Enchanted Geographies of the New Republic, 1789-1846

by

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Abstract

Rhetorical depictions of otherworldliness abound in antebellum American literature. Such images and tropes of otherworldly enchantment have recently been studied by scholars of nineteenth-century America in an effort to reorient our understanding of how American literary history is organized and how the governing organizational patterns of the field necessarily determine the connections and meanings we are able to make from literary analysis. A theorizing of enchantment as a hermeneutic instrument has led to a small but growing influential shift in attention to non-periodized historiography and the heretofore neglected potential of acausal connections amongst historical events. Essentially, enchantment has recently emerged as an instrument of historiography to search coincidence, happenstance, assemblages, and other non-cause-and-effect temporal phenomena for meaning. This project engages with this current investigation of enchantment's prospects as a useful concept for American literary studies by making a simple addition, one that has yet to be fully explored: that if enchantment expands our understanding of temporality in literature and literary history -- how texts and readers interact in the past and present -- then it must also augment our notions of space as well.

This project analyzes various geographic locales depicted by four influential antebellum writers as having preternatural qualities: Olaudah Equiano, Washington Irving, Margaret Fuller, and Herman Melville. My analysis looks at both the rhetorical use of enchanted aesthetics as well as the contextual effects that this aesthetics generates in the New Republic. The New Republic had a number of social, political, and ethical problems to deal with. The rendering of certain geographies in America's early literature as enchanted turns out to be a method of wayfinding those contemporary sociopolitical problems -- a kind of three-dimensional cartography to navigate major issues. Just as linear historiography can be rate-limiting in its

hermeneutic potential so also the empirically derived geography of nineteenth-century Enlightenment, and this project analyzes how certain antebellum writers explored the enchanted realities of geographic places to effect shifts in the discourses surrounding major sociopolitical problems.

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Wayfinding Wonderlands

Shall, then, the Night,
Grow starless in her later hours? Have these
No train of flaming watchers, that shall mark
Their coming and farewell? O Sons of Light!
Have ye then left me ere the dawn of day
To grope along my journey sad and faint?

~ William Cullen Bryant [1]

Rhetorical depictions of otherworldliness abound in antebellum American literature. Such images and tropes of otherworldly enchantment have recently been studied by scholars of nineteenth-century America in an effort to reorient our understanding of how American literary history is organized and how the governing organizational patterns of the field necessarily determine the connections and meanings we are able to make from literary analysis. A theorizing of enchantment as a hermeneutic instrument has led to a small but growing influential shift in attention to non-periodized historiography and the heretofore neglected potential of acausal connections amongst historical events. Essentially, enchantment has recently emerged as an instrument of historiography to search coincidence, happenstance, assemblages, and other non-cause-and-effect temporal phenomena for meaning. It has risen as a supplement to and corrective for "enclosing historical subjects, objects, and texts in a sealed discursive world."[2] This project engages with this current investigation of enchantment's prospects as a useful concept for American literary studies by making a simple addition, one that has yet to be fully explored: that if enchantment expands our understanding of temporality in literature and literary history -- how texts and readers interact in the past and present -- then it must also augment our notions of space as well.

To reiterate: Enchantment has two distinct features: the temporal and the spatial. It favors a nonlinear historiography of contingency and acausality, which disrupts familiar patterns of meaning and interpretation entrenched within linear progressivism in order to search out new ways of interpreting historical events and therefore deriving new meanings from their non-linear connections. This acausal, enchanted time, I suggest, has a subsequent effect on the places that have been narrated within historical progressivism and imbued with progressively derived meaning. Just as enchanted historiography asserts a temporal dimension apart from the teleological, so enchanted places contend a geographic dimension apart from the empirical. Enchanted geographies as depicted in the burgeoning literature of the New Republic declare the existence of an extra-material geographic reality, the existence of which is existentially necessary for a fledging United States. In both cases, enchantment does not negate pre-existing concepts of time or space; it simply argues for their expansion and reveals that these expanded realities have significant consequences for interpretation and the moral and ethical consequences that follow.

This project analyzes various geographic locales depicted by influential antebellum writers as having preternatural qualities. My analysis looks at both the rhetorical use of enchanted aesthetics as well as the contextual effects that this aesthetics generated in young America. The New Republic had a number of social, political, and ethical problems to deal with. The rendering of certain geographies in America's early literature as enchanted turns out to be a method of wayfinding those contemporary sociopolitical problems -- a kind of three-dimensional cartography to navigate major issues. Just as linear historiography can be rate-limiting in its hermeneutic potential so also the empirically derived geography of nineteenth-century Enlightenment scientific investigation, and this project analyzes how certain antebellum writers

explored the enchanted realities of geographic places to effect shifts in the discourses surrounding major sociopolitical problems.

I – Enchantment in the Humanities at Large: Post-Modernity's Discontents

Any discussion of enchantment, and specifically enchantment's return to the fore of cultural consideration, obligatorily requires us to begin with Max Weber's oft-quoted declaration of the disenchantment of the world in his *Vocation Lectures* (1917-1918). Weber declares the world has become disenchanted because scientific and technological advancements have made it calculable in principle. Enchantment is an engagement with or experience of the incalculable or mysterious, taking form in a "magical means to control or pray to the spirits," which, for Weber, is atavistic in the twentieth century.[3] Weberian disenchantment, however, came under hard scrutiny in the late twentieth century as it became clear that the human need for mysterious and spiritual experience showed no signs of abating despite the increased calculability of the world. This late-century reconsideration is where enchantment resurfaces in the humanities as not only an epistemology based in the experience of the supernatural but also as a hermeneutic for historical and literary analysis.

Enchantment's recent resurgence in American literature of the nineteenth century should first be understood within a certain strand of discontent with the practice of literary theory and critique at the turn of the twenty-first century. Though it is difficult to nail down exact dates of change in intellectual trends, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick's landmark essay "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading; or, You're so Paranoid, You Probably Think This Introduction is about You" from her introduction to *Novel Gazing* (1997) is a reasonable marker. As one of the foremost proponents of queer theory specifically and literary theory in general, Sedgwick sent a

shockwave through theorist circles of all stripes by suggesting that the practices of New Historicism, psychoanalysis, feminism, deconstructionism – any school that subscribed to Paul Ricoeur's "hermeneutic of suspicion" -- had become programmatic, reductive, tautological, and paranoid. These schools, she contends, myopically eschew other ways of knowing or reading that do not conform to their prescriptions, which has a "stultifying side-effect" in that literary theory's totalizing demands make it difficult "to unpack the local, contingent piece of knowledge and its narrative/epistemological entailments for the seeker, knower, or teller."[4] Sedgwick questions the axiomatic assumption that demystification, or the act of exposure, is the only way to approach reality, even, or especially, the reality of oppression and suffering. And it may not often be the most apt way in given contexts. However, the real problem arises from an inherent intolerance in the hermeneutics of suspicion to any ways of knowing that do not orbit around suspicion; critique has an unfortunate tendency toward a "monopolistic program of paranoid knowledge."[5] Sedgwick's solution is simply to loosen the grip on ways of knowing and allow others' validity.

Sedgwick never actually uses the term enchantment, but four years later philosopher Jane Bennett in her book *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics* (2001) makes a philosophical argument for a paradigm shift in critical and ethical practices that are in line with Sedgwick's, working out a reparative reading methodology via a reconceptualization of enchantment as a framework to interrogate contemporary modes of ethics and ontology. Providing fresh readings of canonical texts from Kafka to Thoreau, she contests Weber's reductive definition of enchantment, which she declares is neither so simply defined nor so easily dismissed. For Bennett, enchantment permits the existence of the extra-empirical, whatever form that might take (for Bennett, it need not be religious, though it can be). To claim

that the material world is devoid of any kind of vibrant quality – that the world is only inert matter and nothing more – is a willful blindness to the ways in which the material world interacts with human beings and acts upon them. The result of such sweeping assertions fosters an ethical failure to cultivate a life-affirming sensibility to the world, a failure in which all kinds of injustices fester. "Enchantment" thus, for Bennett, "is a feeling of being connected in an affirmative way to existence; it is to be under the momentary impression that the natural and cultural worlds *offer gifts* and, in so doing, remind us that it is good to be alive. This sense of fullness . . . encourages the finite human animal, in turn, to give away some of its own time and effort on behalf of other creatures;" this mood of enchantment is not sufficient to realize such an ethics, she suggests, but it can fertilize the soil out of which such an ethics can grow.[6] Bennett concludes that enchantment is both something that happens to a person and is a cultivated sensibility to the aliveness of the world – a mood one enters into -- and this experience-sense is an important condition under which an ethical life has a fighting chance. An affective ethical life born out of enchantment's wonderous qualities is Bennett's pitch.

Three years later, Bruno Latour adds his name to the list of discontents with critique's strain of disenchantment in "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam? From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern" (2004). Latour has several concerns. First, one of critique's main weapons (and war metaphors guide Latour's entire essay), is its charge to destabilize facts -- that critique's standard operating procedure is to reveal how language binds us, how there is no way of getting at the Real, there is no hard truth *per se*, that external forces determine everything, and everything is always already socially constructed.[7] Latour argues that the critical frameworks developed over the years by literary theorists have done some good, but there is no off switch, no room for questioning or reevaluating critique's usefulness, appropriateness, or accuracy. What's

more, the language and frameworks of critique can be taken up by any group once learned and used for any political end whatever, such as denying climate change or, to put it in the context of 2022, to question the efficacy of vaccines. In summary, he asks: "What if explanations resorting automatically to power, society, discourse had outlived their usefulness and deteriorated to the point of now feeding the most gullible sort of critique?"[8] Second, Latour takes issue with the attitudinal position of critique. For Latour, the practitioner of critique takes one of two critical stances, but never simultaneously. Critics blast, rather cold-heartedly, the objects to which people cling and believe in, claiming those objects are nothing more than fetishes onto which the naïve project their desires. Or they effortlessly explain away naïve folks' beliefs as socially determined via gender, language, race, class, geography, etc. Parallel with Sedgwick, Latour's problem with critique's disposition is that the critic never subjects his own methods, position, beliefs to critique's framework. Through willful blindness, though often induced by good intentions, critique nevertheless produces arrogance and a mean spirit, because the critic is always right, can never be wrong, and lords his omniscience like a god over culture and classroom. Latour terms the majority of critique as practiced by scholars "*critical barbarity*."[9] His solution is to move closer to facts, not away from them, by looking at the interconnected gatherings – the Things – in which objects act and react and where they cannot be reductively flattened into either fact or fetish but must be encountered in all their complex exchanges.

The discontents bubbling within the humanities come to a polemical crest in Rita Felski's *The Limits of Critique* (2015). In her book, Felski cogently synthesizes Sedgwick, Bennett, Latour, and others to mount a strong argument in favor of permitting alternate ways of reading, knowing, and practicing literary studies outside the purview of critique. For Felski, any discipline that takes Ricoeur's hermeneutic of suspicion as its critical *modus operandi* is

inherently "driven by a spirit of disenchantment."[10] In the book, Felski analyzes what are for her the core tenants of critique: skepticism, castigation, emphasis on social forces, assertions to radical political activism via scholarship, and disavowing anything claiming to be outside the explanatory power of critique. With methodological aims in line with Sedgwick and Latour, and echoing the ethical implications of Bennett, Felski, through careful analysis and without discounting the positive work critique has done, hopes to "de-essentialize the practice of suspicious reading by divesting it of presumptions of inherent rigor or intrinsic radicalism – thereby freeing up literary studies to embrace a wider range of affective styles and modes of argument."[11] The humanities, she contends, are rapidly losing their sphere of influence in no small part due to critiques hard-bitten reflexive negativity. Felski finds promise in Latour's notion of Actor-Network-Theory, which she sees as a way to expand hermeneutics to the affective as well as the non-human aspects of life. She espouses a hermeneutic "employing the language of enchantment, incandescence, and rapture without embarrassment – and that takes as axiomatic its many connections to daily life," one that is capacious and balanced with the concerns of others.[12]

II – Enchantment in C19 American Literature

The previous section briefly outlined some of the prominent figures in the humanities roughly over the past two decades who have voiced their concerns of what Felski diagnoses as a spirit of disenchantment embedded in critique. In the intervening years between Latour and Felski, many others analyzed enchantment and disenchantment, too.[13] And Americanists were among them. Tapering the focus of enchantment to the field of American literary studies, it is relevant to this project that the when the Society of Nineteenth Century Americanists launched their journal *J19* in 2013 they chose the topic of enchantment for the inaugural issue. In her

introduction "In the Spirit of the Thing: Critique as Enchantment," Nancy Bentley uses Latour's 2004 essay to set the tone and direction for *J19*. Recalling those delicious times in the 80s when theory was fresh, when "Critique as a form of heroic disenchantment of history" was full of promise, she admits thirty years on now "Demystification may be less a revelation than a redundancy."[14] What to do in the face of this reality? Bentley suggests reimagining critique in the study of nineteenth-century American literature as enchantment. The qualities of an enchanted critique include generous nouns and adjectives and one important verb: "open," "networks," "additive," "lateral," "syncretic," "porosity," "share."[15] Bentley's notion that the animating force of literary criticism should now be relaxed and open to new assemblages, connections, and meanings is significant. The fact that The Society of Nineteenth Americanists established a journal to tack away from the spirit of disenchantment indicates a recognition and a concerted effort in the field for methodological and, in certain ways, ethical revisions with enchantment at the center. And so began official experiments with enchantment in C19 literary studies.

One of the contributing authors to the initial volume of *J19*, Emily Ogden opens her book *Credulity: A Cultural History of US Mesmerism* (2018) with a succinct yet thorough discussion of enchantment's lineage in C19 scholarship. Ogden classifies the recent treatments of enchantment into three narrative categories: enlightenment-enchantment, which retains the affective pleasures of a pre-modern enchanted world while discarding fallacy (i.e. Bennett); magic-still-here, or the persistence of magic and occultism in the modern secular world; and the "*radical enchantment position*," which touts enchantment as the secret vantage point from which to critique structures of power and oppression, "an avant-garde aligned with marginalized subjects."[16] This last narrative, Ogden claims, has been the most powerful strand in American

literary studies. Ogden then lays out the benefits, drawbacks, and contradictions of each position, but she says that all three are united at least in their shared conviction that enchantment is not delusive. Ogden, however, takes a different approach. From the nineteenth century onward, modern enchantment is not so much about belief in enchantment as *managing* belief in enchantment, or credulity. More than two decades into this experimentation with enchantment, Ogden coolly suggests that the secularized workings of enchantment in the final analysis offer no recourse to becoming a self-empowered secular agent. The demands of secularity are simply untenable, and the promise of self-driven actualization cannot be achieved in practice. How to live in that failure, how to "negotiate between those who are aiming at modernity and those whom they see as nonmodern" is, for her, the modern enchantment that begins in the nineteenth century.[17]

The same year Michelle Sizemore publishes *American Enchantment: Rituals of the People in the Post-Revolutionary World* (2018) in which she re-presents American history by activating enchantment's unique traits, namely its non-linear, or acausal, historiography in order to read post-Revolutionary literature and rituals. In her project, Sizemore deploys enchantment to read early American literary history against the scholarly assumption that the post-monarchical United States established its polity via rational and systematic debate, leading to neatly agreed upon criteria that separated the rational "collective" from the "unthinking crowd," a historical assumption enabled by an inflexible conception of history as linear and unfolding over nicely organized periods.[18] Instead, she contends that "the rituals of the people produced a polity of enchantment, not consent" and she gathers the various practices of enchantment under the term "civil mysticism" -- practices that constituted the people only momentarily, in snatches, since the people are in fact a protean force, always shifting and changing in time.[19] Enchanted time,

thus, allows for shifting back and forth temporal movements as well as imbrications. As American literature presents its history, the present always already includes overlaps of past and future. In this way, Sizemore demonstrates enchantment as an instrument for the new kind of "temporal mapping" Bentley hoped would provide a way forward in the field.[20]

Thomas Koenigs follows up Ogden and Sizemore with his own investigation of enchantment in his very recent book *Founded in Fiction: The Uses of Fiction in the Early United States* (2021). The premise of Koenig's work is to displace the privileged narrative of the rise of the novel as the center of our understanding of American fiction in the early republic, revising "ascendent histories of American fiction" in a way that "restores to view the varied logics of fictional writing that novel history has tended to normalize."[21] Koenigs is more interested in the various uses of fictionality in antebellum America, its flexibility and mobility especially within the early republic's hostile attacks against fiction's mimetic unreliability and untruthfulness, as well as the differences in the value systems that governed fictionality in the early republic and the antebellum periods compared with those of modern readers. In Koenigs' careful tracing of fiction's evolution in antebellum America, he finds "the embrace of the rhetoric of enchantment" crucial for the transition from historical fiction's courting of empirical veracity as evidence of its social usefulness in the 1820s to its espousing of imaginative, aesthetic, and transporting qualities for moral and self-culture in the 1830s, 40s, and 50s. The historical fiction of William Gilmore Simms, Robert Montgomery Bird, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and James Fenimore Cooper testify to a major historiographical shift in which the language of enchantment is called upon to combat utilitarian conceptualizations of the American landscape and "offer readers the enchantment missing from their lived experience."[22] However, for Koenigs, this compartmentalization of enchanted experience in the antebellum historical novel is evidence of

an extension of the modern world's disenchantment rather than a disruption of it. Antebellum readers sought reprieve from the disenchanted world, so writers provided them a siloed space for a brief, aesthetically conditioned enchantment.[23]

Enchantment has ascended over the last twenty years to become an important concept of study in the humanities at large and nineteenth-century American literature in particular. Currently, enchantment is a still-in-formation, protean vehicle for method, hermeneutics, and historiography in the field, which shows no signs of stopping. My project is in dialogue with these developing experiments with enchantment. Utilizing Koenig's observation that the rhetoric of enchantment becomes vital to the antebellum period, I situate three of my four chapters between the 1820s and 40s. Unlike him, though, I conceptualize enchantment as distinct from disenchantment in that I argue the writers I present here – Olaudah Equiano, Washington Irving, Margaret Fuller, and Herman Melville – used the rhetoric of enchantment in their texts not so much to provide a temporary private experience of enchantment but to delineate their discovery of enchanted places. To discover something means it pre-existed that discovery; its existence is independent of aesthetic production, even if that production enhances its features. In this project, I contend that these writers deploy tropes, symbols, and images of enchantment to locate, rather than to generate, enchanted geographies of the New Republic. In other words, in my view, antebellum enchantment is more organic, less synthetic than Koenigs' suggestion.

This project takes its cue from Sizemore; indeed, I take her treatment of enchantment as my starting point. My goal is to extend her temporal mapping of enchanted time in the early republic to a concomitant mapping of enchanted space. From Bennett I also understand enchantment to communicate affectively with people and place in a generous, ethical way. Per

Bentley, I take enchantment as a concept to be malleable and porous, less rigid than critique, but not shapeless or fragile.

To state it clearly, what I mean by enchanted geography in this project is this: antebellum American writers' depicted magic, myth, miracles, the supernatural within contemporary geographic locations in order to map their dimensions, to wrest them from rate-limiting interpretations and relegations and amplify the potential of certain locales for wayfinding social, political, and cultural problems. Enchantment has an inherent cartographic function of extended space and dimension. An enchanted map is a cube. As Robert Tally Jr. has shown, there is an inherent connection between mapping and literary production. Both are used to cordon experience, create meaning from ensemble, locate oneself and make sense in a disordered world.[24] The mapping of enchanted geographies does this exactly. Discovering and depicting enchantment inside inscribed geographies can be, and often is, ideologically disruptive, but I do not argue that it is combative. I do not contend that the authors presented in this project used enchantment solely as an iconoclastic hammer or anti-ideology weapon. Some, like Equiano, certainly did. But to focus solely on deconstruction goes against enchantment's mode and the call for it in the first place.

The governing metaphor for this project is a constellation. By now, the concept of enchantment has been much associated with assemblages, networks, and webs. Its critical function is to expand in all cardinal directions and to constellate texts, events, places, peoples, histories. A constellation is a starry marker of time across the heavens, establishing cyclical seasons as well as sustaining linear history. It is also a compass by which landlubbers and mariners alike navigate the space of the earth. Not least, it is a repository of meaning, charting points of connection open to interpretative possibilities to narrate meaningful experiences. In all

these functions, a constellation, like a map, seeks by artful design to represent "elements of an unrepresentable totality . . . . imaginatively making sense of the spaces and places of one's experience of *this* world."[25] Antebellum writers' constellated mapping of enchanted geographies in order to wayfind, to make sense of contemporary problems, is at the center of this project. The artificiality of this constellating process need not worry anyone. As Tally points out, constellations have a reliable navigational history in literature: "Odysseus eventually makes it home to Ithaca, Dante arrives in paradise, and Ahab finds his white whale."[26]

In his poem "The Constellations" (1864), William Cullen Bryant aptly captures the nineteenth century trepidation with modernism's disenchantment through the register of the night sky. At the beginning of the poem, the speaker recalls the splendor of starry hosts in past tense but then quickly switches to present perfect to lament their disappearance:

> O Constellations of the early night,
> That sparkled brighter as the twilight died,
> And made the darkness glorious! I have seen
> Your rays grow dim upon the horizon's edge,
> And sink behind the mountains.[27]

He frantically calls out one by one to the constellations he can no longer see and then despairs at his helplessness in not being able to find his way without them. "O Sons of Light! / Have ye then left me ere the dawn of day / To grope along my journey sad and faint?"[28] The speaker's dejection is existential – the unmoored feeling of being lost in time and space. The temporal and spatial referent is gone, and all that is left is a proto-Prufrock anxiety of being.

But there is hope. Night replies to the speaker and commences a dialogue, diagnosing the speaker's illness: "It is thy sight / That is so dark, and not the heavens. Thine eyes, / Were they

but clear, would see a fiery host / Above thee."[29] The constellations are accounted for by Night; they are all there beaming, glorious, active in their temporal, spatial, and narrative purposes -- flashing weapons, playing music, riding on the wind. The speaker is relieved and acknowledges "How vain were my repinings;" he can now locate himself in time.[30] The "vanished years" that led to this moment pass before him and "all the good and great who came and passed with them"; and the future to come "Bring with them, in their course, the good and great."[31] The poem ends, however, with the speaker's insecurity concerning his ability to retain the faith necessary to see the constellations: "Lights of the world, though, to my clouded sight / Their rays might seem but dim, or reach me not."[32] The question of whether or not the heavenly lights exist is not the source of fear. It is whether the speaker will be able to perceive them, to keep faith, and if he suffers such a loss of sight again, how to find his way in a cold, dark world.

Bryant's poem dovetails with my project's purpose, which is to investigate how certain antebellum authors staved off the blindness, how they kept their eyes open to the enchantment that structures existence in the world and how enchantment's constellating nature amplified the planes of time and space enough to help them wayfind through major sociopolitical issues of their day. And what their use of enchanted rhetoric and hermeneutics could mean for us now in a moment in which enchantment is being called upon to solve a host of problems and anxieties that have their roots in the nineteenth century.

III - Chapter Outlines

In chapter one, I begin with Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*. I analyze how Equiano utilizes enchanted realities imbedded within African magical practices, Western classical mythology, and Christian mysticism to redraw the map of key sites within the Atlantic

Rim: Palestine, Greece, and Africa. Through his depiction of supernatural encounters and his rhetorical challenge to British historiography, Equiano deploys an enchanted hermeneutic to geolocate Africa in world history and designate it as a major force in the development of human civilization. Through this enchanted remapping of the British atlas, Equiano advances his abolitionist project by extending the Western rubric of humanness to Africans.

In chapter two, I move to the United States' first professional author, Washington Irving. As one of the foremost writers during the Age of Anxiety, I show how Irving identifies the public house as an enchanted site for the New Republic in *The Sketch Book*. Attempting to discover a locale where regional folklore could grow organically, Irving finds that the inn-public house is the geography *par excellence* for a democratic polity defined by mobility and political representation. Through an analysis of "The Inn Kitchen," "Rip Van Winkle," and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," I illustrate just how Irving strives to protect local public houses as sacred sites of poetic and folkloric historiography and hermeneutics. In "Rip Van Winkle," Irving suggests that the rapidly developing nation can in fact conduct enterprises without mortgaging the enchanted geography so necessary to establishing a coherent sense of national identity, so long as the public house retains its credulous storytellers. In "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," Irving depicts the spirit of disenchantment through Ichabod Crane's ravenous hunger and avarice and warns that the public house must be protected to foster a spirit of place in a country of motley assorted peoples, creeds, and languages.

In chapter three, I turn to Margaret Fuller's wayfinding of the "woman question" in "Leila" and *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*. Fuller's personal life is full of faith in the enchanted substrata of the world, such as her beliefs in magnetism, gem charms, vital fluid, and medical mesmerism. It is, however, her delineation of enchanted geography within the human soul that

enables her to advocate for women's civic rights – education, work, and liberation from the law of coverture – and locate enchanted places in the increasingly industrialized United States. Through a feminist hermeneutics of enchantment, I show how Fuller corrects a specifically masculine prejudicial blindness to the enchantment of the world by traversing sites of national importance, like Niagara Falls, and reveals that men have lost their vision of enchantment because they have made a Faustian deal in which they have exchanged their souls – the organ of second sight – for industrial domination of the land. Essentially, I argue that Fuller presents a soulful geography informed by a feminist ecology that is closer to the reality of the world than the nondimensional world presented by men, and she therefore argues for civic rights that are attuned to that more accurate enchanted reality.

The final chapter engages Herman Melville's exploration of anxiety over the health of the antebellum white male body in his first novel *Typee*. Using Tommo's mysteriously wounded leg as both the symbolic and structural apparatus of the novel, I contend that the trajectory of Tommo's festering wound – as it appears outside and inside the enchanted realm of the Typee valley – allows Melville to explore the consequences of the contemporary arguments about somatic knowledge. What comprises the body? How is it known? How should it be treated? Who gets to claim authority over treatment? These are the questions Melville wayfinds. In *Typee*, I read Tommo's recuperation under Typee medicine and his subsequent relapse when he longs for French surgeons as a warning of a reductionistic view of the body as self-determined and self-reliant. Ironically, even as Emerson and Whitman bemoaned the state of white "civilized" men's deteriorating health, it was the claim of radical individualism in "Self-Reliance" that enervated the white male body through a denial of its interconnectedness with material and non-material forces and interdependence with other bodies.

Chapter One

Olaudah Equiano's Remaking of the World

My own use of enchantment simply comes because that's the way the world was for me and for the black people that I knew. In addition to the very shrewd, down-to-earth, efficient way in which they did things and survived things, there was this other knowledge or perception, always discredited but nevertheless there, which informed their sensibilities and clarified their activities. It formed a kind of cosmology that was perceptive as well as enchanting, and so it seemed impossible for me *to write about black people and eliminate that simply because it was <<unbelievable>>.*

~ Toni Morrison[1]

What are we to make of Olaudah Equiano's enchantments in the *Interesting Narrative*? I say enchantments plural because I mean enchantment in two interrelated but distinct ways. First, there are scenes in the *Interesting Narrative* that depict what we commonly mean by enchantment -- the otherworldly encounters of miracles, magic, and myth – as well as the corresponding rhetorical functions they serve within Equiano's larger abolitionist argument. But by enchantment I also mean a conceptual instrument for creating new maps of history, maps that are calibrated to render often unnoticed imbrications of past and present.

As a cartographical tool of time and space, enchantment favors constellations, contingencies, and non-linear patterns of historical events over the straight-line progressivism of cause-and-effect. As Michelle Sizemore has defined it, a "hermeneutics of enchantment" assumes the principle of "synchronicity" in its vision of history and "apprehends obscure but meaningful relationships that take shape outside linear laws of causation and rational systems of explanation."[2] In other words, enchantment is sensitive to the "porosity of history" and it is therefore able to render and re-present the past under new lights, forging new connections and meanings.[3] Enchantment in Equiano's *Interesting Narrative* thus operates in both senses of Samuel Johnson's definition of it in his *Dictionary* (1755): it tends to realities invoked by

"charms" and "incantations" while wielding "irresistible influence" in an effort to remap the world.[4]

In this chapter, I suggest that Olaudah Equiano utilizes enchantments both as literary motif and spatio-temporal concept in his narrative as an effective means of advancing his abolitionist project and countering the oppressive racial ideologies of his time. It is because of his openness to and presentation of enchantments that Equiano is able to perceive an alternative version of history, re-drawing, and therefore reinterpreting, the cartographical delineations of past and present favored by the British Empire. In his *Interesting Narrative*, Equiano visits the geo-historical sites so central to Britain's bourgeoning national identity and casts them through a prism of enchantment that he might chart a place not just of existence but of eminence for Africa and Africans.

I – Religion & Enchantment

To examine enchantment and its supernatural characteristics in the *Interesting Narrative* necessitates revisiting one of the most durable subjects in Equiano scholarship: Equiano's Christianity. On one side, much energy and thoughtful analysis has gone to explaining what Equiano as an African-slave-turned-Western-Christian-abolitionist means in postcolonial terms. Treating Equiano's life as a complex and complicated existence, this side of the debate has generally favored problematizing any straightforward reading of Equiano's conversion to Christianity as definitive of his abolitionist efforts. Srinivas Aramavudan, in his now dated yet well-known exchange with Adam Potkay, has argued for understanding Equiano's Christianity as contingent within the context of its contemporary political nexus, eschewing an overemphasis on religious salvation in the text.[5] Sylvester Johnson has argued that Equiano's conversion to

Christianity signifies a coopting and complicity in its violence to African cultural history, stating "In the end, Equiano himself is a willing agent of African cultural genocide."[6] And, more recently, Joanna Brooks suggests Equiano's religious experience is notable and instructive for its worldliness, discontinuity, and incompleteness, even as it reveals the vital intimacies of religious experience.[7] Other scholars have tended to treat Equiano's Christianity as the center of his text and abolitionist efforts. Eileen Razzari Elrod, for example, asserts that the transformative power of Equiano's personal theology and identification with biblical prophets of social justice is paramount to his deconstruction of the racist ideologies that underpin contemporary justifications of the slave trade.[8] It is Equiano's "Christian faith," according to Rebecca Rutledge Fisher, that rhetorically suffuses his *Narrative* via ontotheological metaphors and to which he ultimately gives his allegiance as he navigates nascent nationalist ideologies of mid-eighteen-century Europe.[9] And, very recently, Hannah Wakefield has shown it was, in fact, Equiano's authentic belief in the "primitive Christianity" found in the New Testament book of Acts that provided him the egalitarian framework for his claims of racial equality.[10]

This longstanding conversation in Equiana was aptly summarized by Aravamudan years ago: "That Equiano claimed to be a sincere, believing Christian is not in contention; it is the meanings of *that* Christianity and that *claim*. . ." that is in dispute and pivotal to how we understand Equiano, his *Narrative,* and his abolitionist efforts in late eighteenth-century Britain.[11] Though this debate has been fruitful in many respects, I offer in this essay a directional shift in the approach to Equiano's religion. What interests me is the extent to which Equiano's religious beliefs and convictions foster a receptivity to and development of a hermeneutics of enchantment. By taking a closer look at what I call Equiano's enchantments – the episodes of his narrative where he presents objects, people, places, and experiences integral to his life and yet

inexplicable in the realm of empirical possibility – we find a concomitant conceptual shift in historical space and time, a cosmology that is at once inclusive and multidimensional, constellating histories of the wonderful, connecting Eboe culture, Hebrew rituals, Greek mythology, and Christian mysticism together within the overlapping thickness of the past and present.

As where recent scholars like Joanna Brooks have been interested in the significance of the discontinuities and incompleteness imbedded within Equiano's conversion experiences, I am intrigued by the continuities that crop up through his religious and quasi-religious encounters with enchanted objects and geographies. Equiano's rhetorical presentation of the supernatural enables him to integrate experiences that should otherwise fragment his inner life and allows him to wayfind through the existential crises in which he finds himself. [12] What I hope is that by shifting attention to enchantment and Equiano's method of mapping out the historical linkages amongst enchanted places, scholars of both secular and religious orientations might find a new space in which to discuss together the significance of Equiano's political and metaphysical project.

To be clear from the outset, this essay will not claim that Equiano was anything other than a sincere, orthodox Christian after his conversion. Enchantment has nothing to do with questioning the authenticity of Equiano's religious beliefs. What is key is how Equiano's openness to enchanted realms of being – to myths, magic, miracles – which his religious beliefs sustain, enables him to navigate, outmode, and redraw a world designed to erase, subjugate, and destroy him.

II – Frontispiece as Legend

All maps include a legend to read their codifications. As Equiano's *Narrative* serves as a literary map of enchanted geographies, his portrait on the frontispiece provides its legend. Equiano's portrait presents a calculated contest of symbols and double meanings, communicating a number of ironies and contradictions before ever turning the pages.

The frontispiece of *The Interesting Narrative* is an engraved copy of a portrait Equiano commissioned himself, for he was aware of the role of portraiture in English society. Portraiture was the dominant genre of visual art in eighteenth-century England,[13] and it was an art form in which England invested its artists to establish itself as a country on par with the Continent.[14] Thus, portraiture was heavily laden with ideological freight, and the form and styles of the genre were designed to arbitrate a number of discourses of English anxiety. In her analysis of eighteenth-century English portraiture, Marcia Pointon shows that portraiture especially served to bridge "the conceptual gaps between the identification of the personal and definitions of the social" and that it "functioned as part of a wider symbolic structure of regulation through which the public – and by extension the national – were defined and understood."[15] In the eighteenth century, portraiture, and the collecting of engraved portraits, was a means by which to taxonomize persons, visualize the body politic, and impose order on evolving social classes and groups. Essentially, it was a form of mapping.[16] Equiano certainly knew this. He took great care to select William Denton to paint his portrait and Daniel Orme to engrave it. He also advertises "'an elegant Frontispiece of the Author's Portrait'" to persuade subscribers.[17]

In the frontispiece, Equiano's eyes peer into the readers' with all seriousness. His dress is aristocratic, connoting the station of a gentleman, and on his lap lays an open Bible. In setting his portrait this way, Equiano both adheres to and breaks from contemporary conventions of the genre as it specifically applied to black subjects. For some time, satirists had already been using

the African in portraiture to represent either naive credulity or moral awareness of English immorality. Equiano uses the later to his advantage. The Bible on Equiano's lap suggests he understands himself to be a Jeremiah, a prophetic voice of spiritual authority and moral reckoning. His garb connotes social equality with his gentile readers. His stare intensifies both assertions. And unlike the portraits of his contemporaries Phillis Wheatley and Ignatius Sancho, Equiano looks directly at the reader.[18] He challenges their assumed right to gaze without the consequence of his person. Thus, by shrewd workings of the ideologies housed within the portrait genre, Equiano stakes his position: he is a moral authority, socially respectable, and very much present. The reader cannot easily ignore or discount the world he is about to render.

Moreover, should the reader proceed to the narrative, it will take the form of an oath, which the Bible on Equiano's lap also implies. Scholars have often noted that the Bible Equiano holds symbolically compresses the ideological, historical, and cultural interrelations between slavery and literacy. Thus, by pointing to an open Bible, Equiano signals his mastery of the Western signifier: the written word. However, his black finger irritates the irony of the savage-human, slave-subject, African-Briton that should not exist and yet is undeniable.[19] But what is also in play is the Bible's function not just as ideological signifier but as an oath book containing legal connotations and magical resonances. Since at least the Early Modern Period, the Bible had been used in European legal courts for oath taking and affirmation of honesty in testimony.[20] By placing his hand on a Bible, Equiano swears to the truthfulness of his narrative, from the trifles to the miraculous. However, the injunction of oath is not individual but mutual. Equiano will testify to the veracity of his life, to the extraordinary events and truths to which he will bear witness, but the reader must also testify to the reliability of the world she knows and has experienced, a world whose ideological and nationalistic significations have been mapped,

coded, and interpreted using the same oath book. Little does the reader know that what follows will be a re-drawing of the map, codes, and interpretations by an African utilizing the favored cartographical instrument of Britain. In a maneuver effective in its simplicity, the reader must lay hands on the Bible's image in order to open the book cover and thus in an exchange of locked eyes and touching hands over the sacred item Equiano implicates her in oath taking to testify and speak truth.

Oath taking as a means of arbitration between two parties dates back to ancient history. Before the creation of civil or canon laws, or even before widespread belief in deities, oath taking operated as a magical performance. The oath taker placed himself under a curse that bound him to a dreadful fate should the oath be broken or false. The oath was considered a separate entity with agentic qualities and could bear itself against the oath taker. Later, the integrity of the oath came to rest on the intervention of divine judgement in the event of a broken oath.[21] In pre-colonial Africa, too, the practice of oathtaking existed as a sacred rite between parties in order to dispute legal matters, overseen by tribal priests and enforced by departed ancestors or divinities. And though the African context of oathtaking weakened with the slave trade, the practice nevertheless continued within the diaspora as a form of authority and "spiritual sanction," enacting a conduit between material and immaterial forces in matters of justice and injustice.[22] This anthropological linkage to the oath as both magical act and religious rite engages the enchanted metaphysics Equiano will exercise in his narrative.

It is important to note that the magical and the Christian – two discourses of enchantment at work in the legend of the frontispiece -- are not at odds with each other in a pagan/protestant binary, nor do they constitute a transition from an atavistic African past to a rational European present, because both ancient magical practice and Christian doctrine anthropologically converge

in the legal injunction of the oath act that is the icon of *The Interesting Narrative*. True, Equiano seems to suggest such a dichotomy in the first few chapters of his narrative, but as John Bugg has shown, close attention to subtext is crucial for mining the *Narrative*'s rhetorical intricacies and countermoves.[23] When, for example, Equiano confesses that after having been enslaved and among Europeans for some time he "no longer looked upon them [white men] as spirits, but as men superior to us; and therefore I had the stronger desire to resemble them; to imbibe their spirit, and imitate their manners," he subtly plays on the connotations of "spirit" and "imbibe" rather than divorce himself from his past.[24] To be sure, Equiano's audience understood the spirit of the European to mean "vitality" or "essence" in contradistinction to "spirit" as a supernatural entity of African heathenism. Equiano's change in perception of spirit superficially fits the expected plot from superstition to empiricism. But as is often the case with Equiano, adherence to convention is laced with contestation. Only a few chapters before, Equiano details the Eboe custom of enlisting the aid of ancestral spirits by means of libation, the accessing of spirit by pouring out rather than the taking in. The spirits of the Eboe were external and agential, thirsty and hungry, and could not be ingested but instead required acknowledgment of their presence and goodwill exchanges to secure their protection. The externality of the supernatural defined the Eboe interactions with the material world.[25] Though invisible, the Eboe perceived the presence of the departed and designated sites of ritual as topographical overlaps, material and extra-material geographies temporarily in contact. By contrast Equiano implies that what the Europeans possessed was something internal. There was no distinction, therefore, between the man and the animating force; all vibrancy was inside the man. Thus, his was the central plane of existence, an assumption that Equiano challenges at the outset in the frontispiece's oath act of magic ritual and divine aid. Equiano does not appeal to the spirit of man but to the spirits of his

ancestors as well as to the Holy Spirit to ratify the truth of his story. And his audience must decipher this code, as only those with the correct apprehension of "spirit" are able to access the "jewels of instruction" Equiano scatters throughout his book.[26]

The historical echoes of the supernatural in the oath, both pre-animistic and divine, then, accordingly charge Equiano's narrative with enchanted substance before the *Interesting Narrative* is ever opened. Moreover, this is doubly true when attention is paid to the fact that in the frontispiece the Bible is not closed but open to the book of Acts, chapter four, verse twelve. This chapter of Acts corresponds to the testimonies of St. Peter and St. John – the unlearned fishermen -- before the counsel of the Jewish elders in Jerusalem concerning a miracle they had recently performed in making a lame man walk.[27] Equiano, like slave narrators before him, consciously depicts himself as a prophet or apostle, that is to say a receiver and messenger of truth and a divinely sanctioned agent of the miraculous.[28] Indeed, the oath act as well as the occasions of miracles, magic, and myth throughout the narrative suggest a prophetic Equiano who has a charmed life with the supernatural authority to testify and bear witness.

Equiano frames his authority as supernatural in order to parry the immediate objection he anticipates against his narrative, an objection that grieves and frustrates him throughout his life. No amount of British identity acquisition, be it aristocratic clothing or literary production, will overturn the standing legal fact that his race negates his word. The color of his skin always already testifies against him and nullifies his claims to truth and fact (a legal claim predicated on the *curse* of Ham in biblical history). Legal silencing of African witness is one of Equiano's primary political targets in his book. In one of the several instances of the black-as-mendicant legal precedent cited in the *Narrative*, Equiano records a time in the West Indies where he and his companion's sacks of fruit were stolen by some white men. Going to the local magistrate,

they asked for redress only to receive a "horse whip" because they "were strangers as well as slaves."[29] Later in Georgia, Equiano is nearly beaten to death by Doctor Perkins for conversing with Perkins' slaves after nightfall. Seeking legal action against Perkins, no lawyer will take the case, "as I was a negro."[30] While giving account of injustices he witnessed in the Caribbean, Equiano quotes the 329th Act of the Assembly of Barbados, which states a black man may be killed or maimed for any misdemeanor; if he is murdered, then there is a fine. He is property only, and property cannot testify. [31]

But there's more. Equiano's claims to honest witness are further complicated by the broader effects of the contemporary philosophical presumptions that undergird British empiricism. In his chapter on miracles in *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748), David Hume levels an invective against the existence of any reality outside sensorial experience and empirical probability. Setting his sights on Christianity specifically, he nevertheless includes all "superstitious delusion . . . . sacred and profane" in his reproof of belief in any supernatural entity that thwarts natural law. Though his argument against the extra-empirical generally rests on the authority of one's uniform experience of the laws of nature, it also calls upon the unseemly connection that miracles and magic have with "ignorant and barbarous nations" that have not mastered the Arts and who are, therefore, primed to be duped by falsehoods.[32] This is to say Hume's objection to enchantment is not solely based in his appeal to rationality but also has an aesthetic basis, and he works hard to keep distance between himself and the vulgar. More significantly, Hume decries what he sees as the insurgent enemies of reason who are titillated by the miraculous, enemies that perennially reveal themselves as hedonistic anachronisms: "the passion of *surprise* and *wonder*." The pleasurable sensation of wonder in the individual and the

collective excitement it brings addles the mind to satisfy appetite. And no one is more prone to exploit this tendency than the world traveler:

> With what greediness are the miraculous accounts of travelers received, their descriptions of sea and land monsters, their relations of wonderful adventures, strange men, uncouth manners? But if the spirit of religion join itself to the love of wonder, there is an end of common sense; and human testimony, in these circumstances, loses all pretensions to authority. A religionist may be an enthusiast, and imagine he sees what has no reality: He may know his narrative to be false, and yet persevere in it, with the best intentions in the world, for the sake of promoting so holy a cause. Or even where this delusion has not place, vanity, excited by so strong a temptation, operates on him more powerfully than on the rest of mankind in any other circumstances; and self-interest with equal force. His auditors may not have, and commonly have not, sufficient judgement to canvass his evidence: what judgement they have, they renounce in principle, in these sublime and mysterious subjects: Or if they were ever so willing to employ it, passion and a heated imagination disturb the regularity of its operations. Their credulity encreases his impudence: And his impudence overpowers their credulity.[33]

A damning indictment for those who accept wonder and enchantment as veritable forms of knowledge. Obstacles increase for Equiano in Hume's strand of Enlightenment thinking, moreover, if we further contextualize Hume's commentary on enchantment and "barbarous" peoples with his appraisal of Africans in "Of National Characters" (also 1748):

> I am apt to suspect the negroes to be naturally inferior to the whites. There scarcely ever was a civilized nation of that complexion, nor even any individual, eminent either in action or speculation. No ingenious manufactures amongst them, no arts, no sciences. . . .

> Such a uniform and constant difference could not happen, in so many countries and ages, if nature had not made an original distinction between these breeds of men. Not to mention our colonies, there are Negroe slaves dispersed all over Europe, of whom none ever discovered any symptom of ingenuity.[34]

It would be difficult not to observe the parallels between Hume's accusations and the vexing position in which Equiano finds himself in the opening of *The Interesting Narrative*. To summarize: British colonial law and burgeoning Enlightenment ethnography form a double wall of prejudice against Equiano's oath and affirmation of his interesting life as well as the truths he derives from it. The authenticity of his life-events, the championing of abolition, the claim to moral authority, and the existential lifeline for his fellow Africans in slavery all rely upon the veracity of what Hume, a representative Enlightenment thinker, declares not only to be utterly impossible but an outright lie. And Hume was not alone; Kant would later concur.[35]

The significance of this Humean strand of Scottish Enlightenment for Equiano cannot be overstated. Edinburgh was fast becoming a distinguished hub for moral philosophy in Britain and, at the same time, a key player in the development of slave plantations in the West Indies, plantations that greatly enriched Scotland's people and institutions.[36] Nevertheless, Equiano determines to narrate his life as a set of mysterious and enchanted events given by a swarthy traveler who supports a righteous cause. Equiano's solution to this prejudicial entrapment is to bypass appeals and apologetics in order to go after the underwriter of legal code and philosophical presuppositions: the imperial atlas that writes, reads, and renders the world itself.

III – Enchanted Geographies: Africa, Greece, Palestine

Equiano's first objective is to reconstitute Africa on his own terms. Aware of the genre conventions for travel writing, Equiano knows he has to address Africa's geographic resonance for Europeans before he can move to other sites. Indeed, the expected opening of an exotic travel narrative for European readers would be a restatement of the axiomatic differences between Western and non-Western peoples, or to "rehearse Otherness" as Geraldine Murphy puts it. To a degree, Equiano follows these expectations in the first chapter, but he also thwarts them by maintaining the first-person perspective. He stakes "I" as Africa rather than an outsider in Africa, collapsing the comfortable distance between reader and speaker.[37] His project of re-mapping the Atlantic Rim therefore rises and falls on this gambit presentation of his homeland, because at stake in young Equiano's history is not just the historiography of Africa but historiography itself and the predominating methods of geo-historical interpretation.

At the outset, Equiano traces Eboe origins along the genealogy of the Ancient Jews. In chapter one, he calculates similarities between Africans and Jews by underscoring the Eboe customs of circumcision, cleanliness and purification rituals, menstrual sequestration, and abstention from blasphemy.[38] Africans have a genesis in Genesis.[39] The origin of Africa is thus not outside of the Judeo-Biblical tradition and therefore pagan – as was the prevailing historiography -- but is square within it, as Africans trace their genealogy back to the "descendants of Abraham by Keturah his wife and concubine."[40] Having made a bold claim in inscribing Africa onto biblical history, Equiano doubles down by calling to his aid biblical commentators, such as Dr. Gill, Dr. John Clarke, Rev. T. Clarkson and Dr. Mitchel, all of whom he cites to corroborate his historiography and also account for the difference in pigmentation and phenotype between Africans and Jews.

Sylvester Johnson has shown that Equiano's stratagem of biblical world making via an African-Jewish origin story is one of his chief projects in *The Interesting Narrative*. Equiano lived and operated in a Western culture that located Africa outside of biblical time and, therefore, relegated it to a primitive era of history unconnected with the history of Europe. African history was disconnected from civilized history. Even more telling of Equiano adroitness in this ethnography, Johnson combs through the sources Equiano cites to support African-Jewish ancestry and shows that the sources do not actually suggest what Equiano implies they do; in some cases, they conclude the opposite. But Equiano is also not lying. He is selecting and arranging points of theological commentary into a constellation that amounts to a revision of cardinal direction and "becomes a means of circumnavigating entirely the Hamitic myth of African origins and instantiating the Igbo with the realm of Israelite identity," the chosen people, and "despite being the heart of a non-historical land, their roots lie at the center of biblical history." [41] Equiano had to work within biblically derived frameworks of temporalities and geographies, and he had to use the Bible and theological commentators as the source material for his contestation and redrafting of the colonists' map.[42]

That is not enough, however. There is another interesting maneuver in the first chapter of *The Interesting Narrative* that has not received enough attention -- the appearance of another geographic coordinate that argues for a second genealogy, an African-Greek genealogy, which appears even before Equiano makes his case for shared Jewish origins. In a seemingly benign footnote that describes the theatrical performances of the Eboe people -- who Equiano states straight away are "almost a nation of dancers, musicians, and poets" – he comments, "When I was in Smyrna I have frequently seen the Greeks dance after this manner."[43] Two paragraphs later, he describes the fragrances of certain African trees, odors that transport him back to

Smyrna: "When I was in Smyrna I saw the same kind of earth, and brought some of it with me to England."[44] Later in chapter IX of Volume II, he tells of his admiration for the ancient city, the delectability of the food, and the general amiability of the Turks. Curiously, he then insists on his audience maintaining the association he explored in chapter one: "I was surprised to see how the Greeks are, in some measure, kept under by the Turks, as the negroes are in the West Indies by the white people. The less refined Greeks, as I have already hinted, dance here in the same manner as we do in my nation."[45] This is not the last time Smyrna will appear either. Why the demand for a conscious coupling of Eboe and Smyrna?

Smyrna is reputed to be the birthplace of Homer.[46] With a footnote and a couple of anecdotes, Equiano's bridges the histories of Eboe Africans and Smyrna Greeks in artistic heritage, cultural expression, and states of oppression. At one point, he even invokes Homer to call attention to the inhumanity of slavery, summarizing a passage from Book VII of *The Odyssey*: "When you make men slaves you deprive them of half their virtue."[47] What is more, he connects these histories at the enchanted locale of mythos. It is the dancing, the poetry, the storytelling that Africa and Greece have shared and continue to share. There is no temporal break from African primitivism to Greek civilization; Africa and Greece maintain their entwined histories through art. Not only that but the earth itself with its transporting fragrances testifies to an Afro-Grecian past and present. Equiano literally brings the African-Greek geography steeped in enchanted artistic traditions with him to England and in so doing rearranges the geohistorical assumptions the British have about Africa. It is Olaudah Equiano, the African, who generously includes the British in this history by bringing it to them. A shared point of mythical origin between Africa and Greece subsequently complicates the "rehearsed Otherness" Equiano's readers expect, classical Greece for Britain being the cultural ancestry they claimed for

themselves, just as they claimed the spiritual ancestry of the Hebrews. It is worth remembering that one of England's great artistic achievements in the eighteenth century was Alexander Pope's translation of *The Iliad* (1720) and *The Odyssey* (1726). Praised by luminaries like Samuel Johnson, the English version of the great Greek legends buttressed the assertion that Britain rightfully belonged to the lineage of Homer. Britain, it went, shared the heroism of Achilles, the cleverness of Odysseus, and the intellection of its early interpreters: Socrates, Plato, Aristotle. And the assertion was exclusive. Ancient Greece could only belong to Europe in general and Britain especially.[48]

Phillis Wheatley knew this all too well. Aware of Western cultural entrapments for Africans, her poems traffic not only in theology and religious imagery but in classical styles and allusions, revealing, like Equiano after her, an acute awareness of the tangled web of prejudice into which the Western classics were being woven. "To Maecenas," for example, prefaces Equiano's own counter employment of Western classical antiquity. Wheatley selects the very first poem of *Poems on Various Subjects, Religious and Moral* (1773) to be not a religious poem but a poem imitating Horace and classical style:

> Great *Maro's* strain in heav'nly numbers flows,
> The *Nine* inspire, and all the bosom glows.
> O could I rival thine and *Virgil's* page,
> Or claim the *Muses* with the *Mantuan* Sage;
> Soon the same beauties should my mind adorn,
> And the same ardors in my soul should burn;
> Then should my song in bolder notes arise,
> And all my numbers pleasingly surprise;

But here I sit, and mourn a grov'ling mind,

That fain would mount, and ride upon the wind.[49]

The beauties of her mind, the adornments of accomplishment, the songs of her soul are cut off: "The fault'ring music dies upon my tongue." However, she does find solidarity with and hope in Terrence, the African-born playwright and slave to a Roman noble who, like Wheatley herself, received a liberal education from his master. The existence of Terrence, an African artist graced by the Muses, suggests for Wheatley a representative counterexample to axiomatic African inferiority and therefore a right to reclamation of self as African artist:[50]

Thy virtues, great *Maecenas!* Shall be sung

In praise of him, from whom those virtues spring:

While blooming wreaths around thy temples spread,

I'll snatch a laurel from thine honour'd head,

While you indulgent smile upon the deed.[51]

Snatching is a calculated act of defiance, even if only to take one leaf. Wheatley's defiance of the Western cultural order, of refuting African inferiority via appeals to the classical world shows Equiano was not alone in perceiving the stakes of the battle for antiquity; indeed, he had a model for contestation in Wheatley. Thus, for an African to contest Britain's claim to an exclusive classical heritage is brazen and dangerous. But contest it Equiano does, because he knows, as Wheatley knew, that a geo-historical connection between Benin and Jerusalem is not enough; secularism had plenty of its own ideological justifications for the erasure of Africa and the enslavement of blacks. The map of cultural heritage, not just spiritual heritage, must also be redrawn.

Equiano's early move to connect ancient Greece and Africa has not gone unnoticed. Interestingly, in Mary Wollstonecraft's ambivalent review of *The Interesting Narrative*, she finds fault with the inconsistency of Equiano's "childhood stories," saying the "puerile remarks do not agree with some more solid reflections, which occur in the first pages."[52] She then reproduces an excerpt from Equiano's book, which happens to be the very section linking Eboe and Greek cultures. It's difficult to imagine Wollstonecraft missing Equiano's rhetorical move, but she remains ambiguous about it in the review. Douglas Anderson also notes Wollstonecraft's reticence on Greco-Africa, but his own reading of the scene is more suggestive. For Anderson, Equiano's attempt at a classical Africa is purposefully aimed to intercept the Britishness evolving out of a burgeoning national literature via Pope as well as the consequent imperialist impulses inherent in the feeling of national pride and cultural superiority. This is why Equiano not only claims a shared cultural heritage for Africa and Greece but also casts the scene of the Eboe dances and theatrical performances as a Homerian allusion, recalling the scene from Book VIII in *The Odyssey* where Odysseus encounters the Phaeacian dancers, who are strikingly similar to the Eboe people. Odysseus admires their athletic and artistic prowess and develops an affective attachment to them. Odysseus himself approves of the Phaeacian/Eboe. [53]

To effect his cartographical project of re-drawing the Western map by way of tracing enchanted geographies of the Africa, Equiano accordingly starts by appropriating the mythos of Greece and the mysticism of Palestine. From the very first chapter, Equiano sets to displacing the centrality of Britain on the atlas via Atlas – the narratives that uphold and determine the world -- by moving *it, Britain,* toward the margins of mythical history,[54] emphasizing the extremity of its geographic location in relation to Greco-Judeo antiquity as well as its physical distance and temporal dissonance from the origin of classical culture and spirituality. It was Britain that lay

beyond the pillars of Hercules for so long disconnected, *ne plus ultra*. The coordinates for spiritual truth, classical culture, and reason are thus Jerusalem-Smyrna-Benin, not Jerusalem-Smyrna-London. London, though powerful and prominent now, is late to the game. It is not, in fact, part of the enchanted triangulated center of history, and, Equiano suggests, proximity to the center matters. The cultural memory embodied in the rituals, art, and soil evidences a shared point of origin with Father Abraham and Cousin Odysseus, an assertion that fosters a diasporic sympathy with ancient peoples and cultures. Even the Turks "are fond of black people" and recognize a relatedness between the African and the Orient because they are in the vicinity.[55] He interrogates Britain's assumptions of space (its size and dimension) and its place (delineation and location) through a bold assault on Britain's claims to pedigree showing that it is not logical to exclude Africa from a history of civilization in which it so evidently participated. To the contrary, Britain is the one on the periphery. Pope's translation is itself a sign of distance and lapse. The technological marvels of European scientists and slick translations of the white intelligentsia, impressive as they may be, cannot alter the fact that it is mythopoesis and mysticism that define the geographies and the epochs of history. It is the purview of the dancer, the musician, the poet, the prophet to limn them, not the empiricist and the translator. One must be able to sense history's enchanted foundations in order to map it and tell it.

IV – Enchanted Hydrographies: The Atlantic Rim

To continue his constellation of enchanted histories, Equiano's next task is to identify enchanted places within the Atlantic strongholds of the British empire. And for that Equiano takes the reader through the Middle Passage to the West Indies, the coast of North America, British harbors, and Spanish ports.

Having depicted Eboe customs as mythopoetical by emphasizing the roles of the magician-priests, libations to ancestral spirits, and fateful omens, Equiano moves through his childhood kidnapping to the African coast where European slave ships wait to transport their cargo. Upon contact with the white mariners, Equiano the writer makes sure to have young Equiano interpret his situation in unearthly terms: "I was now persuaded that I had gotten into a world of bad spirits, and that they were going to kill me." Perplexed by European watercraft, he asks some older Africans aboard how the ship moved, to which they reply, "The white men had some spell or magic they put in the water." Watching a white sailor use a quadrant, Equiano concludes that, surely, "I was in another world, and that everything about me was magic. . . . and indeed I thought these people were full of nothing but magical arts." [56] The cosmology of young Equiano performs two rhetorical functions here. First, Equiano presents his younger self as "naïve" and "primitive," frightened of and marveling at European technology, playing to the expectations of his audience. Second, Equiano deflects his audience's condescension by intimating how his younger self's enchanted cosmology is actually what underpins his older self's claim to divine authority and truthfulness, as evident in the frontispiece. Even though Equiano will later reveal himself to be proficient in European maritime technology, he never allows that fact to elide his sensibility to the supernatural. Indeed, retaining magical thinking was a common practice amongst African sailors on European vessels, and it was a tactic for retaining African metaphorical relationships with the sea and preserving cultural memory.[57]

The water ways of the Atlantic are Equiano's preferred sites of enchantment. Visions, dreams, and apparitions often occur in route from port to port. Equiano utilizes the liminality of water to blur Enlightenment categorizations, emphasize the implausibility of maintaining them, and elucidate the ocean's expansive metaphysical potential.[58] Both European mariner culture and

African religions enabled Equiano to take advantage of this. The "unbelonging and placelessness" of the high seas permitted the existence of superstitious rituals among sailors. For example, sailors commonly paid monetary tribute to Neptune, and in the ritual of "Ducking," or "Tropical Baptism," greenhorn mariners were initiated by a carnivalesque masquerade in which a veteran salt played Neptune and the greenhorns were covered in tar and grease, called to the sea god on a trumpet, and then drank an unappetizing mixture of the ship's waste.[59]

Adjacent to European nautical mythos, African mariners had their own mythological traditions, as African seafaring practices contained an amalgam of "tangible skills, historical memories, and spiritual knowledge." According to Jeffrey Bolster, the spiritual knowledge of African seamen included enchanted cognizance: "supernatural associations distinguished their perceptions of water and watercraft from those of white mariners. Africans did not differentiate between categories such as canoe travel and the influence of ancestral spirits. All were intertwined in a sacred worldview."[60] A worldview that holds nautical wayfinding as a simultaneous experience of spirit and matter is germane to Equiano's cartographic project. And though Equiano claims to have had no contact with the coast when he was a child, Eboe canoe men exist in the historical record, so it is likely that he would have been familiar with the sacred status of canoe builders and watermen, even if he had been too young to have participated.[61] Furthermore, the Eboe people, like many regional West African cultures, believed the surface of water acted as a communication line to the spiritual world and that waterscapes were the passage for the transmigration of souls. Essentially, without these enchanted properties of water, "no conception of the self could exist" for many Africans.[62]

European mariner rites, African religious beliefs, and the statelessness of seafaring reveal a key to Equiano's redrawing of the British atlas – though he begins his geo-historiographic

enterprise by sketching an enchanted geography for Africa, he shifts his energies to delineating enchanted hydrographies. Water is what permits connectivity and continuity, cartographically speaking. As long as Equiano is on the water, he is connected to Africa and he is able to retain cultural memory. He is also connected to Jerusalem, Smyrna, and England while at sea, so he is able to draw from them as needed. Hydrography, it turns out, defines geography. But this is important: aquatic continuity lies not in factuality so much as in sensibility. The magic of Africa, the mythos of Greece, the mysticism of the Hebrews, and the miracles of Christendom are at once available to Equiano not because they are empirically equivalent but because they overlap on the plane of enchantment. The map of time and space, history and place, is more like a cube than a piece of parchment. This may explain why Equiano is never fully satisfied on land and continues to go to sea, the element of depth and volume. He says he returns to the mast because he is "of a roving disposition, and desirous of seeing as many different parts of the world as I could," but the need, it seems, is not so much temperamental as existential, the metaphysics expansive. [63] Equiano anticipates Melville's Ishmael in *Moby-Dick* (that other son of Abraham) by over half a century. Though, as where Ishmael must go to sea to disperse that "drizzly November in my soul" and avoid suicide, Equiano goes to be connected.[64] Both are existential, but Ishmael's is individual, Equiano's collective.

It is no wonder then that the preponderance of Equiano's miraculous encounters occur while he is on board ships. By chapter IV, Equiano has been initiated into English seafaring culture and is at ease with mariner life. Accordingly, "I longed to engage in new adventures and see fresh wonders," he tells us. It seems he has imbibed the intrepid European spirit and is on his way to inculturation. But then he immediately qualifies what he means by "fresh wonders": "I had a mind on which every thing uncommon made its full impression, and every event which I

considered as marvellous. Every extraordinary escape, or single deliverance, either of myself or others, I looked upon to be effected by the interposition of Providence. We had not been above ten days at sea before an incident of this kind happened."[65] Marvelous, extraordinary, single, Providence – these constitute the legend by which the careful reader must decode Equiano's map. And it is only ten days before the marvelous and extraordinary interrupt the temporal structure of his life's events. A common rhetorical move in Equiano's writing, the conformity to European linear rationality in the telling of his own history is promptly troubled by appeals to experiences of enchantment.

In chapter III, for example, a man falls overboard on Equiano's ship, and he is confused amongst the consternation and rescue attempt:

> "I, who did not know what was the matter, began, as usual, to be very afraid, and to think they were going to make an offering with me and perform some magic; which I still believed they dealt in. As the waves were very high I thought the Ruler of the seas was angry, and I expected to be offered to appease him. . . . Some time after this we saw some very large fish, which I afterwards found were called grampuses . . . . I hid myself in the fore part of the ship, through fear of being offered up to appease them."[66]

This episode looks like another humorous touch of African "naiveté." However, for the biblically literate it is also difficult not to notice a palpable allusion – a young man of hyper-spiritual awareness who might be tossed overboard to be swallowed by a big fish in order to appease a deity. Artless young Equiano might be, but the elder is not. Equating himself with Jonah, Equiano appropriates the prophet's divine mantel and calling – to go to wicked cities and preach repentance for injustices. Jonah is, of course, the oceanic prophet *par excellence* in the Judeo-

Christian scriptures, his life distinctly liquid. Equiano continues a motif of prophetic allusion and miraculous association with himself that he initiated in the frontispiece.

Equiano's oceanic prophesies resurface again in chapter VIII. In this scene, Equiano dreams the same dream three nights in a row that his tempest-tossed ship will wreck among rocks and that he will be the means of saving the crew. On the third night, a crewmate calls Equiano to look at some grampuses in the water, which turn out to be jutting rocks. Observing this, Equiano attempts to navigate the ship out of danger, but it is too late. Equiano's life flashes before him, especially his sins: "I thought that God had hurled his direful vengeance on my guilty head for cursing the vessel on which my life depended. My spirits at this forsook me, and I expected every moment to go to the bottom." The captain then appears and orders the hatches to the holds containing slaves to be nailed down. Equiano refuses and instead rescues the slaves. All of the crew survives, no thanks to a single white sailor, the entirety of the rescue operation being carried out by "three black men and a Dutch Creole sailor."[67]

The episode recalls young Equiano's first encounter with grampuses, tempests, and their spiritual meanings. However, in this case, Equiano accordingly throws himself into the sea to appease Providence and, in so doing, receives divine authority to perform the miraculous in order to save not only the innocent slaves but also the corrupt captain and the drunk white sailors. Equiano concludes: "I could not help looking myself as the principle instrument in effecting our deliverance."[68] Equiano is called to assume responsibility for the physical and spiritual well-being of both Africans and Europeans, of the innocent and wicked, presumably because his openness to enchanted realities is still intact and, therefore, functions as a conduit for the divine. As such, Equiano is able literally to alter the course of his fellow sailors' personal histories (from

death to life) and, one hopes, their cultural assumptions (Western "superior" to African "inferior").

If enchantment in *The Interesting Narrative* means the employment of the supernatural as rhetorical motifs in order to reveal that the histories of people and places can collide and imbricate in ways other than those dictated by linear historiography and that those collisions and imbrications generate new meanings and hermeneutics, then Equiano makes his boldest change to the atlas of Western history in his assumption of the rites of an apostolic martyr. While on board a sloop he believes is bound for Jamaica, Equiano encounters another set of duplicitous white sailors. Equiano declines to be hired on as one of the crew for a longer voyage, which irritates the captain. Receiving maltreatment, Equiano asks them why, as European Christians, they treat him worse than the Turks. '"Christians! Damn you, you are one of St. Paul's men; but by G--, except you have St. Paul's or St. Peter's faith, and walk upon the water to the shore, you shall not go out of the vessel," is the reply. Equiano's punishment for declaring his freedom to chart his own route and direction is nautical crucifixion. Equiano's feet are tied, each wrist bound, and he is hoisted up. Some slaves give him a brief respite while the captain sleeps, but then he returns to his crucifixion, trusting to God to pardon his persecutors: "Whilst I remained in this condition, till between five and six o'clock next morning, I trust I prayed to God to forgive this blasphemer, who cared not what he did."[69]

Exceptional in this crucifixion scene is Equiano's expansion of historical time and space. There are two paramount crucifixions in the Christian tradition. The primary one is, of course, the death of Jesus Christ, and the second is the inverted crucifixion of St. Peter. Portraying himself as an unjustly crucified martyr in the tradition of God and saints, Equiano first takes up the marker of linear historical temporality – the life of Jesus Christ, *Anno Domini*. In his

suspension between the masts, and over the site of liquid liminality he prefers, Equiano's own body transforms into a cross, which is itself both a symbolic *and* geometric signifier of time and space. Its x and y axes affirm the depth and dimension in the plotting of histories that connect and overlap across grid patterns of horizontal (linear) and vertical (enchanted) time. Moreover, the association with St. Peter, which began with the frontispiece, is an association with "the Rock" on which the church and biblical history is founded, which is to say its geography. By charting the supernatural geography grounded in St. Peter, Equiano takes up the same mantel: a common man who is chosen by the divine to channel the miraculous in order to preach the gospel, heal the downtrodden, and contest oppressive political forces and institutions.[70] Equiano has the faith of St. Peter, but he will not use it to walk upon the water and escape the oppressive ideology that tirelessly faces him at every corner of the globe. Instead, he uses the faith and the death of St. Peter as the authority by which to cast himself, and by extension all Africans, on the map of history through the prism of an enchanted hermeneutics in an act of both restoration and hope to forgiveness.

Since the frontispiece, Equiano has associated himself with his Eboe ancestors, Abraham, Homer, Jonah, and St. Peter. Equiano traverses an enchanted plane of existence where he ranks among the pantheon of mythical, mystical, and religious figures of the Afro-Western world. He does not commit sacrilege by either trying to supplant them or arrogate himself to a deity, but he does take his place among them as a descendent mystic and prophet. In these episodes, we find not Equiano the pragmatic capitalist and bootstrap self-manumit so often written about but a purveyor of enchantment who intervenes with supernatural authority to correct European historiography through self-sacrifice.

V – Equiano and America

Biblical allusions and classical references are littered throughout the *Narrative*; they are not by themselves revelatory for Equiano scholarship. But enchantment is. The delicate work of Equiano's counter cartography rises and falls on enchantment in two ways. First, Equiano deploys enchanted scenes *rhetorically* to re-depict Africa and Africans as central to geo-historical time. Just as significant, though, in his presentation of enchanted encounters, Equiano stresses a competing hermeneutics and historiography that fortifies his map and his calls for abolition and justice, a metaphysics ultimately grounded in his Christian beliefs. It is not just the rhetorical performance of enchantment that matters but enchantment's humble assumption that the world – geographical time and space – is greater than the sum of its empirical parts. This is what charges Equiano's authority to testify and to champion expansiveness over narrowness, the affective along with the objective, continuity over separation. It is this sensibility that unearths substrata of shared enchantment running throughout African and Western cultures, revealing their kinship, correcting the West's claims to primacy by showing its contingency and derivation, all while also including it as important coordinates on the atlas. Equiano's map of enchanted geographies seeks not inverse supremacy but restorative justice.

For all of his unique treatments of the supernatural in his work, Equiano is a case study in a larger diasporic African and African American tradition in literary history. Equiano is part of a young diasporic African literati of the eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century that included members such as Jacob Oson (1178?-1828), Baron Pompée Valentin de Vastey (1781-1820), Prince Hall (1738-1807), John Marrant (1755-1791), and Martin Delany (1812-1885), all of whom were engaged in establishing an origin for Africa by blending Protestant theology, biblical anthropology, classical history, and even Freemason lore in order to counter Euro-

American racist historiography and sketch for themselves a historical narrative that just might coalesce in collective identity – a project that was nothing short of a cartographical move toward the "summon[ing] of a new world into being." [71] This summoning would extend well into the 20th century and find fresh articulation in the pens of W.E.B. Du Bois, Langston Hughes, and Toni Morrison. When Morrison recalls the "other knowledge or perception" that structures black experience, she is speaking as a descendent of Equiano and testifies to diasporic Blacks' tremendous care and protection of enchanted sensibility. Narratives like Equiano's bestowed a sacredness to diasporic Africans' being and trajectory and delineated a place and purpose for them in human history. The plane of enchantment traversed in Equiano's tale, as well as the writing and speeches of his contemporaries and successors, points to a rhetorical trope and dimensionalized historicism borne out of existential need, one that purposefully mapped a reality beyond the materiality of the black body at a moment in time when Enlightenment "science" was swiftly racializing, narrating, and flattening it. Enchantment, then, manifests itself in the earliest annals of American literary history as wayfinding to existence, identity, community, and survival. To ignore the realities perceived by Equiano's enchanted hermeneutics is to risk inhabiting the hubris of Hume and abetting the discrediting of Morrison's kith and kin.

Chapter Two

Washington Irving's Public House of Spirits

Surely, then, the gods who are most interested in the human race preside over the Tavern, where especially men congregate. Methinks I see the thousand shrines erected to Hospitality shining afar in all countries . . . and inns, whither all pilgrims without distinction resort.

~ Henry David Thoreau [1]

As Equiano publishes his Narrative in 1789, Rip Van Winkle wakes up from a long nap.[2] And he wakes up to quite a lot going on. The abolition movement is challenging the foundation of the British empire, the American Constitution is ratified, George Washington is elected president, and the French Revolution kicks off while the Haitian Revolution is brewing. Rip has often been read as a metonymy for America, embodying the confusion and anxiety with which the democratic experiment is fraught. However, given the global quakes of the year 1789, Rip could very well represent the West itself. A hemispheric shakeup prompted many nations and peoples to ask the same questions that the newly minted Americans were asking: how do we know who we are? What unites us? Who counts as "us"? What is our history? How do we belong? [3]

These questions still resonated in the United States twenty-six years later when Washington Irving set sail for Europe in 1815, as they were freshly filtered through yet another existential upheaval in America's second war for independence. Over the next seventeen years, Irving would continue to probe these questions in an effort to identify whatever it was that conjured a people. His travels through Britain and along the route of the Grand Tour lead him through sites soaked in legend and colored by picturesque accounts of cottages, cathedrals, and castles. The enchanted geographies of Europe filled his notebooks and his imagination. In the

end, Irving understood that the enchanted histories and geographies of folklore were vital to a continual, intergenerational transmission of values and sense of being, and that if there were ever to be such a thing as an American people, they could not do without them. What is curious, though, is that Irving's first attempt at mapping enchanted geographies for the United States in *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1819-1820) singles out an unusual, rather prosaic locale as a starting point: the public house.

Smack in the middle of Washington Irving's *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1819-1820) is an unremarkable little sketch called "The Inn Kitchen." Understandably, this sketch has been virtually unstudied by scholars. However, "The Inn Kitchen" contains rich insights into one of the most significant themes throughout book: the enchanted potentialities of the inn for the construction of a national history via folkloric temporality – a temporality predicated on a recurrent transmission of values in narratives that connect generations to each other and to the plot of earth they inhabit. In the sketch, Crayon recalls a night when, cold and weary from travelling through the Continent, he stops for the evening at an inn in the Netherlands. Having arrived late and missed a hot meal, Crayon eats leftovers by himself and reads old French newspapers. Bored to tears in the dining room, he suddenly hears laughter coming from the kitchen. He gets up and peeks through the doorway to see a merry group travelers and locals laughing, drinking, smoking, and swapping stories around the fire. Before taking a seat among them, Crayon sketches one of his characteristic observer's tableaus with unmistakable metaphors: The company was seated "around a great burnished stove, that might have been mistaken for an altar, at which they were worshipping;" the young Flemish attendant, decked in gold jewelry, "was the presiding priestess of the temple," and the crew was partaking of evening "potations."[4] The "ceremonious laughter" of the group after each tale told then

terminates the scene of "that temple of true liberty, an Inn."[5] The Inn, as Crayon paints it, is a sacred site complete with rituals, relics, and offices.

In 1843, Thoreau would give similar thoughts on the inn, the tavern, and what they meant to people, especially pilgrims cast out on the world. The tavern-inn, Thoreau concludes, is as equally important to a community as the church. The tavern-inn is a place where goodwill and hospitality dwell and where a soul can take refuge from the harsh vagaries of the world. The pilgrim seats herself within that sacred center – the kitchen -- where inhabitants find a warm hearth, good cheer, and the "real and sincere life which we meet in the streets."[6] Thus, the inn fireside is not only a place of respite and comfort but also a point of contact with a certain authenticity of life. The office of the landlord, he concludes, is commensurate with the priest. The history of colonial America, too, seems to agree with Crayon and Thoreau. In the 1740s, for instance, a Moravian settlement in Nazareth, Pennsylvania, argued over which should be erected first, a tavern or a church. Being deemed more essential to communal identity and functionality, the tavern went up first.[7]

As enchantment not only embraces the synchronicity of history but also delineates sites of sacredness and explores the reality of that sacredness to wayfind contemporary problems, in this chapter, I contend that Irving's *Sketch Book* registers the public house as an enchanted geography necessary for exploring and establishing a shared sense of history and national identity across the varied regional communities and diverse polity of the nascent United States by localizing temporalities and governance for the narration of histories. Like the church, the rituals of the inn – that temple of liberty -- permit a unity amongst a diverse collective and invest durable offices that do not have to obey the rules of diachronic time or physical space, which becomes immensely important at a moment when the New Republic was in a fit of anxiety about

its lack of history and rapid expansion. Though Irving's contemporaries were also invested in the same ideological project of constructing a national past with a view toward a national identity, Irving is unique in his treatment of the local. Macro-narratives of US history – such as James Fenimore Cooper's *Leather Stocking Tales* – were ambitious in their scope to cover all American regions with a blanket of a shared past. Irving, however, understands something of parts and wholes in that his American tales orbit around local folks' experience of historical events, and how they integrate those events into their already established practices of timekeeping and historiography. What Irving's tales and sketches reveal is that the project of mapping out a shared sense of history and common lore for a diverse polity requires preserving, not amalgamating, the distinct historiographical methodologies that are integral to the ecosystems of regional people groups. It turns out that constructing a shared sense of national past necessitates linking myriad communal ways of understanding the past and safeguarding the enchanted geographies they have designated to honor such practices. Each point of the constellation contributes to a larger identification with and an integrated narrative of national unity. Indeed, Michelle Sizemore has termed Irving's treatment of the past in this way a "historiography of enchantment," which formats a constellation, displacing historical events from an inevitable, positivistic progression and arranging them in such a way to derive meaning from their acausal associations. In doing so, Irving interrupts the rising nationalistic narratives of his contemporaries that claim a universal vision for the young Republic, and he shows that far from being inevitable, US temporality and society formation is contingent upon a variety of factors and is therefore always "conditional and subject to revision."[8]

Though Washington Irving is still generally considered a minor figure in American literary history, he has recently resurfaced in critical forums. The lion's share of the scholarship

on him over the last few decades has centered on his treatment of time throughout his corpus. From the *History of New York* to *The Sketch Book* to *The Alhambra* to his biographies of Christopher Columbus and George Washington, Irving obsesses over the passing of time and the various methods of recording and interpreting it. In one of the most insightful recent studies of Irving, Michael Warner argues Irving's status as a bachelor allows him to depict various conceptions of time as the modern era moves from a governing temporality organized around primogeniture and the continuity of family lineage to a temporality structured around sexuality and the crafting of individual autonomy. The "temporality of nostalgia" that Irving depicts over and over again in the *Sketch Book* -- where property, customs, and lore pass seamlessly from one generation to the next -- is an exploration of a temporality no longer tenable in 1820; thus, Irving experiments with the temporalities of folklore and antiquity in order to deal with the crisis of fractured generational continuity arising from modernity's emphasis on the individual.[9] Warner's point is well made; the fractures brought about by the rise of industrial-inspired individualism affected Irving's perception of time. However, an early nineteenth-century increase in immigration and constant shifts in the United States' human geography also produce an added impetus for Irving to explore the potentialities of enchanted geographies and folkloric temporality to conjure an Americanness, as we will see.

Regarding Irving's ceaseless burlesque of historiography in *Knickerbocker's History*, Jeffrey Insko has argued that – though Irving understood the deep need for a national history and literature for the nascent United States – he was suspicious of any historiographical method that touts a primary cause for historical events. Neither the progressive temporality of cause-and-effect history that predominated during the nineteenth century nor the context-driven New Historicism of today make the cut for Irving, as "Rip Van Winkle" shows, history-making being

an entirely discursive process.[10] Paul Giles also finds Irving's use of the burlesque significant to his entire corpus. Irving's style works to unearth the "buffoonery and misprision" of the historical process, adding dimension to history by treating it as a series of imbrications rather than a flat line of succession. Irving, in other words, is interested in the thickness as well as the elasticity of historical time.[11]

Recently, in *The Sketch, the Tale, and the Beginnings of American Literature* (2020), Lydia Fash provides a much-needed generic study that explores the important differences between the sketch and the tale and how Irving used each genre to appeal to both American and British audiences. The sketch, preferred by the British, favors space over time, freezes a moment in tableau, and combines "proximity, distance, objectivity, and insight" to offer readers a "true" account of a place, object, or idea. The tale, on the other hand, is favored by the Americans as it utilizes plot devices of progression through time and invites interpretation by its conscious use of storytelling methods, often the methods of oral histories, which "evoke an intimacy and credulity" of the kinds of stories "told around the hearth, validated by generations of belief and extended by plenty of embellishment;" these were the kinds of stories that localized time and made readers feel rooted in their communities. [12] And these were the kinds of stories Americans were looking for to provide them a sense of history and spirit of place.

The point here is that the rekindled scholarly conversation around Washington Irving demonstrates that he knew something about time, history, and how their presentation in narrative influenced the most fundamental aspects of the human condition -- identity, purpose, and belonging – all requisites to generate a national people. He is a more calculated and savvier writer of fiction than the predominating portrait of him as a genteel narrator of the picturesque suggests.[13] Where this chapter continues the conversation of Irving's historiography is by

shifting focus to Irving's designation of a specific site of enchanted geography for America – the public house – a site at once cosmopolitan and local. If Irving did operate within a historiography of enchantment as Sizemore suggests, he did so by mapping sites where such alternate historiographical methods could survive and by imbuing them with a folkloric imaginary that could withstand changes in the ideological weather. By investigating his historiography of enchantment through the geography of the pub, we see that an enchanted sense of history takes root in venerated sites that are at once unique to a locality and yet ubiquitous in their distribution across regions to coalesce a democratic polity. Just as Equiano's enchanted historiography localized in Africa and African epistemologies and then remapped various points along the Atlantic Rim to upend the British conception of time and space, Irving's enchanted historiography, though not as grand in scale, nevertheless concentrates in small towns and villages only then to contribute to a larger vision of history. Geoffrey Crayon ambles throughout the world that Irving may plot locales of enchantment and then wayfind a method for linking those places to tell a story of American history.

It should be noted that for the sake of this chapter, I will use the term "public house" or "pub" as a catchall term that includes the inn and tavern. Public houses in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries contained overnight rooms as well as victuals, and the terms were often interchangeable. Though I realize that inns, taverns, and public houses had their distinctive features, the purpose of this analysis is simply to show their value as community centers of timekeeping and historical interpellation. I will, however, give special treatment to the hotel, which was a unique nineteenth-century development and an ideological break from the tavern-inn.

I – Washington Irving, Barfly

From a young age, Washington Irving frequented taverns. In fact, his instruction in letters commenced in a barroom. As a lad, he was a regular at a public house where the landlord requested him to read out loud for hours on end.[14] Later as a young man in 1806, Dyde's Pub served as his coming-of-age environment as an author. He and the other Lads of Kilkenny – which included his brother William, James K. Paulding, and Gouverneur Kemble -- would write the instillations for *Salmagundi* under the auspices of Dyde's "rattle-brained orgies,"[15] and it was from this pub fraternity that he would gain the life-long friends who would aid him in publishing his tales and sketches in America. But perhaps one of the most amusing of Irving's early life experiences in public houses occurred in 1803. The future father of American literature first cut his teeth as a travel writer at a roadside inn on his way to Montreal. A young twenty-year-old Irving, yet unaccustomed to the spartan conditions of public accommodations in those days, suffered a long uncomfortable night's stay at a French woman's inn on the northern frontier. The disgruntled Irving designated the inn "The Temple of Dirt" and wrote a parting quip above the fireplace mantel:

Here Sovereign Dirt erects her sable throne,

The house, the host, the hostess all her own.

A year later, William Cooper (James Fenimore's father) passed through the same inn. Noticing the verse above the mantel, he penned a reply:

Learn hence, young man, and teach it to your sons,

The wisest way's to take it as it comes.

Thus, Irving's first literary exchange takes place in an inn literarily over a fire. Hardly by-the-way, this anecdote is telling of Irving the traveler and writer. Throughout the sketches and tales

of the *Sketch Book* (and in much of *Tales of a Traveller* as well) Irving returns again and again to the inn, the fireside, and the stories that are told there as a way of knowing the world. In his most famous tale "Rip Van Winkle," Irving probes deeply into the affects that the tavern evokes, and he maps the enchanted, folkloric associations that aid him in exploring ways to deal with the America's crisis of anxiety.

"Rip Van Winkle" is the most enduring of Irving's tales and hardly needs to be recounted. Set in a Dutch village on the sleepy banks of the Hudson River during the British colonial period, Rip's tale follows him deep into the Kaatskill Mountains on a hunting expedition, a trip that accorded with his inclination to avoid domestic chores and a desire to avoid his shrewish wife. There he finds the magical appearance of Hendrick Hudson and his *Half-Moon* crew, drinks their liquor, sleeps for twenty years, returns to the village, experiences an identity crisis, and then settles back down in front of the public house to tell his story to all the locals and passersby. Because "Rip" is one of the only two American tales in the entire *Sketch Book* according to Fash's generic definition (the other is "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow"), it makes sense that it has received scores of interpretations since its publication; it was meant to. The genre of the tale as opposed to the sketch emphasizes plot mechanics, temporal distance, and interpretative flexibility. In early nineteenth-century fiction, it is also the genre that isolates communal temporalities and locates beginnings, showing how a shared experience of time "conjures social groups."[16]

Readings of "Rip" have varied across many critical fields, ranging from Judith Fetterley's classic feminist analysis of Irving's misogynistic villainizing of Dame Van Winkle to Michael Branch's reading of Rip's binge drinking as a timely investigation of the kinds of liquor in circulation in early nineteenth-century America, and their competing associations, during the rise

of alcoholism and the Temperance Movement.[17] And the reading of Rip as a man out of time who sleeps through the Revolutionary War has prompted numerous essays on the early national experience of time and history and their consequences on national identity. Strangely, though, very little has been said about the public house itself. Both the literary and historical significance of the inn and its transformation into a hotel are important for seeing how Irving is both testing the changes of history as well as experimenting with the folkloric requirements needed to localize time and encourage affective bonds with place.[18] In my reading, I suggest the public house is a metonymy for the enchanted geography Americans cannot do without if they are to coalesce and self-identify as Americans. To be clear, by "Americans" Irving has in mind mostly those of European descent, and his Federalist sympathies imply a preference for the upper class. However, in reifying the enchantments of the public house, Irving calls forth the long history of the colonial tavern as an egalitarian space in terms of both race and class.[19]

II – Rip Van Winkle and Enchantment Starvation

Crayon tells us in the opening to "Rip Van Winkle" that this story was found among the papers of Diedrich Knickerbocker, the historian-narrator of Irving's first major work, Knickerbocker's *History of New York* (1809). In Knickerbocker's *History*, Irving satirizes the pedantic armchair historians of his day who were proliferating *ad nauseum* due to a nation-wide rush to address the paucity of both regional and national histories.[20] As antiquarian societies multiplied, Irving set his burlesquing sights not on historians *per se* but on their methods. He questioned the reliability of primary texts to reveal the "truth" of history as well as the historian's ability to discover it. He therefore has Knickerbocker dedicate his mock *History,* which the subtitle proclaims is "the only Authentic History of the Times that ever hath been, or ever will be

Published," to the New York Historical Society.[21] A true history, Irving suggests through Knickerbocker (and later through Crayon), isn't so much discovered as constructed and weaved into narrative.[22] Thus, when Knickerbocker appears again as the recorder of "Rip Van Winkle," we know the kind of history that will be presented is one of a storyteller. Unsurprisingly, then, Crayon tells us that Knickerbocker favors people over documents as his historical sources, as they are "rich in that legendary lore so invaluable to true history."[23] This is to say that as Irving's vehicle Knickerbocker subscribes to a version of history that can only be recovered through a "poetics of memory."[24] Rip's history is a kind of history that does not look for cross-referenced verification of textual sources but derives its worth and power from the non-empirical lore it contains: the resonances of human attachment, intimacy, credulity, and affect of place, what Gaston Bachelard calls "topophilia."[25] Enchantment in this way is the recognition of a space and time outside the reach of orthodox registers. It is also a reality that permits one to love a place.

At the beginning of the tale, Rip is described as "a simple good natured fellow," universally liked (except by his wife) and a particular favorite of the wives and children of the neighborhood.[26] He teaches the children sports, makes them toys, shows them how to shoot marbles. But they love Rip also because he tells them "long stories of ghosts, witches, and Indians."[27] Rip is counted amongst the few "sages" of the town that meet at the local inn where stories are told listlessly over pipe smoke in the shade of a tree. Because they meet at an inn, inevitably travelers pass through. When they do, the travelers leave old newspapers, which Rip and his cronies take up as material for their discussions.

> "To have heard the profound discussions that sometimes took place, when by chance an old newspaper fell into their hands from some passing traveller. How solemnly they would listen to the contents as drawled out by Derrick Van Bummel the schoolmaster, a

> dapper, learned little man, who was not to be daunted by the most gigantic word in the dictionary; and how sagely they would deliberate upon public events some months after they had taken place."[28]

Satirical undertones aside, there is something to this little circle where two forms of historiography collide. The newspaper-document is meant to be taken as a text of authoritative history. Written by men of letters, curated by editors, and disseminated to the rural village by travelers of the world, it summons a certain type of reader – the undaunted, dapper, worldly, learned man. Rip in his easy way has no use for this, though. He does not (or cannot) read a word. Instead, he listens to Van Bummel read the paper orally and then engages in deliberation of its meaning. Textual histories are too fixed as well as too stringent to garner Rip's approval. There is no give to textual histories, and their form lacks the requisite humility to access alternate ways of seeing the past. They are "a mere temporary rumor" as Crayon would later call them in the "The Mutability of Literature."[29] Thus, Irving's project of establishing a folkloric tradition for America does not forswear the use of textual histories (for the inn sages still use them), but it does reveal their limitations.

The use of the newspaper by the little Dutch community illustrates their recognition of its inherent historiographic limitations, but it also charges the scene with political connotations. It foreshadows the way in which print culture brokers what Benedict Anderson has famously called "imagined communities."[30] If Rip, Vedder, and the rest of the sages still prefer orality and the local traditions it enacts to the solitary individualism of reading a newspaper, they nevertheless intuit that the newspaper now plays a role in their communal orality, whether for good or ill. The appearance of the newspaper as artifact in the story suggests what the hotel later will make explicit: an awakening to/of political consciousness. Essentially, if the rigidity of the signifier of

textual history limits its ability to render history, it still signals the arrival of an inevitable nexus of communal traditions, economic changes, shifting human geographies, and nationalist stirrings that will arrive with the Revolution. This is indeed the nexus to which Rip will return after his prolonged nap, one that has imagined connections across such drastic changes, yet, as the frenzy of the return scene reveals, is without a center; it is an imagined community that lacks anchorage.

Delaying Rip's return for a moment, though, Nicholas Vedder merits further analysis, as he is the landlord of the inn and leader of the junto.[31] As the town innkeeper, Vedder has several responsibilities. First, he supports Rip's group and provides them with a place to tell stories, and he secures a place where the townspeople can also hear these stories, as there is usually "a crowd of folk about the door."[32] Second, he keeps the inn for travelers. Third, he is the town timekeeper, taking a seat in front of the inn "morning till night, just moving sufficiently to avoid the sun and keep the shade of a large tree; so that the neighbors could tell the hour by his movements as accurately as by the sun dial."[33] The landlord keeps time and its passing, and the discussions and stories that are spun in his presence are his to approve or disapprove. Vedder communicates by smoking his pipe either tranquilly for approbation or hurriedly for disapprobation, like an oracle wreathed in smoke. He is the keeper of local time and the guardian of how narratives are constructed within it. The junto is "completely controlled" by him, and it is his responsibility to see that such narratives are as organic to the community as the tree shade in which he lounges.[34] Vedder's tree recalls Thomas Paine's "some convenient tree" from *Common Sense*, the tree that serves as a primitive state house for an early society which requires only rudimentary governance because their attachments to each other are still strong and not yet fragmented across a large, mixed body politic.[35] (How to anchor such social intimacy

represented by the inn and its shade tree in the nineteenth century when the body politic is mixed and varied is what concerns Irving).

The beginning of "Rip Van Winkle" thus communicates something important about the role of the public house as Irving understood it. Social and political changes invariably come, but at the heart of a community must lie a designated location for the keeping of local time and the construction of histories within it. It does not seem to matter at all to Rip and his club that the newspaper events that launch their yarns occurred months before or in different places. Current events are not a category of importance. What matters is how time, history, and narrative meet in the microcosm of the Dutch village– the method and the practice -- how they are localized and weaved into the affections and values of that community. As we will see in a moment, for Irving, communal historiography is not antithetical to the construction of an overarching national historiography; indeed, the constellating of multiple communal historiographies is the only method that won't crack under the weight of constituting a national people.[36]

Understandably, Rip is often blamed for running away into the Kaatskills. He avoids his duty to domestic labors, and, therefore, the logic goes, he has only himself to blame for his existential crisis and confusion, but the townsfolk share some of the responsibility, too. Rip's famous exclamation "I was myself last night; but I fell asleep on the mountains – and they've changed my gun – and every thing's changed – and I'm changed – and I can't tell what's my name, or who I am!" sends him running for a referent.[37] Dizzied by the swirl of changes, he needs an anchor. It's no coincidence that the first person Rip asks for is Vedder. Everything is disorienting, and he needs to know the time. It is not that he needs his friend *per se,* but he needs the timekeeper. None is to be found. Eighteen years Vedder has been dead and gone, and apparently no one has replaced him. The election frenzy in front of the new hotel is unintelligible

to Rip not just because he slept through the Revolution and thus missed the transition from monarchical to democratic government but because there is no guardian of the times, no one setting boundaries for events or adjudicating how they should be adapted to the community.

The transformation of colonial Britain into the United States would be jolting, surely, but Rip Van Winkle as a descendent of the Dutch Van Winkle clan that fought so bravely "in the days of Peter Stuyvesant" against the Swedes would not be entirely bewildered by the reign of a new government and the erection of a new flag.[38] Plus, Rip cares little for politics, "the changes of states and empires made but little impression on him."[39] Indeed, it is not the new nation but its signifier that renders Rip's new world "strange and incomprehensible" – when he sees the flag of "a singular assemblage of stars and stripes."[40] The assemblage of stars is a constellation – the immemorial keeper of both time and narrative. And the pun on "singular" is noteworthy. It seems that what confuses Rip is not the *remarkability* of the assemblage but its *exclusivity*. An inflexible signifier of time, events, and the narration of their meanings. The stars-and-stripes assemblage is an unbending historiography, in other words, one that will not permit manifold, localized interpretations to meet the respective needs of local communities.[41] The mistake Irving elucidates here is that historians and politicians believe that timekeeping and historiography have to take place on a national scale in order to fashion a fictive ethnicity of Americanness.[42] As we have seen with Equiano, this is a symptom of empire. Enchantment, however, means that assemblages of events in time can be traced through a variety of methods and can therefore be interpreted in different ways depending on local perspectives and needs. Counterintuitively, the local enchanted geographies actually safeguard macro-level historiographies of nations. The little Dutch inns scattered throughout the villages of the world make up the stars in a large constellation of meta-historiography. Contra Insko, it's not that there is no true objective history

at all for Irving; at an elemental level, Irving knew there was a real yet inexplicable "magic" or "mystery" to lived experience.[43] It's just that without local timekeepers and sages, the narration of historical experience cannot be rendered, personalized, understood, and disseminated. The new "tavern politicians" don't seem to understand this. Rip may have missed the Revolution, but they have neglected the mechanism for conjuring a local society, for identity formation, for the blueprints of communal life. Without this, there is no way to preserve the past via an internalized sense of identity.[44]

Instead, in an effort to control the history of an entire nation, warring political factions in Rip's village compete for the right to historiography, but in doing so they have ousted the timekeeper and are themselves lost in the moment. They have done such a thorough job, in fact, that Vedder's wooden tombstone "that used to tell about him" has rotted to nothing.[45] In this transitional moment during what Jürgen Habermas designates the "developing critical sphere" of a public, the townsfolk attempt to narrate without a local temporal referent.[46] And, thus, Rip pitifully "looked in vain for the sage Nicholaus Vedder with his broad face, double chin, and fair long pipe, uttering clouds of tobacco smoke instead of idle speeches."[47] The oracular utterances and sacred signifiers that sanction the interpretation of time and events are either gone (like Vedder) or scrambled (like the inn/hotel and imbricated portraits of George III and George Washington). Everyone is in front of the public house shouting, yelling, accusing, political handbills (more textual artifacts) in pocket. It's all flaring tempers and uncertainty. No wonder Rip is confused; so is everybody else. There is nothing in the politicking scene that comes close to clarity. We have to wonder: even if Rip had not fallen asleep for twenty years, would he be just as muddled as everyone else seems to be?

John Quidor's painting *The Return of Rip Van Winkle* (1849) portrays the disorder of election day and Rip's return brilliantly. Rip is the focal point. His haggard, outdated appearance causes a stir. But the townsfolk are in a full-blown ruckus. Many of the men and women are buggy-eyed and crazed, tongues hanging out with wild looks of ferocity and hunger. Even the children at Rip's feet look impish. According to the *Sketch Book*, Rip's return results in an "army of women and children at his heals" and a strong, albeit brief outburst of anger when he is mistaken for a Tory, but the text does not connote the pandemonium evident in Quidor's painting.[48] So, why does Quidor paint such primal emotions into the scene? Well, there is no enchantment left in the village: no rituals, no offices, no alternate epistemology or hermeneutic to offset the stumping "tavern politicians."[49] There is no local, enchanted governance of this incredible historical event of 1789. It's the nation without the village. A web of imagined connections without a center. Consequently, there is an explosion of epistemic and existential crises when Rip arrives smelling of fairies, spirits, and lore from the past. This is precisely the moment Quidor depicts: enchantment starvation. In the text, when Rip declares himself "a loyal subject of the King," he becomes politically misidentified. The crowd then seizes on Rip as a scapegoat around which both Federal and Democrat can rally and thus concentrate their panic. But to read this scene as simply political anxiety is to miss something far more elemental at work. What Quidor's rendering illustrates is that the townsfolk will soon devour Rip, because the towns people's desperation and hysteria are far more primal than partisan disagreements. The existential-to-political transference of anxiety won't hold long under such ontological pressure, and this is the true terror and relief of Rip's return.

In the *Sketch Book,* Rip is fortuitously saved by the miraculous appearance of Peter Vanderdonk: "who was seen slowly advancing up the road. He was a descendent of the historian

of that name, who wrote one of earliest accounts of the province. Peter was the most ancient inhabitant of the village and well versed in all the wonderful events and traditions of the neighborhood."[50] It is Peter, a descendent historian and timekeeper, who eventually validates Rip's story, confirms his identity, and restores Rip's seat as a sage in front of the public house. Where he has been all this time, one has to wonder.

Figure #1 – John Quidor. *The Return of Rip Van Winkle*, 1849. National Gallery of Art.[51]

III – Dutch Inn, American Hotel

But for all this, Irving does not use Crayon to bemoan a bygone age or wallow in Romantic melancholy, as he has often been accused. The public house can withstand the whips and scorns of time and circumstance insofar as the enchanted qualities of the pub can be preserved, and the pub turns out to be excellent enchanted geography for a democratic republic. How to protect such enchantments is the key. As Rip returns to the village, he goes to his house, which is abandoned and dilapidated. He then hurries to the inn, "but it too was gone;" instead "a large, ricketty wooden building stood in its place, with great gaping windows, some of them broken, and mended with old hats and petticoats, and over the door was printed 'The Union Hotel, by Jonathan Doolittle.'"[52] Instead of the little Dutch inn, there is a hotel. Apparently, the

hotel owner understood something of the significance of the former inn for the community. But there are three problems with the new iteration. For starters, its ambitions are too large. It aspires to represent the Union entire, eclipsing the community. Then, Jonathan – a contemporary appellation for the United States – *does little* to keep the sanctity of the place. The windows are broken, the repairs are haphazard and insufficient. Finally, the hotel owner is nowhere to be found. For all the commotion at his hotel, he doesn't appear; supplanting him is the "lean, bilious" political stand-in.[53]

In the post-Revolution Hudson Valley, the public house retains its commercial operation but without its charm. It is bereft of its former enchantments. The result is double-signified signs, vandalism, shouting matches, and factions. Sarah Wyman suggests Rip's confusion, lack of self-knowledge, and the general disorder of the return scene belies Irving's own Federalist doubts about the success of the Revolution, the rise of democratic individualism, and the disruption of generational continuity and communal life.[54] And she's right. Irving distrusted straightforward understandings of history and he came of age during the "era of national anxiety," as Jeffrey Rubin-Dorskey as termed it, when the first generation of Americans born after the Revolution were charged with creating a nation in the selfless spirit of the Founding Fathers. [55] An early lampooner of politicians and historians for their powers to manipulate the masses, Irving certainly challenged any mono-dimensional portrayal of the Revolution as unequivocal progress. Irving is no cynic, though. He accepted the New Republic and believed it to be the best form of government for the United States. He also understood that different times and cultures required different systems of governance. [56] But he did not accept all this blindly. A democratic republic can have its own mythos and folklore, and what he discovered in Britain is that there must be sanctioned spaces for its survival. Much has been said about Irving's use of Rip to emphasize the

role of the folk storyteller and giver a memory,[57] but this is anthropocentric. The storyteller is only half the equation. A sacred, enchanted geography must also be intact where the storyteller can dwell and craft her art.

The transformation of the inn into a hotel in "Rip Van Winkle" is not accidental. The end of the eighteenth century witnessed a revolution in public accommodations. George Washington's famous presidential tour of the Union from 1789 to 1791 called attention to the shabby conditions of tavern overnight rooms. On his tour, Washington refused to stay at any dwelling that was not a public house as to eschew accusations of partiality. This was no small sacrifice. Many of the First President's stays resembled that of Irving's initial journey to Montreal – dirty and uncomfortable.[58] In effect, Washington's tour inaugurated not just a new nation but the attending economic, social, political, and human geographic issues that came with it.[59] In response to ideological shifts in industry and commerce underway at the beginning of the nineteenth century, hotels began to replace the tavern-inn as the habitation of travelers and the communal hang out. According to A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, the newfangled hotel served three primary functions for a country founded on representative government and industrial ambition: "Functionally, they facilitated trade by providing shelter and refreshments to an elite traveling public. Visually, their imposing architecture symbolized commerce and valorized its pursuit in a nation which was still overwhelmingly agrarian. Financially, the grandeur of early hotels was intended to increase the value of the surrounding property at a time when speculative building was becoming popular among urban landholders."[60] The hotel, then, supplants the tavern-inn as industrial drive ramps up. Though they sheltered travelers (many states only granted liquor licenses to taverns on the condition that they provide accommodations for travelers), colonial taverns primarily served as local bars. The tavern was communal, the hotel cosmopolitan.

Doolittle's Hotel is thus a loaded image in "Rip Van Winkle." It signals not just political rupture but a host of ideological associations like mercantilism, classism, urbanism. We might say that the hotel's vision of free commerce is even more important than national independence. Afterall, Mr. Doolittle has erected a shiny new sign for his hotel, whereas he haphazardly paints George Washington over George III. However, the vision is in a shambles. Broken windows and rickety wood communicate a noxiousness within and a communal frustration without. At this point, we might be tempted to read the vandalized hotel as Irving's subtle rebuke of unchecked capitalistic ambition, as Wyman suggests. Irving, though, allows the hotel to stay, to remain an integral part of the little village. He does not burn it down as Poe might have done had he written the tale. But he also does not allow Doolittle's hotel to remain as it is. The hotel has been disenchanted by its enterprising. No historian, no timekeeper, no storytellers. Only business and politics. Nothing to localize moments or nourish affective roots. That is until Rip's return. Rip's recounting of his story and his reinstatement by Peter Vanderdonk provide immediate catharsis. As soon as Vanderdonk approves the story, a release comes over the crowd: "To make a long story short – the company broke up, and returned to the more important concerns of the election" with no further appearance of agitation and hysteria.[61] The mood has palpably changed. The mood swing from frenzy to satisfaction is not unlike Jane Bennett's description of enchantment, which is a mood of "fullness, plentitude, or liveliness."[62] A reconnection with an indeterminate yet "real and sincere life" at the ground level.

Restored to the community, "Rip now resumed his old walks and habits . . . . he took his place once more on the bench at the inn door and was reverenced as one of the patriarchs of the village and a chronical of the old times 'before the war.'"[63] Rip sits down and the hotel transforms back into an inn. Or does it? Not long after, we find that "He used to tell his story to

every stranger that arrived at Mr. Doolittle's hotel."[64] Apparently, it is both inn and hotel. Rip's preservation of folkloric temporality and local historiography via his tale re-enchants the public house, but it does not extinguish the hotel; it infuses it with the qualities of the inn that are vital to communal time and spirit of place. Moreover, his tale now connects the history of the little Dutch village with other histories across the Union, as his tale is told both to locals and travelers alike. Every stranger hears it, every neighbor "knew it by heart."[65] The village is now joined to a larger national polity via the hotel[66] *and* by conserving its enchanted geography and its attendant rituals, offices, and relics.

"The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" is strikingly similar to "Rip" in its treatment of the public house, but this time the threat to enchantment is unchecked. To be fair, there is no actual public house in Sleepy Hollow, or at least it does not appear *per se* in the text, but the home of Baltus Van Tassel effectively serves as one. The Van Tassel's is the designated location for meeting and dancing, eating and drinking, smoking and storytelling.

But before Ichabod Crane, the Van Tassels, or Brom Bones appears in the story, the archive of Knickerbocker again establishes the kind of history that will be told. Knickerbocker begins "Sleepy Hollow" by tracing the genealogy of Sleepy Hollow's neighboring village of Tarry Town, the name given to it by the old "good housewives" of yore upon whom he relies for the real stuff of history -- legend and myth. Deflecting anticipated criticism from his contemporary historians, Irving via Knickerbocker interrupts his history with a quick aside, "I do not vouch for the fact, but merely advert to it, for the sake of being precise and authentic."[67] He then continues with the history of Tarry Town and Sleepy Hollow. Why the parenthetical remark? Because this sentence continues a central theme of the *Sketch Book* beginning with "Rip Van Winkle" -- empirical fact vs. homespun authenticity. Though fact and authenticity look like

synonyms, they are not. They have different registers. Knickerbocker can be simultaneously skeptical of the factuality of Tarry Town's origin and yet charge his story with authenticity because authenticity's pliancy can accommodate enchanted histories whereas fact cannot. Authenticity connotes an earthy lived experience, a sensibility honed through a mutually constitutive relationship amongst people and place, a poetics of memory that is in one's bones. This is what the good wives have. There is a "sincerity" to them, as Thoreau puts it, an affective warmth that the cold logic of verified "fact" cannot approximate; this is Knickerbocker's (Irving's) index of value for his legend. And, as with "Rip," they are the values that reveal the enchanted potentialities of the public house.

The values of authenticity are something that Ichabod Crane does not share. He prefers calculation even as he is steeped in enchanted surroundings. The diction of enchantment in "Sleepy Hollow" is too numerous to itemize. There are twelve references to spells, ghosts, specters and the like while describing the essence of Sleepy Hollow within the first two pages alone. And though Ichabod Crane loves stories of ghosts and witches and has memorized Cotton Mather's *History of New England Witchcraft*, he is, like the Jonathan Doolittle, concerned with business and politics. Like the crowd of Rip's return scene, Crane is also starved of enchantment, but unlike the crowd his starvation results from his unswerving commitment to consumption. Knickerbocker describes Crane as a "genius of famine descending upon the earth," led and controlled by his voracious appetite.[68] He a "huge feeder" of victuals and walks the country round from hearth to hearth feigning affection for the Dutch wives' children and telling them witch stories in order to eat from their tea tables. For Crane, enchanted histories are currency with exchange value.

Not only does he gobble up as much farm fare as he can, but he also gulps down the atmosphere of the village. Crane's stay in Sleepy Hollow increases his "appetite for the marvelous" as well as "his powers of digesting it."[69] Crane devours local legends and myths in the same spirit as he devours roasted apples and sweet meats. But his appetite does not stop there. He desires to eat Katrina Van Tassel as well with equal relish, Katrina who was to him "plump as a partridge; ripe and melting and rosy cheeked as one of her father's peaches."[70] Essentially, Crane does not distinguish between land, victuals, lore, or human beings. All are rendered equally consumable to his "devouring mind's eye." [71] And this mentality of consumption is why despite his insatiable appetite he remains unnaturally thin and lanky. He guzzles down but is never nourished. His obsessive consumption is cancerous especially to the enchanted geography of Sleepy Hollow. Unlike Doolittle who errs because of his lazy absence, Crane errs because of his arrogant presence by not embodying a living, breathing partaker and protector of the local historiography and traditions. Crane believes he is above the simple farmers. When he loses himself in a daydream of possessing the Van Tassel estate, his first thought is to close the schoolhouse, snap his fingers in the face of his patrons, and bar any other teacher from entering the community again,[72]a thought unmistakably produced by wounded pride and a paradigm encouraged by market consumerism.

Because Crane believes himself superior to the townsfolk and their commitment to authenticity, he speculates their materiality. This is most evident in the autumn "quilting frolick" scene, when Crane is invited to join the rest of the community at the Van Tassel's for feasting and merry making. During his trot through the fields to the cottage and as he enters the Van Tassel home, he thinks of nothing else other than ruling over the land to consume its resources. Even before the invitation, he had designs in his "devouring mind's eye" on how he could

acquire the cattle, the fields, the dishes of the autumn table, and even Katrina Van Tassel and her estate that it may be "turned into cash, and the money invested in immense tracts of wild land, and shingle palaces in the wilderness."[73] Once he enters the Van Tassel home, the desire to liquidate the communal hearth overtakes him. Crane's plans eerily echo Jonathan Doolittle and the land speculation schemes giving rise to the construction of hotels, not to mention the financial crisis of 1819. It is no wonder then that Katrina rejects Crane. She is not the simple country bumpkin Crane assumes she is; she knows exactly what he is about. Crane's consumption never rests; it is always voracious and increases at every household, but it is when he sets designs on the Van Tassel tavern – the enchanted geography safeguarding communal tradition and identity – that enough is enough. Thus, it is not strange that what subsequently haunts Crane after Katrina rejects him – a rejection Crane understands as a business failure, not unrequited love -- is a Hessian trouper, a mercenary spirit of unchecked individual ambition loyal only to capital.

It is also no coincidence that the head of the trouper is a pumpkin, a historically complex and uniquely American symbol at once connoting backwardness, wantonness, enchantment, anti-capitalism, and virtue. As Cindy Ott has convincingly shown, during the colonial period, the pumpkin became an unassuming signifier of Americaness, a crop unique to the North American continent that was both simple and useful, providing sustenance without luxuriousness while being hardy and wholesome. By the time of the Revolutionary War, the pumpkin had been accepted as a potent symbol of "American cultural identity."[74] However, as industrialism increased and the United States became an international player on the global market, the pumpkin grew out of favor with the farmers due to its low market value and was subsequently seen as simply the foodstuff of peasants. The Europeans first, and then New England aristocrats

later, would equate the pumpkin with the bumpkin – crude, vulgar, culturally backward.[75] Part of this association had to do with the pumpkin's ability to grow easily in the wild almost without cultivation. It also arose from the 16th century Dutch and Italian painters' use of the pumpkin as a symbol of fecundity and "unchecked human desire," especially in peasant women.[76] But it was the very fact of the pumpkin's low status as a marketable product that made it ripe for cultural identity. As industrialism heated up and America became a global competitor with Europe, the pumpkin harkened back to a timeless, simpler age when sustenance and the small family farm predominated, invoking an intermixture of Jeffersonian pastoral virtue with the anxiety of cultural inferiority felt by Irving's generation, an inferiority inflicted by Britain and irritated by the sharpening class distinctions in New England.[77] Even with these imbricated, and sometimes confliction associations, in the nineteenth century the pumpkin remained a potent symbol of attachment to place and communal identity.[78]

And enchantment. The pumpkin carried with it associations from the past as well as other worlds, stories of fairies and magic. We see this in John Greenleaf Whittier's poem "The Pumpkin" (1844) which pays homage to the fruit by using it to invoke a nostalgia for an agrarian past while calling forth its spooky will-o-the-wisp origins as a Jack-o-Lantern and its role in fairy tales:

> Oh! – fruit loved of boyhood! – the old days recalling,
> When wood-grapes were purpling and brown nuts were falling!
> When wild, ugly faces we carved in its skin,
> Glaring out, through the dark with a candle within!
> When we laughed round the corn-heap, with hearts all in tune,
> Our chair a broad pumpkin – our lantern the moon.

Telling tales of the fairy who travelled like steam,

In a pumpkin-shell coach, with two rats for her team![79]

The pumpkin was thus an American enchanted thing of nature, cultivatable yet still wild, and the chosen fruit of the earth upon which to caste lore, mystery, history, geography – the ingredients needed to define a people. The pumpkin is the "chair," the throne of the community storyteller who, by moonlight, recounts histories and legends. To attempt to divorce the pumpkin's materiality from its enchantments is a deep offense, to try to consume the throne is worse still. Yet, that is where we continually find Ichabod Crane. The pumpkin of the Hessian rider is not the first pumpkin to appear in the tale. On his way to the Van Tassel fête, Crane surveys the bountiful fields all around him and dreams of their produce, sale, and taste. Among his desired conquests are "the yellow pumpkins lying beneath them [Indian corn], turning up their fair round bellies to the sun, and giving ample prospects of the most luxurious pies."[80] And as Crane enters the Van Tassel tavern, he drools over the "ample charms" of its contents, which include "pumpkin pies."[81] As pumpkin pie was by the nineteenth-century firmly associated with Thanksgiving, Crane's taking rather than thanking is a double offense – he designs to destroy the long-established enchanted symbol of the region as well as the budding holiday of the new nation.[82]

Thus, is it so surprising that Crane is haunted and chased out of town by a loaded symbol of communal life, affective attachments, anti-capitalist values, and geographical enchantments, everything he threatens? Together the mercenary and the pumpkin are a grotesque coupling of what Ichabod himself is -- a haunting reflection of his own spirit. Ichabod is horrified by the figure pursuing him in the darkness, but this spook is the logical resistance to his desire to dominate the land, its people, and its histories under his monolithic authority. It is the opposition

of the would-be consumed against the disenchanting of the tavern, and its pumpkin pie. Unlike "Rip Van Winkle," "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" is a tale of total enterprising dominance. It is the story of "Rip" if Rip had never awakened.

IV – Unlikely Partners

Washington Irving and Olaudah Equiano are a curious pair. Having spent ample time in Europe and especially with Sir Walter Scott on the Boarder Lands of the Scottish Highlands, Irving was aware that the absence of folklore in America was a problem, and he attempted to locate a charmed geography back home in New York that might accommodate authenticity and enchanted historiography. It was not something that could simply be transplanted; it had to be organic to the region and discovered on its own soil. Irving's class and race gave him immense advantage and privilege. He could stroll through Europe without care and sketch as he pleased. He could also write in multiple genres. The thick wall of racial prejudice meant that Equiano had to recast the world, Irving only New York.

Irving and Equiano's enchanted geographies are distinctive in their respective treatment of historical continuity. Equiano's religious beliefs inherently contain a telos for historical progression, so his deconstruction of British nationalist historiography ultimately uses the synchronicity of history to write Africa into biblical and nationalist timelines, all of which are subsumed under the telos of eternal salvation at the end of time. Irving, on the other hand, has no religious inclinations to speak of, and therefore his exploration of enchanted geographies treats contingency and acausality as the main process of history without a definite telos. In other words, Equiano takes the unjust, racist aspects of British historiography down but not down to the bone, because the Christianity he finds in British culture contains a committed belief to an

enchanted realm of being, as does Africa and Greece and many other places and peoples. Equiano's project is to humanize Africa via a shared, true reality of enchantment perceived across seemingly dispirit cultures while utilizing the moral framework of his faith to justify the abolition of slavery. Irving desires to explore the enchantment he discovered in legend, myth, and lore in Europe and their ability to embody multiple temporalities within delineated spaces, above all the tavern, enchanted sites tethered together that foster shared internalized sense of national identity.

However, Equiano and Irving are indeed unlikely partners in their explorations of enchanted geographies. Both are deeply concerned with the global market and capitalist drives, even as they must live and work within them (both authors were remarkable for their business acumen in book tours, subscriptions, and publication). Despite the gulf between them in class, race, education, and privilege, Equiano and Irving anticipate Marx, Engels, Nietzsche, Weber and the rest of the philosophical luminaries of the long nineteenth century who illustrate the germ of disenchantment in consumerist thinking. And both also acutely understand the necessity for alternative ways of constellating and rendering histories in order to avoid flat narratives that inevitably lead to oppressive tyranny and spiritual starvation.

Chapter Three

Margaret Fuller's Soulful Geography

The fault of modern travellers is that they see nothing out of sight. They talk of Eocene periods and tertiary formations, and tell us how the world looked to the plesiosaur. They take science (or nescience) with them, instead of that soul of generous trust their elders had. All their senses are skeptics and doubters, materialist reporting of things for other skeptics to doubt still further upon. Nature becomes a reluctant witness upon the stand, badgered with geologist hammers and phials of acid . . . . No modern voyager brings back magical foundation stones of a Tempest . . . . Year by year, more and more of the world gets disenchanted. Even the icy privacy of arctic and antartic [sic] circles is invaded. Our youth are no longer ingenious, as indeed no ingenuity is demanded of them. Every thing is accounted for, every thing cut and dried, and the world may be put together as easily as the fragments of a dissected map. The Mysterious bounds nothing now on the North, South, East, or West. We have played Jack Horner with our earth, till there is never a plum left in it.

~ James Russell Lowell [1]

In his 1849 review of Henry David Thoreau's *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, long before Max Weber's famous declaration, James Russell Lowell lamented the disenchantment of the world. The nineteenth century, Lowell bemoaned, had analyzed a world to death. There were no more dryads or sea serpents. The fairies had all departed. Credulity and wonder, once cardinal virtues of one's ancestors, were now supplanted by cataloguing and taxonomy. Consequently, with the disappearance of those virtues also went the true traveler: "We have peripatetic lecturers, but no more travellers." Traveling, for Lowell, required an attunement to the world's strata, by which he meant not geological crusts but imbricated layers of enchanted and material realities. The vogue of empiricism as the legitimate epistemology for knowing the earth deeply concerned Lowell. And though he insinuates that many of the upstart scientists take a share of the blame, Lowell targets the "geographers and geologists" by name.[2] Their vision was myopic and sepia toned. They had not the eyes of a poet; they could not see

holistically, and so all they could produce were dissecting grids and fragmented maps and soil samples. Facts, but nothing truer.

It was not the gnomes or the golden apples, though, that truly concerned Lowell, but their longstanding service as conduit between "the two hemispheres of Past and Present, of Belief and Science," Lowell freely admitting "We care not for the monster himself. It is not the thing, but the belief in the thing, that is dear to us."[3] Interestingly, Lowell's metaphor reveals that he regrets not the appearance of maps *per se* but the exchanging of one map for another. The map of enchantment traces the ages together (the past and the present) via an extra-material geography (the hemispheres). The fairies always remained across time; they could be found in their sacred places, and humble travelers and poets paid tribute to them each generation, renewing wonder and reifying communal wisdom and social values embedded in their poetics. The map of the nineteenth-century geographer rendered the world flat, predictable through experimentation, and inert. Thus, for Lowell, Thoreau was a spark of hope, a traveler in the true sense of old, both "wise man and poet."[4] Ironically, Thoreau's *A Week* is now one of the two most lauded travel narratives of the 1830s and 40s though, or perhaps because, it flouted many of the genre's conventions and perplexed many contemporary reviewers. The other confounding travel narrative was Margaret Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*, a travel narrative even more disjointed and committed to "the nonlinear and the anti-cohesive" than Thoreau's,[5] and as shot through with enchantment.

In this chapter, I continue the tour of enchanted geographies of the New Republic through Margaret Fuller's meditations on landscapes in her pre-New York writings "Leila" and *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*. To recapitulate briefly, enchantment has two distinct features: the temporal and the spatial. Per Sizemore, it favors a nonlinear historiography of contingency and

acausality, which disrupts familiar patterns of meaning and interpretation entrenched within linear progressivism in order to search out new ways of interpreting historical events, and therefore derives new meanings from their non-linear connections. Just as enchanted historiography asserts a temporal dimension apart from the teleological, so enchanted places assert a geographic dimension apart from the strictly empirical; enchanted geographies declare the existence of an extra-material reality. And this extra-material reality, like its temporal correlative, also invites an enchanted hermeneutic for deriving meaning from places. In both cases, enchantment does not negate pre-existing concepts of time or space; it simply argues for their expansion and suggests these expanded realities have significant consequences for how meaning is made and the moral and ethical consequences that follow. Enchanted hermeneutics gave Olaudah Equiano license to recast the history of the Western world through a prism of expanded dimensions, where enchanted realities, as acknowledged in myths, miracles, and magic, reconfigure the earth and narrate a new geography in which Africans play an integral role in human civilization, all the while attempting to rescue them from a slave trade that had deemed them no more than commodities, human commodification being an immoral exploitation more easily cultivated within a spirit of disenchantment.

Washington Irving called upon the enchanted potentialities of the public house as an accessible sacred site for a fledgling democratic republic. In *The Sketch Book*, he demarcates a geographical locality for communal poetics to continue trans-generationally. To coalesce as a national people across great distances, across times, with a motley assortment of cultures, and under the withering gaze of Britain, American folk storytellers, their inn-temples, and their rites had to be preserved from utilitarian and capitalistic disenchantment. Margaret Fuller continues in this way of searching out enchanted geographies, meditating upon them, and artistically

depicting them in an effort to wayfind another major sociopolitical issue of the time: the woman question.

To answer this question in a way that dignifies women with political subjectivity and civic rights, Fuller, I argue, disrupts the concept of land-owning – a contemporary prerequisite for being a citizen (along with being white and male) – by using enchanted geographies to reveal the soullessness and therefore the paradox of masculine ecology. For Fuller, men have inherited a Columbine ecology that amounts to a Faustian deal in which they forfeit their organ of spiritual sight for the power to utilize, dominate, and destroy the landscape, and, like the myth, their desires are ultimately cheated by the maddening fact they can never truly possess it. The enchanted reality of the earth – always inseparable from its corresponding material reality -- can never be owned, only acknowledged, or denied. Fuller thus uses classical myth, mysticism, and magnetism to oppose masculine denial and construct a feminist acknowledgement of enchanted places, presenting the exploration of enchanted geographies as an unfolding of the soul, which leads to greater self-knowledge and knowledge of the world. For Fuller in the nineteenth century, this enchanted knowledge had become the prerogative of women in general, and her writings on enchantment are an attempt to employ that feminine knowledge to sketch a path for women toward social and political emancipation. Illustrating how the very ecological concept of land ownership is spurious and therefore politically bunk via an enchanted hermeneutics, Fuller suggests it is instead an ecology of soulfulness that should be the basis of political subjectivity because it is better attuned to reality and the humanity of others.

Lowell's singling out of geographers and geologists is contextually pointed. As Thomas A. Allen has shown, the discovery of "deep time" by geologists like James Hutton, John Playfair, and Charles Lyell in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries exploded the long-

accepted six-thousand-year chronology of Biblical time. With that revolution came a groping for new ways to understand one's relationship to place and history without a comprehensible temporal system. Optimistically, Allen observes that geology afforded Americans a new lens through which it could develop a sense of nationhood and national identity apart from the European Romantic models.[6] Noting Washington Irving's reports in *The Sketch Book* of how the well-established traditions of the English, rooted in the landscape, gave them a sense of identity and belonging, he reads Irving's sketches as primarily bemoaning the comparative superficiality of American geography. But that is not quite right. As I have argued above, Irving knew from his observations of the English customs that without organic traditions sprouting from enchanted American soil, there was no hope of forming a lasting sense of national belonging, which geology alone could not do. Allen neglects to mention that the cost of a geologically informed sense of identity was the credulity in enchanted beings and places, the poetics that sustained them, and the ethics they undergird -- essentially all that Irving attempts to foster in *The Sketch Book*.

Geology significantly affected Transcendentalist thought, especially in Margaret Fuller's close friend Ralph Waldo Emerson. Emerson would have been exposed to the vogue of Biblical Geography while at Harvard Divinity School, which combined the modern geography of Palestine with Biblical passages to identify sacred spaces identified in the scriptures. But Allen notes that Emerson's interest in geological discoveries was a key factor in the development of all his work whereby, through deep time, he conceives of an American political subject loosed from the fetters of humanism.[7] Time knitted all humanity together and to nature; it was Emerson's ontological determinate.[8] Though indeed influenced by Emerson, Fuller had her own convictions and reason apart from his. Emerson was comfortable in the ether of thought and idea, but Fuller

was more planted on the ground. “Who can know the awe the horror and the majesty of the earth, yet be content with the blue sky alone,” she once remarked to her friend Caroline Sturgis. “I cannot live without my particular star; but my foot is on the earth and I wish to walk over it until my wings be grown.”[9] Her thoughts were lofty, but she was always attentive to the social realities of the human condition. She needed relationships and honed her philosophy within the sticky intimacies of tears and embraces.[10] She and Emerson served separate gods, as Fuller once put it in her journal: “We agreed that my god was love, his truth.”[11] Emerson loved the “pure mathematics of the thing,” but Fuller anchored herself in lived existence, materiality, and relationships, which informed her conceptualization of the land.[12] One reason Fuller’s god was love – which by its nature necessitates relationships with others – was because she was aware that the individual ascension to eternal truth was, at least culturally, a one-sided, privileged male affair. Emerson’s call in “The American Scholar” was after all for “Man Thinking,” and Fuller knew it. The exclusion of women from intellectual and spiritual development was a thorn in Fuller’s side all her life. It was the impetus for her all-female conversations beginning in 1839, and it became the target of her foray into publication with “The Great Lawsuit Man vs. Men, Woman vs. Women” in 1843. In short, Fuller felt intimately the rate-limiting prescriptions set upon individuals with politically stigmatized social identities.

Margaret Fuller carried all this disillusionment with her on her tour of the Great Lakes Region in the summer of 1843. How her political goals, psychic needs, spiritual yearnings, and existential questions play out on the landscapes and peoples she depicts in her travel narrative, or her “romantic excursion” to borrow Lawrence Buell’s term,[13] have been the subject of much discussion over the last few decades. In her ecofeminist work *The Land Before Her*, Annette Kolodny argues that the prairies of the West served as a site for American women’s fantasies of

a New Eden where escape from the male-driven raping and pillaging of the landscape of the East Coast was possible and a feminized garden of domestic harmony could be realized. Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes* was one of several women's iterations of this fantasy. For Kolodney, Fuller projects her fantasy – both as personal need and public declaration -- for a New Eden where women could flourish as themselves even while she reported its opposite. Fuller, however, unwittingly utilizes the structures of traditional captivity narratives to frame actual frontier women's lives. What Fuller desires from the West and the realities she finds there are thus in conflict, and the digressive and unusual structure of the narrative exemplifies Fuller's need to distance herself from the disappointments of the frontier women's realities and protect her fantasy.[14]

In his account, Jeffrey Steele has read *Summer* as Fuller's deft illustration of the limiting and damaging ideological forces that prohibit women from knowing themselves and others. Fuller's use of various genres and personae work together to reveal a fundamental disharmony in nineteenth-century American life, showing how diverse women from different backgrounds are nevertheless culturally regulated and personally stifled from achieving fullness of being and relational satisfaction. Moreover, it is through these assorted female personae that Fuller demonstrates the frustrating position of the antebellum woman author as each persona functions to create "an index of the cultural pressures inhibiting female literary expression."[15]

Like Kolodny, Jeffrey Bilbro has employed an ecofeminist analysis of Fuller's narrative, though his conclusion is more generous. Emphasizing the didactic functions of *Summer*'s convoluted structure, he claims Fuller is not attempting to hide from thwarted desires, but she purposely crafts a heterogenous style in order to actively instill virtues in the reader that are necessary for constructing loving, harmonious citizens who "respond to wild places with patient

love rather than exploitative greed."[16] For Bilbro, the aesthetics of the book are borne out of a purposeful frustration of the reader's generic expectations. The reader must enter the book according to Fuller's designs, patiently and slowly inhabiting her perspective, participating in a dialectic with her and the landscapes she portrays, and in so doing participate in a "communal hermeneutic" that fosters mutual understanding and ecological integration with the land.[17]

In one of the most convincing recent essays on *Summer*, John Matteson also suggests that Fuller's book is an experiment with form, reflecting the multiple and compounded fragmentations of life in mid-nineteenth-century America. Anticipating Whitman by more than a decade, Fuller developed a new form and strove for a fresh poetics to capture and consider the disjointed nature of experience, of the American literary scene, of consciousness and the self, of disillusionment with American attitudes. The begging question, Matteson contends, of whether "America will finally become a place of spiritual sustenance or of crass commodity" sat central to *Summer*'s meditations on disruption and the landscape.[18]

Contra Jeffrey Steele's assessment that Fuller engaged in a countercultural and sympathetic view of Native Americans,[19] Seung Lee very recently has taken issue with *Summer on the Lake's* imperialism and Fuller's contribution toward the ideology of Manifest Destiny. For Lee, Fuller deals with her guilt concerning Indian removal by rhetorically depicting the United States as an empire unfolding over time rather than space. Though Fuller acknowledges the land does not rightfully belong to the Euro-Americans, she nevertheless suggests that the future does and therefore racializes the future of America to be European white in accordance with America's fate, crafting an apology for the "Vanishing Indian."[20]

Clearly, much of the established and recent scholarship on Margaret Fuller is preoccupied with form and revealing how her use of seemingly frenetic structures is more calculated toward

Fuller's feminist ambitions than it appears to be, even if those ambitions are never fully realized or are compromised. In this chapter, I continue this conversation through analysis of Fuller's geographic imagery and her use of myth, magnetism, and prophecy to elucidate female spirituality as a more accurate register of personhood and citizenship. In turning the political upon the mythical and spiritual, Fuller contests the law of coverture and challenges the masculinized logic of geographic domination (ownership) as standard of political subjectivity.

Margaret Fuller's Lucky Charm

"It was soon evident that there was somewhat a little pagan about her; that she had some faith more or less distinct in a fate, and in a guardian genius."[21] So wrote Emerson of his good friend Margaret Fuller after her tragic death off Fire Island in 1850. Collaborating with James Freeman Clarke to memorialize Fuller by publishing a collection of her letters, journal entries, and each man's respective memories of her, Emerson dedicated several pages to describe what he believed to be Fuller's eccentricities (though to Fuller, they were much more). He continues: "She had a taste for gems, ciphers, talismans, omens, coincidences, and birth-days" along with certain planets and names. One gem in particular that was special to her was the carbuncle, which she chose "for her own stone, and when a dear friend was to give her a gem, this was the one selected. She valued what she had somewhere read, that carbuncles are male and female. The female casts out light, the male has his within himself. 'Mine,' she said, 'is the male.'[22] And among all the treasures in the Emerson household, there was an engraving of Raphael's *Philosophia* in Emerson's study that Fuller cherished especially for the red gem on Philosophy's head.[23]

Margaret Fuller's gravitation toward the mystical and magical, though unique in her own way, was not out of place for the times. In Concord, people still carried lucky stones, drew lots for suitor matches, hung horseshoes over thresholds, and the popular soothsayer Fenda Freeman practiced her art regularly. Thoreau's beloved Walden was commonly known as Fairyland Pond.[24] Though they did not share the warmest relationship, it would not have surprised Fuller that Thoreau kept record of his interactions with the spirits of the woods and literally believed in the existence of fairies in nature.[25] They both believed mythical knowledge was an essential epistemology for knowing the world and that through the ideals of myth one approached the light of eternal truth. In this light, it is telling that the most impactful travel narratives produced during the Transcendental Period were by artists who read, believed in, and respected the enchantment of the world.

Margaret Fuller's mystical and alchemic beliefs, exemplified in her faith in the carbuncle, are useful for framing an analysis of her feminist goals at large as well as the heterogeneity of *Summer on the Lakes*. Fuller's observation that according to legend carbuncles are both male and female, separate in substance yet unified in essence, strikes at the heart of her personal and social grievances. In *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), the dichotomy between man and woman factors into every part of Fuller's argument, working out what she calls "the great radical dualism." She underscores the "especial genius of woman" as being "electrical in movement, intuitive in function, spiritual in tendency," channeled "not so easily in classification, or re-creation, as in an instinctive seizure of causes, and a simple breathing out of what she receives that has the singleness of life, rather than the selecting and energizing of art."[26] She also presents woman as the seer of "mysticism, which may be defined as the brooding soul of the world" and "the conductor of mysterious fluid."[27] Her argument of woman as heir of mystical knowledge

works alongside her diagnoses of widespread misogyny in society, which she derives from her observation that men, even in the most dire of circumstances, never wish to be a woman. Fuller declares that the only cure for such deep-seated prejudice is "an age of miracles."[28] According to Fuller, Woman, in other words, is in tight bind. The genius and special knowledge of woman has been written off by male empirical and/or industrial bias. Woman perceives and receives the world's tinges and pulses. The electric, the magnetic, the spiritual, the mystical belong to her, but -- and this is where Fuller avoids hard essentialism -- not because women are diametrically different than men but because men by their own prejudicially-induced blindness can no longer see the enchanted vibrancy of things. Thus, their knowledge and hermeneutics are limited.

The carbuncle is Fuller's most recurring metaphor for the "especial genius of woman" as well as her personal charm for self-knowledge. For her, the carbuncle is an elemental, subterranean light: an underground star. Though in Emerson's engraving it governed the constellations, Fuller always understood the carbuncle to be buried within and required searching the interior geography of the soul to find it. Only once found – and found rightly -- could it elevate the finder to the heavens where the celestial maps and narratives of mankind reside. Or to put it another way, Fuller knew the magic of the subterranean carbuncle existed before geology, just as myth governed heavens before astronomy.

In an 1841 piece published in Transcendentalist periodical *The Dial* while Fuller was editor, her visionary essay "Leila" exhibits the carbuncle's latent power for woman. In the story, the narrator describes a series of encounters with Leila -- the personified spiritual repository for the powers of nature and the all-encompassing infinite. Leila at times walks the earth Christ-like among mortals yet masks her immortal self. However, the narrator knows who Leila is and longs to be in her presence. When the narrator cannot find her, she takes up not the phial nor the

beaker but the mantel of a witch-like priestess to conjure her, calling toward her magical "*fetiche*:"

> When I cannot look upon her living form, I avail myself of the art of magic. At the hour of high moon, in the cold silent night, I seek the centre of the park. My daring is my vow, my resolve my spell. I am a conjurer, for Leila is the vasty deep. In the centre of the park, perfectly framed in by oaks and pines, lies a little lake, oval, deep, and still it looks up steadily as an eye of the earth should to the ever promising heavens which are so bounteous, and love us so, yet never give themselves to us. As that lake looks at Heaven, so I look on Leila. At night I look into the lake for Leila. If I gaze steadily and in the singleness of prayer, she rises and walks on its depths . . . . In the night she wanders from her human investment, and travels amid the tribes, freer movers in the game of spirit and matter to whom man is a supplement.[29]

The summoning of Leila shares imagery with Emerson's famous transparent eyeball in *Nature* (1836). For Emerson, like Fuller, it is in the woods of nature "we return to reason and faith;" however, there is an important distinction between Emerson and Fuller's Romantic personification of "uncontained and immortal beauty."[30] For Emerson, the spiritual enlightenment nature affords is all-consuming and circulates through the complete transparency of the individual achieved through a oneness with God. In such a state, "The name of the nearest friend sounds foreign and accidental: to be brothers, to be acquaintances, -- master or servant, is then a trifle and a disturbance."[31] For Fuller, the friend, the sister is all important. She has a name, and that name is intimate and welcome. Emerson's eyeball is disembodied knowledge, but there is a dialogic, relational knowledge between the narrator and Leila. Or, to put it in Martin Buber's famous formulation, there is an I-Thou structure to Fuller's vision. And though both

Emerson and Fuller might concur that natural environments bespeaks "the occult relation between man and the vegetable," in "Leila" it is the landscape that contains "the eye of earth" and sees into the heavens, retaining the privileged position of celestial sight.[32] The narrator instead works by second sight, by magic.

The narrator is not Fuller herself but a persona uncovering what she would later call Femality -- the pure and regenerative quality of female apprehension of the soul's power.[33] In this scene, Fuller's narrator responds to Leila in a markedly different way than the men who encounter her. When men see Leila, they are "pained," "baffled," and "well-nigh angry." And why? Because "most men are bound in sense, time, and thought."[34] Leila's reality extends beyond masculine prescriptions. She de-centers man to be a supplement to the higher realities that intertwine spirit and matter. She frustrates their ambitions and aggrandizement. They panic at knowledge outside their circumscription. Essentially, in the first scene, the narrator and Leila exhibit Fuller's feminist outline of an enchanted hermeneutic.

Next, the narrator follows Leila to a region in which she basks in Leila's purity and beauty, a virginal purity that men mock. After a rapturous absorbing of the "electricity" that Leila gathers slowly to her, the narrator seeks her out again underground:

> After one of these, I find her always to have retreated into the secret veins of the earth. Then glows through her whole being the fire that so baffles men, as she walks on the surface of the earth; the blood-red, heart's-blood-red of the carbuncle. She is, like it, her own light, and beats with the universal heart, with no care except to circulate as the vital fluid; it would seem waste then for her to rise to the surface. . . . She knows that fires are preparing on upper earth to temper this sternness of her silent self.[35]

In this subterranean lair, Leila becomes transfigured into the elements. Leila's earth and fire are therefore different than men's. She becomes in the veins of the earth, its living heart, and from it gathers knowledge of it and herself. Men, by contrast, are superficial and only remain on the surface. Men's fires are for tempering, for elemental mastery according to their will and design. When Leila appears to them, they are confounded by the blood-red glow of the carbuncle because the gem, teeming with brilliance, emits light without heat. It cannot be wielded on command for utility. The carbuncle, unlike their fires, is not an instrument but the light of mystical and enchanted knowledge -- "vital fluid" -- that strikes closer to reality than their Promethean hubris; its essence is instead Delphic, of knowing thyself.

Having attained transporting self-knowledge, Leila then transforms into an angel, a "Saint of Knowledge;" the form of earth melts away and is "transfused to stellar clearness," and Leila's benevolence from the heavens regenerates the land:

> One downward glance from that God-filled eye, and violets clothe the most ungrateful soil, fruits smile healthful along the bituminous lake, and the thorn glows with a crown of amaranth . . . . At her touch all became fluid, and the prison walls grew into Edens . . . . The redemption of matter was interwoven into the coronal of thought, and each serpent form soared into a Phenix.[36]

Here we have Fuller's feminist version of paradise regained, all of it generating from Leila's carbuncle power whose light is inseparable from the "beating" "hearts-blood-red" of life. Ingratitude, pollution, the curse of the earth from Genesis are all redeemed.[37] And the imagery is worth noting. Violets and amaranth are red, and bitumen is coal, etymologically derived from the Latin "carbo." The power of the carbuncle and the female genius it represents is mythic and divine. Leila even possesses the power to absolve evil in this new world as Eden is restored and

the serpents take flight. In this restoration of the serpents, Fuller probably had in mind Milton's description of the Serpent approaching Eve in Book IX: "Circular base of rising folds that towered / Fold above fold, a surging maze. His head / Crested aloft and carbuncle his eyes / With burnished neck of verdant gold erect."[38] Prelapsarian Satan sees the world through Leila's light, and so he permitted to be born anew out of the ashes of the earth's curse to return to a time when man, beast, and the elements knew one another, the vital fluid running through all.[39]

Concluding the vision, the narrator accepts the calling of "Prophecy" and asks the earth, the trees, the sky to be her fellow ministers to Leila's truth. And then, finally, the narrator caps the vision by announcing the secret to accessing this truth: "I would not avail myself of all this sight. I cast aside my necromancy, and yield all other prowess for the talisman of humility."[40] In its culmination, Fuller's visionary story deftly illustrates a feminized enchanted hermeneutic: there is knowledge of the world that lies outside empirical registration; that knowledge has a specific subterranean geography due to the industrial and utilitarian prejudices of men; women are especially, but not essentially, suited to seek it because they too are marginalized and forced underground by the same prejudices; their ostracized status predisposes them more than the dominants to accept enchantment's chief virtue of humility, which is a stay against exploitative evil; the illumination of enchanted knowledge is for the healthful stewardship of the earth and for affective relationships with others.

In developing a feminized enchanted hermeneutic, Fuller engages with Romantic ideals at large circulating between Europe and America. Fuller's enchantment aligns itself with Emerson's commentary on the distinction between Understanding and Reason in the "Discipline" chapter in *Nature*, where the former encompasses the data of an object and the latter moves that data into the realm of imagination "by perceiving the analogy that marries Matter and

Mind."[41] Emerson's evolving conceptualization of imaginative power grew out of his reading of James Marsh's edition of Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* (1829), which was in turn Coleridge's appropriation of Kant's theory of reason.[42] In "Leila," Fuller traffics in this transatlantic working out of the Romantic power of imagination to ascend (one of Emerson's favorite images) toward being. However, "Leila" departs from Emerson's Romantic strand again through an attachment to material conditions of human life. Emerson's "Will or the lesson of power" exists to make nature subservient to the individual for the sake of becoming in Reason, which power at its apex "reduces all things, until the world becomes, at last, only a realized will, -- the double of the man."[43] Contrarily, Fuller's intuition calls forth out of nature another being with whom she can serve and love. She hinted at her coming deviation from Emerson in a letter to William Henry Channing the same year she published "Leila." Having just read *Zur Farbenlehre* by her beloved Goethe, she confesses that the theories he expounds "interest me only in their mystical significance . . . . There was a time when one such fact would have made my day brilliant with thought. But now I seek the divine rather in Love than law."[44] Left unfulfilled by both Emerson and Goethe, Fuller propounds a commitment to relationships and human connection. Neither Emerson, Thoreau, nor Channing would come close to Fuller's dedication to life lived. Thus, what "Leila" begins to reveal is that Fuller's evolving theory of feminist enchantment distinguishes itself – at least in the American scene – from masculinized Romanticism by its substitution of the "I" for the "we" in loving embrace.

This maturing philosophy of relational connection as part-and-parcel to enchantment in "Leila" was prefigured a year earlier in a letter to Caroline Sturgis. In the first half of her letter, Fuller alludes to Genesis, the cross, the desire for virginal purity, and her association with Jesus Christ in Gethsemane. She envisions herself "shrouded in a white veil" kneeling "at the secretest

shrines," and welcoming all nature "in my deep mysterious grottoes," then to enter "the very heart of the untrodden mountain where the carbuncle has lit the way to veins of yet undreamed of diamond."[45] Fuller's melding of the holy, the mysterious, and the mythical in her letter and later worked out in "Leila" are the stirrings of what Steele describes as "the mythical dimensions of self-reliance in feminist terms" and the pregnancy pains of a "radically feminized redefinition of sacred myth."[46] What is interesting about Fuller's alchemic mixture of myth and prophetic radiance is its earthy, unholy context.

In the second half of the letter, Fuller discloses a terrible incident that prompted these urgent stirrings for a feminized self-reliance. Not long before writing "Leila," she went to visit a young woman who she was told was dying of consumption, only to find out that she was dying of a botched abortion. "The room was full of poverty, base thoughts, and fragments of destiny. As I raised her dying head it rested against my bosom like a clod that should never have been taken from the valley. On my soul brooded the sadness of deepest calm."[47] The mythic material gathered to create Leila can be found in the fragments of destiny that emblematize woman's lot in the nineteenth century. The fires of men did indeed temper the light of women. This young woman who, by Fuller's account, contains femality and all the beauty and power therein, wastes away on a dirty floor for "the sake of sensual pleasure."[48] And the man? Gone. It would have been impossible for Fuller not to have compared this death with the recent deaths of her father and younger brother, both men, both cared for and loved by their families at their last hours. Fuller realized then that even death contained gender politics – the act of dying betrayed the cultural privilege of last rites.[49] Thus, the fact that Fuller, or her literary personae, always seem to find the carbuncle in the earth has a tangible basis. The underground caverns are a psychanalytic metaphor, yes, but they also acknowledge the materiality of the dying bodies of women due to

political subjugation. The "hearts-blood-red" of the carbuncle, it would seem, absorbs it color from the women who fulfill the political role of victim sacrifice. In this way and like her feminist reinterpretation of Emersonian self-reliance, Fuller appropriates the carbuncle from the contemporary masculine literary milieu to bring women to the forefront.

For example, Fuller's friend Nathaniel Hawthorne had already utilized the carbuncle some years before in his short story "The Great Carbuncle" (1835). In the story, Hawthorne borrows the mystical associations of the red gem from Native American legend to expose the folly of predominating cultural attitudes, not unlike Fuller. The obsessive seeker, the reductive scientist, the greedy merchant, the blind skeptic, the pedantic poet, and the vain aristocrat are by turns satirized and thwarted by the shortcomings of their characters in their efforts to capture the legendary carbuncle. The only exception to this satire is a young couple who desires the carbuncle so that they might light their little cottage on winter evenings without the need of firewood. In both Hawthorne's story and Fuller's essay, they use the carbuncle to expose the consequences of the spirit of disenchantment that Lowell would later lament. In Hawthorne's depiction, the skeptic is unable to see the enchanted carbuncle that shines before his eyes because he has worn his "colored spectacles" so long.[50] Once the wholesome couple convinces him to take off his glasses, the carbuncle's enchanted reality blinds him, and as penance for his "wilful blindness" he is forever damned to wander the earth in search of the light of truth.[51] Similarly, the scientific alchemist, Doctor Cacaphodel, bypasses the magic carbuncle in favor of a standard piece of granite, because he can manipulate its inert materiality. He carries the granite back to his laboratory for experimentation and then publishes the results for the world to read in "one of the heaviest folios of the day."[52] The skeptic and the scientist are Hawthorne's combined caricatures of Lowell's peripatetic lecturer and Fuller's surface-dwelling fire wielders. All three authors

comment on the dire stakes of disenchantment's stunted apprehension of reality and the irreplaceable "faith of poesy" for seeing rightly and developing moral character.[53]

But Hawthorne and Fuller's symbolic employment of the enchanted carbuncle differ in one important respect. In Hawthorne's story, there are seven questers for the carbuncle, only one of which is a woman. Hannah is the young wife of Matthew, and together they are the picturesque, rustic couple. In the end, their humility saves them from the carbuncle's curses. However, it is Matthew who protects Hannah and rescues her from herself. Climbing up the mountain above the tree line, the young couple read the scorched earth as an ominous sign and Matthew asks his wife if they should return home. However, Hannah "had a woman's love of jewels, and could not forgo the hope of possessing the very brightest in the world, in spite of the perils with which it must be won."[54] Despite being weary and faint from the journey, Hannah's "feminine" weakness for the bright and pretty leads them further into temptation. Coming to the summit of the mountain, they behold the legendary carbuncle with imagery strikingly similar to Fuller's depiction in "Leila." Carved in the mountain top is a vast "enchanted lake" above which floats the carbuncle, the red light of which transforms the appearance of the world: "And now that star was throwing its intense lustre on their hearts. They seemed changed in one another's eyes, in the red brilliancy that flamed upon their cheeks, while it lent the same fire to the lake, the rocks, the sky, and to the mists which had rolled back before its power."[55] Having then witnessed the demise of both the Seeker and the Cynic, Hannah requests to go home, and Matthew agrees. To strengthen her for the journey homeward, Matthew refreshes her with some of the enchanted lake water, reviving her but not restoring her courage. He then declares that they were wrong to "desire more light than all the world may share with us"; Hannah concurs, and Matthew helps her "tremulous form" down the mountain.[56]

In Hawthorne's view, the magic carbuncle is a test of character and a mirror of one's soul. Like Fuller's assessment, only the truly humble are worthy. However, for Hawthorne, the carbuncle's symbolism is different. First, it serves to interrogate the seeker and reveal one's core commitments. Second, its existence – and the faith in its existence – is enough. No one should approach the carbuncle much less own it. Its light is to be gazed upon from a distance, "many a mile from the Crystal Hills," and it is from such a distance that the carbuncle's reality and light is instructive.[57] It is a vintage Hawthorne maxim never to get too close. Fuller in her retelling of the carbuncle legend comes to the opposite conclusion. In "Leila," it is the prerogative of woman to seek the light of the carbuncle, to take hold of it, to let it radiate through her being. Surely, in "Leila," Fuller checks Hawthorne with a feminist correction. For Fuller, Hannah's desire for the carbuncle does not stem from trite vanity but from an electric intuition that the carbuncle is a subterranean emblematic star of female empowerment, a talisman of that "especial genius of woman." In short, "Leila" shows Fuller's retort to Hawthorne. Hawthorne sends Hannah to the precipice of her existence only for her to be escorted by her husband back to an ideologically imprisoning rustic cottage. Fuller, in defiance, brings her back to the mountain to conjure her true self out of the lake and venture into the mountain where she imbibes the mystical force and prophetic calling of woman in the nineteenth century.

Spellcasting on the Lakes

Margaret Fuller begins the account of her tour of the Great Lakes Region in the summer of 1843 with a poem that merits quoting at length for underscoring its ready purpose of mapping the enchanted geographies of the Western Frontier:

How grew the vine of bitter-sweet,

What made the path for truant feet,

Winter nights would quickly pass,

Gazing on the magic glass

O'er which the new-world shadows pass;

But, in fault of wizard spell,

Moderns their tale can only tell

In dull words, with a poor reed

Breaking at each time of need.

But to those whom a hint suffices

Mottoes find for all devices,

See the knights behind their shields,

Through dried grasses, blooming fields.[58]

Like Lowell's perception of Thoreau's enchanted sensibilities, Fuller straight away features the governing problem of her book as well as every other travel narrative of her moment. The "bitter-sweet" vine of human progress; the deviant breaks from "the belief in the thing." What can a traveler now say about the world when he or she no longer permitted the "faith of poesy," in Hawthorne's words? Description of place without an enchanted poetics is to be reduced to broken reeds, lifeless stuttering. However, Fuller intimates there are a few who still remember where the wild things are. There are some who are still seers of knights and wonderlands. From the outset, it is Fuller's intention in her book to show she is such a one and to create an incantation for a wizard's spell that will identify, map, and interpret the enchanted localities of the Western Frontier. This does not exclude intense psychological reflection or the crafting of feminist arguments. Indeed, it includes them. However, what scholars have not fully attended to

is that Fuller's psychoanalytic, ecological, and feminist goals are predicated upon mapping the enchanted geographies left within a world rapidly moving toward extinguishing them. Like Equiano's, Fuller's is a mission of cartography, allowing myth and miracles to set spaces apart for new, often countercultural meanings.

Fuller's first stop, unsurprisingly, is Niagara Falls. By 1843, the Falls had been firmly established as a checkpoint on the North American Grand Tour, not least due to its popularity as a pristine site for the sublime.[59] But the Falls and the sublime also have a dicey history in American travel writing, which helps to contextualize Fuller's opening ruminations. All three of the first American tourist guidebooks of the 1820s identified Niagara Falls as a main destination – Gideon Davison's *The Fashionable Tour* (1822), Theodore Dwight's *Northern Traveller* (1825), and Henry Gilpin's *The Northern Tour* (1825). However, they differed as to what the Falls should mean. Davison, for his part, simply attempted to establish a geographic route to initiate an American iteration of the European Grand Tour. But Dwight and Gilpin sparred over what experiential tourists should take away. For Dwight, the scenery was secondary. Being amongst the right society and cultivating genteel tastes mattered more. For Gilpin, poetic flight and Romantic associations of the landscape were paramount.[60] Interestingly, in one of his descriptions of the Hudson Highlands, Gilpin borrows an excerpt from Davison's guidebook, which is itself an extract from Dr. Samuel Mitchell's widely read geological account of the region. He then proceeds to downplay geology's bland significance when compared to the rich poetic wonders of the landscape.[61] Of importance in these three texts is that the birth of the American Grand Tour and American tourism as a consumer culture contains the debate of disenchantment at its core. Gilpin was impatient with the geologists two decades before Lowell. But by 1843 when Fuller arrives, the aesthetics of the sublime was giving way not just to the

phials of geology but to the avarice of consumerism. The Sublime sparkle of Niagara Falls had two decades of shopworn guidebook talk to quench its luster.

Few writers in antebellum America were as sensitive to prescribed ways of seeing the world as Margaret Fuller. "When I first came I felt nothing but a quiet satisfaction," she reports upon approaching the Falls, "I found that drawings, the panorama, &c. had given me a clear notion of the position and proportions of all objects here; I knew where to look for everything, and everything looked as I thought it would."[62] Or, more accurately, as she had been told it would. As her opening salvo warned, Fuller's first sketch reveals lifelessness, even at the heart of America's most celebrated majestical landscape. The inestimable philosophical lens for apprehending the enchantment of the world she had learned from the German and British Romantics had been squashed by the tame predictability in New England tourist print culture. Fuller continues on, taking a seat by the Falls to contemplate them but then catches sight of a man staring into the churning whirlpool below "with an air as if thinking how he could best appropriate it to his own use." [63] After some thought, he spits into it. Fuller's opening sketch is unconventional and trenchant, as it reinforces the main problem of her book through exposing the logical outcome of a centuries-long masculine ecological paradigm based in "rhythms of sexual conquest."[64] The spitting man is a compounded image that constellates Columbus with his heir, the modern American male traveler, codifying at once sexual dominance (male fluid ejected into the scene) and contempt. If disenchantment comes from anywhere, Fuller propounds, it is from this ingrained – though not instinctive – behavior.

Moreover, through this sketch, Fuller sets up an ecofeminist line of argument that shows how the legacy of Columbine ecology negatively affects men first, even before women. Though the man on the precipice comforts himself with a culturally sanctioned "love of *utility*," Fuller,

despite her overt rail against utilitarianism, suggests a more elemental explanation.[65] The man spits into the Falls really for one of two reasons: either he knows that he is supposed see something and doesn't, or he wants to see something and can't. He is either stupid or blind. His frustrated response betrays a subconscious recognition of disappointed longing and sublimated guilt rather than an obedience to utility. It is "the aversion of the injurer for whom he has degraded," as Fuller puts it later in her book.[66] Fuller's own frustration is due to constricting prescription; the man's is due to soulless perception. A great admirer and translator of Goethe, Fuller dramatizes the Faustian deal contained in the image of the spitting man. In the gravest of all transactions, Man has sold his soul to gain the world. With tragic irony, he cannot even see it now. How, the rest of Fuller's book will ask, can soulless men claim exclusive right to set the parameters of environmental and political subjectivity when they have collectively forfeited the moral organ for right action, collective good, and poetic perception?

Having set up the problem, Fuller leaves the Falls for the Great Lakes. She initiates chapter two with a dialogue she had with her travelling companions James Freeman Clarke and his sister Sarah while boarding a steamship. Their conversation is a debate on the greatest of the four elements. James chooses water and suggests that Margaret surely prefers fire. Piqued, she mounts a strong defense of earth, which James mocks as the basest of all the elements and the least poetical. Undaunted, Fuller, who once quipped to Emerson that she spoke the underground "language of Hades,"[67] opens her defense with the standard line of masculine thought: "the gnomes are the most important of all the elemental tribes. Is it not they who make the money?" James retorts: "And are accordingly dark, mean, scoffing, ---."[68] With a clever reference to the earth (land), gnomes (enchantment), and money (capitalism), Fuller playfully brings her friend to the proverbial precipice of the spitting man. And just like the spitting man, he cannot see the

earth's enchantment. It is devoid of all vibrancy. He, too, spits. Fuller already knew this, though. Even a well-educated, kind, liberal friend like James (who sponsored Fuller's trip), can no longer inhabit an ecology that permits enchanted geographies. She counsels him:

> My people work in secret, and their works praise them in open light; they remain in the dark because only there such marvels could be bred. You call them mean. They do not spend their energies on their own growth, or their own play, but to feed the veins of mother earth with permanent splendors, very different from what she shows on the surface. Think of passing a life, not merely in heaping together, but making gold. Of all dreams, that of the alchemist is the most poetical, for he looked at the finest symbol. Gold, says one of our friends, the hidden light of the earth, it crowns the mineral, as wine the vegetable order, being the last expression of vital energy.[69]

Fuller instructs Clarke on the realities of a world he does not know. "My people," says Fuller, strive in regions you cannot see in a language you do not understand, referring surely to women but also to the gnomes. Clarke cannot understand them because he cannot conceive of the earth as anything other than lifeless, parsed out for westward expansion and commercial trade. He is Columbus's heir, and therefore thinks only of amassing resources for power, which, to his credit, is indeed base. However, Fuller challenges him to increase the dimensions of his perspective by considering the work of gnomes as a cultivation of the vital energy of the earth. For enchanted beings, and the women who understand them and do the same, gold is not primarily mercantile but the beautiful result of creation and expression, of working with the earth to enrich it. It is only on the surface that surface dwellers melt it, stamp it, store it in heaps, and trade away its light. It is important not to miss the elemental foundation of Fuller's argument here. It would be easy to skip directly to her clear vindication of women in nineteenth-century America, showing

how women are forced to work in secret and their secret work is in fact what enriches society and is yet ignored. But the foundation upon which she builds her argument against Clarke and the spitting man is an enchanted geography. Gnomes are her people. Their alchemy is an elemental reality, and then out of that reality she derives her feminist reasoning.

Her discussion with Clarke is a second case study, but when Fuller observes boatloads of New Englanders heading West, she does not hesitate to expand the full consequences of Columbine ecology. The tidy New Englanders, she sighs, "had brought with them their habits of calculation, their cautious manners, their love of polemics. It grieved me to hear these immigrants . . . talking not of what they should do, but of what they should get in the new scene."[70] Having made her prophetic warning, she heads for the Manitou Islands. As she approaches, she sees what she expects to see, which is the march of industrial progress ahead of human need. She cannot stop it, nor is that her aim. Whitman-like, Fuller appropriates the symbolism from "Leila" for herself on the Great Lakes, declaring that what is needed is not a return to bygone ages but "a new order, a new poetry is to be evoked from this chaos," which she will attempt to accomplish by incantation of wizard spell, "with a curiosity as ardent, but not so selfish as that of Macbeth, to call up the apparitions of future kings from the strange ingredients of the witch's cauldron."[71] It is a little while later when she begins to discover the witch-brew ingredients. Looking out over the prairies around Chicago, she makes an initial cast of an enchanted hermeneutics of space: "I began to love because I began to know the scene, and shrank no longer from 'the encircling vastness.' It is always thus with the new form of life; we must learn to look at it by its own standard."[72] To love is to know a place intimately enough to perceive the beauty of its individuality and to value it as such. Fuller's realization that to love is to know and to know is to discern the unique expression of place is why P. Joy Rouse claims that

Fuller's competency as a social reformer stems from her keen understanding of the local. It is from the local, the particular -- not the national -- that Fuller situates her arguments for women's social and political rights. [73] "Beautiful legends grow up which express the aspects of various localities," Fuller observes.[74] Just as Irving also understood, American communities vary widely by region in their geography and cultural practices, and the preservation of the sites and customs that empower the people within them to love the land and identify with it is the first step toward breaking the Faustian deal.

The Native Americans understood this better than Fuller. In chapter three, Fuller proceeds with her trek through Illinois to the Native American ancestral land of Rock River. But the intense grandeur of the scene also draws sharp contrasts. The Native Americans, she notes, "chose the most beautiful sites for their dwelling,"; they had a concept of beauty that incorporated care and justice to the land, as their "habits do not break in on that aspect of nature under which they were born . . . they were the rightful lords of a beauty they forbore to deform."[75] However, the white settlers had pillaged the land for "the grossest material wants" and as a result their dwellings looked rude and grotesque.[76] The spitting man had come west. The traveler had arrived "safe in its stupidity" to devour the land and its resources which "the Indian looks on with mystic awe."[77] Problematically, Fuller laments this but concludes that the Native Americans are fated. For them, it can't be helped. It is in the scene in particular that scholars like Seung Lee understandably accuse Fuller of accommodating white nationalism via Manifest Destiny, as this is also the chapter in which she transposes a Native American village into Greek instead of Native American mythology. A defense or prosecution of Fuller's debated ethnocentrism is beyond the scope of this chapter; however, her recognition of Native American ecological practices as evidence of their acknowledgement of enchanted geographies advocates

for their depth of soul, which for Fuller the Transcendentalist is the preeminent organ of and testament to humanity.

Margaret Fuller's Afterlife

Unfortunately, despite his positive review, James Russell Lowell's sympathy with Thoreau's enchanted sensibilities broke down. Lowell was in fact already ambivalent about him, having harshly satirized Thoreau along with Margaret Fuller in his no-holds-barred *Fable for Critics* (1848) before his review of *A Week*. But in 1865 Lowell's ambivalence turned acidic when he ignited a feud with Thoreau's contribution to American letters on account of his being associated with Transcendentalism, which damned Thoreau's reputation for the rest of the century.[78] Perhaps one explanation for Lowell's waspishness is the utilitarianism of his own professed view of enchantment. "We care not for the monster himself. It is not the thing, but the belief in the thing, that is dear to us." Lowell seems to take the position on enchantment that Emily Ogden has recently termed "credulity" – a devotion to the beliefs sustained by enchantment so they could be "profitably managed" by authorities.[79] To have belief untethered from a referent of truth is not what either Thoreau or Fuller are about. Margaret Fuller's belief in the actual enchanted reality of the world is not by-the-way to her feminist project; it is essential. Fuller saw mesmerist doctors to cure her back pain.[80] She championed the magnetic and electrical intuition of women as hard evidence of their deep knowledge of the world, of the interpenetration of spirit and matter.

Years after her death, Margaret Fuller was still called upon to champion women's social and political rights through the hermeneutic of enchantment that she helped to formulate, her wizard spell. Throughout the middle and late nineteenth century, Fuller's ghost was repeatedly

conjured by spiritualists and by women's rights groups during seances for guidance, one woman giving credit to "Spirit Margaret Fuller" for an entire lecture she delivered.[81] Fuller's ghost is a testament to the ecofeminist enchantments that she developed through her letters, "Leila," *Summer*, and *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*. Her life and afterlife testify to the necessity of enchanted localities for sociopolitical equality, places where the spells of Columbine ecology and Faustian deals are unwound.

Chapter Four

Herman Melville, M.D.: The Body and Convalescence in the South Seas

What a contrast between the well-clad, reading, writing, thinking American, with a watch, a pencil, and a bill of exchange in his pocket, and the naked New Zealander, whose property is a club, a spear, a mat, and an undivided twentieth of a shed to sleep under! But compare the health of the two men, and you shall see that the white man has lost his aboriginal strength. If the traveller tell us truly, strike the savage with a broad axe, and in a day or two the flesh shall unite and heal as if you struck the blow into soft pitch, and the same blow shall send the white to his grave.

~ Ralph Waldo Emerson[1]

In an interesting digression in "Self-Reliance" (1841), Emerson takes a moment to bemoan the state of American men's health. For Emerson, it seems the accomplishments and accoutrements of civilization sap, rather than nourish, a zestful, robust individuality. Sure, the well-clad educated man displays all the aesthetics of refinement but at the cost of his vitality, that vigor so necessary for Emerson in Man's becoming. What is more, Emerson registers this lack via three objects of potent symbolic value in the nineteenth century: a watch, a pencil, and a bill of exchange.

Emerson did not rattle these items off at random. The middle of the nineteenth century saw an uptick in the interpretations and operations of time. As the manufacturing and selling of pocket watches dramatically increased in the 1840s, the pocket watch became ground zero for intersections of fluctuating economic, symbolic, ideological, and utilitarian meanings of time.[2] To own a pocket watch was to be modern in many senses. It exhibited a mastery of time, underlining the individual's control over the present and acting as his compass for the future. It carried connotations of the gentility of Europe, as England and Switzerland still dominated the American timepiece market before the Civil War.[3] Pocket watches were also often etched with designs and adorned with precious metals and jewels, and the type of metal showcased personal

characteristics and social identity.[4] For the modern American man in Cambridge, his pocket watch assured him he was at the forefront of civilization. In antebellum America, too, the pencil overtook the pen and inkwell as the material instrument *par excellence* for the traveling cosmopolitan. To carry a pencil in one's pocket was to tote a signifier of "industrialization, urbanization, and mass literacy" and to be prepared for social and environmental changes wrought by such advancements.[5] And whereas the pencil announced preparation, a bill of exchange testified to initiation in the marketplace. Thus, the man wielding the "civilized" weapons of time, adaptability, and capital should, one would think, strut with confidence.

And yet Emerson concludes otherwise. For all his ingenious inventions, one stout thwack of solid existence would fell the new cosmopolitan American. Not every man. Just him. The fact that the pocket watch had talismanic functions beyond connoting urbanity or the that the pencil was the instrument chosen by Emerson's friends Margaret Fuller and Walt Whitman to explore new possibilities of discovering the self apparently did not occur to Emerson at this moment.[6] It probably did not occur to him because he was bedeviled by a looming cultural concern: physical terms of health and wellness. In a rare moment for Emerson, he addresses material conditions, the deteriorating constitution of the white male body. In this chapter, I argue that Melville takes up this larger contemporary concern with white male health and wellness and the anxiety over its stability in his first novel *Typee* (1846). Through Melville's discovery and depiction of the enchanted Typee valley in the Marquesan Islands, Melville attempts to wayfind America cultural anxiety over civilization's effect on masculine vitality and its unstable gender and racial assumptions via Tommo's wounded leg and his convalescence under the influence of what Emerson called "aboriginal strength."

In its nearly 180-year existence, *Typee* has been analyzed through dozens of lenses from hundreds of perspectives. There are many well-worn analytical inroads. However, there is a noticeable need for further investigation within the overlap of the Typee valley's enchanted ground and Tommo's oscillating health. What can the expansive dimensions of an enchantment tell us about the antebellum white male body – the body that was often excluded from official examination because it was assumed to be the standard? This chapter, therefore, will concentrate on the arc of convalescence in the novel – on Tommo's initial injury, the ensuing illness and symptoms, aboriginal medical treatment, comparative physiology, relapse, and escape. By focusing on the trajectory of physical malady in the novel with the white male body as a somatic register of cultural anxiety, we can better understand Melville's insight not only into the psychological and spiritual damages of racialized hierarchies of being but also the physiological toll paid for their maintenance.

Various treatments of race, health, and enchantment have been woven through Melville scholarship at least since D.H. Lawrence hinted at their interplay in his *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923). With unique flair, Lawrence describes the South Seas with the language of sleep, dreams, and mirages. The Pacific Ocean "holds the dream of immemorial centuries"; it is the "great blue twilight in the vastest of all evenings"; the South seas are "a phantom, illusion-like trick of reality."[7] For Lawrence, the South Seas and Melville are a match because the substrata of Melville's unconscious is elemental, "mystical and symbolical," and *Typee* is therefore wrought in the language of myth.[8] The plane of struggle at the heart of the novel, according to Lawrence, is the gulf in time and consciousness between South Sea islanders and Western sailors like Melville and the metaphysical clash that occurs when this time gap folds onto one geographical location.

James Emmett Ryan has observed that convalescence and the vulnerability of the male body are recurring themes in Mevlille's *oeuvre*. In the vein of Richard Henry Dana Jr.'s *Two Years Before the Mast,* which greatly influenced Melville, Melville Romantically conceived of seafaring as a prescription for landlubber illnesses, particularly landlubbers who work with pencils and hover over books. In this way, he concurs with Emerson, Thoreau, and various travel writers in the Romantic -- and colonizing -- observance of primitivism's strength and health compared with the modernized New Englander.[9] *Typee*, *Omoo*, *Moby-Dick*, *The Confidence-Man*, "Bartleby," "Benito Cereno," all contain ailing, disfigured, and/or convalescing characters. Central to Melville's meditation on and aesthetic treatment of illness and recovery is "illuminating the paradoxical importance of the body and then opening a space for considering the inescapable relation between physicality and identity."[10] Navigating health and wellness of white and non-white men, their bodily exchanges, illnesses, recoveries, and identities is essential to Melville's exploration of the human condition, especially when those bodies are in close contact with each other outside the cultural dominion of Euro-America.

Toward Melville's uses of enchantment, Rodrigo Lazo has observed that discourses of enchantment were popular in the mid-nineteenth century particularly in travel and fictional descriptions of the Caribbean and South American archipelagos. In an interesting comparison of Melville and Frederick Douglass' engagement with the discourse of enchantment, Lazo states that both authors were keenly aware of how enchantment disguised economic and nationalistic ideologies by an aesthetic slight-of-hand. For Douglass, the language of enchantment always masks Manifest Destiny and US expansionism, especially during the 1850s when the US was sending excursions into Cuba and the Galapagos Islands in order to ascertain the viability of annexation.[11] The trick of enchantment to portray places outside of time enables the disregard of

actual political realities of sovereign nations and their political subjects in real time for capitalistic gain. But as where Douglass repeatedly denounces enchanted discourses from an abolitionist's point of view, Melville in "The Encantadas" replicates popular enchanted discourses only to expose from within what such discourses actually reveal: that "the subjective view of the travel writer stands in as a reflection of the narrating self that is at best an illusion of the place being described."[12] Per Lazo, Melville's enchantment, at least in his sketches of the American Hemisphere, suggests "the end of enchantment is the delusion of empire without end."[13]

Nicholas Spengler has also recently written on Melville's use of enchantment in his works set in Spanish America. Borrowing Walter Benjamin and Paul de Man's definition of the allegorical sign as "not immanent but contingent," Spengler approaches anew Melville's preoccupation with "signs of Hispanic otherness" and how Melville's poetics render those signs to "entrap" contemporary Americans in the "movements and displacements of uncanny likeness as well as inscrutable difference."[14] Spengler argues that Melville's aesthetic treatment of the Americas' hemisphere is grounded not in ethnography so much as in an "allegorical mode of enchantment."[15] Thus, for Spengler, Melville's literary use of enchantment must take into account style and experience – the "effects and affects" – how the images of the Other might act upon readers.[16] In this way, Melville is able to employ enchantment to consider national relations between North and South America within a framework of comparison that disrupts "the self-assured superiority and critical distance of US American travelers and readers relative to the foreign sites they seek to comprehend" – in short, Melville's enchantment operates simultaneously to "mystify" and "illuminate."[17]

Though recent analyses of Melville and enchantment have focused on Melville's tales set in and around the Americas, they are useful as a starting point for tracing his earlier depictions of enchantment in the South Seas. Whereas *Moby-Dick* or "The Encantadas" or "Benito Cereno" might seem like a more logical choice when studying enchantment in Melville's fiction, it is precisely the nascent stages of its use in *Typee* that make it appealing. There is no doubt a strong aura of enchantment throughout the novel, but Melville's artistic uses of it are not yet mature. The writer-audience implicit contract of fiction's adherence to facts and how that contract constrained creative license was still strong in 1846. By the 1850s, this tension was still felt but the tight policing of fictionality's mimetic imperative began to ease. During the decade that produced the romances of Hawthorne and Stowe, *Moby-Dick*, Thoreau's *Walden* and Whitman's *Leaves*, aesthetic experience as an important part of self-culture and exploration of epistemological truth began to become more accepted, a position that ultimately defined fictionality afterward, allowing F.O. Matthiessen to establish the American Renaissance in that decade.[18]

Typee does not have that freedom. And Melville himself knew it. Upon completing *Mardi* (1849), Melville asked his English publisher John Murray to scrub his name from future editions of *Typee* and *Omoo* because, by Melville's account, they were the products of a fettered imagination that had to account for readers' demanding need for facts.[19] Melville chaffed under this expectation even more perhaps than other writers in the case of *Typee* because he published it in Murray's Colonial and Home Library series, which was known to guarantee exotic traveler stories with faithful factuality.[20] It is Melville's "fettered" depiction of enchantment that interests me and puts him in the company of Equiano, Irving, and Fuller. Though there is no definitive generic connection linking them all, they share a common constriction in rhetorical

and aesthetic license before 1850. For all four authors of travel, factuality had to be there for publication and readership through implicit contract; however, via enchantment these authors could constellate the facts in creative ways to explore new territory and map what they found for their audiences.

I – Wellness & White Male Vulnerability

Let me quote at length a remarkable excerpt from a two-volume self-help guide for men published as "Manly Health and Training, With Off-Hand Hints Toward Their Conditions" in the *New York Atlas* in 1858 by Mose Velsor:

> And yet, as before intimated, a diseased brain, and a sadly inflamed state of the nervous system, are by no means confined to literary men. We Americans altogether, all classes, *think too much, and too morbidly*, -- brood, meditate, become sickly with our own pallid fancies, allowing them to swarm upon us by night and day. It will, of course, sound strange in the ears of many to say so, but we are fain to proclaim over and over again, in our loudest and most emphatic tones, *We are too intellectual a race*. To the brain parts of our structure we draw off much that should be devoted to the body, the muscles – neglecting what all men first require, to be fine animals. We suppose we shall excite some disdain by such remarks, but they include undoubted truths necessary to be told. Not that calm and wholesome brain-action, tempered with regular exercise and development of the body, is meant to be called injurious. On the contrary, *that* no doubt tends to longevity, and is consistent with the best health, and is perhaps a part of it – as it is the crowning glory of a rational being, and endows the finest condition of the body with grace and beauty, otherwise lacking . . . . Of the ancient poets and philosophers, it is

> always worthy of remembrance that some of the greatest of them are as much celebrated for their physical strength and beauty as for their mental . . . . We might ask out modern puny and dandy tribes of literary men to make note of such facts.[21]

Here, Mose Velsor, a.k.a. Walt Whitman, registers a state of affairs. In Whitman's judgement, Americans in general, and educated men in particular, have become sickly and flaccid due to overintellectualizing. Both Whitman and Emerson understand physical vigor to be part-and-parcel of white American male's future becoming, but their anxiety manifests in different generic approaches. Unlike Emerson's abstracted philosophical prescriptions, Whitman pens a specific regimen of nutrition and exercise, amongst other admonishments, for regaining the lost "fascinating magic" of manly health and beauty.[22] In his instructions, Whitman notably sets the healthy, sinewy man of balanced mind and muscles against the "puny and dandy tribes of men," Emerson's watch-and-pencil-carrying cosmopolitan. As Travis Foster has recently shown, the image of the white, scrawny, hypochondriac male prevailed in the nineteenth century and was essential to the containment of cultural anxiety over civilized white male (un) wellness. Indeed, the effeminate man came to signify the logical effect of "white supremacy itself" in that the delicate, "excessively white" man registered the physical cost of Enlightenment racialized casting and taxonomizing -- physical degeneration.[23] In other words, the supremacist racial hierarchy that bolstered Western civilizing advancements and was nearly scientific "fact" by 1850[24] paradoxically rendered upper class white men has having "greater corporeal impressibility," or higher susceptibility to climates and forces and the effeminate man appeared in contemporary literature to cordon off those anxieties.[25] But the containment strategy was not leak proof. These health anxieties were especially aggravated when white civilized males were compared in contemporary travel literature to non-white, aboriginal peoples.

Enter Herman Melville. Melville, like Emerson and Whitman, was deeply concerned with "civilized" intellection and the deterioration of the white male body. Captain Ahab's broken body and failed recovery in *Moby-Dick*, for example, are exacerbated by his unrelenting dependence upon his intellect.[26] But Melville's concern with health even predates *Moby-Dick*. *Typee* is, among other things, a reflective meditation on and discursive engagement with a paradigm of health and wellness based on racial hierarchy. Melville's novel is loosely autobiographical, drawn from personal experience during his brief four-week sojourn amongst the native tribes of the Marquesan Islands where he jumped ship and later embellished his adventure with details from other travel narratives written about the South Seas he read after returning to America.

In brief, the novel follows the unnamed narrator who the natives call "Tommo" and his partner in crime, Toby. Exasperated by a tyrannical captain, Tommo and Toby desert their ship at the island of Nukuheva with the intention of hiking through the mountains to the valley of the friendly, non-cannibalistic Happars, staying with them until their ship leaves and they can join another expedition. Meeting with fierce resistance from the weather and the landscape, Tommo and Toby nearly die attempting to reach the valley and Tommo sustains a mysterious but debilitating wound in his leg. When they finally arrive, they discover they have landed not in the Happar Valley but amongst the dreaded cannibal Typees. Though Toby strangely disappears not long after arriving in the Typee Valley, which initially excites the fears of Tommo, the Typees treat Tommo with respect and care, assigning him Kory-Kory, his man Friday, to tend to all of his needs. Over the course of four months, Tommo lives amongst the natives in great leisure. He learns their cultural practices, swims with the beautiful Typee women, and rests at ease amongst the natural bounty of the island. However, after catching a glimpse of some dismembered bodies

carried off by the Typee warriors as a battle prize, Tommo's fear returns. With the help of the chief, Mehevi, Tommo ultimately escapes by fighting off several natives to board an Australian whaler anchored just off the bay.

The prime symbol of the narrative is Tommo's mysteriously wounded leg. Tommo's wound is the cornerstone for the novel's mythical narrative structure. As a malady, though, the infected leg is contextually appropriate. The year after Melville published *Typee*, the American Medical Association was formed due to acrimonious relations between homeopaths and professional physicians and the competing aims to know and govern the body. State medical licensing agencies had been deregulated in the 1830s and 40s and there was yet no systematic approach to allopathic practice nor was there a standardized set of ethics governing physicians.[27] However, these decades also saw major scientific discoveries in medicine, such as the use of ether as an anesthetic, and it was the time when empirically-based Parisian clinical practices ascended amongst professional doctors in New England. Perhaps most significantly during the 1840s and 50s, the pre-modern notion of the body "as an extension of the self, as an idiosyncratic, open, and fluid expression of the complex physical, spiritual, and social forces shaping an individual" that predominated before the nineteenth century, now began to give way to empirical observation, measurements, experimentation, "a well-bounded, standardized, and normalized system."[28] By the end of the century, the materialized body became the standard medical position and the authoritative methodology for somatic knowledge.

Though many scholars have variously cited cannibalism, tattooing, and escape as Tommo's primary concern in the novel, in fact what sustains Tommo's fears and organizes his designs for escape is his preoccupation with access to western medicine. His lameness prevents his escape even more than the panoptic native vigilance; his fear of being eaten is underwritten

by his immobility. It is within the enchanted realm of the Typee valley that Melville is able to explore Tommo's somatic anxiety and its underlying disorder by deferring his access to western medical practice.

Chapter seven is the first chapter in which Tommo's strange wound appears. After a long descent down a ravine, an excruciating lesion materializes *apropos* of nothing, accompanied by symptoms of infection: "Cold shiverings and a burning fever succeeded one another at intervals, while one of my legs was swelled to such a degree, and pained me so acutely, that I half suspected I had been bitten by some venomous reptile"; but he then tell us there are no venomous snakes in the Marquesas.[29] Writhing in pain and nearly unable to move, Tommo gets a brief respite when he catches a glimpse of the Typee valley with its "peculiar charm" and totalizing effect:

> Over all the landscape there reigned the most hushed repose, which I almost feared to break lest, like the enchanted gardens in the fairy tale, a single syllable might dissolve the spell. For a long time, forgetful of my own situation, and the vicinity of my slumbering companion, I remained gazing around me, hardly able to comprehend by what means I had thus suddenly been made a spectator of such a scene.[30]

The enchantment of the valley provides a medicinal quality that stays pain through displacement and incomprehension. The initial consequence of this enchanted geography is self-forgetfulness and a de-centering of the ego. Accompanying the elision of self is a medicinal effect, or at least a kind of pain management in which Tommo forgets even the most sensitive register of individual consciousness, physical suffering.

In the succeeding chapter after he and Toby attempt to bypass the enchanted valley, Tommo's wound forces him to return to the stream that leads into the valley in order to assuage

his fever-induced thirst. Pointedly, the water has the opposite effect; it exacerbates his symptoms. Tommo describes his shock as a victim of a spell: "Had the apples of Sodom turned to ashes in my mouth, I could not have felt a more startling revulsion."[31] Apparently, the enchanted valley has an agency of its own. It thwarts Tommo and Toby's attempt to circumvent it and, as Tommo attempts to treat his illness with cool water, it also foils his remedy. Tommo's allusion to Sodom is also telling. The bitten apple is, of course, the sinful act that enacts individualized consciousness but consequently ruptures communal harmony; however, by placing the apple in Sodom, Melville collapses the teleological biblical timeline between innocent garden and wicked metropolis onto a simple act of medical treatment within an enchanted geography. The wicked vices of human culture are come to Eden in the concentrated signifier of Tommo's festering wound. Apples to ashes and thirst-inducing water are a spell-like warning to Tommo to expect bewildering inversions and new dimensions, especially regarding knowledge of the body.

II – Second Opinions

Having now been tried and approved by the Typees, Tommo and Toby are taken to the chief Mehivi's home where he notices Tommo's leg and sends for the community's priest/ medical man. Manipulating Tommo's leg, the priest proceeds to pound the wound with the unfortunate result that Tommo "absolutely roared with pain."[32] At this moment, Tommo's intense physical pain becomes the epistemological position in which he attempts to understand the Typees. Assuming the medical man's manipulations are only clumsy attempts at allopathic medicine, Tommo contemplates taking over his own treatment, as he, a common sailor, is apparently just as medically skilled as this aborigine: "Thinking that I was capable of making an

application of thumps and pinches to the part of any one else, I endeavored to resist this species of medical treatment."[33] He resists because he thinks he is in hands of a quack.[34] Anyone can do what he is doing with just as much effect. But comes the inversion promised by the enchanted stream. The Typee medical man is no naval surgeon. He is an "old wizard" whose medical rituals include "some kind of incantation" and a dialogue with the wound itself after applying herbal remedies: "[he was] either whispering a spell, or having a little confidential chat with some imaginary demon located in the calf of my leg."[35] The treatment process reads like a scene of fantastical transformation, Tommo reaching for metaphors to articulate the intense weirdness of the experience. At one point he is a "struggling child in a dentist chair" (without the ether); then he is a frenetic "bedlamite"; until breathless he faints.[36] The scene is a veritable exorcism. The cure the Typees provide is magio-spirtual, not medical (in the allopathic sense). The medical man's incantations and clairvoyant conversation testify to an understanding of the body as an inseparable interpenetration of spirit and matter. To be cured, Tommo's disease needs to be cast out, not sutured. Out damned spot.

Tommo's response to Typee treatment is one of sarcasm mixed with skepticism. In his view, his leg is left in a worse condition than before the treatment because it hurts more and because the wound looks like "a rump-steak after undergoing the castigating process which proceeds cooking."[37] We can perhaps understand Tommo's tenderness and incredulity. After all, it is difficult to be reflective or polite while enduring extreme pain. But pain, like alcohol, lowers inhibitions and permits candor. Tommo's interiority escapes through his painful wound. His skepticism, rooted in a feeling of cultural superiority, is perhaps the demon to which the Typee "wizard" is speaking. Further, the irritation, what dials up the pain, is the paradox in which

Tommo finds himself – his whiteness should testify to his superiority, yet his white skin is ruptured, his body broken, his health in the hands of an "uncivilized" enchanter.

Tommo's wound does not fully heal despite the Typee herbs and incantation. His lameness persists even with repeated applications of tonics. Tommo begins, however, to read his body anew. Though the Typee herbal therapeutics help ease the pain, they do not, he says, "remove the disorder." Of course, the Typee know this; that's what the incantation was for. Physical pain is not the problem. Spiritual dysfunction is. The efficacy of the cure rests with the credulity of the patient, a convalescence derived from belief in the spirit-matter body. A strictly materialist understanding of the body – the view that was ascending in western medical practice and replacing the pre-modern holistic conception of the body– stalls medical treatment and somatic healing in Typee. But Tommo is not ready to have it. In chapter thirteen, he is still committed to a material understanding of the body. To be well he therefore concludes "that without better aid I might anticipate a long and acute suffering." Where might he obtain this aid? "From the surgeons of the French fleet."[38] "Get my body back to the West," is the idea that dominates Tommo's early thoughts.

Toby is there to affirm Tommo's views. Right before Tommo voices his need for French surgeons, he admits that life among the Typees is not so bad. They are caring and kind. "Surely, thought I, they would not act thus if they meant us any harm." Replies Toby, "Why, they are cannibals!"[39] Toby's remarks are always there to irritate Tommo's prejudices, as he acts as a mouthpiece for western ideologies of time and space. Ironically, Toby is a personification of predominating Western racialized knowledge of the body that prevents Tommo's healing even as he schemes and risks his life to acquire medicine from the French ships for Tommo. The Typee natives are aware of Toby's function. When Toby applies to go down to the beach with the rest

of the natives to see the ships that have come to trade, they adamantly refuse to let him go, that is until they understand that he does not intend to take Tommo with him: "As soon as they understood from my companion that I intended to remain, they appeared to make no objection to his proposition, and even hailed it with pleasure."[40] The Typee know that Tommo will never heal with Toby around chiming in his ear about French surgeons.

Once Toby disappears, things change. Tommo begins to give himself over to the enchantment of the island. Kory-Kory takes him to bathe in the lake where the nymph-like girls caress his body with ointments. He attends the sexual initiation fire-lighting ceremony. He dresses in Typee garb and partakes in daily life. However, when there is potential news of Toby, Tommo's wound festers. As long as Toby's presence can be felt, even imaginatively, Tommo remains ill. In chapter sixteen, right before there is potential intelligence of Toby's whereabouts (news that turns out to be either false or falsified) there throbs "the mysterious disease in my leg," which was "my chief source anxiety, that which poisoned every temporary enjoyment."[41] The wound pulses with pain like a radar. But as Toby fades out of mind, Tommo begins to heal. Without Toby present as a conduit of western epistemology of the body, Tommo can experience different dimensions of thought and being. Finally giving up Toby as gone,

> Gradually I lost all knowledge of the regular recurrence of the days of the week, and sunk insensibly into that kind of apathy which ensues after some violent outbreak of despair. My limb suddenly healed, the swelling went down, the pain subsided, and I have every reason to suppose I should completely recover from the affliction that had so long tormented me.[42]

And so he does, at least for a while. It is only after his recovery that Tommo starts to contemplate the world under the enchantment of the island. The Typee valley has been often read

as a place of escape from the vices of western culture and a site for a return to a mythological quest for origin. The narrative structure of *Typee* is mythic to be sure. D.H. Lawrence observed that the novel is a "birth-myth, or re-birth myth" at its core.[43] Thomas Joswick convincingly argues that *Typee's* birth myth testifies to the futility of attempting to discover mythic origins, as Tommo's journey reveals that the mythology of the western world has broken down beyond the recovery of a unified, sacred community, but the myths of Edenic cultures also fail to correct the ills of western civilization dissipated mythic origins. The only resolution left is to defer the quest indefinitely via the artistic production of narrative.[44]

However, in my analysis, the mythic, fairytale structure of the narrative rhetorically enables Melville to explore the enchantment of the Typee valley in order to investigate Western cultural anxieties surrounding white masculine health, which are rooted in supremacist ideologies of racialized bodies. The enchanted atmosphere of this island provides a temporary stay of the totalizing claims to knowledge that Toby represents. The enchantment of the Typee valley breaks Tommo's totalizing view of peoples and places into fragments for contrast and inspection. For constellation. As Christopher Sten summarizes, narratological use of enchantment in fantastic fiction "seizes on details, stops short at fragmentation, although the whole begins to be suggested to the reader's imagination, if only in distortion."[45] In Melville's narratology, he utilizes enchantment to enable fragmentation just enough to break and then compare pieces of the pre-existing whole from different frames of reference, to increase dimension of understanding and conceptualization of what is natural.[46] Importantly, fragmentation occurs as Toby fades away.

Up until this point in the narrative, the plot mechanics have been expectedly linear, following the trajectory of two friends journeying into the interior of a mysterious island. But

now that Toby is gone and Tommo's movement is restricted, the narrative shifts from a linear progression of quest to constellated musings and ramblings, contemplations and digressions darting in and out as the plot slows down. In the same chapter in which his leg miraculously heals, Tommo accepts his lot for the moment to explore the opportunity before him: "I gave myself up to the passing hour, and if ever disagreeable thoughts arose in my mind, I drove them away."[47] The immediate result is a sustained critique of civilization, of its "heart burnings, the jealousies, the social rivalries, the family dissensions, and the thousand self-inflicted discomforts of refined life, which make up in units the swelling aggregate of human misery."[48] The diction here is pointed. "Burnings," "self-inflicted," "swelling . . . misery." The exorcism has begun. Tommo's language betrays his rising awareness, though perhaps still unconscious, of civilization's affliction as a problem located in an illness of the body. Not just the body politic or the soul but the physical bodies as well. Burnings and jealousies present from the inseparable material and immaterial interpenetrations of the body.

With his suffering abated, Melville now has Tommo tend to the implicit contract for empirical accuracy and deliver the anthropological observations readers expected. Among these observations, he dedicates a chapter to the physicality of the Typees. He notes their "physical strength and beauty," their "various shades of complexion," the lack of "natural deformity" and cosmetic "blemishes," and highlights their graceful form in that "nearly every individual of their number might have been taken for a sculptor's model."[49] Indeed, when Marnoo first appears, Tommo takes him for a "Polynesian Apollo."[50] Ultimately occupied not with the scientific reports of aboriginal beauty but the source of white male unwellness, he then compares the Typee with the civilized lot of men: "I could not avoid comparing them with the fine gentleman and dandies who promenade such unexceptional figures in our frequented thoroughfares.

Stripped of the cunning artifices of the tailor, and standing forth in the garb of Eden, -- what a sorry set of round-shouldered, spindle-shanked, crane-necked varlets would civilized men appear!"[51] He also notes that since the Typees have had the least intercourse with European sailors, their bodies are stronger and healthier than the inhabitants of the other valleys.

Of all the contrasts the enchanted aura of the island has enabled him to make, Melville/Tommo returns over and again to an obsessive review of bodies. There is no doubt a voyeuristic pleasure in Tommo's excessive interest in the native body. But the debilitating wound and the constant comparison of native and "civilized" bodies echoes Emerson's anxiety and predicts Whitman's. The point comes to this: the enchantment of Typee permits Tommo/Melville to fragment the American conceptions of a healthy self by comparing racialized bodies that are well (aboriginal) and unwell (American) in order to explore the consequences of what Sharon O'Brien says are still part of American culture in the twenty-first century: "ideologies of individualism and self-reliance that make illness, dying, and death almost deviant activities."[52] As Foster asserts, the scrawny effeminate white man appears in the nineteenth century as a deviant figure. Through wayfinding enabled by Typee enchantment, Melville discovers that the effeminate male isn't deviant at all; he is destination: he is the logical evolution of American individualism that ignores the interconnectedness of things. Natural and supernatural, material and extra-material, black and white, man and woman, body and spirit. Ironically, Emerson laments the sickly white man in "Self-Reliance" by comparing him to the aborigine, but the hyper-individualism of Emersonian self-reliance is the disorder the Typee medical man attempts to exorcise from Tommo. Whitman's manly training echoes Emerson. In America, a healthy body is a matter of choice. The body is martialed into "a fine animal." But such an individualized, materialistic view of the body is itself the disorder. In Typee, the healthy

body is a matter of collective care because there are no separate ontological categories for sick and well.

Tommo's wound returns. The climax of the narrative is when Tommo and Kory-Kory stumble upon Karky the tattoo artist employing his trade. Curious, Tommo watches unseen from behind a bush. Tommo's description is striking for the metaphors he uses. Karky's instruments are like "cruel-looking, mother-of-pearl-handled things which one sees in their velvet-lined cases at the elbow of the dentist chair."[53] Seeing the client wince in pain, Tommo proclaims that Karky has "a heart as callous as that of an army surgeon."[54] In these two metaphors, we see Melville's narratological strategy for getting Tommo off the island. He inserts the metaphors of western medicine – and therefore the ideology from which his wound derives – into the episode. Karky is not a sacred artist engaged in his office. He is a cruel dentist and a calloused surgeon. The spell is broken when Karky turns to Tommo and ardently desires to tattoo him. Samuel Otter smartly reads Karky's craving to inscribe Tommo as a retributive violent act for racist western ethnology, for the lines and maps drawn over colored bodies to rank and sort them against the white male body (exemplified in the contemporary rubric of *Apollo of Belvedere*). Karky "threatens to return the gesture . . . . to hatch and crosshatch the observer's body with so many lines that they will alter and confound his complexion."[55] This is certainly the case. But what is fascinating is Tommo's anxiety returns before Karky notices him and brandishes his weapons, but the text has given us no reason for such a projection. The metaphors are artificial under the aura of Typee enchantment. This is a strained point in the narrative in which Melville's hand is heavily felt. The doctor and the dentist return Tommo to his initial scene of exorcism where he used the same metaphors.

The mythical structure of quest is reinstated. The spell is up. Tommo must choose. Will he return to an individualized, materialistic conception of the body? The French fleet is still there. Or will he embrace his healing experience under the belief in somatic interpenetration of spirit and matter? If he chooses the latter, he will be required to make it known via tattooing on his face. "I should be disfigured in such a manner as never more to have the face to return to my countrymen, even should the opportunity offer."[56] Whether from fear or denial or both, Tommo's answer is no. Otter concludes that Tommo's immobilizing entrapment between reductive western science and indelible aboriginal art shows the white body fails "to live up to its pristine promise."[57] And so it does -- through a return to illness.

From this encounter onward, Tommo is anxious and scheming for escape. Moreover, "the painful malady under which I had been laboring – after having almost completely subsided – began again to show itself, and with symptoms as violent as ever."[58] This time, however, the wound is contagious. Tommo ultimately escapes with the help of sailors from an Australian vessel. In the process, Typee bodies are cut by sailors' knives and Tommo cracks the head of Typee with a boat hook. Wounds abound. Melville's frightening revelation is that a holistic view of the body rejects a claim to a body free from other bodies or independent of social and spiritual forces. Under the enchantment of Typee, Tommo experiences health through harmony. So much emphasis has been placed on Tommo's ogling of naked bodies, but beyond the sexual, the naked bodies of the Typee signal a commitment to collective health care. Tommo assumes that the Typee are biologically superior in health. What he never considers, but Melville does, is that they have better health care, better medicine, in Typee than America because the Typee body is never permitted to suffer in secret. Their lack of corporeal artifice ensures health. Instead of clothing that have tattoos, lines of contour that accentuate the body, making it even more visible for

inspection and care. The thinking American man is not sickly because he thinks too much. He is weakened by a Cartesian view that the mind makes him a compartmentalized individual separate from his body and separate from others' bodies. He mistakes his fragment for wholeness. There could never exist an Arthur Dimmesdale in a society in which the body is visible as a sign of its interconnection with everyone else's. No wound could grow in secret, and if one ever one appears, it is treated immediately. This is other-reliance. A view of the body, of health and wellness, of collective care enhanced through an enchanted sensibility to interdependence.

Conclusion

Enchantment, Not Too Much

Memory,
native to this valley, will spread over it
like a grove, and memory will grow
into legend, legend into song, song
into sacrament. The abundance of this place,
the songs of its people and birds,
will be health and wisdom and indwelling
light. This is no paradisal dream.
Its hardship is its possibility.

~ Wendell Berry[1]

In the introduction of this project, I stated that enchantment as a concept and hermeneutic tool for literary analysis is being summoned to answer a great many calls for American studies. Above all, the call for direction. Where do we go now? The Society of Nineteenth-Century Americanists thought it hopeful to investigate the uses of enchantment for augmenting our understanding of how writers of the nineteenth century treated and navigated the political, historical, social, and ethical issues of that century. Of course, it is evident that the political, historical, social, and ethical issues of the 1800s are the same as those of the 2000s – racism, identity and belonging, gender equality, healthcare and wellness. The previous work on enchantment as an alternative temporal system, as a historiography that constellates events outside of linear time, enables the nineteenth century to come intimately close to the twenty first for a side-by-side comparison. Without ignoring historical and contextual differences – indeed, while highly valuing them – enchantment nevertheless traces the terrain of the nineteenth century by tending to writers' aesthetic and rhetorical use of it and superimposes those uses onto our current moment in order to formulate new connections. The lines, paths, contours, grids are

distinct for each, but their imbrication also fosters new and informative, even if temporary, perceptions.

I have argued that a change in the new way we understand and interpret time in literary history implies a concomitant shift in the way we understand and interpret space. Enchanted temporalities suggest enchanted geographies. Writers in the New Republic encountered a variety of macro-level issues that affected the direction of the new nation. In order to explore these issues – to ask questions of them, to locate oneself and others, to experiment with potential outcomes, to contend for changes in direction -- these authors employed a rhetoric and aesthetic of enchanted imagery, symbols, and metaphors. This deployment of enchantment in literature was a kind of cartography, a literary attempt at wayfinding, discovery, and delineation. The ascension of empiricism in the antebellum period as the preeminent lens for knowing the world and human beings, for constituting time and place, eclipsed other ways of knowing that were essential to addressing the nation's problems. Literary maps of enchanted geographies were an attempt to preserve those ways of knowing.

The artists I have presented here – Olaudah Equiano, Washington Irving, Margaret Fuller, and Herman Melville – lighted upon specific geographies that contained the potential to preserve these other ways of knowing, of staving off the blindness William Cullen Bryant feared. The shared enchanted substrata of Greece, Palestine, and Africa communicated through the myths and miracles of those geographies permitted Equiano to vie for the humanity of Africans and serve as *prima facie* evidence for ending the slave trade. Through a literary rendering of the public house as a sacred site for vouchsafing poetic memory and folkloric knowledge, Washington Irving provided direction for how to grow organic American identities in the regional, and then how to constellate those identities into a diverse yet unified whole. Via

enchantment, Margaret Fuller designated the soul as a mystical geography in which women map out their inner selves, discover feminine resources of knowledge and becoming, and from that place provide epistemological correction for a destructive disenchanted masculine understanding of women and ecology. Herman Melville discovered that the enchanted aura of the Marquesan Islands fractured American materialist conceptions of the body and health in a way that explained white male corporeal anxiety and prophesied the logical outcome of somatic knowledge based solely in empirical methods.

In my analysis of all four authors, I have proposed that specific places are crucial to their work. In the wayfinding of national problems, these authors grounded themselves in particular localities. Moreover, I have shown that each author renders those places through a discovery of enchanted realities with dimensions beyond the empirical. Memory, myth, affect, authenticity, the supernatural are irreplicable qualities of certain locales. They constitute knowledge that is deep and wide. Ignoring the enchantment of geographies is perilous, because it is presumptuous and arrogant. It reinforces epistemological blindness and encourages subsequent ethical missteps. In Wendell Berry's poem "A Vision" (1977), the speaker transmits a vision of a piece of the earth made whole through attention and care for its enchantments. Memory, legend, song, sacrament (what is enchantment anyway but *chanter*, to sing). If we acknowledge these immaterial realities of place, respect them, bare the hard work of their legitimacy, then we might just be able to wayfind a number of our social ills. I submit that Berry's vision can be traced back to writers of the New Republic who understood this too. In Berry, strange as it may seem, we hear echoes of Equiano, Irving, Fuller, and Melville. At least in this way.

The ultimate purpose of this project is not to moralize but to reveal an alternative treatment of place in the literary history of the New Republic. Each artistic presentation of an

enchanted geography offers a trove of details about literary historical treatment of place. Why are certain places enchanted and others not? How does the presentation of enchantment change over regions and decades? Are there competing enchantments? What are the limits of enchantment in wayfinding contemporary problems? These are just a few of the questions that lead to fresh and fruitful scholarship in the field.

I do not wish to overstate enchantment's potential. The goal of this project has been quite simple: to analyze enchanted places in the literature of the New Republic in light of recent conversations about enchantment. The fact that antebellum authors employed images of magic, ghosts, miracles and the rest is, of course, common knowledge. How those employments oriented understandings of place in new ways and helped to navigate vital issues is all I have attempted. I do not want to ask more of enchantment than I should. In conclusion, we can perhaps deduce one thing about the methodological uses of enchantment in the field: it should not be used too much. The knee-jerk reaction in the subdivided humanities is to establish a "studies." However, an enchantment studies, it seems to me, would be antithetical to what the field is looking for as well as to the nature of enchantment. We are looking for a way out of compartmentalization and division. "Open," "additive," "share." These were Bentley's words, and I think she is right. Enchantment enhances our understanding of literary history through its openness to dialogue and rendering of new dimensions. We might say enchantment is relaxed. Not weak. Not undefined. Just relaxed. It is composed enough to reveal the way in which writers and artists saw (and see) the world, state its legitimacy and importance for interpretation, but also remain seriously and humbly engaged with other discourses. As Jane Bennett realized, an enchanted hermeneutics includes attitude, and we could all stand to be in a better mood these days.

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NOTES

Introduction

[1] William Cullen Bryant, "The Constellations," *American Poetry: The Nineteenth Century, Volume One: Philip Freneau to Walt Whitman*, ed. John Hollander (New York: Library of America, 1993), 173.
[2] Nancy Bentley, "Introduction: In the Spirit of the Thing: Critique as Enchantment," *J19: The Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists* 1, no. 1 (2013), 153.
[3] Max Weber, *Charisma and Disenchantment: The Vocation Lectures*, eds. Paul Reitter and Chad Wellmon, trans. Damion Searls (New York: New York Review of Books, 2020), 18.
[4] Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, "Paranoid Reading and Reparative Reading; or, You're So Paranoid, Your Probably Think This Introduction Is about You," *Novel Gazing: Queer Readings in Fiction*, ed. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick (Durham: Duke UP, 1997), 4.
[5] Sedgwick, "Paranoid Reading," 22.
[6] Jane Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics* (New Jersey: Princeton UP, 2001), 156. Bennett would follow up her conceptualization of enchantment in *Vibrant Matter: A Political Ecology of Things* (Durham: Duke UP, 2010), in which she extends her argument of an enchanted-ethical life through an attunement to the actant quality of matter, its vibrancy, aliveness, and independence.
[7] Bruno Latour, "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam: From Matters of Fact to Matters of Concern," *Critical Inquiry* 30, no. 2 (Winter 2004), 227.
[8] Latour, "Why Has Critique Run Out of Steam," 229-230.
[9] Ibid, 240.
[10] Rita Felski, *The Limits of Critique* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2015), 2.
[11] Felski, *The Limits*, 3.
[12] Ibid, 175.
[13] As a small sampling, see Charles Taylor's mammoth work *A Secular Age* (Cambridge: Knopf, 2007), James William Gibson's *A Reenchanted World: The Quest for a New Kinship with Nature* (New York: Holt, 2009), and Joshua Landy and Michael Saler, *The Re-Enchantment of the World: Secular Magic in a Rational Age*, eds. Joshua Landy and Michael Saler. (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2009). These authors take up the subject of enchantment from different disciplinary and personal points of view, but they testify to enchantment's ascendency in academic discourses.
[14] Bentley, "In the Spirit of the Thing," 148.
[15] Bentley, "In the Spirit of the Thing," 149-153.
[16] Emily Ogden, *Credulity: A Cultural History of US Mesmerism* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2018), 12-13. For Ogden's summary of the three enchantment discourse narratives, see 10-14.
[17] Ogden, *Credulity,* 18.
[18] Sizemore echoes Rita Felski here. See Felski "Context Stinks!" page 577
[19] Michelle Sizemore, *American Enchantment: Rituals of the People in the Post-Revolutionary World* (Oxford: Oxford UP), 1-2.
[20] Bentley, "In the Spirit of the Thing," 150.
[21] Thomas Koenigs, *Founded in Fiction: The Uses of Fiction in the Early United States* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2021), 3.
[22] Koenigs, *Founded in Fiction*, 164.
[23] Ibid, 164.
[24] Robert Tally Jr., *Topophrenia: Place, Narrative, and the Spatial Imagination* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 2019), 2.
[25] Tally Jr., *Topophrenia,* 90-91.
[26] Ibid, 91.
[27] William Cullen Bryant, "The Constellations," *American Poetry: The Nineteenth Century,* 172.
[28] Ibid, 173.
[29] Ibid, 173.
[30] Ibid, 173.
[31] Ibid 173-174.

[32] Ibid, 174.

Chapter One

[1] Christina Davis and Toni Morrison, "Interview with Toni Morrison," *Présence Africaine*, no. 145 (1988), 144.
[2] Michelle Sizemore, *American Enchantments: Rituals of the People in the Post-Revolutionary World* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2018), 12.
[3] Nancy Bentley, "Introduction: In the Spirit of the Thing: Critique as Enchantment," *J19: The Journal of Nineteenth-Century Americanists* 1, no. 1 (2013), 153.
[4] Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: W. Strahan, 1773), https://johnsonsdictionaryonline.com/1755page/enchantingly?zoom=1600.
[5] Srinivas Aravamudan, "Equiano Lite," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 4 (2001), 615-618.
[6] Sylvester Johnson, "Colonialism, Biblical World Making, and Temporalities in Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*" *Church History* 77, no. 4 (2008), 1022.
[7] Joanna Brooks, "Soul Matters," *PMLA* 128, no. 4 (2013), 950-951.
[8] Eileen Razzari Elrod, "Moses and the Egyptian: Religious Authority in Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*," *African American Review* 35, no. 3 (2001), 422-423.
[9] Rebecka Rutledge Fisher, "The Poetics of Belonging in the Age of Enlightenment: Spiritual Metaphors of Being in Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*, *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 11, no. 1, (2013), 88-89. In her article, Fisher explores the rise of nation-state and empire ideologies that surround Equiano's life in his autobiography and how they come to bear on Equiano's sense of self and his self-fashioning as a modern subject. Her argument, though, warns against a straightforward understanding of the rise of the nation-state as supplanting the church as a political and ontological force. This linear periodized historicity misses the fact that, though Equiano does indeed utilize "philosophical discourse on national belonging" to interpret his sense of self, his primary discourse for ontological metaphor is biblical, 75, 86- 89.
[10] Hannah Wakefield, "Olaudah Equiano's Ecclesial World," *Early American Literature* 55, no. 3 (2020), 652-653.
[11] Srinivas Aravamudan, "Equiano Lite," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 4 (2001), 617. Aravamudan's full quotation reads: "That Equiano claimed to be a sincere, believing Christian is not in contention; it is the meanings of *that* Christianity, and that *claim*, which are not quite as obvious as we are being told that they are." For the full exchange, see Adam Potkay, "History, Oratory, and God in Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*." *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, no. 4 (2001).
[12] Joanna Brooks, 948 – 950.
[13] Marcia Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1993), 9.
[14] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, 55.
[15] Ibid, 54.
[16] Ibid, 56-64.
[17] Qtd. In Vincent Carretta, *Equiano, The African: Biography of a Self-Made* Man (Athens: U of Georgia P, 2005), 280.
[18] Carretta, *Equiano, The African,* 280-290.
[19] See Henry Louis Gates, Jr. *The Signifying Monkey*, chapter four "The Trope of the Talking Book." See also Lyn Casmier-Paz "Slave Narratives and the Rhetoric of Author Portraiture," *New Literary History* 34, no. 1 (2003): see especially pages 91-93.
[20] Helen Silving "The Oath: I" *The Yale Law Journal* 68, no. 7 (1959, 1366.
[21] Helen Silving "The Oath: I," 1329-1330 and 1361-1364. Silving also notes that in the West the legal function of the supernatural power of the oath was under debate even into the nineteenth century, 1370-1373.
[22] Yvonne P. Chireau, *Black Magic: Religion and the African American Conjuring Tradition* (Berkeley: U of California P, 2003), 61-62. In a separate chapter, Chireau also notes how Equiano seems to embrace both the reality of Providentialism and witchcraft, 35-36. She does not suggest he subscribed to both practices, only that he understood both to have access to the supernatural and in this way serves as an example of the mixing of African and European belief systems that characterize much of African diasporic thought.
[23] See John Bugg, "Equiano's Trifles" *ELH* 80, no. 4 (2013), 1045-1066, in which Bugg traces an alternate "reading map" of counterplots in the *Interesting Narrative*, 1049.

[24] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Or Gustavus Vassa, The African, Written by Himself* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2018), 58.
[25] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 21, 25. Geraldine Murphy notes that particularly in the narration of Eboe religious beliefs, Equiano shifts from the first to third person, replacing "I" with "the natives." Still, she says, Equiano swerves from generic convention for ethnography, affirming "similarity as much as Otherness" and "blurs the boundaries between self and other," 564. Geraldine Murphy, "Olaudah Equiano, Accidental Tourist" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27, no.4 (1994).
[26] Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative,*194.
[27] Acts 4:5, 4:12
[28] Isaiah 12:4. Positioning himself in this way, Equiano follows African writers before him, like James Gronniosaw, who also prefaced his spiritual autobiography with a prophetic reference to Isaiah. Maffly-Kipp, *Setting Down the Sacred Past,* 29. See also Elrod, "Moses and the Egyptian," 412-415. Though, it should be noted that forerunners like Gronniosaw related their histories orally, as where Equiano's is unmistakably "WRITTEN BY HIMSELF."
[29] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative,* 93.
[30] Ibid, 103-104.
[31] Ibid, 86. '"That if any negro, or other slave, under punishment by his master, or his order, for running away, or any other crime or misdemeanor towards his said master, unfortunately shall suffer in life or member, no person whatsoever shall be liable to a fine; but if any man out of *wantonness, or only out of bloody-mindedness, or cruel intention, willfully kill a negro, or other slave, of his own, he shall pay into the public treasury fifteen pounds sterling* (emphasis in original).'"
[32] David Hume, *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding,* ed. Peter Millican (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 79, 86-87. For his rubric of experiential authority see pages 92-95. By employing the Arts as the metric for dividing reasonable from barbarous people, Hume follows Francis Bacon's *The New Organon* (1620). Lyn Casmier-Paz makes note of Bacon's argument regarding the Arts in "Slave Narratives," 96-97, and also notes that Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Charles T. Davis cite Bacon's argument as well in their introduction to *The Slave's Narrative* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985).
[33] Hume, *An Enquiry*, 84-85
[34] David Hume, "Of National Characters," *Selected Essays*, eds. Stephen Copley and Andrew Edgar (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), 360.
[35] Immanuel Kant, "Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime," *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime and Other Writings*, eds. Patrick Frierson and Paul Guyer (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011), 58-61. Kant mentions Hume by name and takes his racist analysis of Africans as correct, asserting that the inferiority of African cultures stems from their "religion of fetishes" and tendency to consecrate common items through "invocation in swearing oaths," and adding later that, though there were reports he heard of a black man saying something "worth considering," it could not be, as his black skin was *prima facie* evidence "that what he said was stupid."
[36] Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2006, 41-69. In the chapter "The Lords and the Profits – West Indian Commerce and the Scottish Enlightenment," Whyte shows how a number of prominent Enlightenment philosophers and theologians condemned slavery on moral grounds, yet the economic landscape of Scotland continued to become more and more integrated with and dependent on commerce in the West Indies, with many Scotsmen owning plantations in Jamaica, St. Kitts, and other islands. Whyte also notes that pro-slavery apologists in the West Indies seized on Hume's arguments of African inferiority, 58.
[37] Geraldine Murphy, "Olaudah Equiano, Accidental Tourist," 564. Murphy follows Micheal de Certeau's argument that "the travel account is organized according to 'an *a priori* of difference,' its three-part scheme consisting of an ahistorical ethnographic description of the savage 'body' flanked by the narrative of departure and return," cited from Michel de Certeau "Montaigne's 'Of Cannibals': The Savage 'I'" *Heterologies: Discourse on the Other*, trans. Brian Massumi (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1986), 69.
[38] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative,* 26, 28
[39] Adam Potkay notes that Equiano's desire to read the Bible, like other early emancipated slave writers, to "talk" to it, stems from "a theological quest for origins." "Olaudah Equiano and the Art of Spiritual Biography," 678.
[40] Potkay, "Olaudah Equiano and the Art of Spiritual Biography," 28. Additionally, Laurie F. Maffly-Kipp discusses African and African American diasporic writers and their sophisticated methods of historicizing African history via

classical and biblical texts at length in *Setting Down the Sacred Past: African American Race Histories* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2010). See especially her introduction and chapter one, "Wonders of the Ancient Past" in which she shows that early African American intellectuals utilized biblical historiography and Masonic lore to establish Africa as central to the history of civilization and Judeo-Christian spiritual heritage, a project, according to one African American lay clergyman in 1815, aiming to "recenter the map" of history on Africa (42).

[41] Johnson, "Colonialism, Biblical World Making," 1006, 1010. See also Elrod, "Moses and the Egyptian," 413.

[42] Ibid, 1014

[43] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative,* 19-20

[44] Ibid, 21

[45] Ibid, 138

[46] Sarah Cole, "Enchantment, Disenchantment, War, Literature," *PMLA* 124, no. 5 (2009), 1641. Cole cites Denton J. Snider's *The Biographical Outline of Homer* (Saint Louis: Miner, 1922). See pages 136-155 for Snider's chapter on Homer in Smyrna. It should be noted that in the eighteen century, two locations competed for the title of Homer's birthplace, Smyrna and Chios, a debate Douglas Anderson point out appears in Pope's preface to his translation of *The Iliad.* Douglas Anderson, "Division Below the Surface: Olaudah Equiano's 'Interesting Narrative"' *Studies in Romanticism* 43, no. 3 (2004), 446.

[47] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 88. As Anderson points out, this is Equiano's summary of lines from Book XVII of Pope's translation of The Odyssey: "Jove fix'd it certain, that whatever day / Makes man a slave, takes half his worth away," qtd. In Anderson, 450.

[48] Douglas Anderson, "Division Below the Surface," 444. Anderson also comments on how Pope's translation served as competition to Madame Dacier's French translation, an iteration of literary production as a mechanism for the development of a national identity. See also Srinivas Aravamudan's discussion of this in *Tropicopolitans*. See especially pages 234-242. Critical for Aravamudan is the irony in the rapid uptake of Equiano's narrative by humanist literary critics in the late twentieth century to be only yet another instance of using literacy's product, literature, as a benchmark for humanness. For Aravamudan, Enlightenment ontology ranked racialized beings by using the signifier of the book – i.e. literary production – as the measuring stick. Equiano's *Narrative* operated in line with this standard; he produced an elegant book, and he was consequently able to acquire subjectivity from the recognition of the British nation. Ironically, scholars have given Equiano the same subject status, this time as anticolonial rhetor and intellectual, via the act of recognizing his literary achievement and canonizing him for it. However, they have ignored Africans from the same period, notably the ones resettled in the disastrous Sierra Leone experiment, because, though many of them were literate, they, unlike Equiano, did not produce literature. The book, which literary critics understandably favor, is always already a nationalist endeavor designed to reify a nationalist ideology, and critics' preference for Equiano's book over the records left by those in Sierra Leone squares with eighteenth-century colonial practice, if not necessarily in belief.

[49] Phillis Wheatley, *The Poems of Phillis Wheatley*, ed. Julian D. Madison, Jr. (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1966), 3.

[50] William W. Cook and James Tatum, *African American Writers and Classical Tradition* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2010), 14. See chapter one "The Leisure Moments of Phillis Wheatley," 7-47, for Cook and Tatum's full analysis of Wheatley's use of classical models, including her impressive appropriation of Pope's translation of *The Iliad*.

[51] Wheatley, *Poems*, 4.

[52] Mary Wollstonecraft, "Untitled Review" *The Analytical Review* 4, (May 1789), 28.

[53] Anderson, "Divisions Below the Surface," 444-446. Here Anderson gives a fuller analysis of Equiano's use of Homer and an African-Greek connection.

[54] To be clear, I use "mythical" here not in the sense of "fictional" or "untrue" but as outside of empirical verification.

[55] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative,* 138

[56] Ibid, 38, 41-3

[57] Jeffrey Bolster, *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the Age of Sail* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1997), 58, 66.

[58] Denys Van Renen has recently argued that waterways and the various permutations of water in the *Interesting Narrative* (water, snow, ice) are the symbolic and imaginative substance of his transformation and spiritual awakening and the primary sites of his contestation of Western racial ideologies. See Denys Van Renen, "Walk Upon the Water: Equiano and the Globalizing Subject," in *Beyond 1776: Globalizing the Cultures of the American Revolution*, eds. Maria O'Malley and Denys Van Reden, (Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2018), 226-254.

[59] Aramavudan, *Tropicopolitans*, 239-240. In his notation of the ritual, Armavudan cites the African travel narrative of François Froger, *A Relation of a Voyage Made in the Years 1695, 1696, 1697 on the Coasts of Africa* (London, 1698), 3-4 and "Old Dick Grog's Account of Crossing the Line," in Fairburn's *Naval Songster or, Jack Tar's Chest of Conviviality* (London, 1811), 3-5.
[60] Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 45.
[61] Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 56. Bolster discusses a man named Bonna from Ibo, Africa, who was a canoe man in his home country and continued his trade in Virginia after his enslavement. Bolster also mentions a number of regional cultures in Africa that honored the sacred rite of canoe building, such as the Bullom of Upper Guinea and the Kru of Liberia, 49.
[62] Bolster, *Black Jacks*, 62-63. In this quotation, Bolster is referring specifically to the Kongolese but also mentions the Ibo and the Bambara peoples as having comparable associations with water as a mediator of life and afterlife.
[63] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 141.
[64] Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick*, 2nd ed. eds. Hershel Parker and Harrison Hayford, (New York: Norton, 2002), 18.
[65] Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative*, 65
[66] Ibid, 48
[67] Ibid, 121-124
[68] Ibid, 124-125
[69] Ibid, 174-175
[70] Elrod, "Moses and the Egyptian," 414-416.
[71] Maffly-Kipp, *Setting Down the Sacred Past*, 19.

Chapter Two

[1] Henry David Thoreau, "The Landlord," *Thoreau: Walden, The Maine Woods, Collected Essays and Poems* (New York: Library of America, 2007), 634.
[2] Robert H. Woodward, "Dating the Action of 'Rip Van Winkle,' *New York Folklore Quarterly* 25 (1959), 70. Using clues planted in the text of "Rip," such as the fact the Hendrick Hudson's crew only appears every 20 years, Woodward dates the year of Rip's awakening to 1789.
[3] Paul Giles suggests that Irving's entire corpus should be understood as having a "'globular' consciousness" in which he consistently uses metaphors, allusions, and the burlesque to disrupt accepted Western orthodoxies of history and geography. Paul Giles, "Antipodean American Geography: Washington Irving's 'Globular' Narratives," *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century American Literature*, ed. Russ Castronovo (Oxford: Oxford UP), 21.
[4] Washington Irving, *The Legend of Sleepy Hollow and Other Stories* (New York: Penguin, 1999), 119. Hereafter cited as "Irving, *The Legend*."
[5] Irving, *The Legend*, 120.
[6] Thoreau, "The Landlord," 636, 640.
[7] Christine Sismondo, *America Walks into a Bar: A Spirited History of Taverns and Saloons, Speakeasies and Grog Shops* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011), 4.
[8] Sizemore, *American Enchantment*, 124-125, 132.
[9] Michael Warner, "Irving's Posterity," *ELH* 67, no. 3 (2000), 781, 791. The crisis of reproduction, as Warner argues, proceeds from a simple premise about the human condition that "Rip Van Winkle" reveals: "it isn't exactly reproduction that people want from what is called reproduction; what they want is a narrative to organize a life course up to and beyond mortality" (787). For Warner, the disruption of a temporality previously organized around sexual reproduction and kinship forces Irving the modern bachelor to explore generational succession in social and public terms rather than biological (785).
[10] Jeffrey Insko, "Diedrich Knickerbocker, Regular Bred Historian," *Early American Literature* 43, no. 3 (2008), 628.
[11] Paul Giles, "Antipodean American Geography," 20, 24.
[12] Lydia Fash, *The Sketch, the Tale, and the Beginnings of American Literature* (Charlottesville: U of Virginia P, 2020), 21.
[13] Matthew Redmond argues that Irving dissected the inhuman aspects of the picturesque in his work, which would later be taken up by Herman Melville and Henry James. "In Irving's world, the picturesque serves not as a bridge between people but as a wall that keeps them apart," 18. Crayon thus encourages his readers to consume picturesque

style with "a grain – or a spoonful – of salt," 30. Matthew Redmond, "Trouble in Paradise: The Picturesque Fictions of Irving and His Successors," *ESQ: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Culture* 62, no. 1 (2016). Redmond also suggests that because Irving first and foremost sees himself as a cosmopolitan, he never lingers long over questions of national identity, 1. But this is not quite true. Irving's letters reveal a deep concern with America and being connected to the land of his birth. See Irving's letters to his brother Peter and Henry Brevoort where he is anxious to be associated with America, the American people, and to be seen exclusively as an American writer. Irving, *Life and Letters*, 148-150, 412-416.

[14] Andrew Burstein, *The Original Knickerbocker: The Life of Washington Irving* (New York: Basic Books, 2007), 10.

[15] Pierre M. Irving, *The Life and Letters of Washington Irving, Vol. 1*, (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1864; Ann Arbor: U of Michigan Library, 2005), 171. Citations refer to the U of Michigan reprint.

[16] Fash, *The Sketch*, 27. For Fash, "Rip Van Winkle" and "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow" invite a dispirit American polity into a sense of shared time and beginning, which permits the imaginative act of becoming American, an act of '"fictive ethnicity'" (7, 46). Fash borrows the term from Etienne Balibar, "The Nation Form: History and Ideology," in *Race Critical Theories: Text and Context*, ed. Philomena Essed and David Theo Goldberg (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), 224.

[17] See Judith Fetterley, *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1978) and Michael P. Branch, "Rip Van Winkle's Wicked Flagon," *Nineteenth-Century Prose* 42, no. 1 (2015), 31-39.

[18] Fash notes that periodical series, which Irving and others in the early nineteenth century published in, facilitated such an affective bonding by combining "ubiquity" with "portability" in a way that made the readers feel as if they were part of the world created by and through these stories (24).

[19] Sismondo, *America Walks into a Bar*, 46-47. Sismondo notes that the colonial tavern was "by eighteenth-century standards, pretty diverse," especially in terms of class. Unlike the salons of Paris or the coffeehouses of London, the American tavern shared patronage from all stations due to fixed prices on food and alcohol. Sandoval-Strauz notes such diversity as well, observing that the constant mixture of classes required a firm adherence to propriety and ritual in order to maintain peace. A.K. Sandoval-Strausz, "A Public House for a New Republic: The Architecture of Accommodation and the American State, 1789-1809, *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 9 (2003), 62, 64. Sismondo also documents the history of seventeenth and eighteenth-century taverns' progressive racial politics in New York, at least until the New York Slave Revolt of 1712 in which two dozen black slaves, after meeting up at a tavern, killed nine Whites, five of which were slave owners. After the Revolt, a "Black Code" was instituted to prohibit Blacks from congregating. The code had to be updated in 1730, though, to outlaw the sale of strong liquor to any Black, Indian, or Mixed-Race persons, as some were still gaining access to taverns (34-35).

[20] Thomas Koenigs, *Founded in Fiction: The Uses of Fiction in the Early United States*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2021), 137-138.

[21] Washington Irving, *A History of New York: From the Beginning of the World to the End of the Dutch Dynasty*, *Washington Irving: History, Tales and Sketches* (New York: Library of America, 1983), 365.

[22] Insko, "Diedrich Knickerbocker," 615.

[23] Irving, *The Legend*, 28.

[24] Burstein, *The Original Knickerbocker*, 138.

[25] Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Maria Jolas (New York: Penguin, 2014), 19. Bachelard uses the term "topophilia" to refer specifically to "*felicitous space*," the space he explores in his book. His explanation of topophilia as "eulogized space" and "the space we love" is on par with enchantment's valuation of certain geographies and the kind of geographical attachment Irving interrogates in both Europe and America.

[26] Irving, *The Legend*, 29.

[27] Ibid, 30.

[28] Ibid, 32.

[29] Ibid, 101.

[30] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, revised edition (New York: Verso, 2016), 43-46. Anderson states that the advent of capitalism and print technologies were paramount to developing a national consciousness. It was the newspaper in particular that allowed one to imagine being part of a community. It's nearly arbitrary linking of events and places on a single page that ostensibly have not

much to do with each other than calendrical date and the ubiquity with which the newspaper is consumed by others interlinked new ways of understanding "fraternity, power, and time" (36) See 32-36 for full analysis.
[31] The word "junto," which appears in the story, alludes to Benjamin Franklin's pub club established in 1727 in Philadelphia. The group was a class-diverse admixture of artisans and scholars and later evolved into the American Philosophical Society.
[32] Irving, *The Legend*, 37
[33] Ibid, 32.
[34] Ibid, 32.
[35] Thomas Paine, *Common Sense,* ed. Edward Larkin (Ontario: Broadview, 2004), 48.
[36] Thomas M. Allen, *A Republic in Time: Temporality and Social Imagination in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2008), 10-11. Counter to years of scholarly interpretation of the nation developing out of homogenous time, Allen argues that time as both a concept and activity in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth-centuries is actually quite diversified, and that "'Timing' is in fact "the activity through which diverse individuals and local groups can create heterogenous national cultures," concluding that "Temporal heterogeneity thus becomes central to the experience of modern collective belonging" and that such diversified temporalities "are themselves the threads out of which the fabric of national belonging has long been woven."
[37] Ibid, 39.
[38] Ibid, 29.
[39] Ibid, 40.
[40] Ibid, 37.
[41] Sizemore, *American Enchantment*, 129. Sizemore notes that Irving has a sensibility and opposition to such inflexible historiographies, claiming that such "historical constellations have the powers to interrupt nationalist narrative."
[42] Thomas Allen, *A Republic in Time*, 41. Interestingly, Thomas Jefferson's conception of national time is in agreement with Irving's here, though Irving and Jefferson were certainly not friends (Irving having satirized him in Knickerbocker's *History of New York* as William the Testy). Allen shows that Jefferson disliked the notion of geographical diversity but accepted that time was highly variegated and textured and was therefore an appropriate medium for a republic which required "heterogeneous forms of economic and social organization" (41). For Jefferson, as for Irving, temporalities could vary from region to region as long as "the fundamental principles of liberty were maintained."
[43] Jeffrey Rubin-Dorskey, *Adrift in the Old World: The Psychological Pilgrimage of Washington Irving* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1988), 113.
[44] Jeffrey Rubin-Dorskey, *Adrift in the Old World,* 92.
[45] Ibid, 38
[46] Jügen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1989), 24. Habermas states that with the rise of mercantile capitalism came a change in the way governing authorities interacted with individuals through "official interventions," 24. These interventions caused an awareness between individuals and authorities that necessitated an arena or mechanism in which disputes could be contended via "the critical judgement of a public making use of its reason," 24. The inevitable result was an evolution of the public in which the private individuals receiving the impact of interventions developed an adversarial relationship with authorities, 25-26. The evolution is evident in the politicking scene, and it is the emergence of the critical sphere that Rip has missed. But his absence enables him to perceive the need for vouchsafing the inn-hotel's enchanted resonances.
[47] Ibid, 37
[48] Ibid, 37.
[49] Ibid, 37.
[50] Ibid, 40.
[51] John Quidor, *The Return of Rip Van Winkle*, 1849. Oil on Canvas 101x126.5 cm (39 ¾ x 49 13/16 in.). Washington, D.C. National Gallery of Art.
[52] Irving, *The Legend*, 37.
[53] Ibid, 37.
[54] Sarah Wyman, "Washington Irving's Rip Van Winkle: A Dangerous Critique of a New Nation," *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews* 23, no. 4 (2010), 218.

[55] Rubin-Dorskey, *Adrift*, xiii.
[56] Irving, *Life and Letters*, 441. In a letter to Walter Scott, Irving declines Scott's invitation to be the editor of an anti-Jacobian periodical based in Edinburgh. Irving states that he was raised in a republic and believes it to be the best system of government for Americans, but he does not want to pollute the unique, poetical associations he finds in the British places and peoples by engaging in British political debates.
[57] Rubin-Dorskey, *Adrift*, 101-102.
[58] See Sismondo, *America Walks into a Bar,* 101-102, and Sandoval-Strausz, 54-55, for a full account of Washington's tavern woes.
[59] Sandoval-Strausz, 55.
[60] Ibid, 60.
[61] Irving, *The Legend,* 40.
[62] Jane Bennett, *The Enchantment of Modern Life: Attachments, Crossings, and Ethics*, (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001), 5.
[63] Irving, *The Legend,* 40.
[64] Ibid, 41.
[65] Ibid, 41.
[66] Sandoval-Strausz, 66.
[67] Irving, *The Legend,* 272.
[68] Ibid, 274.
[69] Ibid, 277.
[70] Ibid, 278.
[71] Ibid, 279-280.
[72] Ibid, 287.
[73] Ibid, 280.
[74] Cindy Ott, *Pumpkin: The Curious History of an American Icon* (Seattle: U of Washington P, 2012), 33.
[75] Ott, *Pumpkin*, 39-40.
[76] Ibid, 40.
[77] Ibid, 60-71.
[78] Ibid, 83-84. Ott's in-depth analysis of the pumpkin's symbolic freight shows that the pumpkin, though found ubiquitously throughout the United States and Native American territories (except the Pacific Northwest) nevertheless became associated specifically with New England and, as the Civil War approached, pumpkin pie in particular became an important culinary marker of Northern values. Ott lists the admixture of symbolic associations in the pumpkin as follows: "Pumpkin pie was a New England food because it represented New England values. Pumpkin tales suggest that urbanites and even many farmers ridiculed a pre-industrial, rural way of life as backward and ignorant; that many believed it was bad for either men or women to follow their natural urges, though for different reasons; that men were insecure about women striking out on their own; and that New Englanders were nostalgic for a rustic farmstead in ways that self-consciously set them apart from southerners."
[79] John Greenleaf Whittier, "The Pumpkin," *Poems of John G. Whittier with Explanatory Notes* (New York: A.L. Burt Company, Publishers, N.D.), 245-246. Ott quotes this same excerpt from Whittier's poem to show how, unlike other New England writers like Hawthorne and Emerson, Whittier did not employ the condescending backwardness associated with the pumpkin to reify class distinctions. He championed the pumpkin as cultural heritage and carrier of the "magical and mystical qualities of nature," referencing its uses as a Jack-o-Lantern and in fairy stories. Pumpkin pie, mentioned throughout the full poem, was the icon of an idyllic agrarian past, which became the peerless staple of the Thanksgiving Day table in New England. Ott, *Pumpkin*, 78-79. Ott also states that Irving was probably the first to connect the Jack-o-Lantern with the pumpkin in "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow." The Jack-o-Lantern had long existed in Ireland as a trickster figure, though it was disconnected from the pumpkin. In America, the Jack-o-Lantern had emerged from stories of will-o'-the-wisp lights, also potential tricksters. Ott, *Pumpkin*, 76-77.
[80] Irving, *The Legend*, 286.
[81] Ibid, 287.
[82] Days of thanks were already scattered across regional calendars in the US, but in New England at least by 1825 Thanksgiving was a serious holiday. Ott, *Pumpkin*, 79. It was not until 1863, though, that Abraham Lincoln declared Thanksgiving a national holiday.

Chapter Three

[1] James Russell Lowell, review of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*, by Henry David Thoreau, *The Massachusetts Quarterly Review* vol. 3 (Dec. 1849): 41-43.
[2] Lowell, review of *A Week*, 41.
[3] Ibid, 40.
[4] Ibid, 44.
[5] John Matteson, "Overcoming Fragmentation in *Summer on the Lakes,*" *Nineteenth-Century Prose* 42, no. 2 (Fall 2015), 64.
[6] Thomas A. Allen, *A Republic in Time*, 151-154. See all of chapter 4 "Time in the Land" for Allen's in-depth discussion of the geological time revolution in nineteenth-century America.
[7] Allen, *A Republic in Time*, 187.
[8] Ibid, 196.
[9] Margaret Fuller, *The Letters of Margaret Fuller, Vol. II 1839-1841*, ed. Robert N. Hudspeth (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1983), 40.
[10] Larry Reynolds, "Subjective Vision, Romantic History, and the Return of the "Real": The Case of Margaret Fuller and the Roman Republic," *South Central Review* 21, no.1 (2004), 7-8. P. Joy Rouse also makes this observation, stating that Fuller's "need to connect, to recognize the real and tangible, distinguish her from a majority of other transcendentalists," a primary reason being that as woman she was forced "to recognize the situatedness of individuals" in a way men were not. P. Joy Rouse, "Margaret Fuller: A Rhetoric of Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America," *Oratorical Culture in Nineteenth-Century America: Transformations in the Theory and Practice of Rhetoric*, eds. Gregory Clark and S. Michael Halloran (Carbondale: Southern Illinois UP, 1993), 119.
[11] Joel Myerson, "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal: At Concord with the Emersons." *Harvard Library Bulletin* 21 no. 3, (July 1973), 324.
[12] Myerson, "Margaret Fuller's 1842 Journal," 324.
[13] Lawrence Buell, *Literary Transcendentalism: Style and Vision in the American Renaissance* (Ithaca: Cornell UP, 1973), 199. In his chapter on "Thoreau and the Literary Excursion," Buell states the Thoreau's romantic excursion, even in *Walden*, is "as much as record of events and impressions as it is a poem" where "there are all sorts of meandering and digressions" in which "their charm lies more in their heterogeneity and unpredictableness than in their contribution to an overarching whole," 199-200. This description readily applies to Fuller as well.
[14] Annette Kolodny, *The Land Before Her: Fantasy and Experience of the American Frontiers, 1630-1860* (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1984), 4-6, 114-115, 122-125.
[15] Jeffrey Steele, *Transfiguring America: Myth, Ideology, and Mourning in Margaret Fuller's Writing* (Columbia: U of Missouri P, 2001), 135-138, quotation taken from page 138.
[16] Jeffrey Bilbro, "Learning to Woo Meaning from Apparent Chaos: The Wild Form of *Summer on the Lakes*," in *Writing the Environment in Nineteenth-Century American Literature: The Ecological Awareness of Early Scribes of Nature*, eds. Steven Petersheim and Madison P. Jones IV, (New York: Lexington Books, 2015), 58.
[17] Bilbro, "Learning to Woo," 64. See pages 61-70 for full account of Bilbro's thesis I have summarized here.
[18] Matteson, "Overcoming Fragmentation," 65-70, quotation taken from page 70.
[19] Steele, *Transfiguring America*, 147. Though Steele does acknowledge Fuller's problematic imbibing of contemporary racism, 164.
[20] Seung Hee Lee, "Civilizing Mob into Men: Race, Temporality, and the West in Margaret Fuller's *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843*," *South Central Review* 36, no. 3 (2019), 87.
[21] James Freeman Clarke and Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, Vol. 1* (Boston: Phillips, Sampson and Company, 1852), 219.
[22] Clarke and Emerson, *Memoirs*, 219.
[23] Kevin Dann, *Expect Great Things: The Life and Search of Henry David Thoreau* (New York: TarcherPerigee, 2017), 65.
[24] Dann, *Expect Great Things*, 7-8, 94.
[25] Ibid, 22, 90-94.
[26] Margaret Fuller, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Larry J. Reynolds (New York: Norton, 1998), 68.
[27] Fuller, *Woman*, 60-61.

[28] Ibid, 22.
[29] Ibid, 168-169.
[30] Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Nature*, *Essays and Lectures*, ed. Joel Porte (New York: Library of America, 1983), 10.
[31] Emerson, *Nature*, 10.
[32] Ibid, 11.
[33] Fuller, *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, 68.
[34] Fuller, "Leila," 168.
[35] Ibid, 170.
[36] Ibid, 171.
[37] Genesis 3:17-18. "Cursed is the ground because of you; in toil you shall eat of it all the days of your life; thorns and thistles it shall bring forth for you."
[38] John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ed. Gordon Teskey (New York: Norton, 2005), 210.
[39] Jeffrey Bilbro notes that Milton was one of the most widely read authors in nineteenth-century America. Emerson noted this as well as Fuller herself who professes that Milton is a true-hearted American. Bilbro, "Learning to Woo," 63-64.
[40] Fuller, "Leila," 172.
[41] Emerson, *Nature*, 26.
[42] For a summary of Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection* and Transcendentalist reception, see John Beer's introduction to the Bollingen Series edition, pages cxxii-cxxviii. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Aids to Reflection*, ed. John Beer (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1993).
[43] Emerson, *Nature*, 28.
[44] Margaret Fuller, *The Letters of Margaret Fuller, Vol. II,* 204.
[45] Fuller, *The Letters of Margaret Fuller, Vol. II,* 167-168.
[46] Jeffrey Steele, "Pilgrimage and Epiphany: The Psychological and Political Dynamics of Margaret Fuller's Mythmaking," *The Call of Classical Literature in the Romantic Age*, eds. K.P. Van Anglen and James Engell (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP, 2017), 207. Steele also notes how the carbuncle was prominent in German Romanticism, which greatly influenced Fuller and the rest of the Transcendentalists. He also interprets the carbuncle, especially in "Leila," as emblematic of Fuller's unrequited sexual love of her friend Anna Barker, the pain from which "allowed Fuller to treasure and simultaneously transform passion into permanent insight, as she sublimated her relationship with Anna Barker into an imagined relationship with a divine being," 209.
[47] Fuller, *Letters*, 168.
[48] Fuller, *Letters*, 168.
[49] Megan Marshall, *Margaret Fuller: A New American Life* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2013), 93.
[50] Hawthorne, "The Great Carbuncle," 446.
[51] Ibid, 448.
[52] Ibid, 448.
[53] Ibid, 449.
[54] Ibid, 443.
[55] Ibid, 445.
[56] Ibid, 447.
[57] Ibid, 449.
[58] Margaret Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes, in 1843* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 1991), 1.
[59] Richard Gassan, "The First American Tourist Guidebooks: Authorship and the Print Culture of the 1820s," *Book History* 8 (2005): 58-59.
[60] Gassan, "The First American Tourist Guidebooks," 54-55, 59-61.
[61] Ibid, 61-62.
[62] Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes*, 4.
[63] Ibid, 5.
[64] Kolodny, *The Land Before Her*, 3.
[65] Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes*, 5.
[66] Ibid, 72. In this scene, Fuller is referring to white settlers' contemptuous treatment of the Native Americans in Wisconsin, but the psychospiritual behavior equally applies to the traveler who has inherited the paradigm of degrading the landscape.

[67] Fuller, *The Letters of Margaret Fuller, Vol. II,* 69.
[68] Ibid, 10.
[69] Ibid, 10-11.
[70] Ibid, 12.
[71] Ibid, 18.
[72] Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes*, 22.
[73] Rouse, "Margaret Fuller: A Rhetoric of Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century America," 116.
[74] Fuller, *Summer on the Lakes*, 127.
[75] Ibid, 29.
[76] Ibid, 29.
[77] Ibid, 29.
[78] See Daniel A. Wells "Thoreau's Reputation in the Major Magazines: 1862-1900," *American Periodicals* 4 (1994): 12-23.
[79] Emily Ogden, *Credulity: A Cultural History of US Mesmerism* (Chicago: U of Chicago P, 2018), 24.
[80] Marshall, *Margaret Fuller: A New American Life,* 248.
[81] Albert J. Von Frank and Phyllis Cole, "Margaret Fuller: How She Haunts," *ESQ: A Journal of Nineteenth-Century American Literature and Culture* 64, no. 1 (2018), 70, 103.

Chapter Four

[1] Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Self-Reliance," *Essays and Lectures*, ed. Joel Porte (New York: Library of America, 1983), 279.
[2] Alex McCrossen, "The 'Very Delicate Construction' of Pocket Watches and Time Consciousness in the Nineteenth-Century United States," *Winterthur Portfolio* 44, no. 1 (2010), 6, 8-9. McCrossen notes that before the Civil War, the ownership of watches was not ubiquitous, and ownership was not restricted just to the upper classes. In the 1840s, the market for watches increased due to technological innovations and market competition between England and Switzerland. Not until the late nineteenth century did American artisans challenge European market share. The various uses of pocket watches remained in flux throughout most of the nineteenth century until about 1885, which "ought to be pinpointed as the watershed moment during which the perceived necessity and desirability of personal ownership of time became widespread," 27. For my purpose, I take the pocket watch's symbolic value to be more important to Emerson than its instrumental utility.
[3] McCrossen, "The 'Very Delicate Construction,'" 8-10.
[4] Ibid, 21-23. McCrossen observes that in the nineteenth-century social imagination and literary fiction, silver watches connoted "frugality, punctuality, thrift, and sobriety . . . stability, reliability, and trustworthiness," whereas a gold watch communicated a lack of financial prudence, ostentatiousness, pretension, and effeminate dandyism, 21-22. As an illustration, McCrossen also notes that during an 1840s campaign, Abraham Lincoln indicted his opponent for having a gold watch, 22.
[5] Blake Bronson-Bartlett, "Writing with Pencils in the Antebellum United States: Language, Instrument, Gesture," *American Literature* 92, no. 2 (2020), 199-200.
[6] McCrossen, "The 'Very Delicate Construction,'" 21. McCrossen shows how the decorative, often inscribed casings of pocket watches also connected the past with the present by mediating events of alternate temporalities, such as inheritances, anniversaries, retirements, and marriages. Indeed, "the watch in the nineteenth century could be, was, a talisman" tethering generations and relations to each other. Bronson-Bartlett's essay "Writing with Pencils" asserts that with the use of the pencil came a forging of new temporalties through which writers like Fuller and Whitman and John Washington created "a new literary idiom to convey what seemed incommunicable by other means," not least of which was the pencil's ability to constitute "time differently and disrupt the conventional linear temporalities of the diary and the 'I,'" 201, 221.
[7] D.H. Lawrence, *Studies in Classic American Literature* (1923; reis., New York: Penguin, 1977), 141.
[8] D.H. Lawrence, *Studies*, 143.
[9] Ryan, "Ishmael's Recovery," 20, 28-29.
[10] Ryan, "Ishmael's Recovery," 23.

[11] Rodrigo Lazo, "The Ends of Enchantment: Douglass, Melville, and U.S. Expansionism in the Americas," *Frederick Douglass & Herman Melville: Essays in Relation*, eds. Robert S. Levine and Samuel Otter (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2008), 209.
[12] Lazo, "The Ends of Enchantment," 225.
[13] Lazo, "The Ends of Enchantment," 225.
[14] Nicholas Spengler, "The Poetics of Allegory and Enchantment in Melville's Americas," *Leviathan* 23, no.3 (2021), 55.
[15] Spengler, "The Poetics of Allegory," 56.
[16] Ibid, 58-59.
[17] Ibid, 60.
[18] Thomas Koenigs, *Founded in Fiction*, 243.
[19] Wai Chee Dimock, *Empire for Liberty: Melville and the Poetics of Individualism* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1989), 42-43.
[20] Elizabeth Renker, "Melville's Spell in *Typee*," *Arizona Quarterly: A Journal of American Literature, Culture, and Theory* 51, no. 2 (1995), 1.
[21] Mose Velsor (Walt Whitman), "Manly Health and Training, With Off-Hand Hints Toward Their Conditions," ed. Zachary Turpin, *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 33 (2016), 297-298.
[22] Mose Velsor, "Manly Health," 184.
[23] Travis M. Foster, "The Effeminate Man in Nineteenth-Century America," *Gender in American Literature and Culture*, eds. Jean M. Lutes and Jennifer Travis (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2021), 51.
[24] Samuel Otter, *Melville's Anatomies* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1999), 34.
[25] Foster, "The Effeminate Man," 58. In this part of his analysis, Foster is drawing off Kyla Schuller's extended treatment of race and sex in the nineteenth century. See Kyla Schuller *The Biopolitics of Feeling: Race, Sex, and Science in the Nineteenth Century* (Durham: Duke UP, 2018), 16. Foster's essay analyzes the figure of the effeminate man in the nineteenth century in order to situate him within queer literary history. He distinguishes the effeminate man from the dandy who consciously flouts binary gender norms. For Foster, the effeminate man, as he is depicted, upholds sociocultural gender prescriptions by trying and failing to meet those expectations. Through historicizing the effeminate man and a sharp analysis of "The Legend of Sleepy Hollow," Foster links together a host of biases rooted in C19 print discourses grounded in anti-femininity. For my purpose, I don't necessarily use Foster's distinction between the effeminate and the dandy, as I am primarily concerned with the effeminate man as a general register for white anxiety of physical wellness.
[26] James Emmett Ryan, "Ishmael's Recovery: Injury, Illness, and Convalescence in *Moby-Dick*," *Leviathan* 8, no. 1 (2006), 19.
[27] Stephanie P. Browner, *Profound Science and Elegant Literature: Imagining Doctors in Nineteenth-Century America* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 2005), 2.
[28] Browner, *Profound Science*, 31. Browner draws from twenty-century medical histories by Michel Foucault, Georges Canghuilhem, Barbara Duden and Charles Rosenberg for this paradigmatic shift.
[29] Herman Melville, *Typee: A Peep at Polynesian Life*, eds. Harrison Hayford, Hershel Parker, and G. Thomas Tanselle (1968 Northwestern-Newberry; reis., Evanston: Northwestern UP, 2003), 48.
[30] Melville, *Typee*, 49.
[31] Ibid, 53.
[32] Ibid, 80.
[33] Ibid, 80.
[34] Browner notes that the mid-nineteenth century saw a fierce battle between homeopathic "irregular" folk practitioners and the "regular" professionally trained allopath physicians. The initial treatment of Tommo's wound registers this contextual debate. See Browner, *Profound Science*, 15.
[35] Melville, *Typee,* 80.
[36] Ibid, 80.
[37] Ibid, 80.
[38] Ibid, 98.
[39] Ibid, 97.
[40] Ibid, 106.
[41] Ibid, 118.

[42] Ibid, 123.
[43] Lawrence, *Studies*, 143.
[44] Thomas P. Joswick, "*Typee*: The Quest for Origin," *Criticism* 17, no. 4 (1975), 339-340.
[45] Christopher Sten, '"Facts Picked Up in the Pacific': Fragmentation, Deformation, and the (Cultural) Uses of Enchantment in 'The Encantadas'" *"Whole Oceans Away": Melville and the Pacific*, eds. Jill Barnum, Wyn Kelley, and Christopher Sten (Kent: Kent State UP, 2007), 215. Here, Sten is summarizing Deborah Harter's work on the poetics of fragmentation in fantastic fiction. See Deborah Harter *Bodies in Pieces: Fantastic Narrative and the Poetics of the Fragment* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1996), 12-14. Sten focuses his analysis of enchantment via Harter on "The Encantadas" but, as he states at the beginning of his essay, "Islands, particularly constellated islands, are necessarily fragments, pieces of a larger whole" and his application of enchantment as the narratological comparison of detailed fragments in order to enlarge the vision of the whole readily applies to the Marquesas Islands as well, even if *Typee* is generically different than "The Encantadas," 214.
[46] Sten, '"Facts Picked Up in the Pacific,'" 217.
[47] Melville, *Typee*, 124.
[48] Ibid, 124-125.
[49] Ibid, 180.
[50] Ibid, 135.
[51] Ibid, 180-181.
[52] Sharon O'Brien, "Country of the Ill," review of *Illness and Culture in the Postmodern Age*, by David B. Morris, *American Quarterly* 52, no. 4 (2000), 773. In her review, O'Brien suggests (rightly, I think) this is the reason that the US is the only industrialized country without universal healthcare.
[53] Melville, *Typee*, 218.
[54] Ibid, 218.
[55] Samuel Otter, *Melville's Anatomies* (Berkeley: U of California P, 1999), 34-45. Quotation taken from page 45.
[56] Melville, *Typee*, 219.
[57] Otter, *Melville's Anatomies*, 47.
[58] Melville, *Typee,* 231-232.

Conclusion

[1] Wendell Berry, "A Vision," *The Selected Poems of Wendell Berry* (Berkeley: Counterpoint, 1998), 102.