Contents

Ac	knowledgments	ix
Ci	tation Note	xi
Preface		xiii
Ι.	The Erotics of Youth	I
	Family Faces	3
	Boarding at the Brentons	24
	A First Friendship	30
2.	Why Whitman Gave Up Fiction	37
3.	Interleaf: From Walter to Walt	56
4.	Faith in Sex: Leaves of Grass in 1855-56	81
	Twenty-Eight Young Men	82
	The Flesh and the Appetites	97
	The Twenty-Ninth Bather	114

viii	Contents
5. The Politics of Love in the 1860 Leaves of Grass	122
Enfans d'Adam	129
Calamus	136
6. Whitman Unperturbed: The Civil War and After	153
7. "In Loftiest Spheres": Whitman's Visionary Feminism	172
Notes	195
Index	245
Illustrations follow page 80	

Index

Walt Whitman is sometimes referred to as WW.

abolitionism: WW and, 68-69, 160. See

also African Americans; race; slavery Adamic poems. See Enfans d'Adam adhesiveness, 126, 127, 147, 227n 6 affection, and problems of freedom, 109, 125-126, 141-142, 152 African Americans: attitudes of WW toward, 65, 68, 175-178, 179, 189; expanded sexual discourse and empowerment of, 124; in military, 175-176; roles of, and white women, 189; spiritualization of, 189; suffrage, 176; voice of, WW as, 176, 179. See also race; racializing; racism aggression: in Calamus, xxi, 125-126, 136-137, 138, 141-142, 144-151 passim, 158; creation of friendly nature and, xiv; as cultural threat, 159-160; Democratic Mother in control of, 183; enemies distinguished from friends and, 158; heterosexuality and, xxi; as human propensity, 195n 1; in "I Sing the Body Electric," xxi, 229n 16; of love, and wariness of WW, xxi; malehomoerotic desire and, xxi; of masculinity, 179, 180, 242n 20; mimicking of, by WW, 86-87; of self as lover, 158; of sexuality, 147-148; transcendence of, 166-169, 170; words as, 46, 125, 227n 5, 228n 13. See also emotions; violence

Alcaro, Marion Walker, 243n 35

Alcott, Bronson, 7, 112-113 "All About a Mocking-Bird," 122, 123, 226n I Allen, Gay Wilson, 22, 80, 21111 18, 214n 22, 217n 35, 229n 17, 235n 41, 24IN I 3 America. See democracy; United States American Art Union, 217n 31 American Primer by Walt Whitman, An: With Facsimiles of the Original Manuscripts (Traubel, ed.), 107, 109, 223n 39 American Revolution, 3, 5 Anderson, Benedict, 83, 88, 158 Anderson, Quentin, 2 "Angel of Tears, The," 38, 40 anger, in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," 155 animals, turning to, 91 anonymity, 89-90, 91, 93, 96, 144-145, anxieties of WW, xiii; aggression (see aggression); alienation, universalized perception of, 80; connection, 96, 105-106, 222n 33; control, 91, 93, 96; criticism and, 58, 96, 123, 226n 2; fear of failure, 58; guilt (see guilt); identity, 179; intimacy (see intimacy, fear of);

neuters and geldings and, 81; slavery of heterosexual desire and, 16. See also

audience; emotions

alcoholism and drinking, 22, 207n 71.

See also temperance

Aphrodite, 199n 7

apprenticeships, 204n 46 Aristidean, 4 aristocratic love plot, 55 Arnold, George B., 98, 101, 221n 22 arrogance, 59, 181 artists: female, 192; feminization of, 77, 78; in war of words, 125; worth of, Ashton, J. Hubley, 235n 41 "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life," 59, 146, 179-180, 188 Asselineau, Roger, 211n 18, 220n 11 Astor, John Jacob, 61 Atlantic Monthly, 183, 188 attachment, 124, 219n 6 audience: anger at, 106-107; as "brothers and sisters," xiii; class of, 137; contact with, need for, 105-106, 222n 33; Dickinson as, 187-188; displeasure of, 100-101; divestment of loyalty to, 100; editing advice from, 98, 128, 129, 228n 11; epitaph composed for, 143-144; faith in, 151-152; father as, 203n 42; future, 67, 193; gulf between WW and, 123; humiliation and, 143; identity affirmed by/dependent upon, 96, 106; as inclusive, 105; intimacy and, 105-106; literary characters as, 115; melding of, 88; as "outlines," xiii; and partial confession, 135; personal, xvi, 103, 113, 120, 222n 33; prejudice of, as addressed by WW, 134; self as, 67; size of, 37, 123, 226n 3; social isolation and, xiii-xiv; in "Song of Myself," 67, 71-72; trust and distrust of, 58, 143-144, 151; Vaughan as, 101-103; warnings to, xvi, 150-151; women as, 112, 186, 187-189, 212n 7. See also criticism authority: ambivalence toward, 157, 159-167, 169-171, 236n 7; denial of, 66, 160-161. See also fathers; patriarchy; power authority, poetic, 83-84, 87 autoeroticism: female vs. male, 230n 18; as rotting the voice, 224n 41; stigmatization of, 85; "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" and, 170-171; of WW, 62, 66, 145. See also sexuality

"Bardic Symbols." See "As I Ebb'd with the Ocean of Life" Barkeloo, Josephine, 9 Barnburners, 68-69 Barrus, Clara, 203n 43, 236n 3 Barton, William E., 237n 20 Basler, Roy P., 238n 27 Beach, Christopher, 156, 1991 8, 2361 11 Bender, Thomas, 215n 25 Benjamin, Jessica, 195n 1 Benjamin, Park, 37 Benton, Myron, 236n 3 Béranger, Pierre-Jean de, 75, 216n 29 Bercovitch, Sacvan, 173, 240n 4 Bergen, Tunis G., 73 Berkeley, Henry Robinson, 167-168 Bertolini, Vincent J., 2021 34 "Bervance: or, Father and Son," 38, 40 Binns, Henry Bryan, 208n 2, 230n 19 birth control, 188-189 Bishop, Elizabeth, 143 Black, Stephen A., 208n 7 blacks. See African Americans Blasing, Mutlu Konuk, 164 "Blood-Money," 213n 11 Bloom, Harold, 170-171 Bloom, Nathaniel, 162 Bloomer, Amelia, 240n 3 Blumin, Stuart M., 203n 41 boarding houses, 47, 48-50, 52 body: ambivalence toward, 85; distrust of, 84; expanded sexual discourse and minority empowerment, 124; female, reclaiming of, 189-190; maternal, as political problem solver, 189; minimizing importance of, 157-158; as natural, 85; remembering, 97; sacramental status of, 86-87; as symbol of democracy, 63, 214n 19; as word, 87-88. See also sexuality Bohan, Ruth L., 216n 31 Bollas, Christopher, 97 Booth, John Wilkes, 155, 159–160, 165 Boston, and obscenity, 235n 41 Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion, 38 Bowers, Fredson, 229n 17, 230n 19, 232n 29 Bowlby, John, 219n 6 Brand, Dana, 64, 202n 34, 212n 4 Brasher, Thomas L., 53, 206n 56 Brenton, James J., 26, 28-29, 30 Brenton, Mrs., 28-29, 30 Brenton, Orvetta Hall, 28-29 Britain, WW and, 217nn 33-34, 227nn 7-8, 228n 9

bachelor gentleman, 18, 201n 34, figs. 4, 8
"Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads,
A," xxiv, 113–114
"Bamboozle and Benjamin," 208n 1

Axelrod, Stephen Gould, 180, 242n 21

236nn 3, 5

"Broad-Axe Poem," 228n 13 "Broadway Pageant, A," 238n 29 Brodhead, Richard H., 209n 9 Brooklyn Art Union, 76, 214n 16, 217n 31 Brooklyn Daily Advertizer, 214n 16 Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 4, 45, 51, 69 Brooklyn Daily Times, 54, 66, 69, 102, 114, 192, 232n 29 Brooklyniana, 22-23 Brooklyn Star, 69 Brown, Henry Kirke, 75, 76, 215n 27, Brown, Herbert Ross, 210n 13 Brown, John, 227n 5 Bryant, William Cullen, 37, 116, 118, 199n 8, 206n 56 Buchanan, James, 109, 161 Bucke, Richard Maurice, 62, 69, 231nn 27-28, 233n 31, fig. 6 caption Burbick, Joan, 214n 19 "Burial Poem" ("To Think of Time"), 181, 218n 35, 228n 13, 229n 14 Burlington Free Press and Times, 225n 53 Burroughs, John, 8, 159, 2011 26,

Calamus: aggression in, xxi, 125-126, 136-137, 138, 141-142, 144-151 passim, 158; anticipation of, 191; competition and, 136-137, 138; critical reception of, 127, 128, 227n 8; democracy project and, 124-127, 141-142, 143, 147-148, 152, 233n 32, 234n 40; depersonalization and, 96; faith in sex and, 137-138; gender subsuming race in, 124-125; partial confession in, 135, 138-152; risk-taking in, 128; rudeness in, 134, 136; self-censorship in, 138, 140-141, 142-143, 144, 150-152, 181, 233n 31; sequence of composition of, 232n 29; as term, 127; unmasking in, 138-139; as unusual representation, 157; writing of, 54 Camden, NJ, fig. 13 camerado, as term, 104, 222n 32

"By Blue Ontario's Shore," 244n 44

"Can All Marry," 114–115, 225n 50 canon, 218n 3 Carlyle, Thomas, 173, 174–175 Carpenter, Edward, 75–76, 187, 216n 31, 221n 18

castration, 156
Cauldwell, William, fig. 4 caption
Cavitch, David, 73, 214n 22
Ceniza, Sherry, 221n 22, 226n 61,
244nn 45, 48

censorship. See self-censorship "Chants Democratic," 161 Chapin, Fr. Edwin Hubbell, 101, 22Inn 25-26 Charlotte Temple (Rowson), 167, 239n 31 Chauncey, George, 208n 6, 217n 32 "Child and the Profligate, The" ("The Child's Champion"), 42-46, 62, 209n II, 210n I2 "Child-Ghost, The; a Story of the Last Loyalist," 38, 40 Childhood of King Erik Menved, The (Ingemann), 73, 215n 23 Children of Adam. See Enfans d'Adam "Child's Champion, The" ("The Child and the Profligate"), 42-46, 62, 209n II, 210n I2 "Child's Reminiscence, A." See "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 226n 2 "City of my walks and joys!" 150

"City of my walks and joys!" 150
Civil War: African Americans in military,
176-177; and dead vs. living, suffering
of, 167-168, 239n 33; Grant in, 164165; homoerotic attachments and, xxii;
Lincoln in, 163-164, 166, 238n 28;
in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard
Bloom'd," 158; WW in, xxii, 61, 62,
80, 168, 185, fig. 9. See also war
Clapp, Henry, 98

Clarke, Edward, 22 Clarke, McDonald, 27, 206n 56 class: of audience, 137; compulsory heterosexuality and, 54–55; democracy as binding, 147; and journalism of WW, 135; and leisure (see leisure); mainte-

135; and leisure (see leisure); maintenance of, 145, 234n 35; privileging insight of, xvii–xviii, 129, 135; Walter Senior and, 21–22, 204n 49; of WW, 107, 203n 41. See also middle-class values; wealth; working class "Clef Poem" ("On the Beach at Night

Alone"), 190–191, 244n 46 Cogan, Frances B., 244n 45 Columbian, 45

companions: Doyle (see Doyle, Peter);
Flood, xxiii; Leech, 30–36, 207n 70;
M— as considered to be, 54, 211n 18;
in New Orleans, rumored, and "Walt"
name change, 69, 72–73, 136, 214nn
21–22, 230n 19; physicians, 61–62,
98; satisfaction with, 157; Stafford,
xxiii, 7, 197n 20; type attracted to,
xx, xxii, xxiii, 61–63, 77–78, 79–80,
98, 134–135; Vaughan (see Vaughan,
Fred); in Whitestone, 36

compassion, xv, 68, 212n 3; of Louisa Whitman, 9

competition: and denial of authority, 160–161; in erotic exchange, 91; homoerotic love as dismantling, 68; as impediment to male bonding, 136–137, 138; with Lincoln, 160, 165–166, 167; retreat from, 179; and suffering, 168. See also fathers; patriarchy; power

compulsory heterosexuality. See hetero-

sexuality, compulsory

contact, need for, 96, 105-106, 222n 33 contradiction, commitment to, 147-148, 152, 166

control, fear of loss of, 91, 93, 96
Cooper, James Fenimore, 61
corporal punishment, 46, 209n 9
country life: involuntary, 23-24, 25, 3035, 206n 59; as temporary idyll, 91.
See also urban life

Crane, Hart, 94

criticism: of arrogance, 59; in England vs. United States, 127–128, 227n 8; by Fern, 212n 7; of fiction, 38, 208n 7; on gender supplanting race, 177; gentleman persona ignored in, 57; Hannah Whitman Heyde as ignored in, 116; by Heyde, 119; on homosexual guilt, 150; on language and morals, 111–112, 188, 224n 47; on letters, 33; by Louisa Whitman, 13; racial themes ignored in, 124; renunciation by WW and, 140; self-reviews, 58, 65–66, 111, 112, 122–124, 126, 128; startled critics, xv; warnings in, 188; WW's relation to, 58, 96, 123, 226n 2. See also audience

"Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," 102, 145-146, 148, 230n 22

Cult of True Womanhood, 185, 190, 244n 45

Dalke, Anne, 210n 13
Dana, Charles A., 111
Davidson, Cathy N., 239n 31
Davis, Robert Leigh, 157, 185
death: acceptance of, 191, 193; childhood and, 117; closural force of allusions to, 228n 13; cult of, 89, 103 –
104, 222n 31; Dark Mother as, 168 –
169, 171, 175, 240n 8; escape from,
103; grieving (see grief); guilt following, 168, 170, 171; as integral, 131,
228n 13; vs. life, suffering of, 167 –
168, 169, 170, 175, 239n 33; Lincoln
on, 169 – 170, 239n 35; morbidity
charges vs. symbol of, 123, 127; as po-

etic power, 123; protection of children against, 110–111. See also sexuality "Death and Burial of McDonald Clarke.

A Parody," 206n 56

"Death in the School-Room (A Fact)," 41-42, 46

debating, 25, 32 "Democracy," 176

democracy: affection and, 109, 125-126, 141-142, 152; ambivalence toward, 173-174; "America" as convertible term with, 126-127; body-in-process as symbol of, 63, 214n 19; as containing WW, 126-127; conversion of intimacy fears and, xvii; cultural vs. political reform and, 215n 25; and homoerotic culture, 123-127, 141-142, 143, 147-148, 152, 158-159, 233n 32, 234n 40; imperfections in textual practice of, xvii-xix; male friendship and, xxii; maternal body and, 173; the personal vs. the ideal and, xvii; personhood and, xiv; pluralism, 126, 229n 16; and "rough" persona, 57. See also faith in sex; freedom; politics; United

"Democratic Art" (Symonds), 140 Democratic Party: Brenton and WW and, 26, 30; and Free-Soil movement, 68– 69; George Law and, 234n 39; Locofocos, 32

Democratic Review, 37-38, 41, 215n 25 Democratic Vistas, 126-127, 147, 172, 173-176, 180-181, 191, 240nn 4-5, 242n 19

departures: dynamic of, 91-92, 220n 12; as human condition, 164

Dickinson, Emily: on death and rebirth, 103, 104; editing of poems, 98; literary alienation of, 186, 187–188; northern secession poems of, 231n 25; romances of, 74–75, 215n 26; sexuality and, 188–189; WW and, xix, 187–188

Dickinson, Susan Gilbert, 75, 98, 188-

Diehl, Joanne Feit, 179 Disraeli, Benjamin, 175 Doherty, Robert W., 202n 37

domesticity, xiv-xv; ambivalence toward, 190, 192, 244n 45; Louisa Whitman and, 2, 15; resistance to, 107–108; Woodbury critique of, 30–35. See also marriage; middle-class values

domestic violence, 226n 62

domination: as intrinsic, 195n 1; Louisa Whitman and resistance to, 226n 61; struggle with, of WW, xv-xvi; as unjust, ambivalence toward, 180. See also patriarchy; power

"Dough-Face Song" ("Song for Certain Congressmen"), 213n 11

Douglas, Ann, 2011 34 Douglas, Stephen Arnold, 160 Douglass, Frederick, 69

Dowling, Linda, 217n 32, 22on 10 Doyle, Peter, xxii-xxiii, fig. 10; in

Civil War, 167; and deception of WW, 8; and erotic attractions of WW, 196n 7, 197nn 15–17; and Lincoln assassination, 155; as one of many, xxiii, 197n 16; style of letters to, 33; and theater, love of, 155, 235n 2; and Vaughan, xx

Drum-Taps, 13, 154, 157, 176, 231n 24

education: reform of, 46, 209n 9; of Walter Senior, 21; of women, 192; of WW, 22, 204n 44

Edward VII (king of England), 166, 238n 29

Eighteenth Presidency!, The, 108-109,

173, 224n 45 Eldridge, Charles, 227n 3 Eliot, T. S., 156, 199n 8

Emerson, Ralph Waldo: appropriation of, by WW, 218n 1; content of meetings with, as unknown, 64-65, 212n 6; editing advice from, 128, 228n 11; on friendship, 99-100; on intellect and detachment, 55; and "long foreground," 56, 218n 1; name change of, 69; open letter to, 63, 74, 81, 83, 86, 90, 98, 121, 173, 189, 215n 24, 218n 1; relationship with WW, 83, 102, 121, 161, 215n 24, 218n 1; sexuality of, 196n 9; on true poets, 55

emotions: authority of, 83–84; grandfather and, 3; honesty in, importance of, xiv; physical size as belying, 24; "rough" persona and experience of, 59, 60. See also aggression; anxieties of WW; compassion; grief; guilt; hap-

piness; love

employment of WW: applications for, 73, 74; as carpenter, myth of, 79; in Clarke law office, 22; conflicts with employers, 73, 214n 22; in Democratic party, 34–35; education and, 204n 44; in government, 150, 174, 235n 41; as journalist (see journalism of WW); and leisure, desire for (see leisure); as printer, 22–23, 25, 26, 28–29, 204nn 44, 46; real estate dealings, 78–79; as teacher, 24–25, 30–35, 209n 9

enemies, distinguishing from friends, 157-158

Enfans d'Adam (Children of Adam), 127-135, 137; critical reception of, 127-128, 227n 8; motive for, 127

English language, 90-91, 130

ennui, 123, 228n 10 epitaph, 143–144

equality: of gender, 120, 230n 23; Hannah Whitman Heyde and, 120, 226nn 61-62; lack of, in companions sought, xx, xxii, xxiii, 61-63, 77-78, 79-80, 98, 134-135; lack of, in poetry, 134-135; phobias of, 105, 222n 34. See also class; feminism; homophobia; racism; sexism

Erkkila, Betsy, xvii, 184–185, 203n 42, 216n 29, 220n 11, 223n 37, 224n 45, 229n 16, 234n 40, 235n 41, 236n 5,

244n 45

erotics. See heterosexuality; homosexuality; male-homoerotic desire; sexuality "Ethiopia Commenting." See "Ethiopia

Saluting the Colors"
"Ethiopia Saluting the Colors," 176, 179
eugenics, 182, 242n 23
"Europe" ("Resurgemus"), 213n 11

Evening Post, 213n 11

"Faces," 4, 199nn 7–8, 204n 43 "Fact-Romance," 3, 4–5, 14

faith in sex, 81, 121; in competition with social disease, 84, 121; as displacing authoritarian Father, 88; and literary vocation, 137; male homoerotic love included in, 152; remembering of body and, 97; and working-class roots, 97.

See also sexuality

family: archetypal, xv; chosen, 196n 12; disaffection from, xix-xx, 2, 10, 59, 84-85, 137, 192; ideal, biological fathers as excluded from, 46; idealization of, 23; journalism of WW and, 4-6; metaphor/portrait of, and United States, 86, 126; as misunderstanding WW, 2; as model in *Leaves of Grass*, 83, 84-88, 94-97, 114-1121; from personal to archetypal, 83, 84-88, 94-97, 107, 114-115, 117, 161-162, 173; WW as head of, 69, 107. *See also* fathers; mothers

fantasies, Leech correspondence and, 35-36

fathers: absence of, as ideal, 46; as abusive, 41; ambivalence toward, 157, 161, 169; authoritarian, 86–87, 88, 95, 157, 161; exclusion of, 13, 46,

250 fathers (continued) 182; ideal, 137; impersonation of ideal, 107; race and, 189; reconciling with, 180; resistance to (see patriarchy; power); roles of, 189; surrogate (see father surrogates); understanding rejected by, 179–180. See also family; mothers; Whitman, Walter Senior father surrogates: Hartshorne as, 22-23; in ideal family, 46; WW as, 107 Fehrenbacher, Don E., 238n 28 femininity: of society, war and, 197n 21. See also gender; masculinity feminism: antisex stance in, 188-189; characterization of, by WW, 177; prosex stance in, 189-190. See also mothers; sexism; women feminization: compensatory virilization and, xvi-xvii; erotic self-abandonment and, 132, 133; identification as female, and male-homoerotic desire, 89-90, 93, 116, 129-130, 132-134, 184, 228n 12; as legitimating, 138, 140; retreat into, 179-183, 184; surrender to, as psychic wholeness, 88-89; war's futility and, 175. See also gender Fern, Fanny (Sara Willis Parton), 192, 2121 7, 2441 48 fiction, xiv; abandonment of, in denial of male-homoerotic desire, 38, 52-53, 54-55, 210n 12; conventionality of, 38, 208n 7; and disaffection from family, 84-85; income resulting from, 37-38; intimacy and, xvii; as lifelong option, 54; male bonding in plotlines of, 41-46, 51-52, 53-55, 209nn 11, 210n 12; mother in, 11; readership of, 37; WW's opinion of, 37, 53. See also language; literary tradition; poetry; sentimentality; style Fifteenth Amendment, 176 Flood, John (Broadway Jack), xxiii Folsom, Ed, 155, 208n 8 Fone, Bryne R. S., xvii, 209n 11 Forbush, Bliss, 203n 37 Foucault, Michel, 90, 91, 219n 10 Fowlers and Wells, 58 Franklin, R. W., 215n 26, 231n 25 Franklin Evans or The Inebriate: A Tale of the Times, xvii, 37, 39, 46-53, 54, 70-71, 210-211nn 13-14, 211n 23 "Free Academies at Public Cost," 192 Freedman, Florence Bernstein, 209n 9 freedom: affection and problem of, 109, 125-126, 141-142, 152; from gender,

as escape, 103-104; vs. limitation, as

difficult distinction, 63; Louisa Whit-

man as imparting love of, 15; problem of, xv, 109, 152; romanticization of, 136. See also democracy; sexuality Free Enquirer, 22 Free-Soil movement, 68-69, 73, 224n 45 French language, use of, 90-91 Freud, Sigmund, 123-124 friendships: enemy relationship distinguished from, 157-158; as human necessity, 136; male (see male bonding; male friendship; male-homoerotic desire); romantic (see romantic friendships). See also companions Frost, Robert, 95

Galaxy, 174, 176, 2011 26 Gatta, John, 244n 47 gay, as term, 49, 211n 15 gay studies, xx, 217n 33 gender: archetypes of, 83; audience displeasure with contested, 100-101; biological reduction of women, 184; as cultural construction, 90; derationalization and, 39; domesticity vs. selfdevelopment and, 190, 244n 45; equality of, 120, 230n 23; fear of female, 103; freedom from, as escape, 103-104; idleness and, 30; of intelligence, 230n 23; loss of, through male identification with female, 89-90, 93, 116, 129-130, 132-134, 184, 22811 12; race and roles of, 189; race critique and, 40-41; race subsumed by discourse of, 124-125, 173-178; war and, xxiii, 197n 21. See also class; race; sexuality genre, 211n 20 Germany, WW's influence in, 217n 33 Gilbert, Sandra M., 186 Gilchrist, Anne, 98, 187, 2011 26, Gilfoyle, Timothy J., 2111 21 glistening, use of, 136, 230n 22 God, 92, 93 Gohdes, Clarence, 118 Golden, Arthur, 33, 206n 65, 214n 20 Graham, Jorie, 97 Grant, Ulysses S., 163, 164, 241n 13 Gray, Fred, xxii, 162 "Great Are the Myths" ("Poem of a Few Greatnesses"), 130-131, 228n 13 Greece, ancient: homosexuality in, 76-77, 217n 32; male divinity in, 79; values of, as superior, 76 greed: as disruptive, 39. See also wealth

Greeley, Horace, 64, 241n 13

Greenspan, Ezra, 105, 197n 12, 221n 26

grief: homoerotic culture and, 158–159; in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," 155, 156, 158–159, 166–170, 239n 33
Griswold, Rufus N., 112
Grosskurth, Phyllis, 231n 26
Grossman, Allen, 237n 23
Grossman, Jay, 233n 32
Grünzweig, Walter, 217
guilt: death and, 168, 170, 171; about homosexuality, 150; love and, 133; sexual, 191. See also emotions

Hale, Edward Everett, 111
Hale, John Parker, 72–73
Half-Breed, The: A Tale of the Western
Frontier, 40–41
Halperin, David M., 217n 32
hands: dangers of, 110; and handwriting,
116, 158, 224n 46; unseen, 90, 116;
and "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," 155, 158, 170–171
Hansen, Elaine Tuttle, 239n 2
happiness: commitment to finding, 152;
masculinity in opposition to, 40; personae in defense of, 57; as theme, xv;
WW's need to provide, 80. See also

Harlan, James, 235n 41
Harned, Thomas, 208n 2
Harper's Magazine, 124
Hart, Ellen Louise, 215n 26
Hartshorne, William, 22-23
Hassett, William, 225n 53
Hawthorne, Nathaniel, 37, 38, 69, 191
Hayes, A. H., 214n 22
Hazan, Cindy, 219n 6
Helms, Alan, 233n 30

emotions

heterosexuality: aggression and, xxi; compulsory (see heterosexuality, compulsory); male-homoerotic desire as stage toward, 209n 11; norms of, and isolation of WW, xiii–xiv; pregnancy as assumed outcome of, 181; as slavery, 16. See also homosexuality; sexuality

heterosexuality, compulsory, 54–55, 131–132, 152; anonymous lovemaking in opposition to, 89–90; mocking style and, 125; repression into, 150; self-revision and, 67–68; shame and, 190. See also homophobia

Heyde, Charles (brother-in-law), 116, 118-120, 200n 24, 225nn 58-60, 226n 62-63

Heyde, Hannah Whitman (sister), 114– 121, 200n 24, 225nn 51, 53, 59, 60, 226nn 61–63; as audience, xvi; birth

of, 7; death of, 117, 225nn 53; depressions of, 117, 119-120; and mother, relationship with, 78; WW's identification with, 113, 114, 118, 120-121 Hicks, Elias, 20-21, 202nn 37-39 Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 187, 188 history: ambivalence toward, as shaping poetry, 186; as gendered, 92; as heroic, 23; naive believer, WW as, 131; obliteration of, 75; transmutation of self through revision of, 68; women's, as contested, 185 Holland, Josiah Gilbert, 188 Hollis, C. Carroll, 218n 2 Holloway, Emory, 133, 211n 18, 214n 16, 229nn 16-17 "Home Burial" (Frost), 95 homophobia: critique of, 147; equality as phobia and, 105, 222n 34; as inhibiting, xvi-xviii, 152, 234n 40; internalized, 150, 234n 40; lack of, in romantic friendship, 207n 65. See also class; gender; racism; self-censorship; sexism homosexuality: of ancient Greeks, 76-77, 217n 32; discourse of, movement toward, 77; gay, as term, 49, 211n 15; guilt about, 150; as identity, xxii; queer, as term, 38, 208n 6. See also heterosexuality; sexuality homosexual rights, xxii, 138-141 hospital visits, xxii, 61, 62, 80, 168, 185 "Hours continuing long, sore and heavyhearted," 142–144, 233n 31 "House of Friends, The," 213n 11 humor, sense of: lack of, 61-62; in Leaves of Grass, 67, 91 Hunkers, 69 Hutchinson, George B., xvii Hyde, Lewis, 181 hypermasculinity: as defense, 57, 70-71 identity: anxiety about, 179; death and

identity: anxiety about, 179; death and loss of, 103; and female, identification with, 116; feminization and, 179–181. See also self

"I felt a Funeral, in my Brain" (Dickinson), 103

ignorance, 134

"Incident on Long Island Forty Years Ago, An" ("When my mother was a girl"), 4–5, 6

Indians. See Native Americans individualism: excessive, as illness, 64, 88, 95; as isolating, 123, 126, 147. See also isolation

Ingemann, Bernhard, 73, 215n 23 intimacy, fear of, xiii, xxi; anonymity

intimacy (continued)

and, 96; audience and, 106; easing of, xvi; encompassing imagery and, xvi; Enfans d'Adam and, 130; and "real" self, xiv; transformation of, 193. See also anonymity; anxieties of WW

Irigaray, Luce, 133, 230n 18
Irishmen, in *The Half-Breed*, 40-41
"I Saw in Louisiana a live-oak growing,"

124-125, 134, 152

"I Sing the Body Electric": aggression in, xxi, 229n 16; death and, 228n 13; family archetypes in, 83; intelligence as gendered in, 23on 23; prejudice addressed in, 134; race and, 189; reviews of, 224n 47, 229n 16

isolation: avoidance of disturbing particulars and, 8; and heterosexual norms, rejection of, xiii–xiv; individualism as causing, 123, 126, 147; perfect love and, 157; and sexual secrecy, 148. See also emotions; individualism; self

Jacksonian era, 85, 97, 219n 7 James, Henry, 33, 200n 26, 231n 26 jealousy, 138, 140, 142, 143, 233n 31 Jeffords, Susan, 197n 21 Johnson, Andrew, 165 Johnson, Thomas H., 215n 26, 221n 21, 231n 25

journalism of WW, fig. 5; art criticism, 76, 216n 31; at Brooklyn Daily Times, 54, 66, 69, 102, 114, 192, 232n 29; class privilege and, 135; disenchantment with, 69; early employment and, 22; as editor, 54; family themes in, 4–6; homoeroticism and, xvii; imperfect ideals and, xvii–xviii; interest in, discovery of, 22; as Knickerbocker, 64, 212n 4; on New York Aurora, 52–53, 211n 22; at New York Daily News, 212n 10; ownership of paper, 25; at Weekly Freeman, 68–69; on women's equality, 177, 192. See also employment of WW

Kaplan, Justin, 196n 9, 205n 51, 211n 16, 223n 40, 231n 28, 241n 13
Karp, David Lawrence, 222n 31
Kennedy, John Fitzgerald, 166
Kennedy, William Sloane, 187, 243n 34
Kenny, Maurice, 208n 8
Killingsworth, M. Jimmie, xvii, 151, 228n 11, 232n 30, 235n 41, 242n 23
Kings County Lunatic Asylum, 200n 21
Kinnell, Galway, 156

Kirkpatrick, Jean Romig, 210n 13 Knickerbocker journalists, 64, 212n 4 Komunyakaa, Yusef, 214n 21 Kunhardt, Dorothy Meserve, 235n 1 Kunhardt, Philip B., 235n 1

language: brutal, 218n 41; death and, 111; as divisive, 56; English, 90-91, 130; freeing of, 67; French, use of, 90-91; Greek, as homosexual code, 217n 32; invention of, 63; male friendship as absent in, 121; maternal vs. paternal, 182, 183; passion for, 131-132, 229n 14; resistance to norms of, 172; in resistance to patriarchy, 55; rude, 81, 82, 84, 112, 224n 48; self-determination and, 172; self-division and, 80; of sexuality, 109; of souls, 54; of suffering, 239n 33; symbolic, 33; transformation through, 184, 193; as weapon, 46, 125, 227n 5, 228n 13; word frequency, 220n 15; zeal of, 68. See also democracy; fiction; literary tradition; poetry; sentimentality; style; voice Larson, Kerry C., 229n 15, 236n 7 Lathem, Edwin Connery, 220n 14 Law, George, 234n 39 Lawrence, D. H., 184, 222n 31 Leaves of Grass: as child of WW, 96; departure dynamic and, 91-92, 220n 12; humor in, 67, 91; imperfect idealism in, xvii-xix; Lincoln as reader of, 237n 20; Louisa Whitman as muse for, 1, 2, 8, 19, 185, 2011 33; as merger of social and erotic experience, 146; mis-

parture dynamic and, 91–92, 2201 12; humor in, 67, 91; imperfect idealism in, xvii–xix; Lincoln as reader of, 2371 20; Louisa Whitman as muse for, 1, 2, 8, 19, 185, 2011 33; as merger of social and erotic experience, 146; missionary intentions of, xv; mother as quoting, 18; motherhood as constant in, 172; publication of, 97–98, 122, 123, 2261 3, 2351 41; as record of self, xiii, xxiv; "rough" persona and, 60; self-reviews of, 65–66, 122–124, 126, 128; size of readership, 37, 123, 2261 3, 2351 41; twenty-eight as number in, 114

Leaves of Grass (1855): Adam and Eve in, 130–131; audience and, xiii–xiv; body as focus of, 88, 97; contradiction and, 64; as creation of experience, 59; death in, 131, 228n 13; drive for creation of, 79–80; faith in sex, 81, 84, 88, 97; family and, 83, 84–88, 94–97, 114–121; fear of intimacy and, xvi; frontispiece for, fig. 7; gender and, 100; male-homoerotic desire as claimed/disowned in, 90–97; misegenation as concept in, 211n 23; mother in,

14; "Preface," xvi, 108, 173, 183, 192, 195n 3; publicity for, 65-66; representational exclusion and, 62-63; and "rough" persona, 60, 80, 102; self-reviews for, 65-66; selves-in-crisis of, 62-63; sexual freedom and, 66; sexualized emotion and defamiliarization, xiii; transference in, 88; unconscious intentions and, 58; and unconstraint, 62; voices of, as divergent, 58; "Walt" name change in, 70

Leaves of Grass (1856): body as focus of, 88, 97; death in, 228n 13; defamiliarization emphasized in, xiii; Emerson, open letter to, 63, 74, 81, 83, 86, 90, 98, 121, 173, 189, 215n 24, 218n 1; faith in sex, 81, 84, 88, 97; family and, 83, 84–88, 94–97, 114–121; gender and, 100; male-homoerotic desire as claimed/disowned in, 90–97; merger of social and sexual experience in, 148–149; transference in, 88; United States in, 84, 86

Leaves of Grass (1860): career disavowal in, 181; Charles Heyde on, 118-119; critical reception of, 123, 124, 127-128, 227n 8; death and rebirth in, 104, 222n 32; frontispiece of, 128, fig. 8; functional self, competing conceptions of, 124; homoerotic desire privileged in, xiii; male-homoerotic desire as self-censored in, 105, 135, 138-152, 181, 228n 11, 230n 17, 231nn 27-28, 232n 30, 233nn 31, 34, 234n 40, 235n 41; as "odd," 122, 124-125, 131; publication of, 122, 123, 226n 3; self-reviews of, 122-124, 126, 128; typography of, 122, 124-125, 146

Leaves of Grass (1871): race and gender in, 176

Leaves of Grass (1881): Boston persecution and sales of, 235n 41; "Once I passed through a populous city," 133-134, 135; prostitute lines excised in, 130; publication of, 235n 41

Leaves of Grass (1920): differences from prior editions, 133-134

Leech, Abraham Paul, 30–36, 207n 70 "Legend of Life and Love, A," 40 leisure: ethic of, 11, 30, 220n 14; gende

leisure: ethic of, 11, 30, 220n 14; gender and, 30; Louisa Whitman and, 11, 18; WW and, 11, 18, 201n 34. See also class; employment of WW

Leverenz, David, 42–43, 203n 41 Levi-Strauss, Claude, 179 Lily, The, 240n 3 Lincoln, Abraham: ambivalence of WW toward, 159–167, 170, 238n 27; appearance of, 159, 162–163; assassination of, 154–155, 162, 164, 165, 167, 170, 193, 235n 1; in Civil War, 163–164, 166, 238n 28; on death, 169–170, 239n 35; as "dictator," 238n 28; elegies for, 165; as reader of WW, 237n 20. See also "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd"

"Lincoln Reminiscence, A," 238n 27 literary tradition: alienation from, as wellspring, 186; attack on, by WW, 66, 82-84, 88; ignorance of, WW as exaggerating, 96; language of, 104-105; sentimentality and, 185; stereotypes of, 105; "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd" as belying WW's struggle against, 156. See also democracy; fiction; language; poetry; style "Live Oak with Moss," 232n 29

Locofocos, 32 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 13, 37 Longfellow, Samuel, 75, 215n 27 Long Islander, 25

"Long I thought that knowledge alone would suffice me," 138, 140, 142, 232n 29, 233n 31 Lord, Otis, 189

Loving, Jess, 189 Loving, Jerome, 118, 215n 24, 225n 57, 228n 11, 235n 41, 241n 13 Lowell, James Russell, 37, 111 Lynch, Michael, 227n 6

Madman, The, 53-54
male bonding: competition as impediment to, 136-137, 138; in fiction plotlines, 41-46, 51-52, 53-55, 209n 11,
210n 12

male friendship: adhesiveness and, 227n 6; democracy and, xxii; Emerson on, 99–100; limitations of, 98; romantic (see romantic friendships)

male-homoerotic desire: abandonment of fiction in denial of, 38, 52-53, 54-55, 210n 12; adhesiveness, 126, 127, 147, 227n 6; as aesthetic, 126; aggression and, xxi; *Calamus* poems as exemplifying (see *Calamus*); claiming/disowning in early editions of *Leaves of Grass*, 90-97; companions of WW (see companions); competition and, 68, 136-137, 138; and control, fear of loss of,

male-homoerotic desire (continued) 91, 93, 96; democracy and, 123-127, 141-142, 143, 147-148, 152, 158-159, 233n 32, 234n 40; erotic coerciveness and, 106; as excessive, xxi; family relationships as model for, 88; and female, identification with, 89-90, 93, 116, 129-130, 132-134, 184, 228n 12; as fluid, xxii-xxiii; grief and, 158-159; ideal family as constituted by, 46; and low-class other, 134-135; physical expression of, xx-xxii; privileging of, xiii; renunciation of, 105, 135, 138-152, 181, 228n 11, 230n 17, 23 Inn 27-28, 23 2n 30, 23 3nn 31, 34, 234n 40, 235n 41; subculture of, 75; tensions of WW in expression/selfsuppression of, 159; as undemocratic, 127, 140; women's roles in culture of, 125. See also feminization; male bonding; male friendship; romantic friendships

Man-Love poems. See Calamus marriage: bad food and, 207n 67; dismantling of, 130-131; early, as counseled, 47, 49, 53; feminist view of, according to WW, 177; male-homoerotic desire as stage toward, 209n 11; malemale, 140, 142; pledge to, as rapidly exhausted, 132-133; sexism of, 179; social attitudes and, 206n 59; transgression of WW toward, 29-30, 206n 59; as unavailable to all, 85, 225n 50; as unhappy, 52. See also domesticity; middle-class values; sexuality

Martin, Robert K., xvii, 135, 217n 33,

229n 17, 230n 20

masculinity: aggression of, retreat from, 179-180, 242n 20; authorship and, xvi-xvii; disaffection from, xix; drinking and, 207n 71; hypermasculinity, as defense, 57, 70-71; Louisa Whitman's ideals of, 3; romantic friendship and, 207n 65; war and, xxiii, 15, 197n 21. See also femininity; feminization; gender

Maslan, Mark, 224n 46 master narrative, 46 masturbation. See autoeroticism Matthiessen, F. O., 220n 11 McClure, J. E., 214n 22 McPherson, James, 175-176 Melville, Herman, 69 memory: grief and, 168, 169; poet's mission and, 97; repression of, 158,

men: single, sexuality and, 85, 115; as

term, 183, 243n 26. See also fathers; gender; mothers; women

metaphor, 211n 23

Meyers, Marvin, 219n 7 middle-class values, xiv-xv; domesticity (see domesticity); food and, 30-31,

32-34, 35, 207n 67; marriage (see marriage); and publication of work, 97; racializing in fiction of, 39; Woodbury critique of, 30-35. See also class;

working class

Miller, Edwin H., 217n 32 Miller, James E., 229n 16 mind, and body as lost vs. found, 97 Mitchell, Donald Grant, 2011 34 modernity, maternity as answer to prob-

lem of, 178 Moers, Ellen, 30

Molinoff, Katherine, 118, 200n 19, 225nn 51, 53

Moon, Michael, xvii, 146, 156, 157, 201n 26, 210n 12, 232n 30, 236n 13, 24311 26

"Moral Effect of the [Atlantic] Cable, The," 216n 29

morbidity, charges of, 123, 127, 228n 10. See also death

Morris, Timothy, 218n 3

mothers: absence of, violence and, 39-40; agency of, males and, 173, 179, 190; ambivalence of WW and, 172-173, 178-183, 189-192; careers of, 177, 192, 241n 15, 244n 45; creativity as symbolized by, 184-185, 242n 23; Dark Mother, 168-169, 171, 175, 240n 8; as de-eroticized, 189-190; divine, 177, 191; "good motherhood," 178, 192; and healthy sexuality, 109; ideal, 137; in ideal family, 46; identity and, 179-180; inadequate, as patriarchal role, 169; motherist movement/ cult, 172-173, 239nn 2-3; as muse, 1, 2, 8, 19, 172, 185, 201n 33; as nurturant, 41; perfect, xviii-xix, 180-181; Poem-Mother, 182-183; as political problem solver, 189; poverty of, 46; as programmatic, 173; as supreme goal, 184-185, 189-192. See also family; fathers; Whitman, Louisa Van Velsor

mother-surrogates, 7 Mott, Frank Luther, 208n 2 Muchmore, W. M., 73 Murray, Patty, 241n 15

muscle: offset hoped for, 56; semitic/seminal, 244n 44; as symbol, 66, 212n 7; and tenderness, 60

muses, 1, 2, 8, 19, 169, 172, 185, 2011 33

music, 107, 223n 41 "My Boys and Girls," 69, 117, 213n 12 Myers, F. W. H., 139, 231n 26 "Myself and Mine," 160

narcissism, 166, 221n 19 narratives: master, 46; repressed, 88-89 Nathanson, Tenney, xvii, 107, 218n 2 nationalism, 83, 126, 138, 233n 31; of canonical texts, 218n 3. See also democracy; United States Native Americans: attitudes of WW toward, 39; Louisa Whitman and, 14-15; rage of, 39; and The Half-Breed, 40-41 nature, expansion of, 68 Newfield, Christopher, 183, 197n 14, 242n 20 New Orleans, and "Walt" name change, 69, 72-73, 136, 214nn 21-22, 23on 19 New Orleans Crescent, 214n 22 New World, 37, 42, 44, 45 New York, NY, 60-61, 174, 234n 39 New York Aurora, 52-53, 2111 22 New York Daily News, 212n 10 New York Dispatch, 213n 11 New York Saturday Press, 123, 226n 1 New York Times, 119, 22717 New York Tribune, 111, 213n 11 North American Review, 111 Norton, Charles Eliot, 111-112 notebooks, 3, 198n 4; on Enfans d'Adam, 127; evidence for transformation romance, lack of, 74; lost Emerson conversations, 212n 6; on male-homoerotic desire, 149-150; "Pictures" and, 77-78; on renunciation, 148; sexual attitudes in, 65; on soul, 149; Van Velsor's and war, 5, 198n 5 November Boughs, 20 Nussbaum, Martha, 212n 3

Oates, Stephen B., 227n 5 objectification, 58 "O Captain! My Captain!" 164 O'Connor, Ellen, 98, 196n 12, 227n 3; WW's correspondence with, 11, 174, 178

O'Connor, William Douglas, 174, 196n 12, 227n 3, 228n 9; break with WW, 241n 13; defense of WW, 119, 201n 26, 241n 13

Olds, Sharon, 244n 44
"Once I passed through a populous city,"
133-134, 135

"One Wicked Impulse," 41

nymphs, 169

"On the Beach at Night Alone" ("Clef Poem"), 190–191, 244n 46 orgasm, 224n 47 Osgood, James R., 235n 41 Ostriker, Alicia, 184, 185, 222n 35 "Our Future Lot" ("Time to Come"), 26–27, 206n 56 "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking," 98, 123; personal suffering and, 123,

124; unity and, 126

parody, 206n 56
Parton, James, 232n 29
Parton, Sara Willis (Fanny Fern), 192, 212n 7, 244n 48
Partridge, Eric, 208n 6
"Passage to India," 94
patriarchy: authority, ambivalence toward, 157, 159–167, 169–171, 236n 7; Democratic Mother in resistance to, 183–184; denial of authority of, 160–161; language in resistance to, 55; mother absence and abuses of, 38–40. See also competition; fathers; isolation; politics; power

Patriot, 22
Pease, Donald E., 219n 9
Perloff, Marjorie, 211n 20
persecution of WW, 150, 235n 41
Pessen, Edward, 234n 35
Peterson, Merrill D., 237n 20
Pfaff's, 61, 98
philosophy, plans to write book of, 27
photographs of WW, 56, 66, 128, 212n 1,

figs. 4-13
"Pictures," 77, 217n 34
Plato, 76-77
pluralism, 126, 229n 16
Poe, Edgar Allan, 37, 61, 69
"Poem of a Few Greatnesses" ("Great

Are the Myths"), 130–131, 228n 13
"Poem of Procreation" ("A Woman Waits for Me"), 190

"Poem of The Dead Young Men of Europe" ("Europe"), 213n 11

"Poem of the Road" ("Song of the Open Road"), 148-149, 176

"Poem of The Sayers of The Words of The Earth" ("Song of the Rolling Earth"), 87, 94

"Poem of Women" ("Unfolded Out of the Folds"), 182

poetry: as antipatriarchal, 55; aspiration to gentility, 56; authority of (see authority, poetic); death as forestalled by, 164; departures as stimulating, 164; editing advice on, 98, 128, 129, 228n poetry (continued)

11; faith in, 121; gendered ambivalence and, 186; light of, 114; power of, 123, 124; secession, northern, 2311 25; self-censorship of (see self-censorship); shift to, 54-55, 69, 2131 11; "song" in titles of, 2161 29; spiritual power of writing, 68. See also fiction; language; literary tradition; sentimentality; style

poets, true, 55 politics: ambivalence of WW and, 131; definition of, 195n 2; dream of, refusal to surrender, 240n 4; reform of, 215n 25; refusal to identify with party, 224n 45; representation of WW and, 64; WW as withdrawing from, 138. See also democracy; social reform; United States

Pollak, Vivian R., 215n 26 Pound, Louise, 220n 11

power: definition of, 195n 2; fiction in resistance to, 38-40; private vs. public, for women, 191-192; in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," 170. See also authority; fathers; patriarchy

precedents: weighing extremity of abandonment of, 123-124; withdrawal from, 83-84, 88

Price, Abby Hills, 98-99, 163, 221n 22, 228n 10

Price, Helen, 70, 98, 99, 213n 14, 221n 22 Price, Kenneth M., 164, 200n 26, 201n 33, 206n 56, 215n 24

private vs. public domains, 105-106, 137, 140, 222n 36, 223n 37; women's roles and, 191-192

prostitution, 130, 132, 135

protection, 109-111

"Proto-Leaf" ("Starting from Paumanok"), 141, 161

"Proud Music of the Storm," 13, 183 publicity, by WW, 58, 65–66, 111, 112, 122–124, 126, 128

public vs. private domains. See private vs. public domains

Puritanism, 90, 91

Quakerism, 4, 20, 198n 6, 201n 37 queer, as term, 38, 208n 6

race: Civil War deaths and, 175–176; Dark Mother and, 171; expanded sexual discourse and empowerment of, 124; gender critique and, 40–41; gender discourse subsuming, 124–125, 173-178; gender roles and, 189; imperial presence and, 166; miscegenation, concept of, 211n 23. See also African Americans

racializing: Dark Mother and, 24on 8; derationalization and, 39; romanticization of freedom and, 136; of "The Sleepers," 14–15. See also sentimentality

racism: of Carlyle's essay, 174–175; challenges to, in writings of WW, 134; evasion of contributions by nonwhites, 175–176; O'Connor split and, 241n 13; of WW, xvii–xviii, 175–178, 241n 13. See also abolitionism; slavery; social reform

Ramazani, Jahan, 164, 169 Rankin, Henry B., 237n 20 Raritan Bay Union, 221n 22 Raymond, Henry Jarvis, 119

real self: desire for, 181; as gendered, 92; lack of intimacy with, xiv; meaning of, xiv; as mocking, 152; performance of self and, 145–147; transformation of, 193. See also identity; individualism; self

Rees Welsh & Co., 235n 41
religion: Louisa Whitman and, 17; Quakerism in background of WW, 4, 20, 199n 6, 202n 37; Walter Senior and, 217n 35; WW and, 22, 101, 168
"Respondez! Respondez!" 162
"Resurgemus" ("Europe"), 213n 11
reviews. See criticism

Reynolds, David S., xvii, 84, 2011 28, 2041 47, 2051 51, 2091 9, 2101 13

Rich, Adrienne, 186, 243n 33 Roman Catholicism, 40-41

romantic friendships, 206n 65; name change and, 66–67, 70–72, 74–75, 214n 21; problem of, xx. *See also* friendships; male-homoerotic desire

Roosa, D. B., 61-62

Rorabaugh, W. J., 204n 46 Rorty, Richard, 60, 63–64, 147, 148, 212n 2

Rossetti, William Michael, 228n 9 Rotundo, E. Anthony, 203n 41, 206n 65

Rover, 117

Rowson, Susanna, 167, 239n 31 Rubin, Gayle, 179

Rubin, Joseph Jay, 205n 49

rudeness: as insufficient, 136; of language, 81, 82, 84, 112, 224n 48; romanticization of, 134

Runge, William H., 239n 32 Ryan, Mary, 240n 3

Sacks, Peter M., 157, 158, 236n 13
Sánchez-Eppler, Karen, xvii, 211n 23
Saturday Press, 98
Savage, Kirk, 216n 27
Scarlet Letter, The (Hawthorne), 191
Schmidgall, Gary, 198n 2
school reform, 46, 209n 9
Scofield, Minard S., 79
Scott, Sir Walter, 22
Scribner's Monthly, 188
Sedgwick, Eve Kosofsky, 202n 34, 217n 33, 225n 58, 227nn 6, 8
self: as author, 62-64: development of

self: as author, 62–64; development of, as ideal, 190–191, 244n 45; of feminist criticism, xviii; imperial, 159; mythology of, xxiii–xxiv; real (see real self); record of, xxiv; repression of, xxiii–xxiv; sexual abandonment of, 132, 133; as weapon, 228n 13; writing to instantiate, 181. See also identity; individualism

self-censorship: abandonment of fiction in denial of male-homoerotic desire, 38, 52-53, 54-55, 2101 12; Emerson's suggestions for, 128, 2281 11; Lincoln material, omissions in, 155, 159, 165, 170, 236nn 5, 7, 238n 27; and renunciation of male-homoerotic desire, 105, 135, 138-152, 181, 228n 11, 230n 17, 231nn 27-28, 232n 30, 233nn 31, 34, 234n 40, 235n 41. See also criticism; homophobia; persecution of WW

self-reviews, 58, 65-66, 111, 112, 122-124, 126, 128

self-sufficiency: as self-deception, 242n 21.

See also individualism

Sellers, Charles, 203n 41 semen, 93, 182, 183, 190, 224n 47,

242n 24, 244n 44 semitic/seminal, 190, 244n 44

sentimentality: appropriate vs. inappropriate, 28; as buffer, 136–138; of childhood, 117; and democracy of feeling, 134; denial of, 70; racialism, 14–15; as suppressing distinctions, 185; welfare of living vs. dead in literature of, 167; in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd," 158, 167. See also fiction; language; literary tradition; poetry; style

separate spheres, xix, 192, 193 Seward, William Henry, 162 sexism: Enfans d'Adam and, 130; male voice for women, xix, 172, 173, 178-179, 182, 183-184, 186-187, 191-192; woman as death and, 240n 8; in writings of WW (see mothers; women). See also feminism; gender; social reform; women

sexual democracy. See democracy sexuality: autoeroticism (see autoeroticism); confusion about, 63; empowerment of (see faith in sex); grieving and, 156, 158-159; narcissism, 166, 221n 19; origins of, 109-110; power of, 109; precedents, abandonment of, 83-84, 88, 123-124; private vs. public domains and, 105-106, 137, 140, 222n 36, 223n 37; repression of (see sexual repression); sadism and, 147-148; secrecy about, 145, 148; as sublimated to utopian formulations, 62; trisexuality, 221n 19; voices of poetry and attitudes toward, 63. See also gender; heterosexuality; homosexuality; malehomoerotic desire

sexual repression: as constitutive of WW's work, 147–148; masculine resources and, 115; single women and, 114–115 "Shadow and the Light of a Young Man's

Soul, The," 24, 54, 205n 50 Shakespeare, William, 16 Shaver, Phillip R., 219n 6 Shiveley, Steven B., 208n 8 Shively, Charley, 221n 25 "Shooting Niagara," 173, 174–175 Silver, Rollo G., 118 slave of love, 132, 229n 15

slavery: in Whitman family, 241n 13; WW and, 54, 224n 45. See also abolitionism; African Americans; race

"Sleepers, The," xix, 14-17, 215n 23; grandmother and, 3-4; search for identity and, 94, 182

Smith, Barbara Herrnstein, 229n 13 Smith, Martha Nell, 215n 26 Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll, 206n 59, 207n 65

Smithtown Debating Society, 25 social reform: abolitionism (see abolitionism); ambivalence toward, 173; desire for, 60, 114; of education, 46, 209n 9; feminism (see feminism; gender); friendships and, 46; gay studies, xx, 217n 33; homosexual rights, xxii, 138–141; vs. poetic expression, xvii; vs. political reform, 215n 25; temperance (see temperance)

sodomy charges, accusations of, xxi, 209n 9

solitude, as dangerous, 60

"So Long!" 104

"Song for Certain Congressmen" ("Dough-Face Song"), 213n 11

"Song for Occupations, A," 105-106,

108, 120

"Song of Myself": aggression of love in, xxi; conceived as spiritual novel, 54; The Half-Breed compared to, 40; and intimacy, xvi, xxi; Louisa Whitman as quoting, 18; touch as discussed in, 58,

59, 60, 63

"Song of Myself" (1855): audience and, 67, 71–72; companions in notes for, 79–80; feminization and, 89–90, 93, 116, 184; and gentility, 57; glistening in, 230n 22; great-grandfather and, 199n 6; Hannah Whitman Heyde as model for twenty-ninth bather, 115–121; and literature, attack on, 82–83; lovemaking in, 89–97; punctuation of, 72

"Song of the Answerer," 57
"Song of the Broad-Axe," 161

"Song of the Open Road" ("Poem of the Road"), 148-149, 176

"Song of the Rolling Earth" ("Poem of The Sayers of The Words of The Earth"), 87, 94

soul: body and, 101; and individualism, excesses of, 95; language of, 54. See

also body; self

Specimen Days, 3, 45, 197n 20, 220n 15 Spiegelman, Willard, 220n 12 Springfield Daily Republican, 188 Stafford, Harry, xxiii, 7, 197n 20, fig. 11 Stafford, Susan, 7, fig. 11 caption Stanton, Elizabeth Cady, 189–190

"Starting from Paumanok" ("Proto-

Leaf"), 141 states rights, 161

Stoddard, Richard Henry, 165, 238n 27

Stovall, Floyd, 204n 44 Stowe, Harriet Beecher,

Stowe, Harriet Beecher, 185 Stuart, Carlos D., 73

style, xv; as heterodox, 185–186; of letters, 33; of Mocking-Bird poet, 125, 152. See also fiction; language; literary tradition; poetry

suffering: attraction to (see hospital visits); of dead vs. living, 167–168, 169, 170, 239n 33

suffrage, 175, 176, 177

"Sun-Down Papers from the Desk of a

Schoolmaster," 18, 24, 25, 27–28, 207n 67

"Supplement Hours," 220n 15 supremes, 160–162, 166 surrogate fathers. See father surrogates

Sweet, Timothy, 241n 9

swett, 1 miothy, 24.11 9
symbolism: breasts, 191, 244n 46; eyes,
137, 231n 24; fishermen, 150; food,
30-31, 32-34, 35, 207n 67; hands
(see hands); hermit thrush, 59, 159,
164, 168, 169, 170, 236n 3; horses,
25, 91; lilacs, 155, 158, 170, 171,
235n 1; live-oak, 136, 230n 21;
mullen/mullein/sullen, 95, 220n 15;
muscle (see muscle); phallus, xvi, 78,
79, 127, 230n 18; ship of state, 163-

164. See also language Symonds, Catherine North, 231n 26 Symonds, John Addington, 55, 75, 138– 141, 218n 41, 231nn 26, 28, 233n 31,

235n 43

Taylor, Zachary, 169

temperance: fiction of, 42-54, 210nn 13-14; Leech to WW on, 34; masculinity vs., 207n 71. *See also* social reform

"Thanatopsis" (Bryant), 206n 56 Thayer and Eldridge, 122, 123, 226n 3 "There Was a Child Went Forth," 84, 95,

96, 180, 182, 242n 21
"These I Singing in Spring," 230n 21
Thomas, M. Wynn, 21–22, 106, 203n 41,
222n 36, 242n 19

Thoreau, Henry David, 69, 112
"Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood,"
242n 24

"Time to Come" ("Our Future Lot"), 26-27, 206n 56

"To a Common Prostitute," 230n 22 Todd, Mabel Loomis, 189

Tome, Sandra, 11, 30

"To Think of Time" ("Burial Poem"), 181, 218n 35, 228n 13, 229n 14

Trachtenberg, Alan, 223n 37

Traubel, Horace, 1, 19, 22, 38, 75, 107, 117–118, 198n 1, 218n 41, 223n 39, 241n 13; as biographer, 1, 19, 38,

198n 1-2, 208n 2, fig. 13 caption Tyndale, Hector, 128, 129, 228n 10 Tyndale, Sarah, 207n 68, 228n 10,

232n 29 typography, 122, 124–125, 146

"Unfolded Out of the Folds" ("Poem of Women"), 182 United States: family portrait of, 86; metaphors of family and, 126; moral continent of, 84; Woman-Love poems and, 127, 227n 8. See also democracy urban life: enjoyment of, 60–61, 64–65, 206n 59; escape from, 91. See also country life

Van Nostrand, Mary Whitman (sister), 7, 200n 24, 211n 18 Van Velsor, Alonzo (uncle), 199n 9 Van Velsor, Amy (grandmother), 3-5, 6, 198n 6

Van Velsor, Cornelius ("Kell," grandfather), 3, 4–6, 198n 5, 199n 9

Vaughan, Fred, 98–99, 101–103, 221n
25, 222n 29, 224n 41, fig. 11 caption;
as audience, 101–103; Brooklyn visit
of, 12; eagerness of, xx; in Pfaff's, 98;
WW's warning to self about, xx, 102–
103

Vendler, Helen, 165, 239n 33 Views of Society and Manners in America (Wright), 190

violence: absence of mothers and, 39—40; domestic, 226n 62; maternal return in avoidance of, 169; national identity and, 193; and political change, 155, 227n 5, 236n 5. See also aggression; emotions

Virgin Mary cult, 191 virilization, xvi-xvii. See also feminization; hypermasculinity

vocalism, 107, 223n 41

voice: of African Americans, WW as, 176, 179; multivocality of *Leaves* of *Grass*, 58; self-representation and, 186; of women, WW as, xix, 172, 173, 178–179, 182, 183–184, 186–187, 191–192

Volney, Constantin, 22 vulnerability: celebration of, 97

war: homosocial bonds of, 15; remasculinization and, xxiii, 197n 21; Van Velsors and, 3, 198n 5. See also Civil War

Ward, John Quincy Adams, 75
Warner, Michael, 211n 14, 223n 36
Warren, Joyce W., 244n 48
Washington, George, 5, 15, 161
Washingtonian and Organ, 53
Waste Land, The (Eliot), 199n 8
wealth: greed, 39; middle class pursual
of, 35; romanticization of, and gender,
30; "Sun-Down Papers" and suspicion

of, 27, 28. See also class; middle-class values; working class
Weekly Freeman, 68–70
Welter, Barbara, 244n 45
Western frontier, 40–41
"We Two Boys Together Clinging," 137, 157, 223n 40
"When I Heard at the Close of the Day,"

"When I peruse the conquered fame of heroes," 151, 233n 31

"When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd": contractile impulse in, 59; dead vs. living, suffering of, 168, 169, 170, 175, 239n 33; grief and, 155, 156, 158–159, 166–170; guilt in, 168, 170, 171; maternal figure in, 168–169, 171, 175, 240n 8; omissions in, 155, 159, 165, 170, 236nn 5, 7; prefiguration of, 229n 14; as self-referential, 156–157; sexual and emotional ambivalence toward male authority figures and, 157, 159–167, 169–171, 236n 7; symbolism of, 155, 158, 170–171; writing of, 159, 164, 235n 3

"When my mother was a girl" ("An Incident on Long Island Forty Years Ago"), 4-5, 6

Whigs, 32, 34

"Whispers of Heavenly Death," 13

Whitestone, NY, 35

Whitman, Andrew (brother), 7, 12–13; in Civil War, 170, 239n 36; death of, 17–18, 170

Whitman, Edward (brother), 12, 13, 200n 23; alcoholism of father and, 22; birth of, 7; shared room with WW, 113

Whitman, George Washington (brother), 7, 13, 18, 200n 24; in Civil War, xxii, 153–154, 164, 165; and mother, 9–11; silences of, 20; on sister Hannah, 118; Whitman's retreat to home of, xxiii

Whitman, Hannah (sister). See Heyde, Hannah Whitman

Whitman, Hannah Brush (grandmother), 21

Whitman, Jesse (brother), 7, 11-12, 100nn 22-23; and death of Andrew, 17-18; in poetry, 94-95

Whitman, Jesse (grandfather), 21, 203n 40 Whitman, Louisa Orr (sister-in-law), xxiii

Whitman, Louisa Van Velsor (mother), fig. 3; appearance and character of, 6-9, 13-15, 113; attachment to WW,

Whitman, Louisa Van Velsor (continued) 9; as audience, xvi; in Civil War, 154, 164; death of, 13; and death of Walter Senior, 78; domesticity and, 2, 15; financial dependence of, 8, 10, 12, 13, 18, 174, 213n 15; friendships of, 9; on Heyde, 119, 225n 58; idealization of, xviii-xix, 1, 2, 3, 6, 9, 10, 17, 198n 1; and Lincoln assassination, 154-155; literacy of, 1, 13, 200n 26; loneliness of, 84; marriage of, 13; as muse, 1, 2, 8, 19, 185, 2011 33; and name change to "Walt," 70, 72-73, 74, 213nn 14-15; pregnancies of, 13, 23; pretense and, 8-9; religion and, 17; revisionism of WW and, 198n 1; as storyteller, 1, 6-7, 19; support of WW's work, 13, 113, 200n 26; and work, 11, 13-15, See also mothers

Whitman, Mary (sister). See Van Nostrand, Mary Whitman

Whitman, Mattie (Martha Mitchell, sister-in-law), 8, 9, 18, 107, 21111 18, 224111 42-43

Whitman, Thomas Jefferson ("Jeff," brother), 7, 8; on attacks from "Yam" writers, 228n 11; correspondence of, 70, 71; and depression as family trait, 214n 18; independence of, 107–108; on Jesse, 12; and Lincoln, 163; marriage of, 107–108, 224nn 42–43; and mother, 7, 10, 12, 13; New Orleans trip with, 54; in Pfaff's, 98; WW's attachment to, 107, 211n 18, 223nn 40–

41, 22411 43

Whitman, Walt, figs. 4-13; as "Answerer," 57, 162; appearance of, 24, 56, 66, 128, 231n 24; apprenticeship of, literary, 128; and art of indirection, 124; birth of, 7, 13, fig. 1; bravery as heart-courage, 137; children of, fictitious, 139, 231n 27; coterie of, 75-76; as crank, 61, 62; death of, fig. 13 caption; depression and mental health of, 7, 13, 71, 97; egotism of, 129; erotic double-bind of, 96; feminization and (see feminization); as flawed, xv-xviii; as gentleman bachelor, 56-58, 65-67, 213n 12, figs. 4, 8; as "good gray poet," 56; health of, xxii, xxiii, 1, 2, 13, 153, 157, 197nn 19-20, fig. 11 caption; hypermasculinity of, 57, 70-71; as intellectual, 134-135; jealousy of, xxiii; "lazy" persona of, 11, 18, 28-29; legal triumph of, 205n 51; as misunderstood, 96, 97; name change to "Walt," 66-67, 69-75, 74-75,

213nn 14–15, 214n 16; as narcissist, 166, 221n 19; persecution of, 150, 235n 41; as "phallic choice," 78, 79; presence of, 218nn 2–3; pretense and, 8–9; pseudonyms of, 23, 71; and religion, 22, 101, 168; "rough" persona of, xvi–xvii, 18, 56–58, 60, 66, 80, 81–82, 107, 128, 218n 41; sexuality of (see male-homoerotic desire; sexuality); shanty of, fig. 13; tactlessness of, 73–74; as talker, 1, 11; theater, love of, 23, 155, 235n 2; touch, ambivalence toward, 58, 59, 60, 63; and work (see employment of WW); as wounddresser poet, xxii, 61, 62, 80, 168, 185

Whitman, Walter Senior (father), fig. 2; alcoholism of, 22; alienation from, xix; appearance of, 7; birth of, 21, 203n 40; class and, 21–22, 204n 49; death of, 78–79, 96, 217n 35, fig. 2; education and, 21; exclusion of, 13, 17, 19–20; financial failures of, 19, 50, 211n 16; and Hicks, 20–21, 202n 37; impersonation of, by WW, 107; marriage of, 13; mental health of, 20, 21, 22; narrative of WW and, 11; and religion, 217n 35; work of, 13, 19, 23, 204n 49, fig. 1. See also fathers

Whittier, John Greenleaf, 37

"Whoever You Are Holding Me Now in Hand," 150

"Who is now reading this?" 144, 150, 233n 31, 234n 39

"Who Learns My Lesson Complete?" 13 Wilde, Oscar, 216n 28

"Wild Frank's Return," 38-39, 40

Wilentz, Sean, 203n 41

Williams, John (maternal greatgrandfather), 199n 6

Willis, Nathaniel Parker, 11, 64 With Walt Whitman in Camden, 198n 1

Wolfe, Charles, 206n 56

Woman-Love poems. See Enfans d'Adam "Woman Waits for Me, A" ("Poem of

Procreation"), 190, 228n 11

women: agency of, males and, 173, 179; athleticism of, 173, 182, 183, 190; as audience, 112, 186, 187–189, 212n 7; collapse of, into "Mother," 172, 181–182; crime by, 39; education of, 192; exclusion of, 35, 36; irritated by WW, 28–29, 30; as muse, 169, 172; private vs. public power of, 191–192; prostitution, 130, 132, 135; race and roles of, 189; representation of, xix; respect for, claims to, 29, 112, 192, 208n 1, 244n 45; roles of, in homoerotic

culture, 125; roles of, 169; romantic friendships of, 206n 65; single, sexuality and, 85, 114-115; suffrage of, 177; voice of, WW as, xvii-xix, 172, 173, 178-179, 182, 183-184, 186-187, 191-192. See also fathers; feminism; gender; men; mothers; sexism; Whitman, Louisa Van Velsor Woodbury, NY, 30-35 "Word out of the Sea, A." See "Out of the Cradle Endlessly Rocking" Wordsworth, William, 166, 238n 30 working class: and body, control of, 97; and companion-type of WW, xx, xxii, xxiii, 61-63, 77-78, 79-80, 98, 134-135; and new male model, 137; "rough" persona of WW, xvi-xvii, 18,

56-58, 60, 66, 80, 81-82, 107, 128, 218n 41; suffrage of, in Britain, 175. See also class; middle-class values working life. See employment of WW Wright, Frances, 190, 208n 1 Wright, Henry Clarke, 173

"Year of Meteors," 227n 5, 238n 29
"You bards of ages hence!" 143–144,
233n 34
"Young America," 74, 215n 25
"Young Grimes," 26
youth: apprenticeships and, 204n 46; romantic friendship and, 207n 65

Ziff, Larzer, 2011 26 Zweig, Paul, 96, 107