jervis McEntee Diaries, entry for February 10 1879, aaa.si.edu/collection-features/jervis-mcentee-diaries/diary-entry?date=18790210.

47 Jasper Francis Cropsey to Maria Cooley, November 12–17, 1846, transcription in the collections of the Newington-Cropsey Foundation. The full quote reads "Hi ho—and then it is the residence of Jesse Talbot, the artist, and one of the richest and drunkest men in Passaic." It is not clear how he meant "richest," given the numerous references to Talbot's poverty, including the *American Republican*'s description of him as "poor but ambitious" just two years before: *American Republican,* May 20, 1844. It is possible that Cropsey was being ironic, in which case—it must be acknowledged—his characterization of Talbot as drunk as well as rich should be taken with a grain of salt. Cropsey was, overall, a strong supporter of Talbot; in 1845 Cropsey identified Talbot as "third in excellence" among American landscape painters, after Cole and Asher B. Durand. Jasper Francis Cropsey, "Natural Art," lecture to be given at the Art ReUnion, August 24, 1845, transcription in the collections of the Newington-Cropsey Foundation. I am grateful to Anthony Speiser for bringing these sources to my attention.

48 New York and Brooklyn city directories, 1841–1879; Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record*, 150–151. Dodworth's is not mentioned by name, but it is associated with the address of 806 Broadway, where Talbot kept a studio in 1853.

49 Advertisement in the *Sunday Herald*, February 26, 1860, reproduced in "The Sabbath and German Beer Gardens," Sabbath leaflet appendix to *First Five Years of the Sabbath Reform, 1857–62* (New York: Edward O. Jenkins, 1862), 3–4.

50 See Winston, *Red-Hot & Righteous*, 30.

51 See Nelson, *First Presbyterian Church*, 396. The minutes for December 17, 1844, state that a church committee visited a parishioner and extracted from him a "signed and handwritten promise to abstain from the use of all intoxicating liquors." When the man, one Patrick McG—, proved unable to keep this promise, church officials "resolved that the Committee be continued & Mr. Talbot be added to it, & that each member of this Committee consider it his duty to visit this erring brother, & converse & pray with him as often as may be."

52 "Paterson" is inscribed on one of the painting's stretcher bars. Email from the painting's owner to the author, June 15, 2015.

53 "Editor's Table."

54 "Chronicle of Facts and Opinions," *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, 5 (August 1850), 81–84; R. J. Greenwood, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Bunyan Tableaux* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856), 2. Greenwood was more than a commentator; he was the showman who performed and promoted both versions of the panorama during its tours through the 1850s.

55 The others were Cropsey, Jacob Dallas, Felix Octavius Carr Darley, Peter Paul Duggan, Joseph Kyle, and Henry Courtney Selous. For more on these artists' involvement with the panorama, see Jessica Skwire Routhier, "A More Perfect View Thereof: Landscape, Religion, and the Artistic Underpinnings of the Panorama," in Routhier et al., *The Painters' Panorama*, 1–32.

56 This complex history is detailed in Klein, "Art and Authority."

57 By 1848 he had exhibited thirty-one works at the Art-Union (including those shown at its predecessor, the Apollo Art Association), as opposed to only nineteen at the Academy during the same period. He had literally invested in the Art-Union, as well—a "Mrs. Jesse Talbot" of Paterson, New Jersey, is listed among its subscribers in 1847; see the *Transactions of the American Art-Union for the Year 1847* (New York: G. F. Nesbitt, 1848), 122.

58 This is the address given for him in the *New York Mercantile Union Business Directory* for 1850 under "Painters, Landscape." For two or three years, between 1848 and 1850, the precise whereabouts of Talbot and his family are unknown. The "62 White Street" that appears in the 1849 National Academy catalogue, presumably New York, could be either a home address or a studio address. His family and his permanent home, meanwhile, could have been in either New York or Brooklyn, or even still in Paterson. But by 1850, Talbot appears on the King's County census records with his wife, three children, and a servant.

59 [Walt Whitman], "April Afternoon Ramble," *Brooklyn Evening Star* (April 30 1850); "Works of Beauty and Talent—The New Art Union of Brooklyn," *Brooklyn Daily Advertiser* (April 4 1850); and "American Art—Jesse Talbot."

60 See Hardiman, "The Panorama's Progress," 94.

61 Jason Stacy to the author, February 22, 2016.

62 Whitman, "American Art—Jesse Talbot."

63 "Art and Artists," *Home Journal* (December 28, 1850). I am grateful to Ruth Bohan for providing her copy of this article.

64 See, for example, Bohan, *Looking into Walt Whitman*, 216 note 17. Bohan also notes that "Mrs. Buckny was mistaken in her recollections that the meetings took place in 1832," but close examination of the handwriting reveals that Burhans correctly referred to the summer as that of 1852.

65 Mrs. Talbot Burhans to Walt Whitman, November 25, 1891, Feinberg Collection, reel 2 (emphasis original). The "long article in the 'Herald'" that Burhans refers to is probably "Walt Whitman's Life Has Run Its Course," *New York Herald* (November 1, 1891), 33.

66 "Tenth Annual Meeting," 11. Kenneth M. Price asked me, at the "Whitman in New York" symposium, how we might reconcile the fact that the decidedly un-religious Whitman had such a close relationship with the ardently Christian Talbot. Beyond what I have written here, I leave fuller conjecture to more seasoned Whitman scholars; Price himself offers something of a theory in the

second chapter, "Whitman as a Paradoxical 'Missionary to the Wounded,'" of his forthcoming book. I am grateful to Price for sharing this chapter with me in manuscript form. For more on Whitman's complicated relationship with organized religion, see David Kuebrich, "Religion," in J. R. LeMaster and Donald D. Kummings, eds., *Walt Whitman: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*).

67 Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (1855), vi. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive.*

68 "Talbot Wilson" notebook, folio 25 (recto and verso). I would never have known to knit together Whitman's words and multilayered edits in this seamless way; I acknowledge Eric Conrad for bringing the quote in this form to my attention in his concluding course lecture for International Walt Whitman Week (2019), delivered at the Walt Whitman Birthplace State Historic Site, Huntington, New York, May 31, 2019, and for discussing it with me after the "Walt Whitman in New York" symposium at the Grolier Club the next day.

69 [Walt Whitman], "Talbot's Pictures," *American Phrenological Journal* (February 1853), 45.

70 See note 2.

71 The location of the smaller version that Whitman owned is unknown after it left his hands. The larger exhibition picture went to one H. W. Leiter of Mansfield, Ohio, in the 1847 Art-Union lottery (*Transactions of the American Art-Union*, 1847, p. 33), and it has been in private hands ever since. It does not seem to have been exhibited publicly since it was seen at the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy (predecessor to the Albright-Knox) in 1863, at which time the owner was identified as C. F. S. Thomas. Current owner to the author, June 15, 2015.

72 W[alt].W[hitman]., "An Hour at the Academy of Design," *New-York Sunday Dispatch* (April 25 1852), transcribed in Katz, "Previously Undocumented Art Criticism," 222–224.

73 W[alt Whitman]., "Encampment of the Caravan," *New-York Evening Post* (April 21, 1851), 1, transcribed in Katz, "Previously Undocumented Art Criticism," 221–222.

74 See, for example, Arthur L. Ford, "The Rose-Gardens of the World: Near East Imagery in the Poetry of Walt Whitman," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 5 (Summer 1987), 12–20.

75 Whitman, "Encampment of the Caravan." The *New York Spectator* reviewer of *Rockland Lake* from 1840 praised the artist for his skill in "catching and delineating the *atmosphere*; as also in the difficult work of adapting the atmosphere to the distances" ("Landscape Paintings"); another reviewer said of Talbot's 1844 landscape of New Hampshire's White Mountains that the "aerial perspective" was "very fine" (*New York Daily Tribune*, May 27, 1844), and another went into somewhat more detail: "He has caught the morning mist as it creeps up the mountains, and the moisture of the picture seems absolutely palpable. The trees look as if a breath of air would shake the dew drops from their leaves" (*American Republican*, May 20, 1844).

76 See Klein, "Art and Authority," 1556.

77 "An Hour at the Academy of Design."

78 *Leaves of Grass* (1855), 81.

79 The story is related by many Whitman scholars and biographers; see, for example, Justin Kaplan, *Walt Whitman: A Life* (Simon & Schuster, 1980), 202–212.

80 "April Afternoon Ramble," "An Hour at the Academy of Design," and "Talbot's Pictures."

81 *New York Mercantile Union Business Directory* (New York: French and Pratt, 1850), 298; the advertisement for the school appears in the *New York Post* of April 21 1851 and reappears throughout the spring of that year.

82 Thomas Seir Cummings, *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design* (New York: G. W. Childs, 1861), 238.

83 A notice of the sale of Belastier's collection mentions a "piece of tropical scenery, by JESSE TALBOT." The purchaser, who acquired it for $55, was "Gov. Washington Smith," so called because he was the governor of the New York Almshouse; see Julie Miller, *Abandoned: Foundlings in Nineteenth-Century New York City* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), 118. Interestingly, the Almshouse was a plaintiff in the case against the Art-Union; see "The American Art-Union: Decision of the Supreme Court," *New York Times* (June 12, 1852). Also perhaps not coincidentally, the painting entered the Saco Museum's collection as a gift from The Wardwell, founded as a home for the elderly in 1889. Its provenance before that is unknown. Kim Boisvert (Executive Director, The Wardwell) to the author, December 1, 2015.

84 Both are in the collections of the New Haven Museum, Connecticut. I am grateful to Mary Christ (Collections Manager, New Haven Museum) for confirming their provenance in an email of February 10, 2016. The folk tale that inspired the paintings was also taken up by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow in his poem "The Phantom Ship," published in his 1858 volume *Birds of Passage*. Walt Whitman's close friend and early supporter John Townsend Trowbridge (1827–1916) was a descendant of the New Haven Trowbridges; see F. W. Chapman, *The Trowbridge Family, or The Descendants of Thomas Trowbridge, One of the First Settlers of New Haven, Conn.* (New Haven: Punderson, Crisand & Co.), 287, 323–24. This suggests the possibility, as yet unexplored, that Whitman might have played a role in the Phantom Ship commission. I am grateful to Brandon James O'Neil for pointing out this connection. For more on Whitman and Townsend, see Stephen Rachman, "Trowbridge, John Townsend (1827–1916)" in LeMaster and Kummings, *Walt Whitman: An Encyclopedia*, available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*.

85 The originals are all unlocated; several small-scale versions of *Indian's Last Gaze* have appeared in public art sales, and the engraving of *On the Juniata* can be seen in Bayard Taylor, "The Scenery of Pennsylvania," in *The Home Book of the Picturesque: Or American Scenery, Art, and Literature* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1852), between pages 94 and 95. It is also reproduced in O. J. Victor, "Character in Scenery," *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 3 (September 1858), 209. For *Discovery of the Hudson*, see (for example) "Art," *New York Observer and Chronicle*, April 9, 1868; for *Indian's Last Gaze*, see "Our Artists and Their Whereabouts," *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 2 (September 1858), 209; and for the biblical series, see "Talbot's Great Paintings," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 17, 1862. The biblical

paintings were presented alongside a lecture by the Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox, "Chancellor of the Ingham University, Leroy, New York." The series seems to have been a long time in the making; beginning in 1854 there were frequent newspaper reports that it was in progress, but it does not seem to have been seen publicly until its 1862 showing in Brooklyn.

86 In 1855, Benjamin published a poem on a landscape painting by Talbot that he presumably owned. "On a Small Landscape," *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* 9 (1855), 59.

87 Talbot's 1876 address is given as "Rondout, N. Y." in Maria Naylor, *The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861–1900* (New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1973), 915. Further, Talbot's 1876 letters to A. J. Davis and T. Addison Richards (see note 9) were both sent from Rondout and both indicate that "Mrs. Burhans"/"my daughter Mary Augusta" (respectively) is living under the same roof. Burhans is known to have been a resident of Ulster County (Wynkoop, *Schuremans, of New Jersey*, 94–95). Richards was president of the National Academy at the time; Talbot's letter to him praises Mary Augusta's paintings and begs that they be considered for the Academy's annual exhibition.

88 Between 1857 and 1859, Talbot offered sixteen titles to the association's lottery. See *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 2 (December 1857); 3 (December 1858); and 4 (December 1859). With the exception of *View on the Susquehanna*, 40 x 60 inches (offered in 1857), all are small-scale works. On the Cosmopolitan Art Association and lottery laws, see Klein, "Art and Authority," 1559. For later works exhibited at the National Academy, see Naylor, *Exhibition Record, 1861–1900*, 915.

89 "Fatal Effects of a Fall."

90 "Jesse Talbot," findagrave.com/memorial/55213429/jesse-talbot.

"A HASTILY CORRECTED SLIP": LITERARY AND DEMOCRATIC COLLECTIVITY IN A NEW WHITMANIAN ARTIFACT

NATHAN SCHMIDT

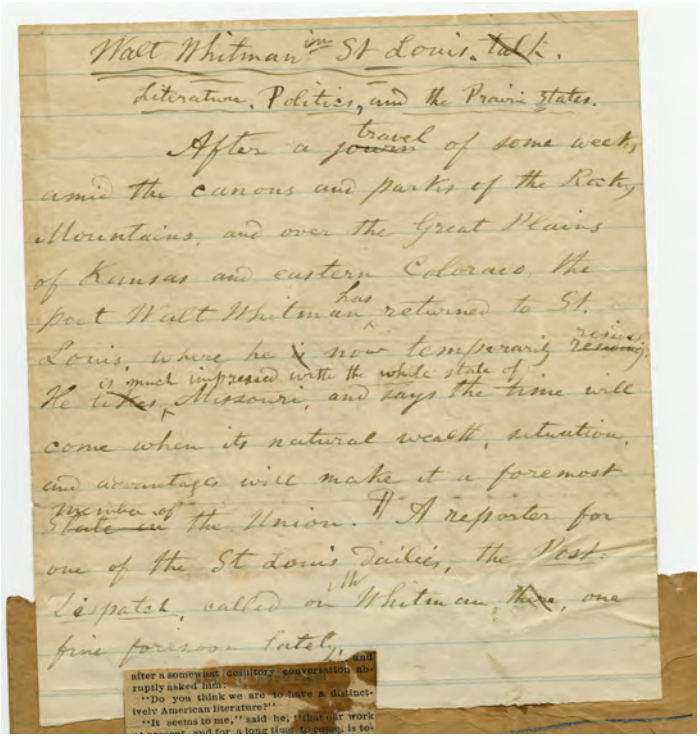
In Bloomington, Indiana, in the vault of the Lilly Library, there is a document written in Walt Whitman's hand that has never before received sustained critical attention. The document, which might be best described as a simple collage, was acquired by the Lilly Library at Indiana University in 2011.[1] It is a piece of newsprint pasted onto a thicker sheet of heavy wrapping paper, accompanied by a somewhat ramshackle frame. The text of the newsprint is from an interview that Whitman gave to a reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* on October 17, 1879. Whitman clipped the original interview from the *Post-Dispatch*, pasted it to the wrapping paper, and cut off the top of the original clipping to replace it with a new, handwritten introduction. He made several manuscript changes to the interview in the marginal space he created by pasting the clipping onto the heavier paper, producing an alternate version of the text that has never been published in full.[2] A large square of paper at the top, webbed with Whitman's thin, flowing script, leads to a skinny strip of newsprint glued messily to its dark brown sheet. Near the top of the backing paper, Whitman has written "read Proof carefully by Copy," in the sort of blue pencil that an editor would have used to dash off instructions before sending an article to the press. Whitman, who always had a high estimation of himself as a printer, frequently used a pencil like this on his own manuscripts.[3] Overall, viewing the scribbled notes on the sloppily pasted and acid-aged newsprint gives the impression of something both monumental and gossamer, unwieldy and delicate—in other words, the piece taken simply as an object is already strikingly Whitmanian. This cobbled-together document—which ultimately proved unprintable—is a reminder of the less-than-subtle pun in the title of *Leaves of Grass*: "leaves"

(pages) of unprintable "grass."

Whitman himself did not provide the frame. That was added in 1900 by Robert Underwood Johnson, the reporter to whom Whitman sent the collage. Johnson, in his autobiography *Remembered Yesterdays* (1923), recalled the moment he briefly crossed paths with Walt Whitman: "In 1879 I saw a report of an interview with [Walt Whitman] in St. Louis in which he spoke vaguely of the neglect that had been shown to certain younger writers, and I wrote to him to inquire who these were, as at that time the editors of the *Century* were professionally engaged in discovering genius."[4] Johnson worked on staff for Josiah Holland at the New York periodical *Scribner's Monthly,* later renamed the *Century*—a periodical he would one day spearhead, along with becoming a diplomat and a campaigner for copyright. Whitman received Johnson's letter when he was in St. Louis and responded to it on October 29, 1879. "Dear Sir," Whitman wrote, "Your note has just reached me here, where I am temporarily stopping—I could not well tell you the names of the 'young men referred to' because I spoke mainly of a class, or rather of a leaven & spirit."[5] He goes on to bemoan how a certain interview that he gave to a St. Louis reporter a few weeks earlier, on October 17, was "extracted from in so dislocated & awry a manner" that it was necessary that he "enclose a hastily corrected slip," hoping Johnson might "know some N Y paper or literary publication in whose line it might come."

In 1879, Johnson's star was rising in the New York periodical market, and he would become the magazine's associate editor just two years later, in 1881, after Holland's death. What could be more fortuitous for an ambitious New York reporter than the chance to correct the record, to publish an updated account of an interview given by one of America's signature literary voices, corrected in the author's own hand? Yet instead of making any attempt to publish the piece, Johnson quietly kept it to himself for twenty-one years until, in 1900, he had it framed and matted and hung on the wall. Johnson may have been reasonably refusing to be Whitman's pawn in a gambit for free publicity—but then why did he save the interview and display it where visitors would be able to see it?

This document affords an opportunity to explore the complicated interaction of Whitman's personal notoriety and his ostensible democratic egalitarianism, along with providing a useful snapshot of his relationship to the press in the late 1870's. If *Leaves of Grass* really was "no book," if who touched it touched not a poem but a man,[6] then Whitman's entire poetic career can be described as a project of self-editing, the dual articulation of poetry and persona. As I will show here, this document, so far barely known to Whitman scholars, offers a

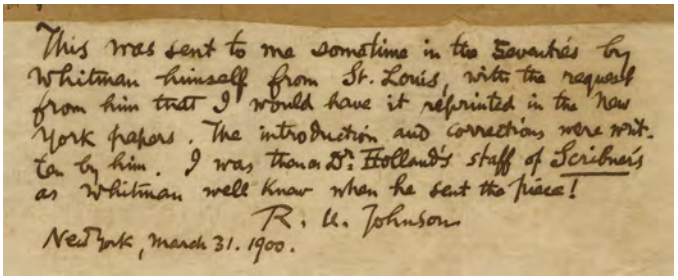

Walt Whitman in St Louis. Talk.

Literature, Politics, and the Prairie States.

After a journal travel of some weeks amid the canons and parks of the Rocky Mountains, and over the Great Plains of Kansas and eastern Colorado, the poet Walt Whitman has returned to St. Louis, where he is now temporarily resting. He is much impressed with the whole state of Missouri, and says the time will come when its natural wealth, situation, and advantages will make it a foremost State in the Union. A reporter for one of the St Louis Dailies, the Post-Dispatch, called on Whitman there, one fine forenoon lately, and after a somewhat desultory conversation abruptly asked him:

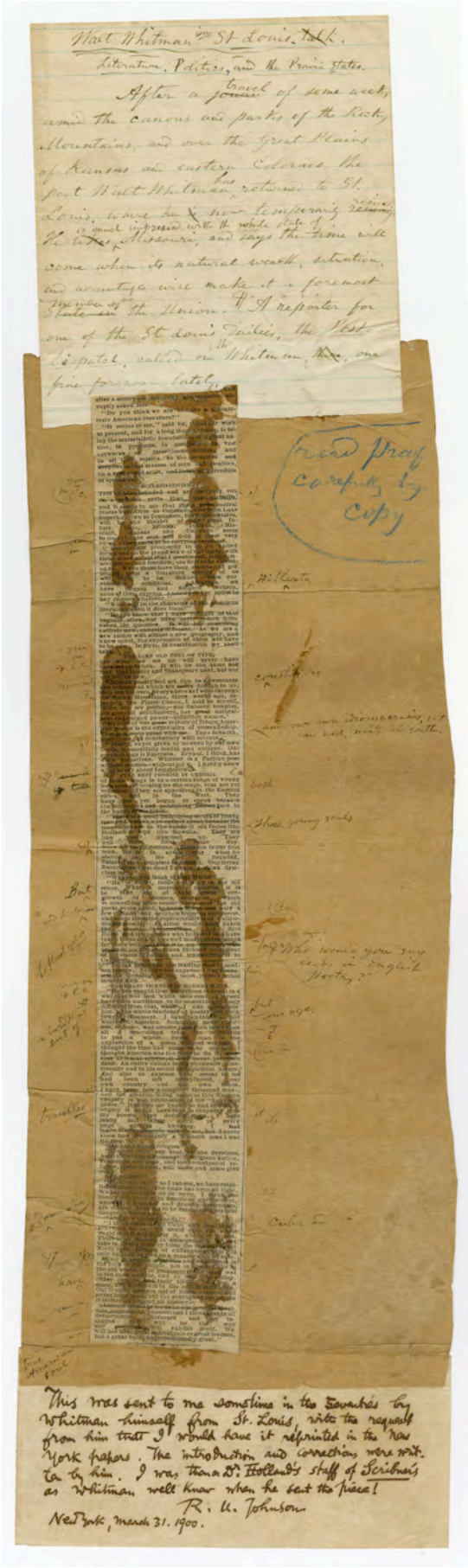
"Do you think we are to have a distinctively American literature?"

"It seems to me," said he, "that our work


This was sent to me sometime in the Seventies by Whitman himself from St. Louis, with the request from him that I would have it reprinted in the New York papers. The introduction and corrections were written by him. I was then in D. Holland's staff of Scribner's as Whitman well knew when he sent the piece!

R. U. Johnson

New York, March 31. 1900.


Walt Whitman in St Louis. Talk.

Literature, Politics, and the Prairie States.

After a journal travel of some weeks amid the canons and parks of the Rocky Mountains, and over the Great Plains of Kansas and eastern Colorado, the poet Walt Whitman has returned to St. Louis, where he is now temporarily resting. He is much impressed with the whole state of Missouri, and says the time will come when its natural wealth, situation, and advantages will make it a foremost State in the Union. A reporter for one of the St Louis Dailies, the Post-Dispatch, called on Whitman there, one fine forenoon lately,

Read from carefully by copy

This was sent to me sometime in the Seventies by Whitman himself from St. Louis, with the request from him that I would have it reprinted in the New York papers. The introduction and corrections were written by him. I was then in D. Holland's staff of Scribner's as Whitman well knew when he sent the piece!

R. U. Johnson

New York, March 31. 1900.

Right: Recto of newspaper interview from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* with corrections, comments, and augmentations in Walt Whitman's hand. From the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. Above: Details from the recto, including Whitman's new introduction and a postscript by Robert Underwood Johnson.

glimpse into the ways Whitman managed that persona beyond the poetry, in the broader field of public discourse. Whitman's revisions can be read as attempts to restore what he actually said to the journalist and what was subsequently misrepresented in print, but even if it is the case that his words really were printed in a "dislocated & awry" manner, I propose that there is more to this story. Whitman treated this interview as an occasion to balance the contradictions between public utterance and private belief, between writing for and about oneself and writing for a growing audience of both fans and detractors.

⋆

While his notoriety may prompt a reader to focus primarily on the parts of this document that are in Whitman's hand, his is not the sole pen of authorship. In 1900, Robert Underwood Johnson wrote a note to accompany to the piece, which he attached to the bottom of the clipping Whitman sent him. Written in his bold, thick handwriting, it further complicates the bizarre collage:

> This was sent to me sometime in the Seventies by Whitman himself from St. Louis, with the request from him that I would have it reprinted in the New York papers. The introduction and corrections were written by him. I was then on Dr. Holland's staff of Scribner's as Whitman well knew when he sent the piece!
>
> R. U. Johnson.
>
> New York, March 31, 1900

The final exclamation mark indicates what may be bemusement and may be indignation on Johnson's part. Whitman unflatteringly referenced his boss, Josiah G. Holland, who, while rarely read today, was a well-known figure in the literary establishment at the time, working prolifically as a poet, historian, novelist, and advice columnist.[7] The reference would have caught Johnson's attention when he first read the article; hence this request that Whitman name some of his imagined neglected writers. In addition, he certainly would have taken note that, even in the revised version Whitman sent him as a response, he had done nothing to tone the insult down. Crossing out several words in the original article, Whitman edited the passage to read as follows: "They have not yet begun to speak because the magazines ~~and publishing houses~~ are in the hands ~~of the fossils. There is a great underlying strata of young men and women who cannot speak because the magazines are in the hands~~ of old fogies like

Holland or fops like Howells."

It is possible that all Whitman would have needed to do was drag the pencil an inch further, crossing out the words "old fogies like Holland," to make the interview publishable. But Whitman kept the jab at Holland, crossed out his reference to the "great underlying strata" instead, and then Johnson framed the piece and hung it on the wall. Watching the story unfold in retrospect, one is inclined to ask: has Johnson called the bard's bluff? Is Whitman's entire project in his reply to Johnson simply to obscure his inability to name a single one of the "great underlying strata" to whom he wills the future of American literature? Why else would he have sent a text that Johnson simply couldn't have published? What is the canny Walt Whitman up to here? No wonder Johnson's befuddlement is such that, twenty-three years after he first suggests it in his note about the piece in 1900, he still insists in his memoir that Whitman *must* have known that Holland, the "old fogey," was Johnson's chief at *Scribner's*.[8]

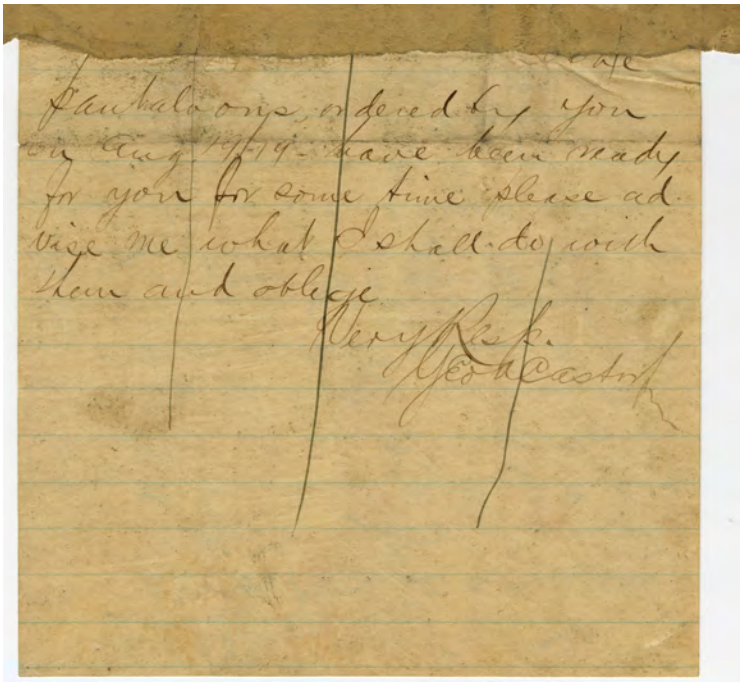
Some attention to the fact of the matter—Whitman's corrections to the "dislocated & awry" parts of the interview—will shed some light on these questions and prove to be both illuminating and confounding by turns. The majority of Whitman's changes to the original text of the interview, after a florid new introduction pasted on at the top, are deletions, although there are a handful of insertions scribbled in the margins. There are also several words in the original text that were placed in block capitals in the center of the column—Whitman the printer seems to find this off-putting, and he marks for them to be taken back up into the rest of the paragraph at each point they occur.

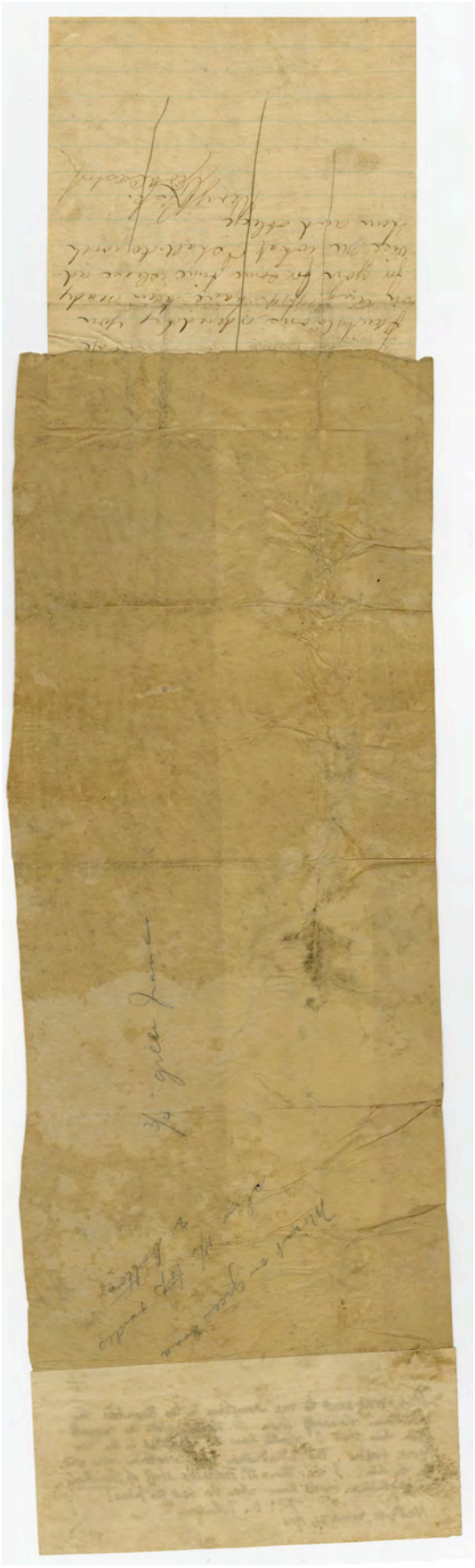
Yet this piece and the narrative of its creation have more to offer the field of Whitman scholarship than simple archival curiosity, as valuable as such curiosity may be in and of itself. By carefully considering a few specific examples of major changes that Whitman made to the original text of the interview, I will show that Whitman's revised interview affords the reader an opportunity to see Whitman's first-hand working out of a key problematic in his work: that of the relationship between the individual artist and the democratic mass he imagined to be necessary for the development of a budding republic of American literati. How does Whitman negotiate his calculating cultivation of his individual artistic image when the backbone of his poetics is precisely the attempt to articulate the voice of the multitudes? What is the relationship between the attempt to speak in the name of a certain "leaven & spirit," in manifold tongues, and the complications that stem from working in a literary marketplace built on the promotion of individual genius?

⋆

Editing himself in public was hardly a novelty for Whitman in 1879. Of course, his *Leaves of Grass* had already seen multiple editions that were significantly different from one another, but 1879 was a substantial year for Whitman to ventriloquize himself in other ways. In September, while he was in Denver, Whitman hand-wrote his own "interview," including introductory remarks by a fictional reporter, and sent it to the editor of the *Denver Daily Tribune*,[9] and in August he sent a description of himself for John Burroughs to include, intentionally without attribution, in his essay on "Nature and the Poets,"[10] in which he celebrates himself as a democratic poet and offers a brief characterization of his relationship to natural history. The particular collage of newsprint and manuscript Whitman made in St. Louis uniquely allows the reader to see this process of ventriloquism worked out firsthand, as a test case for the way Whitman handled his individual notoriety in relation to his experimental project of a democratic poetics that runs through so much of his writing. While the language of poetry gave him the freedom to contradict himself, to speak in the first person and simultaneously claim to contain multitudes, Walt Whitman the public intellectual finds himself unable to speak truly for Walt Whitman the poet without revision. He does indeed contain multitudes, but not in exactly the same sense he spoke of in his famous line from "Song of Myself."[11] In this interview, Whitman's problem is precisely that he contains, not the chaotic manifold of persons listed out in "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," but a multitude of potentially irreconcilable Walt Whitmans—the "Good Gray" poet of literary celebrity, the printer, the public speaker, the prose essayist and literary prognosticator, the editor, the amateur political philosopher. It is therefore hardly surprising that he finds himself at this moment grappling with the question of the relationship between the poetic individual and his mass audience.

The *verso* of the collage is particularly interesting for our understanding of how Whitman grapples with the commodification of his public persona. Johnson's addition to the bottom of the piece bleeds through the paper on which he wrote it, and the back of the heavy paper to which Whitman pasted his edits has some notes from the framer: "Mount on green board"; "show 1 1/2 top and sides"; "2 bottom"; "3/4 green frame." These brief instructions, probably from Johnson, could indicate the meticulous care Johnson took in preserving his piece of Whitman memorabilia, suggesting the staying power of Whitman fandom in the generation immediately following his death. As David Haven Blake notes in *Walt Whitman and the Culture of American Celebrity*, "Prepared to bargain himself in the cultural marketplace, Whitman reflected the Gilded





Right: Verso of newspaper interview from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* with corrections, comments, and augmentations in Walt Whitman's hand. From the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana. Above: Detail from the verso, a letter from Whitman's tailor, George A. Castor.

Age's enthusiasm for the commodification of personality."[12] The very fact that Johnson carries on this commodification by treating the object with the care and respect usually given to a religious icon or a family heirloom suggests the tension Whitman is working out. What is a "poet of the people" to do when his individual notoriety is already such that fans will archive and pore over every scrap of Whitmaniana they can get their hands on—not to mention scholars over a hundred years hence?

Preservational care notwithstanding, Johnson himself had a fairly ambiguous stance on Whitman, both as a poet and as a cultural figure. In *Remembered Yesterdays*, Johnson is careful to immediately establish his relationship to Whitman through his relationship with "our common friend, the beloved John Burroughs," who is "one of the saner disciples" (332), mirroring what seems to have also been *Scribner's* editorial policy in the late 1870's—proximity to Whitman was more acceptable than Whitman himself. While the autobiography counts Whitman among the "Men and Women of Distinction" in the chapter dedicated to Johnson's impressions of these personages, he frequently mixes criticism and approbation: "Whatever else Whitman was, he was not an artist. But he had a power of imagination that gives us the feeling of prairie and sea and sky–and of elemental qualities in human nature" (333). Johnson ultimately arrives at the conclusion that Whitman "was always more or less of a *poseur*," suggesting that he may have been "in" on the project of the commodification of Whitman's personality—that he knew what he was doing both by refusing to publish the piece and by keeping it around for at least two decades (335).

If Johnson ever studied the back of the document carefully, he would have found a different Whitman there—one who, for a moment, he might have caught out of pose. The Whitman that appears on the reverse of the scrap he used for a new, self-celebratory introduction was the Whitman who would do things other folks did too:

pantaloons ordered by you on Aug 19/79 have been ready for you for some time please advise me what I shall do with them and oblige.

Very Resp.

Geo. A. Castor

While the front triumphantly announces: "<u>Walt Whitman in St. Louis</u>, ~~talk~~ <u>Literature, Politics, and the Prairie States</u>," the back is a plea, sent two months prior to the October interview, from the tailor who had the ill-fortune of having

the disorganized Walt Whitman as a customer.[13] In *Specimen Day*s Whitman records himself being in Philadelphia in August of 1879, which means that by the time this scrap of paper found its final use he had carted it with him to St. Louis, Topeka, Denver, and back to St. Louis—the tailor's bad luck was such that the note he sent to Whitman was also the piece of paper nearest at hand when the poet needed to edit some newsprint. Laid up with illness in St. Louis with no other scratch paper close at hand, he made do with what was within reach so that he could make his grand statement on "Literature, Politics, and the Prairie States"—large thoughts, for him, do not necessitate great stationery. One is reminded of his insistence, later in life, that he could find any paper he wanted at any time out of the colossal mess on the floor at Mickle Street.[14] It is, of course, also possible that even Whitman's careless recycling of a tailor's reminder was intentional: all across his career, Whitman worked hard to cultivate his image of an unappreciated "starving artist" who suffered in the marketplace because of his innovation, and the possibility that he could not afford to pay his tailor could only serve to enhance this element of his persona.

This part of the document could appear insignificant, depending on the eye of the beholder, but it offers a tiny glimpse into another Whitman, one that readers have arguably seen more of today than most did in his lifetime, since the publication of his notes, daybooks, and correspondence: the private Whitman, bard though he may be, going about his domestic affairs like any other resident of Camden, if more forgetfully than some. The manner in which even the back of the document counterpoises the public Whitman of celebrity with the private Whitman of domesticity only becomes more striking as this very juxtaposition plays out across the rest of the "hastily corrected slip."

⋆

Whitman's paradoxical relationship with his public image is even more explicitly on display in the corrections Whitman made to the interview itself, beginning with his new hand-written introduction that replaces the opening comments provided originally by the newspaper. Whitman had at least one other clipping of this interview besides the one he sent to Johnson. In the clipping referenced by Floyd Stovall in the notes to his edition of *Specimen Days*, Whitman cut off the original introduction and simply wrote, "We called on Mr. Whitman yesterday."[15] The newspaper gave a lengthy title to the interview, spanning several vertical lines of print with "Walt Whitman. His Ideas About the Future of American Literature. The Religion and the Politics of a New Nation. Some

Original Thoughts from a Most Original Thinker."[16] The original introductory statement reads:

> Walt Whitman, the poet, is visiting his brother at 2316 Pine street, in this city, resting after his trip to Kansas, and recovering from an attack of sickness. Mr. Whitman is a very remarkable looking man. His long, snow-white hair flows down and mingles with his fleecy beard, giving him a venerable expression, which his grave eyes and well-marked features confirm. Whitman impresses one at once as being a sage, and his thoughtful, original speech confirms the idea. A Post-Dispatch reporter called on the author of "Leaves of Grass" this morning, and after a somewhat desultory conversation abruptly asked him: "Do you think we are to have a distinctively American literature?

Note that, while the headline declares the advent of "Original Thoughts from a Most Original Thinker," the introduction penned by the newspaper writer focuses primarily on the poet's singular physical appearance, his hair, beard, eyes, and "well-marked features." Other newspaper interviews Whitman gave on his western excursion follow this trend: the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* of September 13, 1879, says, near the beginning: "Although as young as his travelling companion, Mr. Forney,[17] he is much more venerable and patriarchal in appearance. His quaint garb and primitive collar serve to attract attention to the old gentleman." On the same day, *The Missouri Republican* began its coverage with: "Walt Whitman is a man well advanced in years and his snow-white hair and long white beard which grows upon a large portion of his face give him a decidedly venerable appearance. He wore a gray travelling suit and his shirt-bosom was left open at the neck, something after the fashion of the Goddess of Liberty as shown on a fifty-cent piece."[18] Whitman was only sixty at the time; nevertheless, newspaper writers were impressed by, and focused on, his physical appearance, which may have been because he cut such a realistic figure, the living embodiment of William Douglas O'Connor's "Good Gray Poet"—playing the part from his dress to his grooming habits.[19]

Whitman's new introduction offers a strikingly different focus:[20]

> Walt Whitman in St. Louis, ~~talk~~ ,
>
> Literature, Politics, and the Prairie States.
>
> After a ~~journ~~ ^[travel] of some weeks amid the cañons and parks of the Rocky Mountains, and over the Great Plains of Kansas and eastern Colorado, the poet Walt Whitman ^[has] returned to St. Louis, where he ~~is~~ now temporarily ~~residing~~ ^resides. He ~~likes~~ ^[is much impressed with the whole state of] Missouri, and says the time will come when its natural wealth, situation, and advantages will make it a foremost ~~State in~~^[member of] the Union.

A reporter for one of the St. Louis Dailies, the Post Dispatch, called on ^[Mr.] Whitman ~~there~~, one fine forenoon lately, and after a somewhat desultory conversation abruptly asked him:

"Do you think we are to have a distinctively American Literature?"

Note that all references to Whitman's person, his appearance and his family, have been replaced with a terse "the poet Walt Whitman." Even though William Douglas O'Connor had christened him "The Good Gray Poet" more than a decade earlier, Whitman here is much less interested in promoting a public image based on his appearance (which was much the focus of O'Connor's defense, put into the "quaint, sweet tone" of Abraham Lincoln: "Well, he looks like a MAN") and instead focuses on his role as a public intellectual. The handwritten introduction is about Whitman the traveler, off on his longest journey since his early trip to Louisiana, and announcing what he, as America's representative poetic voice, has to say about the Western states. All the reader needs to know about the author personally is that he is "the poet Walt Whitman." Although there are significant passages in *Leaves of Grass* where Whitman engages a strong poetics of embodiment, here Whitman eschews his body in favor of his thoughts, exchanging his person for his persona.

He could plausibly be erasing his body from his new introduction because it has been giving him so much trouble during his stay in St. Louis. In a letter to Peter Doyle on November 5 he says that he has been "hauled in here in St Louis for repairs,"[21] and he also mentions his illness to Anne Gilchrist in a letter from November 10 (". . . but three weeks ago I was taken down sick & have come back & stopt here in St Louis ever since"[22]), and John Burroughs on November 23 ("I am still here—. . . 'not yet out of my misery'").[23] There is, however, another possible reading of this remarkably different introduction to the piece: while an individual person has "long, snow-white hair" and a "fleecy beard" (as captured in the original introduction), "the poet Walt Whitman" is more than his appearance. He covers and envisions the "whole state of Missouri," which is itself ultimately not best described as a free-standing, isolated "State" (which Whitman strikes out), but rather a co-dependent "member" of something much larger, namely a collective union. While rhetorically distancing himself from the overpersonalization of the original introductory statement, Whitman simultaneously inflates the status of his individual perspective by prophesying about Missouri's future and giving his impression of its present state, shifting the weight of attention from his body to his voice. The Union is a great collective body and Missouri has a promising future in it because Walt Whitman's singular

perspective is meant to make it so.

This same paradoxical tension is expressed in that opening question, a query Whitman encounters here not for the last time, which he may ultimately decide is unanswerable later in his career: "Do you think we are to have a distinctively American literature?"[24] The question is hardly surprising, since it was at the forefront of American writers' concerns across the nineteenth century, but there is a meaningful ambivalence at the heart of the question as Whitman approaches it here: is there going to be a *distinctive*, unique, individual literary voice that will come out of or define a political *collective*—a relatively young and tenuous one at that? After all, Whitman was traveling West to attend the "Old Settlers' Reunion" on what was only the twenty-fifth anniversary of the settlement of Kansas.

One of Whitman's first deletions suggests his awareness of the keen edge of this ambivalence; after stating that it is necessary for a nation to lay its "materialistic foundations" before anything called a national literature can form, he changes his original text: "This we ~~have founded and~~ are carrying out ~~on a grander scale than ever hitherto~~, and it seems to me that these ~~great~~ central States from ~~Ohio to Colorado and from~~ Lake Superior down to Tennessee, the prairie States, will be the theater of our great future." Whitman's choosing to unsay a phrase like "on a grander scale than ever hitherto" seems uncharacteristic, idiosyncratic even. Yet recall from above that the question at hand is, "Do you think we are to have a distinctively American literature?"—not a Western literature only. To use the perfect tense ("have founded") and follow it with the imperfect ("are carrying out") implies a division, a separation between the starting place on the coast and the place out West where the work of national infrastructure and trade continues "on a grander scale," and Whitman chooses to do without this division.

It is also worth noting that Whitman was absolutely delighted with the West, that the whole excursion felt like a homecoming to him, in spite of his illness that kept him laid up in St. Louis for longer than he expected to be on his return trip. "I have found the law of my own poems" he wrote while riding the train through the Rocky Mountains,[25] and in one interview Whitman defines himself as "in sympathy and preference Western—better fitted for the Mississippi Valley."[26] In the section of Burroughs's "Nature and the Poets," which Whitman had written about himself around this time, he also makes sure to say, "Whitman is less local than the New England poets, and faces more to the West."[27] And yet, in his revision of the interview, he finds himself reluctant to sever the American West too cleanly from his home in the East,

toning down his celebratory language to describe more moderately the role that a single part of the country will have in the making of its collective voice. As he goes on to say (and unsay): "Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, Kansas and Colorado seem to me to be the ~~seat and~~ field of these very ideas. ~~They seem to be carrying them out."~~ The Mid-Western states may still be the "field" of the foundations of possibility for a national American literature, but they are not the exclusive "seat" of these foundations, and Whitman no longer finds it necessary to point to them as carrying it out in any unique way. Whitman's first significant revisions following the introduction thus suggest a special concern with the problem of national identity—in order to be able to say what an "American national literature" is, he would have to say what America is, but he finds it very difficult to describe America without chopping it up into regional pieces, so he opts for a moderation in tone to help soften, at least for the moment, his triumphant opinion on the progress of American westward expansion, erring on the side of democratic unity. In the spirit of late-career Whitman, nationalistic triumphalism will feature much more prominently later on.

A few more mostly cosmetic deletions follow. The next more meaningful change, for the purposes of my argument here, is an insertion: "^[Hitherto,] Although we have elegant and finished writers, none of them express America or her spirit on any respect whatsoever." The insertion caret is placed before the word "Although," and "Hitherto" is written in the margin on the heavy stock to which the clipping is glued. Had the word been printed in the original it may have spared Johnson the concern out of which he wrote to Whitman in the first place. The insertion suggests that, when publicly responding to a query about the possibility of a distinctly national American literature, Whitman wants it to be known that there have "hitherto" been no writers who "express America's spirit"—not yet, but one day. It may be that he is unable to articulate for Johnson in whom specifically these hopes should be placed because he is engaging in the same process of cultivation that he tackles in *Leaves of Grass*—he is hoping that, by invoking the next generation of American poets, he may be able to speak them into existence. "Hitherto" indicates the possibility of something coming later, coming after, which is not yet here but may one day be, if the seeds are scattered into the right soil. In his letter back to Johnson that accompanied this piece, Whitman says he is invested in "a certain leaven & spirit," not a new movement of disparate, individual genius—but his public self is hopelessly, individually charismatic. Whitman wants to inaugurate a bold, fresh, new democratic poetics, but since the crux of the experiment is the convergence of the individual and the mass, he cannot be satisfied with mere disciples or imitators.

He wants to put "a whole living man in the expression of a poem" (as he will say later in the interview), but that living man is supposed to also reveal the secret of democratic unity, by containing multitudes. It may therefore be one of Whitman's more profound, if subconscious, revelations, that the resolution of this quandary is always deferred: and yet, in his private revision of his public thoughts, Whitman inserts the "hitherto" of a hope that his promise of a new generation might materialize as he calls it into being.

Next, the interviewer asks Whitman, "What will be the character of the American literature when it does form?" A long deletion follows: "~~Do you know that I have thought of that vaguely often, but have never before been asked the question~~. ~~It will be something entirely new, entirely different~~. As we are a new nation with almost a new geography, and a new spirit, the expression of them will have to be new." Whether he really has never been asked the question in the past, or if simply does not want to say that he has considered the issue only "vaguely," Whitman's editing pen decides that it does not behoove him to appear ambivalent in his response. He says that Americans will write in "the same ~~old~~ font that Homer and Shakspeare used, but our use will be new," deleting even the mention of the "old." Whatever American literature may be, insofar as it will draw upon pre-existing ideas and forms, it will draw upon them in an unprecedented way.[28]

In a similar vein, Whitman's next insertion is concerned with moving beyond what is "foreign" in the modern literary landscape, to get to the kernel of what he believes to be really "American" in American poetry. The interview says, with the added word marked by a caret, "Modern poetry and art run to a ^[constipated] sweetness and refinement which are ~~really~~ foreign to us; they are not ours." The invocation of "sweetness and refinement," reminiscent of Matthew Arnold's "sweetness and light," seems to indicate the general tenor of the "Fireside Poets" like Whittier, Bryant, and Longfellow. Whitman would also resort to the metaphor of constipation about a decade later when describing Puritanism and its relation to "a great imaginative *literatus* for America."[29] Whitman is quick to criticize his contemporaries, in this interview and elsewhere, for trying to import what he saw as fundamentally European ways of writing into American letters, and it is clear from his insertion that he felt such influences were causing some kind of unique American literary spirit to become blocked or stopped up in an unproductive way.

Whitman's concern here about the intrusion of the foreign signals his embrace of American exceptionalism—he believed that there were not and could not be any greater countries in the world, and later in this interview he

says that the reason America does not own the whole world is that the whole world isn't "fit" to be owned by it: "We could take the whole world in if it was fit for it, which it is not. There is no danger in enlargement. We can take in all the country from the isthmus to the North pole." Whitman's failures are as loud as his successes, and rarely secret or subtle. Yet, considering the apparent paradox of the relationship between the individual and the masses that he grapples with here, America suggests itself to Whitman as a solution to the problem, heavy-handed and troubling as Whitman's boundless enthusiasm makes it appear. As Whitman saw it, America was unique *because* of its masses—the ideal synthesis of the dialectical tension between individual and mass. America's particular potential was in its general "leaven & spirit," as a republic constituted by the mass of its people. Whitman believed that such a synthesis was possible, and that a poet could bring it about, if that poet became himself the microcosm of the democratic nation he envisions—and if he could get his public opinion about the matter printed just right. Whitman was, as this document emphasizes, convinced that utopian democracy was at his beck and call.

This idea is borne out further in Whitman's next significant insertions a few lines down the page: "My idea of one ~~great~~ feature of American poetry is the expression of comradeship. ~~That is a main point with me.~~ Then breadth, moderness ^[,] a~~nd~~ consistency with science ^[and our own idiosyncrasies, east and west, north and south]." It is not enough for Whitman that American literature be generally broad, modern, or consistent with science[30]—it should bear all these things while maintaining the unique *terroir* of the various parts of the country. He wants a general sort of breadth that also preserves particular uniqueness, in a manner similar to his own massive poetic geographical catalogues, like those in "Salut au Monde!" or "Starting from Paumanok." Hence, when he comes to the statement that prompted Johnson's letter, the changes that at first appeared idiosyncratic now come into focus:

> The best promise in America of those things is in a certain range of young men that are coming on the stage, that are yet voiceless. They are appearing ^[both] in the Eastern cities and in the West. They have not yet begun to speak because the magazines ~~and publishing houses~~ are in the hands ~~of the fossils. There is a great underlying strata of young men and women who cannot speak because the magazines are in the hands~~ of old fogies like Holland or fops like Howells. ~~They~~ ^[Those young souls] are like water dammed up. They will burst forth some day.

Whitman handles the section Johnson had inquired about by deleting much of it, apparently more concerned about the periodical market than about book

publishers, and no longer concerned about "fossils." He carelessly deletes women from America's literary future for simple editorial convenience—the original had "men and women," but Whitman crosses out that entire line, leaving only the "certain range of young men" at the beginning. On the other hand, a generic "they" is insufficient to describe the group of "young souls" Whitman has in mind. It may appear unusual that Whitman retains the derogatory reference to Josiah Holland, but Whitman and Holland's mutual animosity was hardly a secret. In 1875, Whitman sent two poems to Holland, one of which was "Eidólons." Whitman later recalled to Horace Traubel that the letter he received in return was "the most offensive and abusive letter I ever received."[31] Whitman claimed to have burned it, but a sense of what it may have contained can be surmised from a different letter from Holland that Johnson reproduces, in which he says, "A good brain with all its energies wasted on a style so irredeemably vicious that no man can ever imitate it without disgrace—that is Walt Whitman to me"(*Remembered Yesterdays*, 338). In May of 1876, Holland published the scathing editorial "Is It Poetry" in *Scribners*, staunchly proclaiming that Whitman's work "has no right to be called poetry; that it is too involved and spasmodic and strained to be respectable prose, and that there is no place for it, either in the heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth."[32] In 1878, Holland demonstrated laughable failure as a literary oracle, writing in an editorial called "Our Garnered Names" that "when the genuine geniuses of this period shall be appreciated at their full value . . . their countrymen will have ceased discussing Poe and Thoreau and Walt Whitman."[33] It would appear that the only kind words about Whitman that Holland ever published were from the mouth of John Burroughs, who published "Is It Going to Rain?" in *Scribner's* in 1878, one year before publishing it in *Locusts and Wild Honey*, and his more famous essay "Nature and the Poets" in 1879, two years before including it with the essays in *Pepacton*. Burroughs, of course, speaks glowingly of Whitman in both pieces, but also seems to have made himself respectable enough in the eyes of the *Scribner's* editors that they are willing to concede: "Mr. Burroughs is so charming a companion that one is quite willing to have a difference of opinion with him."[34] Josiah Holland's *Scribner's* was apparently only ready to accept a Whitman mediated through the veil of Burroughs' relative presentability, which makes it both unusual that Johnson reached out to Whitman at all and unsurprising that Whitman felt no qualms about taking "old fogie Holland" to task.

On another level, Whitman is trying to indicate that Johnson's query itself shows how deeply he has missed the point. He is not saying that there is individual literary genius lying undiscovered all across America, and that if the

traditional mechanisms of literary authority would but subsume these voices under their umbrella, an American poetics would finally "burst forth." Rather, a truly democratic American poetics would be one that broke completely with the traditional model of literary publication based on finding the next great individual talent, allowing for the possibility of a speaking mass, a voice of "comradeship," as Whitman put it before. Once again, the promise is deferred—America may have a literary future, but for now there are constipating forces damming them up, forces in the literary establishment preventing the "bursting forth" of the "young souls." These forces must be subverted entirely before breadth and uniqueness can coexist, although Whitman avoids confronting the contradiction which cannot possibly be lost on him here, that the experimental nature of his own attempts to articulate this subversion is what makes him stand out as an individual opposed to his contemporaries.

This is, however, his exact concern about Bret Harte, one of the early novelists to write about the American West. In this interview, Whitman excoriates Harte for choosing the wrong sort of individual characters and making them stand for the whole of the West: "^[But] What a miserable business it is to take out of this great outgrowth of Western character, which is something more heroic than ever the old poets ^[and historians] wrote about, ~~to have taken out~~ only a few ruffians and delirium tremens ^[ital] specimens, and made them representatives of California personality." Instead, the essence of the West would have better been expressed by, in a phrase Whitman adds in the margin, "the loftiest native types." Since Whitman's first-person voice in his poetry tends to represent itself as a part speaking for, and encompassing, the whole, it would appear that a "loftier native type" would look more like Walt Whitman himself, and less like Harte's actual characters who, as Whitman puts it, "have taken Dickens' treatment of the slums of London and transferred it to California." As David Haven Blake notes about *Democratic Vistas*, "When Whitman envisions a 'divine literatus' who might make the nation whole, he imagines a figure that strikingly resembles an earlier version of himself" (207).

Indeed, after inserting a question for the interviewer that allows him to make some brief laudatory remarks about Tennyson, and irritably suggesting that "the whole tendency of poetry has been toward ^[a twiddling sort of] refinement," Whitman considers the exact problem Blake brings to light:

> Something more vigorous, *al fresco*, was needed~~, and t~~^[T]hen more than all I determined from the beginning to put a whole living man in the expression of a poem, without wincing. I thought the time had come to do so, and I thought America was the place to do it. ~~Curious as it may appear, it had never yet been done.~~ An entire human being physically, emotionally,

and in his moral and spiritual nature.^[,] ~~A~~nd also to express what seems to be to have been left unexpressed, our own country and our own times.

Perhaps Whitman does not want it to appear "curious" that no one has attempted to "put a whole living man in the expression of a poem," as he puts it. But this is the problem: no one has attempted it because no one else is Walt Whitman. His vision for the literary future is largely drawn from his own poetic self of the past—the renegade, self-publishing "rough" from the famous image that accompanied the 1855 *Leaves of Grass*. But Walt Whitman is not a single, unified self—he is a multitude of selves, trying to present a vision of a collective poetics that seamlessly unites the human being, already fragmented and disparate, into a whole, and at the same time to express "our own country" through that expression of composite individuality: not what has been left unexpressed *about* "our country" or *in* "our country," but the national collective itself. This is why he sends these hasty corrections to Johnson instead of a carefully curated list of budding new American literary talent: he knows that he is doing something unique, but if the unprecedented nature of the work relies on the specific individuality of the author, it cannot be repeated any more than a whole individual person's life can be relived. The phrase "it had never been done" becomes troublesome and is crossed out, not because Whitman secretly believes that a project like his has been attempted before, but because too heavy a focus on the unprecedented nature of his project would suggest that the reason these underlying strata have yet to speak is not because they are crushed by the literary establishment, but because they are not Walt Whitman, a reversion to the language of individuality which would undermine his entire argument thus far.

⋆

As the interview turns towards politics at its close, Whitman looks to the nation to solve his conundrum of the individual and the masses, because it is finally in what he calls the "greatness" of the nation that the marriage of individual expression and mass collectivity is finally consummated, wrapped uncomfortably in rhetorics of expansionist imperialism that Whitman first employed in his early days as a writer and more fully embraced in the later decades of his career. After a very brief and general statement on religion, to which he makes no noteworthy changes, Whitman first fixes a mistake in the original text, and then he institutes a series of revealing changes. First, the original text of the interview reads, "I think the theory and practice of American government, without its

National and State governments, are stable. It seems to be established without danger, without end." In the slip he sent to Johnson, the first "without" is shortened to "with," so the clause carries the opposite meaning; it now says, with my emphasis added, "*with* its National and State governments." It seems most probable that this is a case in which the printer or the journalist actually did make a mistake and print his words in a "dislocated & awry manner," since the practice of American government minus both the national and the state political bodies would not leave much to comment upon.

Whitman continues to celebrate the practice of American government, adding the phrase "and Cuba" to the interviewer's question: "And how about ^[Cuba and] Canada?" As Louis A. Pérez, Jr., writes, "The nineteenth-century premise of American nationhood was fully imbued with the presumption of possession of Cuba, anticipated with the supposition of certainty and awaited with the expectation of fulfillment."[35] While the 1898 invasion of Cuba was still years away, the potential annexation of Cuba was debated widely across the nineteenth century, and Whitman himself weighed in on the debate in the January 12, 1858, *Brooklyn Daily Times*: "Judging from analogy and precedent, as well as from the geographical position of Cuba, there can be little doubt that, like Texas and other States, it will gradually be absorbed into the Union. . . . It is impossible to say what the future will bring forth, but 'manifest destiny' certainly points to the speedy annexation of Cuba by the United States."[36] His insertion of Cuba into the interviewer's question is therefore not a simple statement of geographical reality (that Cuba belongs in the same "group," for the project of American empire, as Canada and Mexico), but a signpost that Whitman is weighing in on an issue integral to the political concerns of the day, one that had been on his mind for at least two decades.

His 1858 embrace of "manifest destiny" is also highlighted in his response to the newly articulated question, although not in terms as explicit as those of his earlier journalism: "I think Canada and Cuba and Mexico will gravitate to us. We could take the whole world in if it was fit for it, which it is not." Furthermore, where the original text of the interview prints, "Our American greatness and vitality are in the bulk of our people," he crosses out "greatness" and replaces it with "dominion," but then he follows it up with, "not in a^[ ] gentry[37] like in the old world." This is yet another of his paradoxical dilemmas: Whitman haughtily says that the world is "not fit for" America, but this is at least in part because that world is too entrenched in hierarchical systems of aristocracy. Whitman's exaggerated jingoism therefore unwittingly highlights the imperialism latent in the project of American liberal democracy while simul-

taneously calling for the abolishment of class hierarchy. True to form, given the choice between two apparently irreconcilable positions, Walt Whitman chooses both. While the individual nation in its relationship to the mass of the continent is at issue here, this move is fundamentally indicative of Whitman's attitude towards the problem of the individual and the collective, whether that be in poetry, philosophy, or politics.

At the end of the interview, Whitman does make one definitive move in the direction of the democratic "bulk" he has been extolling. To understand the significance of this moment, it will be important to remember that 1879 was the first year that Whitman publicly gave his lecture on the "Death of Lincoln." Throughout the year he had been grooming the press to prepare the public for his reinvention, not simply as a poet, but as a public orator. On April 15, 1879, he wrote a piece for the *New York Daily Tribune* entitled "The Poet on the Platform," subtitled "Walt Whitman as a Lecturer," and starting with, "The poet Walt Whitman made his beginning as a lecturer last night, at Steck Hall, in Fourteenth-st."[38] Later in the year, the November 15 *Washington Evening Star* includes a brief segment by Whitman entitled "A Poet's Western Visit," which briefly describes his trip out West but also carefully states that "He [Whitman] is understood as desiring engagements to lecture and read his poems the coming winter."[39] The Lincoln lecture, often coupled with a reading of "O Captain! My Captain!" would become a staple element of Whitman's travelling repertoire at this point in his career. It is with this context in mind that the significance of his next change to the interview comes into focus. The original said, "Our leading men are not of much account and never have been, but the average of the people is immense, beyond all history. Lincoln seems to me to be our greatest specimen personality. Sometimes I think that in all departments, literature and art included that will be the way our greatness will exhibit itself. We will not have great individuals or great leaders, but a great bulk, unprecedentedly great." His revised version reads: "~~Lincoln seems to me to be our greatest specimen personality.~~ Sometimes I think that in all departments, literature and art included that will be the way our ~~greatness~~^[true American soul] will exhibit itself. We will not have great individuals or great leaders, but a great bulk, unprecedentedly great." Whitman shows himself in this moment to be so dedicated to the idea of the collective, to the bulk and the mass, that he no longer sees any room for "specimen personalities," even that of Lincoln, at this precise moment when Whitman is actively working to brand himself as a public lecturer about Lincoln. At the interview's close there is, at last, a definitive statement of the subsumption of the individual into the democratic bulk that Whitman is so fond

of extolling—but it is a statement founded upon an absence that is only apparent when considering the document in this specific form, since the excision would not be visible in any print form.

On the one hand, Whitman dials up his nationalistic rhetoric in order to express the colonial imperialism of his context in ways that ring uncomfortably false in the mouth of a poet who is capable, at times, of genuinely liberatory poetic intentions. For sure, his invocation of manifest destiny all the way back in 1858 indicates that various forms of imperialism wove their way in and out of his personal and poetic ideology all throughout his life. On the other hand, he shows himself so dedicated to an anti-aristocratic poetics of the mass that he goes so far as to delete Lincoln from his conclusion, even though singing Lincoln's praises on the lecture circuit would become his bread and butter in the years to come. His subtly anarchic "no kings, no heroes" attitude—expressed here and in a later conversation with Horace Traubel—"I'm honest when I say, damn My Captain and all the My Captains in my book!"[40]—is stated in the same breath as "American greatness and dominion." His conclusion, that the greatness of the nation is its subsumption of class hierarchy and individual greatness into a sphere of exceptionally horizontal collectivity, is his answer to Johnson. If an American literature is going to form as such, it will be a great collective experiment that relies on its horizontal nature for its potency. Whitman's romantic ebullience leads him to overstate this case with indulgent expansionist rhetoric, as he tries to square the circle of all his selves, which sometimes for worse and sometimes for better, he cannot help but sing.

⋆

With this glimpse into Whitman's edits in his "hastily corrected slip," it is possible to see the complex interplay between individual and mass that Whitman needed to navigate as his own popularity grew. At the same time, he had to grapple with the irony that his individual notoriety was in a sense all he had to show for his attempt to inaugurate a revolution in poetic form. He had admirers and imitators, but his radical redefinition of poetic form would spend decades after his death going through the permutations of modernism before producing a Carl Sandburg or an Allen Ginsberg. The very existence of this document demonstrates that Whitman knows Johnson has called his bluff, but it also shows the way he is trying to stack the deck in his favor by calling "the best promise in America" into being. For example, Johnson himself expresses surprise

at Whitman's having anything positive to say about Tennyson, "the chief of the mid-Victorians." Johnson considers Whitman's statement that Tennyson is "the leading man in modern poetry" evidence that "[Whitman] did not hold consistently to his theory and practice of verse."[41] But Whitman explicitly says in the interview that, while Tennyson captures "the heart-sickness of modern times," he is personally "ambitious to do something entirely different from that . . . something more vigorous, *al fresco*." America for Whitman cannot be articulated through the modern ennui of a particular moment, but ought instead to be expressed in something bigger than any one historical moment: "a whole living man in the expression of a poem, without wincing." Whitman does not see his poetic American democracy as a product of modernity, but as an answer to the problems that modernity brings to the fore as a distinct but magnetically attractive force. Perhaps it was this idealistic desire to drench modernity in timelessness that made it so difficult for Whitman to call his democratic republic of bards into being.

Many concessions to the split between form and content have been made here in order to make the piece as legible as possible to a community of scholars interested both in what Whitman has to say and the material means by which he says it. In truth, the words Whitman says, unsays, and re-says in his "hastily corrected slip" cannot be separated cleanly from the object on which they are inscribed. In a year that he had dedicated to travel and to carefully cultivating his image as a public intellectual in the periodical market, Walt Whitman the individual worked hard to control the narrative by which he would be received *en masse*. While there is of course an element of egotism to such a project, it is not self-aggrandizement, pure and simple. Whitman believed that the edifice of self he constructed at this time would be the foundation of a new explosion of literary democracy, just as he believed that the laying of "materialistic foundations" would be the "seat and field" of the Western states he had experienced for the first time. In his reply to Johnson, he subtly changes the original so that it is no longer an interview *about* Walt Whitman, but an interview given *by* Walt Whitman, which becomes in turn an attempt to reconcile his own competing public and private selves into a coherent whole, from which he can speak multitudes. With his edits to this document, Whitman pieces together the always-deferred possibility of a democratic literary voice that both speaks the whole subjectivity of an individual and celebrates the levelling power of a mass collective on the national scale. Whitman's final iteration of his words on the matter was framed and hung on the wall without ever reaching publication and now rests quietly in the vault of a rare books library, but this artifact offers

a hasty snapshot of the springs and cogwheels of the project of self-making underlying the democratic impulses of Whitmanian poetics. As he tinkers with his identity here, this collage offers some hints as to how he intended to get the whole unwieldy apparatus to travel ahead of him, on its own, into the democratic literary future of his imagination—an imagination by turns prodigious and fallible, fractured and singular.

Indiana University

Notes

1 The author is gratefully indebted to the staff at the Lilly Library for their invaluable assistance, in particular to Zach Downey for his careful digitization of the piece, Jim Canary for his assistance in re-assembling the piece together with the frame, and to the public services librarians Sarah Mitchell, Rebecca Baumann, Maureen Maryanski, and Isabel Planton, all of whom have been of incalculable assistance over the course of this project.

2 Scans of both sides of the document can be seen on the Lilly Library's "Whitman in St. Louis" page, from the digital exhibition "Whitman at the Lilly" (indiana.edu/~liblilly/digital/exhibitions/exhibits/show/whitmanlilly/mask/stlouis). Dr. Christoph Irmscher, to whom I am also deeply indebted for his generosity regarding essentially every aspect of this project, provides critical commentary and a partial transcription in the online exhibit.

3 Consider, for example, his statement to Horace Traubel: "Having been a printer myself, I have what may be called an anticipatory eye—know pretty well as I write how a thing will turn up in the type—appear—take form"; *With Walt Whitman in Camden* 5:390 (hereafter *WWC*, available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, whitmanarchive.org).

4 Robert Underwood Johnson, *Remembered Yesterdays* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1923), 335.

5 Whitman, "To Robert Underwood Johnson," in Edwin Haviland Miller, ed., *Walt Whitman: The Correspondence, Volume 3: 1876-1885* (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 167. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (uva.00388).

6 I am paraphrasing the famous line from Whitman's "So Long!," added to the third edition *Leaves of Grass* in 1860, available on the *Walt Whitman Archive.*

7 According to one source, Holland's *Titcomb's Letters to Young People, Single and Married* sold 62,000 copies in the United States from 1858 to 1881. Holland's 1868 poem *Kathrina* is also stated to have "outsold all other American poems except Longfellow's *Hiawatha*" (185). See H. Clay Williams, *Biographical Encyclopaedia of Massachussetts of the Nineteenth Century,* Volume 2 (Boston:

Metropolitan Publishing and Engraving Company, 1883).

8 See Johnson 337.

9 For the text of the entire "interview," see Rollo G. Silver, "Walt Whitman Interviews Himself," *American Literature* 10 (March 1938), 84-87.

10 The essay by Burroughs was published in the December 19, 1879, edition of *Scribner's Monthly*, the same publication that Robert Underwood Johnson worked for at the time. It is also published in Burroughs' collection of essays *Pepacton*, and while the essay contains some interesting thoughts from Burroughs it is really worth reading to see the sudden, obvious, unattributed change in diction from Burroughs to Whitman and back. Even better, in a letter sent November 23, 1879, Whitman tells Burroughs: "What you say of me in *Nature & the Poets* thoroughly delights, satisfies & *prides* me"—Whitman congratulates Burroughs for simply publishing the words he wrote for himself (See Miller 170-171; *Walt Whitman Archive*, ucb.00056). Since the St. Louis interview in question here has always been attributed anonymously, it would be truly delicious if Whitman had also written it for himself in the first place, but based on the archival record as it stands now, such speculation is only suitable for a footnote.

11 Here I am quoting the lines that appeared in the first poem of the 1855 *Leaves of Grass (available on the Walt Whitman Archive)*, which were incorporated into the poem Whitman called "Song of Myself" in later editions: "Do I contradict myself? / Very well then . . . . I contradict myself; / I am large . . . . I contain multitudes."

12 David Haven Blake, *Walt Whitman and the Culture of American Celebrity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 197.

13 Thanks to Emer Vaughn for her work identifying the tailor.

14 He expressed deep consternation with his Mickle Street housekeeper, Mrs. Davis, when after a week-long excursion elsewhere he returned to find the house tidied up: "He said that he had left everything exactly as he wished it to remain; where he could find it; now the very things he needed most were gone; in fact he could find nothing he wanted, and in the future he forbade anyone to meddle with his private property; he desired and expected to find—at all times and upon all occasions—his personal matters unmolested, undisturbed, left entirely alone." See Elizabeth Leavitt Keller, *Walt Whitman in Mickle Street* (New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1921), 32.

15 See Stovall 224, footnotes to lines 1-3 of Whitman's "An Interviewer's Item" in *Specimen Days*. It appears that, even in the version of the interview that he kept for his own private use, Whitman was so displeased with the original introduction that he cut it off.

16 The interview has been digitized on the *Walt Whitman Archive* under "Commentary: Interviews and Reminiscences." *Walt Whitman Archive* ID: med.00531.

17 Whitman was traveling with Colonel John W. Forney, a Philadelphia journalist who published the weekly magazine *Progress*. Forney served twice as the clerk of the House of Representatives and,

for one seven-year stint, as the secretary of the United States Senate during the Civil War. The full interview, "Walt Whitman, the Poet," is available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (ID: med.00528).

18 "Two Visitors," available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, med.00674.

19 O'Connor's essay *The Good Gray Poet: A Vindication* was originally published as a pamphlet (New York: Bunce and Huntington, 1866), later reprinted in Richard Maurice Bucke's biography *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1883), and is available from the *Walt Whitman Archive* (anc.00170).

20 Note that Whitman also crossed out and changed a number of phrases even in his own introduction for the piece, and my transcription maintains these changes with strikethrough text.

21 See *Walt Whitman, The Correspondence*, vol. 3, ed. Edwin Haviland Miller (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 168. *Walt Whitman Archive*, loc.01628.

22 *Correspondence* 3:169. *Walt Whitman Archive*, loc.02140.

23 *Correspondence* 3:170. *Walt Whitman Archive*, ucb.00056.

24 Whitman, "American National Literature: Is there any such thing—or can there ever be?" *Walt Whitman: Prose Works 1892, Volume II, Collect and Other Prose*, ed. Floyd Stovall (New York: New York University Press, 1964), 668: "The whole matter has gone on, and exists to-day, probably as it should have been, and should be; as, for the present, it must be. To all which we conclude, and repeat the terrible query: American National Literature—is there distinctively any such thing, or can there ever be?" The essay originally appeared in the *North American Review* (March 1891) and subsequently in *Good-bye My Fancy*.

25 See p. 210 of the Stovall edition of *Specimen Days*, under the heading "An Egotistical 'Find.'"

26 "Walt Whitman, the Poet," (*Walt Whitman Archive*, med.00528).

27 Burroughs, *Pepacton* 108. The quote here comes from the edition digitized by Google Books, which is volume five of the "Riverside Edition" of *The Writings of John Burroughs*, published by Houghton Mifflin in 1895. While it is more traditional to cite the physical edition of a widely available printed text, it just so happens that the edition digitized by Google from Harvard was the copy owned by Sarah Orne Jewett, donated to Harvard from the Jewett homestead, and I believe this edition suits the archival nature of this project. Whitman's personal copy of *Pepacton*, inscribed to him from John Burroughs, is housed at the University of Iowa Libraries Special Collections.

28 Homer and Shakespeare are among Whitman's regularly invoked favorites, as in the piece he wrote about himself for Burroughs where he claims that "[John] Addington Symonds . . . finds him [Whitman] more thoroughly Greek than any other man of modern times" (109).

29 Whitman, "American National Literature …" 666.

30 This concept of scientific consistency is important for Whitman and especially on his mind at this time—in the Burroughs piece he elaborates: "In entire consistence with botany, geology, science, or what not, he [Whitman] endues his very seas and woods with passion, more than the old hamadryads or tritons. His fields, his rocks, his trees, are not dead material, but living companions" (109).

31 Horace Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953, hereafter *WWC*), 4:326. This text is available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, and links to other relevant sections of Traubel's text are provided in the *Archive*'s notes on Whitman's original letter to Holland (*Walt Whitman Archive*, nyp.00270).

32 Josiah G. Holland, "Is It Poetry," in *Scribner's Monthly*, 12 (May 1876), 123. Holland's personal authorship of this piece is verified by its republication in his 1882 *Book of Briefs*, which lists him as the author on the frontispiece.

33 Josiah G. Holland, "Our Garnered Names," in *Scribner's Monthly*, 16 (October 1878), 895.

34 "John Burroughs's 'Birds and Poets.'" In *Scribner's Monthly*, 14 (July 1877), 407.

35 Louis A. Pérez, Jr., *Cuba in the American Imagination: Metaphor and the Imperial Ethos* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008) 25.

36 "The Gem of the Antilles" in Emory Holloway and Vernollian Schwarz, eds., *I Sit and Look Out: Editorials from the Brooklyn Daily Times by Walt Whitman* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 157.

37 Whitman is here fixing a typesetting error on the part of the newspaper's printer, which had "agentry" in the original.

38 This paper has been archived and digitized by the Library of Congress and is viewable at chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn83030214/1879-04-15/ed-1/seq-2/.

39 Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, med.00532.

40 *WWC* 2:304.

41 Johnson 335.

WALT WHITMAN: A CURRENT BIBLIOGRAPHY

Achorn, Edward. *Every Drop of Blood: The Momentous Second Inauguration of Abraham Lincoln*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2020. [Chapter 4, "The Real Precious and Royal Ones" (58-79), focuses on Whitman and his Civil War hospital work to relieve the suffering of sick and wounded soldiers; Whitman is referenced throughout the book, especially in "Epilogue: The Stuff to Carry Them Through" (273-296), which briefly discusses Whitman's memories of the U.S. Patent Office Building, his writing of "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," and his 1887 Lincoln lecture in New York City.]

Barry, Tim Francis. "Book Review: Long Live 19th-Century Literature!" *The Arts Fuse* (April 30, 2020), artsfuse.com. [Reviews Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Bradfield, Scott. "In 'What Is the Grass,' Mark Doty looks at Walt Whitman through an autobiographical lens." *Washington Post* (April 28, 2020), washingtonpost.com. [Review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Bronson-Bartlett, Blake. "Writing with Pencils in the Antebellum United States: Language, Instrument, Gesture." *American Literature* 92 (June 2020), 199-227. [Argues that the pencil, as a new writing tool "increasingly available in the United States during the antebellum decades," afforded writers like John Washington, Margaret Fuller, and Whitman "the ability to write quickly, continuously, and on the move"; goes on to examine the manuscripts of these writers to demonstrate "how the pencil facilitated such exploration by configuring language, instrument, and corporeal gesture in ways that suited the modernizing nation" and "that collaborated with the writers' bodies in such a way that it became instrumental to their experimentations with and formations of American selves"; one section, "Whitman's Writing in Transit: The 'I,' Singular and Plural" (212-217), analyzes Whitman's notebook in which his "Sun-Down Poem" (later "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry") takes shape, finding that Whitman's "I" emerges only after he has captured in pencil the elements of the environment around him, "as if the pencil's anticipatory thrust was able to capture them before the writer became conscious of them, or at least self-conscious about perceiving them," rendering "the 'I' as the consequence of a writing process that begins without the 'I' and that adds it in order to give some form of organization to the process": "the assertiveness, presence, and humanity of the 'I' relies on its dissolution and reappearance," standing "not for a universal subject but for a universal gesture of difference and distinction, written in transit while awash in dispersed and raw sensual information."]

Brown, Jacob. "A arte como refúgio: intertextualidade, espaço e (imagi)nação em 'Aqueles dois,' de Caio Fernando Abreu" ["Art as Refuge: Intertextuality, Space and (Imagi) nation in 'Aqueles dois,' by Caio Fernando Abreu"]. *Estudos de Literatura Brasileira Contemporanea* no. 60 (May-August 2020), e6010, scielo.br. [Part of the article investi-

gates the way that references to Whitman's poetry in Brazilian author Caio Fernando Abreu's 1982 short story "Aqueles dois" ["Those Two"] "intensify the story's homoerotic overtones" and offer a "refuge" to the protagonists—a place of art where they can "escape the repression of Brazilian society"; in Portuguese.]

Bryant, Marsha. "Homebound on Whitman's Open Road." *Massachusetts Review* (April 20, 2020), massreview.org. [Reviews the fourth of Bell's brewery's *Leaves of Grass* series of beers, brewed in honor of the Whitman Bicentennial; this one is a "winter warmer ale" named "Song of the Open Road"; offers commentary on the poem "Song of the Open Road."]

Cadell, Jillian Spivey. "Five Books from the 19th Century That Will Help You Understand Modern America Better." *The Conversation* (May 14, 2020), theconversation.com. [Names *Leaves of Grass*—along with Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*, Charles Chesnutt's *The Conjure Woman*, and Herman Melville's *Benito Cereno*—as works that "embody both the beauty of 19th-century American literature as well as its ability to change hearts and minds."]

Cain, Hamilton. "Review: An American Poet Analyzes a Forefather in 'What Is the Grass.'" *San Francisco Chronicle* (April 13, 2020), sfchronicle.com. [Review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Chakraborty, Abhrajyoti. "*What Is the Grass* by Mark Doty Review—Walt Whitman and Me." *Guardian* (June 3, 2020). [Review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Davich, Adrienne. "On Light and Heat: A Review of *What Is the Grass: Walt Whitman in My Life*." *The Adroit Journal* (April 21, 2020), theadroitjournal.org. [Review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Dylan, Bob. *Rough and Rowdy Ways*. New York: Columbia Records, 2020. [CD, containing the song "I Contain Multitudes," each verse ending with Whitman's line from "Song of Myself."]

Ellis, Cristin. *Antebellum Posthuman: Race and Materiality in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Fordham University Press, 2018. [Chapter 3, "Whitman's Cosmic Body: Bioelectricity and the Problem of Human Meaning" (96-134), examines how Whitman "appropriate[s] the materialist ontology, but not the racist politics, of antebellum racial science, producing an antislavery materialism that rebuts biological racism in its own empirical terms"; analyzes "Whitman's fascination with the theory of electrical embodiment that he encountered in the mid-nineteenth-century Spiritualist press" to show "how the bioelectrical subject inspired [him] to reinvent the lyric subject . . . in the first edition of *Leaves of Grass*," and argues that "the permeability of the nervous body led Whitman to conceive of poetry as an embodied medium—a site for the communication not of meanings but of physical contact, a means of orchestrating the bioelectrical inscription of the reader"; concludes that "Whitman's bioelectrical ontology" is "materialist and yet anti-essentialist—his permeable and networked subjects escape the biological determinism that characterizes so much antebellum racial science."]

Ferri, Jessica. "Review: Queer authors reinvent the artist biography as revisionist memoir." *Los Angeles Times* (April 10, 2020), latimes.com. [Includes a review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Folsom, Ed. "Walt Whitman: A Current Bibliography." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 37 (Winter/Spring 2020), 255-269.

Gambone, Phil. "Living Whitman." *Gay & Lesbian Review* (May-June 2020), glreview.org. [Review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

García Sánchez, Sergio. "Graphic Review: *Leaves of Grass*." *New York Times Book Review* (May 3, 2020), 23. [Cartoon illustration of Whitman with flowing beard, in which are embedded lines from "Song of Myself" beginning "I believe a leaf of grass is no less than the journeywork of the stars."]

McNally, Dan. "Eulogy for Walt Whitman on America's Birthday." *PolitiZoom* (July 4, 2020), politizoom.com. [Poem, ending "Who seeks to kill the dream I won and promised to bequeath my young? / Can I Ever be America Again?"]

Mong, Derek. "'Song of the Open Road,' the Beer." *Kenyon Review* (May 4, 2020), kenyonreview.org. [Review of Bell's Brewery's fourth offering in a series of seven Walt Whitman beers brewed in honor of the Whitman Bicentennial; this review deals with the "winter warmer" beer named "Song of the Open Road"; offers commentary on the poem as well as the beer.]

Peeples, Scott. "Bob Dylan Contains Multitudes: Walt Whitman as Dylan's Muse on 'Murder Most Foul.'" *Salon* (May 16, 2020), salon.com. [Examines Whitman as an influence on Bob Dylan's two recently released songs—"Murder Most Foul" and "I Contain Multitudes"—and sees "Dylan's pose as a 21st-century Whitman" as "something of a new development," as "the Old Dylan decided it was time to become the New Whitman."]

Pizarro Roberts, Sergio. "El grado cero de la muerte en las poéticas de Walt Whitman y Pablo Neruda" ["Death Degree Zero in the Poetics of Walt Whitman and Pablo Neruda"]. *Revista Chilena de Literatura* no. 101 (May 2020), 443-464. [Puts Whitman's and Neruda's poetry in dialogue around the subject of death, arguing that "in both cases their works contain a heterodox eschatological poetics, . . . but they differ in the theistic idealism that is perceived in Whitman's poetic itinerary" in contrast to "Neruda's atheist materialism"; in Spanish.]

Pollak, Vivian R. Review of Jim Perlman, Ed Folsom, and Dan Campion, eds., *Walt Whitman: The Measure of His Song* (200th Birthday Edition). *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 37 (Winter/Spring 2020), 248-254.

Rebrovick, Tripp. "A Queer Politics of Touching: Walt Whitman's Theory of Comrades." *Law, Culture, and the Humanities* 16 (June 2020), 313-331. [Develops the concept of "political and legal regimes of touching" as a means of reading the "Calamus" poems, arguing that Whitman's notion of comradeship—"a distinct kind of friendship char-

acterized by physical intimacy"—demonstrates that "touching is a political act" and that the "anachronistic" labeling of Whitman as "homosexual" needs to be revised to view his comradeship as "a model of queerness that can challenge the recent anti-social turn in queer theory"; examines the idea of comradeship in *Democratic Vistas,* where it "relates to politics but is not itself political," unlike in "Calamus," where "comrades create their own political institutions, even though those institutions lack anything resembling legislation, voting, or representation," but where comradeship nonetheless "establishes a new social formation, and the source of its cohesion lies in intimate, physical touch rather than personality and character."]

Reynolds, Daniel. *Advocate* (July 3, 2020), advocate.com. [Reviews Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*, and conducts an interview with Doty and poet Jericho Brown about Whitman's sexuality and ways that it formed *Leaves of Grass*.]

Rodricks, Dan. "Looking to Lilacs and Walt Whitman to Guide Us through the Pandemic." *Baltimore Sun* (May 7, 2020), baltimoresun.com. [Offers commentary on how reading Whitman's "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" can be "a spiritual guide through the present crisis" of the pandemic, since, in another spring filled with death, "we are each on a journey, as Whitman was, from inconsolable sorrow . . . to some kind of solace."]

Rogovoy, Seth. "Bob Dylan channels Walt Whitman and Anne Frank in his new song of himself." *Forward* (April 17, 2020), forward.com. [Notes Whitman's strong influence in Bob Dylan's newly released song, "I Contain Multitudes," suggesting that "Dylan might be laying out here a song cycle that attempts, in his own, Dylanesque way, a similar sort of broad, all-encompassing cultural philosophy that Whitman did in 'Leaves.'"]

Ryan, Barbara Therese. "Salut Au Monde: Aquapelagic Instruction in the *Red Funnel Magazine*." *Shima: The International Journal of Research into Island Cultures* 14 no. 1 (2020), 269-283. [Examines essays by New Zealand writer Annie Eliza Trimble (1863-1911), second wife of William H. Trimble (who compiled the first concordance of *Leaves of Grass*); the essays appeared in a monthly magazine published by the New Zealand-based Union Steam Ship Company from 1905 to 1909 and reveal in oblique but striking ways her "Whitman fandom."]

Sampson, Fiona. "Walt Whitman's Poetry Can Change Your Life." *Spectator* (May 9, 2020), spectator.co.uk. [Review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Saunders, Tristram Fane. "*What Is the Grass* by Mark Doty Review: a winningly eccentric love-letter to Walt Whitman." *The Telegraph* (April 18, 2020), telegraph.co.uk. [Review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Schöberlein, Stefan, and Stephanie M. Blalock. "'A Story of New York at the Present Time': The Historico-Literary Contexts of *Jack Engle*." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 37 (Winter/Spring 2020), 145-184. [Argues that Whitman's *Life and Adventures of Jack Engle*, published serially in March and April of 1852, was in fact in large part composed of pieces Whitman wrote from 1842 to 1846—a "repurposing" of "a plethora of his

writings into a somewhat coherent whole—from brief moments of his journalism . . . to recycled characters and plot points from various pieces of his short fiction and aborted novellas, to autobiographical sketches"; examines in detail elements of the novel's plot and characters that date the local references to the 1840s and demonstrates that, despite its 1852 publication date, "*Jack Engle* is deeply rooted in Whitman's authorial practices between 1842 and 1846, underscoring both the richness of his prose fiction in these years as well as the relative dearth of known narratives in the years to follow."]

Smith, Jeff. "Things Appearing, Every Day: Walt Whitman and the Ubiquity of News." *ESQ* 66 no. 1 (2020), 1-45. [Examines Whitman's novel *Jack Engle* as the "missing link" between Whitman the workaday journalist and Whitman the poet who created *Leaves of Grass*; identifies the novel's focus as "a young writer training himself to see the world in ways newly relevant to newsmen and poets alike" and argues that "the era's emerging new sense of information and facts can help us better understand Whitman's poetic project, which saw him synthesize opposite kinds of texts—the most ephemeral and mass-produced with the most profound, enduring and 'scriptural'—as he pursued a new national literature and even a new conception of the nation itself" and as he "co-invent[ed] the modern modes of perception and understanding that are still in play whenever we read a newspaper"; and argues that "Whitman, as a product and proprietor of newspapers, was primed to become the leading poet of a culture that was learning to absorb and value information in ways that were new and characteristic of the industrial age," and that the new "American Bible" he hoped to create "would need the immediacy, vitality, and specific yet all-embracing factuality of news."]

Stein, Allen. *Unsettled Subjects: New Poems on Classic American Literature*. Frankfurt, KY: Broadstone, 2020. [Contains two poems dealing with Whitman: "When I Heard the Learn'd Professor" (36-37) and "George Washington Whitman with Walt in Camden" (38-40).]

Terrill, Richard. *What Falls Away Is Always*. Duluth, MN: Holy Cow!, 2020. [Poems; "I Think I Could Turn and Live with Animals" (27) concludes "Life is good, I tell my little dog, / and I believe, in the moment, he hears and obeys, / so placid and self-contained / I look at him long and long."]

Thomas, Brook. "*The Galaxy*, National Literature, and Reconstruction." *Nineteenth-Century Literature* 75 (June 2020), 50-81. [Examines the journal *The Galaxy*, which published from 1866 to 1878, and analyzes "the *Galaxy*'s attempt to foster a national literature" in order to demonstrate how the journal "complicates today's standard understanding of the period's politics while providing insight into the role Reconstruction played in establishing a national literature"; examines contributions to the journal by Whitman and other writers, finding Whitman's essays "Democracy" and "Personalism," along with his poem "A Carol for Harvest, 1867," central to the journal's moderate political stance; concludes by finding that "Whitman embraced emancipation without fully supporting racial equality": "He and the editors of the *Galaxy* placed priority on sectional reconciliation from the start. Championed through much of the twentieth century for his radical egalitarianism, when it came to Reconstruction politics, Whitman

was a model of moderation. Reading him and others in the context of the *Galaxy* gives us insight into how debates over Reconstruction gave rise to an American conception of democracy suited to an age of separate but equal."]

Tian, Junwu. "Metaphor of Child Journey and America Growth in Walt Whitman's 'There Was a Child Went Forth.'" *ANQ* 32 (October 2019), 240-243. [Offers a reading of "There Was a Child Went Forth" as a poem built on the "conceptual metaphors" of "life is a journey" and "a state is a person."]

Turpin, Zachary. "Searching for *Proud Antoinette*: Evidence and Prospects for Whitman's Phantom Novel." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 37 (Winter/Spring 2020), 225-247. [Reprints and examines a set of late-1850s Whitman's manuscripts that sketch out "a romantic murder mystery the poet tentatively titles *Proud Antoinette: A New York Romance of To-Day*"; points out that "the amount of manuscript text related to *Proud Antoinette* is more (by word count) than exists for *Life and Adventures of Jack Engle*" and suggests "the odds are reasonable" that *Proud Antoinette* did see publication in some newspaper or periodical, where it remains undiscovered; concludes that "it is a good time to be searching for *Proud Antoinette*."]

Waldman, Katy. "What We're Reading This Summer." *New Yorker* (June 7, 2020), newyorker.com. [Brief review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

Whitman, Walt. *Cǎo yè jí: wò òr tè Huìtèmàn shī quánjí / Leaves of Grass: The Complete Poems of Walt Whitman*. Translated by Zou Zhongzhi. Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2015. [Chinese translation of *Leaves of Grass*.]

Whitman, Walt. *Every Hour, Every Atom: A Collection of Walt Whitman's Early Notebooks & Fragments*. Ed. Zachary Turpin and Matt Miller. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2020. [Collects transcriptions of Whitman's early notebooks and fragments so that readers can see Whitman's "construction of his very own genre in all its beautiful messiness"; with a foreword by Matt Miller (xiii-xix) and an introduction by Zachary Turpin (xxi-xxxiii).]

Wilson, Joel Eric. "Whitman's 'The Million Dead, Too, Summ'd Up' in an Age of Endless War." *Explicator* 78 no. 1 (2020), 25-29. [Argues that Whitman's "hyperbolic" reference to the number of deaths in the Civil War, and his use of the word "Unknown" to refer to unidentified remains of soldiers, should both be understood "in the light of PTSD," with Whitman "integrating living survivors along with other human casualties of war."]

Winant, Johanna. "Walt Whitman's Formalism." *Poetics Today* 41 (March 2020), 59-81. [Argues that Whitman's "enumerative catalogs" are "a poetic form that is also a logical form—enumerative induction," and that his lists are "the most basic form of inductive reasoning" ("they list one item, then another, then another") and have become influential on many contemporary poets; proposes that Whitman's form cannot be understood apart from his poetic content, that his poems written in "free verse" also have form, and that form itself is "the logic by which poems interpret the world"; offers detailed examination of Whitman's catalog in section 15 of "Song of Myself"

as "a logical form" ("enumerative inductive reasoning") in which "these particulars support a general law"—here "the implicit generalization supported by this list is what it means to be American," a "kind of representative census of the country and evidence for Whitman's democratic poetics," out of which Whitman generates himself, "mak[es] himself into a projectable predicate accepted by a future reader, if he succeeds at making an enumerative catalog that predicts himself" and, ultimately, one that predicts his "future reader—us—as well."]

Wojczuk, Tana. "Charlotte Cushman Broke Barriers on Her Way to Becoming the A-List Actress of the 1800s." *Smithsonian Magazine* (June 30, 2020), smithsonianmag.com. [Records Whitman's very positive reactions to the acting of Charlotte Cushman, who pioneered the concept of "method acting" by living in New York's notorious Five Points and befriending prostitutes there to prepare for her role as the prostitute Nancy in a stage production of Charles Dickens' *Oliver Twist*.]

Zukowski, Scott. "Walt Whitman, Trinity Church, and Antebellum Reprint Culture." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 37 (Winter/Spring 2020), 185-224. [Demonstrates that, "during the Antebellum Period, Trinity Churchyard held an important place in American cultural identity, evident in the plethora of newspaper texts from around the country associating it with a semi-mythologized narrative of national origin," and, looking especially at Whitman's journalism and his novel *Jack Engle*, argues that "Whitman tapped into the Trinity Churchyard trope as a tool for the exploration and articulation of a unified national identity and a literature for which Americans of the period were searching"; proposes that "urban graveyards" perform "important cultural functions" overlooked in scholarship that has instead focused on "the rural cemetery movement that began in the 1830s."]

Unsigned. "Briefly Noted." *New Yorker* 96 (May 4, 2020), 79. [Contains a brief review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*.]

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).

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).

PROCEDURES FOR SUBMITTING WORK

To submit original work, please visit the *WWQR* website at: http://ir.uiowa.edu/wwqr.

Address all correspondence to Editor, *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, The University of Iowa, 308 English Philosophy Bldg., Iowa City, IA, 52242-1492.

Our email address is wwqr@uiowa.edu.

ORDERING BACK ISSUES

Almost all print issues before volume 33 are available for purchase. Single issues are $10.00 and double issues are $15.00 (including shipping charges). When ordering please specify the volume number, issue number, and year of publication for each issue you would like to purchase. Please be aware that some issues are no onger available in print, though digital versions are accessible on ir.uiowa.edu/wwqr/.

Make checks payable to *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* and mail your order to: *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, Department of English, The University of Iowa, 308 English-Philosophy Bldg., Iowa City, IA, 52242-1492.

Jesse Talbot, *The Last Gaze*, 1860, oil on canvas, 18 x 24 in. Private collection. Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images. For more information, see pages 1-40.