WALT WHITMAN
QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOLUME THIRTY-EIGHT NUMBERS THREE AND FOUR WINTER/SPRING 2021

SPECIAL DOUBLE ISSUE: THE INTERNATIONAL WHITMAN

A SCHOLARLY OPEN ACCESS JOURNAL

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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.

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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.

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WALT WHITMAN IN THE YUGOSLAV INTERWAR PERIODICALS: SERBO-CROATIAN RECEPTION, 1918–1940

BOJANA AĆAMOVIĆ

On April 5, 1892, the Croatian periodical *Narodne novine* (*People's Newspaper*) published a short unsigned note commemorating the recent death of Walt Whitman. Among other items in the section "Various News," readers learned:

> In the city of Camden, state of New Jerdey [sic] a highly respected American poet Walt Whitman died on March 27 [sic]. He was born on May 31, 1819, and was in all respects self-educated. With his beautiful verses he particularly celebrated the Civil War fought for the abolition of slavery.[1]

Less than a month after this, on May 1, 1892, the Belgrade periodical *Otadžbina* (*Homeland*) published the article "A Letter from London" written by the Serbian statesman and diplomat Čedomilj Mijatović. The article provides an account of the most topical issues from the Anglo-American press and also includes a mention of Whitman's death, here placed among other current events:

> The panegyrics for the late James Russel Lowell, a poet N. America lost last year, have not quite ceased, and already the death of another very popular poet Walt Whitman causes all magazines to analyze the poetry of this original old man.[2]

Comparing Whitman to Lowell, whom Mijatović knew personally and whom he describes as "more of an Englishman than American," the Serbian author remarks: "Whitman is full of spirit and original thoughts and true poetic feelings, but is unrefined, limps in his metrics, and he mostly sang in free verse" (176). These two brief mentions are currently believed to be the first appearances of Walt Whitman's name in written texts published in Serbo-Croatian. The poet's death was thus the beginning of his lasting presence in the Serbo-Croatian cultural space.[3]

Although these commemorative notes indicate that Walt Whitman was a familiar name in the intellectual circles of this region, it was not until 1900 that readers were introduced to the poetry of this "very popular poet." The first translations were published in the Croatian magazine *Svjetlo* (*The Light*) in 1900, which was followed by a nine-year break before the activity of translating Whitman was resumed. All but two translations into Serbo-Croatian published between 1909 and 1914 appeared in magazines issued in Sarajevo (Bosnia), at the time a focal point of the region's turbulent political life following the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia in 1908 and the formation of movements dedicated to the national liberation from foreign rule.[4] The historical circumstances and public engagement of the magazine editors and contributors indicate that the inclusion of Whitman's poetry in these periodicals (especially *Bosanska vila* [*Bosnian Fairy*]) was part of endeavors to promote liberation, not only national, but also intellectual and spiritual.

The early translations largely set the tone of the later practices in translating Whitman, especially those in the interwar period. Both before and after the First World War, only individual shorter poems or parts of longer ones were translated, and these appeared almost exclusively in periodicals.[5] The choice of poems seems haphazard, unsystematic, and determined by the personal preferences of the translators as the same person would publish two or more translations in different magazines. However, unlike the pre-war translations, which mostly appeared in Sarajevo, those published after the war were dispersed across a greater number of periodicals issued in different cities all over the newly formed Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Owing to various sociocultural circumstances, Sarajevo ceased to be the center of Whitman-translating activities, which moved to Zagreb (in the years immediately after the war) and Belgrade (in the 1920s), with occasional poems appearing in Niš (Serbia) and Split (Croatia). At the same time, Whitman became the topic of numerous essays and articles published in literary magazines and various daily and weekly newspapers.

Previous scholarship on the Serbo-Croatian reception of Whitman was mostly silent on the translations and essays that appeared before World War II. In his 1955 contribution, Stephen Stepanchev dedicates only one paragraph to Whitman's reception in Yugoslavia, mentioning only two translations (from 1912 and 1920) and one essay (1925) before moving on to Tin Ujević's book-length translation published in 1951.[6] Sonja Bašić's text published in 1972 offers a very brief and incomplete overview of the pre-World War I reception, and except for pointing to the two important essays on Whitman from 1919, does

not mention anything from the interwar period asserting that "the occasional reviews and more numerous translations of the pre-war [World War II] period appeared mainly in the first two decades of this century."[7] The latest on this topic, the contribution from Arthur Golden, Marija Golden, and Igor Maver in *Walt Whitman and the World* (1995) for the most part repeats the information from Stepanchev's and Bašić's essays, with occasional inaccuracies.[8] While this essay is rather informative on the Yugoslavian post-World War II reception (especially the book-length translations that appeared from 1951 onwards), as well as on the Slovenian reception in the interwar period, it provides very little information on the translations and essays written in Serbo-Croatian and published before 1940.

I am most indebted to Ljiljana Babić's 1976 essay, "Walt Whitman in Yugoslavia."[9] Babić offers quite a comprehensive overview of the Serbo-Croatian reception with the bibliographic data on both the translations and essays on Whitman, as well as brief remarks on the quality of the translations, content of the essays, the periodicals they appeared in and the translators. Although the author does not delve into a deeper analysis of the texts, limiting herself to the factual observations, the information Babić presents has enabled me to trace the mentioned texts (except for those that seem to have been lost in the meantime), to examine them and the periodicals in more detail, and to consider Whitman's Serbo-Croatian reception in the broader sociocultural context. Such contextualizing has shown that translating, writing, and thinking about Whitman in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (i.e., the Kingdom of Yugoslavia) responded both to current tendencies in the world of arts and letters, and to the broader political and social discourse. Focusing on the interwar period has proved to be particularly rewarding since the two decades during which the Kingdom of Yugoslavia existed were times of great turmoil, struggle, and changes in literature, culture, and society, which also affected the perception of foreign authors, Whitman included.

Considering the sociocultural context of the interwar years and the general orientation of the periodicals publishing translations and essays on Whitman (this analysis does not include essays on other topics that briefly mention Whitman), we can distinguish two predominant approaches to the American poet. On the one hand, Whitman was seen as a quintessentially modern poet, a harbinger of a novel democratic expression, admired for his poetic innovations and powerful imagery. On the other hand, Whitman's poetry attracted the members of different socialist groups, who regarded him as a poet of workers and social justice. The translation and critical reception of Whitman's work

were also largely conditioned by the connections of the Yugoslav authors with the European intellectual circles. Following the appearance of Whitman's name in the newspapers and magazines offers insight into the international circulation of the periodicals and the collaboration of artistic and activist groups from different countries.

Re-Introducing Whitman

The Great War significantly changed Europe's shape, and the new political and economic circumstances greatly affected the continent's cultural life. Poets and artists were quick to recognize that the devastation brought by the war was also a global experience, affecting communities all over the world in similar ways. The internationalism which developed through different artistic movements engendered new intellectual networks, connecting creative minds of different countries. However, the shared experience of the recent war was not the only thing they had in common; links between them had been established long before the war, which, though it was a disruption, was neither a complete discontinuation of previously developing tendencies nor a radical shift to something completely new. Indeed, the most prominent features of the 1920s modernism developed before the war, some of them in the nineteenth century. The war had confirmed the decaying state of the European civilization, and the already existent demands for change were radicalized in the postwar years. Some European modernists perceived America as a source of fresh energy and Walt Whitman as an American poet that would bring this energy to the rest of the world.

The continuity in cultural trends can be seen also in the regions which in 1918 formed the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (the Kingdom of Yugoslavia). Although some of the most progressive prewar initiators of literary and publishing activities had left the scene, new ones took their place in advocating the liberation from foreign political and cultural influences and the foundation of a modern society. Such was the literary magazine *Književni Jug* [*Literary South*], issued in Zagreb from January 1, 1918 to December 1, 1919,[10] which voiced its open support for the idea of Yugoslavism (the unity of the South Slavic peoples) and the liberation from the Austro-Hungarian rule. According to some literary historians, *Književni Jug* was in fact a political review in which the contributors expressed their opinions through literary texts.[11] Founded with an aim of preparing the ground for the future Yugoslav literature, it gathered pro-Yugoslav authors, Serbian, Croatian, and Slovenian, mostly from the still-occupied South Slavic regions of Austria-Hungary, many

of whom were recently released out of or even still interned in Austrian war prisons. The contributors of *Književni Jug* formed a heterogeneous group from different and often antagonistic political or literary groups, who would eventually part ways and collaborate with far-right or far-left movements. Contributions were published in Ekavian or Ijekavian dialects, in the Latin as well as Cyrillic script, which was also an act of rebellion considering that the Cyrillic script was banned by Austrian authorities at the time.

It was in *Književni Jug* that the first postwar Serbo-Croatian translations of Whitman appeared. Included in the very first issue of the magazine were three Whitman's poems: part 3 of "Chanting the Square Deific," "When I Peruse the Conquered Fame," and "To the States."[12] The choice of the poems reflected the current aspirations of the editors and contributors, their long struggle for political and cultural freedom aptly expressed through Whitman's lines, "Aloof, dissatisfied, plotting revolt, / Comrade of criminals, brother of slaves" and "Resist much, obey little."[13] Another translation, this time of the poem "On the Beach at Night," was published in the November issue of the same year.[14] Although all of these translations were unsigned, Ljiljana Babić and the bibliographers of the Serbo-Croatian Whitman translations ascribe them to Ivo Andrić,[15] which is a well-founded assumption considering that Andrić had been translating Whitman and in 1912 published his translations of Sections 18 and 21 of "Song of Myself" in *Srpski književni glasnik* (*Serbian Literary Gazette*) and *Bosanska vila* (*Bosnian Fairy*), respectively. Andrić was also one of the founding editors of *Književni Jug* and editor of the magazine's poetry section. According to literary historian Nenad Ljubinković, two of the translated poems ("To the States" and "When I Peruse the Conquered Fame") used to "warm the souls" of the Yugoslavs in Austria-Hungary.[16]

At the time, Ivo Andrić was an aspiring young poet drawn to the new avant-garde trends in poetry and already established in the literary circles of the region as a former supporter of the Young Bosnia Movement and a great proponent of the liberation and cultural advancement of the South-Slavic peoples.[17] His fascination with Whitman originated from his Young Bosnia days and found its most articulate expression in a 1919 essay in *Književni Jug* on the occasion of Whitman's centennial.[18] Andrić's essay "Walt Whitman (1819–1919)" offers a concise but informative overview of Whitman's life and work, marking all the crucial events.[19] One of the sources for this essay was most probably *A Life of Walt Whitman* (London: Methuen, 1905) by Henry Bryan Binns, whom Andrić refers to as Whitman's "best biographer."[20] Andrić doesn't delve into the particulars of Whitman's poetics, only occasionally quoting a line or two to illustrate some of

his points,[21] but he intimates what this poetry meant for him and his generation, calling it their medicine and joy and comparing it to a Japanese well which promises the restoration of youthful vigor. Reading Whitman brought relief from the dismal circumstances of what Andrić calls "our dark Slavic sorrow." Conceding that he cannot properly define Whitman who defies all conclusive definitions and formulas, Andrić describes him as the poet of body and soul, liberty, struggle, energy, health, courage, democracy, love, and religion. The essay culminates in a declaration that Whitman is not only a daring poet but a prophet whose legacy to future generations is free interaction and solidarity of all races.

This double issue of the magazine included another essay on the same topic written by another young Serbian poet and intellectual, Anica Savić Rebac.[22] Her essay "The Centennial of Walt Whitman" is less biographical and more analytical, placing Whitman in the context of his and her own time and considering his ideas as part of the discourse which shaped the modern world. Savić Rebac was a classical philologist, poet, and translator, one of the first women intellectuals in Serbia and Yugoslavia, whose work remained long neglected and has been studied in more detail only in recent decades after feminist and gender studies started to gain ground. She was conversant in several European languages, both living (German, French, English) and dead (Latin and old Greek) and, especially important in this context, was an adept English translator, translating mostly poetry both from and into English.[23] This was an extraordinary ability, at a time when very few Serbian intellectuals had a satisfactory reading competence of English. German and French were the most prevalent foreign languages in these regions and many of Whitman translators used German or French translations as source texts, either because of their inadequate knowledge of English or because books in English were harder to obtain.

Despite Savić Rebac's excellent education and the fact that she was well-known to the magazine editors as a frequent and versatile contributor, the magazine did not allot her essay on Whitman as prominent a place as Andrić's. While Andrić's essay was featured on the first pages of this double issue of *Književni Jug*, Anica Savić Rebac's contribution appeared towards the end of the issue, in the "Literary Overview" (Section 14), along with three other texts, all reviews of recently published books by Croatian, Slovenian, and Serbian authors. The article by Savić Rebac, however, is hardly a review of only one book; it offers a competent analysis of Whitman's poetics and considers the significance of his poetry in shaping not only the American literature, but also the American

identity. Savić Rebac sees Whitman as the greatest poet-maker of the American nation and the celebration of the poet's centennial as "the most beautiful apotheosis of Americanism." Whereas "the Old Europe has long forgotten the times when her poets were in the highest sense the educators, and thus the makers of her peoples," the American nation received in Whitman a poet who gathered within himself all of its greatest features and who was for America what Homer had been for the ancient Greece.[24]

Savić Rebac considers Whitman a poet of optimism and future, a poet who had a right to sing more than anybody else, for "nobody had a broader vision of humanity than him." Whitman's poetry is not to be read merely for an aesthetic pleasure because he was primarily the maker of generations. By insisting on freedom, the development of one's own personality, and the equality among people, he "was creating Americanism, so that it would create an ideal humankind in turn." In Whitman's celebration of the individual, Savić Rebac sees a connection to Nietzsche as the greatest modern individualist. Though there are no direct references to specific editions of Whitman's works or biographical accounts which could be taken as sources, some of the author's observations suggest that she was familiar with *Democratic Vistas* and Whitman's other prose writings, or at least with the ideas presented in them. Her solid knowledge of Whitman's work is demonstrated through competently chosen sentences from the 1855 Preface to *Leaves of Grass* and poetic lines from "Starting from Paumanok," "For You O Democracy," "Small the Theme of My Chant," and "Years of the Modern."

If the earliest Serbo-Croatian reception of Whitman's work started with the pieces commemorating his death, the interwar reception opened much more optimistically, with celebrations of the poet's birth. The two essays from *Književni Jug* are milestones in the Serbo-Croatian and Yugoslav reception of Whitman—written from slightly different perspectives and focusing on different aspects, but both acknowledging the importance of Whitman's work for the modern thought. Both Andrić and Savić Rebac recognize that Whitman's poetry cannot be measured by classic literary standards nor deemed refined in the sense of the traditional aesthetics. At the beginning of his essay, Andrić remarks that the value and meaning of Whitman's personality and poetry are not to be judged by the "everyday literary measures nor the European aesthetic casts," as his poetry should not be examined line by line but only as a whole (49). Savić Rebac observes that Whitman's poetry "was not made to give pleasure," which is why it can appear awkward to the people accustomed to the traditional art. Whitman asks for "the whole person, the will as well as the intellect" and challenges his

readers to take a stand towards him with their own instincts and notions. [25] The two Serbian authors point to the novelty of Whitman's expression in the form and content of his poetry, whose primeval energy should invigorate and revitalize the work of future generations, i.e., their contemporaries.

Apart from these two essays, the year of Whitman's centennial saw the appearance of new Serbo-Croatian translations of Whitman's poetry: five translated poems were published in three different pro-worker or socialist oriented publications (two periodicals and an almanac), all issued in Zagreb. The February issue of the weekly *Ilustrovane novosti* (*Illustrated News*) brings three Whitman's poems translated by Marko N. Nani (one previously untranslated into Serbo-Croatian, "Gods," and two new translations of "On the Beach at Night Alone" and "Poets to Come").[26] Two of Whitman's poems on war themes, a new translation of "Ashes of Soldiers" and previously untranslated "Beat! Beat! Drums!," appeared in the Zagreb magazine *Plamen* (*The Flame*) and in *Almanah socijalističke omladine* (*The Almanac of the Socialist Youth*), respectively.[27] The overall orientation of these publications and the choice of the poems indicates that the editors saw Whitman mainly as a socialist and workers' poet. As these are hardly isolated cases, this aspect of Whitman's Serbo-Croatian reception will be discussed separately.

Whitman's Modernity and the New Literature

The 1920s in Europe were years of rebuilding, recovery, and adjusting to the new sociopolitical context. Newness was a keyword in art and literature, as well, and for progressive artists and poets, the postwar situation justified their earlier demands for changes in creative expression. Those leaning towards the modern tendencies believed that literature and poetry needed to start exploring different topics and using different forms to better reflect the new circumstances and initiate further changes in society. The more radical among them, today designated as avant-gardists, criticized art's institutionalization in bourgeois society as "unassociated with life praxis of men,"[28] whereas they believed the new literature and art should play an active role in shaping the world. The European avant-garde movements mushroomed during the 1920s in the shape of numerous *isms*, existing in different countries but connected by the same eagerness to create a new and better world out of the postwar rubble. These movements collectively formed an international network of artists, poets, publishers, and other intellectuals, operating through a dynamic exchange of ideas, publications, art and literary works.[29] For many in these groups, Whitman was among the

nineteenth-century figures whose work encouraged their progressivist ideals of replacing the old traditional patterns with fresh, innovative, and daringly experimental forms of expression. Closely following these modernist and avant-garde tendencies in Europe, the Yugoslav authors accepted Whitman and his bold innovations, free verse, and risqué themes as signposts for developing modern literature and culture.

The literary and cultural life in the South-Slavic regions began to recuperate following the war, and during the 1920s the Yugoslav intellectuals, writers, artists, and journalists enthusiastically undertook the task of reviving the scene. New daily and weekly newspapers, as well as a number of literary magazines appeared, and while many of them were short-lived, they are important indicators of the postwar circumstances in Yugoslav society and culture. With the book market still afflicted by the scarcity of the war years, these periodicals were the platform for presenting the newest literary production and for embittered disputes between conservative and liberal-minded authors. Some of the latter showed a special interest in Whitman and devotedly promoted his poetry and ideas through their essays and translations.

Svetislav Stefanović was one of the first Serbian intellectuals to identify Whitman as a predecessor of the modern poetry in his essays on various literary topics, including those defending the free verse. Although a physician by profession, Stefanović was prominent in the literary circles both before and after the war, contributing poems, essays, art and literary criticism to a number of literary magazines across the region. He was also renowned as a translator of Shakespeare and Edgar Allan Poe, as well as Whitman. Stefanović's translation of Whitman's Civil War poem "Pensive on Her Dead Gazing" was published in the literary-political magazine *Misao* (*Thought*) in the last number for 1919.[30] *Misao* was issued in Belgrade twice a month from 1919 until 1937 and was primarily a literary review, but also included articles in the fields of philosophy, history, science, politics, economics, music and art criticism. Whitman's poem was well suited to the postwar atmosphere with its plea for remembering the dead soldiers whose bodies would become compost and thus enter the foundations of the new country. That this poem found its way to the pages of *Misao* seems to be primarily Stefanović's credit since publishing foreign literature in translation wasn't among the editors' priorities—Whitman is one of the very few foreign authors in this volume.[31]

The following year, Stefanović published four translations of Whitman, the first of which was of the poem "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" in the Easter number of the periodical *Republika* (*The Republic*), within a special literary supplement and

placed prominently in the middle of the spread.[32] Whitman was the only foreign author included in this number and the poem was accompanied by a note saying that his "powerful dithyramb"—which today should be addressed to the children of the East, not the West—could make the reader feel "all the dynamics of ideas and phrases of this greatest American and one of the greatest world poets, who was an elated preacher of the universal democratic republic and an apostle of the positive and not mystified nor buffoonish humanity."[33] Whitman's enthusiasm conveyed by the poem and additionally emphasized by the note corresponded well with the policy of *Republika* as an organ of the Republican Democratic party. At the time, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was officially a unitary constitutional monarchy and the Republican Democratic Party was one of the oppositional forces campaigning for the federalization and democratization of the state, as well as the abolition of monarchy. This issue of *Republika* also contains a report on the recent socialist demonstrations in Copenhagen and the lectures on republicanism given by one of the party's leaders. Although Stefanović, as a literary critic and a poet, was primarily interested in Whitman's poetic innovations, his translation of "Pioneers" in this newspaper shows his awareness that this poetry can also be an agent of social activism.[34]

Later in 1920, three of Stefanović's translations of Whitman appeared in the renowned literary magazine *Srpski književni glasnik* (*Serbian Literary Gazette*, hereafter *SKG*). Issued in Belgrade from 1901 to 1914 and then again from 1920 to 1941 (as a "new series"), *SKG* gathered prominent writers, poets, literary and art critics, as well as scholars in different fields. Its founder and one of the editors, Bogdan Popović, was a respected authority on literature, art, and cultural issues, and also a great anglophile (although much more inclined toward British rather than American literature). The majority of contributions in the magazine were by the Yugoslav authors and thus it was somewhat exceptional that this November issue contained three Whitman's poems: "Dirge for Two Veterans," "For You O Democracy," and part 16 of "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd."[35] Stefanović again chose poems appropriate for the postwar situation—with their pensive and elegiac tone, death as a dominant theme, but also their optimism that love of comrades and spirit of democracy will spread.

Interestingly, unlike all the other Serbo-Croatian translators from this period, Stefanović did not base his translations on the poems as they appear in the 1891-1892 "Deathbed Edition" of *Leaves of Grass*. As indicated in the note on Whitman in a later edition where these translations were reprinted,[36] the source was W. M. Rossetti's selection of Whitman's poetry, i.e., the 1868 British edition based on the fourth (1867) edition of *Leaves of Grass*. This explains the

changes in the poems' titles and the additions and omissions of some lines.

The view of Whitman as a predecessor of the modern poetic expression gained traction during the 1920s owing to the vibrant European literary exchange through the newly established intellectual networks. Many young authors from the Kingdom of Yugoslavia gained insight into the activities of European literary and artistic circles during the war or immediately after, as they spent some time in other parts of Europe, mainly France, as soldiers, students, or journalists. For some, the immersion in French culture and popular trends started even before the war: Augustin (Tin) Ujević, a celebrated Croatian poet and the translator of the first book-length collection of Whitman's poetry in Serbo-Croatian, lived in Paris from 1913 to 1919, at which time he became acquainted with contemporary French poets and, through them, with Walt Whitman. As Antun Nizeteo notes, "there is no doubt that the rising fortune of Whitman in French literature stimulated Ujević's own interest and admiration for the American poet and his work."[37] Living in Paris was an opportunity for young authors like Ujević to familiarize themselves not only with the works of the celebrated writers and poets—both contemporary and of the previous ages—but also with a variety of periodicals they would continue to follow upon their return to Yugoslavia.

Boško Tokin was among the young Serbian intellectuals who, having escaped from the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Serbia, were given refuge in France in 1916 and spent the rest of the war in Paris. During this time, Tokin took part in the many cultural activities the city offered even in wartime, kindling his lifelong interest in avant-garde art and literature, film, and certain figures, such as Charlie Chaplin and Walt Whitman. In the 1920s, Tokin worked as a journalist publishing essays, literary and film criticism, and, along with Ljubomir Micić and Ivan (Yvan) Goll, founded the magazine *Zenit*, the organ of the highly progressive, inventive, but also controversial Yugoslav avant-garde movement Zenitism. Ivan Goll, a German-French-Jewish expressionist/surrealist, was an important European Whitmanite, who in 1919 published a translation of Whitman's Civil War prose in the volume *Der Wundpfleger* (*The Nurse)*, printed by the Swiss publisher Rascher.[38]

During 1920 and 1921, Boško Tokin wrote three texts on Walt Whitman, published in three Belgrade periodicals.[39] The first of these, "U. S. A.= Poe, Whitman, Chaplin," appeared in a feuilleton section of the independent political daily *Progres* (*Progress*), issued in Belgrade and discontinued after only six months. [40] The article bears a dedication to Slavko Vorkapić, Tokin's friend who went to Hollywood in 1920 and built a successful career as a film editor, director, cinema theorist, and university lecturer, or in Tokin's words, "who

went to America to take pictures of Charlot" (i.e., Charlie Chaplin). The motto for this text is Whitman's, or rather a Whitmanian line, constructed by blending two lines from two sections of "Song of the Open Road": "Allons! From all formulas" (section 10) and "Allons! After the great Companions" (section 12). Tokin merges the two lines into "Hajdmo iznad svih formula, pođimo sa velikim drugovima" ("Let us go beyond all formulas, let us move along with the great companions").[41] Tokin starts by looking back to the Reformation, when large numbers of Europeans migrated to the newly-discovered America, which thus became the homeland of all who "sought and wished for the newness which Europe could not give them." He then argues that Poe, Whitman, and Chaplin are the three figures who "constitute and create the spiritual atmosphere of the innermost America," and celebrates each in a separate section of the article. [42] Whitman is depicted as a poet of cosmism, who recognized the great possibilities of America and sang about them, and a poet whose omnipresent poetry makes the invisible more visible and the unseen energies better-known. Tokin presents Whitman as a focal point and transmitter of all human and cosmic forces, conveyed to the readers through his poetry, and he ends this section by equating the poet with the cosmos.

The following year, *Svetski pregled* (*World Review*), another short-lived periodical covering a range of topics in the fields of politics, finance, literature, and art, published Tokin's article "Four Beginnings of the Modern Poetry—Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Whitman, Nietzsche," in which the author celebrates the four nineteenth-century figures as the founders of modernity.[43] The headline indicates that the article was written to mark the centennial of Baudelaire's birth, and refers to André Fontainas's text "Baudelaire," published in the latest issue of *Mercure de France.* Discussing the free verse as a modern poetic form, Tokin (here under the pseudonym *Aristofan* [Aristophanes]) points to the *vers-libre* poems published in 1886 in two other Parisian magazines, *Revue des deux Mondes* and *La Vogue*, one of which is Jules Laforgue's translation of Whitman's "Dedicacé," i.e., poems from the "Inscriptions" section of *Leaves of Grass.* As Betsy Erkkila points out, Laforgue played a crucial role in presenting Whitman to the French audience and the translations from *La Vogue*, which Tokin mentions here, were "the first official translations of Whitman in France" and had "a far-reaching effect on Laforgue and on the development of vers-libre in France."[44] Also, quite importantly, Laforgue's translations "did much to expand Whitman's reputation among the young *avant-garde* writers with whom Laforgue was associated" (77) and who were most likely Tokin's friends and acquaintances during his time in Paris. In his article on the beginnings of

modern poetry, Tokin, as a true avant-gardist, states that Whitman's poetry of the cosmos reaches even beyond the Symbolist poetry, while Whitman himself is "one of the most authentic beginnings of the modern epoch of constructions and syntheses" (13). Tokin concludes that whoever does not know what the cosmos is will learn it by reading Whitman, and illustrates his observations with his translation of the poem "O Living Always, Always Dying."

Another of Tokin's texts inspired by Whitman—and a true curiosity among the newspaper articles of the time—was published later in 1921 in the Belgrade daily *Tribuna* (*The Platform*).[45] Entitled "Walt Whitman in Belgrade," the text includes an imagined conversation with the American poet—encountered while rambling the streets of the Yugoslav capital—in which the narrator (presumably Tokin himself) observes all the changes in the growing city around him: the new buildings and numerous construction sites, the people full of joy and excitement. Near the still unfinished building of the Academy of Science, Tokin notices a "familiar physiognomy" and with wonder concludes that the "gray-haired man with a large white beard and lively eyes" is Walt Whitman. He approaches and addresses the poet, who replies: "There are a lot of people who don't know about me. Why is that? I love everybody—this Belgrade, too." When asked about the reason he came there, Whitman answers that he read in a newspaper about Belgrade being a town with the greatest number of construction sites and, as such towns are of interest to him, he came to see it.

> I walk, I am content, and I admire. I've been walking so much that my legs hurt. To be honest, your pavements […] are in a pretty bad shape. I'm glad to see them being repaired. I'm more interested in the future than the present anyway. And Belgrade has a future. The possibilities are great. (13)

Whitman makes further observations concerning urban planning and erecting new buildings and he particularly admires the wide horizon stretching in the distance between the houses. When they pass the hotel "Moskva," the famous gathering place of the postwar Yugoslav intelligentsia, Whitman is greeted by young writers and artists, all of them his admirers. Tokin's imagined interview is an extraordinary entry in the Serbo-Croatian reception of Whitman: a personal dialogue with the author's American hero with Tokin presuming that, were they to meet, they would certainly share the love for his city. Apart from being a cosmos, an all-encompassing force of powerful expression, in Tokin's view, Whitman is also a man of flesh and blood, interested in the ordinary practical things and eager to communicate with people. And most importantly, Whitman is still very much alive.

While Tokin's texts offer an intimate perspective based on personal impressions and reflecting his avant-garde inclinations, a more comprehensive analysis of Whitman's poetics was presented in 1923 on the pages of the Belgrade magazine *Budućnost* (*The Future*) and this time from a symbolist's point of view.[46] *Budućnost* was another short-lived periodical, issued from January 1922 to September 1923, and of a rather wide scope, covering a variety of topical issues from agriculture and workers' rights, to the finances, educational and health policies, to urban planning, culture, and literature. The text on Whitman is a translation of an essay written by Konstantin Bal'mont, a symbolist poet, translator, critic, and one of the first Russian promoters of Whitman. Originally entitled "Певец личности и жизни: Уольт Уитман" ("The Bard of Individuality and Life: Walt Whitman"),[47] the text was translated into Serbo-Croatian by Miodrag M. Pešić, divided into two parts, and published in two consecutive double issues of the magazine. The first part contains Balmont's introductory thoughts on poetry and an observation that the Russian audience has shown a great interest in E. A. Poe but hardly knows anything about Whitman. Balmont attributes this to Whitman's rejection of the European literary patterns, his complexity, the local, distinctly American character of his poetry, and the fact that he wrote only one book, a poetry collection *Leaves of Grass*. In an attempt to emphasize Whitman's significance, Bal'mont proceeds to outline different aspects of Whitman's poetry, among other things depicting Whitman as the poet of the "simple and powerful 'I' of the young race" (719) and "the poet of individuality, endless life, and a harmonic connection between all personal parts and the Cosmic Whole" (728). The essay concludes with a heartening image of free, intelligent people bound together with strings of common spiritual life. Bal'mont illustrates these depictions of Whitman with his translations of several poems (or parts of longer poems), which Miodrag Pešić duly translated into Serbo-Croatian, thus enlarging the corpus of Whitman's poetry available to the Yugoslav readers and offering them a broader picture of the American poet.[48] This is particularly important considering that *Budućnost* was not a literary magazine, but one dealing with a broad range of sociopolitical issues, which makes its readership far more numerous and diverse.

Not all articles on Whitman's poetry from this period referred to it in affirmative terms. Two of them were quite disapproving of the American poet: Ljubomir Maraković's "Walt Whitman," published in 1921 in the Zagreb literary magazine *Hrvatska prosvjeta* (*Croatian Enlightenment*),[49] and Bogdan Popović's "Walt Whitman and Swinburne," published in 1925 in *Srpski književni glasnik* (*SKG*) in Belgrade. A literary critic and historian, active in the Croatian

Catholic Movement, Maraković wrote his article inspired by another proponent of Catholicism, Joseph de Tonquédec, a Jesuit priest who would become the official exorcist of Paris and whose text on Whitman appeared earlier in 1921 in a Jesuit journal *Etudes*.[50] Maraković's article is for the most part composed out of the translated or rephrased excerpts from the French author's text, which offers a rather balanced view of Whitman. The ending, however, is Maraković's own and indicates the Croatian author's not so favorable opinion of Whitman's work; while agreeing with Tonquédec's concluding observations about the power, but also fierceness and vanity of Whitman's poetic soul, Maraković adds that Whitman exerts a powerful influence on the authors of his country partly because "the mentioned foul characteristics of Whitman […] best suit the evil inclinations of our race and our 'ingenious' poetic generation" (122). Maraković thus used the opportunity not only to present the work of the American poet (and that of his French commentator), but also to express his own opinion, or rather his scorn for those poets who followed in Whitman's footsteps.

A similar approach of voicing one's own disapproval through the words of another author was adopted by the previously mentioned Serbian editor of *Srpski književni glasnik*, Bogdan Popović, whose contribution on Walt Whitman and Charles Algernon Swinburne appeared in 1925.[51] Intending to use Swinburne's essay "Whitmania" (from *Studies in Prose and Poetry*) as a basis for his argumentation, Popović translated or paraphrased a large portion of it, occasionally inserting his own comments to emphasize certain points, and then added four more pages in support of Swinburne's criticism. Apart from discussing Whitman and Swinburne (for the most part, arguing against Whitman and in favor of Swinburne), this text also had a hidden agenda: the author's consideration of these two poets is linked to his attitude towards the latest literary and artistic tendencies and their representatives. Although Popović was generally open to the modern literary ventures, as avant-garde trends became more radical over the 1920s and their proponents became bolder in their public appearances, he began to show less sympathy for their experiments and was sometimes even truly hostile towards them. This was the subtext of Popović's vitriolic denigration of Whitman's poetic style and his personality; denying Whitman any claim to poetic greatness by underlining the primitivism of his style, especially compared to such an aristocratic poet as Swinburne, Popović belittles those who find Whitman's poetry inspiring. According to Popović, people of such humble origins as Whitman's can only grow into "'primitive' people of 'primitive' minds, which is only the twilight of a great morning and a great day; reverting to the primitive urges, primitive forms of work or art, undertaken

by such people, to the primitive, amoral views, manifestations and provocative demonstrations" (106). As the last in a series of four Popović essays focusing on avant-garde figures and phenomena,[52] this one displays a tested strategy: by discussing Whitman, Popović indirectly attacks the youngest generation of poets and artists, the proponents of the modern poetic expression.

Whitman's ability to provoke controversial responses in literary circles was noted by Alois Schmaus, a German-born linguist and literature scholar, who moved to Belgrade in 1923 to study Slavistics, Balkan and Oriental studies. In 1926, Schmaus published the article "Walt Whitman or the Song of America. An Excerpt from the Introduction to Whitman's poetry" in a special section of the Easter triple-issue of the daily newspaper *Reč* (*The Word*).[53] Schmaus begins his article with comments on the critical reception of Whitman's work, noting that the poet has been the subject of both praise and derogation and that some, like Swinburne, even changed their attitude from celebrating to attacking him. As the overall conclusion of critics seems to be that Whitman is a truly American poet, independent of European traditions, Schmaus proceeds to give an account of the specifics of the American culture and the European attitude towards it. The author returns to Whitman only in the last part of the article to make his final point:

> The enthusiasm of the cultural will, faith, and optimism of America, this is in general the song of Whitman, through which the dithyrambic waves of oceans and vast prairies flow, the roar of big cities, factories, and workshops. It is a song of the joyous passion of a life that always advances, never dies, and that binds together everything in the universe, it is a grand rhythm of life, freed from all the obstacles which diminish its enthusiasm. (4)

These two sentences appropriately sum up the aspects of Whitman's poetry which appealed to his European readers most and from which, in Schmaus's opinion, the Europeans could also learn something. Schmaus also observes that Whitman's name had become a password for the Yugoslav authors and translators who had some limited access to the latest publications issued in the main European cultural centers, in that his name drew their attention to particular pieces of writing, as can be seen from the special case discussed next.

A Special Case of "Eris" and the Intricacies of International (Periodical) Networking

Whitman's Serbo-Croatian translators and commentators of the pre-World War I and interwar periods focused almost exclusively on his poetry, only occasion-

ally referring to his prose works such as *Democratic Vistas* or the 1855 Preface. These poetry translations seem to have been limited to the Deathbed Edition (apart from Stefanović's translations, as shown above) as almost all the translations were based on the final versions of the poems, which presumably had the largest circulation in Europe. Therefore, it was quite surprising to see that the bibliographies of Whitman's Serbo-Croatian translations included a contribution entitled "Mladenačka pesma iz god. 1844." ("A youth poem from the year 1844"), published in the Bosnian periodical *Narod* (*The People*) in 1923. An even bigger surprise awaited on the actual pages of *Narod*, where I found that the youth "poem" was in fact a prose piece, Whitman's short story "Eris; A Spirit Record," rendered into Serbo-Croatian by a person signed as "K_z" ("K_з" in the Cyrillic script).[54]

This story first appeared in March 1844, in *The Columbian Lady's and Gentleman's Magazine*, entitled "Eris; A Spirit Record" and signed by Walter Whitman. It was revised by the author himself and reprinted under the new title "The Love of Eris.—*A Spirit Record*" in August 1846, in *The Brooklyn Daily Eagle and Kings County Democrat*.[55] The story had very few reprints and was not included in Whitman's selection of his short prose published in *Specimen Days and Collect*.[56] Importantly in the context of its twentieth-century European reception, it seems not to have been republished in the States after 1860. The Serbo-Croatian translation presents the original version of the story, which can be established not only by the title of the translation, but also by the sentences omitted in the second version. Still, this translation contains enough syntactic and other modifications as well as omissions to suggest that the immediate source was other than the English original.

This was confirmed when my search for possible German translations of this story revealed that one *was* published in the Berlin periodical *Sozialistische Monatshefte* on August 23, 1923, about a fortnight before the text in Serbo-Croatian appeared in *Narod*.[57] The German translation, by Max Hayek, contains a subtitle "Jugenddichtung, aus dem Jahr 1844" ("A Youth Piece from the Year 1844"), not present in the English original, but, as seen above, also appearing in the Serbo-Croatian version. The similarity of the German words *Dichtung* ("poetry," but also "literature, fiction") and *Gedicht* ("poem") could account for the Serbo-Croatian translator's mistake in rendering *Jugenddichtung* as "mladenačka pesma" ("youth poem") despite the obvious prose structure of the text. The very presence of this subtitle, along with the syntactic modifications which follow the German version and the proximity of the publication dates indicate that the text from *Sozialistische Monatshefte* was indeed the immediate source for

the translation in *Narod*. So what does this tell us about the international dissemination of Whitman's work and more generally about the cultural exchange in the interwar Europe?

Sozialistische Monatshefte, issued in Berlin 1895/96–1933, was a magazine of social-democratic orientation, covering a broad range of different topics, from political, economic, and social issues—many of them related to the currently active socialist, labor, and women's movements—to literature, art, music, science, and philosophy.[58] As such it was relevant not only for German audiences, but for the socialists around Europe, including those in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. From 1915 to 1924, *Sozialistische Monatshefte* published German translations of Whitman's poems by Max Hayek, the Austrian social-democrat, writer, and journalist, and possibly a familiar name to Yugoslav readers owing to his book-length translations of Whitman's poetry.[59] *Narod,* the twice-weekly newspaper issued in Sarajevo, featured sociopolitical and economic news and in 1920 launched a literary feuilleton with original contributions from Yugoslav authors, as well as translations from German, French, Russian, and English. The feuilleton was a rare instance of progressive literary endeavors in a city which, for all its prewar potential, was lagging in its cultural development after the war. The same number of *Narod* that published the translation of "Eris" also contains an article on the unequal division of funding for education according to which Bosnia and Hercegovina were allocated the least amount of all the regions in the new Kingdom.[60]

Although postwar circumstances in Sarajevo were not favorable, dedicated individuals strived to keep the pace in literary production and thus continue the work they had started before the war. The periodical *Narod* itself was in many aspects a continuation of the sociopolitical and literary ideas of the Young Bosnia movement and this could account for the appearance of Whitman's short story.[61] Although the identity of the translator signed as "K_z" remains unknown,[62] all the circumstances related to his contribution suggest that he was following the activities of the European and in particular German socialist circles and possibly the work of Max Hayek. Since Whitman's story was translated from German, and the transcription of the poet's name—"Ualt Uitmen"—was how the Young Bosnians usually transcribed it, I propose that "K_z" could have been one of the former members of the Young Bosnia movement.

Although *Narod* generally displayed no particular interest in spiritualist literature, "K_z" may have decided to translate "Eris" and not some of Whitman's poems (three of which were also published in the *Sozialistische Monatshefte* earlier the same year) because he specifically wanted to show another side of

the famous poet. It is also possible that only this issue of the German journal was available to him. Whitman's name was enough to grasp the attention of his admirers even if it appeared above a lesser-known prose piece; the fact that Max Hayek translated the story could have been an additional reassurance that it merited attention. But aside from all conjectures, the case of "Eris" confirms that Whitman's reception in the Serbo-Croatian cultural space depended on the enthusiasm of dedicated individuals and that the literary and cultural exchange in interwar Europe relied to a great extent on periodical publications, especially those that were organs of certain artistic or political groups.

Walt Whitman and Social Activism

Apart from authors and critics who celebrated or criticized Whitman from a literary standpoint, there were also those who deemed him relevant in the wider sociopolitical context, with the essays on Whitman and translations of Whitman's poems repeatedly appearing in newspapers dealing with a broad range of issues and some of these essays linking Whitman's poetic expression to his origins, social status, and Americanness. There were, however, authors who felt that Whitman was an extraordinary figure among his contemporaries, even un-American in some respects. In "Walt Whitman: The Greatest American Lyric Poet," published in the Zagreb daily *Novosti* (*News*) in 1931, Branko Mašić asserts that Whitman as a lyric poet, an apostle-like figure, and a dreamer floating in his own poetic trance, stood somewhat apart from the materialism that prevailed in nineteenth-century American society.[63]

From 1925 to 1930, several Whitman translations appeared in newspapers across the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, including papers from Niš (South Serbia) and Split (Dalmatia, Croatia), while one was published in a student magazine issued in Trieste (Italy). In 1925 *Niški glasnik* (*Niš Gazette*), "an independent, non-party, sociopolitical, cultural, and economic periodical," published a translation of "As I Lay with My Head in Your Lap Camerado," rendered into Serbo-Croatian by the journalist Dragi Popović.[64] In the case of *Jadranska straža* (*The Adriatic Guard*), the periodical from Split, the choice of the translated poems was obviously made to match the general topic of the paper; as the organ of the Yugoslav naval organization bearing the same name, *Jadranska straža* promoted the economic and cultural importance of the Adriatic Sea and the two Whitman poems that appeared were "City of Ships" (1926) and "Song for All Seas, All Ships" (1930).[65] Both translations were made by Živko Vekarić, an avid admirer of Whitman and Anglophone literature generally, whose other

Whitman translation (Section 18 from "Song of Myself") appeared in 1927 in *Naš glas* (*Our Voice*), the monthly magazine of Slovenian high-school students, issued in Trieste.[66] This last publication contains a short anonymous note on Whitman, describing him as a poet of democratic America and stating that "this former typographer and journalist, of an athletic build, is a universal poet of democracy, joy, strength, and health, and is much read, especially in England and France."[67]

Živko Vekarić was among the Whitman enthusiasts who from time to time managed to insert a poem or two in the periodicals they worked for and who thus contributed to the southeastern European dissemination of Whitman's poetry and ideas. In some cases, these individuals were part of a group sharing and promoting ideas on how to improve society to make it more liberal, democratic, and egalitarian. The need for decisive changes in art and culture, exemplified through various artistic movements, reflected wider social concerns, including labor issues and social justice, which eventually led to the rise of radical political groups, both leftist and rightist. A number of intellectuals, writers, editors, and journalists who showed interest in Whitman were also involved in direct political strife and viewed Whitman, along with other frequently translated and discussed authors, as more than a poet of a revolutionary poetic expression—Whitman was a revolutionary personality, whose ideas on the society aligned with their own socialist beliefs.

The Yugoslav socialists' interest in Whitman was expressed immediately after World War I with the publication of five translations of Whitman's poems in 1919 appearing in periodicals with a more or less overt socialist agenda. Marko Nani's translation of "Gods" in *Ilustrovane novosti* appeared under the photo report on the "Great workers' assembly in Zagreb" held ten days before. Another two translations from this year were published in two communist publications: *Plamen* (*The Flame*) and *Almanah socijalističke omladine* (*An Almanac of Socialist Youth*).[68] The translator of both poems was Vatroslav-Slavko Cihlar, at the time a member of the Academic Socialist Youth Association and a distinguished Croatian communist throughout the 1920s. Although subtitled "A bi-monthly for all cultural issues," *Plamen* was mainly a literary organ expressing the communist views of the intellectuals gathered around it, chiefly its editors, August Cesarec and Miroslav Krleža—both left-wing activists—as well as Cihlar himself, who was nominal owner of the magazine. Literary contributions predominate and the only other foreign author in this issue is Nietzsche. The magazine first appeared in January 1919 and was banned by authorities in the summer of the same year after only fifteen issues. The ban imposed on

Plamen prompted the Association of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia to start another publication, *Almanah socijalističke omladine*, of a distinctly leftist orientation and with Marx's slogan "Workers of the world, unite!" on its title page. The publication covered a broad range of topics, and Cihlar's translation of Whitman's "Beat! Beat! Drums!" appeared amidst the essays on socialism, workers' rights, the revolutionary proletariat, the role of women in society, and excerpts from the *Communist Manifesto*.

The potential of Whitman's poetry to awake a revolutionary spirit was also recognized by the editors of periodicals with no communist inclinations but representing the opposition to the ruling party. This was the case with Stefanović's previously discussed translation of "Pioneers! O Pioneers!" in the Easter issue of *Republika*, as well as Djuro Banjac's translation of "Starting from Paumanok" (part 12) published in *Beogradski dnevnik* (*Belgrade Daily*) on January 7, 1920, the day of the Orthodox Christmas.[69] The fact that this bold and provocative poem appeared on a tradition-bound religious holiday and was placed prominently in the upper half of the third page is not surprising if we look at the content of this number; with its decisive anti-establishment, leftist and democratic orientation, *Beogradski dnevnik* as "an independent organ of public opinion" darted harsh criticism at the ruling party and its leaders and aimed to inspire feelings of rebellion and revolt in its readership.[70] While the Christmas issue does contain a brief note wishing the readers a happy holiday, the next page includes another poem by Banjac, "The Satan," picturing God as a tyrant enslaving people. Banjac himself had been involved in revolutionary activities since his high-school days before the war, as a member of a secret student organization supporting the unification of South Slavs and collaborating with members of the Young Bosnia movement. This connection could well have been the source of his interest in translating Whitman.

According to Ljiljana Babić, in 1921 the Zagreb newspaper *Crvena zastava* (*The Red Flag*) published an unsigned translation of a Russian text here entitled "Walt Whitman—Boljševik" ("Walt Whitman—a Bolshevik"), written by an unsigned author (15). Unfortunately, I couldn't find a copy of this newspaper, but considering that it was the organ of the League of the Communist Youth of Yugoslavia and judging by the title of the article, we can imagine that, as was the case with "Eris," its contributors were browsing foreign communist newspapers and journals for articles relevant for the Yugoslav audience, which included those on Whitman as a figure of interest.

Since the Yugoslav Communist Party was banned in 1921, we can only speculate as to whether Whitman's poetry would have continued to appear

in its periodicals. However, Whitman's poetry was still to be found in other publications of socialist orientation. Another holiday appearance of Whitman in the Yugoslav press occurred in 1925, when *Radničko jedinstvo* (*Workers' Unity*), an "independent workers' newspaper," published an unsigned translation of Whitman's "Reconciliation" on the first page of its May Day issue.[71] The poem pleading for sympathy for the defeated enemy thus found itself among the articles celebrating May 1 and urging the proletariat to cherish brotherhood and solidarity, but also fight against despotic powers. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, scattered articles on Whitman were published in several socialist periodicals in Belgrade and Zagreb, and although their appearance is too haphazard and irregular to suggest any systematic study of Whitman's work and ideas, they point to the fact that he was perceived and read as a poet of workers and social justice.

Another translated text on Whitman appeared in September 1932 in the double issue of the Zagreb magazine *Socijalna misao* (*The Socialist Thought*), a Marxist periodical publishing articles on current political events and social issues (imperialism, war, Hitler's Germany), and covering literary topics (the contemporary Croatian novel, Jack London, Maxim Gorky, and Karl Marx's text on Goethe). In this case, both the author and translator are known: the text was written by Upton Sinclair and translated into Serbo-Croatian by Mirko Kus Nikolajev.[72] Upton Sinclair was one of the foreign authors whose books were recommended and reviewed in this magazine, and the text, originally entitled "The Good Grey Poet," was taken from *Mammonart*: *An Essay on Economic Interpretation* (1925), Sinclair's socialist examination of various authors, artists, and composers within the Western canon. Nikolajev, was an ethnologist, sociologist, as well as a social activist and the editor of another socialist periodical, *Crveni kalendar* (*The Red Calendar*), which published a translation of Whitman's *Salut au Monde* in 1934.[73] His translation of Sinclair's essay deviates somewhat from the original: some paragraphs are abridged, there are occasional mistranslations, and some parts are translated rather freely. But the overall message is conveyed faithfully; to Sinclair, Whitman was "one of the major prophets—like Dante, Milton, Tolstoi, Nietzsche, who used art as a means of swaying the souls of men."[74] Sinclair also noted, and Nikolajev translated, that "Walt Whitman did really know the American people, the masses, as distinguished from the cultured few," and that in due time he was discovered by the newly emerging labor movement (254).

The last in a series of the interwar articles on Whitman written in Serbo-Croatian appeared on July 14, 1939, only a month and a half before the start of

the Second World War. In the midst of the reports on the current political crises, the Belgrade newspaper *Radničke novine* (*Workers' Newspaper*) published the text "Walt Whitman," under the headline "The Father of American Modernity," by the Slovenian-American poet, translator, journalist, and political activist Ivan Molek. Founded in 1897, *Radničke novine* became the organ of the Socialist Workers Party in 1919 and was issued until April 1941 and the Axis occupation of Yugoslavia. This 1939 issue focused on celebrating the sesquicentennial of the fall of the Bastille; in Molek's article, readers learned about the shift in American literature after the Civil War and Whitman's dream of the American people and democracy, as well as his scorn for old, imported forms and traditions. Molek himself was well-acquainted with American culture, having spent a large portion of his life in the United States.[75] Writing on Whitman, the Slovenian author relies on Louis Untermeyer's *Modern American Poetry* (1919), emphasizing Untermeyer's observation that Whitman is the Lincoln of American literature, who liberated it from British puritanism and opened the door of a modern age. In this particular historical context, Molek's contribution shows that in the face of growing fascist terror, democratic-minded people were striving to promote ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity, with Whitman as one of the figures who fortified their endeavors.

Conclusion

The interwar reception of Whitman's work in the Serbo-Croatian cultural and linguistic space rested almost entirely on the translations and articles published in various periodicals. Such dispersion of Whitman-related materials reveals intriguing facts concerning the cultural perception of the American poet. Some of these periodicals were literary magazines, but many were different daily and weekly publications covering a range of current sociopolitical issues. Apart from appearing in the discourse on modern poetry, Whitman was a familiar name in Yugoslav socialist and communist circles; leftist intellectuals saw his poetry as related to a wider social context and reflecting much of their own present circumstances, especially those pertaining to labor issues. The contributors of translations and essays on Whitman were not only journalists, critics, or poets, but also social and political activists, using the public space of the periodical press to voice their thoughts on modern society. If one common denominator could be singled out for all the Whitman promoters of this time, it would be their revolutionary spirit urging them to try and change the existing cultural and political environment. Whitman was perceived as radically unconventional

and—owing to his unorthodox poetic expression and resistance to traditional forms—was greatly admired by supporters of avant-garde movements whose translations and essays contributed to establishing Whitman as an important figure in European modernism and the avant-garde.

Both the avant-garde and socialist groups in interwar Yugoslavia were part of larger European networks, artistic or political, which gave them access to the latest issues of foreign periodicals relevant for their activities. Through these periodicals—French, German, or Russian—they discovered Whitman's poetry or texts on Whitman, which they subsequently translated or discussed in their own essays. This study of Whitman's reception has illustrated how the European cultural and intellectual exchange operated in the uncertain and unstable times between the two world wars. The means were limited, but the enthusiasm was great. For his Yugoslav admirers, Whitman was a key figure in promoting modernity in literature and arts, in the organization of a society, and in interpersonal and international relations. They saw him as an American poet transcending the old European patterns and traditions, the poet of democracy and social justice, who could move people because he addressed them directly. In the turbulent interwar years, when both cultural and political life was afflicted by clashes of different factions, the Yugoslav Whitmanites made an effort to promote Whitman through their periodicals, the only medium readily available to them, thus continuing the work of their predecessors and showing how relevant Whitman was for their own generation.

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Notes

1 [Anonymous,] "Različite viesti. Sitne viesti," *Narodne novine* (April 5, 1892) [unpaginated]; my translation.

2 Čed. Mijatović, "Pismo iz Londona," *Otadžbina: književnost, nauka, društveni život* (May 1, 1982), 176; my translation.

3 This paper deals with the translations, essays, and articles published in Serbo-Croatian, i.e. the language predominantly spoken in the territories of today's Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia & Herzegovina, and Montenegro. The name and sociolinguistic status of the language (or rather four languages today) have been under dispute due to the political circumstances in the region, but as this is irrelevant for the presented research, I will refer to it as "Serbo-Croatian," indicating primarily the geographic area on which it was and still is spoken.

4 Such was the movement "Young Bosnia," whose activities were focused on gaining not only political but also cultural independence from Austria-Hungary. Whitman was largely read and translated by the members of this group.

5 The first book-length Serbo-Croatian translation of Whitman's poetry was the one by Tin Ujević published in Zagreb in 1951.

6 Stephen Stepanchev, "Other Slavic Countries," *Walt Whitman Abroad*, ed. Gay Wilson Allen (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1955), 157.

7 Sonja Bašić, "Walt Whitman in Yugoslavia," *Walt Whitman in Europe Today*, ed. Roger Asselineau and William White (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1972), 25.

8 Arthur Golden, Marija Golden, Igor Maver, "Whitman in the Former Yugoslavia," *Walt Whitman and the World*, ed. Gay Wilson Allen and Ed Folsom (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1995), 282–294. Under the sub-heading "Whitman in Croatia," it is erroneously stated that I. Andrić, Lj. Wiesner, and S. Cihlar published translations of Whitman's poems in 1912 in the Zagreb magazine *Plamen*. Andrić's and Wiesner's translations did appear in 1912, but in Sarajevo, in *Bosanska vila*, and Belgrade, in *Srpski književni glasnik*, whereas Cihlar's translation indeed appeared in *Plamen*, but only in 1919.

9 Ljiljana Babić, "Walt Whitman in Yugoslavia," *Acta Neophilologica* 9 (1976), 9-58.

10 The magazine was first conceived to appear twice a month, on the 1st and 16th. This plan, however, often had to be abandoned due to external circumstances (these were, after all, the final year of the war and the first year of the peace).

11 Nenad Ljubinković thoroughly examines the political orientation of *Književni Jug* in "*Književni Jug* 1918–1919," *Književna istorija* 2 (1969), 371–412.

12 Walt Whitman, "Pesme: 3; Kad čitam; Državama," *Književni Jug* (January 1, 1918), 38–39. There is a note indicating the poems were translated from English.

13 Walt Whitman, "Chanting the Square Deific" and "To the States," in *Leaves of Grass* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1891–1892). Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive* (www.whitmanarchive.org).

14 Walt Whitman, "Noć na žalu," *Književni Jug* (November 1, 1918), 337–338. Also with a note "Translated from English."

15 See Ljiljana Babić, "Walt Whitman in Yugoslavia," *Acta Neophilologica* 9 (1976), 9–58. Bibliographies compiled by Mara Ćurčić (in Volt Vitmen, *Vlati trave: izabrane pesme*, translated by Ivan V. Lalić, Beograd: BIGZ, 1974) and Dragan Purešić (in Volt Vitman, *Izabrana poezija*, translated by Dragan Purešić, Beograd: Plato, 2008) also name Andrić as the translator of these poems.

16 Ljubinković, 378. The author makes this statement referring to the "archival records" but he doesn't provide any bibliographic data.

17 Andrić's first poetry collection *Ex Ponto* was published in 1918 by *Književni Jug*. His more famous prose works, the novels which would earn him the Nobel Prize, appear much later.

18 Ivo Andrić, "Walt Whitman (1819–1919)," *Književni Jug* (August 1, 1919), 49–55. Reprinted in Ivo Andrić, *Prevodilačka sveska: Ivo Andrić*, ed. Jasmina Nešković (Novi Sad: Svetovi, 1994).

19 Andrić's essay was translated into English by Stefan P. Pajović and published in the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 33 (Summer 2015), 51-60.

20 Binns's work was translated into German by Johannes Schlaf in 1907 and, since German publications were generally easier to obtain than the English ones, this translation could have been Andrić's

source.

21 Some of these lines, however, seem to be misplaced. In his discussion of Whitman's first edition of *Leaves of Grass*, Andrić's quote from "One's Self I Sing" and the accompanying comment suggest he might not have realized that this poem was not among the original twelve.

22 Anica Savić, "Stogodišnjica Walta Withmana [sic]," *Književni jug* (August 1, 1919), 116–119. Reprinted in Anica Savić Rebac, *Studije i ogledi I-II*, ed. Darinka Zličić (Novi Sad: Književna zajednica Novog Sada, 1988). This text was first delivered as a lecture "in English at the Serbian-French Club at Novi Sad to honour the visit of the American Military Attache."

23 Anica Savić-Rebac translated into Serbian John Milton, John Keats, and her favorite Percy Bysshe Shelley, and into English the long philosophical poem *The Ray of Microcosm* [*Luča mikrokozma*] by the nineteenth-century Romantic poet and Montenegrin ruler Petar II Petrović-Njegoš.

24 In the course of the essay, Anica Savić Rebac will make further observations on America and indirectly point to the postwar European view of the U.S.: "That this compound of democracy and idealism is more than a mere dream of the poet, is proven by America and her history, never before as gloriously as today when the name of President Wilson is mentioned as often as the name of the United States themselves. Therein lies the individualism of democracy, that one powerful personality grows organically out of a whole and should not be externally imposed. And this can be achieved when each particle of the whole is equally and harmonically developed." See Anica Savić Rebac, "Stogodišnjica Walta Whitmana," *Studije i ogledi I-II*, ed. Darinka Zličić (Novi Sad: Književna zajednica Novog Sada, 1988), 321-325; my translation.

25 Savić Rebac, 322; my translation.

26 Walt Whitman, "Bogovi," "Noću, sam na žalu," "Pjesnici budućnosti," translated by Marko N. Nani, *Ilustrovane novosti* (February 16, 1919), 1 and 13.

27 Walt Whitman, "Duše vojnika" ("Souls of Soldiers"), translated by S. Cihlar, *Plamen* (1919), 163–164; Walt Whitman. "Udarajte! Udarajte! Bubnjevi!," translated by Slavko Cihlar, *Almanah socijalističke omladine*, Zagreb: Udruženje Saveza komunističke omladine Jugoslavije, 1919, 45–46. In cases when the title of the translation does not match the original title of the poem (as in *Plamen* above), I will provide the English translation of the Serbian title.

28 Peter Bürger, *Theory of the Avant-garde*, translated by Michael Shaw (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1984), 49.

29 Voloder and Miller discuss the participation of the Yugoslav avant-gardists in such interwar networking noting:

Despite their seemingly marginal position compared to the metropolitan centres of France, England, Italy, and Germany, and despite the limited utility of their 'minor' language in communicating their thoughts to an international audience, by the early 1920s Yugoslavian intellectuals had begun to generate the discourse, ideology, venues, and institutions characteristic of other European avant-gardes and were vehemently asserting their place among this international community of artistic revolutionaries. (Laurel Seely Voloder and Tyrus Miller, "Avant-garde Periodicals in the Yugoslavian Crucible," *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Vol. III: Europe 1880–1940*, ed. Peter Brooker, Sascha Bru, Andrew Thacker, Christian Weikop [New York: Oxford University Press, 2013], 1099.)

30 Valt Hvitman, "Mati svega" ["The Mother of All"], translated by Svetislav Stefanović, *Misao;*

književno-politički časopis (1919–1920), 343.

31 However, the editors apparently showed interest in the history and culture of the United States. In one of the previous numbers, there is a short note announcing the publication of Max Farrand's *Development of the United States* in French translation (published in Paris by Hachette, 1919).

32 Valt Hvitman, "Pioniri! O pioniri!," translated by Svetislav Stefanović, *Republika* (April 11, 1920), 2–3

33 [Anonymous], [Note accompanying the poem], *Republika* (April 11, 1920), 3.

34 The poem's revolutionary potential was detected in other parts of the world, as well. Its reception among the British socialists is discussed in Kirsten Harris, *Walt Whitman and British Socialism: 'The Love of Comrades'* (New York: Routledge, 2016). For the German responses to Whitman's "Pioneers!" see Vanessa Steinroetter, "'Pioneers! O Pioneers!' and Whitman's Early German Translators," *19: Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century* 9 (2009), doi: doi.org/10.16995/ntn.520.

35 Valt Vitmen, "Tužbalica za dva veterana," "Ljubav drugara" ("Love of Comrades"), "Iz Himne povodom smrti A. Linkolna" ("From the Hymn marking the death of A. Lincoln"), translated by Dr. Svet. Stefanović, *Srpski književni glasnik* (November 16, 1920), 420–423.

36 Svetislav Stefanović, ed., *Iz novije engleske lirike* (Beograd: Napredak, 1923).

37 Antun Nizeteo, "Whitman in Croatia: Tin Ujević and Walt Whitman," *Journal of Croatian Studies* 11/12 (1971), 116. Although there are indications that Ujević translated Whitman throughout the 1930s, these translations appeared in print only after World War II and thus will not be discussed in more detail here.

38 See Walter Grünzweig, *Constructing the German Walt Whitman* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1995), 222 n17. Grünzweig further explores the relation between Whitman and Goll in *Walt Whitmann: Die deutschsprachige Rezeption als interkulturelles Phänomen* (München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 1991), 153–154.

39 Tokin mentions Whitman in several of his texts in *Zenit*, but since these are primarily focused on other topics, I will not discuss them here.

40 Boško Tokin, "U. S. A. = Poe, Whitman, Chaplin," *Progres: nezavisan politički dnevnik* (October 22, 1920), 2–4. Tokin's great admiration for Walt Whitman was an inspiration for another Serbian avant-garde author, Stanislav Vinaver. In his *New Panthology of New Serbian Pelengyrics*, a humorous and satirical collection of prose and poetry imitating the style of other authors, the (p)anthologist Vinaver included the text "Walt Whitman's Pantaloons" ["Unterciger Valta Hvitmana"], which refers to Tokin's texts on modern literary tendencies. This was not meant to ridicule Whitman's work, as Vinaver himself revered the American poet considering him an expressionist.

41 The same line is used at the end of Tokin's novel *Terazije*, followed by an explanation: "When it is impossible to be 'a prophet in one's own country', when it is difficult to live with one's own time, belong to one's own generation, then it is a better and perhaps the only solution to go along with the 'great companions'. To follow the path of the great companions. That is to say, to free oneself from anything related to time." (Boško Tokin. *Terazije: roman posleratnog Beograda* (Beograd: Ultimatum, 2015), 202–203; my translation).

42 Boško Tokin, "U. S. A. = Poe, Whitman, Chaplin," *Progres: nezavisan politički dnevnik* (October 22, 1920), 2–3; my translation.

43 Aristofan, "Četiri početka modern poezije: Baudelaire, Rimbaud, Whitman, Nietzsche," *Svetski pregled: politički, ekonomski, finansijski, književni, umetnički* (April 10, 1921), 12–14.

44 Betsy Erkkila, *Walt Whitman Among the French* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1980), 69.

45 Boško Tokin, „Volt Vitmen u Beogradu," *Tribuna* (November 9, 1921), 2–3. Reprinted in: Boško Tokin, *Veliki planovi*, ed. Ivana Miljak (Novo Miloševo: Banatski kulturni centar, 2015); my translation.

46 Konstantin Dmitriyevich Balmont, "Pesnik ličnosti i života," translated by M. M. Pešić, *Budućnost* (August 1923), 644–646 and 719–729.

47 Originally published in *Весы* (*Libra*) 7 (1904) and reprinted in Константин Дмитриевич Бальмонт (Konstantin Dmitrievich Bal'mont), *Бѣлыя зарницы* (*White Lightning*) (Saint Petersburg: M.V. Pirozhkov, 1908), 59-84.

48 Translated are the poems "One's Self I Sing," "To You" (from *Inscriptions*), "The Dalliance of Eagles," "I Dream'd in a Dream," "As Adam Early in the Morning," "To You" (from *Birds of Passage*), "Beautiful Women," "To Old Age," "Mother and Babe," "A Farm Picture," "As I Ponder'd in Silence," "To a Certain Cantatrice," "We Two Boys Together Clinging," "This Moment Yearning and Thoughtful," "Gods," "Of Him I Love Day and Night," "On the Beach at Night Alone," and "Whispers of Heavenly Death." The quality of these translations, Bal'mont's and consequently, Pešić's, is a separate issue. Chukovsky's criticism of Bal'mont's translations of Whitman has been discussed in several academic papers (see, for instance, Stephen Stepanchev, "Whitman in Russia," in *Walt Whitman & the World*, ed. Gay Wilson Allen and Ed Folsom [Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1995], 300–313). Ljiljana Babić pointed to the inaccuracies of Pešić's translation (although she failed to mention that these could have been caused by the flaws in the source, i.e., the Russian translation). The flaws and inaccuracies, however, do not detract from the significance of these contributions for the foreign reception of Whitman, especially as regards the Serbo-Croatian readership in this specific period.

49 Lj. M[araković], "Walt Whitman," *Hrvatska prosvjeta* (April 25, 1921), 120–122.

50 Joseph de Tonquédec, "Walt Whitman: un poète de 'la nature' aux Etats-Unis," *Etudes* (January 20, 1921), 190–207. Available online from the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb34348593d/date).

51 Bogdan Popović, "Valt Hvitman i Svinburn," *Srpski književni glasnik* (January 16, 1925), 99–109. The essay was written much earlier as indicated by the year at the bottom, 1922.

52 The previous three essays discussed the poetry of Stéphane Mallarmé, modern art, and African sculpture.

53 Alois Schmaus, "Volt Vitman ili pesma Amerike. Odlomak iz uvoda u Vitmanovo pesništvo," ["Walt Whitman or the song of America. An excerpt from the introduction to Whitman's poetry"] *Reč* (May 1–4, 1926), 4. Although the title indicates this is an excerpt from a larger study, I could not find any information that Schmaus wrote anything else on Whitman or American poetry, his main fields of research being the South-Slavic and Balkan literatures and cultures.

54 Ualt Uitmen. "Eris. Istorija jednog duha. Mladenačka pesma iz god. 1844" (Eris. A History of a Spirit. A youth poem from the year 1844), translated by K_z, *Narod* (September 5, 1923), 2.

55 For further information on the publication history of this story see Stephanie Blalock, "About

'Eris; A Spirit Record'," available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*.

56 As Blalock shows, the story was republished in "at least two annual gift books, first in *The American Historical Annual* (1853) and again in *The Lady's Companion Annual* in 1855," and, according to Blalock, this makes it unique among Whitman's short fiction ("About 'Eris; A Spirit Record'").

57 Walt Whitman, "Eris. Die Geschichte eines Geistes. Jugenddichtung, aus dem Jahr 1844," translated by Max Hayek, *Sozialistische Monatshefte* (August 23, 1923), 481–484.

58 More information on the magazine and digitized issues are available on the webpage of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (library.fes.de/sozmon/).

59 Max Hayek translated most of Whitman's pieces appearing in *Sozialistische Monatshefte,* and all of them except "Eris" are poems.

60 See [Anonymous,] "Zapostavljanje Bosne i Hercegovine," *Narod* (September 5, 1923), 1.

61 See Muhsin Rizvić, *Književni život Bosne i Hercegovine između dva rata* (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1980).

62 Signing articles with pseudonyms or initials was a common practice in *Narod*, possibly conditioned by the lack of space. Despite my best efforts to discover the identity of "K_z," the only thing I can say for certain is that the person was male, which is indicated by the gender-specified verb form preceding the letters.

63 B[ranko] M[ašić], "Walt Whitman, najveći američki lirski pjesnik," *Novosti* (April 29, 1931), 9. The article is for the most part a biographic overview of Whitman's life with observations on the poet's considerable impact on French poetry, as well as on Ivo Andrić. Mašić himself collaborated with Andrić in founding the magazine *Književni Jug* and inserted in this text is Andrić's 1918 translation of "When I Peruse the Conquered Fame." Another article on Whitman was published the same year: Stjepan Bebin's "Iz književnosti nebodera i divljeg Zapada" ("From the literature of skyscrapers and Wild West"), which appeared in the Sarajevo periodical *Jugoslovenska pošta*. This text also seems to regard Whitman in the context of his Americanness, but unfortunately, I can say this only by its title since I could not obtain a copy of this particular number.

64 Walt Whitman, "Kako bejah naslonjen glavom na tvome krilu," translated by Dragi Popović, *Niški glasnik* (September 4, 1925), 2.

65 "Grad brodova," *Jadranska straža* (1926), 13; "Pjesma svim morima, svim brodovima," *Jadranska straža (*1930), 57.

66 Walt Whitman, „Pesma o meni. (Song of My self [sic])," translated by Ž. Vekarić, *Naš glas* (April 1927), 119.

67 Anonymous, "Walt Whitman," *Naš glas* (April 1927), 144; my translation.

68 For complete bibliographic information, see notes 26 and 27.

69 Ualt Uitmen, "Pesma" ("A Poem"), translated by Djuro Banjac, *Beogradski dnevnik: nezavisni organ javnog mišljenja* (January 7, 1920), 3.

70 In September 1922, the Communist Party Central Committee bought the periodical which thus became its organ.

71 Valt Vitman, "Izmirenje," *Radničko jedinstvo* (May 1, 1925), 1.

72 Upton Sinclair, "Walt Whitman," translated by M. K. N., *Socijalna misao* (September 25, 1932), 123–124.

73 This also according to Ljiljana Babić. This periodical was unavailable to me.

74 Upton Sinclair, "The Good Grey Poet," *Mammonart: an essay in economic interpretation*, Pasadena, CA: Upton Sinclair, 1925, 253-257.

75 To emphasize the socialist connection, I should mention that among the works Molek translated from English into Slovenian is Upton Sinclair's *Jimmie Higgins*.

"STRONG, MANLY, AND FULL OF HUMAN NATURE": THE ROOTS OF RUBÉN DARÍO'S "WALT WHITMAN"

JONATHAN S. FLECK

The second edition of Nicaraguan poet Rubén Darío's *Azul*... introduces an unexpected character: an elderly Walt Whitman, in a sonnet named in his honor. As I seek to demonstrate, Whitman's surprise appearance in the foundational work of Latin American *modernismo* culminates a complex sequence of textual transfers occurring over several months in 1890: In late May, two reporters visit Whitman in Camden, New Jersey, and narrate their experience in an interview that was republished in several newspapers; in June, a Nicaraguan journalist incorporates an unacknowledged translation of the interview in an article for the *Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*; and Darío cites the Spanish-language article as part of the inspiration for his sonnet, published that October. What links these depictions is less an admiration for Whitman's verse than a fascination with his body, imagined and re-imagined across languages, genres, and media. The texts dwell on the poet's weakened physique, only to insist upon the virility of a face that comes to express intersecting anxieties of sexual nonconformity and socioeconomic reordering in continental America.

⋆

Walt Whitman[1]

In his country of iron lives the great old man,
comely as a patriarch, serene and holy,
he has in the Olympic furrow of his brow
something that reigns and conquers with noble charm.

His soul seems a mirror of the infinite
his tired shoulders are worthy of the mantle
and with a harp carved from an aged oak,
like a new prophet he sings his song.

Priest, who breathes divine breath,
he proclaims a better day to come.
He says to the eagle "Fly!" "Row!" to the sailor,

and "Work!" to the hearty worker,
And so goes this poet on his path,
with the haughty face of an emperor!

Darío's sonnet endows "the great old man" with the power and responsibility of multitudes. Whitman is a "poet," yes, but also a "patriarch" whose "tired shoulders" belie the "Olympic furrow of his brow" and the "haughty (*soberbio*) face of an emperor!" At once "priest," cantor, and oracle, Whitman "like a new prophet sings his song." The physical qualities of Whitman's person accrue moral significance within his multiple vocations. Beauty accentuates sanctity; wrinkles confer sovereignty; and shoulders bear the artist's mantle. The material Whitman and the stuff of his world suggest a conflict between artistic and industrial production. The poet's harp, an irreplicable talisman, empowers him to resist aesthetic cheapening in a "country of iron" where goods are mass-produced in factories, not carved from aged oaks. The poem homes in from Whitman's industrial country to his weary body, and finally to an imperial face that incarnates the patriarchal victory of idealism over materialism.

To explain the source of his vision, Darío cites "an excellent article" by "Román Mayorga R[ivas] . . . in the *Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*,"[2] along with two other sources. The *Revista Ilustrada* was a Spanish-language arts, culture, and news editorial published out of New York from 1885 to at least 1894, possibly 1898.[3] The June 1890 issue offers "El Poeta Walt Whitman," a profile dated May 31st by Román Mayorga Rivas, a Nicaraguan poet, critic, and diplomat living in Washington, D.C. (see figure 1).[4] Rivas had a "brief but productive" relationship with the *Revista Ilustrada* in 1889 and 1890, and returned to contribute an obituary for Whitman in 1892.[5] He was an accomplished Spanish translator of French and English texts, but "El Poeta" does not indicate that it contains translated material.

The article narrates a visit to Whitman's home in Camden. Rivas himself was not present at the house call, referring only to a pair of unnamed "American reporter friends of mine" who passed along "the news of this report."[6] In spite of

Figure 1: Detail of "El poeta Walt Whitman."

THE GOOD GRAY POET.

We had no difficulty in finding his home. The poet lives at No. 328 Mickle street, in a little old house far from the noise of street cars and wagon traffic—a home of beautiful surroundings, where in the summer days the flowers bloom profusely, the birds sing sweetly and nature is in its most gracious mood. Wisteria vines run hither and yon all over the little building that the poet inhabits. On the small door in large black letters we read this sign: "Walt Whitman."

A ring at the door bell brought a young man, hatless and coatless, to answer our summons. He politely asked us in, but a shade of doubt gathered over his face when we said we had come on a pilgrimage to the old poet and wanted a talk with him upon some of the questions that are interesting the world of letters today. We were ushered into a little sit-

Figure 2: Detail of "The Good Gray Poet," in *Evening Star.*

its second-hand sourcing, the article describes Whitman's environment in intimate detail, contrasting the "tranquil" city of Camden with the "noisy industrial centers" to which the author is averse.[7] As Rivas relays his friends' impressions, he juxtaposes Whitman's paralysis with his "haughty" (*soberbia*) lion's mane and "manly" (*varonil*) face.[8] Following a series of increasingly reverent descriptions of Whitman's countenance, the narrative ends in high praise of a "poet-seer" destined to prophesize in song a glorious future for a continental "our America" (*nuestra América*).[9] The profile frames an unattributed pen-and-ink portrait of the subject's face. The gaze, the position of the collar, and the weight of the furrow of his brow recall a photograph by Jacob Spieler probably taken in 1876.[10]

While the imagery of Rivas's narrative is evocative of Darío's sonnet, the enigmatic reference to "reporter friends" motivated further archival research. I turned to *Chronicling America*, the Library of Congress's digital archive of historical periodicals, which has yielded important discoveries related to Whitman.[11] A query for newspaper pages that mention Whitman, Camden, and the poet's face between January and May of 1890 identified Rivas's sources.

James Foster Coates and Homer Fort visited Whitman in anticipation of the poet's 71st birthday and subsequently published "The Good Gray Poet" in the May 24th issue of the Washington D.C. *Evening Star* (see figure 2),[12] which was reprinted with slight edits in at least two papers, the *Pittsburgh Dispatch*

and *The Indianapolis Journal*. The multiple iterations of this "Good Gray Poet" across multiple papers complicate the search for an original printing.[13] For the purposes of this article, I cite the *Evening Star* report, which was published in Rivas's city of residence and includes a drawing that resembles an 1878 photograph by Napoleon Sarony, an illustration that is absent from the subsequent reprints.[14]

"The Good Gray Poet" promises a glimpse of "What the Poet Looks Like and How He Acts," and Whitman's appearance and manner are indeed the article's primary concern. [15] After presenting the "quaint" environs of Camden, Coates and Fort depict a beguiling physical specimen whose paralysis is belied by a "leonine look" and a face—"[s]trong, manly, and full of human nature"—whose plenitude transcends materiality and admits nothing that does not conform with "human nature." "The Good Gray Poet" does not explicitly broach the topic of homosexuality; however, its imagery and rhetorical structure echo William Douglas O'Connor's identically titled pamphlet, originally published in 1866 and reprinted in Richard Maurice Bucke's 1883 biography of Whitman, *Walt Whitman*,[16] that alludes to the masculine beauty of Whitman's face to bolster a "vindication" of his poetic "obscenities" and implied sexual deviancy. Similar apologias of Whitman's "troubling abnormality"[17] are well-documented in the *Chronicling America* archive of the late nineteenth century, and Rivas references the controversy in his 1892 obituary of Whitman.[18]

With all these references that Darío could have possibly turned to, my analysis suggests that it is the *Evening Star*'s account of the visit as retold by Rivas in the *Revista Ilustrada* that contributes to Whitman's appearance in *Azul*.... Parsing this textual journey requires an expanded understanding of translation, one that bypasses the assumption of a unitary, superior "source text" that transfers to a self-contained, derivative "target text." A more inclusive and flexible framework offers rich, previously unexplored links between historical texts. To shape "The Good Gray Poet" into "El Poeta Walt Whitman," Rivas surreptitiously translates key passages from English to Spanish, but the degree and nature of his additions preclude classifying the article as a translation *per se*. The imagery of O'Connor's "vindication" of Whitman, filtered through the English and Spanish journalistic texts, becomes embedded in Darío's sonnet. Similarly, the "Olympic furrow of his brow" (Darío, "Walt Whitman" 3), the source of a "noble charm" (4), suggests an ekphrasis or "portrait-encounter"[19] more than a response to verse. The sketch of Whitman, which Darío viewed in the *Revista*, itself adapts Spieler's photograph, further expanding the textual transfer to include what Roman Jakobson terms "intersemiotic translation," or

the rendering of non-verbal signs in verbal language.[20]

Whitman's likeness undergoes several mutually reinforcing transformations. These co-acting modes of translation, moreover, do not occur in a vacuum. Scholars understand translation as a genealogy of perspectives, interventions, and ideologies that accompany texts as they travel.[21] Translation resignifies images through the competing stances of individuals, communities, and institutions. Rivas's text transmits anxieties over Whitman's sexuality, just as it reinscribes the English-language report within a fraught hemispheric drama, the stakes of which are nothing short of the "great future of our America."[22] The accumulated meanings of Whitman's environment, body, and face reappear in *Azul...* to intersect with Darío's project. Positing modes of translation in the poem does not diminish the aesthetic imagination of *modernismo*; rather, the Nicaraguan author channels Whitman as he expands his original poetic. I conclude by considering the photographs and portraits, where multiple intersemiotic translations ground authors' fascination with Whitman's "manly"[23] and patriarchal[24] face.

From "The Good Gray Poet" to "El Poeta Walt Whitman"

As narrated in the *Evening Star*, James Foster Coates and Homer Fort choose the sunny morning of Tuesday, May 20th, 1890 to visit Whitman at his Camden, New Jersey home. On the 24th, they reported on their visit in an article that opens on Camden's "quaint" environs. Román Mayorga Rivas sets the same scene in his *Revista Ilustrada* article, interspersing his narrative with passages translated the English-language report. Both "The Good Gray Poet" and "El Poeta Walt Whitman" depict the silence, grass, sun, lilac scent, and happy vegetation of Camden. While the translator maintains the sequence of these observations, however, he invests the sights and sounds with metaphysical consequence. Camden transforms into a sexualized, aristocratic landscape that rejects and overpowers the corrupting influence of capitalist industry.

The line-by-line comparisons in this section display the text of Coates and Fort's "The Good Gray Poet" (left column) alongside an English rendering of Rivas's "El Poeta Walt Whitman" (right column).

What a quaint old town this is, to be sure!	How tranquil is the old city of Camden, in New Jersey![25]

Rivas takes care to locate Camden geographically by expanding a reference to "N.J." in the *Evening Star* byline and by placing it in the opening sentence of his

article. This geographical clarification reflects the readership of the *Revista Ilustrada*, which circulated primarily outside of the United States and often featured articles comparing life in the United States and Latin America (Chamberlin and Schulman 4-5). Although Rivas was living in Washington, D.C., and writing for a New York publication, he addresses a Latin American public and his article implicitly contrasts the anglophone and hispanophone contexts. This opening shift from a "quaint" to a "tranquil" Camden reinforces Spanish-language article's unification of Whitman with his surroundings. Rivas adapts the setting to ground later descriptions of a poet just serene as his locale.

Its silence is almost idyllic.	In the silence that surrounds it, after one travels and lives in these great, noisy industrial centers, one finds a truly idyllic and rustic poetry.[26]

The translation upgrades Camden's silence from "almost idyllic" to "truly idyllic" and contrasts it with the din of industry. Situating "these" (*estos*) epicenters of materialism in the United States suggests an anti-imperialist stance that would be familiar to some Nicaraguan intellectuals (Franklin 2-3), and more generally to the *Revista Ilustrada*'s cosmopolitan readership, wary of the United States' "threat to Latin America's cultural independence" (Chamberlin and Schulman 8).[27] José Martí's "Nuestra América" essay, first published in the January 1891 *Revista Ilustrada*, for example, protests the economic and cultural interventions of the capitalist "giant" to the north.[28] Darío himself expresses a similar sentiment in his 1903 poem "To Roosevelt,"[29] in which the United States is a "[h]unter" (Cazador) and an "invader" (invasor) against whom Latin America must rally the bible and "the verse of Walt Whitman" (verso de Walt Whitman). The same dynamic impels Rivas's "El Poeta": the translated setting of Camden indexes Whitman's role as a guardian against materialist encroachment.

The sun shines out warm and bright today.	The sun's rule [imperio] over man and nature there is disputed not by the gigantic buildings, nor by the thick black smoke of the steamship; which has become the absolute king of the populous cities;[30]

After sounding the victory of poetry over industry, the translator juxtaposes two forms of authority in Camden's visual panorama. The shining sun boasts a monarchic rule (*imperio*) for which the mercantile flurry below, manifested in the polluting steamship, would be no match. The battle is fought and won

"there" (*allí*) in Camden, where the boat's transient authority fades before the permanence of the sun. The rift between Whitmanesque aristocracy and bourgeois capitalism becomes explicit later in the article, which depicts the poet "holed up in his tranquil mansion, far from the malice of men, from the prose of business and the coldness of materialist calculations" (7-8).[31]

The air is perfumed with the odor of lilacs.	the air is impregnated in this bright season with the odor of the lilacs, which open to the moist kisses of the dawn;[32]

As the translator's gaze descends, Camden transforms into the stage for a fantastical sexual pageant acted out by the lilacs, the air, and the dawn. The air is not merely "perfumed," it is "impregnated," while further down, the ground exudes both sensuality and cultivation.

The grass is green	and the ground is but a green carpet, where the trees tower lush and quiver in time, producing with their sonorous leaves a sound similar to that which is made by ladies' silk garments on the night of a ball,[33]

An eroticized landscape merges with the best of human artifice. Grass and leaves embody the unique and the exquisite—the artistry of a carpet, the rustle of silk. The ornamentation of the flora is also expressed musically. The "trees" that appear in translation appear responsive to human rhythms (*se agitan a compás*), while the leaves harken an occasion for refinement and elegance (*una noche de baile*).

and the plants in the garden are nodding and smiling in the warm sunlight	whilst the flowers in the gardens that surround Camden stretch fragrant and trembling towards the sky, amidst the solemn quietude of the summer nights, so that the moon may illuminate them in their fecund lovemaking.[34]

The translation's sequence of sensual oppositions culminates in the flowers, engaged in quite a bit more than "nodding and smiling." This stylized reproductive ritual takes place outside of time, as a description of the town on a spring morning narrates the eroticism of its "summer nights." Camden is a translated space in which nature rallies its forces in a war of two fronts. The monarchic sun conspires with an idyllic silence to defeat the threat of materialism, while the vegetation defends a fantastical and timeless vision of sex.

After setting the scene, Coates and Fort narrate their entrance into Whitman's home and brief conversations with a doorman ("a young man, hatless and coatless") and pair of visitors ("a lady and a gentleman").[35] Rivas, similarly, notes a doorman ("a boy") and other visitors ("a gentleman and a lady")[36] before the reporters are granted entry to Whitman's room. As they prepare to meet the man of the hour, Coates and Fort inform their readers of Whitman's frailty. Rivas issues a similar disclaimer:[37]

He is very feeble, troubled with paralysis, and only on great occasions goes out of his house or sees visitors.	he is thin and weak, martyred by paralysis, and rarely is he seen crossing the garden streets of the poetic and silent city.[38]

Once inside Whitman's chamber, Coates and Fort encounter a sight that inspires a visceral exclamation:

He had a leonine look. His long white hair fell partly over his face. And such a face! Strong, manly, and full of human nature.	Whitman's countenance was majestic, with long thick hair that fell about his shoulders, half covering his face, as if it were the haughty [soberbia] mane of a lion [...] Whitman's face is manly [varonil], full of noble signs and lines that accentuate a full, firm character.[39]

Whitman's "look" evokes readings both physical and metaphysical. For the reporters, the animality of Whitman's "leonine" hair ironically reinforces the manliness and humanity of the face it partly hides. The owner of such a face assumes a dual identity: he is both a "splendid picture" of old age and an undiluted specimen of "human nature."

The reporters were not alone in their adulatory, oversignified portrayal of Whitman's virile beauty, and their article speaks to public anxieties regarding the poet's sexuality.[40] A week prior to the Camden visit, for example, a note in the *Bridgeton Pioneer* lauds the elder Whitman's beauty to preface a corrective to his youthful indiscretions. The unattributed May 14th note in the "Peculiarities of People" column admires Whitman's "splendid wealth of white hair," his "face of majestic beauty," and his "magnificent figure," before admonishing his earlier "habit of associating with stage-drivers" and "outrageous style."[41] The fuss over "stage-drivers" brings to mind Fred Vaughan, a Broadway stage driver that many suspect to have had an erotic relationship with Whitman in the 1850s.[42] Within the coded language of the *Bridgeton Pioneer* note, the poet's past association with "Bohemian" dress and the 'Fred Gray Association'—possibly an underground society for gay men[43]—is forgiven by his current state of purity:

"But of late years he has settled down into a decorous and most respectable character, as 'the good, gray poet.'" The "good" in the reformed poet's infamous epithet, then, is deemed incompatible with the allegations of "sexual evil" against which O'Connor defended Whitman in 1866. The *Bridgeton Pioneer*'s "good, gray poet" encodes a rebuke of Whitman's "unsanctioned sexual nature" (Folsom, "Walt Whitman" 146).

Coates and Fort return to the moniker to interpret a visage "full of human nature," rejecting anything inhuman or unnatural.[44] Rivas discerns the same plenitude (*carácter entero y firme*) and substantiates Whitman's "leonine look" as a "lion's mane" (*soberbia melena de un león*). *Soberbia* (or *soberbio* in the masculine form, as in Darío's sonnet) is often translated as "haughty." The English word denotes an elevated demeanor, as in O'connor's description of Whitman's "nonchalant and haughty step along the pavement." However, Rivas applies *soberbia* not to a behavior or "look" but to a fixed physical feature that symbolizes the lion's status as king of the jungle. The Spanish term's etymological link to *soberano* ("sovereign" as a noun or an adjective), a term that appears later in Rivas's article, reinforces an enduring, royal identity. The permanence of Whitman's noble crest conforms with a setting in which the sun's monarchic authority empowers it to transcend an ephemeral bourgeois order.

The sun's aristocracy touches Whitman's body as another description of his face undergoes translation.

There was a ruddy glow upon his cheeks as if he had been exposed to the sun.	in the sunbeams that entered through the window and gilded [le doraba] his serene face, there emerged a figure imposing, severe, poetic, and sweet all at once.[45]

The English depiction lets a "ruddy glow" reinforce the healthy fortitude that repudiates the "feebleness" of Whitman's body. The Spanish translation infuses the portrait with a precious material, gold (*le doraba la faz*). Just as the sound of rustling silk adorned Camden's vegetation with the trappings of elegance, the sight of Whitman's gilded face grants him an aura of aristocracy. His persona accumulates all the more potency for its contradiction. A golden face is as placid as it is imposing, none the less severe for its sweetness.

Following their introduction, Coates and Fort briefly chat with Whitman about the poetry of the day. Whitman declares "it is a golden age for literary workers," adding that "Americans are a busy, rushing people, but have time to pause and listen to the muses, and if they sing in tune our people are ready to applaud." Shortly after foreseeing that "the banner of American literature

will never trail in the dust," the visit and the *Evening Star* article conclude. "El Poeta," on the other hand, continues to narrate Whitman's actions and thoughts after the reporters' departure. The transition is at odds with the article's journalistic framing as "the news of this report" and further prevents its classification as a translation *per se*.[46] Narrated in the present tense, the remainder of the day sees Whitman contemplate literature, stroll through his garden, and reflect on his own mortality. These meditations encompass a messianic "vision" of a revolutionary, "sovereign" poetic:

> Surrounded by books and papers lives Whitman. [...] Within him is a reconcentration of feelings and ideas with no outlet, and he is absorbed in the vision of the great future of our America [*nuestra América*], which will be the sovereign [*soberana*] of the world in liberty and democracy. The noble old man must not die before condensing into one magnificent song his prophetic ideas and generous sentiments, to greet the dawn of the day that he glimpses in his visions of sublime patriot and his deliria of a prophetic poet.[47]

The visit had been reported "in recent days," but now Whitman "lives" in an asylum of "books and papers," insulated from the cacophony of industry. To paint his picture, Rivas expands a description in "The Good Gray Poet" of Whitman's immediate surroundings, relocates the scene from the past tense to an eternal present. Coates and Fort portray a seemingly haphazard assembly: "The little room was almost covered with papers, magazines, and periodicals. They lay on the ground in heaps, on the floor and on the tables, and evidently had not been moved in many months."[48] In Rivas's telling, Whitman's "one magnificent song" harmonizes not with his immediate place and time, but with "our America" in the true continental sense, differing from his previous reference to the nationality of his "American reporter friends." This collective America is home to a Whitman now cast a sovereign prophet-poet tasked with inaugurating a revolutionary aesthetic. In fact, it is the very contrast between the song's "reconcentrated" permanence and the chaos of modernity that empowers Whitman revolutionary persona. Just as his leonine hair is "haughty" (*soberbia*), America's future is "sovreign" (*soberana*)."[49]

Darío's Medallion

In Rivas' "El Poeta Walt Whitman," Whitman emerges from translation a singer-oracle laboring within Camden's "truly idyllic" silence to quell the trespasses of materialism. Such a portrait would appeal to Rubén Darío, as "El Poeta" recalls the Nicaraguan author's own prose of the period. The first edition of

Azul..., published in Valparaíso, Chile on July 30, 1888, inaugurated an influential movement that the author would later call *modernismo*. Darío allegorizes the *modernista* project in one of the most-cited stories of *Azul...*'s first edition, "The Bourgeois King."[50] The anti-materialist hero is the Poeta who escapes the "inspiration" of the "unclean city" so that he may "sing the word of the future" (301-302).[51] His own future, however, holds only rejection and humiliation at the hands of a King who debases the Poeta's song to mere capitalist exchange. Reduced to playing a music-box to earn bits of bread, the Poeta eventually dies in solitude, forgotten by the court and by a society unable or unwilling to apprehend the purity of his song. The story enacts the *modernista* ideal of concentrated, contemplative stillness, running counter to the acceleration and mechanization brought on by the growth of bourgeois capitalism in nineteenth-century Latin America.[52]

The Poeta's defeat is reversed in the sensorial power struggle staged in the *Revista Ilustrada*. Rivas's characterization of the steamship, which "has become the absolute king of the populous cities" (7), resonates with Darío's text and biography. The double meaning of "inspiration" in "The Bourgeois King" story aligns the impure air of the city with the corruption of poetic truth, just as a respite from the steamship's "thick black smoke" fortifies Camden's serene transcendence of "materialist calculations" (7). Artistic, environmental, and social contamination is definitively repudiated by Darío's poetic depiction of a Whitman who "breathes divine breath."

In addition to its allegorical value, the steamship stands out as a biographical point of reference. Darío would have recognized the "thick black smoke" first-hand as a resident of the port city of Valparaíso, Chile, where he primarily lived between June 1886 and February 1889 as he composed and published *Azul...*.[53] Valparaíso was (and is) a nerve center of industrial transport, dominated by shipping steamships. The South American Steamship Company[54] was founded 1872, largely to compete with the London-based Pacific Steam Navigation Company, which also utilized the port.[55] In fact, North American and European immigrants played a central role in the city's rapid industrialization, contributing to an Anglophone association of bourgeois capitalism in the region. Darío's autobiographical "Tale of a Raincoat"[56] describes Valparaíso in 1887 as a hostile environment defined by rushed commerce and discomfort.

Valparaíso finds its antithesis in the Camden of "El Poeta Walt Whitman." A city invaded by industry gives way to a landscape of physical and temporal stillness. The hasty steamship is dethroned, echoing the temporal conflict of Darío's "The Bourgeois King." There, the Poeta's song of the future looks beyond the

bourgeois social order, even if the singer himself does not survive. Whitman's "magnificent song" is equally prospective, meant to inaugurate, as Rivas argues in "El Poeta," a glorious future for "Our America." Whitman harmonizes with Camden to affirm the *modernista* project laid out in *Azul*...

The work's expanded second edition, published in Guatemala on October 4th, 1890, debuts Darío's sonnet "Walt Whitman" with this note:

> Walt Whitman. In my opinion the greatest of North America's poets. [...] José Martí dedicated to him one of his most beautiful productions in *La Nación* of Buenos Aires, and Román Mayorga R. an excellent article in the *Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*.[57]

Martí's 1887 essay, also entitled "El Poeta Walt Whitman," left a deep impression on Darío's view of the North American poet and his country (Lomas, 192). Rivas's rendition of "El Poeta," complex in its own right, would be fresh on Darío's mind: he read the article and composed his sonnet between the June publication of the *Revista Ilustrada* and the October 4th republication of *Azul*...

Like Rivas and Coates and Fort, Darío begins his portrayal not with the poet himself but with his locale. Whitman's "country of iron" in the opening line metonymizes the cold artificiality of factory production, corresponding to the "industrial centers" that Rivas juxtaposes with the serenity of Camden. The starkness of iron provides a contrasting backdrop for a first glimpse of the sonnet's "serene and holy" subject, whose beauty is identified with patriarchy. In presupposing a patriarch as inherently comely (*bello*), Darío sustains the polysemy assigned to Whitman's physique. Rivas's translation portrays a "serene face" gracing an oversignified "figure," echoing O'Connor's defense of "a man of striking masculine beauty—a poet—powerful and venerable in appearance; large, calm, superbly formed." Darío discerns this nexus of beauty, masculinity, and power in his subject's face.

Whitman's body both inhabits and transcends his material world. The uncorrupted air he breathes in line nine complements a mysterious power emanating in line three from "the Olympic furrow of his brow." The feature accentuates a moral, spiritual, and monarchical superiority. Whitman's cause is a noble one: the brow contains "something" (*algo*) that overcomes, conquers, and rules. By zeroing in on this vague yet transcendental force, Darío renews the corporeal reading of Whitman in which meaning expands just as the perspective narrows. More and more is gleaned as authors successively observe of Whitman's country, town, house, body, face, and wrinkles. Coates and Fort exclaim the normative power of Whitman's face, "[s]trong, manly, and full of human nature." Rivas's translation lauds these same qualities: virility and "full,

firm character" distinguished now in the poet's the "noble signs and lines." This overflow of significations is such that, ultimately, Whitman's power escapes definition.

Darío caps his portrait in the sonnet's final line with the "haughty (*soberbio*) face of an emperor!" The exclamation point recalls Coates and Fort's cry – "such a face!"– and amplifies the loftiness of the poet's behavior and identity. Whitman's robust visage overshadows his "tired shoulders" and his kingliness perseveres even in a "country of iron." By assigning *soberbio* both to Whitman's appearance and to his status as "emperor," the sonnet reaffirms the equation of the beautiful and the patriarchal. Darío's poem reenacts the magnification of *soberbio* features to prefigure a *soberano* revolutionary poetic in Rivas's "El Poeta Walt Whitman," a formulation that translated and substantiated the "leonine look" described by Coates and Fort.

In "El Poeta," Rivas departs from the journalistic register and past-tense reporting of Coates and Fort to convey words spoken by Whitman alone in his domicile. Darío's Whitman also speaks, exhorting the "sailor" to "Row!" and thwarting the steamship's mechanization of human labor. This approach is counterintuitive: the poem channels what James Perrin Warren identifies as Whitman's "expansive, oracular, and often incantatory effect" through a form that could not be further from the North American poet's free verse.[58] This paradoxical engagement illuminates Darío's political vision of Whitman as a poetic counterforce to the United States' imperialist project in Latin America.

Conclusion

Each step of the translational journey traced here suggests further areas of inquiry. Coates and Fort's narrative appears across multiple, at times contradictory publications. The various iterations of the article inconsistently present the actual date of the interview and obscure the search for a first, "original" publication. The indeterminacies expand as the narrative travels to a Spanish text that holds an ambiguous status as a translation that insistently magnifies and resignifies its source into scene that influences Darío's imagining of Whitman. In addition to motivating further archival research, these lacunae reinforce the status of the North American poet's representation as a nexus of competing narratives and discourses, and more generally highlight the problematics of translation and near-translation in Whitman's international reception.

What remains consistent across multiple modes of translation is the signifying power of Whitman's figure. "Something" (*algo*) in his Olympic furrow

allures even as it dominates and masters. The vagueness of this "algo" is telling: Whitman's likeness is formed, deformed, and reformed as it passes through ideological contexts and media. The genealogy of texts responds to dual sexual and economic concerns. On the one hand, the texts compound anxieties stemming from contestations of Whitman's sexuality in the North American press. On the other, the translational choices reflect the *modernista* resistance to capitalist displacement of social norms, embodied in economic and cultural imperialism.

The textual trajectory of Whitman's masculine, imperial face does not tell the whole story. Critics often approach Darío's sonnet in a visual terms, and portraiture drives the history traced here.[59] A comparison of the images that accompany the English and Spanish articles with photographs from the *Walt Whitman Archive* indicates a complex web of intersemiotic translations.[60] By the late 1880s, photography had become conspicuous element of Whitman's public persona. Widely shared photographic portraits "had made him something of a celebrity" and were of keen interest to O'Connor, who had "vowed to make a collection of Whitman photos."[61]

The sketch in Coates and Fort's report resembles Napoleon Sarony's 1878 photograph and Rivas's essay in the *Revista Ilustrada* frames a sketch of Whitman that may derive from Jacob Spieler's 1876 photograph, or from an intermediate rendering (see figures 3 and 4). Darío's imagining of a patriarchal Whitman parallels the textual and visual nuances observed in the *Revista Ilustrada*. Although the image clearly reflects Spieler's photograph, the illustrator darkens and emphasizes the wrinkles on Whitman's brow. This accentuation reciprocates the textual magnifications that characterize Rivas's translation choices. Ultimately, Darío renders in poetry a sketch that is itself a "translation" of a photograph, challenging the notion of a one-to-one correspondence of "source" to "target" text.

The journey from news report to literature, from photograph to sonnet, from "human nature" to *soberbia* requires an expansive critical toolbox, as well as keen attention to the interests of the contexts through which texts pass. Accounting for the plurality of agents and interests operate behind the scenes of textual movement provides nuance to critical readings. Lomas reads Rivas's profile of Whitman as "[b]ased on a firsthand report of several reporter friends" (194). However, an archival tracing of the text as translation reveals a wider set of actors whose perspectives accumulate to shape Whitman's image. Similarly, Nicolás Magaril attempts to determine where and when Darío read Whitman, but a translational reading recognizes a confluence of sources that includes the visual impact of the sketch.

Figure 3: Comparison of Sarony's photograph with the sketch in the *Evening Star*.

Figure 4: Comparison of Spieler's photograph with the sketch in *Revista ilustrada*.

Understanding the complex actions of translation serves additional challenges to conventional institutional readings. Darío Villanueva's article "Darío in light of Whitman" was published during the 2016 "Century of Rubén Darío," commemorating the 100th anniversary of the poet's death.[62] For the then-director of the *Royal Spanish Academy*,[63] "the North American's *oeuvre* did not escape the unending curiosity and erudition that characterize our poet [*nuestro poeta*]." Reciprocally, Carol M. Zapata-Whelan, in a brief entry for the *Walt Whitman Encyclopedia*, informs English-speaking readers that "[i]t is possible that Darío, unlike most of his contemporaries, read Whitman in English and soon honored this reading in his undervalued sonnet, 'Walt Whitman.'"[64] Rather than an isolated, singular "reading," the sonnet honors the synchronicity of multiple modes of translation in the Americas. The archival, transnational reading presented here challenges these reciprocal partialities, while showing how a traveling portrayal of Whitman accumulates markers of sociopolitical contestation in its origin as well as its destinations.

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Notes

1 Rubén Darío, "Walt Whitman," in *«Yo Soy Aquel Que Ayer No Más Decía»: Libros Poéticos Completos* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018), 388; all English translations are my own.

Original:

En su país de hierro vive el gran viejo,
bello como un patriarca, sereno y santo.
Tiene en la arruga olímpica de su entrecejo
algo que impera y vence con noble encanto.

Su alma del infinito parece espejo;
son sus cansados hombros dignos del manto;
y con arpa labrada de un roble añejo
como un profeta nuevo canta su canto.

Sacerdote, que alienta soplo divino,
anuncia en el futuro, tiempo mejor.
Dice el águila: «¡Vuela!», «¡Boga!», al marino,

y «¡Trabaja!», al robusto trabajador.
¡Así va ese poeta por su camino
con su soberbio rostro de emperador!

2 Darío, *Yo Soy Aquel*, 301. Original: "Román Mayorga R [le dedicó] un excelente artículo en la *Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*."

3 Vernon A. Chamberlin and Ivan A. Schulman, *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York: History, Anthology, and Index of Literary Selections* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1976), 10.

4 Laura Lomas, *Translating Empire: José Martí, Migrant Latino Subjects, and American Modernities* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009), 194.

5 Vernon A. Chamberlin and Ivan A. Schulman, *La Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York: History, Anthology, and Index of Literary Selections* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1976), 26. For this study, I viewed exemplars of the *Revista Ilustrada* at the Benson Latin American Collection at the University of Texas, Austin.

6 Román Mayorga Rivas, "El poeta Walt Whitman," *Revista ilustrada de Nueva York* XI.6 (June 1890), 7. Original: "dos *reporters* americanos amigos míos [...] las noticias de este escrito" [*reporters* italicized in English in original].

7 Original: "tranquila" / "grandes centros industriales."

8 Original: "flaco y débil" / "viril" / "llena de signos nobles y de líneas" Rivas's makes note of Whitman's weakness without specifying his strokes in 1873 and 1875. Whitman had moved to his family's home in Camden after his stroke in 1873. Although he initially envisioned only a temporary stay, a debilitating second stroke in 1875 prevented his departure. See Jerome Loving, *Walt Whitman: The Song of Himself* (University of California Press, 1999), 347-348.

9 Original: "poeta vaticinador" / "condensar en un canto magnífico sus ideas proféticas."

10 Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive,* ID: owu.00049 (www.whitmanarchive.org).

11 See Stephanie M. Blalock, "More Than One Hundred Additional Reprints of Walt Whitman's Short Fiction in Periodicals," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 35 (Summer 2017), 45–87; Ryan Cordell and Abby Mullen, "'Fugitive Verses': The Circulation of Poems in Nineteenth-Century American Newspapers," *American Periodicals: A Journal of History & Criticism* 27 (Spring 2017), 29–52.

12 Foster Coats and Homer Fort, "The Good Gray Poet," *Evening Star* (May 24, 1890), 8.

13 The articles' bylines suggest a series of reprintings. The *Evening Star* presents the story as "correspondence of The Evening Star"; the *Pittsburgh Dispatch* as "Correspondence of The Dispatch"; and *Indianapolis Journal* as "special to The Indianapolis Journal." As pointed out to me by Brandon James O'Neil, these bylines indicate that the stories were shared through the Associated Press, with which the papers were affiliated. O'Neil locates a fourth iteration in the May 25, 1890, edition of *The Buffalo Express* and suggests that others are likely to exist.

"The Good Gray Poet," *The Pittsburgh Dispatch* (May 25, 1890), 9. "Whitman at Seventy-One," *The Indianapolis Journal* (May 25, 1890), 9. Brandon James O'Neil, Personal communication, February 21, 2021.

14 Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, ID: loc.05089.

Kelley Kreitz, "American Alternatives: Participatory Futures of Print from New York City's Nineteenth-Century Spanish-Language Press" *American Literary History* 30 (Winter 2018), 681.The *Revista Ilustrada*'s office on Reade Street and West Broadway in New York City was just "a short stroll" from Park Row, the location of many English-language news outlets.

15 Coates and Fort, "Good Gray Poet," *Evening Star*, 8.

16 William Douglas O'Connor, *The Good Gray Poet* (New York: Bunce and Huntington, 1866), available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*. Reprinted in Richard Maurice Bucke, *Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia: David McKay, 1883).

17 Ed Folsom, "Walt Whitman," in *Prospects for the Study of American Literature: A Guide for Scholars and Students* (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 134.

18 Roman Mayorga Rivas, "Walt Whitman," *Revista ilustrada de Nueva York* XIII.5 (May 1892), 255-256.The obituary, which reprints the sketch found in the 1890 profile, is a complex text that merits further study. It contains several misattributed translations of descriptions of Whitman, and more directly addresses the controversies over the poet's "obscenity."

19 Kelly S. Franklin, "Nicaraguan Words": José Coronel, the Vanguardia, and Whitman's" Language Experiment," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 34 (Summer 2016), 2.

20 Roman Jakobson, "On Linguistic Aspects of Translation," in *Language in Literature*, ed. Krystyna

Pomorska and Stephen Rudy (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1987), 428-435.

21 See especially André Lefevere, *Translation/History/Culture: A Sourcebook* (London: Routledge, 2002); Lawrence Venuti, *The Translation Studies Reader* (London: Routledge, 2012); Maria Tymoczko, *Translation, Resistance, Activism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2010); Maria Tymoczko and Edwin Gentzler, *Translation and Power* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2002).

22 Rivas, "El poeta," 8. Original: "porvenir grandioso de nuestra américa."

23 Coates and Fort, "Good Gray Poet," *Evening Star*, 8; Rivas, "El Poeta," 7.

24 Darío, "Walt Whitman."

25 Original: "¡Cuán tranquila es la vieja ciudad de Camden, en New Jersey!"

26 Original: "En el silencio que la rodea, después que uno viaja y vive en estos grandes y bulliciosos centros industriales, encuéntrase una poesía verdaderamente idílica y campestre."

27 For a summary of the "polemic" surrounding Darío's sonnet among this same intelligentsia, see Nicolás Magaril, *José Martí y Pedro Mir: Walt Whitman en el Caribe* (2014), n.p.n.

Darío would later contribute personally to the *Revista* (Chamberlin and Schulman, 17).

28 José Martí, *Nuestra América* (Barcelona: Linkgua, 2010), 53. Original: "el gigante de las siete leguas!" Martí had seen Whitman lecture at the Madison Theater in 1887 and was in correspondence with Rivas during this period (Lomas, 194).

29 "A Roosevelt" in *«Yo Soy Aquel Que Ayer No Más Decía»: Libros Poéticos Completos* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018), 388.

30 Original: "Al sol no le disputan allí su imperio sobre los hombres y la naturaleza, ni los edificios gigantescos, ni el humo espeso y negro del vapor, que se ha hecho rey absoluto de las ciudades populosas; . . ."

31 Original: "metida en su tranquila mansión, lejos de la malicia de los hombres, de la prosa de los negocios y de la frialdad de los cálculos materialistas."

32 Rivas, "El poeta," 7. Original: "el aire está impregnado en esta estación risueña con el olor de las lilas, que se abren á los besos húmedos de la aurora; . . ."

33 Original: "y el suelo es todo alfombra verde, donde los árboles se alzan frondosos y se agitan a compás, produciendo con sus sonantes hojas un ruido semejante al que hacen las femeninas vestiduras de seda en una noche de baile."

34 Original: "en tanto que las flores de los jardines que rodean á Camden se enderezan olorosas y trémulas al cielo, en medio de la quietud solemne de las noches estivales, para que la luna las alumbre en el acto de sus amores fecundos. . . ."

35 An anonymous reader noted that the doorman was probably Warren Fritzinger, Whitman's nurse in his late years.

36 Original: "un muchacho" / "un caballero y una dama."

37 Rivas seems to misconstrue the chronology of the visit, which occurred shortly before Whitman's birthday on the 31st.

38 Original: "Acaba de cumplir setenta y un años ese cantor antiguo, está flaco y débil, martirizado por la parálisis, y muy rara vez se le ve cruzar las calles de los jardines de la ciudad poética y silenciosa."

39 Original: "El aspecto de Whitman presentábase majestuoso, con su cabellera larga y poblada, que le caía sobre los hombros, medio cubriéndole el rostro, como si fuera soberbia melena de un león. . . . La faz de Whitman es varonil, llena de signos nobles y de líneas que acentúan un carácter entero y firme."

40 Several examples are listed in *Chronicling America*'s summary of Whitman's presence in the archive: "The Good Gray Poet Is White Now" *The Sun* (New York, NY), April 15, 1887, Image 1, col. 4; "Good Gray Poet, Walt Whitman's Seventieth Birthday is Celebrated To-Day," *The Evening World* (New York, NY), May 31, 1889, Extra 2 O'clock, Page 2, Image 2, col. 5; "Good Gray Poet" *The Evening Bulletin* (Maysville, KY), October 22, 1890, Image 1, col. 2.

41 "Peculiarities of People," *Bridgeton Pioneer* (May 16, 1890) 3.

42 Vivian R. Pollak, *The Erotic Whitman* (Berkeley: Univ of California Press, 2000), xx. The reference also recalls O'Connor's minimization of the allegations against Whitman as based on little more than seeing him "riding upon the top of an omnibus" (n.p.n.).

43 Zachary Turpin, "Introduction to Walt Whitman's 'Manly Health and Training,'" *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 33 (Winter/ Spring 2016), 151-152.

44 The reporters' reaction recalls the meaning the poet himself gave to "manly," which tied together physical health, moral fortitude, and aesthetic bravado, as Turpin notes his reading of Whitman's 1858 "Manly Health and Training" (149). In the text, masculinity exudes from the body and from verse, and speaks to national character: "the poet treats as inseparable the notions of masculinity, strength, individual health, and national character" (166).

45 Original: "Presentábase . . ., á los rayos del sol que se entraba por la ventana y le doraba la faz apacible, una figura imponente, severa, poética y dulce á la vez."

46 The hybridization of fiction and non-fiction is representative of the magazine's editorial philosophy (see Chamberlin and Schulman, 4).

47 Original: "Rodeado de libros y papeles vive Whitman. . . . Es que hay en él una reconcentración de sentimientos é ideas sin salida, y le tiene absorto la visión del porvenir grandioso de nuestra américa, que será la soberana del mundo por la libertad y la democracia. No se ha de morir el noble viejo sin condensar en un canto magnífico sus ideas proféticas y sus sentimientos generosos, para saludar la aurora del día brillante que él columbra en sus ensueños de patriota excelso y sus delirios de poeta vaticinador."

48 Coates and Fort, "Good Gray Poet," (*Evening Star*), 8.

49 Rivas's image of an "absorbed" Whitman prefigures José Coronel Urtecho's proclamation of a generative, continental poetic (Franklin, 4). Coronel's canon of American deliverance comes to include, appropriately enough, Darío himself, alongside Whitman and Edgar Allen Poe.

50 Rubén Darío, "El Rey Burgués" in *«Yo Soy Aquel Que Ayer No Más Decía»: Libros Poéticos Completos* (Madrid: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2018), 301-302.

51 Original: "inspiración" / "ciudad malsana" / "canto el verbo del porvenir."

52 See Franklin, 2-3, and Lomas for elaboration.

53 Alfonso Calderón, *A Memorial to Valparaíso* (Santiago de Chile: Ril Editores, 2001), 69-70.

54 Spanish name: *Compañía Sudamericana de Vapores*

55 René de la Pedraja Tomán, *Oil and Coffee: Latin American Merchant Shipping from the Imperial Era to the 1950s* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1998), 27-29.

56 Rubén Darío, "Historia de un sobretodo" in *Cuentos Completos de Rubén Darío* (Oregan Publishing, 2016), 246.

57 Darío, *Yo soy aquel*, 388. Original: "Walt Whitman. En mi opinión el más grande de los poetas de la América del Norte [...] José Marti le dedicó una de sus más bellas producciones en *La Nación* de Buenos Aires, y Román Mayorga R [le dedicó] un excelente artículo en la *Revista Ilustrada de Nueva York*."

58 James Perrin Warren, "Style and Technique(s)," in J. R. LeMaster and Donald D. Kummings, eds., *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Walt Whitman* (London: Routledge, 2013), 694.

59 Magaril; Josef Raab, "El gran viejo: Walt Whitman in Latin America," *CLCWeb: Comparative Literature and Culture* 3.2 (2001), 3. Magaril describes the sonnet as a "sketch" or "portrait" to highlight the metrical irony of a *modernista* vision of Whitman. Similarly, Raab employs the pictorial metaphor of the "Rorschach test" to describe Whitman's reception by Darío and other Latin American authors. The visual register is also central to Martí's "El Poeta Walt Whitman," which opens with "a portrait of Whitman as aged prophet-bard" (Zapata-Whelan n.p.n.).

60 Franklin, 2.

61 Ed Folsom, "Introduction: 'This Heart's Geography's Map,'" "The Photographs of Walt Whitman," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 4 (Fall 1986), 1-3.

62 Darío Villanueva, "Darío a la luz de Whitman," *Babelia* (February 2016), 6.

63 Spanish title: *Real Academia Española*.

64 "Whitman in Spain and Spanish America," available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*.

CARLOS BULOSAN, WALT WHITMAN, AND THE TRANSNATIONAL JEREMIAD

MAI WANG

In 1935, the Filipino American writer and activist Carlos Bulosan (1913-1956) was living in Los Angeles when he vowed to continue his informal literary education. Disillusioned by the racism and class-based discrimination he encountered everywhere on the West Coast, Bulosan turned to literature in order to understand the historical forces that had shaped his experiences as a field hand and urban laborer among his fellow Filipino American immigrants. Once he devoted himself to his autodidactic mission, Bulosan spent his days at the Los Angeles Public Library. As he details in his essay "My Education," which was published posthumously in a 1979 issue of *Amerasia* devoted to Bulosan, reading allowed him to contextualize his marginalized life by turning to what many might consider an unlikely canonical source: the poetry of Walt Whitman. Bulosan recalls:

> I read more books, and became convinced that it was the duty of the artist to trace the origins of the disease that was festering American life. I was beginning to be aware of the dynamic social ideas that were disturbing the minds of leading artists and writers in America. . . . I studied Whitman with naïve anticipations, hoping to find in him an affirmation of my growing faith in America. For a while I was inclined to believe that Whitman was the key to my search for roots. And I found that he also was terribly lonely, and he wrote of an America that would be.[1]

For Bulosan, Whitman serves here as a literary passport to a country that seeks to exclude him and other diasporic writers from the mainstream literary establishment. The poet many consider "quintessentially American" becomes, perhaps counterintuitively, the inspiration for Bulosan's artistic reclamation of his past as a colonial subject in the Philippines—which was governed by the U.S. during his childhood. Whitman represents a literary past that proves newly useful for the Filipino American writer who articulates a vision of democratic futurity

adapted from the ideals of the American Renaissance. Yet Bulosan also brackets his early naivety with temporal markers that register his shifting interpretation of Whitman's poetry. His former appraisal of Whitman as a symbolic "key" to his roots gives way to a different portrait of Whitman as the prophetic poet of loneliness. What drives Bulosan's shifting portrayal of Whitman? By the end of the passage, Bulosan insists on their mutual status as lone poets of a future that has yet to be written—with the conviction that if America can still be perfected, the end result must be deferred—forming an imaginative bond between them as secular Jeremiahs.

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In *The American Jeremiad,* Sacvan Bercovitch identifies Whitman as a notable follower of the jeremiad tradition.[2] Departing from the historian Perry Miller's portrayal of the jeremiad as a vehicle to express ambiguity, Bercovitch argues that the Puritans transformed the sermon form they inherited from Europe by infusing it with optimism: in their hands, the established "catalogues of iniquities" leading to a climactic moment of divine vengeance was rewritten as a record of present woes that give way to a celebratory vision of future success (6-7). According to Bercovitch, the productive tension between the imperfect reality of the present and the utopian state of the future drove the development of a uniquely American jeremiad tradition that gave form to a "litany of hope" in which the eventual success of the nation was already assured, even if the future had yet to arrive (10-22). Over time, the optimistic jeremiad of the Puritans was secularized, and Bercovitch finds evidence of the jeremiad's reach in the nineteenth-century American literature of westward expansion, including Whitman's work (176-199). Although twentieth-century Asian American literature falls outside the purview of Bercovitch's project, in this essay I demonstrate how Bulosan invokes the jeremiad form pioneered by the earliest Anglo-American orators and advanced by Whitman to write the first Filipino American jeremiad.

Both Whitman and Bulosan deploy the jeremiad by documenting the shortcomings of American society alongside an insistence that the nation remains perfectible, and both writers elevate a deferred ideal of critical universalism that cuts across the divides of race, class, and nationality. Bulosan and Whitman write transnational jeremiads that, while centering on the American experience, branch outwards to imagine an idealized global polity. In their works, the jeremiad becomes a global invective against ongoing social injustice that enables radical future reforms. Critics have missed the influence of Whitman's

nuanced universalism—delivered through the diffuse jeremiad of *Democratic Vistas*—on Bulosan's semiautobiographical novel *America Is in the Heart (1946)*. For Bulosan, channeling Whitman's defense of America as a perpetual work-in-progress allows him to partially reconcile the contradictions between the failed promise of democracy and his defiantly optimistic faith in his adopted country. Literature offers Bulosan an imagined way out of the dilemmas he encounters as a marginalized Filipino American, even as the production of artistic works remains entangled within a capitalist marketplace that offers writers and readers what Fredric Jameson calls a "fantasy bribe" of utopian healing that may ultimately reinforce the dominance of American imperial democracy.[3]

Scholars have long recognized how *Democratic Vistas* functions as a "religious catechism" intended to guide a rapidly changing country searching for answers in the wake of the Civil War.[4] Whitman wrote *Democratic Vistas* as a rebuttal of Thomas Carlyle's polemic against democracy, "Shooting Niagara."[5] Whitman's defense of democracy was originally written as a three-part essay, and the first two parts were published in *Galaxy* magazine in 1867 and 1868 before the complete essay was published as a standalone volume in 1871 in Washington, D. C., where Whitman had spent the better part of the war ministering to wounded soldiers. It is this figure of Whitman as nurse that emerges throughout Bulosan's work, especially following his two-year confinement at the Los Angeles General Hospital from 1936 to 1938. Whitman comes to represent a symbolic nurse who tends to Bulosan's intellectual needs as a patient after his recovery from tuberculosis and other diseases.[6]

The ailing autobiographical narrator of Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart* finds a clear antecedent in the prophetic voice of Whitman's *Democratic Vistas*. In the novel, Bulosan's call for the emergence of a new Filipino American literature is delivered through his protagonist Allos as well as Allos's encounters with his brother Macario.[7] To date, no critic has addressed the strong resemblances between Macario's extended speech at the end of Part Two and Whitman's *Democratic Vistas*. My aim is to show how Macario's speech is deeply informed by Bulosan's understanding of Whitman, whom he viewed as a symbolic ally whose work helps him reconcile the suffering of Filipino immigrants with his commitment to enacting progressive reforms in the future.

Critics have long puzzled over Macario's speech. Michael Denning, for instance, reads the speech as the "epitome of sentimental, populist, and humanist nationalism."[8] Similarly, E. San Juan Jr. criticizes Bulosan's "melodramatic, sentimental praise of Whitmanian democracy and the deployment of the utopian metaphor of 'America' as a classless, nonracist society."[9] What these critics have

missed, however, is Bulosan's indebtedness to the jeremiad form—drawn from works like *Democratic Vistas*—which is the mode through which the novel turns polemical. Macario's lengthy monologue functions as an optimistic political treatise that serves as a counterweight to the disillusionment Allos experiences after suffering from multiple episodes of violent discrimination. While Whitman wrote *Democratic Vistas* to address a moment of profound political unsettledness and racial conflict, Bulosan similarly addresses cross-racial animosity by posing a solution set in a better time to come. Bulosan adapts the Whitmanian ideal of future-oriented universalism in order to illustrate the pressing need for the Filipino American community to achieve greater equality through organized activism and informal literary activities. Literary affinities help the Filipino American writer overcome the threat of social ostracism, but these activities are always contained within a broader system of racist exclusion from formal employment channels and educational institutions.

In the wake of Bercovitch's influential definition of the secular jeremiad as the form that united American writers through the creation of a "ideological consensus," other critics have argued for an expansion of Bercovitch's nationalist framework.[10] William V. Spanos, for instance, makes the case that Bercovitch's discussion of the American jeremiad should "incorporate and emphasize the 'fact of the frontier'" and recognize the central role of foreign relations—the "threatening other beyond the American frontier"—as other features of the genre.[11] Indeed, a close reading of *Democratic Vistas* reveals that Whitman's text coheres around the diffuse form of the transnational jeremiad.

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Over the years, the large body of Whitman criticism has offered diverse perspectives on the poet's geopolitics. One group of critics reads Whitman as an inclusive democrat. Jay Grossman demonstrates how Whitman's poetry stages a representative catalog that highlights the "specificity and particularity" of each figure while impeding any "universalized or totalized claims."[12] Similarly, Angus Fletcher has identified Whitman as the "poet of democracy" through his commitment to a style in which "no phrase is ever grammatically superordinate, superior to, any other phrase."[13] As Gary Wihl argues, Whitman sets out to prove that the "American political order offers unprecedented, true conditions for citizenship."[14] Kenneth Cmiel characterizes Whitman as a writer who blended a belief in individual liberty with collective rule and functioned as both "a liberal defender of freedom and a radical democrat."[15] John Mac

Kilgore summarizes this dynamic succinctly as a process focused on "releasing alternative democratic possibilities occluded by existing legal and nationalist frameworks."[16] Scott Henkel has proposed that Whitman's "grassroot politics" calls for the democratization of "all public and private life."[17]

Another group of critics has diverged from the consensus view of Whitman as a defender of democracy. In contrast to Grossman, Wai Chee Dimock reads *Leaves of Grass* as an inclusive text, but only to the extent that it suppresses and minimizes the differences between distinctive individuals by foregrounding a universal definition of personhood.[18] In Dimock's view, the syntactical "chant of equivalence" gives every figure in the poem a nonspecific "blanket attribute of goodness," making it impossible to justify affective preferences for anyone in particular.[19] Dimock concludes that Whitman's poem reveals the underlying "frailty of a democratic poetics, as of a democratic polity."[20] Other critics have also addressed the occlusions within Whitman's poetry, particularly regarding his stance on race and empire. Ed Folsom has acknowledged the "dominating and imperialistic" strain of Whitman's poetry, which at times can be read as the "battle hymn of manifest destiny," and notes that Whitman "espoused the full spectrum of nineteenth-century American racialist views" by the end of his career.[21] In his reading of *Democratic Vistas,* George Hutchinson notes the invisibility of African-Americans in the narrative and argues that "the whole epic story of black Americans' experience of the conflict lies outside Whitman's reach," thus revealing the limits of the "white poetic imagination."[22] Heidi Kim has explored how Whitman's vocabulary of Anglo-Saxonism and his celebration of inherited English traits make his universal call for equality problematic.[23]

In recent years, transnational literary scholars have departed from the traditional framework of Whitman as the bard of American democracy by reevaluating Whitman as a global figure and exploring the wide-ranging reception of his work. As Folsom recounts, the field of American studies has "shed its provinciality" and recognized that Whitman "has many cultural lives and resides in many languages."[24] While various scholars have unpacked important new dimensions of Whitman's mixed record on race and imperialism, Bulosan's positive references to Whitman suggest that he was publicly untroubled by the poet's ambivalence on the role of minorities in the growing American empire. Whitman's reluctance to speak at length on racial specifics—the poet's insistent universalism that can be read as obliterating difference into a simultaneous sameness—may be precisely what appealed to Bulosan. Bulosan selectively evokes a sanitized version of Whitman as the prophetic voice of cross-racial unification—found in the secular jeremiad of *Democratic Vistas*—in *America Is in the Heart*.

The proliferation of critical perspectives on Bulosan has been remarkably unified in its treatment of *America Is in the Heart* as a paradoxical text. Much of the criticism attempts to reconcile or juxtapose the disparate strains of the novel.[25] Jeffrey Cabusao has explored how Bulosan anticipates the "multiethnic, 'globalized' context of the 21st century" while simultaneously documenting a "neocolonial Philippine society marked by persistent economic inequality."[26] Similarly, Elaine Kim notes how the novel recounts American exploitation of the Philippines alongside Bulosan's quest to establish a new Filipino American identity.[27] E. San Juan Jr. reads *America Is in the Heart* as a text that details how the protagonist's "Americanized psyche" is "molded by patronizing tutelage in the colony" while also noting the novel's "radically subversive energies."[28] Lisa Lowe interprets *America Is in the Heart* as a partial bildungsroman: by capturing the "complex, unsynthetic constitution of the immigrant subject between an already twice-colonized Philippine culture, on the one hand, and the pressure to conform to Anglo-American society, on the other," Lowe argues, Bulosan "troubles the closure and reconciliation of the bildungsroman form."[29] Viet Thanh Nguyen identifies how Bulosan's novel complicates the rhetoric of "domestic anticommunist liberalism" by presenting America as a "contradictory symbol of both democratic pluralism and international socialism."[30] Similarly, Wolf Kindermann, Tim Libretti, Chase Smith, and Patricia Chu have all identified the novel's dual portraits of America.[31] Recently, critics have begun to turn their attention to the role of literature within *America Is in the Heart*. Malini Schueller has examined how Bulosan offers an ambivalent critique of the colonial education system the U.S. implemented in the Philippines yet also turns to Whitman in order to find a source of "radical learning to unite the working classes."[32] Meg Wesling has discussed how "the literary becomes the venue for Carlos's participation in the idyllic American national dream" even as the narrator of the novel stages a "gap between his own experience and the utopian promise of these texts.[33] As Steven Yao points out, an "activist view of literature" exists within the novel alongside an endorsement of a "European humanist conception of literature and its function."[34] Taken as a whole, the existing body of Bulosan criticism points to how Bulosan's reception of nineteenth-century American literature parallels the conflicting ways the U.S. is portrayed as an alternating source of democratic solidarity and racialized oppression both within and outside its national borders.

My transnational approach in this essay is guided by the perspectives of critical race scholars who seek to move beyond the nation as a primary analytic framework. As Rajini Srikanth describes it, transnationalism seeks to bridge

works centered in the U.S. with diasporic locations found in ancestral homelands, and in doing so, connect seemingly disparate traditions.[35] Recently, literary scholar Nan Z. Da has made the case that transnational literary studies can uncover "affiliations, grievances, and imaginaries larger than the nation state" by documenting how "crossings of language and literature mediated formations in places that are generally seen as, and even self-proclaimed as, hermetically sealed."[36] Utilizing this rubric of transnationalism, we can trace Whitman's critical universalism in *Democratic Vistas* as it reappears in Bulosan's Filipino American jeremiad, *America Is in the Heart*.

America Is in the Heart was first published in 1946, shortly before the commencement of the Cold War. Bulosan's novel mines Whitman's jeremiad form in order to evade the ideological dilemmas he encountered as a writer sympathetic to international socialism but who also anticipates the anti-totalitarian sentiment of Cold War liberalism. Bulosan hints at his remarkable political flexibility by emphasizing his naturalized embrace of Western literary culture rooted in the nineteenth-century canon; alongside Whitman, Bulosan references a litany of American authors as interlocutors, including Hart Crane (whom Bulosan identifies as a "writer in the tradition of Whitman and Melville"), Jack London, Mark Twain, and William Saroyan.[37] More than any of these other figures, Whitman functions as both a poetic personification of democratic futurity and a source of the novel's literary forms.

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Although *Democratic Vistas* is commonly read as a meandering study of American politics, it is also concerned with the development of a new literary movement.[38] Whitman dissects the problems afflicting democracy and envisions how a transformative literature will unify a polarized society. Throughout *Democratic Vistas,* Whitman reimagines the contours of his globalizing nation in the wake of the Civil War by following the conventions of the secular jeremiad. Critics have noted how Whitman offers, as Ronald Takaki memorably remarks, a "vision of possibility."[39] While the country has survived the attacks of the "Secession Slave-Power," Whitman cautions against becoming complacent and suggests that its success remains uncertain (19). He locates the source of a second pending downfall in the "cankered, crude, superstitious, and rotten" state of society, which persists alongside a "seriously enfeebled" collective moral conscience, a "scornful superciliousness" in popular literature, and cities populated by a "mob of fashionably-dressed speculators and vulgarians" (11-12). As he announces,

"our New World Democracy…is, so far, an almost complete failure." Whitman suggests that established social norms and ethical standards need to be constantly revised, and this process of reform must be driven by new currents of thought that attend to the cultural deficiencies no political institution can fix.

After detailing the deficiencies of American democracy, Whitman holds out the possibility of eventual reform and locates the instigator of such positive change in literature. He calls for the creation of a new class of "mighty poets" who can teach common people to understand "what is universal, native, common to all" (9). By insisting that a divided society can be reunited through the strenuous efforts of its citizen-artists, Whitman argues that a distinctive literary tradition will serve as the primary driver of political progress, even if it has yet to come into being. Such a claim anticipates Bulosan's elevation of literature in *America Is in the Heart*, foreshadowing Bulosan's belief that a strong literary culture will serve as the guarantor of a democratic state. Yet unlike Bulosan, Whitman defines the end-goal of democracy as the nullification of difference rather than the tolerance of heterogeneity: for Whitman, literature can function as the force of collective "adhesiveness . . . that fuses, ties and aggregates, making the races comrades, and fraternizing all" (24). Whitman seeks to establish an egalitarian equivalence between the various races that finally collapses all distinctions between them. This vision of a future marked by racial fusion cannot accommodate lasting difference, and his rhetoric reflects an insistence on the inevitability of cohesion— as the essay progresses, the many races of America become one race. Whitman identifies a singular thought that animates "our own land's race and history. It is the thought of Oneness, averaging, including all; of Identity—the indissoluble sacred Union of These States" (26). The erasure of idiosyncratic traits deemed undesirable—both on the individual and the national level—will ensure the cohesiveness of American democracy. Above all, Whitman stresses how a cultural renewal will succeed by "aiming to form, over this continent, an Idiocrasy of Universalism" full of "tolerant, devout, real men" (40). This future government will not abide dissent because there will be none, since it will enjoy a fully representative legitimacy once the homogenous national temperament has been inculcated in each citizen. It is easy to see why critics have called attention to Whitman's problematic evasion of racial antagonisms, which is accomplished through invoking a universal ideal. Josephine Park notes in her study of Whitman's poetry that Whitman offers a "proleptic vision of continued American expansion . . . along industrial lines of advance."[40] In *Democratic Vistas*, Whitman is no less insistent about the inevitable establishment of an American empire whose far-flung reach will be accompanied by the

progressive development of a literary culture. Whitman's ambitious reworking of the secular jeremiad is predicated on his affirmation of a country already a colonizing power constantly seeking new territories. At the same time, there is evidence that Bulosan found Whitman's unifying impulse a useful model for formulating his own calls for greater inclusion of the disenfranchised both within the U.S. and in the Philippines.

Bulosan follows the logic of the jeremiad in *America Is in the Heart*: beginning with a series of linked anecdotes documenting the deprivations afflicting Filipino peasants living under American colonial rule, Bulosan makes the case for the deferred intellectual liberation of the Philippines—as well as Filipino Americans living abroad— through first enacting political and economic reforms. The semiautobiographical novel opens with scenes from the impoverished childhood of its protagonist Allos, who helps his father farm a small plot of land while his mother sells salted fish and other staples in the surrounding villages. After his father loses the land, Allos and his siblings scatter across the country, and Allos finds work as a servant for an American woman before following his older brothers and emigrating to the United States. Bulosan depicts the continuity of suffering in both countries through Allos's work as an itinerant laborer. Shortly after arriving in Seattle, Allos is forced to journey to Alaska to work at a fish cannery filled with other exploited Filipino migrant laborers. When his contract ends, he returns to Seattle and travels by train to Los Angeles, where he finds a Filipino American community living precarious lives. He reunites with his brother Macario, who supports him by working as a houseboy for a wealthy couple. Eager to embrace his independence, Allos works odd jobs before briefly turning to crime and gambling as he journeys up and down the West Coast before returning to Los Angeles. With his health declining, Allos becomes a prolific reader and educates himself as he spends two years confined to a hospital bed, where he finds temporary relief from persecution through reading and writing. Bulosan documents how Allos embarks on two parallel journeys, becoming involved in the nascent labor movement among his fellow immigrant workers while simultaneously embarking on the solitary project of becoming a writer.

From the beginning of the novel, Bulosan oscillates between presenting a critical portrait of the flawed American institutions shaping the Philippines and underscoring the persistent appeal of obtaining a Western education through informal means. This dual dynamic is most evident in his portrayal of Miss Strandon, the former librarian who employs Allos as a servant once he leaves his village. Bulosan foregrounds the racialized dimensions of their encounter when

Allos delivers food to Miss Strandon at her home for the first time:

"What did you do to your face?" she asked suddenly.

I was ashamed to tell her that I had hoped the white men and women who came to the market with cameras would photograph me for ten centavos. They had always taken pictures of natives with painted faces, and I had hoped that I could fool them with the charcoal marks on my face. I said it must be dirt.

"Wash it off!" she said, giving me a bar of soap. (68)

Bulosan's transnational jeremiad highlights the connection between the material deprivation of the Filipino people and American colonialism, which is often presented as a form of market exchange. Although Allos finds a way to eke out a profit from the racist view of Filipinos as primitive and interchangeable, he underscores his self-acknowledged sense of shame by recounting his lie to his new employer. Miss Strandon does not comment on the performative aspect of Allos's self-disguise, and it is unclear if she recognizes the masquerade as such. Instead, she commands Allos to remove the stain of his abjection. The whitening bar of soap takes the place of the intrusive camera that only registers the alleged inferiority of the Filipino body, and Allos immediately accepts Miss Strandon's offering. The dirt of living as a colonized subject proves to be temporary as the tone of the passage shifts from registering the ongoing injustice inflicted upon Filipinos to revealing how Miss Strandon represents the benevolent side of American interventionism. As she presents him with the soap, Miss Strandon begins to view Allos as an individual capable of self-transformation.

The first encounter between Miss Strandon and Allos leads to his growing and unlikely identification with key figures in American history. One evening, after Miss Strandon explains the history of the Civil War to Allos and discusses Abraham Lincoln's rise from poverty to become president, Allos reflects:

From that day onward this poor boy who became president filled my thoughts. Miss Strandon began giving me books from the library. It was still hard for me to read and to understand what I was reading. Miss Strandon realized that I had a passion for books, so she made arrangements with the city librarian to let me work with her.

I found great pleasure in the library. I dusted the books and put them in order . . . Names of authors flashed in my mind and reverberated in a strange song in my consciousness. A whole new world was opened to me. (69-70)

As Buloson traces the rise of the young Allos from destitution to knowledge, he presents the literary exchanges with Miss Strandon as a condensed rehearsal of the jeremiad logic structuring the novel as a whole. After shedding his identity as an indigenous laborer, Allos steps into the role of budding intellectual. What began as a superficial transformation aided by a bar of soap turns into an extended narrative sequence documenting his nascent knowledge of American history and literature. Through their mutual status as poor boys who rise above their stations, Allos pairs himself with Lincoln, the representative archetype of the self-made man whom Whitman also admired. By depicting the library books as the gateway to a "new world" of mental activity, Allos's first-person narrative is a reflexive song of himself that strongly recalls Whitman's invocation in *Democratic Vistas* of a "New World Literature, fit to rise upon, cohere, and signalize, in time, These States" (49-50). Both Whitman and Bulosan are oriented towards a future in which novel forms of literature are already established through a cultural renewal that may also serve to justify colonial conquest. Bulosan sets the stage for his later invocations of Whitmanian universalism as one of the novel's dominant (if at times problematic) frameworks: despite the deep flaws in its implementation, a literary education emerges as the only source of a common language shared by the colonizers and the colonized subjects who learn to embrace Western ideals to serve their own program of self-liberation.

Throughout the novel, Bulosan perpetuates the structure of the jeremiad through his depiction of Allos as a struggling protagonist who alternatingly advances towards and retreats from the universal ideals he first learned in the Philippines. When Allos moves to California, he experiences a host of hardships and tragic accidents. After his friend José loses his foot while being chased by white detectives during a freight train accident, Allos takes him to the hospital, where the doctor and nurses treat him humanely (146-147). As he walks down the hospital's "marble stairway," which is imbued with symbolic whiteness, Allos begins to think about "the paradox of America" in terms that suggest Bulosan's familiarity with Whitman: "in this hospital, among white people—Americans like those who had denied us—we had found refuge and tolerance. Why was America so kind and yet so cruel? Was there no way to simplifying things in this continent so that suffering would be minimized? Was there no common denominator on which we could all meet?" By elevating the term "America" into the novel's central metaphor, Bulosan reveals how his jeremiad descends from Whitman's rhetoric of future-oriented national supremacy—as Bercovitch asserts in his reading America functions as a "civic identity rooted in a prophetic view of history," and the "identification with America as it ought to be impels

the writer to withdraw from what is" (*American Jeremiad,* 177, 181). After his repeated invocations of America as a contradictory country that both denies and affirms his ideals, Allos seeks "refuge" in a universal discourse capable of "simplifying" the disparities between individuals into a comforting "common denominator"—but the question still remains as to when that future will arrive (147). Like Whitman, whose aggregating impulse in *Democratic Vistas* becomes a remedy for a fractured nation, Allos envisions the eventual growth of a cross-racial consensus in which ideological differences will no longer divide the polity, and he suggests that the flawed present already contains an alternative to racialized violence through an imperfectly enforced code of civil behavior. By describing the hospital as a utopian space where the egalitarian promise of the U.S. is partially realized, Bulosan also highlights the tragic failure of other public spaces to guarantee a basic measure of safety and freedom for marginalized workers. It is only after José becomes disfigured that he is recognized as an individual; in order for his status as an outsider to be minimized, his physical pain must first be maximized. Allos points to the usefulness of ideological constraints in checking the injustices that remain a feature of American democracy.

As the novel progresses, the appeal of Whitmanian universalism grows stronger for Allos and his brother Macario. Bulosan stages a partial withdrawal from the world of labor by depicting how the brothers migrate towards literature as a deferred form of political engagement. Reading and writing become imperfect avenues for overcoming the ostracism of the Filipino American community. While critics such as San Juan have traditionally associated Bulosan with revolutionary socialist thought, Bulosan was equally committed to portraying his Filipino American subjects as well-versed in the pacifying universal discourse espoused by Whitman, who insists that artists, not just political revolutionaries, can perfect democracy through literature. This connection is articulated through Macario's extended speech at the end of Part Two. Speaking on behalf of an international movement of workers, Macario echoes Whitman's call for "a great original literature" in *Democratic Vistas* as he explores his own vision of an idealized future brought on by "the discovery of a new vista of literature":

> We must achieve articulation of social ideas, not only for some kind of economic security but also to help culture bloom as it should in our time. We are approaching what will be the greatest achievement of our generation: the discovery of a new vista of literature, that is, to speak to the people and to be understood by them.
>
> We must look for the mainspring of democracy, but we must also destroy false ideals. We

must discover the origin of our freedom and write of it in broad national terms. We must interpret history in terms of liberty. We must advocate democratic ideas, and fight all forces that would abort our culture. (189)

Macario's speech deploys the Whitmanian rhetoric of colonial conquest while subverting the dominant view of immigrants as a subordinate group by reimagining Filipino American laborers in the metaphorical role of explorers. By summoning the "discovery of a new vista of literature," Macario proposes an imaginative solution to the problem of cross-racial animosity using terms that bear a striking resemblance to Whitman's call in *Democratic Vistas* for a new American literature that will capture the pending transformation of a globalizing society:

. . . the grandest events and revolutions, and stormiest passions of history, are crossing to-day with unparalleled rapidity and magnificence over the stages of our own and all the continents, offering new materials, opening new vistas, with largest needs, inviting the daring launching forth of conceptions in Literature. . . . (54)

Whitman and Macario both identify a rapid succession of anticipated ideas and events that will culminate in a "new vista" of literature, which promises to be a record of the continuous workings of American democracy as well as a vehicle to transform the cultural parameters of the growing empire and steer it towards a utopian state that will mark the completion of their secular jeremiads. In Whitman's case, the history still being written is enshrined in broad transnational and transcontinental terms, while Macario addresses a subset of Filipino Americans as well as a global proletariat.

Achieving greater fluency through the creation of a populist literature will allow Macario's imagined audience to preserve their own preexisting culture. As in Whitman's work, this new literature will be established through a manifold process: advocating for increased material security is only the first step in a long chain of progression towards the full articulation of formerly inchoate democratic principles. Macario's conception of literature as the best tool to discover the "mainspring of democracy" echoes Whitman's assertion in *Democratic Vistas* that "there can be no complete or epical presentation of Democracy in the aggregate…at this day, because its doctrines will only be effectually incarnated in any one branch" of society.[41] In true jeremiad form, Whitman stresses the limitations of the present and the collective inability to comprehend the "complete" implications of living in a democracy only to locate a potential solution in literary works as the selective carrier of democratic ideals. Likewise, Macario invests in literary activities as the conduit of eventual liberation through a reformation of

thought. For Macario, as for Whitman, literature is the outgrowth of a non-exclusionary form of cultural nationalism. Macario describes the creation of a new Filipino American literature as a form of excavation—by stripping back the layers of racism and classism that have been naturalized by their experiences in the U.S., the unnamed authors of the new movement will attain full-fledged freedom, if only at some indefinite point in the future. Bulosan's presentation of Macario's optimistic speech in the middle of a novel replete with multiple episodes of graphic suffering speaks to his characters' persistent belief in the usefulness of literature as an indirect tool of reform. Yet the question remains: does the dramatic narrative surrounding Macario's speech refute or support his claim that literature can remedy a multitude of injustices?

The key to understanding the dramatic implications of Bulosan's narrative partially lies in Whitman. In *Democratic Vistas*, Whitman outlines his expectations for the new transnational American literature in terms that anticipate Bulosan's valorization of reading and writing in *America Is in the Heart*. Like Bulosan, Whitman asserts that the deficiencies of democracy can be corrected through books that pay closer attention to the neglected masses:

> Literature, strictly considered, has never recognized the People, and, whatever may be said, does not to-day. . . . I know nothing more rare, even in this country, than a fit scientific estimate and reverent appreciation of the People of their measureless wealth of latent power and capacity, their vast, artistic contrasts of lights and shades-with, in America, their entire reliability in emergencies, and a certain breadth of historic grandeur, of peace or war, far surpassing all the vaunted samples of book-heroes. . . . (19)

Writing in the aftermath of the Civil War, Whitman envisions an imminent cultural renewal arising from an emerging literary compact that resonates with Macario's insistence that literature should "speak to the people" (189). Whitman places his faith in a precisely calibrated artistic movement that will seek to capture the full range of ordinary Americans. Anticipating Bulosan's elevation of common workers, Whitman articulates his conviction that a more inclusive literature will take the place of outdated elitist forms. This growing branch of literature should aspire to a lasting fidelity to lived experience that will render the stories of "book-heroes" obsolete (19). Rather than pushing for political reforms directly, Whitman isolates literature as the linchpin in a program of aestheticized regeneration that will allow the United States to regain a unified national narrative as it prepares to become a global power. Whitman's essay performs a series of maneuvers mirrored by Bulosan's fictionalized rhetoric in *America Is in the Heart*: after detailing the host of social ills afflicting the U.S., both writers call for the emergence of a new literary movement that will be

capable of ameliorating the flaws of American-led democracy both within and without the nation's borders.

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Literature serves as a counterweight in *America Is in the Heart*, providing Allos and Macario with a glimpse of a different way of life divorced from the brutal reality of their quotidian lives. Yet it would be an exaggeration to claim that literature functions as a panacea throughout the novel. While Macario's Whitmanian speech envisions a new Filipino American literature that drives sustained social progress, Bulosan also departs from Whitman's portrayal of literature as a democratizing force elsewhere in the narrative. By following the mode of the jeremiad, Bulosan both confirms Whitman's assumption that literary institutions will guarantee collective uplift in the future and registers the limited opportunities for Filipino American writers in the present. Through seemingly minor anecdotes detailing his encounters with other artists, Allos explores how literary institutions in their current form fail to deliver the imaginative liberation for the marginalized envisioned by Macario. In the course of his travels, Allos meets the hungry and emaciated Esteven, who reveals that he "will write a great book about the Ilocano peasants in northern Luzon" (139). Given the overlap in subject matter between Part One of *America Is in the Heart* and Estevan's unwritten work, it is clear that Estevan serves as the tragic double of Allos, mirroring his own ambitions to become a writer. Macario reveals to Allos that Estevan "has not published anything," and soon afterwards Estevan commits suicide. After Allos rushes to Estevan's hotel room and fetches a bundle of manuscripts, Allos describes how he carried the deceased writer's story about the Filipino peasantry around for a decade before he was "intellectually equipped" to understand its significance and "identify myself with the social awakening of my people" (138-139). The posthumous literary exchange becomes a mildly redemptive act that gives Estevan's fiction a new life that supersedes the premature death of its author. Allos steps into the role vacated by the other writer while becoming his ideal reader, symbolically completing Estevan's unfinished artistic mission by incorporating the unpublished work into his own retrospective narration. Allos partially fulfills Macario's optimistic call for a new literary movement, if only through an isolated dyad that will gradually expand to encompass their entire community. Through witnessing Estevan's abbreviated career, Allos arrives at a revised understanding of authorship. Estevan's example teaches him that the solitary pursuit of writing does not always lead to institutional rewards, but it

may still lead to deferred recognition from one's peers.

In order to become a writer, Allos must continually work to overcome the shared material deprivation that led to Estevan's untimely death. The near-impossibility of achieving such a feat, however, is made clear through his encounters with other artists, including Florencio Garcia, another "lonely Filipino writer" who cannot find a publisher (214). Allos recounts his departure from Florencio's apartment as the climactic moment in which their nascent bond paradoxically grows stronger: "I walked down the creaking stairs, looking up at his window when I reached the ground. I saw his ugly face, breaking into tears. I walked back to Cañon Perdido Street and slapped my own face so that I would not cry" (215). The perception of Florencio's tears induces a repressed reaction from Allos, who identifies with the other writer so strongly he must resort to violence to check his emotions. As he descends the staircase, Allos steps into a public space that refuses to accommodate open self-expression among the disenfranchised. Furthermore, Bulosan embeds a literary pun into the scene through the street name: "Cañon Perdido" could easily double as a reference to the 'lost canon' of Filipino American writers who have never achieved enough public acclaim to form a recognized tradition. Bulosan suggests that the silencing of many aspiring immigrant writers takes place in the literary marketplace before their work can be read, and the loneliness expressed by Estevan, Florencio, and Allos at various points in the novel must be read as a consequence of their exclusion from public life even as Allos eventually transforms his loneliness into the basis of a renewed prophetic mission to speak for other Filipino Americans.

Despite the persistent reminders of how other aspiring writers are leading parallel lives of little consequence, Allos tentatively reaffirms a meritocratic vision of the literary profession by foregrounding his own tale of achievement. As he progresses beyond the abrupt endings represented by Estevan and Florencio, Allos presents his life as another iteration of the same narrative with a crucial difference. Bulosan follows the teleological progression of the secular jeremiad when Allos experiences an artistic epiphany: after being diagnosed with tuberculosis, he begins writing poetry in his hospital bed. While coping with his increasingly severe illness, he publishes several poems, and Allos reveals how he feels triumphant by making a "definite identification with an intellectual tradition" (227). Allos surpasses the achievements of the other Filipino American writers by inserting himself into mainstream literary culture, but his desire for inclusion should not be conflated with a naïve longing for full assimilation. As Allos embraces his intellectual freedom despite his ailment, he arrives at a new understanding of literature as unbounded by racial, class-based, or national

divisions:

> So from day to day I read, and reading widened my mental horizon, creating a spiritual kinship with other men who had pondered over the miseries of their countries. Then it came to me that the place did not matter: these sensitive writers reacted to the social dynamics of their time. I, too, reacted to my time. I promised myself that I would read ten thousand books when I got well. I plunged into books, boring through the earth's core, leveling all seas and oceans, swimming in the constellations. (246)

Allos enacts Macario's call for the "discovery of a new vista of literature" while simultaneously fulfilling Whitman's criteria for the ideal American poet (189). Like his brother, Allos recycles the language of colonial conquest by stylizing himself as a literary explorer who plumbs the depths of every text. For Allos, reading becomes the first step in forming a radical transnational literary movement, and he insists that literature can serve a leveling function between those of disparate backgrounds by uniting them through a mutual commitment to art. As he shares his observation that "the place did not matter" in his reception of other writers, Allos documents how literature can record the particularities of a country without perpetuating the oppressive structures that organize life outside the non-exclusionary sites of the imaginative world (246).

The novel reaches its utopian climax—and converges with Whitman's central thesis in *Democratic Vistas*—by presenting literature as a unique form of experience predicated on egalitarian intellectualism rather than entrenched hierarchies. While Estevan's and Florencio's careers dissolve under the weight of racist persecution, Allos comes to view literature as an exempt space that enables both readers and writers to disassociate themselves from established affiliations. Yet the counterexamples of the other writers threaten to undercut Allos's carefully calibrated assertion that reading is synonymous with a disembodied form of freedom that exists apart from the economic and political problems he encounters outside the hospital. The tragic lives and deaths of the other writers call the viability of creating a distinctive Filipino American literary culture into question. Bulosan never resolves the lingering tension between the novel's scathing depiction of racism's impact on minority artists and the positive exception represented by Allos, whose difficult journey towards authorship is presented as evidence of the redeeming merits of the institutions that have sustained him. Another way to conceive of this tension would be to posit that Bulosan constructs the novel by shifting between two rhetorical registers: radical socialism, which always presents itself in opposition to those who exploit the laboring immigrant body, and centrist-leaning liberalism, a conciliatory discourse whose affirmation of individual freedom supersedes the challenge

posed by the spectacle of collective suffering depicted elsewhere in the novel. The failures of other immigrant writers are contained within condensed interludes that conform to the arch of the broader jeremiad of Allos's progression from an illiterate peasant to a published poet. Despite Bulosan's critique of how literary labor seldom yields commercial rewards for marginalized writers, Bulosan ultimately presents a unifying vision of an artistic kinship between men that borrows its compensatory logic from Whitman's conception of literature as the shared soul of the globe-spanning nation. The novel's redeployment of Whitmanian terms partially demobilizes its leftist elements and makes the narrative more palatable for a Cold War American readership.

In order to arrive at a provisional sense of belonging within the American literary world, Allos must retreat from contemplating the lived experiences of his peers and seek refuge in the solitary activity of self-reform through reading and writing. *America Is in the Heart* completes its circular movement back towards the affirmation of autodidactic learning first presented through the early exchange between Allos and Miss Strandon. Instead of advocating for direct political interventions to end racist discrimination—a strenuous task given the stratified American society he lives in—Allos redirects his waning energies towards continuing his unfinished education. The aesthetic consolations of literature attenuate the need to embark on a more laborious campaign to achieve greater legal recognition for Filipino American immigrants. Here, Jameson's notion of the "fantasy bribe" prevalent in mass culture as a compensatory mechanism points to the limitations of Bulosan's elevation of literature. As Jameson suggests, literature may stand in for a utopian social order that partially addresses social conflict through "symbolic containment structures which defuse it, gratifying intolerable, unrealizable, properly imperishable desires only to the degree to which they can again be laid to rest."[42] In *America Is in the Heart*, Allos seeks redress for racialized harm by turning to literary labor for symbolic compensation even as the acute social problems that shape his precarious life remain unresolved.

Allos implicitly argues that the democratic promise of the U.S. will be partially fulfilled through guaranteeing intellectual freedom for immigrants even in the absence of economic security or full citizenship, and he narrates his own transformation into an articulate representative of his transnational community as he explains why he turns to Whitman:

> I felt that I was at home with the young American writers and poets. Reading them drove me back to the roots of American literature—to Walt Whitman and the tumult of his time. And from him, from his passionate dream of an America of equality for all races, a tremendous

idea burned my consciousness. Would it be possible for an immigrant like me to become a part of the American dream? Would I be able to make a positive contribution toward the realization of this dream? (251-252)

After recounting many episodes of displacement during his journey up and down the Pacific coast, Allos finally settles on literature as the primary source of his growing identification with American culture. Reading Whitman inspires Allos to imagine an open-ended future full of inclusive possibilities—echoing Whitman's elevation of literature as the guarantor of cultural progress in *Democratic Vistas*—*and* to evade the pressing difficulties that stem from his failing health, however briefly. Allos claims literature as a space somewhat removed from the demands and restrictions of daily life. Internalizing the work of Whitman and other canonical authors allows Allos to overcome the formal barriers erected against Filipino American immigrants and complete his project of self-authorization.

Bulosan's depiction of Allos's successful autodidactic journey descends from Whitman's affirmation of literature as the source of uplift, in the process undercutting the critique Bulosan voices earlier in the novel of how America fails its racialized newcomers. However, Bulosan partially reconciles the competing strains of his novel by narrating Allos's journey towards authorship as an incomplete project that must still work to dismantle racial and class-based barriers. Following Whitman's jeremiad logic in *Democratic Vistas*, Bulosan envisions the future liberation of Allos, whose Allos's commitment to reading Whitman will allow him to retrieve the egalitarian roots of democracy and see beyond the horrific acts of violence that stand in contradistinction to the country's stated commitment to equal treatment. Whitman's texts will lead Allos to forge an alternate vision of his new country, one removed from the oppression he and other Filipino American workers have encountered. Collecting knowledge from the American Renaissance tradition epitomized by Whitman serves as a way for Allos to repair the psychic damage done to him as a colonized subject and immigrant. By the end of the novel, Allos has taken up residence in an imagined America whose contours are defined by Whitman's advocacy on behalf of all races, and Whitman becomes the spokesperson for a future country unmarred by inequality and racial division.

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It is easy to see how Allos's celebration of Whitman may reveal an unsettling form of political quietism: by concentrating on literature, Allos withdraws

from the conflicts between labor and capital, racist landowners and antiracist activists, that animated him before he became immobilized in his hospital bed. Bulosan advocates for greater intellectual freedom among Filipino American artists while suggesting that such freedoms can be secured without agitating for full legal equality, a goal that only remains achievable at some distant point. The revolution that takes place in Allos's consciousness represents his individualized learning that allows a partial reconciliation of the disparate strands of his experience by deferring to Whitman's authority as the prophetic poet of an idealized future.

Yet read another way, Allos's investment in literature marks his growing belief that the rhetoric of Whitmanian universalism can serve as the last and best defense for minority groups struggling to achieve legibility through legal channels. Allos makes the case that Whitman's democracy—which always aspires a universal span—cannot be classified as the exclusive domain of native-born Americans, and that his immigrant status has driven him to seek out new intellectual affiliations in his quest to forge useful ties to others living in exile. As Allos says to Macario, "It's much easier for us who have no roots to integrate ourselves in a universal ideal" (241). Bulosan invokes a critical universalism that retains its persuasive potency because it never loses its abstract appeal among those seeking a new sense of belonging once they have been uprooted from their home countries. After excavating Whitman's poetry from the American canon that once remained unavailable to him, Allos follows the tradition of his poetic predecessor by defining Whitmanian universalism as a stateless ideology that can travel across national borders and persist from one century to the next.

By invoking Whitman's unifying ideals, Allos envisions a literary community that discards racial and class-based divides in favor of pursuing the common good. This fraternal organization also exists apart from any nation and therefore poses a challenge to the central tenets of the Cold War centrism advanced by public intellectuals like Arthur Schlesinger, who emphasized individual sovereignty and national consensus.[43] If Cold War liberals like Schlesinger privilege the free individual and the democratic state as bulwarks against the totalitarian takeover of the world, then Bulosan highlights the internal flaws of this model by demonstrating how even democratic governments can fail to serve the needs of marginalized peoples. Outliers, including laborers and artists, emerge as a vexing problem when they cannot—or refuse to—be fully assimilated into the nation. Bulosan simultaneously affirms and critiques liberalism by depicting Allos's search for a circumscribed form of freedom that is always marked by material deprivation and the threat of intellectual impoverishment. Reading

American literature gives Allos the vocabulary to articulate potential solutions to the problem of racialized oppression, yet Allos remains keenly aware that his declining health prevents him from fully inhabiting the role of a recognized writer. Bulosan depicts the beginnings of a discrete Filipino American literary tradition only to suggest that achieving canonical status is impossible within the timeframe of an individual lifespan. Allos turns to writing in order to create a life removed from the demands to perform continuous labor, yet his literary career is marked by half-starts and defeats. Moving away from the neocolonial educational model pervasive in the Philippines, Allos finds Whitman's work useful as he dedicates himself to a utopian future that must always be deferred.

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Notes

1 Reprinted in *On Becoming Filipino: Selected Writings of Carlos Bulosan* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1995), 126.

2 Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978), 11.

3 Fredric Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," *Social Text* no. 1 (January 1979), 144.

4 See John Valente's introduction to the 1949 edition of *Democratic Vistas* (New York: New York Liberal Arts Press, 1949), viii.

5 Ed Folsom, "Lucifer and Ethiopia: Whitman, Race, and Poetics before the Civil War and After," in *A Historical Guide to Walt Whitman*, ed. David S. Reynolds (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 55.

6 For a more detailed treatment of Bulosan's life and his connections to Whitman, see P.C. Morante, *Remembering Carlos Bulosan* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1984).

7 Carlos Bulosan, *America Is in the Heart* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2014).

8 Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front* (New York: Verso, 1996), 273.

9 E. San Juan, Jr., *Carlos Bulosan: A Critical Appraisal* (New York: Peter Lang, 2017), xiii.

10 See Bercovitch, 176-191.

11 William V. Spanos, "American Exceptionalism, the Jeremiad, and the Frontier: From the Puritans to the Neo-Con-Men," *Boundary 2* 34 no.1 (2007), 40.

12 Jay Grossman, *Reconstituting the American Renaissance: Emerson, Whitman, and the Politics of Representation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003), 141-142.

13 Angus Fletcher, *A New Theory for American Poetry: Democracy, the Environment, and the Future of Imagination* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 111.

14 Gary Wihl, "Politics," *A Companion to Walt Whitman*, ed. Donald D. Kummings (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), 76.

15 Kenneth Cmiel, "Whitman the Democrat," in David S. Reynolds, ed., *A Historical Guide to Walt Whitman* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 206.

16 John Mac Kilgore, *Mania for Freedom : American Literatures of Enthusiasm From the Revolution to the Civil War* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 169.

17 Scott Henkel, "Leaves of Grassroots Politics: Whitman, Carlyle, and the Imagination of Democratic Vistas," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 27 (Winter 2010), 103.

18 Wai Chee Dimock, "Whitman, Syntax, and Political Theory," in *Breaking Bounds: Whitman and American Cultural Studies*, ed. Betsy Erkkila and Jay Grossman (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 62–79.

19 "Whitman, Syntax, and Political Theory," 78.

20 "Whitman, Syntax, and Political Theory," 78.

21 Ed Folsom, "Culturing White Anxiety: Walt Whitman and American Indians," *Etudes Anglaises: Revue du Monde Anglophone* 45 (July 1992), 287–291. See also "Lucifer and Ethiopia," 46.

22 George Hutchinson, "Race and the Family Romance: Whitman's Civil War," *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 20 (Winter/Spring 2003), 146.

23 Heidi Kathleen Kim, "From Language to Empire: Walt Whitman in the Context of Nineteenth-Century Popular Anglo-Saxonism." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 24 (Summer 2006), 1–19.

24 See Ed Folsom, ed., *Whitman East and West: New Contexts for Reading Walt Whitman* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2005), xv. More recently, Yoshinobu Hakutani has examined how the "humanistic and democratic spirit in Whitman" was influenced in part by complex cultural exchanges between the East and the West that shaped American transcendentalism; see *East-West Literary Imagination: Cultural Exchanges from Yeats to Morrison* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2017), 58. Along similar lines, Yunte Huang has explored what he terms the "transpacific imaginary" in the writings of nineteenth-century American writers as a "contact zone between competing geopolitical ambitions" that simultaneously negotiates the "gap between literature and history"; see *Transpacific Imaginations: History, Literature, Counterpoetics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 2.

25 In the preface of the seminal anthology *Aiieeee!*, the editors present Bulosan as a paradigmatic author whose autobiography "is the story of every Filipino who went to America"; see Frank Chin, Jeffrey Paul Chan, Lawson Fusao Inada, and Shawn Hsu Wong, ed. *Aiiieeeee!: An Anthology of Asian-American Writers* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1975), 49. For a feminist perspective on Bulosan's work, see Marilyn Alquizola and Lane Ryo Hirabayashi, "Carlos Bulosan's The Laughter of My Father: Adding Feminist and Class Perspectives to the 'Casebook of Resistance," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 32, no. 3 (2011), 64–91. See also the discussion of female

characters in *America Is in the Heart*, in Rachel Lee, *The Americas of Asian American Literature* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1999). For an example of how Marxist criticism has influenced Bulosan studies, see Susan Evangelista, *Carlos Bulosan and His Poetry: A Biography and an Anthology* (Seattle: University of Washington Press), 1985. And for a comprehensive study of how Bulosan emerged out of 1930s Popular Front culture, see Michael Denning, *The Cultural Front*.

26 Jeffrey A. Cabusao, ed., *Writer in Exile/Writer in Revolt: Critical Perspectives on Carlos Bulosan* (Lanham, Maryland: University Press of America, 2016), 12.

27 Elaine Kim, *Asian American Literature: An Introduction to the Writings and Their Social Context* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1982), 44.

28 E. San Juan, Jr., *Carlos Bulosan: A Critical Appraisal*, 12-16.

29 Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996), 45.

30 Viet Thanh Nguyen, "Wounded Bodies and the Cold War : Freedom, Materialism, and Revolution in Asian American Literature, 1946–1957," in *Race and Resistance: Literature and Politics in Asian America* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2002), 161-168.

31 Wolf D. Kindermann, "Asian-American Literary Perception of the United States: 1930-1940s," in *The Future of American Modernism: Ethnic Writing between the Wars* (Amsterdam, VU University Press, 1990), 243-272; Tim Libretti, "First and Third Worlds in U. S. Literature: Rethinking Carlos Bulosan," *MELUS* 23, no. 4 (1998), 135-155; Chase Smith, "The Wild Transpacific West and Carlos Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart*," *English Language Notes* 52, no. 2 (2014), 113–129; Patricia P. Chu, "America in the Heart: Political Desire in Younghill Kang, Carlos Bulosan, Milton Murayama, and John Okada," *Assimilating Asians: Gendered Strategies of Authorship in Asian America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 47-63.

32 Malini Johar Schueller, "Negotiations of Benevolent (Colonial) Tutelage in Carlos Bulosan," *Interventions: International Journal of Postcolonial Studies* 18, no. 3 (2016), 425-442.

33 Wesling's assertion that literature ultimately becomes a "vehicle for social justice" in the text (69) mirrors Peyton Joyce's claim that Bulosan "put great faith in the capacity of literature to promote social consciousness" (30); see Wesling, "Colonial Education and the Politics of Knowledge in Carlos Bulosan's America Is in the Heart," *MELUS* 32, no. 2 (2007), 55-77; see also Peyton Joyce, "A Neatly Folded Hope: The Capacity of Revolutionary Affect in Carlos Bulosan's *The Cry and the Dedication*," *MELUS* 41, no. 1 (2016), 27–47.

34 Steven Yao, "The motions of the oceans: Circulation, displacement, expansion, and Carlos Bulosan's *America Is in the Heart*." *Atlantic Studies* 15, no.2 (2018), 192.

35 Rajini Srikanth and Min Hyoung Song, eds., *The Cambridge History of Asian American Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), xviii.

36 Nan Z. Da, *Sino-U.S. Literatures and the Limits of Exchange* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 9.

37 See *America Is in the Heart,* 245-246.

38 Walt Whitman, *Democratic Vistas: The Original Edition in Facsimile*, ed. Ed Folsom (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2010), xviii. References to *Democratic Vistas* throughout this essay are

cited from this edition.

39 Quoted in Huang, 163. See Folsom, *Whitman East and West: New Contexts for Reading Walt Whitman*.

40 Josephine Park, *Apparitions of Asia* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 6.

41 *America Is in the Heart,* 189; *Democratic Vistas,* 33.

42 Jameson, "Reification and Utopia in Mass Culture," 141.

43 Arthur M. Schlesinger, *The Vital Center: The Politics of Freedom* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1949).

THE INTERNATIONAL WHITMAN: A REVIEW ESSAY

WALTER GRÜNZWEIG

Delphine Rumeau. *Fortunes de Walt Whitman: Enjeux d'une réception transatlantique.* Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2019. 769pp.

This is one of the longest books ever published on Whitman. Of its 769 pages, a full 714 are actual critical text, supplemented by 1585 substantive footnotes, none of which are mere textual references. It is an extensive work looking at Whitman's reception in a large number of languages and cultures, definitely transatlantic in scope, possibly the first attempt to capture a truly international and intercultural Whitman. It is a major work. And—it is written in French.

One admires the self-confidence of the author, Delphine Rumeau, to write what she has to say in her own language and to trust that it will nevertheless find its way to those who need to know its findings—and, if not, so much the worse for readers unable to read quite complex French. There is much to be said in favor of sticking to one's own language in research, even if the topic is an author in a foreign language. When I published my own study of Whitman in the German-speaking countries *in German* in 1991, it was a very different book from that which appeared four years later in English. The years it took me to rework my book into English were largely invested in making it more accessible to international, mostly American, readers—a process that required radical condensation and a certain reduction in complexity.

Perhaps someday Rumeau will rewrite her book for an English-speaking audience, but initially she was obviously not willing to make the concessions required for an English-language version, which likely (for reasons of differences between French and American academic publishing traditions) would not have permitted such an extensive volume. She instead has insisted on the space and the complexity that the French version allowed her and in that sense has remained true to what she set out to do.

However, do we as scholars not have an obligation to the international world of research? Does the fact that the one language nearly all Whitman critics know is English not oblige us to make such a study available at least to that largest group of potential readers? As it stands, one of the longest books on Whitman is accessible only to a relatively small minority within the Whitman academic community.

I have therefore undertaken here to write an extensive review going far beyond the traditional evaluations of the scholarship, methodology, depth of knowledge of the subject, and everything else usually implied by the genre of a scholarly book review. While I will include my personal perspective, I believe that the Whitman community, especially readers of the *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review*, will best be served by a more extensive and detailed critical overview of the contents of this extraordinary book.[1]

That this review is so long and so detailed will ensure that those with widely varied interests and expectations in Whitman scholarship can more easily turn to specific sections in the book that might be important for them. My intent is to help Rumeau's extensive research on Whitman gain greater international visibility among literary critics. In the past (though not necessarily in Whitman scholarship), we have discovered the hard way that criticism in a non-English language can lead to scholarly isolation, and, even though the political category of linguistic imperialism is a consideration (in which, incidentally, other "larger" languages such as French or German participate in their own way), there are practical reasons for disseminating the contents of this book into the wider Whitman world—which ultimately, and logically, is English-speaking.

To be fair, Rumeau's book is not really addressed to the Whitman community, at least technically. Her PhD thesis, *Chants du Nouveau Monde. Épopée et Modernité (Whitman, Neruda, Glissant)* [*Chants of the New World: Epoch and Modernity*], published in 2009, was in Comparative Literature, and she teaches in that field at the University of Toulouse-Jean Jaurès. *Fortunes de Walt Whitman* appears in the same series as her thesis did, volume 86 of *Perspectives Comparatistes* published by one of the most respected scholarly publishing houses in France. It is a series that permits a scholarly depth and breadth which most other international academic publishers would not allow. It is, in that sense, very French, and, again, deserves to be written in that language.

The international Comparative Literature movement has placed an emphasis on linguistic equity between English and French (although not for other languages—not "major" languages, and certainly not "minor" ones), and in a way French has long been secretly the preferred comparatist tongue. One

may deplore the fact that languages other than English increasingly have become secret codes in international scholarship, but the very fact of the diminishing importance of Comparative Literature as a field and its shift from comparing literatures to investigating theory confirms the problem even on the disciplinary level. Outstanding as it may be, scholarship that is untranslated into English does little for the field in which it is conducted.

A Global Whitman

Rumeau's book is, of course, a "Whitman book," taking a hitherto unknown perspective in Whitman studies, but it also has a special comparatist added value which I will attempt to point out. Nevertheless, my own approach here will be from the perspective of Whitman scholarship. Previous research on Whitman's international reception—critical, creative, and through translation—has largely been a part of non-comparatist research, although, like my own, it has profited from comparatist methodologies and approaches. Such investigations started long before the age of "reader response."

Whitman saw himself not only as the founder and innovator of American poetry, the theme which dominated the preface and the poetry of his 1855 edition, but soon thereafter also as an international poet. His poem "Salut au Monde!," first published in 1856 under the title "Poem of Salutation," has provoked a series of global responses to Whitman extending into the present. Whitman and his contemporary propagandists—from William Douglas O'Connor (whose *Good Gray Poet* was disseminated nationally and internationally) to Horace Traubel—took great interest in the poet's followers around the world and supported their endeavors to translate his works and publicize information about the author and his projects.

Whitman and the early Whitmanites virtually developed their own model of world literature of which the American "bard" was a natural part, and his international reception was early on part of the argument for his significance. This is naturally true of his reception in English-speaking Europe (see Harold Blodgett's 1934 *Walt Whitman in England*), but also in non-English-speaking continental countries. Gay Wilson Allen's early account of Whitman's international reception in his *Walt Whitman Handbook* (first issued in 1946) eventually turned into an anthology of Whitmanesque texts around the world entitled *Walt Whitman Abroad* (1955) and then, massively expanded and co-edited with Ed Folsom, *Walt Whitman and the World* (1995). Separate monographs dealing with individual countries or linguistic regions began with Fernando Alegría's *Walt Whitman en Hispanoamerica* (1954, and never issued in an English version) and

then accelerated in the reader-response age, including France (Betsy Erkkila, 1980), Germany (Walter Grünzweig, 1991), and Britain (M. Wynn Thomas, 2005). A new, long-awaited study on Whitman Italy by Caterina Bernardini is going to appear as part of the Whitman Series at the University of Iowa Press, as is Marta Skwara's study of Whitman in Poland (originally published in Polish in 2010).

Although a major part of *Fortunes de Walt Whitman* plays in France, its innovation and uniqueness is that it extends this analysis to other languages and linguistic areas, most significantly English, then Spanish and Portuguese, Italian, and, most noticeably, Russian—the languages, as Rumeau freely admits, she herself commands. Indeed, the author is said to have learned Russian specifically for this study. One could hardly expect more from a scholar and yet *Fortunes de Walt Whitman* as a whole—as broad as its spectrum and as extensive as its perspective are—nevertheless focuses mostly on "major" languages. It does, at times, include "lesser" languages of some literary reputation such as German or Swedish. It completely, however, ignores "marginal" languages from East-Central Europe (most notably Czech and Slovak), the Balkans, or Greece, let alone small minority languages.

A second novelty of the book, and one of very immediate interest to Whitman scholarship, is the study's perspective. According to Rumeau, the admiration of Whitman on the part of his followers often takes the form of fetishism (see p. 18), an observation she occasionally extends to Whitman scholars themselves. She reports, for example, her experience in a recent international Whitman symposium with a mixture of surprise, appreciation, and detachment: "The author of these lines was astonished when, on the occasion of the first symposium of Whitmanites in which she participated, she was invited to take the hands of her colleagues for a moment of meditative sharing" (19). Clearly, Rumeau has a point here. The sense of community and the devotion to Whitman among Whitman scholars is fairly unusal, even compared to other author-centered events which are also characterized by a certain fetishism. Rumeau clearly presents herself as an outside observer assuming an objectivity sometimes lacking in in-group scholarship.

Scholarly objectivity is a highly desirable quality, but there is a bit of contradiction here between presenting a 750-plus-page book promising to investigate the author's "immense postérité" (9) internationally since the nineteenth century since attempting to retain a scholarly distance from what after all is also "her" author. We are reminded of the global Covid-19 lockdown in Spring of 2020, when distancing was introduced as an ambiguous routine with narratives

acknowledging its necessity yet hoping for a speedy return to previous closeness and intimacy. (Whitman, the urban saunterer yearning to embrace everybody he encountered, displays the worst behavioral model for pandemic times.) Like many of Whitman's readers, Rumeau attempts to keep her distance but seems to find it very difficult to do so: her book is often torn between mandated scholarly objectiveness and an overwhelming fascination for "her" author.

The full title of her book, *Fortunes de Walt Whitman: Enjeux d'une réception transatlantique*, reveals this ambiguity. "Fortune" is an old comparatist term referring to the history of a particular author, theme, or phenomenon but plays, of course, also with its meaning of good luck. Whitman does have an international reception that needs to be studied, as expected and hoped for by himself, but he is also *fortunate* in the sense of being lucky and successful. "Enjeux" are on the one hand *issues and problems* that appear in the history of Whitman's reception; on the other hand they are *stakes*—etymologically the word is related to the *risks and interests* (political, aesthetic, etc.) involved in a game ("jeu"). Reception history is thus a game involving fortunes and maybe also misfortunes.

In her introduction, Rumeau explains her scholarly concerns, although major important considerations are only made explicit later. She first attempts to locate her position in reception theory and reception studies. Although the introduction downplays the notion of authorial intention or the meaning of a text, those do have a place in the overall set-up of the study, especially in the interest of its productivity: "One thing will have to be stated with great clarity: the most dynamic receptions are those where an encounter emerges between what is offered by a text and what a reader seeks there" (12). Later on, Rumeau explains more explicitly that she will focus on "the interaction of authorial intention, the ambiguities of the work, and the lenses used by an era and a culture" (40). In spite of the many problems of the concept of intentionality, this approach seems helpful because of the dialogical model between what used to be called the "sending" and the "receiving" culture.

A second methodological claim for her work is, as emphasized in the title, that of a transatlantic exchange: "Finally, this transatlantic space has seemed to us as the one to be focused on because the movement in the Whitmanian reception is not one-way but emphasizes very much a circulation, a shuttling back and forth" (31). Although, as will subsequently be shown, this approach is applied very productively to a variety of reception phenomena, it is by no means new to Whitman scholarship. While it is obvious that a broadly based study such as hers cannot refer to, or even find all relevant scholarship, it would have been helpful to look at existing examples, if only to serve the purpose of this book.

Finally, the introduction gives three reasons for "Pourquoi Whitman?" Economically speaking, one answer might be that Rumeau had already completed a long book dealing with Whitman, bringing him together with Pablo Neruda and Édouard Glissant in a study of modernity and the epic tradition. The substantive reasons given here have to do with (1) the tendency to "confound" author and work (which provides interesting methodological challenges, but also insights); (2) the mere volume of (lyrical) answers to and rewritings of Whitman; (3) the varieties of his critical and especially creative reception; and (4) the large scale of (and relatively easy access to) international reception of his work.

Especially regarding the last aspect, my summary-analysis will show that I have very mixed reactions to this topic. On the one hand, I have already emphasized the focus on "large," mostly Western literatures. From a postcolonial perspective, the book is problematic, because "transatlantic" would include Africa and Rumeau's claim that Whitman's African reception (the North African Arab world excepted) is not quite as significant is not substantiated. Furthermore, the book has a certain French bias although the author would probably deny this. But even statements *ex negativo*, namely the reminder (to herself?) to "be careful not to overly generalize based on the French case […]: the French twentieth century does not represent all Western modernity[;] Mallarmé's [aesthetic] politics do not override the Whitmanian ones in all countries" (479), shows a tendency that needs at least to be questioned. On the other hand, the overall conception of the book—and the sophisticated way of relating different Whitman phenomena in a space transcending the transatlantic one—leads me to recommend this as the first scholarly monograph on the global Whitman.

But Rumeau's comparative approaches also entail other methodological concerns which are explained, sometimes explicitly, later in the book. The history of Whitman's reception is not a homogeneous one that runs smoothly along the lines of traditional history:

> The smoother character of the contemporary reception should not lead one to forget the surprises and the unevenness that the examination of the polemics that crystalized around Whitman in the course of the twentieth century has revealed. Even if they can be explained by contextualization, many were by no means inevitable or even foreseeable. That Whitman has since the beginning of the century been found suitable as a homosexual figure in Europe can be explained, both in the light of the text and that of the context of the reception, but the debate ends up detaching itself from its source which becomes a virtual pretext. (549)

Another reason for dealing with Whitman, given quite late in the book, is Whitman's specific politics:

> The tension between social cohesion and affirmation of individual liberty, the tension at the heart of democracy, is formulated by Whitman with a singular force and acuity; that is thus the only solid issue in Whitman's work that political forces tried put on their agendas. (549)

In the end, "the capacity to bind together either the polemic or simply the debate in poems that form a long conversation constitutes without a doubt one of Whitman's grand legacies to the poetry of the twentieth century" (550).

Whitman and European Modernism

The first of the four large chapters, entitled "Walt Whitman and European Modernism in Poetry" ("Walt Whitman et la modernité poétique Européenne"), concentrates its findings very cleverly on one motif, that of Whitman as a modern barbarian, a *primitif*. Establishing two poles represented by Charles Baudelaire (later Mallarmé is foregrounded) on the one hand and Whitman on the other, the latter is said—in contrast to the former—to establish modernity not only as an "exaltation of the present, but also a positive view of time" (35), as a source of new beginnings. The task of the chapter is to "examine the debates on modernity in poetry which the reception of Whitman crystallizes in Europe" (36), and revolving around *modernité* and *barbarie*. Although the latter is ultimately not an analytical term, it does work to structure the whole chapter and to provide an understanding of the Whitman phenomenon around the 1900s through the first part of the twentieth century in many parts of Europe.

It is a "souffle barbare," a barbarian's breath, that goes through Europe with Whitman, and it is deeply desired and appreciated. According to what French critic and writer Gabriel Sarrazin wrote more than a hundred years ago from a contemporary perspective, a regeneration of humanity and literature was going to result in an "active world, peopled by a formerly old race, but now rejuvenated through the contact with a new sun," and that sun was Whitman (43). The key Whitmanite in France, Léon Bazalgette, saw Whitman as the author of a democratic gospel, which was going to renew the moribund traditional "Latin" culture of Europe and bring it back into tune with nature (44). Whitman, the new American literary giant, thus became involved in an extended debate on classicism and the grand European tradition.

This scenario unfolds in other European countries as well, according to Rumeau, especially in Romance language countries that all had to deal with this tradition of *latinité*. In Portugal, Fernando Pessoa, one of the key protagonists of the book, announces that the "essential thing about the barbarian is that he is essentially modern" (35). Through his heteronym Álvaro de Campos, the grand

Portuguese modernist connects Whitman with his desire for a new Renaissance, vitalism, modern technology, and a fundamental barbarian spirit, as does his Catalonian counterpart Cebrià Montoliu.

In Britain, this movement goes in the direction of the veneration for a pagan poet. British Whitmanites such as Edward Carpenter and Ernest Rhys present a denationalized global prophet (in contrast to other European countries where the Americanness of the poet is emphasized) who becomes the hope for a Socialist humanity. In German, Austrian dramatist and critic Hermann Bahr placed Whitman into the center of a movement calling "us" all barbarians, there is—in spite of the non-Latin origin of German—equally a turn against *latinité*. The various "Germanic" (worse: Teutonic) interpretations of Whitman, sometimes tinged with anti-semitism eerily foreshadowing later developments in Germany and Austria, can more easily be placed into a European context due to Rumeau's comparatist framework. In Tsarist Russia (the Russian reception is detailed at greater length in the third chapter) there are European symbolist tendencies as in Constantin Balmont's translations bringing a barbaric Whitman into a traditional form, while Korney Ivanovich Chukovsky is introducing him in free verse.

After World War I, there is—naturally—a decline in interest in this barbarian Whitman. D. H. Lawrence remains fascinated with the *primitif*, but there is an increasingly critical tendency toward this motif in which he is joined by French novelist Jean Giono. The characteristic reaction on the part of European poets, according to Rumeau, is an initial mesmerism—they are "at first fascinated, inebriated with joy—then become skeptical of an excess of optimism vis-à-vis a modernity which is proving murderous; they are put off by excessively high and irresponsible expectations, verging on naiveté" (117). For Italian author Cesare Pavese (who wrote his thesis on Whitman), it was a *dream* of the *primitif* rather than the Barbarian himself (118f.).

Barbarian meant for the most part elasticity in versification. The second part of the chapter thus deals with *vers libre*. As someone who has studied Whitman's reception in a number of European countries, but also supervised projects on his receptions in non-Western literatures such as Arabic and Persian literatures, I have long since become convinced that Whitman's major effect on the international literary system was the introduction of free verse. With few exceptions, there is a "before and after Whitman" in world poetry. Delphine Rumeau's book takes a somewhat different point of view. While she does agree that Whitman's major input was indeed the *vers libre*, the question mark in the title of her chapter—"The vers libre American: Une importation impossible?"—

indicates a certain hesitation at the very start:

> But the *vers libre* is also the object of very different approaches and conceptions. If the one invented by Whitman is a fairly flexible instrument to be received into fairly different poetics which refashion it in their own way, it is not certain that it really established itself in European poetry, whether in English or in other languages. Ultimately, the Whitmanian verse, characterized by length, amplitude, absence of run-on lines, the organization in long, often anaphorical sequences, only met with limited success each time. (120f)

In the end, the vers libre "has not led to a lasting inscription in the European history of [poetic] forms."

It seems to me that this is a question of a glass being half full or half empty. The fact that there is plenty of European (and American) poetry that is still more traditionally "form"-oriented does not mean that the Whitmanian impulse did not amount to a revolution in poetry. Here, as in many other parts of the book, Rumeau adjusts her findings to a more measured European mode (reminding one of the notion of the more cultured capitalism Europe has supposedly produced compared to its American version). It turns out that for Rumeau, the "fortune" of Whitman is often not quite as fortunate as originally supposed.

It is, of course, true that one can find many examples in European poetry that support that notion. The example of Algernon Swinburne, which is expounded at length, shows that Whitman was not so much a founder, but a great reformer, and that his main contribution was not so much his poetic form, but atmospherics. Gerard Manley Hopkins (discussed at greater length, but missing in the index of names) is closer to the European modernist "model" represented by Mallarmé and part of a "European resistance to an exaggerated [!] amplitude and absolute metrical disorder" (142). Rumeau even uses Gilles Deleuze's remarks on Whitman, claiming somewhat stereotypically that the Europeans have

> an inborn sense of organic totality or of composition, but need to acquire a sense for the fragmentary . . . whereas the Americans, to the contrary, have a natural sense for the fragmentary and what they must master is the sense for totality, for the beautiful composition. (139)

Nevertheless, there are those Europeans for whom Whitman's free verse does establish the desired revolution not only in poetry but in life at large. For Edward Carpenter, a "Whitmanian entirely and faithfully," free verse gurantees the porosity between life and work. To early French Whitman translator Jules Laforgue (born in Montevideo and thus, like many European Whitman activists, with a transatlantic background), Whitman "boosted the European neurasthenic by

the energy of the New World" (149). Rumeau places Whitman, Rimbaud, and Laforgue next to each other as artists working with the effect of surprise.

There is an interesting group of later French symbolists, including American-born francophone poets and Whitman translators Stuart Merrill and Francis Viélé-Griffin, who attempt to bring together symbolism and Whitman, in that way achieving a mid-Atlantic synthesis tempering the latter and invigorating the former, symbolists "separating increasingly clearly from Mallarmé to promote the rapport between art and life" (155). Against French literary history which often makes of Mallarmé the "alpha and omega" of poetic modernism, these Whitmanian symbolists bring in the great Whitmanian themes of the road, the path, the body, nature, and the future (see 158).

The final subchapter, entitled "Recivilizing the Barbarian," starts out with French Whimanite Valery Larbaud, whose engagement with Whitman is studied at greater length as he welcomes Whitman as a barbarian ("the Barbarians entered literature. More exactly: the Barbarian. But what a Barbarian!"; 170) but eventually turning him into a European (!): "His doctrine is German, his masters are English; throughout his intellectual life he was a European inhabiting America. . . . It is then only in Europe where he could be recognized and he was" (180).

The subchapter then moves on to the other side of the Atlantic with major figures equally expressing an ambiguous attitude towards Whitman (although in general, Rumeau accords Whitman a more lasting and profound place in the New World than the Old). This includes George Santayana and especially Ezra Pound, whose poem "Redondillas, or Something of that Sort" is critical of Whitman though written in a very Whitmanian format, and who eventually creates his famous "pact" with Walt as they are obviously "one sap and one root" which should lead to "communication" between them.

In the conclusion of the chapter, there is a kind of summary that deserves to be quoted at greater length:

> The European reception of Whitman engages multiple intercultural relations, phenomena of rejection or compensatory appropriations out of a fascination for the foreign, the barbarian, but also more dialectical phenomena, polemical and dynamic challenges. It is of course often difficult to distinguish between what belongs outside (Whitman) and what belongs inside (the European context, the preoccupation with the idea of a renaissance, the taste for the primitive, the desire to break with idealism and symbolism)—that is a difficulty inherent in any reception study (216).

In the end, the ambiguous quality of the "European" chapter is upheld even

in the conclusion. Maybe the use of an essentially metaphorical category like that of the Barbarian "had" to result in such indecision at the same time that it successfully addresses major concerns concerning Whitman in many parts of Europe and enabled an essentially successful presentation of the Whitman phenomenon on a European scale.

Nouveaumondism

The investigation of the development of an American "conscience" in Whitman's reception in the book's second chapter ("Whitman et la conscience continentale Américaine") is truly pan-American. Rumeau is not just *adding* authors writing in Spanish, Portuguese, and French, but she has a naturally transcontinental view, which in the form of *nouveaumondism* is characteristic of Whitman's reception. Beyond this perspective, this chapter presents what amounts to the first attempt since Alegría in 1954 at a comprehensive reception history of Whitman in Latin America, and her discusion shows that it is indeed only possible to understand this reception if we look at it from a pan-American perspective.

One major difference to the Anglo-American reception of Whitman is that in the Latin American hemisphere, Rumeau does not discern as much of a "rupture" (236) between the Old and the New World. The reception is determined by European, Spanish, Portuguese, and French "filters" or lenses. *Modernismo*, including the innovation of the poetic form, makes the European discussion relevant. Out of this transatlantic modernism, however, an ultimately stronger transcontinental tendency develops which can be described as the "irruption of geography in American poetry" (230). Ultimately "Whitman is the grand emancipator who has liberated American poetry from European tutelage, has dismissed the paper nightingales to make the cry of the hawk audible in a more real way" (230).

José Martí, the Cuban pioneer representing the "prologue" of Rumeau's chapter, couples the notions of "modernité" (the first one to practice free verse) and "Americanité." Her second example is Rubén Darío. While his poetry is "Latin" rather than "Iberian," he deals with the "old topics" such as Native American traditions. In both cases, the question is asked—implicitly a challenge to Whitman—about which America we are talking about: Darío, in his "Salutación del optimista", emulates Whitman's *translatio mundi*, but the shift is now from Tiber, Seine, Danube, and even Ganges to the Río Plata. What I am saying is that they are now talking back to Whitman from different rivers, not from the Old World but from Latin America.

This project, expressing a "continental ambition," includes Whitman's first translator in South America, Álvaro Armando Vasseur, whose Spanish translation is famously based on Luigi Gamberale's Italian one, and Vasseur's early *Poemas* (1912). It is more explicitly developed later on by Pablo Neruda, an author who appears on several occasions in Rumeau's study and who credits Whitman with having taught him to be American and to believe in the originality of American expression. This is another version often encountered in this American reception of an "Adamic America."

The notion of "décalage" (time lag) often appears in this book, although the shifts are not often as clearly delimited as one would expect. However, in the section on French Canada, so far not very well known, this phenomenon is obviously helpful as Whitman's reception there does not start until roughly 1930. Rumeau first explains the context characterized by the defensive narrative of survival. She contrasts the triumphalism of the national sentiment in the U.S. with French-Canadian "defeatism" (267). It is therefore not surprising that Franco-Americans (i.e. French speakers in the U.S.) such as Robert Choquette, whose Whitmanesque poetry confronts urban modernity, and the poet Rosaire Dion-Lévesque (the first French-American Whitman translator), play something of a mediating role here.

This North American French Whitman might be described, in Rumeau's words, as a "moderately American" Whitman. He is a *primitif* , but not necessarily tied to the New World, in an "astral" rather than a concrete America, and this reception focuses on the mystical rather than the democratic poems. The fact that these *Feuilles* (Leaves) are heavily edited in French translation shows the difficulty of the project, although the publication of a Whitman book itself marks "an important moment in the history of québécoise literature" (284) as the publishing house shifts from that moment to a more American orientation. In the end—and this is also shown in Edouard Glissant's West Indian Whitman emphasizing a "poetics of relationship"—the *nouveaumondist* French Whitman "constitutes a declaration of literary independence vis-à-vis France and of belonging to the American continent" (287).

The next subchapter, entitled *Tesserae*, a mosaic metaphor, deals with a particularly challenging Whitman reception by multiethnic and "racially" defined writers. While there are certain Hispanic writers taking up the "Amerindian" component (to which is added the Catholic religion and the Spanish), it is really Brazilian literature that gains center stage here. The most interesting section is on the first Brazilian writer in free verse, Mario De Andrade, and translator Tasso de Silveira, who also becomes a poet answering Whitman ("Palavras a

Whitman"), but especially Ronaldo de Carvalho, whose strongly Panamerican attitude echoes Whitman: "I hear the enormous chant of Brazil" (299). Characteristically, the latter is taking Whitman to task and emphasizing his deficits: "You who invented the New World / have not seen the other America piercing / the obscurity limiting the borders of race" (301).

This tendency to extend, complement or correct (and of course also challenge) Whitman is characteristic of the central author of the U.S./race section dominated by Langston Hughes. Hughes is a heavily studied poet, and his appreciation of Whitman's work is well known ("I, Too, Sing America"), but in Rumeau's context, new aspects become visible. This is especially true with regard to his strong transatlantic affinities (with García Lorca and through his travels, though, interestingly, his trip to the USSR is not mentioned) and the non-essentialized racial identity which is connected with Whitman. The international outlook of the Harlem Renaissance seems to have also been mediated by Whitman, as, for example, in an essay by Alain Locke dedicated to the important Belgian Whitmanite Émile Verhaeren, in which he emphasizes the importance of Whitman, a "remarkable European filter" in Rumeau's words.

While the focus on Hughes is understandable, there would have been many more examples from the Harlem Renaissance and also (predominantly leftist) U.S. Black writers of the 1930s. Instead, the subchapter jumps to contemporary Black literature, mentioning, but not really explaining, June Jordan's self-declared descendence from her quasi-father Walt Whitman. Jordan, who places Whitman in a global context of non-elitist, non-European "people's poetry" from Hughes to Neruda, thereby defines her own Black and at the same time cosmopolitan identity as a poet.

In the area of U.S. "multiculturalism," Rumeau then differentiates between the "enthusiasm" of the Hispanic-Americans such as Martín Espada or Rudolfo Anaya for Whitman and the much stronger scepticism on the part of Native Americans. In spite of Whitman's by now well-documented imperialist attitude, there is much good will on the part of the Hispanics, probably also due to the "goodwill" Whitman created for himself by his use of Spanish words (Libertad!). Whitman's attitude towards Native Americans is, according to Rumeau, "frankly hostile" and the reaction of indigeneous poets is at the very least reserved, uncertain, interrogative, characterized by a "peut-d'être." At best, a voice like Sherman Alexie can bring itself to "defend" Whitman, but Whitman's Hegelian world view provides little space for survival for the Natives.

There is an interesting, comparatist observation that Langston Hughes's thinking, which is "much more international than community-oriented," is

much more "compatible with this Whitmanian spirit." Generally, "Whitmanism is much more on the side of Panamericanism than multiculturalism" (325).

The next subchapter, "Prairie Perdue" ("Lost Prairie"), asks the question "Ubi est Whitman?" (Where is Whitman or where would he stand?). Essentially it deals with the question of the survival of Jefferson's pastoralism in the twentieth century. Confronting T. S. Eliot's pessimistic attitude (which Rumeau connects to a Baudelairian view of modernity), Rumeau discusses the attempts of three different modernist authors, Hart Crane, Federico García Lorca, and Stephen Vincent Benét, to update Whitman's vision in the twentieth century and to formulate a poetic conception beyond Eliot's radical critique.

Whitman's postulate of a compatibility of the "machine" and a "jouissance de la nature" (325) disintegrates in the twentieth century. For Crane, Whitman foresaw the anemic modern society, warned us about it, but also pointed out possibilities of regeneration. In one of a number of longer textual interpretations in her study, Rumeau follows Crane's address to Whitman, especially in his long poem *The Bridge*. Whitman's vision may have been "effaced," but it is not yet completely lost and can be restored. By alluding to Whitman's "Year of the Modern," Crane seems to indicate the way Whitman envisions such a regeneration in the modern age; in his *Bridge*, which connects Whitman's time and his own, he provides an "update of the Whitmanian heritage" (338).

Lorca's stay in New York City in 1929 further radicalized his skeptical vision that grew out of his experience of a threatening urban modernity and of an unrestrained capitalism. Materialism, resulting in spiritual emptiness, spells the failure of American modernity. However, in Rumeau's analysis, Lorca's reading of Whitman offers a movement of "correction," helping him to integrate the latter's optimism in his vision of modernity, and providing consolation.

Unlike Crane's and Lorca's readings of Whitman in the light of Eliot, Stephen Vincent Benét reinforces the latter's critique. The point here is not to resurrect or exhume Whitman but to amend him. In a long reading of Benét's "Ode to Whitman" (1935), Rumeau illuminates his radical critique of the depression-ravaged country. Whether the Whitmanian solution she is pointing out (no longer the Open Road, but the Rivers flowing from North to South "abolishing history" – thus offering a return to the primary forces of nature rather than human agency) is the point of Benét's poem seems somewhat uncertain to me. Nevertheless, this section—combining two U.S. modernists and a Spanish one—impressively proves the added value of the study's comparatist approach.

The final section of this American chapter, essentially dealing with U.S.

reception after World War II, is entitled "Ruines de la Modernité Américaine." As in other parts of this book, Rumeau seems to be overly pessimistic about the more recent period, prematurely abandoning her trust in Whitman's continuing receptive productivity. After World War II, she says, "the American left gave up the Whitmanian hope," "convinced that the American Dream was no longer attainable" (352ff.). Even before that, the "dream of Whitmanian modernity had definitely been abandoned in Europe shortly after the First World War" (353). The latter is certainly not true for Germany and other parts of Europe where, in the 1920s, America and Whitman came to stand for the comprehensive modernization of society in the name of "Americanism." And Rumeau's own examples in this final section of Chapter 2 suggest to me that Whitman and his poetry retain critical potential vis-à-vis the emerging mass consumer society and turbocapitalism.

Some of the "élégies de l'Amérique whitmannienne" by Allen Ginsberg, Louis Simpson, and others are sharply critical of what is quickly becoming U.S. postmodern culture. The loci of melancholy ("lieux de la mélancolie") which she interestingly discusses in several Whitman-inspired poems, such as the supermarket or garages, offer more opportunities for change than some Europeans, enamoured of an anticapitalism coupled with strong scepticism toward American culture, might think (as expressed, for example, in a poem written by French Whitman translator and poet Jacques Darras written during a visit to the U.S. during the Trump campaign in 2016; see 374ff.). I personally think that the encounter with Whitman in Ginsberg's "A Supermarket in California" is neither amicable, amorous, nor poetic (see 356). It seems to me that Ginsberg is in fact searching for ways to integrate Whitman even into this American (post-) modernity. That this reading at times returns to a more Romantic reading of Whitman—in Rumeau's word a "misreading, a partial reading that makes the prosopopoeia of Whitman effective for a critical vision of modernity" (380)—is okay.

Whitman, the Prophet

The first section of the "Prophet" chapter ("Le prophète Whitman") dealing with activist readings of Whitman is devoted to the debate on Whitman's homosexuality. It is said to be a "Western European debate" (383). While the U.S. was increasingly installing Whitman as a national poet, Europe, and especially France, was emphasizing Whitman's sexuality and the homoeroticism of his poetry. The extensive German debate on Whitman's (homo-) sexuality is largely omitted because it is extensively and in detail dealt with in a study already

published. In fact, large parts of Rumeau's study summarize results of other investigations, and it is not altogether clear when they are included and when they are omitted. Unfortunately, a large corpus of an international discussion on Whitman as a gay poet in *The Gissing Journal* (between Eduard Bertz and various correspondents, including Whitman) is not referred to at all.

Basically, Rumeau's account of this discussion contrasts two types: voices that emphasize and defend Whitman's gay status (Bertz in Germany, André Gide and Guillaume Apollinaire in France) and those who are less willing to "classify" or even "stamp" the poet accordingly (like the two primary Whitman propagandists in France and Germany respectively, Léon Bazalgette and Johannes Schlaf). Rumeau also includes many Americans in the latter group, such as Horace Traubel, who was not comfortable or interested in publicly discussing Whitman's sexuality.

This opposition seems a bit too strong. Whereas it is quite obvious that Apollinaire and Gide have a political, activist agenda (and Bertz's texts are even published in the central organ of sexuality and gender research directed by Magnus Hirschfeld, the *Jahrbuch für sexuelle Zwischenstufen*), one should not discount the strategic attitude of the other group. Traubel, Bazalgette, and Schlaf had larger than just sexual political agendas and took into consideration the limited ability of a larger reading public to process Whitman as a gay prophet around the turn of the century. If Whitman was to become a major literary, cultural, and even political force, it did not seem wise to them to treat him as a voice of single-issue politics. More importantly, even they were unwilling to follow the sometimes clinical discourses of defining Whitman's sexuality, discourses that undermined a more open and liberal reading of this topic.

In a very interesting way, the end of this chapter connects Whitman's widespread presence on and above the battlefields of World War I with the issue of gayness. Drawing a parallel between the Whitman of the Civil War, working as a nurse, and the many European accounts of Whitman as "wound dresser" in the context of the Great War, Rumeau finds in a "Whitman of the body" a way to integrate these two topics, thus countering Darras's notion of a Whitman cut in two (into a sexual and a political part).

The second "Prophet" subchapter, "New Messiah," is rather short and not at all activist. Rather, it centers on the religious dimension and the various labelings of Whitman in that context, from magus to prophet, pagan God, or even Christ. The point here is, and the tone of the section reveals a certain European skepticism, that Whitman seems to attract all kinds of esoteric minds willing to give a religious twist to issues otherwise explained rationally. Still

today, Rumeau argues, "Whitman's reception in the United States outside academic milieus remains . . . strong in spiritualist and esoteric circles" (411). The possibility that this is a way of bringing traditional metaphysical religiosity down to earth—and into the body—which would make this reading progressive rather than traditionalist, is not considered here. Whitman, the "Yankee Heiland" (Yankee Messiah), as Eduard Bertz has it, is in many cases, both in Europe and in the U.S., a quasi-religious force actually subverting traditional religion.

A fascinating separate little study which concludes this subchapter actually seems to me confirm this idea. Rosaire Dion-Lévesque, a Franco-American born in Nashua, New Hampshire (who, according to Rumeau, has been little noted in Whitman research), reads Whitman as an "inspired bard." Coming out of a strong Catholic tradition, Dion-Lévesque finds that Whitman opens up the possibility of a mystical view of the world—one which often goes through the body. It is a new religion which "inverts the hierarchy of body and soul in Catholicism to celebrate the divinity of the body" (421). As in many other cases, Rumeau here provides a short but very pointed study of a Whitman character scholars need to further investigate in order to understand and better appreciate Whitman in the contexts of both Canadian culture and that of the Catholic tradition.

The third and very long subchapter on the political Whitman is one of the book's finest. "Le camarade Whitman" here does not explicitly point to the use of the term "comrade" in Marxist or other leftist parties in English and French; neither does it discuss the etymology of the term (those who sleep in a *camera,* one room, together, which would seem to have a particularly Whitmanian application). But it does point to political partisanship. Whereas the sections on The Gay Whitman and Whitman the Messiah mostly take place in France (with some side-excursions to the U.S., Great Britain, and Germany), the political Whitman crosses the Atlantic repeatedly. It starts out in Britain, moves to the U.S., briefly returns to France, only to end up in pre-revolutionary Russia or the USSR (the Soviet revolution being much less of a hiatus in the Russian Whitman reception than one would expect, probably because the American—censured by the Czarist goverment—was a part of the revolutionary upheaval).

The presentation of the British political Whitman, making use of (and generously acknowledging) Kirsten Harris's detailed 2016 study (*Walt Whitman and British Socialism*), is very impressive, especially because of the emphasis on its quasi-religious quality (such as, for example, John Trevor's "Labour Church"). There is a latent tendency here, as in the chapter on Whitman's sexuality, to

contrast a socialist, anarchist, later Communist Whitman with the much tamer "nationally" constructed poet in the U.S., but here Rumeau quickly reconsiders: "One cannot be quite certain whether one should reduce the socialist reception of Whitman into the United States to the status of a British import" (431). The rest of the chapter tells a very different story, from the political contributions of a visionary Traubel all the way to those of a politician like Eugene V. Debs and Communist Ella Reeve "Mother" Bloor. If anything, the religious rhetoric of the British Socialists of various schools was probably shaped by Whitman's, Traubel's, and even Debs's religious rhetoric.

To be sure, these transatlantic and intra-European travels, in this section and throughout the book, are not documented in detail. Only in a few cases do we get, often in footnotes, information about personal contacts and relationships between the different actors. Sometimes there is a reference to whether a particular text might have been available to a reader in a different country or whether knowledge of that text may have been likely. Rather, Rumeau uses the metaphor of an (uncertain but impressive) *echo*, suggesting a connection without proving it. This points to a dialogue between authors and texts, and even though they are not always documented, they are convincing simply through their juxtaposition, creating new insights and augmented spaces of understanding.

Anything Rumeau writes on Whitman's Russian reception is noteworthy simply because most of it is has not been accessible so far. But the Russian section is also very well done. More than anything, *Fortunes de Whitman* shows the great need for a well-informed study of Whitman in the USSR, including political and historical dimensions. Whitman, Rumeau emphasizes, "traverses all Soviet eras without really suffering an eclipse (even if the grand Whitman moment is located in the period immediately after the revolution and at the beginning of the 1920s)" (448). Sometimes, there are small hints about enormous developments about which readers will want more information. For example, when we are told that Whitman was translated into a dozen (!) Soviet languages (474), it would have been interesting to get further details so as to better understand of the development in Soviet ethnic/minority politics. After all, the Russian reception and the larger Soviet reception belong together.

The relationship(s) between Kornei Chukovsky (Whitman's key twentieth century Russian translator), Vladimir Mayakovsky (his most important creative follower in poetry), and People's Commissar Anatoly Luncharsky (his political-bureaucratic manager), are effectively presented here. The enthusiasm for Whitman, also expressed in comparatively large editions of his work, cannot be overestimated. Different ideological views about Whitman—that of the progres-

sive bourgeois or the socialist (Chukovsky later on borrows the latter claim from Lunarcharsky)—show an amazingly dynamic discussion, quite characteristic of the early Soviet Union, especially in the literary-artistic sphere. Rumeau even discusses a movie by avantgarde Russian filmmaker Dziga Vertov entitled *A Sixth Part of the World*, released in 1926, which relates Section 33 of "Song of Myself" to the techniques of the film.

The travel metaphor for the transatlantic dimension of Whitman reception is no longer always adequate. Obviously, the origins of the "Whitman rouge" in U.S. proletarian literature from Meridel le Sueur to Carl Sandburg, Stephen Vincent Benét, and Michael Gold cannot always be easily identified and probably do not need to be. Soviet interest and active support of Whitman in the first Socialist nation of course helped Whitman's cause in literary communist (party) politics in the U.S. and in the American Left at large. But the native U.S. Left has contributed as much to this development, and in its own way, so that it would probably be better to speak of parallel developments in constant flux and dialogue.

The model, however, as has been pointed out previously in Whitman research, is similar for most of the leftist reception, whether it concerns the Russians, Michael Gold, or, later, Neruda. In his works and throughout his life, Whitman made a promise for a brighter future of humanity (and the emergence of an appropriate poetry), but the U.S. and (American) capitalism have regularly and profoundly *betrayed* ("trahi") Whitman. (Whitman himself established this model through *Democratic Vistas*.) It is therefore up to the Third International to help Whitman's vision come (back) to life. In a very nice simplifying line, Rumeau summarizes this succinctly: "Lenin is the midwife ["accoucheur"] of Whitmanian America, the one who facilitated the arrival of a pastoral communism" (473).

A very interesting separate short study deals with the poem "Pioneers, o Pioneers!," a poem which, by highly uncertain apocryphal information, Marx knew and enjoyed (though this does not appear in this study). Rumeau locates the Whitmanian origin of the poem in a Western American frontier context. In a British framework, it became a part of the "March the Workers," only to be later associated with the "pioneers" of the Soviet Communist Youth Organization "Komsomol." (In Wilhelm Schölermann's 1904 German translation, incidentally, not discussed in the book, the pioneers are marching on the Right rather than the Left towards a stronger German nation.) The effect of this study by Rumeau is that it opens up connections without making strong claims for them—and that is good. I believe it is entirely possible that the young "pioneers"

we find in the Soviet Union and later in other countries of the Communist world may actually come from Whitman just as I have long suspected that the term "Comrade" as used in international Marxist parties may derive from Whitman. The emergence of a Marxist/Socialist rhetoric in the second and especially the third quarter of the nineteenth century took place at a time when Whitman was very much a part of this conversation.

Rumeau's claim that outside of Communist Europe "nothing remains of the Socialist Whitman" after the 1930s may be a bit overstated and also premature. The fact that the Western European Left took issue with Whitman does not deny his relevance in that context. In the 1980s, Allen Ginsberg told me, when we discussed my project on Whitman's German reception, that I would have a difficult time doing that research after he, Ginsberg, also appeared prominently on the German scene. After all, the significance of his and Whitman's poetry would be hard to differentiate. There is some truth to this self-confident statement, but Ginsberg's own *fortune* in Europe also proves the continuing relevance of a Leftist Whitman in Western Europe.

From here, Rumeau moves to the region where the political Whitman would from now on be safely at home, namely Latin America, where "Whitman's flame is truly reignited after World War II." The personality she uses to demonstrate this new shift is Spanish poet León Felipe, who takes Whitman out of the Spanish Civil War, which was so disastrous for the global left, into exile in Mexico where he anticipates and prepares the postwar political readings of Whitman.

This leads us right to a longer and rather text-centered section on "The Whitman soviétique de Neruda." In the poems of Pablo Neruda, Rumeau announces (in a rather Whitmanesque way herself, as she at times is taken in by Whitman's lyrical mode) that the "cries of Whitman and Mayakowsky will travel through the times, the steppes and the oceans to celebrate Communist man" (487). She reads Pablo Neruda's Whitman reception, which sometimes amounts to an undeclared translation of Whitman in his poetry, especially in his *Canto General* (translated into German by the same GDR poet translator, Erich Arendt, who produced Whitman's translation in that country), as a part of the Cold War Period. This is certainly true, and her analysis of another *translatio imperii,* this time from the U.S. to the USSR, is impressive, echoing incidentally Whitman's own notion of a westward (through America) "Passage to India."

Whether Neruda's political reading of Whitman in the wake of the fascist putsch against Salvador Allende in 1973 is really part of the Cold War or a continuation of the Global Anti-Fascist struggle since the 1920s is not quite

certain, but Rumeau's analogy of Whitman's reference to Lincoln during and after the Civil War with Neruda's to Allende is fresh and interesting. This political sub-chapter ends with a short discussion of Cuban-Dominican poet Pedro Mir and his "Countersong" to Walt Whitman.

Under the heading "Corpoèmes," the final sub-chapter of the "Whitman as prophet" section brings together body and activism after World War II. Again, the claim that Whitmanites like Traubel and Carpenter as well as those in Latin America felt "uneasy" about Whitman's homosexuality and that dealing openly with the issue required help from abroad, especially Europe, seems very questionable to me. What obviously does happen, however, on both sides of the Atlantic, is a convergence of the physical and the political. In the section on Federico García Lorca, which also deals with Neruda's friendship with the Spanish writer killed in the Spanish Civil War, Rumeau emphasizes how homosexuality can be addressed without reducing it to a single issue.

The most interesting critical focus is on Jean Sénac, a French-Algerian writer who definitely deserves to be better known in the Whitman world. With him, as with many other authors who need to be concerned with their coming out, Whitman's name and Whitmanesque poetry serve as a code-word. Sénac's "Paroles avec Whitman" (*with* Whitman rather than *following*, *succeeding*, or *replacing* Whitman) present a new model of interaction with the American poet.

It is uncertain to what degree the final larger section, devoted to Allen Ginsberg, is a new contribution to our understanding of Ginsberg's relationship to Whitman or to the gay reading of Whitman, but the intensive discussion of the "Plutonian Ode" (1978) definitely breaks new ground. And, since this section follows closely onto the discussion of Lorca, Whitman and Lorca in Ginsberg's "Supermarket" poem are seen in a new light.

The long prophet chapter ends with Vietnam references, including figures like Walter Lowenfels and Thomas McGrath. Modifying her earlier suggestion of the end of "politics," Rumeau now suggests that while "the political Whitman has not completely vanished, it has in the Western world largely changed function and form" (548). Whitman today is "less radical but has not left the political terrain." I believe the reverberations of the Trump presidency and the growth of the Far Right internationally will soon reveal some of these new functions and forms.

The Poetic Body

The final chapter ("Le corps poétique et son devenir") intersects and overlaps at times with the sections on the homoerotic Whitman and the "corpoème," focusing, as it does, on various versions of Whitman's bodies which, in the end, are all textual though not necessarily all literary or poetic. Initially, Rumeau places Whitman's notion of self between Romantic individualism and Romantic dissolution, summarizing it with Baudelaire's formula of the (contradictory) notion of the "vaporization and centralization of the self [moi]" (552). Whitman's specificity here then is the use of his body: "Whitman in effect bequeathes his body as much as his work, so that the two are mixed up with each other and the question of the legacy of the work becomes inseparable from that of immortality, of the dissolution and the transformation of the body" (554).

Subsequently, a series of creative reworkings of Whitman's selves are discussed. The variety of self in which the subject claims to be others, or even *all* others, Rumeau calls the "le sujet impérial." This includes parodies which appear early; some are uncannily reminiscent of Donald Trump's helpless rhetoric: "I am Walt Whitman! I have been to Oxford. I too am wise, I am learned" (557). Most significantly in this category, and of course going beyond it, is D.H. Lawrence's famous study, which for Rumeau leads to the more contemporary question of whether Whitman "the white male can incarnate the minorities, can he really claim to be this supreme instance who includes and represents them all?" (562). This, of course, extends to female responses by Muriel Rukeyser, Erica Jong and Judith Moffett (as well as a brief reference to the very interesting Michael Strange, i.e. Blanche Marie Louise Oelrich).

Two sections referring to the self as fiction include Jorge Luis Borges, who is interested in the way Whitman consciously creates a personality and defines a character. Rumeau's discussion of a second, related case, Portuguese poet Fernando Pessoa, is the longest one in the book—and also the most enthusiastic. The idea of a split self that ultimately allows the author to discover the alterity within the self, fascinates Pessoa. His well-known development of heteronyms is directly connected to Whitman; one thesis actually claims that it was a way for the Portuguese author to process the shock that the experience of reading Whitman's poetry presented to him.

At least two of Pessoa's heteronyms are directly or indirectly connected to Whitman. According to the critic Erduardo Lourenço, heteronym Alberto Caeiro is the figure resulting from the repression of Whitman; Alvaro Campos in turn a Whitmanist poet bubbling over with what is the result of the return of the repressed. In the end, Rumeau celebrates the aesthetic productivity of this

"dynamic" of heteronyms:

> The heteronomy, in a way of saying, is the theatrical manifestation of the irreducible diversity of the modern poetic subject which Whitman himself put on the stage, instead of merely attempting to dissolve it in a grand extensive movement. Pessoa's poetic *oeuvre* is thus one of the most perceptive and at the same time most creative receptions of Whitman ever given to us. (596)

From Whitman's selves, the chapter moves to the body. The study first refers to the celebration of the perfect body ("corps en gloire") that emerges from passages like the famous section 24 of "Song of Myself" ("If I worship one thing more than another it shall be the spread of my own body") and goes on to discuss the Costa Rican poet Cardona Peña and U.S. poet Phil Tabakow ("Walt Whitman at Pfaff's") as examples. In addition to discussing Whitman's blazon of himself, it is a way of "confusing the borders between author and text, between body and words, between death and presence" (602).

The motif of "Old Walt" starts from the contrast between the image in the 1855 and the more dominant, iconic older images suggesting a progressive detachment from the body but, at the same time, a growing serenity and assurance. The beard, "metonymie ultime" (612), massively contributes to Whitman's image as a prophet (initiated of course, by W. D. O'Connor). Connected to that are photographic images of Whitman, especially the familiar one with the butterfly, which Rumeau subsumes under the category of ekphrasis, where photographs become the basis for poems on Whitman.

Another category, which has been very productive in the U.S. and international reception, are the various invitations to a personal, physical encounter with Whitman of the kind he suggests at the end of "So Long!": ". . . this is no book, / Who touches this touches a man." Although the parallel to Christian models is remarkable, Rumeau tends to overrate the actual religious dimension of this "poésie de la présence":

> The fixation on Whitman's body and the fetishism which it expresses at times are very visible forms of what this poetry signifies for modernity […]: the dream of a poetry which sticks to the real, which takes the form of what is alive. (637)

While I would take issue with her notion of the "real," Rumeau's conclusion does address a central rhetoric of modernism and in that sense explains Whitman's usefulness in the modernist reception.

The third and final section of this chapter, entitled "Dissolution, Resurrection, Partage/Sharing," deals with various ways of addressing Whitman

beyond his actual death in 1892, based, of course, on Whitman's own various testaments and prophecies for his readers that promise various forms of future presence. For Rumeau, this amounts to an amalgamation of metaphysical and poetic dimensions. While it (and the whole Whitman phenomenon) very much counteracts Barthes' notion of the death of the author, it does, on the other hand, anticipate and/or materialize the intertextual turn in literature (and literary theory): "But the multiplications of the levels of intertextuality serve the affirmation of [Whitman's] presence—this is the Whitman paradox par excellence" (664).

Although I will not able to discuss the many manifestations of this phenonenon in detail, this section is of great methodological interest for Whitman Studies because it brings a variety of Whitman phenomena, which have been previously marginalized, into a system. This includes Whitman memorial sites such as the Camden tomb and his house on Mickle Street, grass as a ubiquitous sign of the poet's presence, books commemorating him (e.g., *In Re Walt Whitman*), Whitman's autopsy, and Whitman "apparitions," many of which are treated in poetry and thus become part of his literary reception.

Of particular interest here are the many authors quoting Whitman—which, christologically speaking, can amount to a resurrection—and Whitman translations, which generally (and, in Whitman's case, in particular) confuse and question borders between author, text, and readers. The various phenomena Rumeau assembles here, oftentimes characterizing translation metaphorically, are not only interesting in conceptualizing Whitman translation but will also provide an interesting contribution to the ever increasing discussion in translation theory. A commentary on Rosaire Dion-Lévesque's French-Canadian translation of Whitman (who characterizes his translation as a "transfusion"!) also applies to other examples given here: "His translation is not literal; it takes liberty with idioms and images; but it renders an authentic tone of those extracts which it transcribes for us; it delivers to us a very lively and fluid Whitman in French" (667).

A rather long but very interesting and appreciative section returns to Spanish-Mexican Whitmanian author and Whitman translator Léon Felipe, whose ‚translation' is the best-known rendition of Whitman in the Hispanic World. He self-consciously breaks with the traditional translation "contract" requiring "faithfulness" to the original. Felipe explains that he has "translated [Whitman], added to him, falsified him, contradicted him" (677). Whitman, of course, is an ideal case for such a project as he asks his followers to innovatively build on his work rather than stay within its limits. Felipe's political argument is

that he has done this on a public terrain, the leaves of grass, and that in this way, the translator's poetic voice becomes a collective voice of and for the people. Beyond that, the "poet himself becomes immortal because his legacy will be incarnated and continued by those who come after him" (683).

Similarly to the case of Felipe, Rumeau refers yet again to Pablo Neruda as a second example, another translation where a poetic language is used collectively and shared. His translation, or rather recreation, is like a paraphrase. Like Felipe's, his conception of a poem is one that blends the words of others (Whitman in translation, incorporated in his poetry) and his own (686). Another prominent Whitman translator, Jacques Darras, is said to "appropriate" Whitman and make him "darrassien," a tendency subsequently corrected by the translation of the 1855 edition of *Leaves* by Éric Athenot.

Outcomes

In her conclusion, Rumeau at first returns to Whitman. The fact that he was read as "poète de la modernité" (701) was made possible by the fact that he covered so many aspects of it. An immense following assembled behind his free-verse poetic revolution, his announcement of a new world, his acceptance of technology and progress, and, in the end, what came to be known as his "primitivism." He was the beacon of—and for—the beginning of the twentieth century.

At the same time, he became an antidote to the equally modernist, mostly European awareness of language in crisis. In what seems to me a bit of an oversimplification (though it's a nice analogy), Rumeau claims that, for Whitman, the word is equivalent to the object in the same way that the poem refers to the body. Along with his message of an adhesion to the present, Whitman's model—an original one according to Rumeau—paradoxically combines a break with tradition and a continuation of it. His gesture of rupture does not result in discontinuity (706), and his ultimate belief in language was a very attractive alternative for those who wanted to confront the challenges of modernity without despairing over it. His equally paradoxical teaching to distrust the teacher at the same time allowed for the necessary anti-traditionalist, anti-authoritarian impulses so important for the period. Rather than starting a new tradition, Whitman here starts a "tradition of commencement" (see Sascha Pöhlmann's 2015 *Future-Founding Poetry* on that very theme).

Finally, Rumeau repeats her oft-stated notion that, in spite of the internationality of the academic Whitman movement (she mentions the annual meetings of the *Transatlantic Walt Whitman Association* as an example), the lasting

Whitman tradition is anchored in the United States: only there can Whitman act as as father ("père") of a culture. She repeats Pound's notion that "Whitman is to my fatherland . . . what Dante is to Italy" (201) and actually extends Italy to "Latin Europe." However, she adds, this status, too, came about only as a result of the manifold transatlantic interactions with Europe: "it has not constituted itself exclusively from the interior" (710), i.e., domestic U.S.

In the end, I disagree with Rumeau on the degree of the *fortunes* of Whitman on the European side of the Atlantic. I believe that the two European traditions she works with throughout her study, those of Mallarmé (or Baudelaire) and Whitman, stand next to each other, debate with each other, and balance each other out, and continue to do so far into the rest of the twentieth century. In Germany, the Expressionist movement actually brings both groups under one label, the philosophical and language conscious group including Gottfried Benn, Georg Heym, Georg Trakl and that of Whitman-related "Messianic Expressionism," including Franz Werfel, Ernst Toller, and others. Even though Whitman might not be invoked as frequently in Europe today as he once was, there is an unbroken tradition in form and theme that is still productive for new and innovative poetry.

In order to appreciate this better, we should have a closer look at the "smaller" European languages and literatures where Whitman also continues to be translated and published, and, following the postcolonial route, we should also take the non-Western Whitman tradition more seriously. Rumeau's own mixing of typology and chronology in her presentation should remind us not to view the development of literary history as rigidly linear.

Beyond putting Whitman into a larger, comprehensive international perspective, Rumeau's book is, from a Whitman Studies perspective, most interesting for the various new grounds it breaks. It should remind Russian scholars that we urgently need a history of Whitman's Russian (and Soviet) reception, for which Rumeau's sections on Russia have laid a fertile ground. We need a new Latin Amerian Study, which observes the interaction with Iberian Europe the way Rumeau has done. What should be considered in looking at the transatlantic interactions is not just the dialogues between texts but the networks of translators, poets, and political and other activivists who invoke Whitman. Rumeau stresses the importance of a reception that goes beyond Whitman's written work, but the book falls somewhat short in dealing with this aspect (although, as I emphasized in the beginning, there is only so much one scholar can do).

What I find most valuable in this study is the variety of authors and

other personalities treated in (sometimes very short) multiple sections, at times amounting only to vignettes. Whitman research will profit enormously from investigating many of these fascinating figures from around the world who will help us to better understand his global network. Rumeau's final word on the "grand compagnonnage" (714)—which Whitman announced and which actually formed around him and continues to form—is an extremely optimistic call to continue working on some of the many ideas that this remarkable study has provided for us.

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Notes

1 All translations from the French are my own. I want to acknowledge Ed Folsom and Vincent Dussol for their generous assistance both in the writing and revision of this review essay.

Walt Whitman: A Current Bibliography

Focus on International Scholarship

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Bennett, Jane. *Influx & Efflux: Writing Up with Walt Whitman*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020. [Explores "affinities between Whitman and a tradition of process philosophy for which metamorphosis, and not only its entities or congealments, is a topic of great interest" and examines how "*Shape*" is "a Whitmanian term of art," naming "a formation less stable than *entity*, less mentalistic than *concept*, more haptic than '*literary figure*'; proposes that Whitman "offers a distinctive model of I: it is a porous and susceptible shape that rides and imbibes waves of influx-and-efflux but also contributes an 'influence' of its own"; goes on to "celebrate Whitman's attempts to sing himself and his audience into generous I's and to 'promulge' the best of what America might become—an egalitarian public culture," while also questioning whether "Whitman's earthly love and impeccable attentiveness to other persons, places, and things en-

courage[s] a more wondrous, respectful mode of interaction between dividuals and other living materials" or whether instead (or simultaneously) "they feed into powerful currents of anthropocentrism, whiteness, colonialism, consumerism, and exploitation of 'natural resources.'"]

Blalock, Stephanie M., and Stephanie Farrar. "Whitman and Dickinson." In David J. Nordloh, ed., *American Literary Scholarship: An Annual / 2018* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2020), 49-67. [The first half of the chapter, by Stephanie Blalock, reviews Whitman scholarship published in 2018.]

Brickey, Alyson. "Whitman's First-Person Plural." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 38 (Fall 2020), 95-112. [Calls into question "the common critical association between Whitman's catalogue aesthetic and an ideological commitment to American democracy," and instead contextualizes "Song of Myself" as enacting "a sense of what philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy calls 'being singular plural'"; argues that Nancy's term "better accesses the unique way Whitman expands outwards to include all of America while retaining a deeply coherent sense of the lone individual"; suggests that "attaching Whitman's poetics to an explicitly democratic aesthetic may inhere his legitimate experimentation with equality to a political ideal that is often rhetorically invoked in order to produce just the opposite."]

Bryant, Marsha. "Massachusetts Reviews: Liquid Whitman." *Massachusetts Review* (July 4, 2019), massreview.org. [Reviews the first of Bell's brewery's *Leaves of Grass* series of beers, brewed in honor of the Whitman Bicentennial, this one an "American IPA" called "Song of Myself"; offers commentary on Whitman as a "beer poet" and examines how "Song of Myself" is a poem of "sensations."]

Chevrier-Bosseau, Adeline. "Dance in Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*: Haptic Connectedness and Lyric Choreography." In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 21-37. [Investigates "the role and place of dance" in *Leaves of Grass* and how dance "factors into Whitman's representation of the body and of the lyric self as an embodied, physical—sometimes athletic—being"; identifies instances of "Whitman's evocation of dance" in relation to "the cultural and social significance of dance in mid-nineteenth-century America," and shows how "social dancing" ("highly codified in the middle and upper classes") became democratized as "a vigorous and free affair" in Whitman's poetry; offers a reading of "The Sleepers" focusing on Whitman's "unique form of lyric choreography," and concludes by arguing that for Whitman "being a dance . . . equals being a protean lyric self, performing endless shifts in shape, appearance, gender, and social class."]

Cloonan, William. Review of Barlen Pyamootoo, *Whitman*. *French Review* 94 (October 2020), 265-266.

Constantinesco, Thomas. Review of Delphine Rumeau, *Fortunes de Walt Whitman*. *IdeAs: Idées d'Amériques* 16 (2020), openedition.org/ideas/9911.

Derail, Agnès, and Cécile Roudeau, eds. *Whitman, feuille à feuille*. Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019. [Collection of essays on Whitman, celebrating the bicentennial of the poet's

birth; essays are in French and English and are listed separately in this bibliography; with a foreword ("Whitman *Agonistes*," 13-20) and a selected bibliography (171-176) by Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau (in French); the volume is no. 29 in the series *Actes de la recherche à l'ENGS* (*ENS Research Proceedings*).]

Eastman, Andrew. "Me, After Me: Whitman's Rhyme." In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 57-68. [Argues that "Whitman's renunciation of traditional rhyme—that is rhyme at line end"—can disguise his invention of "a practice of 'identical rhyme,' closely bound up with the temporality of his poems, and specified by their grammar of enunciation"; points out how "the concept of rhyme has 'broadened'" since Whitman's time, and that we can now perceive rhyme in his poetry in places his early readers would have missed; examines how, "by displacing rhyme *within* the line," Whitman "invents new possibilities for rhyme, possibilities which grow out of syntax"; offers examples of how Whitman's unique rhyme is "written into the syntax and rhythm of the line," "works inseparably from metaphor," and is inherent in "language as a process of dialogue and mutual self-identification."]

Erkkila, Betsy. *The Whitman Revolution: Sex, Poetry, and Politics*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2020. [Collection of revised essays, most of which originally appeared elsewhere, with a new introduction, "The Whitman Revolution" (1-27); essays are arranged in four parts: "Revolutionary Poetics" (two chapters), "In Paths Untrodden" (three chapters), "The Revolutionary Transatlantic" (two chapters), and "Democratic Vistas" (two chapters).]

Fenton, Jamie. "'Fit for War': Rhythm and Bodily Health in Walt Whitman's *Drum-Taps*." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 38 (Fall 2020), 71-93. [Seeks to understand "why Walt Whitman shifted towards a more regular prosody in his book of Civil War poems *Drum-Taps" and begins with* "a claim made in one of the poems that they are 'Fit for war'"; explores "various ways in which poems might be 'Fit'" and analyzes Whitman's "recently unearthed newspaper column 'Manly Health and Training,'" finding there "a promotion of the value of rhythm as a way of existing in the world"; goes on to apply this to "Whitman's Civil War verse, which placed great value on the figure of the marching Union soldier," even while also recognizing, "in the shadow of this figure," "the prostrate, wounded soldier, which Whitman encountered daily and en masse while he worked in the Washington army hospitals"; argues that *Drum-Taps* "can be read as a site of Whitman's negotiation between the importance of steady rhythm, and its counterpart in the harsh discipline which sent men to battlefield slaughter," leading to "Whitman's partial embrace of poetic rhythm in his war verse."]

Folsom, Ed. "Walt Whitman: A Current Bibliography." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 38 (Fall 2020), 126-138.

Foster, Travis. "Civil War Literature and the News." *American Literary History* 32 (Fall 2020), 564-572. [Reviews Samuel Graber, *Twice-Divided Nation: National Memory, Transatlantic News, and American Literature in the Civil War Era*; Allison M. Johnson, *The Scars We Carve: Bodies and Wounds in Civil War Print Culture*; Eliza Richards,

Battle Lines: Poetry and Mass Media in the U.S. Civil War; and Christopher Sten and Tyler Hoffman, eds., *"This Mighty Convulsion": Whitman and Melville Write the Civil War*.]

Greenwald, Jordan Lev. "Limp Whitman and the Ecopoetics of the Neutral." *Arizona Quarterly* 76 (Fall 2020), 107-137. [Argues that, "sometimes for Walt Whitman, to be a poet is to go limp," and goes on to analyze (using Roland Barthes's "theory of the Neutral") "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" and "Song of the Rolling Earth" as poems that offer "an account of poetic inspiration that departs significantly from a common understanding of Whitman in which his poetic prowess is rooted in his virility" and instead give us "a poet who writes with and through that deflating absence, attaining his bardic vision through the attitude of surrender"—poems that "mimic the blank expression of the earth, thus releasing it from the anthropocentric expectation that it yield pain, pleasure, or meaning," undoing "the worldmaking capacity of pleasure" and "offering instead limpness as a mundane yet essential image for ecology."]

Herrmann, Bernard. *Whitman*. Hong Kong, China, and Franklin, TN: Naxos, 2020. [CD; reconstruction, by Christopher Husted, of Norman Corwin's 1944 radio drama featuring excerpts from *Leaves of Grass*; Whitman's poetry recited by William Sharp, with additional narration by Murray Horwitz and Annasophia Nicely, all set to the music of composer Bernard Herrmann (1911-1975); PostClassical Ensemble conducted by Angel Gil-Ordóñez.]

Kakutani, Michiko. "Obama, the Best-Selling Author, on Reading, Writing, and Radical Empathy." *New York Times* (December 8, 2020), nytimes.com. [Interview with Barack Obama about "the formative role that reading has played . . . in shaping his thinking, his views on politics and history, and his own writing"; Obama lists Whitman among "his favorite American writers," and sees Whitman as first articulating "this sense of self-invention and embrace of contradiction. I think it's in our DNA, from the start, because we come from everywhere, and we contain multitudes"; lists "Whitman's poetry" as something he would "recommend to someone who just arrived in America and wanted to understand this complex, sometimes confounding country."]

Kerkering, John D. Review of John Michael, *Secular Lyric: The Modernization of the Poem in Poe, Whitman, and Dickinson*. *Journal of American Studies* 54 (2020), 821-822.

Kripke, Madeline, and Ed Folsom. "A Newly Discovered 1849 Whitman Letter to the "Messrs. Merriam." *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 38 (Fall 2020), 118-125. [Presents an 1849 letter from Whitman when he was editor of the Brooklyn *Freeman*, written to George and Charles Merriam, requesting his overdue complimentary copy of the new 1847 Merriams' edition of Noah Webster's *An American Dictionary of the English Language*; offers background information on the circumstances surrounding Whitman's writing of the letter and on Madeline Kripke's discovery of it.]

Lemardeley, Marie-Christine. "La mélancolie active de Walt Whitman." In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 119-132. [Meditates on the omnipresence of death in Whitman's poetry from 1855

forward and suggests how he uses "long catalogs of natural or human objects . . . to push back the shadow of omnipresent death from the first edition of 1855"; sees the Civil War poems as a continuation and not a departure in Whitman's work, because "the Civil War is not the trigger but reactivation of the trauma"; and argues that "with Whitman melancholy is not synonymous with despondency, or depression, it is the engine of overflowing creativity, it is active melancholy"; in French.]

Le Quellec Cottier, Christine. "'Les poètes d'aujourd'hui ont pave le trottoir': Blaise Cendrars et Walt Whitman, une passion moderne" ["'Today's poets paved the way': Blaise Cendrars and Walt Whitman, a modern passion'"]. In Fabien Dubosson and Philippe Geinoz, eds., *L'Amérique au tournant: La place des États-Unis dans la littérature française (1890-1920)* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2020), 231-246. [Recaps the influence of Whitman on the French/Swiss poet Blaise Cendrars (1887-1961) as a starting point for questioning "the reception of North American literature by Cendrars at the turn of the century, when he landed in New York in 1911"; views Cendrars' 1924 *Feuilles de route* as "perhaps the ultimate salute to the one who recognized the power of poets to 'pave the sidewalks'"; in French.]

Lorenz, Angela. *Seeding and Weeding: L.o.G. Construction Set*. 2020. [An complex art construction based on and evoking the seven American editions of *Leaves of Grass* (1855, 1856, 1860, 1867, 1871, 1881, 1891-1892), made of various materials, "translating the literary work's forty-year evolution into a physical structure"; with a guide book for constructing the set; limited edition of seven sets; a short film about the project, "Seeding and Weeding: The Literary Architecture of Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*," directed by Emilia N. Figliomeni, is available on *YouTube*.]

Miller, Matt. Review of Mark Doty, *What Is the Grass*. *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 38 (Fall 2020), 113-117.

Mong, Derek. "'Salut au Monde!' the Beer." *Kenyon Review Online* (May 4, 2020), kenyonreview.org. [Review of Bell's Brewery's sixth offering in a series of seven Walt Whitman beers brewed in honor of the Whitman Bicentennial; this review deals with the "unfiltered" and "rustic" lager named "Salut au Monde"; offers extensive commentary on the poem as well as the beer.]

Mong, Derek. "'Spontaneous Me,' the Beer." *Kenyon Review Online* (January 4, 2021), kenyonreview.org. [Review of Bell's Brewery's seventh and final offering in a series of Walt Whitman beers brewed in honor of the Whitman Bicentennial; this review deals with the "wild American ale" named "Spontaneous Me"; offers extensive commentary on the poem as well as the beer.]

Niemeyer, Mark. "'[U]nlimn'd they disappear': The Ghostly Presence of Native Americans in Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*." In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 69-81. [Summarizes the previous work done on Whitman's notions of Native Americans and views Whitman's own portrayals of American Indians in the context of the nineteenth-century "myth of the Vanishing Indian"; investigates "two of Whitman's strategies in creating this ghostly

presence of Native Americans in *Leaves of Grass*"—his "use of marginalized, spectral and often un-individualized images of Indians" and his "reification of Native American names that reduces the first inhabitants of North America to mere words."]

Noll, Bruce. *Glass Bowl of Stones*. Albuquerque, NM: Printer's Press, 2020. [Poems; the final section of the book, "Transpositions of *Leaves of Grass*" (73-82), contains poems that respond to specific Whitman poems or that evoke people and places associated with Whitman: "The Divine Law of Indirections" (74), "What You Are Picks Its Way" (75), "A Noiseless Patient Water Spider" (75-76); "On the Beach Alone at Night" (76); "O Vast Rondure" (76); "The City Dead House" (77); "To Think of Time Machines" (77-78); "Mirror Mirror in the Hall ('Hold it up sternly—see this it sends back . . . is it you?')" (78); "Eddy's Gift" (79); "Letter to Jeff Whitman" (79-80); "Interior Look at a Secretary" (80); "Walt Whitman's Pond Near Camden" (81); "Before All My Arrogant Poems the Real Me Stands Yet Untouch'd" (82).]

Pétillon, Pierre-Yves. "Walt, sa mascarade." In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 159-169. [Considers the dual nature of "myself" in "Song of Myself"—"'Myself' can be split into two segments: the possessive adjective 'My' and the substantive 'me': 'my Me to me,' so to speak; the self which belongs to me and which I can, according to the legal formula, use and abuse"; goes on to consider "the me as another, an extension of me; a puppet coming out of his box and that I can handle, which I can play in a poem which is also a comic opera, with its script and mask dramaturgy, in the baroque sense of the term"; in French.]

Price, Kenneth M. *Whitman in Washington: Becoming the National Poet in the Federalist City*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2020. [Examines "the various dimensions of Whitman's life in Washington" and "the significance of his government work and of Washington—as a place, symbol, vantage point, literary home, and experiment in multi-racial life and government"; uses newly available archival resources to analyze Whitman in the context of "a more multi-dimensional understanding of the city, grounding his poetry, journalism, hospital work, and government labor in the muddy and sometimes tawdry streets of a city with grand aspirations and vistas."]

Pyamootoo, Barlen. *Whitman*. Paris, France: L'Olivier, 2019. [Novel about Whitman's work in Washington, D.C., Civil War hospitals, as he courageously and selflessly cares for soldiers; in French.]

Razzi, Francesca. "'American National Literature: Is there any such thing—or, can there ever be?': Walt Whitman e le strategie di selezione del canone tra discorso metaletterario e politica culturale." ["Walt Whitman and the Strategies for Selecting the Canon between Metaliterary Discourse and Cultural Policy."] *Altre Modernita-Rivista di Studi Letterari e Culturali* (2020: Numero Speciale: "Sc[Arti]: Riflessioni sul residuo tra selezione e divergenza"), 254-263. [Examines Whitman's critical prose essays from a sociological perspective as a kind of "meta-literary discourse, fostering the development of the American literary field of the late-nineteenth century, in its entangled relations with and within the literary marketplace," as he seeks to construct

a national literature using a "double process of legitimization"—both by referring to "previous traditions" and by embracing the "cultural role performed by magazines and newspapers in post-Civil War America" with their "commodification" of literary work; in Italian.]

Richards, Eliza. *Battle Lines: Poetry and Mass Media in the U.S. Civil War.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019. [Whitman is discussed in several places, particularly in Chapter 2, "The 'Ghastly Harvest,'" in a section called "Autumn Strains," which looks at how "poems by John James Piatt, Whitman, and Dickinson offer meditations on how to adapt autumnal traditions to account for mass death," and how Whitman "dramatizes . . . domestic autumnal figurations in *Drum-Taps*" (74-79).]

Rumeau, Delphine. "Delphine Rumeau. *Fortunes de Walt Whitman. Enjeux d'une Réception Transatlantique*." *Literatura dvukh Amerik* [*Literature of the Americas*] no. 8 (2020), 235-240. [Offers a summary of her book on Whitman's reception by illuminating "the circulation of receptions and to map out the network of dialogues that were established around Whitman in Western poetic traditions."]

Rumeau, Delphine. "Hemispheric Whitman." *Literatura dvukh Amerik* [*Literature of the Americas*] (*Hemispheric Studies: Inter-American Dialogue*) no. 8 (2020), 241-264. [Investigates "Whitman's reception . . . [and] especially transatlantic and hemispheric circulation," with an emphasis on "the importance of Whitman's poetry for American literatures and cultures, from Northern America (Quebec) to Latin America"; probes how "Whitman unexpectedly became a reference for Black Americas" and how he was "indeed strongly appropriated for partisan motives in Latin America, especially by communist poets like Pablo Neruda"; argues that Whitman's reception is "entangled" and involves "back and forth movements," so that Latin American interpretations had an impact on US readings, but . . . a few transatlantic detours are necessary to clarify this hemispheric story."]

Rumeau, Delphine. "Walt Whitman 'Over the Roofs of the World.'" In Ken Seigneurie, Wiebke Denecke, Ilaria L.E. Ramelli, Christine Chism, Christopher Lupke, Evan Nicoll-Johnson, Frieda Ekotto, Abigail E. Celis, and B. Venkat Mani, eds., *A Companion to World Literature*, 6 vols. (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2020), vol. 4. [Argues that "the confusion between the work and the poet, the word and the body, is central to Whitman's reception" and that "both the poet and his poetry have been the objects of incredibly numerous and varied responses, which combine into a vast international network of texts"; goes on to survey this reception, marked by authors who "address him directly, as a living poet with whom they can engage in dialogue and debate," examining "transatlantic dialogues," Whitman's role in "European modernity" (when the "taste for 'primitivism'" was "a major phenomenon in philosophy and art"), Whitman's role in helping to create a "continental consciousness of the Americas" as "a vast hemispheric network of Whitmanian poets developed after the 1950s" and "the poet became a major reference for Hispanic-American poetry," and the ways his sexuality and politics have been read internationally, as his "political reception" becomes "a story of back-and-forth movements, firstly transatlantic, and then hemispheric."]

Rumeau, Delphine. "Walt Whitman: un primitif?" In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 95-107. [Sets out "to identify the shapes and meanings of the primitive in Whitman, and to seek to understand how the barbarian and Greek can mix there" and then discusses "the fortune of this primitive Whitman: it is indeed the prism through which his poetry has been read in the great moment of its European reception, the Belle Époque"; examines how the "barbarian Whitman" became admired by modernists in various cultures as a voice that could revitalize civilization and then subsided after the First and Second World Wars; in French.]

Rumsey, Lacy. "Whitman's Fitful Rhythms." In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 39-55. [Investigates how Whitman's suggestion "that we should expect to experience the rhythm of his poetry as 'fitfully rising and falling'" ("it will sometimes be more rhythmic . . . and sometimes less") "suggests ways of thinking about his prosody that go beyond general statements of organic form," and seeks to account for "how the rhythms of *Leaves of Grass* are actually experienced"; probes the "stress patterns" in Whitman's poetry and ways "we respond to them via perception, memory and expectation"; offers readings of "One's Self I Sing," "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," and "Song of the Universal" as sources of "important insights into his rhythms, and into his prosody more generally," including how his rhythms, while following no "fixed rule" are "far from being chaotic," and offer the reader a "negotiation . . . between two conflicting pressures: on the one hand, to satisfy the rhythmic expectations born of our familiarity with metrical verse; on the other, the preserve naturalness of intonation"; defines the "rhythmic experience" of Whitman's poetry as a tension between "strong rhythmicity" (often appearing at the opening of poems) and "weak rhythmicity" (often "associated with a sense of disarray or confusion").]

Tadié, Benoît. "Walt Whitman's Wild West Show: 'Italian Music in Dakota.'" In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 83-93. [Challenges previous readings of "Italian Music in Dakota," which have tended to see the poem as "the expression of a successful fusion between nature and culture"; argues instead that "its underlying pattern" is one of "discordance, displacement and strife" that is revealed when the poem is read "against the historical backdrop of Indian Wars and white settlement in Dakota"; proposes the poem's "deep subject" is "Whitman's problematic allegiance to the tropes of Manifest Destiny," and see "Italian Music" as a poem that "sketches a complex gesture of projection (of the poet into an imagined place), amalgamation (of his temporally and spatially heterogenous experiences into *one* supposedly true and unifying recollection), euphemization (of the Indian Wars and desperaro/class violence) and sublimation (of the settlers' rough culture into high art)"; concludes by comparing "Whitman's musical domestication of the Dakota wilds by balancing it against the cultural work performed" by Buffalo Bill Cody's Wild West show.]

Thorn, John. "Walt Whitman, Plagiarist?" *Our Game: Origins* (January 21, 2013), ourgame.mlblogs.com. [Reveals that a well-known early statement about baseball ("The game

of ball is glorious") appearing in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* in 1846 and long attributed to Whitman, originally appeared in 1845 in *The Atlas* in an unsigned article, raising the question of whether Whitman wrote the *Atlas* article (and simply copied himself) or whether he plagiarized the article; offers detailed examination of the 1840s world of journalism Whitman was involved in.]

Tokarsky, Bohdan. "Selfhood, Body, Metaphor and Metonymy in the Poetry of Walt Whitman and Vasyl' Stus." *Slavonic and East European Review* 98 (July 2020), 401-433. [Compares Whitman's "Song of Myself" with the 1972 *Chas tvorchosti* (*Time of Creativity*) by Ukrainian poet Vasyl' Stus (1938-1985), arguing that Stus's "centripetal fluid self" and Whitman's "centrifugal stable 'I' stand in sharp and yet mutually illuminating contrast"; examines how Ukrainian modernist poetry—on which Whitman's work had a "far-reaching impact"—"serves as a bridge of sorts between the two poets."]

Torabi, Zadmehr. Review of Behnam M. Fomeshi, *The Persian Whitman*. *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 47 no. 4 (2020), 678-679.

Utard, Juliette. "The 'Plural of Us': From Assemblage to Assembly in Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass*." In Agnès Derail and Cécile Roudeau, eds., *Whitman, feuille à feuille* (Paris: Éditions Rue d'Ulm, 2019), 133-157. [Probes Whitman's "poetics of relationality" and his use of the pronoun "we" (a word that "for all its outwardly displayed inclusiveness . . . tends to dangerously coalesce into the voice of one" and "fabricat[e] an oppositional 'they'"; questions why "Whitman-the-democratic-bard use[s] 'we' so sparingly," instead using phrases such as 'I too' or 'you too' [which] repeatedly gesture *toward* a plural without ever taking it for granted so that 'we' remains a horizon, a modality to be imagined": "'we' in Whitman conjures up a 'plural of us' that, like the pluralism of the U.S. to which it inadvertently beckons, forever points toward what Judith Butler calls 'a unity it can never be'"; examines how "the we-mode in *Leaves of Grass* lays the groundwork for the collective" and "delineates a shift from Whitman's *poetics of assemblage* to his *politics of assembly*"; reads "We Two, How Long We Were Fool'd," "We Two Boys Together Clinging," and "Our Old Feuillage," all of which "ask who 'we' stands for, a question that lies at the heart of representative democracy," and argues that *Leaves of Grass* is "an experiment in collecting, a pre-modernist assemblage that explore parataxis on the scale of the book, not just within poems."]

Venediktova, Tatiana. "Je chante avec toi, Walt Whitman." *Literatura dvukh Amerik* [*Literature of the Americas*] no. 8 (2020), 469-477. [Review of Delphine Rumeau, *Fortunes de Walt Whitman*; in Russian.]

Whitman, Walt. *Battements de tambour* [*Drum-Taps*]. Translated by Éric Athenot. Paris: Corti, 2020. [French translation of *Drum-Taps* and *Sequel to Drum-Taps*, with a preface by Athenot.]

Whitman, Walt. *Caoyè jí: Huìtèmàn dànchèn 200 zhounián jìniàbǎn shī quánjí*. [*Leaves of Grass: 200th Anniversary Edition*]. Translated by Zou Zhongzhi. 2 vols. Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2019. [Chinese translation of *Leaves of Grass*, with reprinted illustrations by Rockwell Kent.]

Whitman, Walt. *Çimen Yaprakları*. [*Leaves of Grass*]. Translated by Fahri Öz. Istanbul, Turkey: Türkiye Bankasi: Kültur Yayınları, 2019. [Part 1 of a four-part complete Turkish translation of the "deathbed" edition of *Leaves of Grass*.]

Whitman, Walt. *Çimen Yaprakları—II*. [*Leaves of Grass—Part 2*]. Translated by Fahri Öz. Istanbul, Turkey: Türkiye Bankasi: Kültur Yayınları, 2020. [Part 2 of a four-part complete Turkish translation of the "deathbed" edition of *Leaves of Grass*.]

Whitman, Walt. *Vie et aventures de Jack Engle*. Translated by Thierry Beauchamp. Beglès, France: Le Castor Astral, 2019. [French translation of Whitman's *Life and Adventures of Jack Engle*, with a preface by Thierry Beauchamp.]

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).

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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*, ID: xxx.00000."—e.g., Herbert Gilchrist to Walt Whitman, August 20, 1882. Available on the *Walt Whitman Archive*, ID: loc.02192.

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

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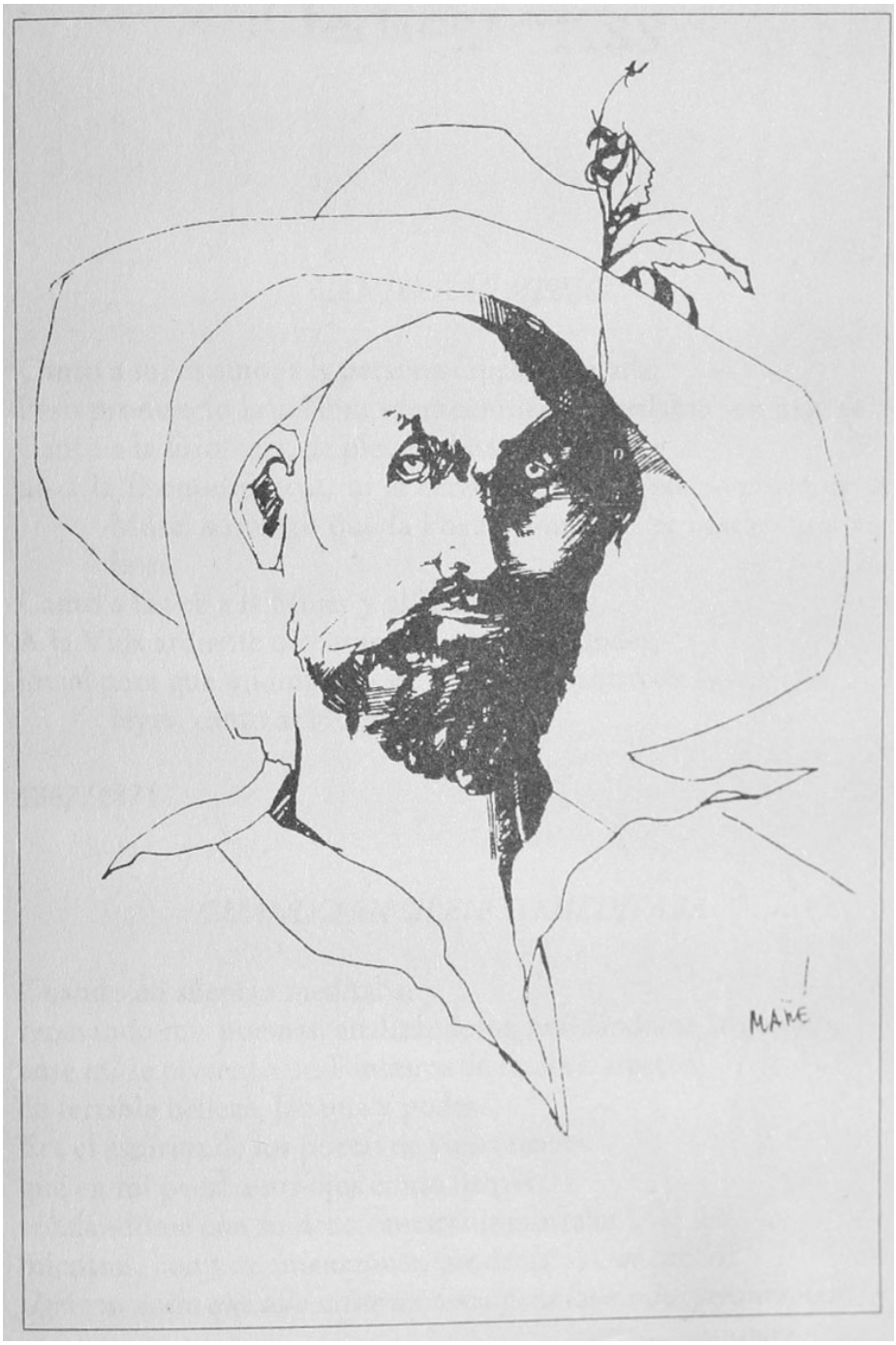

The International Whitman: Whitman is transformed in many ways as he is absorbed into other languages and other cultures. This is a drawing of Whitman by the Uruguayan painter/translator Pablo Mañé Garzón, which he used to accompany his 1978 translation of Whitman, *Hojas de hierba*, published in Barcelona, Spain. See Matt Cohen, Nicole Gray, and Rey Rocha, "'Poets to Come': An Introduction to the Spanish Translations," *Walt Whitman Archive* (whitmanarchive.org).