

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and the Transatlantic Materials of American Literature

Abstract

This article uses Longfellow's experience in the transatlantic literary market to analyze how British publishers constructed antebellum American literature as a cultural commodity, and an aesthetically valuable tradition through their material texts. Longfellow's correspondence with publishers John Walker, George Routledge and David Bogue, and Bogue's illustrated editions of *Evangeline* and *Hyperion* reveal that British reprints manifested overlapping discourses of authorization and value. Publishers used the materiality of their texts to legitimize their reprinting, but also to champion Longfellow's poetry, American letters more widely, and Longfellow's vision of a cosmopolitan American literature. The essay then traces this dialogue between British books and the emergence of American literature in Longfellow's *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, in which transatlantic circulations and British books are integral to the founding of America and American writing. Ultimately, this essay repositions British reprints as complex acts of reception that intervened in debates over the nature of American literature, and argues for a re-centering of American literary history around material transatlantic exchange.

Immensely popular in America and Britain, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was an exceptional figure in the antebellum transatlantic literary marketplace, and the best-selling poet of any nationality in Victorian Britain (St Clair 2004, 391). The London *National Review* reported that Longfellow appeared "every where and in every form, - in complete editions on the counters of the regular booksellers, in stacks of little shilling volumes on railway bookstalls, and in gorgeously-bound and profusely-illustrated volumes on drawing-

room tables” (1859, 198). Although British publishers battled for his business from the late 1840s onwards, Longfellow initially struggled to secure authorized British editions, and saw the same publishers issue authorized and unauthorized editions of his works. As such, Longfellow is more representative of American authors’ experiences in the transatlantic market than Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper’s sustained relations with John Murray and Richard Bentley.¹ This essay argues that as well as illuminating the complexities of Anglo-American publishing, Longfellow’s transatlantic materials – his correspondence with British publishers, the editions they produced, and transatlantic circulations within his own poetry – reveal how publication in Britain shaped American literature into a cultural commodity, and a distinct and aesthetically valuable literary tradition.

Through Longfellow, I suggest that British editions of American texts provide a route into the development of American literary culture that, as yet, remains almost entirely unmapped. Exploring Longfellow’s relations with British publishers John Walker, David Bogue, and George Routledge in the late 1840s and 1850s alongside their editions of his works, I argue that British publishers’ attempts to produce authorized editions of Longfellow resulted in reprints that also testified to the cultural value of Longfellow’s writing, and of American literature more widely. Lacking legal instruments, financial transactions, or, indeed, authorial permission, Walker, Bogue and Routledge all looked to the materiality of their reprints to legitimize their editions of Longfellow, and to eventually negotiate positions as Longfellow’s authorized publishers. At the same time, the materiality of those unauthorized reprints legitimized Longfellow’s writing on both sides of the Atlantic by testifying to the commercial and aesthetic value of American literature, and reinforcing Longfellow’s bid to be seen as a professional man of letters. Longfellow evaluated the benefits of these “embedded economies,” as Leon Jackson has termed them, as well as financial rewards, when making arrangements with publishers (2008, 2-6). Moreover,

Bogue's editions of *Evangeline* (first published 1847, this edition 1850) and *Hyperion* (first published 1839, this edition 1853) also entered into contemporary debates over the aesthetics of American literature. Until Bogue's death in 1856, his editions simultaneously established their own authority, increased Longfellow's prestige on both sides of the Atlantic, and, most importantly, championed Longfellow's cosmopolitan vision for American letters.

Transatlantic materials were thus integral to establishing American literature as an object of cultural value, and defining what American literature would look like. I conclude by illustrating how Longfellow himself addressed the role of British print culture in the American tradition in *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (1858). In that poem, an American form of expression emerges through British books, and British books are central to defining – sometimes violently – the boundaries of American national culture.

Longfellow's example, therefore, suggests a need to rethink our understanding of the transatlantic currents within US literature. In three decades of extensive and fruitful scholarship in transatlantic literary studies, scholars have largely restricted their investigations to what Paul Giles called “the transatlantic imaginary” (2002, 1). In this model, British and American literatures develop through entanglements with and resistance to one another that reveal themselves in patterns of influence, a shared lexicon of imagery and genre, and a twinning and burlesquing of figures, tropes and structures.² Such approaches frequently rely upon the material circulations of books and texts that underpinned these imaginative exchanges. Yet those material circulations have themselves received little attention. Aside from Clarence Gohdes classic study *American Literature in Nineteenth-Century England* – now over 70 years old – it is only recently that Joseph Rezek has explored how “an uneven process of struggle and triumph” in the transatlantic market positioned American writers as producers of national culture, and Jessica DeSpain has considered how

transatlantic reprinting disrupted the national identity of American texts by repackaging them for British audiences (2015, 3; 2014).

I suggest that, more than simply circulation in Britain, the material forms in which American writing appeared in Britain gave symbolic capital to American letters, and to particular conceptions of the American tradition. Meredith McGill has recently argued for increased scholarship of reprints, observing that “it is not the act of circulation but multiple acts of reiteration that enable literature to hold its value” (2016, 3). Attention to British reprints reveals that they could create and sustain overlapping economic, cultural, and aesthetic values for American literature, a process that took on particular importance amongst calls for a national culture in the antebellum period. Dialogues between British publishing and American writing, which are ultimately recirculated within Longfellow’s poetry, invite us to reconsider not just the role that Britain played in America’s cultural development, but the relationship between text and book. Integrating attention to publishing archives, material texts, and literary language, this essay attempts to build a layered book history that reveals how the circulation of American texts beyond national borders impacted upon the way the American tradition was imagined by writers and readers. As complex acts of reception, Longfellow’s transatlantic materials constructed the terms under which the literature of a new nation might be valued, both in that nation and in the world.

Authorizing Circulations: John Walker and George Routledge

Transatlantic publication in the mid-nineteenth century was a complex business. Until the Chace Act of 1891, foreign authors could not hold US copyrights, meaning that US publishers could reprint British texts without the author’s permission. Nevertheless, as Michael Winship and Robert Spoo have detailed, a group of established publishers created an elaborate, extra-legal system of trade courtesy, regulating reprinting by agreeing not to

publish each others' foreign properties (1995, 138–9; 2013, 13–66). Unlike in the United States, until 1854, it was possible for a foreign author to hold a British copyright, provided that their work was first published in Britain. Because US copyright required citizenship rather than first publication, an American writer could protect his or her works on both sides of the Atlantic. Perhaps more importantly, Melissa Homestead argues, from the 1820s to the early 1840s, prior publication in Britain created a *de facto* copyright that reputable publishers would respect (2015, 199). Publishing a book from advanced sheets, therefore, marked a book as an authorized edition.

Alongside these authorized editions, two types of unauthorized American reprints circulated in Britain. First, reprints of texts that had been first published in America, and to which no British publisher could claim exclusive rights. Second, reprints of American texts that had been printed first in Britain, and that less scrupulous British publishers risked reprinting. The second type of reprint was less common until the late 1840s, when the extra-legal systems of the trade came under strain.³ Fighting back, John Murray III and Richard Bentley sued Henry Bohn and George Routledge for reprinting works by Washington Irving and Herman Melville for which Murray and Bentley claimed to hold copyrights. Initially, proceedings settled out of court in Murray and Bentley's favor, in anticipation of the courts protecting foreign authors' rights in *Boosey v. Jeffreys* (1851). But the House of Lords reversed the lower court's decision, and ruled that an author had to be resident in British territory at the time of publication to hold a British copyright in *Jeffreys v. Boosey* (1854).⁴ Advanced sheets and prior publication would still give British publishers an economic advantage over competitors, but it could not stop those competitors from issuing their own editions of American texts.

However, authorized and unauthorized transatlantic economies of print were not as separate as the oft-cited dispute between Bohn and Routledge, and Bentley and Murray

makes it appear; it was not always a case of reputable firms against unscrupulous almost-pirates, and the bound and blind-stamped authorized edition versus the cheaply printed reprint. Edward Moxon, for example, issued an unauthorized reprint of Richard Henry Dana Jr's *Two Years Before the Mast* in February 1841, for which he later sent Dana \$500 – twice what Harpers paid for the American copyright.⁵ Moxon then obtained advanced sheets for Dana's *The Seaman's Friend* which he issued as *The Seaman's Manual* (1841). In the 1850s, American women writers like Harriet Beecher Stowe and Maria Cummins made arrangements with British firms following the success of unauthorized reprints of their earlier books – sometimes with the very firms that issued those reprints.

Longfellow's transatlantic publishing history also involved the same British publishers issuing his works in authorized and unauthorized editions. Having arranged for Richard Bentley to publish his first book, the travel narrative *Outre-Mer* (1835), it was nearly fifteen years before Longfellow could again authorize transatlantic publication: English publishers seemed reluctant to deal with him, and his American publishers were uninterested in pursuing transatlantic copyright. Only in 1849 was Longfellow able to send advanced sheets of *Kavanagh* to the Liverpool publisher John Walker, the first of a series of British publishers who produced authorized editions of all his subsequent publications, except for *Three Books of Song* (1872). Gohdes provides a detailed account of the financial side of these relations, to which I am indebted. He concludes that, despite receiving substantial sums from British firms, Longfellow was much the loser: “only a desire for extra profits led a few British firms to make agreements with Longfellow and all of them appear to have cheated him. From the point of view of his popularity abroad, there can be little doubt that the pirates were quite as important as these ‘authorized’ publishers” (1940, 1178). However, while Gohdes focuses on Longfellow's financial loss, the correspondence and embedded economies

surrounding Longfellow's British editions reveal how unauthorized editions contributed to Longfellow's popularity, and also to his legitimation as a writer.

Longfellow's response to an unauthorized British reprint helps us to unpack these embedded economies and discourses of authorization. In February 1844, he wrote the British scholar of Anglo-Saxon, Joseph Bosworth, asking:

Have you seen the shilling edition of the "Voices of the Night," published by Clarke & Co - old Bailey? It is very pretty, though I am sorry to see, rather carelessly printed. I am glad to see it in this form being an advocate for cheap editions, which, like light and well trimmed vessels, run far inland up the scarcely navigable streams, where heavier ships of the line cannot follow them (1972a, 3:27).

Longfellow had not authorized this edition, and received no money from it. But he does not mention the financial loss, and instead expresses pleasure at Clarke's edition; he would later greet a British reprint of *Kavanagh* as "rather piratical, but nevertheless quite flattering" (1972a, 3:212). Transforming the pirate publication into a "well-trimmed vessel," Longfellow suggests that unauthorized reprints could give a writer symbolic capital by introducing his works to new publics, and thus authoring and authorizing literary fame. Moreover, Longfellow locates this authorizing ability in the volume's material text. Clarke's edition can increase Longfellow's renown because it is cheap and pretty. Longfellow knew that material texts could manifest authority in multiple ways; indeed, in America, he issued his works at a variety of price points to take advantage of the authorizing power of both prestigious forms, and mass market circulation (Charvat 1968, 159-63). Rather than simply classifying Clarke's reprint as authorized or unauthorized, Longfellow's comments show how British reprints drew together distinct but interconnected forms of authorization.

British publishers' attempts to authorize their own circulation of American reprints were also part of these interconnected discourses. Publishers used the material texts of their reprints of Longfellow to claim authorization outside of legal or financial transactions, and to position themselves as Longfellow's authorized publisher. John Walker was the first to

succeed in this endeavor. Following the popularity of *Evangeline* (1848), unauthorized British editions of Longfellow's works began to proliferate. Walker was one of several publishers to reprint *Hyperion*, and he also published an anthology of Longfellow's poetry as *The Poetical Works of Professor Longfellow* in November 1848. Walker distinguished his editions through their superior material texts, giving purchasers something more for their money but also attesting to the worth of Longfellow's writing. Walker advertised *Hyperion* as a "new and beautiful reprint," and his *Poetical Works* included a new essay on Longfellow by Rev. George Gilfillan, author of the popular *Gallery of Literary Portraits* (1846) (Advertisement for *Hyperion*, 1848, 377).

Walker privately circulated his editions to Longfellow, sending them to the poet sometime in late 1848 or early 1849.⁶ Jackson notes that in nineteenth-century publishing "gift-giving was not distinct from business . . . it was a way of *doing* business" (2008, 95–96). In this particular gift, Walker aped the business practices of authorized publishers who would arrange for a number of "author's copies" to be sent to the author, and often to some nominated friends. Walker thus acted like an authorized publisher in the hope that Longfellow might consider him as such in future. In mirroring authorized practices, Walker also implicitly suggested that his editions were as good as authorized; he privately circulated his editions to Longfellow to sanction his public circulation of Longfellow's texts in Britain – if only between Longfellow and himself. As a strategy for securing Longfellow's future business, Walker's actions were not without risk. Longfellow might have been offended, and sought a rival firm who had not tried to pirate his works. Gifting the books displayed Walker's gentlemanly conduct; indeed, Walker continued to send Longfellow presents throughout their business relations, including a game pie, a plum pudding and some whiskey at Christmas 1850. Yet these faux-author's copies also evoked business arrangements that were absent in this unauthorized publication.

Walker's tactics worked. Longfellow replied, "I have had the pleasure of receiving the copies of your edition – your very handsome edition – of *Hyperion* and the Poems, which you were so kind as to send" (1972a, 3:195). Longfellow frequently used "handsome" to refer to the material form of books: in 1867, he described a London edition of his translation of Dante as "not a handsome one, but of the cheap kind" (1982, 5:127). Walker's *Hyperion* was not fine printing, but it had wide margins, large print and began each chapter on a new page, stretching the novel to two volumes and stopping the book from appearing "cheap". Longfellow's comment was more than an empty platitude, and the edition's materiality helped to secure Walker Longfellow's advanced sheets. Walker's books arrived as *Kavanagh* was being put through the press in America by Ticknor, Reed and Fields, and Longfellow offered the sheets to Walker, noting particularly that he would like Walker to "reprint" the book (1972a, 3:195). In response, Walker also emphasized the quality of his books: "although my editions have been the best & have sold well, yet owing to there being so many editions at a lesser price than mine, I have been obliged to print at a price that can yield nothing more than a mere trades profit" (MS Am 1340.2, folder 5789). Walker blames his competitors' unauthorized reprinting for his failure to pay Longfellow, implicitly legitimizing his own publication. Furthermore, the quality of his editions differentiates them from his illegitimate competitors. Rather than advanced sheets, materiality and circulation define the authorized edition.

British publishers did not widely adopt Walker's tactic of sending unauthorized reprints to court American authors in the 1840s and 1850s.⁷ However, other publishers tried the same tactic with Longfellow. In September 1851, having heard that Longfellow was preparing *The Golden Legend*, George Routledge & Co wrote to him, offering twenty pounds for advanced sheets. But rather than sending a quality volume like Walker, Routledge sent to William Ticknor, Longfellow's American publisher, a

small edition [...] issued at a very low price, but at the same time in a manner that we hope you will approve of, it may be also satisfactory for you to learn that this edition has been the means of enabling many to read your works, who could not have procured dearer editions, and caused your name to be as popular, and take as high a rank in England, as any of the greatest & best works of our own countrymen (MS Am 1340.2, folder 4813).

As Walker sought legitimacy via privately circulating his “handsome” editions to Longfellow, Routledge sanctioned his cheap reprint by suggesting that its wide circulation had transformed Longfellow into a literary giant. Routledge’s letter slips from large sales to literary value, claiming that cheap editions and large audiences, rather than Longfellow’s literary merits, make his writings equal to “the greatest and best works of our countrymen.” Both publishers, then, legitimized their own reprints by suggesting how their editions would increase Longfellow’s cultural capital.

Routledge, like Walker, viewed self-authorizing editions as a step towards exchanges of advanced sheets for cash. Losing out on advanced sheets for *The Golden Legend* (for reasons I will explain shortly) did not stop Routledge using the materiality of his texts to court Longfellow’s business. Routledge kept Longfellow informed about an edition of his complete poems that he published in January 1856, which included a portrait of Longfellow that Routledge had commissioned, and illustrations by leading Victorian artist John Gilbert, showing that Routledge could legitimize Longfellow with prestigious formats as well as wide circulation. Each update was accompanied by a request for new material from Longfellow that Routledge thought he could use to prevent competitors reprinting: an offer of £20 for sheets of a projected volume of essays in October 1854, a request for a preface in March 1855, and another for early sheets of new poems that Routledge had seen advertised in August 1855. The material text of the 1856 *Poems* became entangled with (unsuccessful) attempts to publish authorized editions.

Whether or not Routledge's *Poems* was an authorized publication is not a straightforward question. On the one hand, it contained no new material printed first in Britain, and nowhere in the surviving correspondence does Routledge offer Longfellow payment. On the other hand, the publisher and the author collaborated in its production, with Routledge acquiescing to Longfellow's suggestions about the arrangement of the poems: "we wish to do exactly as you think proper & correct on this subject ... & if afterwards you think it advisable to alter the arrangement from what it now is in your Ill'd Edition – please to let us have a complete list" (MS Am 1340.2, folder 4813). But in particular, Routledge saw the edition as securing future authorized arrangements with Longfellow. He implied that the illustrated *Poems* was an advance, of sorts, in a disgruntled letter of 28 December, 1855, in which he sent two morocco-bound (and thus expensive and prestigious) copies of the illustrated *Poems* to Longfellow, adding that:

The illustrations alone cost upwards of 1000 guineas - and the portrait is done by one of our best engravers and at considerable expense.

I shall take the liberty of stating that it was a great disappointment to us that we did not get *Hiawatha*, we should have given quite as much as Mr Bogue - and I flatter myself that we have done more to make your works known than all the publishers in the world put together (MS Am 1340.2, folder 4813).

Merry Christmas, indeed. Although Routledge noted that he would have "given as much as Mr Bogue" for the sheets of *Hiawatha*, the mention of the "1000 guineas" for the illustrations suggests that Routledge believed that he had already made part payment for them. The economic capital invested in the illustrated *Poems* that validated Longfellow's worth as a cultural producer, should also have secured Routledge's position as the authorized publisher of *Hiawatha*, and the prestige that such a position would bring.

Routledge and Walker's letters demonstrate that, rather than distinguishing between authorized and unauthorized British editions, it is more pertinent to ask how different forms of authority are tied up in any transatlantic edition of an American text. Both publishers argue that the true authority of any English edition comes from its ability to materially manifest the literary value of the American writer, be that through quality printing, or wide circulation. Longfellow's continued dealings with Walker and Routledge suggests that he, too, believed that the forms in which his work circulated in England were an important part of his authorization as a cultural producer. However, Longfellow's relations with David Bogue – the publisher who won the advanced sheets of *The Golden Legend* – show that British reprints also entered into debates surrounding the nature of a national American tradition. Alongside their self-authorization and their presentation of Longfellow's work as a valuable commodity, Bogue's beautiful illustrated editions visualized the literary value of Longfellow's writing, and championed his concept of a cosmopolitan American literature. Through their illustrations, Bogue's volumes articulated particular visions of American literature's national aesthetic at the same time as lending cultural capital to American writing.

Illustrating an American Tradition: David Bogue's *Evangeline* (1850) and *Hyperion* (1853)

On 11 November, 1849, Longfellow invited the German-American jurist Francis Lieber to “rejoice with me that an illustrated edition of *Evangeline* is in press in England” (1972a, 3:225). That edition was published in late December 1849 (though the title page is dated 1850) by David Bogue, who, initially in partnership with Charles Tilt, specialized in lavish illustrated editions aimed at the Christmas trade. Defying stereotypes of unauthorized reprints, Bogue's *Evangeline* was no cheap paperback. Advertised at the middle-class price of 10s 6d, it was a lovely object, sporting generous margins and a decorated cover, and

festooned with illustrations by leading Victorian artists Myles Birket Foster, Jane Benham, and John Gilbert. Walker wrote on 9 February, 1850 that he had “sent” a copy to Longfellow, adding that it was “a beautiful work & is greatly admired here. I have no property in it” (MS Am 1340.2, folder 5789). While Walker may have been remarking on the beauty of Longfellow’s poem, which was favorably received in Britain, the reference to “property” makes it far more likely that he referred to Bogue’s edition, which was praised in reviews.

Longfellow cared deeply about the illustration of his works, and had struggled to publish satisfactory illustrated editions in America. He criticized Carey & Hart for proposing to use illustrations from their Christmas book *The Gift* in their luxury edition of *Poems* (1845), arguing that pictures that had “no connection with the subjects in the book - would be to me a deformity and not a beauty” (1972a, 3:57). There had been no illustrated edition of *Evangeline* published in America by 1850, making Bogue’s *Evangeline* the most extensive testament yet to the aesthetic merits and popularity of Longfellow’s poetry. Longfellow wrote in his journal on 28 January, 1850 that Bogue’s edition was “very beautiful – the landscapes in particular,” although he was less fond of the depiction of his heroine (S. Longfellow 1886, 2:158).⁸ He chastised his sister, Anne, for failing to admire her copy: “You say nothing of [the] nice English copy of ‘Evangeline’ I sent you by Chs. S. Daveis some weeks ago; - the handsomest, that has yet been published, with many illustrations” (1972a, 3:253). The illustrated *Evangeline* also prompted Longfellow to write to Bogue on 3 February, 1850, evidently asking for originals of the illustrations and enquiring about the possibility of an American edition.⁹ Bogue responded on 22 February that he had written to Ticknor with a “liberal offer:” “This I hope and expect will tempt them to publish the work in America and greatly extend the [?amt] of readers and admirers of your beautiful poem” (MS Am 1340.2, folder 596). As well as mirroring Routledge in promising Longfellow more British readers,

Bogue proposed that his superior volume would confirm Longfellow as a leading author in America, too.

The material text of Bogue's *Evangeline* helped him to succeed Walker as Longfellow's authorized publisher. Gohdes suggests that when Longfellow came to publish *The Golden Legend* in November 1851, he had tired of Walker's failure to send payment for *The Seaside and The Fireside* (1940, 1168–70). Bogue offered Longfellow £100 for the copyright of *The Golden Legend*, before Routledge made an offer of first £20, then £40. Bogue won the authorized edition because he offered more money and secured his deal quickly, but also because he published reasonably priced and prestigious editions, whereas Routledge had thus far only issued cheap editions. After Bogue issued *The Golden Legend* in cloth for 5s in November 1851, he published *Voices of the Night, The Seaside and the Fireside and Other Poems*, with illustrations, for 15s in cloth or a 1 guinea in morocco, as well as 6s reprints of Longfellow's prose and poetry, sending these to Longfellow (MS Am 1340.2, folder 596). Therefore, after Bogue became Longfellow's authorized publisher, he continued to publish unauthorized editions of Longfellow's works in both expensive and cheap formats: the same strategy that Longfellow used within the United States.

More immediately, Bogue's illustrated *Evangeline* authorized its own reprinting. Longfellow appears to have earned nothing from British sales of the illustrated *Evangeline*, Bogue's illustrated *Poems*, his collected *Poems and Prose* (1851), or his illustrated *Hyperion* (1853).¹⁰ Although, legally, it occupied the same position as Clarke's shilling edition of *Voices of the Night*, the expense and beauty of Bogue's *Evangeline* meant that it never appeared as a piracy, even to Longfellow. The exchange of printed texts, illustrations and photographic images between Bogue and Longfellow that accompanied their correspondence show Longfellow participating in the unauthorized reprinting of his works in forms that he admired and that would increase his reputation. Moreover, more completely than either

Walker or Routledge, the materiality of Bogue's edition transformed it from unauthorized reprint to authorized edition – albeit authorized in America, not Britain. Ticknor, Reed and Fields paid cost price plus ten per cent commission for 250 copies of Bogue's edition with title pages bearing their own imprint and an American copyright statement on the reverse (Tryon and Charvat 1949, 167). Whereas Longfellow had previously looked to Philadelphia to supply the expensive, illustrated editions that testified to the value and popularity of his works, such testimony, after 1850, came from England.

Newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic agreed that Bogue's *Evangeline* confirmed Longfellow as America's preeminent poet. London reviews suggested that the book would enhance Longfellow's reputation, with *John Bull* observing that Bogue's edition would "make him better known" than the "modest guise" in which the poem first appeared ("Literature" 1850, 139). The *Literary Gazette* added, "how grateful it must be to the honourable pride of Professor Longfellow to find his poetry so admired and appreciated in a distant country, as to induce its reproduction with all the appliances that art and taste can afford" ("Summary" 1850, 30). These notices evidence Britain's sense of cultural superiority, but they also celebrate poetry of genuine literary value finding a worthy form. Nor were the British alone in seeing a lavish transatlantic edition as a hallmark for American authors. McGill notes that Britain "retained the power to confer status and prestige on American writers" amongst Americans themselves (2008, 5). Advertising the illustrated *Evangeline* in the New York periodical *The Literary World*, Ticknor, Reed and Fields noted that its illustrations "would be executed by eminent English artists" (Advertisement for "Books in Press" 1850, 576). The attention to nationality reflects the belief that English illustrators, engravers, and printers were more skilled than their American counterparts; the advert sells the quality of the edition and indicates that superior transatlantic craftsmen deemed Longfellow worthy of attention. Despite its literary nationalism, the *Literary World*

announced the book as, “one of the highest compliments ever paid to an American poet” (“Correspondence” 1850, 236). The *Southern Literary Messenger* similarly noted the “English artists” when labelling the edition “quite a gem in the book way ... altogether the work is perfect” (Thompson 1850, 761). The Washington newspaper, the *Republic* did complain that the publication revealed that “we are a nation of freebooters” who had not progressed in arts and manufacturing since Joel Barlow printed *The Columbiad* in London (“Fine Arts” 1850, 3). But established voices like *Graham’s Magazine* applauded the publication, even as they struggled to place it, unsure if they were “right in giving it an American origin, as its illustrations are most assuredly English, and its typographical execution is exactly similar to the English edition.” Even if the book was English, this showed “Longfellow’s popularity abroad,” and did not prevent the engravings “so beautiful in themselves” being “true to the spirit and characters they illustrate.” “The poem thus illustrated is more beautiful than ever,” *Graham’s* concluded, still “an American classic” in its English clothes (“Review of New Books” 1850, 199).

The feature of Bogue’s *Evangeline* that attracted most praise was Birket Foster’s illustrations of the Acadian wilderness and Evangeline’s western travels. Despite Foster having never visited America, the London *Examiner* suggested that they enhanced the national qualities of Longfellow’s poem, noting that Foster “gives us, too, in graver touches, the ‘forests primæval’” (“Notices of New Books” 1850, 102). Although anticipating the chronological period by a decade, Foster’s illustrations reflect the shift from decoration to interpretation that characterized the “Sixties” school of Victorian illustration (Goldman 2012).¹¹ His landscapes are in such sympathy with the poem as to blur the lines between image and word, text and book. This closeness was furthered by the engraved illustrations being printed on the same pages as the letterpress, unlike Carey & Hart’s American illustrated *Poems*, which had separate plates. Moreover, rather than simply attributing cultural

capital to Longfellow's writing by presenting his work in a prestigious and expensive format, Bogue's layout and Foster's illustrations register the literary value of *Evangeline's* representations of American landscape, and locate the poem within American aesthetic tradition that becomes nationally distinctive through its cosmopolitanism.

In Bogue's edition, the famous opening lines of *Evangeline* – "This is the forest primeval. The murmuring pines and the hemlocks, / Bearded with moss, and in garments green, indistinct in the twilight" – are enveloped by those forests, in an illustration that surrounds the box of text (Figure 1) (1850, 1). Winding Longfellow's hexameters back on themselves to fit in the reduced space, the page increases the poem's sense of enclosure. Graphically, Bogue's reprint positions Longfellow's text inside the North American landscape. The English illustrations of Bogue's edition thus attempt to render both text and book as American artefacts, rather than "divorc[ing] text and image by making a distinction between the American novel and its British illustrations," as Julia Thomas argues of British illustrated editions of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (2004, 38). In the second half of the poem, in which *Evangeline* travels throughout the United States searching for her beloved Gabriel, there are two sets of facing pages in which Foster's American landscape scenes run vertically alongside the lines of verse. In the first of these (Figure 2), a column illustration of the banks of the Mississippi accompanies Longfellow's account of *Evangeline's* journey on the river, so that the "silvery sand-bars" that "Lay in the stream, and along the wimpling waves of their margin" are made into the margins of the poem (1850, 52). Rather than describing the Mississippi landscape, Longfellow's poem becomes the bank that flanks the river, carved in a channel through the page. Similarly, on the facing page, Longfellow's description of "columns of cypress and cedar sustaining the arches" is positioned next to a column illustration of those trees (53). The oval frame of the illustration makes the first line appear as

though it is completing the arch and making the verse one with the trees. Longfellow's lines seem to grow organically from those landscapes, and merge back into them again.

Bogue's edition of *Evangeline* emphasized that the poem was a product of American geography, but it did so by imagining and reprinting that geography in Europe. This symbiosis between American poem and British book itself articulated Longfellow's cosmopolitan vision for American national culture. Longfellow proposed that literature did not emerge from scenery, as "neither Mexico nor Switzerland has produced any very remarkable poet" (1972a, 3:41). The national American tradition would be "a composite one; embracing French, Spanish, Irish, English, Scotch and German peculiarities. Whoever has within himself most of these is our truly national writer. In other words, whoever is most universal, is also most national" (S. Longfellow 1886, 2:73–74). Leslie Eckel argues the seemingly nationalist landscapes of *Evangeline* actually convey Longfellow's vision of a universal American literature by staging "a portrayal of loss [that] is at once intensely personal and immediately universal" (2013, 45). Indeed, *Evangeline*'s landscapes are sometimes more transatlantic than American. Longfellow describes the delta streams as "like a network of steel, extended in every direction," above which branches "Waved like banners that hang on the walls of ancient cathedrals" (1850, 53). Asynchronously, the Mississippi Delta reaches both backwards to European history and architecture, and forwards to a modern, industrial "network" that dismantles geographic space by entirely overwhelming it.

Such moments indicate that nationhood in *Evangeline* is unstable and mobile, with both Acadia and America depicted as oceanic spaces of circulation. Describing the Acadians arriving in Louisiana as "a band of exiles, a raft, as it were, from the shipwrecked / Nation," Longfellow imagines Acadia as a peripatetic vessel, even before its devastation (1850, 51). Longfellow would extend this image of nation-as-ship in "The Building of the Ship" (1849), but the America of *Evangeline* is also at sea. *Evangeline* hears the "sound of the sea" as she

stands on the prairie: an echo of her Acadian homeland, and a reminder of the permeable boundary between America and the Atlantic that takes on a threatening aspect when the yellow fever enters Philadelphia “as the tides of the sea arise in the month of September” (1850, 68 and 84). The poem’s epilogue connects the graves of Gabriel and Evangeline with their homeland, but also connects two points on the Atlantic coast: Philadelphia, in which “Daily the tides of life go ebbing and flowing,” and “the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic” in Acadia (1850, 88-89). Bogue’s edition echoes Longfellow’s Atlantic America by opening the poem’s final canto with an image of Philadelphia that foregrounds the Delaware estuary, with the city itself in the background. Yet more than individual images, it is Bogue’s attempt to create an autochthonous American book in Britain that truly captures the way in which Longfellow imagines the nation through oceanic circulation. In doing so, *Evangeline* anticipated Bogue’s most ambitious Longfellow reprint, his 1853 illustrated edition of the prose romance *Hyperion*, in which the material text articulated Longfellow’s vision of himself as a literary professional, and his vision for a cosmopolitan American literature.

First published in 1839, *Hyperion* follows Paul Flemming, a young American widower and a self-portrait of Longfellow, on a tour of the Rhineland. Flemming experiences sublime landscapes and German student life, has intellectual conversations with fellow travelers, falls in unrequited love with an Englishwoman, Mary Ashburton (based on Fanny Appleton, who became Longfellow’s second wife), and finally resolves to move on from his past, and return to America to take up “a life of action and reality” (1853, 282). However, as scholars have noted, *Hyperion* is less a love story than an exercise in self-justification and self-promotion; William Charvat called it “a campaign by a man who wants to be a poet to make the poet respectable” (1968, 121). Matthew Gartner concurs, adding that, through Flemming’s return to America, Longfellow frames himself as an expert on Europe’s cultivated temptations by showing that he can resist them, enabling Longfellow to “justify his

own decision to pursue a life in letters and to construct and confirm his own identity as a man of letters” (2000, 72). Through literary allusions, lengthy meditations on arts and philosophy, and knowledge of the German landscape, Longfellow positions himself as a cultural expert who educates his readers. But Longfellow also uses interpolated translations and intertextual references to advocate for a composite and cosmopolitan American literature. Similarly, Bogue’s *Hyperion* both supported Longfellow’s self-fashioning as literary professional by testifying to his aesthetic achievements and cultural expertise, and suggested that the nationality of American writing would be achieved through internationalism, authorizing Longfellow’s vision for American literature.

Hyperion had been reprinted ten times in the US by 1852. Although these editions were neatly printed, had generous margins, and, after 1847, bore the literary imprint of Ticknor, they did not offer the prestige and beauty of Bogue’s volumes.¹² Bogue never asked for permission to reprint *Hyperion*, but Longfellow was pleased to hear of the plan and especially of Birket Foster’s involvement, writing to Bogue in February 1852 that “it could not possibly be in better hands” (1972a, 329). Furthermore, Bogue attempted to present the illustrated *Hyperion* as an authorized edition. Sending proofs of Foster’s illustrations in October 1852, Bogue informed Longfellow that he had discussed with James Fields, then travelling in England, whether a new preface would secure copyright on *Hyperion* (Fields believed it would not). When Longfellow did not take up his offer to write a new preface for *Hyperion* – probably because he did not think it was worth the £10 Bogue offered – Bogue instead printed a publisher’s preface claiming that this *Hyperion*, “furnishes the first example of a lengthened journey being expressly undertaken to depict from nature all the varied scenes amid which a writer of fiction has laid the incidents of his story” (1853, v). Rather than priority of publication, which would have secured copyright in 1853, Bogue claims a different kind of priority – a publishing first in place of first publication. Moreover, Bogue’s

illustrations were under copyright in England, as they were produced by British subjects. Replacing a statement from the author with a description of his illustrations, Bogue implicitly extended their copyright to the text itself. As with *Evangeline*, the illustrations that testified to Longfellow's cultural capital also authorized this British edition.

The "lengthened journey" that Bogue mentioned was a tour of the Rhineland on which Bogue sent Foster and the engraver Henry Vizetelly so that they might "make sketches of the scenery on the spot," as Bogue wrote to Longfellow in January 1852 (MS Am 1340.2, folder 596). This economic investment illustrates the market value of Longfellow in Britain. At the same time, the illustrations authorized Longfellow's expertise on European culture by validating *Hyperion*'s depiction of Europe. Discussing Robert Cadell's "Abbotsford Edition" of Walter Scott's Waverley Novels (1842-47), Richard Maxwell suggests that illustrations can work as an "interconnected multimedia gloss," verifying and explicating a text, as well as decorating it. Illustrations had "considerable responsibilities – epistemological as well as aesthetic. Like notes and appendices, images could be considered supplements ... which by implication should have been there from the beginning even though they probably were not" (2002, 2, 42). Bogue's *Hyperion* may have been mimicking Cadell's scholarly impulse, as it also added textual supplements, including an index of places, characters, and artists and authors, suggesting that this edition could be consulted as a guidebook to landscape or to literature. Bogue's preface emphasizes the edition's educational value, noting that "every local Illustration ... was sketched on the spot, and is a perfectly faithful representation of the place described or mentioned" (1853, v). As well as supplementing or substituting for a real tour of the Rhine, the correspondences between the book's "faithful representations" and Longfellow's text guaranteed Longfellow's expertise. Vizetelly's appendix, "Notes of a Tour in the Footsteps of Paul Flemming," further evidences Longfellow's knowledge of the Rhineland: "so truthful did we find all the numerous descriptive passages scattered through

this work ... we were fully prepared to see, as we did, the herds of cattle and the herdsman in charge” (1853, 293).

Numbering nearly 100 engraved illustrations, Foster and Vizetelly’s supposedly supplementary paratexts occupy considerable space in the book. As in *Evangeline*, the wood-engraved images are printed on same page as the letterpress, and frequently dominate the pages, such as when a single verse of one of Longfellow-Flemming’s translations is enveloped by an illustration. This reversal of the text-book hierarchy might have subordinated Longfellow’s American writing to the English book that contains it, but it also elevated American literature by locating it as the inspiration for such lavish bookwork. “True pilgrims as we were,” Vizetelly recounts, “with a reverence for each locality which the genius of our author had invested with peculiar interest” (1853, 294). The “Notes” also bolster Longfellow’s literary credentials. Vizetelly describes visiting a German priest who translated some of the poems translated in *Hyperion*, showing “how admirably Longfellow had rendered them into English verse” (295). Bogue’s edition proved that Longfellow was not one of the false scholars who have lost touch with the world, whom Flemming and his friend the Baron criticize while visiting Heidelberg University. Instead, the illustrated *Hyperion* fitted Longfellow as a literary man worthy of the “great importance in a nation’s history” that Longfellow – via Flemming – ascribes to them: “do not these men, in all ages and in all places, emblazon with bright colours the armorial bearings of their country?” (46). Longfellow’s knowledge of the world beyond America made him the progenitor of a New World literary tradition to match that of the Old.

Most importantly, and even more strongly than his *Evangeline*, Bogue’s *Hyperion* locates Longfellow as a writer of the international and universal literature that Longfellow himself believed was the most truly American form. The *Literary Gazette* observed that the illustrated *Hyperion* networked the text across space and time: “after reading ‘Hyperion’ we

may often take up the book, and in looking at the illustrations be reminded of other literary and historical associations of which the scenes are suggestive” (“Notices” 1853, 203). For this reviewer, Bogue’s illustrations furthered Longfellow’s efforts to embed his writing and his hero into a diachronic and transnational literary culture; *Hyperion* references Tudor dramatist John Lyly’s *Endymion*, Italian poet Matteo Maria Borjado, the legend of Roland, and the German tales of Siegfried in the first chapter alone. Translation is also central to Longfellow’s project of a cosmopolitan American literature. Flemming’s attempts to woo Mary with improvised translations of German verse are also Longfellow’s attempt to convince readers of his poetic skill, and persuade them that American literature should be grounded in translation, broadly conceived: a new tradition formed by reworking Old World materials. Longfellow’s translations are some of the most extensively illustrated sections of Bogue’s *Hyperion*, inviting readers to linger over the kind of literary work that Longfellow believed would be central to American writing.

In particular, Bogue accompanies Longfellow’s translation of “The Castle by the Sea” with two elaborate landscapes, visualizing the aesthetic merit of Longfellow’s verse (Figure 3). Foster’s illustrations also support Longfellow’s interpretation of the poem. Flemming agrees with Mary’s assessment that the poem’s ambiguities mirror “the momentary illusion” of a reflected landscape, and the shimmering quality and reflected light of the illustration aligns Foster and Vizetelly’s visual interpretation with Longfellow’s textual exegesis, authorizing Longfellow’s scholarly credentials (1853, 189). But the visual attention this episode receives is particularly important because Mary’s interpretation of the poem is a metaphor for translation itself. The poem conveys the sensation of “beholding a perfect reflection of an old tower in the sea. We look at it as if it were not a mere shadow in the water; and yet the real tower rises far above” (189). Longfellow is convinced that, by reflecting the old world across the Atlantic, American literature can become more than mere

shadow, and can create the aesthetic sublime that Flemming experiences in response to the poem: “a beautiful cloud landscape, which I comprehend and feel, and yet should have some difficulty perhaps in explaining” (189).

In the final book of *Hyperion*, Longfellow demonstrates that his subject is the future of American culture, as much as Europe’s history and literature. In Book Four’s opening chapter, Longfellow leaves Flemming and relocates the reader to his own “leafy, blossoming, and beautiful Cambridge” (1853, 220). Yet the Massachusetts landscape is not solely American. “The broad meadows and the steel-blue river remind me of the meadows of Unterseen and the river Aar; and beyond them rise magnificent snow-white clouds, piled up like Alps. Thus the shades of Washington and William Tell seem to walk together on these Elysian Fields” (219). Anticipating *Evangeline*’s landscapes, whose “steel” delta echoes *Hyperion*’s “steel-blue river,” Longfellow provides another asynchronous, transatlantic American vista, viewed through a nostalgia that is spatial as well as temporal. On first glance, this episode undermines Flemming’s lesson: “Look not mournfully into the Past [...] Wisely improve the Present. It is thine. Go forth to meet the shadowy Future” (281). However, Longfellow’s layering of landscapes avoids the conservative, “restorative” nostalgia that Svetlana Boym describes as an attempt to reconstruct absolutely the lost home along the “single teleological plot” of national memory (2001, 41 and 53). Instead, Longfellow illustrates that “nostalgic longing refuses to privilege the nation,” as Jennifer Ladino argues, “and instead imagines belongings at other scales” (2012, 13). Longfellow’s Cambridge – his center of American literary life – appears more vividly when imagined through, and networked with a European literary landscape.

Foster and Vizetelly’s illustration emphasizes the nostalgic collapse of time and space that creates Longfellow’s American landscape (Figure 4). The image deviates from Bogue’s promise that every scene was drawn on the spot; neither man had visited Cambridge,

Massachusetts. A figure that might be Flemming or Longfellow sits at a writing slope with his back to the reader, and stares out of an open window to the indistinct landscape beyond, which might itself be either central Europe or Massachusetts. If this scene was indeed drawn in Europe, it mirrors Longfellow's layered landscape. Longfellow uses Cambridge to imagine Europe; Bogue's book employs Europe to depict America. The emergence of the American nation from European landscapes speaks to Longfellow's cosmopolitan national literature, but also to the role of Bogue's book in constructing an American literary tradition. While the landscape disappears, a shelf of books remains visible in the foreground. Bogue's *Hyperion* imagines an American writer who emerges from his material texts, as much as landscape or geography, emphasizing the role of the British book in fashioning American authorship. Longfellow, too, imagines this connection between transatlantic circulation and American literary development in the first major work that he published after Bogue's death in 1856: *The Courtship of Miles Standish*.

America's Transatlantic Materials: *The Courtship of Miles Standish* (1858)

The Courtship of Miles Standish, published in October 1858, is a sequel of sorts to *Evangeline*, echoing the earlier poem's colonial American setting and dactylic hexameters. The poem is a curious mix of romantic comedy, and reflections on the violence and instability of early America. Against the backdrop of the Plymouth colony, where wheat is planted over graves lest the Native population see how many have perished, Longfellow recounts a love-triangle between Miles Standish, the Puritan captain in charge of the colony's safety, his friend, the young and scholarly John Alden, and the beautiful orphaned maiden Priscilla Mullins. Despite their age gap, the widowed Standish wants to marry Priscilla and asks John to woo her in his name, not knowing that John is himself in love with Priscilla. John's clumsy wooing goes spectacularly awry, when Priscilla asks, "Why don't you speak

for yourself, John?” (Longfellow 2000, 294). After John confesses his failure, Standish takes offence at what he believes is John’s treachery, and the two men quarrel before Standish is called away to defend the colony from Indian attacks. Although John feels guilty, he and Priscilla grow closer and, upon hearing that Standish has been killed, promptly decide to marry. But an armored figure that seems to be “a ghost from the grave” interrupts their wedding feast and reveals himself to be Standish – who is alive, and ready to acknowledge that John is the better man for Priscilla (320). John and Priscilla then ride off, on the back of a bull, into an American pastoral fresh with promise.

But amid such images of national nascence, Longfellow furnishes *Miles Standish* with material trappings of the Old World. In Standish’s cabin are his armor and his Bible, which stands between hefty copies of “Bariffe’s Artillery Guide” and an English translation of Caesar’s *Commentaries*. Longfellow pays special attention to these books: “Prominent three, distinguished alike for bulk and for binding” (2002, 283). Moreover, they are not the only texts in the poem’s opening. As Robert Ferguson suggests, John is a prototype of the American author, making Priscilla’s demand that he speak for himself a call for American literature (1978, 204). For the first canto and a half John does nothing but write letters, not even stopping when he speaks to Standish. Longfellow renders John’s literary capabilities as material production, with Standish proclaiming that John has “skill in the turning of phrases,” anticipating fine phrases becoming fine books (2000, 287). But Longfellow also implicitly juxtaposes the haste and ephemerality of John’s writing with the solidity of the English books, thrice repeating the line, “Nothing was heard in the room but the hurrying pen of the stripling” (283). While the freshness of “stripling” is positive, the “hurrying pen” could suggest the fast-paced development of American letters or, more pejoratively, a literature that seeks to run before it can walk. Nevertheless, the line perfectly fits Longfellow’s dactylic hexameter – a verse form that divided critics but that Longfellow had claimed for his own in America and

abroad – aligning John’s letters with Longfellow’s own. John’s writing is not destined for an American audience, however, but for transatlantic circulation, with Longfellow describing them as “Homeward bound” (283). “Bound” denotes the circulation of the letters, but also connotes the materiality of the text, especially occurring in such close proximity to the description of Standish’s English books “distinguished alike for bulk and for binding” (283). Being “homeward bound” suggests that John’s letters might gain the solidity of Standish’s books through transatlantic circulation, just as the materialization of Longfellow’s own writing in Britain championed his vision for American aesthetics.

Longfellow develops this subtle suggestion that American letters might find solidity in English books in John’s courtship of Priscilla, a romance that founds the American nation, and produces an American form of expression. John’s attempts at conversing with Priscilla after Standish’s departure falter, as Priscilla accuses him of repeating his earlier mistake of not speaking in his own voice. She advises him not to “make use of those common and complimentary phrases,” signifying John’s linguistic failure by the fact that “complimentary” wrenches the meter of the line. In contrast, Longfellow strips Priscilla’s message back to single syllables to show how far John has deviated from Puritan simplicity and American naturalness, “Let us, then, be what we are, and speak what we think, and in all things / Keep ourselves loyal to truth” (308). When John finally strikes the right note with Priscilla, and truly speaks for himself, it is by means of an English book. He woos Priscilla by comparing her spinning to that of Bertha of Swabia, “She whose story I read at a stall in the streets of Southampton” (317). The line is one of Longfellow’s more complex, alliterating on stressed syllables and stretching the final word across two feet, but is nevertheless perfectly metrically regular. Around the English book, John and Longfellow construct an American writing that has a complexity that does not threaten its straightforwardness. As with Bogue’s reprints, the

English books become a basis for American literature to develop its unique qualities, and gain the authority to speak in its own voice.

But *The Courtship of Miles Standish*, also uses English books to illustrate that violence accompanies the fashioning of American nationalism from transatlantic materials. If Standish's Bible and military guides signify the solid forms that John's "stripling" American letters might take once they are "homeward bound," then they also symbolize Standish's place in the colony. The military books straddle the Bible so that it seems "guarded by these," reflecting how Standish's martial presence ensures the safety of the religious community, and illustrating the combination of religious freedom and colonial violence at the heart of the American experiment (283). Connecting John and Standish through European books as well as through their love triangle with Priscilla, Longfellow suggests that American violence and American literature cannot easily be untangled. Longfellow deems circulations of English blood – "All the hot blood of his race, of Sir Hugh and of Thurston de Standish" – responsible for Standish's violent response to the taunts of the Indian Watawamat (313). That is, Standish's transatlantic connections cannot permit forms of expression that he believes threaten the new colony. Killed by Standish, Watawamat's head is displayed on "the roof of the fort, which at once was a church and a fortress," a description that recalls the arrangement of Standish's books, where the martial tomes prop up the bible, fashioning another fortress-church (314). In a more brutally honest way than in the meekly vanishing Indians of *Hiawatha*, Longfellow suggests that transatlantic materials define the boundaries of American Literature not only by facilitating particular forms of white expression, but also by suppressing other, indigenous cultures.

It is important, however, not to overstate the extent to which Longfellow is willing to excavate the violence of American cultural nationalism as he imagines a national literature that is fashioned through transatlantic materials. The European books of *The Courtship of*

Miles Standish tie American literary expression to colonial violence, but the triumphs of literary expression also cloak that violence as the pastoral imagery that follows John's successful American authorship obscures the earlier bloodshed. Standish is part of America's founding, but Longfellow makes clear that John's eloquence and his marriage to Priscilla secure its future. Standish returns for the wedding, but disappears in the final four stanzas of the poem, which focus on the couple alone. In this final scene, when John and Priscilla go forth enter a landscape that "Like a picture it seemed of the primitive, pastoral ages," Longfellow seems to be directing the illustration of the poem (323). Readers should linger on this part of the story, Longfellow suggests. Having imagined an American tradition emerging through transatlantic books, *The Courtship of Miles Standish* concludes by anticipating its circulation in the kind of illustrated edition in which Longfellow's British publishers specialized.

Bogue did not, however, produce an illustrated *Miles Standish*. His death in November 1856 brought his relationship with Longfellow to a close, almost two years before the book was published. Writing to Ferdinand Freiligrath, a German friend who was then translating *Hiawatha*, Longfellow noted, "I am afraid Bogue's Illustrated Edition [of *Hiawatha*] will be stopped by his death. This is a great pity" (1972b, 4:11). Longfellow's unqualified "this" leaves it unclear as to whether he mourns Bogue's death or the loss of the edition. His comments may seem a blunt response to the sudden death of a man in his forties with whom Longfellow had warm business relations, and who left behind young children, as Longfellow would have known from the emotional letter that he received from Bogue's former partner, Charles Tilt. But the merging of Bogue with his illustrated editions, and Longfellow's remorse at their ceasing, suggest the extent to which Longfellow had come to think of these material texts as an integral part of his literary output.

The Courtship of Miles Standish demonstrates that the transatlantic material fashioning of American literature was a two-way process. Even unauthorized reprints could be a site of artistic collaboration. Bogue's unauthorized editions of *Evangeline* and *Hyperion* positioned Longfellow as a gifted author and a valuable literary property, through the same superior material form that sanctioned their own unauthorized circulation. More importantly, however, they championed Longfellow's vision of a distinctive, yet cosmopolitan US literary tradition, in which he would take center stage. Nor was Longfellow without agency in this collaboration, imaginatively recirculating the transatlantic print trade in his own poetry. The books in *Miles Standish* are products of a different time, but they are also reflections of Longfellow's own British editions – books that transformed a “stripling” American writing into a literature bound for permanence.

The various ways in which Longfellow's material and imagined transatlantic circulations authorized both his own writing and his vision of the American tradition mean that we cannot relegate circulation in Britain to an appendix in histories of American literature. Longfellow is only a single case study, but his story suggests that British publishers were sensitive readers of American literature, and British material texts were participants in debates over the aims and attributes of American letters. Examining the transatlantic materials of American literature invites us to re-evaluate our assumptions about the value of unauthorized reprints, both for nineteenth-century writers whose financial loss could be offset by symbolic and imaginative gain, and for literary scholars seeking to understand the development of American literature. They also invite us to rethink naturalized critical hierarchies that privilege imaginative over material exchange as an influence on aesthetic expression, and that make national circulation the default context for understanding the relationship between text and book. In Longfellow's case, tracing the importance of material transatlantic circulations allows us to uncover how he inscribed transatlantic materials into

his poetry, and how those materials reveal and conceal the violent undersides of literary nationalism. Longfellow's example suggests that material transatlantic circulation helped to define the American tradition, including what that tradition erased and excluded. Therefore, in order to write a history of this tradition, we must make transatlantic materials as central to our scholarship as they were to antebellum authors.

Biography

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A version of this paper was presented at the American Studies Research Seminar at the University of East Anglia, and I am grateful for the feedback I received on that occasion. I would also like to thank the Nottingham University American Print Culture Reading Group, who read a draft version, and Michael Winship, Leon Jackson, and Michael Everton, who answered my questions on transatlantic author-publisher correspondence. This research was funded by a Leverhulme Trust Early Career Fellowship.

¹ Irving and Cooper's relations with Murray II and Bentley ensured a strict separation between their authorized and unauthorized publishers (save for Bentley's 1831 unauthorized reprint of Cooper's *The Pilot*), until Henry Bohn, who had issued unauthorized reprints of Irving's works, bought their copyrights from John Murray III in 1851. Both Murray and Bentley also paid handsomely. Murray paid Irving 1500 guineas for *Tales of a Traveller* in 1824, and Bentley paid Cooper £1300 for *The Bravo* in 1831, although his payments declined over the 1830s: he received £500 for *The Pathfinder* (1840) of which Bentley retained £200 against losses on his *History of the Navy* (1839). For further information, see: Gettmann 1960, 102-3; McClary 1969.

² See also, for example: Claybaugh 2007; Eckel 2013; Giles 2001.

³ Immensely popular authors like Cooper were always targeted by unscrupulous reprinters, but, as Homestead observes, this was less common for other American authors before the late 1840s (2015, 200).

⁴ For information on these cases, and Murray and Bentley's law suits, see Barnes 1974, 153-76.

⁵ For Dana and Moxon's trade relations, see Amestoy 2015, 66.

⁶ The letter that accompanied the parcel is lost, but Longfellow's response is dated April 17, 1849 (1972a, 3:195), suggesting that they must have been posted sometime between November 1848 and the end of March 1849.

⁷ The Maine reprinter, Thomas Bird Mosher, sent George Meredith a copy of his fine press (but unauthorized) reprint of *Modern Love* (pub. 1862, repr. 1892) (Pinch 2008, 164). Other US publishers used similar methods to attract the business of British authors later in the nineteenth-century.

⁸ The discrepancy between the date of the journal and the date of Walker's letter suggests either that Walker wrote to Longfellow after sending the book (which agrees his use of 'sent'), or that someone else also sent Longfellow Bogue's edition.

⁹ This letter is lost; the date of Longfellow's letter is established from Bogue's reply.

¹⁰ Longfellow's papers contain receipts for "\$100.00, in September 1850, for an English illustrated edition of *Evangeline* (500 copies); \$480.10 on December 13, 1851 for a London edition of *The Golden Legend*; and \$200.00 on December 15, 1851 for a London edition of *Poems illustrated*" (Charvat 1968, 165). The first of these is likely to be Ticknor, Reed & Fields' royalty payment for the 500 copies ordered from Bogue in June 1850: see Tryon and Charvat 1949, 167. The second is probably Bogue's payment for his authorized edition of *The Golden Legend*, being roughly equivalent to the £100 Bogue offered, with some reimbursement for the cost of shipping sheets. The date of the final payment matches Ticknor's purchase of 350 copies of Bogue's illustrated *Voices* and illustrated *Poems*, but the royalty payment would have been \$145 rather than \$200. Bogue explained to Longfellow that "in supplying these books to Ticknor I always counted on them paying you copyright" (27 May, 1853, MS Am 1340.2, folder 596), suggesting that he did not pay Longfellow.

¹¹ Paul Goldman and Simon Cooke argue that “Sixties” illustration is characterized by intense and detailed visual interpretation of the written word. This style reached its height in the 1860s, but is also found in the decades either side (Goldman and Cooke 2012, 3–5).

¹² Ticknor and Fields also ordered copies of *Hyperion* with their imprint from Bogue as they had with *Evangeline*, although Bogue’s letters to Longfellow show that their order was not as large as Bogue had hoped (MS Am 1340.2, folder 596).