Notes

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INTRODUCTION: Epic Travels

10. Bergon, “Wilderness Aesthetics,” 129. Though he does not comment on his choice, Gary Moulton, the editor of the most recent complete edition of the Journals, follows the same structure in his University of Nebraska abridged edition (cited above), tellingly subtitled “An American Epic of Discovery.”
11. Bergon’s preface to his edition emphasizes the importance of pluralism as a theme in the story of the expedition; Furtwangler argues cogently against the centrality of pluralism in the journey. See Bergon, ed., Journals of Lewis and Clark, x; Furtwangler, Acts of Discovery, 194.
14. This is a corollary to David Quint’s argument in Epic and Empire that the losers’ perspective actually rewrites the form of epic from Virgil on down to Milton. In making that argument, Quint is one of the first comparative scholars of what is often called “secondary epic”—epic that originates in writing rather than in oral tradition—to analyze American works such as Joel Barlow’s Columbiad alongside European works.
15. John 18:38 (AV); Augustine, Confessions, 239.
17. Davis and Joyce, comps., Poetry by Women to 1900.
18. Kazin, American Procession.
19. See Kaul, Poems of Nation; Bennett, Poets in the Public Sphere; Loeffelholz, From School to Salon; V. Jackson, Dickinson’s Misery; Sorby, Schoolroom Poets; Cavitch, American Elegy; McGill, ed., Traffic in Poems; M. Cohen, “Whittier, Ballad Reading”; Whitley, American Bards.
20. V. Jackson, Dickinson’s Misery, 98.
On the history of the conflation of epic and novel, see Burrow, Epic Romance.
25. McWilliams, American Epic, 2.
26. Woloch, One vs. the Many, 3.
27. See Moretti, Modern Epic.
28. Dimock, “Genre as World System.” Both Moretti and Dimock take Immanuel Wallerstein’s work as their point of departure in their concepts of the world-system.
29. After the rise in interest in Asian literature in late eighteenth-century Europe, epicists numbered among the authors who included Asian texts in their own traditions; one example of this is Melville’s canto on The Ramayana in Clarel.
31. R. Ellison, Collected Essays, 185.
32. Davenant, Sir William Davenant’s Gondibert, 3.
33. C. Lewis, Preface to Paradise Lost, 129.
34. For example, see P. DuBois, Rhetorical Description.
35. See Wells, Devil & Dr. Dwight; Wells, “Aristocracy”; D. Shields, Oracles of Empire; D. Shields, Civil Tongues; and Dowling, Poetry and Ideology.
38. Dimock, “Genre as World System.”
39. Benjamin, Illuminations, 88–89.
40. Moulton, Lewis and Clark Journals, 284n, 461.

PROLOGUE: Reading Epic

1. On the controversy surrounding Sandys’s translation as “the first utterance of the conscious literary spirit articulated in America,” see Davis, “George Sandys’ ‘Ovid,’” 297–98.
2. Sandys, Ovids Metamorphosis (1632), 1.
3. For an excellent discussion of the history of this debate, as well as a modern case for the classification of Ovid as an epicist, see Otis, Ovid as Epic Poet.
5. Sandys, Ovids Metamorphosis (1626), “Dedication” (n.p.).
6. Sandys, Ovids Metamorphosis (1632), 418, 389, 454. For a more extensive discussion of Sandys’s references to America, see Davis.
8. Graeme, Poemata Juvenilia, l. 345; further citations will be given parenthetically.
10. Graeme’s friend and agent Elias Boudinot reported that the printers were unable to read her handwriting, a surprising statement if the fair copy now in the Library Company of Philadelphia was the copy they saw in 1793, when she finished her last revisions. For the publication history of Telemachus, see Ousterhout, Most Learned Woman, 320–30.
11. The two odes have never been published in print and are in the commonplace book made for the Willing sisters, presumably in the 1790s; the book is currently at Graeme Park.


14. The commonplace books for Penn, Williams, and Dickinson are all held at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

15. The Dickinson gift copy, which is now held by the Library Company of Philadelphia, was the 1791 Philadelphia imprint by Henry Taylor; Robert Bell, the initial publisher of Paine’s *Common Sense*, had issued the first American edition of *Paradise Lost* in 1777. On the historiography of reading epic in the eighteenth century, see Reinhold, *Classica Americana*. For a recent study of the female reception of epic and other classical literature in early America, see Winterer, *Mirror of Antiquity*.


20. John C. Shields, in his notes on “To Maecenas,” points out the considerable variance of speed through the Homer section of the poem; see Wheatley, *Collected Works*, 277n. For the Byles poem, see Byles, *Poems on Several Occasions*, 25–34.

21. Cuningham, *Timothy Dwight*, 26–27. One of George Sensabaugh’s most mystifying comments concerning Timothy Dwight is his statement that the future Yale president had read Virgil in Latin, but Homer only in Pope’s translation; see Sensabaugh, *Milton in Early America*, 166. Dwight’s study of Homer in Greek had been noted earlier and had been well documented long before Sensabaugh’s 1964 study. Perhaps Sensabaugh’s meaning is that Dwight used Homer through Pope in his poetry rather than through his own translations of Homeric ideas.


26. Homer, *Iliad of Homer* (1808), title page. Jane R. Pomeroy has found that Anderson’s apprentice, Garret Lansing, did the engravings for the second volume of the Odyssey; See Pomeroy, *Alexander Anderson*, 1:323. Anderson had copied British designs for his work on an edition of Macpherson’s Ossian (1810) and Thomson’s Seasons (1810); see Pomeroy, 1.xliii.


28. See, for example, G., “Barlow’s Columbiad.” As recently as 1990, Michael Warner has misidentified Columbian type, made by the same foundry, with that used in the Columbiad; see Warner, *Letters of the Republic*, 121. John Bidwell has demonstrated that, while no evidence exists that Barlow commissioned a typeface for his
poem, the poet did have a hand in selecting and purchasing the type; see Bidwell, “Joel Barlow’s Columbiad,” 356–59.

32. Ibid., 377–78.
33. This copy is now in the Library Company of Philadelphia’s collection.
36. “A Ten-Inch Columbiad.”

Chapter 1. Diffusions of Epic Form in Early America

1. The first instance of a content-based definition of epic that I have found appears in Dyche’s New English Dictionary (1702). For the first half of the eighteenth century, lexicographers followed the approach of Phillips and others, but even before Johnson’s 1755 Dictionary, definitions based on Dyche’s appeared in Wesley’s Complete English Dictionary (1753) and Martin’s Lingua Britannica Reformata (1754).
2. Kames, Elements of Criticism, 2:365n.
6. See Herder, Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, in which Homer and Ossian often appear together as the exemplary pair of oral poets.
8. Seelye, “Flashing Eyes.”
10. The text most familiar to students of the period is the 1772 composite text cowritten by Brackenridge and his classmate Philip Freneau. For the history of the text, see Small, “Respective Roles”; for critical analysis of the textual history of Rising Glory, see Wertheimer, Imagined Empires, 17–51.
13. Sensabaugh, Milton in Early America, 166.
15. Dwight, Major Poems, 18.
16. McWilliams, American Epic, 16.
17. J. Shields, American Aeneas, 218.
19. It was also the basis for Dwight’s “Columbia,” which was included in Elihu Hubbard Smith’s 1793 anthology American Poems.


23. Snowden, *Columbiad*, 46; further citations will be given parenthetically.


26. The first source mentioned is Palmer, *Biographical Sketches of Loyalists*, 811. The second source is an anonymous obituary for Snowden in the *Saturday Evening Post*.


28. The best account of Dwight’s family’s experience during the war and its influence on his poetry is Kafer, “Making of Timothy Dwight.”


30. For a full treatment of the publication and revision history of Branagan’s anti-slavery poetry, see Phillips, “Epic, Anti-Eloquence.”


33. See, for example, Branagan, *Serious Remonstrances*, v–vii.

34. J. Dryden, *Virgil’s Aeneid*, 377.


40. For the publication history of *Beacon Hill*, see Phillips, “Fragmenting the Bard.”

41. Jung, *Fragmentary Poetic*.


43. N. Webster, *Grammatical Institute*, 4, 5.


45. Lewalski, *Life of John Milton*, 410; Ellwood, *History of the Life*, 314. Lewalski doubts that Ellwood actually inspired *Paradise Regained*, though she does accept Ellwood’s account of Milton telling Ellwood (ironically or otherwise) that he had in fact inspired it; see 450–51.


47. Timothy Dykstal has argued that Cowley developed his poem while in exile in France, where he was probably influenced by Catholic works such as Sannazaro’s *De Partu Virginis* (1526), Du Bartas’s *Judit* (1574), and Marino’s *La Strage de gli Innocenti* (1610). See Dykstal, “Epic Reticence,” 96.

48. In addition to the five London editions and one Dublin edition identified by Walther Paul Fischer in his study of Ellwood, I have identified the following American imprints: 1751 & 1760, printed by Franklin & Hall (Philadelphia); 1754 by James Chattin (Philadelphia); 1764 by James Adams (Wilmington, DE); 1785 by Joseph
Crukshank (Philadelphia); 1792 by Eliphalet Ladd (Dover, DE); 1797 by Joseph Johnson and Samuel Preston (Wilmington, DE). See Fischer, Introduction to Thomas Ellwood’s Davideis.

49. Whittier, Poetical Works, 2:422.
50. The first attribution of The Gospel Tragedy to Brockway is apparently Dexter, Graduates of Yale College, 3:271.
51. According to federal records, Hutchins held the copyright to Brockway’s poem. See Gilreath, ed., Federal Copyright Records, 85.
52. Hutchins, “Proposal.”
53. Dexter, Graduates of Yale College, 3:270.
57. In 1795, Dwight’s Dissertation was reprinted in New York as an appendix to Samuel Jackson Spratt’s The Sublime and the Beautiful of Scripture.

CHAPTER 2. Constitutional Epic

4. Quoted in Schulman, American Republic, 128.
5. Ibid., 128–29.
6. Richard, Founders and the Classics, 10.
8. See Burke’s essay “Literature as Equipment for Living” in Burke, Philosophy of Literary Form, 293–304.
9. Carl J. Richard’s discussion of the Founders’ knowledge of the classics is the best available; see Richard, Founders and the Classics, esp. 12–38. For a broader narrative of the place of classics in early American education, see Winterer, Culture of Classicism, 10–43.
13. For Burke’s “calculus of motives,” see his discussion of constitutional dialectics in Burke, Grammar of Motives, 323–401, esp. 377–78.
17. Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, Federalist, 323. All subsequent citations of this work will be given parenthetically.
19. My reading of Montesquieu is based in part on Ferguson, Law and Letters, 42–49.

21. In describing this critique of Montesquieu, my reading of *Federalist* 47 is closer to Jack Rakove’s, who sees Madison as arguing that “Montesquieu could not have meant what his popular interpreters claimed he meant” regarding separation of powers, than to either Gary Rosen’s reading of the review of state constitutions at the end of the essay as “a corrective” to Montesquieu or Slauter’s assertion that Madison saw Montesquieu as making “a mistaken assumption that the British Constitution was a ‘perfect model’ rather than simply one example.” In fact, I read Madison as pushing forward precisely the idea that Montesquieu used the British Constitution as a gold standard, in order to make a larger point about the practice of political criticism. Rakove, “Madisonian Moment,” 490; Rosen, “Problem of Founding,” 574; Slauter, *Origins of the Constitution*, 121.

22. Quoted in Fliegelman, *Declaring Independence*, 96; for the list of Jefferson’s epics in his library, see Gilreath and Wilson, eds., *Thomas Jefferson’s Library*, 111–12.


25. The range of possible referents for “Publius” is considerable, as well as unusual for one of Hamilton’s Plutarchian choices, which tended to be figures such as Pericles. Besides Virgil, Ovid and Terence both shared the first name “Publius.”


27. For bibliographic information, see Brunet, *Manuel du libraire*, 2:130. The Madison copy of *L’Iliade d’Homère* (Paris, 1809), formerly part of Jay Fliegelman’s collection, is now in Skillman Library at Lafayette College. Based on my examination of the Madison copy, as well as copies held at the Grolier Club and the Morgan Library, it seems likely that each copy was customized for the owner, either before or soon after the presentation of each book, further indicating the importance of the book as a personal gift object.


31. Ibid., 1:400.


33. D. Webster, *Speeches, Volume 2*, 515. All subsequent references to Webster’s speech will appear parenthetically.

34. For the “liberty and union” passage in Webster’s “Reply to Hayne,” see D. Webster, *Speeches, Volume 1*, 347–48. Note the difference in the reported version, 393, from the official published version.

35. My definition of *ekphrasis* derives mainly from the eighteenth-century sense of the term: it is a rhetorical device whereby an object of visual art is represented in language. My definition differs slightly in that, following James A. W. Heffernan, I view the work of language as representative and not merely descriptive. As I show in my discussion of *Iliad* XVIII in this section, Homer represents Achilles’s shield, but his representation is not only descriptive but also narrational. See Heffernan, *Museum of Words*, 3, 14.

36. Among the more famous attempts are the one by Henry Flaxman in designing a cast model that now resides in the Royal Collection in London and the various versions
of Benjamin West’s *Thetis Bringing the Armor to Achilles*, which West had initially intended for sale to the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts around 1807 (the academy declined to purchase it). West’s engagement with epic as an artistic concept is addressed at length in chap. 3.


39. Andrew Sprague Becker has argued convincingly that lines 417–20 (Homer, *Iliad* [1974], 448), describing Haephestus’s appearance with statues that moved like virgins, foreground all of the major representative possibilities for the rest of *Iliad* XVIII. See Becker, *Shield of Achilles*, 79.


43. Ibid., 174–75.

44. Reynolds, *Discourses*, 112.

45. LaRue, *Constitutional Law as Fiction*, 86.

**Chapter 3. Epic on Canvas**

1. For example, see Paulson, *Literary Landscape*, 75; Lindsay, *J. M. W. Turner*, 99.


10. Reynolds, *Discourses*; see esp. 325–37 from the fifteenth and final lecture, which is essentially an apology for Michelangelo as the “exalted Founder and Father of modern art.”

11. Richardson himself was renowned as a portrait painter, but he also pursued literary criticism; he and his son wrote an influential volume on *Paradise Lost*, a work that Richardson had encountered while apprenticing in John Riley’s studio. See Gibson-Wood, *Jonathan Richardson*, 30.


14. Ibid., 54.


16. Quoted in ibid., 266.
22. The later provenance of West’s *Nelson* seems to bear some relationship to this; his original now hangs in the Liverpool Art Museum, while Devis’s *Nelson* is in the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich.
23. “Mr. West’s Picture,” 1. The original review, as the *Herald* states, was an “English publication,” though I have not been able to trace it.
25. Alberts, *Benjamin West*, 348, 352–53. West had earned only £35,000 from his court appointment across more than thirty-five years, while his P.R.A. predecessor Reynolds had averaged above £6,000 annually from his portrait commissions. See Dillenberger, *Benjamin West*, 112.
32. I borrow the term “absorption” from Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality*, in recognition of Fried’s argument that absorption was the goal of artistic experience as the *grand machine* style of painting was developed, a style to which West was particularly indebted.
33. *Christ Rejected*, 4, 8.
39. The Academy would eventually mortgage its building in 1835 to purchase *Death on the Pale Horse*, and it later acquired *Christ Rejected* as a gift from Philadelphia art collector Joseph Harrison, Jr., one of the last public champions of American Grand Manner history painting, who bought the work in 1859 in order to keep it in Philadelphia. Goodyear, “History of Pennsylvania Academy,” 23, 33; Nutty, “Sartain and Harrison,” 52–53. *Penn’s Treaty* and John Vanderlyn’s *Ariadne at Naxos* were also part of the Harrison gift.
41. Kloss, *Samuel F. B. Morse*, 136–39. Kloss presents several theories to explain Morse’s rejection and persuasively suggests that Morse’s own hard-line nativism had made him politically unsuitable by the 1830s.
42. Philadelphia’s art community had faced similar struggles in earlier years. Charles Willson Peale organized the Columbianum in 1794 as an association and academy for artists, but lack of funding and membership ruined it quickly. The Pennsylvania Academy had a board of over sixty members when it began in 1805, but Peale lamented that he was only one of three artists among a board of bankers, merchants, and lawyers. The taste for history painting at the Pennsylvania Academy may be tied to its leadership of rich connoisseurs, though the preference for American artists made it more inclined to buy and exhibit new works than Trumbull’s similarly populated Academy. For a brief narrative of this history, see Goodyear, “History of Pennsylvania Academy.”

43. Staiti, *Samuel F. B. Morse*, 169–70.
45. Morse, “Lecture Notes 1–8 (b),” Papers.
47. Staiti, *Samuel F. B. Morse*, 171, 169.
48. For example, see “Fuseli’s Lectures”; “Lectures on Painting”; “Professor Howard’s Concluding Lecture.”
49. Morse, “Exhibition,” 5.
55. One of the first examples of this narrative is Noble, *Life and Works*, 4–5.
58. See Truettner, “Two Coles.”
60. On the influence of Martin’s *Paradise Lost* mezzotints and other works on Cole, see Parry, *Art of Thomas Cole*, 87–89.
63. See Truettner, “Two Coles.”
64. “Cole’s Pictures”; “Course of Empire,” 513.
69. “Apollo Gallery.”
75. “Fine Arts: Obituary.”
76. See, for example, Wallach, “Course of Empire”; A. Miller, *Empire of the Eye*. Patricia Junker makes a similar argument for Cole’s *Prometheus Bound*.
78. “Cole Gallery.”
80. Bryant, *Orations and Addresses*, 34.
82. Ibid.
86. Ibid., 37.
88. “George H. Story.”
89. Patricia Junker, memo, Jul. 8, 1999, in curatorial files on Cole’s *Prometheus Bound*.
91. “Art and Artists” (December 1851), 149.
95. H., “Noble Picture,” ii. The *North American*, a Philadelphia newspaper, had reprinted this item from an unidentified issue of the *New York Gazette and Times*. The critic quoted at length from this article in a later piece on Leutze in the 1849 *Bulletin of the American Art-Union*, 16–17. Mark Thistlethwaite has posited that the author of the article is Henry Walter Herbert, an English-born critic and sports writer; Mark Thistlethwaite, personal e-mail, Oct. 2, 2008.
96. “Art and Artists” (November 1851), 130.
100. “Battle of Gettysburg.”
102. On the reception of Rothermel’s *Gettysburg*, see Hobbs, 1876, 18; Thistlethwaite, *Art of Rothermel*, 21–22.
Chapter 4. Transcendentalism and the “New” Epic Traditions

2. For a helpful summary of the Homeric question’s place in American intellectual life, see Winterer, *Culture of Classicism*, 84–92. For examples of American responses to Wolf’s ideas, see “Prologomena ad Homerm”; and “Homer.”
3. For a discussion of Thomas Cole’s role in this culture war as an unrecognized advocate of Bunyan, see chap. 3.
6. “Notices.—Editor’s Table.”
8. Subsequent quotations of Very’s essay are taken from *Essays and Poems* and are cited parenthetically in the text.
12. Perry Miller declared Very’s “Epic Poetry” to be “practically unique in American criticism” in its use of the German critical distinction between classical and modern aesthetics; see P. Miller, *Transcendentalists*, 343.
14. Lieber claimed to have introduced the words “nationalism,” “internationalism,” “interdependence,” and “Pan-American” into American English through his political writings; see Heath, “American English,” esp. 224.
15. Lieber, *Encyclopaedia Americana*, 4:537; further citations will be given parenthetically. The author of the “Epic” article is unknown; Lieber’s authorship has only been determined for thirteen articles in the entire *Encyclopaedia*; for the titles of Lieber’s known articles, see T. Kennedy, “Francis Lieber,” 48n.
16. Herder, *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*. In introducing his discussion of the meaning of “prophet” in Hebrew culture, Herder explains his method: “Let us inquire into the conception attached to the word not by tracing etymologies, which are always unsafe guides, but by observing the obvious use of the term at different periods of time”; see 2:49.
17. Emerson and Carlyle, *Correspondence*, 99; further citations will be given parenthetically.
18. John Clubbe gives a helpful account of Carlyle’s study of Homer, along with its later implications for his work as a writer, in his essay “Carlyle as Epic Historian.”
21. Carlyle, *Heroes*, 93; final italics are Carlyle’s.
22. Ibid., 85, 96, 97.
24. The German translates, “according to my sense.”
27. Thoreau, *Walden*, 45; further citations will be given parenthetically.


30. O’Connell, “‘Battle of the Ants.’”


33. Ibid., 680; Whitman, *Poetry and Prose*, 1280; further citations from both of these volumes will be given parenthetically, designated as *L* and *P*, respectively. Some of the thinking for this section has been spurred by Wai Chee Dimock’s recent essay “Epic and Lyric.”


**CHAPTER 5. Tracking Epic through The Leatherstocking Tales**

1. Lukács, *Historical Novel*, 64. As McWilliams points out, neither Cooper nor any other American text is featured in Lukács’s main epic-to-novel study, *The Theory of the Novel*; see McWilliams, *American Epic*, 5.

2. Lawrence, *Classical American Literature*, 55.


5. On the history of the idea of the Great American Novel, see Buell, “Rise and ‘Fall’”; Buell, “Unkillable Dream.” For the “Iliad of the Blacks” reference, whose original source has never been identified, see “Uncle Tomitudes,” 98.


8. “Novels,” 419.


13. Cooper, *Leatherstocking Tales*, 1:101; further citations will be given parenthetically.


17. Dekker and McWilliams, eds., *Fenimore Cooper*, 5.


Chapter 6. Lydia Sigourney and the Indian Epic’s Work of Mourning

1. Whitman, *Leaves*, 668, 672, 697, 690. All further references to this text will be given parenthetically.
2. Etymologist [pseud.], “‘Yonnondio.’”
6. Eighteenth-century poets such as Edward Young, Thomas Parnell, and Thomas Gray were often seen as progenitors of this mode; see Warnke, Preminger, and Metzger, “Graveyard Poetry.” Sigourney was frequently mentioned in this context alongside poets such as Felicia Hemans, indicating that the sentimental mourning of the graveyard poetry was a transatlantic phenomenon well into the nineteenth century.
10. Sigourney, *Traits of the Aborigines*, 3. All subsequent citations of this text will be given parenthetically.
15. Nina Baym notes the discrepancy between Haight’s and Sigourney’s account of the composition of *Traits’s* notes, but she refrains from making an argument for either one; see Baym, “Reinventing Lydia Sigourney,” 396. Lauter quotes the relevant passage in Sigourney’s *Letters*, but in order to take issue with Martha Bacon’s characterization of Sigourney in *Puritan Promenade*; see Lauter, “Teaching Lydia Sigourney,” 112.
16. I have assumed the feminine pronoun in describing Sigourney’s speaker because her other writings on the subject of Indian missions and the importance of native voices in American history indicate a very close resemblance between Sigourney’s prose rhetoric and that of *Traits’s* speaker.
21. Anthologies giving the poem as Jane Johnston Schoolcraft’s include Kilcup, ed., *Native American Women’s Writing*, 60–63; and Watts and Rachels, eds., *First West*, 335–37. Paula Bernat Bennett anthologizes “Invocation: To My Maternal Grandfather,” mentioning in a footnote that Jane Schoolcraft had also written “The Ota-
gamiad,” in *American Women Poets*, 395. Maureen Konkle also mentions the “Otagamiad” as Jane Schoolcraft’s poem; see Konkle, *Writing Indian Nations*, 172.
25. Ibid., 142–43. Jane Johnston Schoolcraft is not an attributed author on the title page of Mason’s edition, though he credits her in his introduction and notes with making many contributions.
26. Ibid.
28. A summary of Oestreicher’s findings can be found in Oestreicher, “Unraveling the *Walam Olum*.”
29. Tedlock, Foreword to “Walam Olum,” 96. The *Multilingual Anthology* dates the poem as “before 1833," apparently basing the date on Rafinesque’s own claim to have translated the work in 1833. Oestreicher has established that the *Walam Olum* dates from 1834 at the earliest; See Oestreicher, “Unraveling the *Walam Olum*,” 239–40.
35. Sigourney, *Zinzendorff*, 14. All subsequent citations of this text will be given parenthetically.
38. “The Thinker.”
42. Quoted in ibid., 199.
44. Sigourney, *Pocahontas*, 13. All subsequent citations of this text will be given parenthetically.
46. Tilton, *Pocahontas*, 92, 96. For an account of Chapman’s campaign for the commission, see 102–5; for an analysis of the painting and its place in antebellum cultural politics, see 116–40.
49. Canticles 2:1 (AV).
54. Ibid., 247.
55. Sigourney, *Illustrated Poems*, 24; further citations of “Oriska” will be given parenthetically from this source.
58. Squier, “Historical and Mythological Traditions,” 177.
59. For a brief narrative of Copway’s life, see D. B. Smith, “Life of George Copway.”
62. This is similar to the accusation that Jane Johnston Schoolcraft counters concerning her grandfather’s heritage in her “Invocation: To My Maternal Grandfather,” suggesting that the source of *Ojibway Conquest* might have some relationship to the Johnstons’ Ojibwe connections.
63. According to Warren Upham, the previous name of the St. Louis River was in fact Ojibwe, “Kitchigumi zibi,” meaning “Lake Superior river.” This suggests that Copway’s geography overlaps considerably with Longfellow’s in *Song of Hiawatha*, which centers around Lake Superior, known in the poem as “Gitche Gumee,” the “shining Big-Sea-Water.” Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 9; H. Longfellow, *Poems and Other Writings*, 157.
64. J. Clark, *Ojibue Conquest*, v.
66. Copway’s presentation copy to Longfellow is in the Longfellow collection at the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

**Chapter 7. Longfellow’s Pantheon**

2. Hawthorne and Dana, “Origin of Longfellow’s *Evangeline*.” Newton Arvin cites Hawthorne and Dana’s work as a monograph, but I have not yet found a copy of such a work.
5. I take this phrase from Tarlinskaja and Oganesova, “Meter and Meaning.”
8. Ibid., 101.
10. For a discussion of “epic deferral,” see n. 19 in chap. 5.
12. For a further discussion of Turner’s “Epic Pastoral,” see chap. 3.
13. H. Longfellow, Poems and Other Writings; further citations of Longfellow’s poems will be given parenthetically, referring to this text unless otherwise noted.
14. The editor’s note in Poems and Other Writings quotes and translates Longfellow’s journal entry concerning the source, which is also found in S. Longfellow, ed., Life of Longfellow, 2:24. The translation of the French is based on the editor’s note.
16. For an excellent reading of the mythic quality of landscape in Evangeline, see Seelye, “Attic Shape.”
18. Eckermann, Conversations with Goethe, 204.
19. Robert Fitzgerald translates the Homeric epithet for Odysseus’s servant Eumaios as “O my swineherd!”
21. Robert Ferguson and William Charvat have both given valuable renderings of Longfellow as a public writer. See Ferguson, “Longfellow’s Political Fears”; Charvat, Profession of Authorship.
22. See Ferguson, “Longfellow’s Political Fears.”
24. V. Jackson, “Longfellow’s Tradition.”
27. Wagenknecht, Longfellow, 295.
28. The European Catholic identity of the missionaries also works against many critics’ accusation that Longfellow was arguing for Anglo-Saxon racial superiority.
29. Freiligrath, “Vorwort des uebersetzers,” xi. I am grateful to Steffi Dippold for her invaluable assistance in the translation from the German; all quotations from this text are my translations.
30. Ibid., xii.
31. See Moyne, Hiawath and Kalevala.
32. For an anthropological account of the evolution of this canto, see T. DuBois, “From Maria to Marjatta.”
33. Freiligrath, “Vorwort des uebersetzers,” x, xii.
34. For an account of Mary Longfellow’s death and its effect on Longfellow, see Calhoun, Longfellow, 114–18.
35. Spenser, Faerie Queene, 587.
36. S. Longfellow, Life of Longfellow, 1:388–89.
37. Ibid., 2:151–52.
38. Ruskin, Seven Lamps of Architecture, 85. The Longfellows would have been reading from the first edition, which had just been released in 1849.
39. H. Longfellow, Christus: A Mystery, 471; further citations will be given parenthetically.
40. Hedge’s version was originally published in *Gems of German Verse* (1852) and in *Hymns for the Church of Christ* (1853), the latter of which he coedited and saw several reprintings of during his lifetime, though it is unclear when his translation became the “standard” American version of the hymn. On criticism of the hymn, see Arvin, *Longfellow*, 267.


42. Arvin, *Longfellow*, 277.


CHAPTER 8. Melville’s Epic Career

1. Quoted in Olsen-Smith and Marnon, “Melville’s Marginalia,” 86.

2. Thorp, “Herman Melville’s Silent Years.”


6. Foster, “Historical Note,” 662.


8. Compare H. Longfellow’s statement in his “Defence of Poetry,” 59: “With us, the spirit of the age is clamorous for utility,—for visible, tangible utility,—for bare, brawny, muscular utility. We would be roused to action by the voice of the populace, and the sounds of the crowded mart, and not ‘lulled asleep in shady idleness with poet’s pastimes.’” Written almost twenty years before *Mardi*, and by a forceful young writer in his twenties, Longfellow’s article addresses a literary marketplace that had not yet supported a professional poet in the United States; by the time Melville wrote his parable of Lombardo, the poet’s status had changed from one of market exclusion to one of the prospect of market inclusion—at the likely expense of artistic independence. For more on Longfellow’s remarkably successful engagement with the literary market of his day, see Charvat, *Profession of Authorship*, 106–54.


10. See Dimock, *Empire for Liberty*.


15. Ovid makes a similarly equivocal gesture at the beginning of the *Metamorphoses* when he eschews the “I sing” of Homer and Virgil for the infinitive “to tell” or “to relate” (*dicere*), as discussed in the prologue.


20. Allison, “Similies in *Moby-Dick*,” 14–15, 12. As Allison has pointed out, two major functions of the Homeric simile (via Milton) are vital to Melville’s technique in *Moby-Dick*: the figure creates a space for tangential or startling comparisons, and it provides a vehicle for developing unity through thematic repetition; see 13–14.

21. Douglas J. Robillard has written the most extensive analysis of *ekphrasis* in *Redburn*; see Robillard, *Ionian Form, Venetian Tint*, 47–69. See also his discussion of *Moby-Dick* at 70–98, to which this section is greatly indebted.


27. See the discussion of Achilles’s shield in chap. 2.


31. The best reading of “The Doubloon” as *ekphrasis* is by a classicist; see Garrison, “Melville’s Doubloon.”

32. The eight-escudo piece that matches Ishmael’s description was minted in Ecuador from 1838 to the early 1840s. See Ortuño, *Historia Numismática del Ecuador*.

33. A book that competed with Eckfeldt and Du Bois’s *Manual, The Coins of the World*, published by Matthew T. Miller in 1849, showed only the obverse (the missing side in *Moby-Dick*) in an engraving, and gave a description of the reverse far too short to have been useful to Melville.

34. Matt. 26:34b (AV).


38. Quoted in Higgins and Parker, eds., *Contemporary Reviews*, 527.


40. Melville, *Published Poems*, 3; further citations will be given parenthetically.


42. Worden was in fact blinded by an explosion during the battle; see the note in H. Cohen, ed., *Battle-Pieces*, 224.


44. Melville had seen Turner’s canvas in the National Gallery in May 1857, a few days before setting sail for home after his voyage to the Holy Land that would provide the material for *Clarel*. He mentions it in his journal as “The Fighting——taken to her last birth.” Melville, *Journals*, 128. In a note to his poem, Melville eulogizes the ship, “the subject of the well-known painting by Turner”; with wry irony, he declares that the loss of the *Temeraire* “is lamented by none more than by regularly educated navy officers, and of all nations” (*Published Poems*, 174)—Melville not included among them, although perhaps the aesthetically minded Dupont is.
47. Aaron, *Unwritten War*, xiii. The phrase “No sleep” is an allusion to the story of David’s adultery with Bathsheba in 2 Sam. 11 (AV), which begins, “And it came to pass in an evening-tide, that David arose from off his bed, and walked upon the roof of the king’s house” (11:2).
49. Walter Bezanson has posited that Melville knew of the *Ramayana* through William Rounsville Alger’s *The Poetry of the East* (1856), which included a prose synopsis of the story and a translated fragment; see Melville, *Clarel*, 750.
50. Melville, *Clarel*, 17; further citations will be given parenthetically.
51. Short, “Form as Vision.”
52. H. Longfellow, *Poems and Other Writings*, 482.
54. Melville, *Selected Poems*, 296; further citations will be given parenthetically.

**EPILOGUE. Invisible Epic**

1. Hershel Parker has recently argued that the phrase “the great American novel” . . . pre-dates by a decade or so the time when working critics stopped looking for great American literature to come in the form of an epic poem. Throughout the 1860s and even the early 1870s (when Melville was writing *Clarel*), the status of poetry, especially epic poetry, remained high. At some yet-to-be-established point toward the end of Melville’s life, perhaps before the 1870s were over, a majority of influential critics ceased looking for great new literary works to come in the form of the long poem and began looking for such a great work to come as prose fiction. (Parker, *Making of a Poet*, 103)

2. Quoted in Parker and Hayford, eds., *Moby-Dick*, 609, 617.
4. Ibid., 113.
7. On the history of the publication of *Picturesque America*, see Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America*.
9. The cyclorama has been restored and is now on display at Gettysburg National Military Park in Pennsylvania. On the history of the cyclorama, see Oettermann, *Panorama*, 343–44.
one of the first books published on the making of a film and is still considered a class-
cic of film journalism, despite its bias against the studio.
15. Ellison, Collected Essays, 302–9, 185.
17. Ibid., 60.
18. R. Ellison, Invisible Man, 3; further citations will be given parenthetically.
24. Cornell, Average Landscapes.
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