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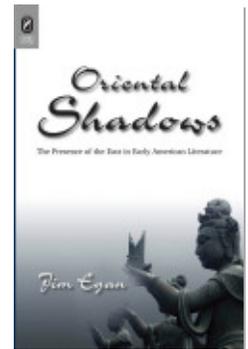
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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. E. Emerson 45.
2. *Complete Works of Captain John Smith* 3:199.
3. Heimert and Delbanco 130; Caldwell 28.
4. "In Honour of That High and Mighty Princess Queen Elizabeth of Happy Memory," line 90, Hensley 195.
5. From *Edward Taylor's Gods Determinations and Preparatory Meditations*, "99. Meditation. Isa. 24.23. He shall walk before his Ancient gloriously." Line 25, pages 386–88; "143. Meditation. Can. 6.10. Who is she that looks forth as the morning," 470–72. For a brief discussion devoted specifically to Taylor and the East, see Isani, "Edward Taylor and the Turks."
6. Bosco, "A Song of Emptiness, To fill up the Empty Pages following. Vanity of Vanities," lines 48–52, page 84. For the most complete discussion of the publication and reception history of *The Day of Doom*, see Bosco, "Introduction" and "Michael Wigglesworth."
7. Nathaniel Hawthorne, *The Scarlet Letter*, in *The Centenary Edition of the Works of Nathaniel Hawthorne*, 1:83. Luedtke offers the most thorough analysis of Hawthorne's interest in the Orient. Jee Yoon Lee provides a compelling analysis of the passage I cite here in particular.
8. The most thorough discussion of the search for a Northwest Passage by European powers remains Williams's *Voyages of Delusion*. One of the writers I cover in this study, Benjamin Franklin, showed particular interest in the possibility of the passage's discovery. Williams mentions Franklin only in passing (212, 263, and 276). Chaplin mentions Franklin's interest in the Northwest Passage in *The First Scientific American*, 146–47. Solis-Cohen provides a thorough discussion of Franklin's interest. Mapp offers a particularly useful and convincing discussion of how efforts to find a Northwest Passage relied on a profound ignorance about the geography of North America. Mapp's analysis has quite provocative implications for the study of symbolic spatial economies of the period.
9. Bushman provides perhaps the classic study on the various ways—including but not limited to decorating, dressing, speaking, and reading—by which Americans sought to demonstrate their refinement, a refinement based largely on European models.

10. In studies of related topics outside of literary studies, see, for instance, Bushman's study of efforts by British American colonists to produce and display their own gentility; Bowen provides a more focused discussion of the ways in which elite members of British American colonial society sought to live up to the "gentlemanly ideal"; see Bowen 125–46. For a more extended discussion of attempts to display their ability to live as gentlemen, see Rozbicki; Tchen's study also provides great insight into efforts of British Americans in the period to demonstrate their gentility.

11. India, of course, is a particularly problematic signifier during the period this study covers. To take just one example of the problems this word raises, the word "India" in English did not correspond to a clearly defined region on the globe in the earliest years this study examines. See Raman's discussion in the opening pages of *Framing "India"* 1–3.

12. Meriton's *A Geographical Description of the World* (London: 1671) provides one instance of the way Greece presented a classificatory problem. In the list of parts of the world in the opening section of the book, Greece is included in the section on "Asia." The introductory section to the portion of the book devoted to Europe, though, discusses Greece as a part of Europe (123).

13. Lee makes a similar point in discussing *The Scarlet Letter* on page 949.

14. Lewis and Wigen 54.

15. Inden 49–50 and Hegel 173.

16. On the other hand, Berman argues that it was during the early years of the nineteenth century that one finds "the formation of an American antebellum discourse on Arabs, one that distinguished the image of the Arab from the image of the Turk or the Persian and from the conglomerate image of the Islamic oriental—and then elaborated the stakes inherent in these distinctions" (3–4).

17. The relative dominance of communities in what we term the "East" versus what we now call the "West" or, more precisely, "Europe" in the early modern period is a source of some controversy. The so-called California school of historians, for instance, argues that Asia's powerful role in the world economy in the early modern period has been drastically understated in traditional histories of the period. For a powerful and important discussion of these controversies that argues that "we cannot understand pre-1800 global conjunctures in terms of a Europe-centered world system; we have, instead, a polycentric world with no dominant center," see Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence*, 4. Gunder Frank, on the other hand, sees Asian communities as the dominant economic powers in the world prior to 1800. He writes, for instance, of "the predominant position of Asia in the world economy" prior to the nineteenth century, and he contends that "Christopher Columbus and after him many Europeans up until Adam Smith knew" that "the entire world economic order was—literally—Sinocentric" (11 and 117). Hobson makes an even more forceful case for Asia's economic superiority in comparison to Europe before 1800. Hobson provides a discussion, as well, of the historiographical tradition that helped produce a conception of a mutually exclusive and historically separate "East" and "West" in twentieth-century studies of world economic development. See esp. 1–28.

18. Brotton is hardly alone in pointing this out. See, for instance, Shankar Raman on the shift from medieval to early modern conceptions of the world, particularly as they relate to the notions of "East" and "West," in *Framing "India."* For a broader discussion of the history and significance of ways of imagining the world in terms of East and West, see Lewis and Wigen.

19. Brotton 28.
20. *Ibid.*, 97.
21. *Ibid.*, 34.
22. See Foerster, *The Reinterpretation of American Literature*, for the most concise series of arguments by these scholars of the 1920s. In addition to having a chapter devoted to “The Frontier,” written by Jay B. Hubbell, the four “factors” Foerster lists as “most important” in the development of American literature “may be comprised,” he claims, “under two heads: European culture and the American environment” (26).
23. For a discussion of the role geographical considerations have structured some important works of scholarship on American literature, see C. Porter. For a discussion of the possibilities the new cultural geography holds for scholars of American literature, see S. Blair. For a broader discussion of the study of American literature in relation to geography, see Brückner and Hsu. For a discussion of the spatial at work in the distinction between the domestic and foreign as it plays out specifically in nineteenth-century works, see Kaplan, *Anarchy of Empire* 23–50. For a critique of the restrictive effects of the continent as a defining trope in the field, see Dimock, “Hemispheric Islam,” “Planet and America,” and *Through Other Continents*.
24. Bauer 11–12; Brückner 6.
25. A number of theorists of space, as well as literary critics writing about geographic space, have also had a profound impact on my thinking about spatial matters in this book, though I rarely engage direct with these writings in the body of my analyses. Among those works that were the most influential, I would list Aravamuden, *Tropicopolitans*; Bauer; Brückner; de Certeau; Foucault, “Of Other Spaces”; Lefebvre; Raman, “Re-viewing the World: Cartography and the Production of Colonialist Space” in *Framing “India”* 89–154; and Soja.
26. Versluis 13.
27. Other relevant book-length studies of the Orient in American literature before 1860 include Luedtke and Yu. Isani’s dissertation remains one of the most thorough and illuminating studies of pre-Revolutionary writing on the Orient. See also Isani’s “Mather and the Orient” and “Edward Taylor and the Turks.” Among the notable essays that either offer broad overviews of American literature of the period and the Orient or provide more specialized examinations of particular issues within the broad topic, Kamrath provides an illuminating analysis of the Oriental tale before 1800 that focuses on an important American magazine. Hayes offers an informative discussion of the importance to the *Koran* in various of Thomas Jefferson’s more famous intellectual projects. If one uses the definition of the Orient or East that I use here—that is, the operative definitions of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century—one might also include analyses of the Barbary captivity narrative in American culture. If one looks to the discipline of history, Tchen stands out as an excellent examination of the notion that “[t]he use of Chinese things, ideas, and people in the United States, in various imagined and real forms, has been instrumental in forming this nation’s cultural identity” (xv).
28. Warner 61.
29. *Ibid.*
30. Miller provides no footnote in *Errand to the Wilderness* to indicate just what scholarly works he has in mind.
31. *Ibid.*, 187.
32. *Ibid.*, 186.

33. William Spengemann has, perhaps, produced the most extensive writings on the problem of continuity in American literary studies in the last twenty years. See *A Mirror for Americanists* and *A New World of Words*. R. C. de Prospeo has also written some provocative material on the problem of continuity in “Marginalizing Early American Literature” and *Theism in the Discourse of Jonathan Edwards* 9–56.

34. For Anderson’s argument regarding the use of the dead in nationalist movements, see “Memory and Forgetting,” in *Imagined Communities*, esp. 198.

35. While I focus here on Ballaster’s work on tales involving the Orient in British literature of the period, other scholars working on the same material operate on the same assumption when discussing the relation between this material and empire. Aravamuden, for instance, offers some of the most revealing analysis of the Oriental tale, and he, too, approaches these tales with the same assumptions about a British readership.

36. I am referring here to the sense of inferiority often expressed—sometimes implicitly, sometimes explicitly—by provincial and/or postcolonial writers. For an analysis of American literature of this period as a postcolonial literature, see Hulme; Kaplan; Madsen; Schueller; Schueller and Watts; Schmidt and Singh; Warner, “What’s Colonial About Colonial America?”; and Watts, *Writing and Postcolonialism* and *An American Colony*.

37. Buell uses the term “cultural dependence” on page 415 of “American Literary Emergence”; he casts American literature as “the first postcolonial literature” on page 434 of the same essay.

38. Lefebvre 42.

39. *Ibid.*, 46.

40. My decision to focus exclusively on works written in English by British American colonists and by writers of European descent in the new nation requires some explanation. As to the question of language, my decision to analyze only works written in English grows out of my sense that such a focus would allow me to make comparisons between texts from different historical moments without having to wrestle with the conceptual problems that translations necessarily produce. Much valuable work has been done that examines work in different languages during the period this study covers. My own training, research, and interests, though, led me to concentrate on works in English produced in Britain’s North American colonies that would go on to stage a revolution. I hope, in fact, that my analysis of this particular category of figures will prompt other scholars either to investigate similar categories in other literatures or to examine comparisons between languages.

CHAPTER 1

1. Eberwein 140. As evidence for her claim that Alexander dominates “The Four Monarchies,” Eberwein points out that Bradstreet gives Alexander “24 pages of text in contrast to 19 for all his successors in the Macedonian line, 15 for the Assyrian monarchy that ran much longer, 26 for the Persian, and a pitiful 3 for the Roman” (134).

2. One other reason why “The Four Monarchies” has received little critical analysis is also worth noting: “The Four Monarchies” is bad poetry. Virtually every literary critic for at least the 150 years considers “The Four Monarchies” to be an aesthetic failure. For

instance, Elizabeth Wade White calls it “tedious” (237), while Wendy Martin characterizes the lines as “doggedly written and mechanically rhymed” (48). McElrath and Rabb say one “can easily sympathize with [Bradstreet’s] exhaustion, perhaps boredom” (xxx). While “The Four Monarchies” has received little critical attention, some scholars have examined it. See, for instance, Eberwein; Tamara Harvey 37–40; Maragou; Rosenmeier 61–70; Stanford, *Anne Bradstreet* 65–70; Emily Stripes Watts 10–13; White 228–38.

3. Critics before me have also noted that Bradstreet’s poetry favors things of the Old World over those of the New. In her introduction to a modern edition of Bradstreet, Jeannine Hensley points out that although Bradstreet “shared the frontier experiences, she ignored most of the signs of a New World to write of the lore of the Old World and of hope for the next. She praised God and ignored the Indians; she eulogized her husband and ignored colonial politics” (xxiii).

4. “The Prologue” 33; “A Dialogue Between Old England and New” 284 and 282. For reasons explained in note 15, I have chosen to use *Several Poems* as the authoritative Bradstreet text.

5. “The Four Monarchies” 901 and 685.

6. *Ibid.*, 1295, 1494, and 1488.

7. *Ibid.*, 2169–70.

8. *Ibid.*, 2287.

9. “In Honour of that High and Mighty Princess Queen Elizabeth of Happy Memory” 90; “Four Monarchies” 2512.

10. Spengemann provides his most focused investigation into the concern with what he calls “American Things” in “American Things/Literary Things: The Problem of American Literary History,” *A Mirror for Americanists* 143–65.

11. Bradstreet’s interest in the East has received little scholarly attention, but her interest in Alexander has not escaped scholars’ notice. Helen Maragou provides a thorough and informative discussion of Bradstreet’s representation of Alexander in “The Portrait of Alexander the Great in Anne Bradstreet’s ‘The Third Monarchy.’” For analyses of representation of Alexander in literature in English before Bradstreet wrote “The Four Monarchies,” see Barbour; and Gilles. For analyses of Alexander in English literature in the latter part of the seventeenth century, see Orr. Ng provides a very useful and insightful reading of the figure of Alexander in the early modern period more broadly.

12. Goffman provides an overview of the relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Europe during the seventeenth century. For a much more concise overview of the Ottoman Empire’s composition and influence at the end of the seventeenth century, see Treasure 601–20. For an analysis of the views of the West toward the Ottoman Empire during this period from which I have learned a good deal, see Woodhead.

13. I take the phrase “before Orientalism” from the title of Richard Barbour’s work, from which the analysis in this chapter greatly profited.

14. Vitkus 8.

15. It is not entirely clear just how much control Bradstreet had over the poems in *The Tenth Muse* or in *Several Poems*. John Woodbridge, her brother-in-law, had the poems published in London without Bradstreet’s knowledge or consent, though just how much or little she knew about or acceded to their publication we do not know. We know little, too, about the circumstances surrounding the publication of *Several Poems*, though it is clear that John Rodgers edited the book. Just what differences between the 1650 and

the 1678 editions are Bradstreet's doing and which are Rodgers's is unclear. We do have evidence, however, that Bradstreet revised the poems after 1650 and that these revisions appear in the Boston edition. McElrath Jr. and Robb consider the 1650 edition the authoritative one in their *Complete Works*. As Schweitzer points out, "[T]his represents a conservative choice that prefers versions of Bradstreet's published poems, which we know to have been published without her supervision, over versions of the poems that we have some evidence to indicate she revised to some extent" (*The Work* 261n8). For this reason, I have chosen to use *Several Poems* rather than *The Tenth Muse* when citing lines of poetry. See Hensley, "Anne Bradstreet's Wreath of Thyme"; McElrath Jr. and Robb, "Introduction" xi–xlii; and Schweitzer.

16. Maragou provides the most extensive analysis of the various sources Bradstreet used, in addition to Raleigh's history, to help her write "The Four Monarchies."

17. Other Bradstreet poems in which figures of the East play a significant role include "A Dialogue Between Old England and New," "In Honour of Queen Elizabeth," "David's Lamentation," and "To My Dear and Loving Husband."

18. "The Four Monarchies" 3408, 3416, and 3414. Further references to this poem are made parenthetically.

19. John Shields provides a thorough and illuminating discussion of the significance of the theory that the cultural center of civilization moves west in *The American Aeneas* (3–37). Shields argues that this theory should be labeled "translatio cultus" rather than, as it has been traditionally known, "translatio studii."

20. Bradstreet's interest in Alexander can also be seen in the way she adapted her source material. Maragou, for instance, argues that Bradstreet's history of the world diverges most sharply from its sources in its portrayal of Alexander. "Bradstreet's approach to Alexander" represents, Maragou writes, "a clear departure from Raleigh's *History*" and shows "a striking divergence" from the character of Alexander found in "the histories of Plutarch and Curtius" (78; 75).

21. Maragou and Eberwein also read the poem as demonstrating Bradstreet's interest in Alexander in particular. Maragou speaks of Bradstreet's "fascination" with the Greek leader (76), while Eberwein notes "Bradstreet's disproportionate concentration on Alexander" in "The Four Monarchies" (136). Harvey, too, provides an illuminating discussion of the significance of the figure of Alexander in support of her argument that Bradstreet mounts a feminist critique in her poetry. See T. Harvey 37–40.

22. Eberwein offers a very different reading of these lines. See "Civil War" 134–35.

23. Eberwein does argue, though, that the poem shows Bradstreet's views on the Civil War in England in particular and on monarchy in general.

24. Rosenmeier 95. For alternate readings of Bradstreet's Sidney elegies, see Rosenmeier; Round 177–78; Stanford, "Anne Bradstreet's Portrait" and *Anne Bradstreet*, esp. 12–17; T. Sweet 157–61; and N. Wright 243–52. Oser does not discuss Bradstreet's Sidney poems but does read her poetry in relation to the work of Sidney's own writing, as well as that of Edmund Spenser. Schweitzer offers a very different reading than I do of the differences between the two versions on page 298–303 in "Anne Bradstreet Wrestles. . . ." Cavitch's reading touches on issues of identity that are related to what I discuss in this chapter. He reads the poem as showing how "Bradstreet seems to feel the thread of her Englishness slipping away," and he goes on to argue that Bradstreet, in this elegy, "finds [that] the link between mourning, writing poetry, and being English in America is dif-

ficult to maintain for a poet writing in America” (57).

25. McElrath Jr. and Robb 116.

26. *Ibid.*, 81 and 137.

27. Falco 120. For a discussion of the many elegies about Sidney as well as the use of Alexander the Great in those elegies, see Falco, esp. 52–94.

28. “An Elegie,” *Several Poems* 95. Falco discusses these conventions at length. Further references to this poem are made parenthetically, except when it is necessary to refer to the version published in *The Tenth Muse*. References to this version of the poem appear in the notes.

29. The date is listed in *The Tenth Muse* immediately after the poem’s title with the line “By A.B. 1638.”

30. Stanford provides an illuminating discussion on the elegy from which Bradstreet drew her inspiration, Sylvester’s elegy on Sidney.

31. The most comprehensive discussion of the case for a familial link between Bradstreet and Sidney can be found in White 12–17. Stanford provides further evidence in “Anne Bradstreet’s Portrait of Sir Philip Sidney” 97–100.

32. White, for instance, argues that the revisions show that Bradstreet recognized the poem’s flaws in “taste” (148). In “Anne Bradstreet’s Portrait of Sir Philip Sidney,” Stanford argues that the revisions show that Bradstreet “bowed to decorum” though she never “retracted” her “claim to kinship” with Sidney (98). In her later literary biography of Bradstreet, *Anne Bradstreet: The Worldly Puritan*, Stanford finds evidence to suggest that more than mere decorum was at issue in these changes. She contends that the “change was not made merely . . . for reasons of decorum, but because of outright criticism” (120). In making this argument, Stanford traces the argument that decorum was responsible for the changes to Augustine Jones, the nineteenth-century biographer of Bradstreet’s father, Thomas Dudley.

33. White 158. Simon Bradstreet’s service to the colony was much more extensive than I have listed here. For instance, he also served on the Massachusetts Bay Company for more than thirty years, including a stint as secretary. From 1638 to 1643, he played a key role on the committee that worked to form “The United Colonies of New England,” a confederation of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. And, after serving as deputy governor, he became governor in 1686 and then, when Andros was overthrown, was acting governor of the colony until May of 1692, when William Phipps took over.

34. Miller, *The American Puritans* 109; Mitchell 311.

35. Cotton Mather 137.

CHAPTER 2

1. *Gentleman’s Magazine* 2 (July 1732): 874.

2. The Earl of Egmont’s diary entry for the meeting (pages 285–86 of Volume 1 of Perceval, *Manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont*) contains no discussion of the approval of the seal.

3. I have found no contemporaneous records that describe any discussions over what images to use for the colony’s common seal. In *Creating Georgia*, Baine provides

a transcript of a meeting among the Trustees of Bray's Associates at which "Oglethorpe reported, that he had receiv'd Proposals from several Persons for making a Common Seal, one ask'd an hundred Pounds, another sixty, another thirty, and another eight, and Mr. Oglethorpe was desir'd to agree for that of eight" (114). This is an especially provocative note in that it leads one to wonder just who made these proposals and what they might have looked like. Alas, the minutes provide no further details.

4. Martyn, *Some Account of the Designs* 3.

5. Silk was not the only product associated with the East, and with China in particular, that Georgians tried to produce. Some English experts believed the American soil contained clay of the very type used to make Chinaware. The men, Edward Heylyn and Thomas Frye, to whom the "first Bow patent" granted in England was issued—that is, the first patent given for making Chinaware in England rather than having it imported—had 20 tons of clay shipped from the Carolinas to London in 1743–44, though what precisely became of this clay has never been determined. For a discussion of English efforts to use American soil in the production of English attempts at replicating Chinaware, see Emerson, Chen, and Gates, *Porcelain Stories* 160. For a discussion of the history of the attempts by colonial Georgians to promote the use of Georgian soil in the European production of porcelain, see Barber.

6. W. Calvin Smith offers perhaps the most provocative way of describing the appeal of silk to the Trustees when he attributes its "vitality to the magic, mystery, and romance connected with the word 'silk' itself." He goes on to describe silk as a "magic word" to eighteenth-century Georgia promoters and colonists. See Smith 25 and 34.

7. See the introduction and pages 31–33 for further discussion of the changing notions of the "East" in British and British American writing of the period.

8. I have focused my attention in this chapter on the British and British American perspectives on the commodities associated with what they considered to be the "East." Many analyses are available now of this trade from the perspective of these "Eastern" countries. For a brief analysis of the way in which this trade was understood in just one of these communities, see Vainker, "Luxuries or Not?" and *Chinese Silk*. For a more detailed economic analysis that covers a broad section of what we now call Southeast Asia, see Chaudhuri.

9. For a history of the movement that came to be known as "chinoiserie," see Appleton for a study focused specifically on England. For a more recent treatment of chinoiserie in England, see Porter, especially chapter 3, "Chinoiserie and the Aesthetics of Illegitimacy" (133–92). For treatments that extend beyond England to include all of Europe, see Honour; Jacobson; and Vainker, *Chinese Silk*. Willis provides the most detailed, imaginative recreation of the way in which Asian commodities became an integral part of everyday domestic life in Great Britain. He begins his essay on European consumption of Asian products in the period by imagining a "fine summer morning in 1730" when a "prosperous London merchant flings back the chintz quilt, very old-fashioned but a beloved family heirloom, straightens his muslin night-shirt and puts on his Chinese silk dressing-gown as the maid enters with the tea, milk, and sugar." Immediately following this scene, "the newly bought matched blue and white china tea service is smashed" (133).

10. Tãilfer 26.

11. In contrast to my argument that the emphasis on silk—not to mention other products to be discussed later in the chapter—in promotional documents led to the

colony's association with the East, some commentators on Georgia have used Martyn's remark that the colonies will produce goods from the "Southern Countries" as a way of categorizing how the promotional material cast the products geographically (See Greene, *Forty Years* 281). I find this a provocative phrase for Martyn to have used, but I believe the evidence indicates that it is quite the exception rather than the rule. Indeed, whereas I can find only one use of this phrase in all of the promotional literature related to Georgia, the promotional documents are littered with instances in which the very same goods that Martyn casts as "Southern" originate somewhere in what they refer to as the "East." Martyn himself, in fact, points his readers toward the East more often in those tracts he authored when discussing the original places of production of the goods he says will be made available by the colonization of Georgia. Oglethorpe, too, links Georgia with what he refers to as the "East Indies," and its products with what he calls "Asia." See, for instance, Oglethorpe 18, 20, and 54.

12. I do not aim in this chapter to provide a history of the early years of the Georgia colony, regardless of whether one considers those early years to be the colony's first ten, twenty, thirty, or forty years. I did consult a number of histories of the colony in my research. I relied in particular on material in the following: Coleman's *Colonial Georgia*; Greene; Ready, "Philanthropy and the Origins of Georgia"; and Reese, *Colonial Georgia*. Crane provides a thorough background to the years leading up to colonization, *Southern Frontier* (303–25). I have also learned much from the first two chapters of Stewart's "*What Nature Suffers to Groe*." For an informative discussion that looks at the importance of the London business community in the initial stages of the colony's promotion, see Meroney. For more specifically literary histories, see R. Davis 59–64 and 1503–5; and Shields, "Literature of the Colonial South" 183–84, "Eighteenth-Century Literary Culture" 444–66, and *Oracles* 45–55.

13. For analyses of the significance of environmentalist theories of identity as they relate to early American literature and/or culture, see Bauer; Canup; Chaplin, *Subject Matter*; Eden; Egan, *Authorizing Experience* and "The 'Long'd-for Aera' of An 'Other Race'"; Finch; Kupperman, "Fear of Hot Climates" and "The Puzzle of the American Climate"; and Parrish. For the perspective on these issues from scholars of British literature, see Feerick; Floyd-Wilson; and Wheeler. For an analysis that does not rely on climatological theory in examining the way early Southern colonists were said to behave but that nonetheless provides a potentially useful perspective, see Bertelson 88–96.

14. The poem appeared in the *Gazette* without a title. For the sake of convenience, I refer to the poem by the title under which it appears in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. I have also listed the date as 1732 even though, according to modern calendars, the poem was published in what we would term "1733." Since England did not adopt the Gregorian calendar until 1751, though, I have chosen to list the date as it would have been known by Kirkpatrick and his contemporaries in England.

15. The poem was published in three different periodicals in the eighteenth century. It was published first in the *South-Carolina Gazette* and again two months later in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, and finally it was reprinted from the *Gazette* in the April 4, 1734, issue of the *Pennsylvania Gazette*. See Lemay, items 245, 256, and 300 from *A Calendar*. The only difference I can see in the three printings of the poem has to do with the way each is framed. The *South-Carolina Gazette* version prefaces the poem with a brief passage from Horace's Epistle II. We do not know whether the editor of the *South-Carolina*

Gazette inserted the epigram or whether Kirkpatrick requested that it be included. The choice of Horace is hardly surprising, though, given the poet's popularity among eighteenth-century British writers. See Goad. I discuss the way in which the other two printed versions of the poem are framed in the body of this chapter. See Shields's discussion of Kirkpatrick's poetry in *Civil Tongues* 292–95.

16. My discussion in this paragraph thus focuses exclusively on British attempts to cultivate silk in the colonies, omitting entirely the even longer and no less important history of attempts by other European nations to produce silk in their American colonies.

17. Gray puts it most provocatively: "In selecting silk as the most desirable commercial product, the promoters of the Georgia Company either were unaware of or disregarded the numerous unsuccessful attempts that had been made in the older Southern Colonies" (186). I do not mean to suggest, however, that the colony enjoyed no success in producing silk. Georgia experienced a short but nonetheless noticeable boom in silk production in the early 1750s. See Smith, "Utopia's Last Chance?"

18. For a discussion of attempts to produce silk in British America, see Brockett 26–34; Chaplin, *An Anxious Pursuit*, esp. 158–64; Craven; Hertz; and Gray 1:184–87. Gray provides an especially clear, concise summary of Georgia's activities in particular (186–87). He notes that "[f]or twenty years every encouragement was employed to stimulate the industry" (186). More recent discussions of attempts to produce silk in Georgia in particular include Coleman, *Colonial Georgia* 113–16; Greene; McKinstry; and Stewart, "What Nature Suffers to Groe," esp. 53–86.

19. Hariot 7.

20. For a thorough discussion of the history of attempts to produce silk in colonial Virginia, see Hatch.

21. Ashe, 8.

22. Oldmixon 378.

23. For very brief discussions of the common seal of Georgia, see Greene, *Forty Years* 294; Preble 630–31; and Reese, *Colonial Georgia* 137n2.

24. For a discussion of the legal significance of common seals in the corporate law applicable to the British American colonies, see Joseph Davis 34–35.

25. Peck 85.

26. *Ibid.*, 14 and 85.

27. *Ibid.*, 85.

28. Hertz 710.

29. Landa, "Pope's Belinda" 226.

30. For more detailed statistics on English imports and exports during the period, see Schumpeter, "Table XII: Values of the Principal English Exports of Woolen Goods for the Years 1697–1771, 1775, and 1780" (35–38); "Table XIV: Quantities of the Principal English Exports of all Textile Goods for the Years 1697 to 1771, 1775, and 1780" (44–47); "Table XV: Values of Selected Imports into England and Wales for the Years 1700 to 1771, 1775, and 1780" (48–51); "Table XVI: Quantities of Selected Imports into England and Wales for the Years 1700 to 1771, 1775, and 1780" (52–55); "Table XVIII: Quantities of Imports, Re-exports, and Retained Imports of Selected Commodities for England and Wales from 1700–1808" (60–62); and "Table XXXV: Exports of Wrought Silk by Geographical Division, 1700–1800" (67). For a discussion of silk imports from Asia to Great Britain from 1700 to 1760, see Chaudhuri 343–58. For a synthesis of scholarship on trade

between Great Britain and Asia during the period, see Marshall. For a different perspective, see Pomeranz.

31. Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure* 50. Berg and Eger contend that “Eastern or oriental imports were part of the classical, western definition of luxury.” They go on to note, “From Pliny onwards, arguments made against eastern luxury items were based on a fear of financial ruin in the West, as silver and gold flowed east to purchase the treasures of the Indies” (Berg and Eger 8). Just how much silk was imported from China during the period? As Berg notes, “Silk, pepper, spices, and textiles made up three-quarters of total imports before 1740; towards the end of the period tea and coffee were among the prominent imports” (Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure* 56).

32. For a fascinating discussion of the origin of the name “China” in English, see Liu, *The Clash of Empires* 75–81. See also Liu, “Robinson Crusoe’s Earthenware Pot,” for a discussion of the use of the word “China” in English in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One way to see the instability of the meaning of the word “China” as it pertained to specific geographic matters is to look at how the word was used on maps of the period; see Szczesniak.

33. Baine argues that Oglethorpe “evidently subsidized the appearance” of *A Compendious Account*, and he contends that Boreman’s book should be read as “the final promotional pamphlet” in the initial promotional campaign (105–6). Baine notes as well that “the trustees evidently stored copies and distributed them to the colonists” as late as 1747 (106).

34. Boreman 11. Boreman did not invent this etymology. Indeed, a number of his contemporaries make similar references to “Serica” as the ancient name of China. For a very brief discussion of the significance of the history of the word “Serica,” see Honour 30 and Berg, “Asian Luxuries” 228.

35. Boreman 10.

36. Crane, “The Promotion Literature” 284. Gee 96.

37. Gee, 96.

38. Honour 50 and 52.

39. *Ibid.*, 50.

40. *Ibid.*, 125.

41. D. Porter 134.

42. *Ibid.*, 136–37.

43. *Ibid.*, 166.

44. *Ibid.*, 135.

45. *Ibid.*, 137.

46. Leath 56. British American colonists, like their counterparts in Europe, sought to incorporate products marked as “Chinese” into their daily lives as a way to display their sophistication and taste. See Barber; Denker; and Leath.

47. Berg 50–51.

48. *Ibid.*, 50–51.

49. Boreman 10.

50. For a discussion of Kirkpatrick’s medical career, see Waring.

51. Shields, “Dr. James Kirkpatrick” 39.

52. Shields, *Oracles* 25–26.

53. *Ibid.*, 26

54. The poem has drawn virtually no attention from literary critics in recent years, and the author to whom we ascribe the poem perhaps only slightly more. Shields writes, for instance, that Kirkpatrick's writing has, like this poem, "languished in [a] limbo of neglect" ("Dr. James Kirkpatrick" 39). While an untold number of poems from the British American colonies remain equally if not more neglected than this one, the deafening silence from critics in relation to Kirkpatrick's work is surprising given that the praise I quote above is by a scholar of such respect and influence as Shields. A. Franklin Parks is the only scholar I can find to have examined Kirkpatrick's poetry at any length recently. He does not list "An Address . . ." among Kirkpatrick's work. Parrish also mentions Kirkpatrick's *The Sea-Piece* and "The Non-Pareil," 207–9. No entry exists for Kirkpatrick in the *Dictionary of Literary Biography*. As for the poem I discuss in particular, Cohen provides a very brief analysis in "Two Colonial Poems" (131); Shields provides brief analyses of the work in "Literature of the Colonial South" (183–84) and in *Oracles* (47; 51–52). R. B. Davis mentions the appearance of "An Address . . ." in the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *South-Carolina Gazette*, but he does not analyze the poem. Boys also mentions the poem without offering an analysis, and he lists only its appearance in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (23).

55. While no one in colonial Georgia recorded any explicit response to the poem in the 1730s, the Malcontents cite some of the very passages analyzed in this chapter in *A True and Historical Narrative*. Their remarks suggest, further, that they, at least, believed the poem had an audience up and down the Eastern Seaboard as well as on both sides of the Atlantic.

56. *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, April 4, 1734.

57. Lemay considers it "unlikely" that the *Gazette* "could have been the source" for the poem published in April 1733 of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (*Men of Letters* 43). I am not so much concerned with the problem of where the magazine got the copy of the poem it published as I am with the way in which they framed that poem—regardless of its source—as a specifically colonial product.

58. See Hall 417.

59. *Gentleman's Magazine* 3 (April 1733): 209.

60. The magazine does not identify the author of the poem, though we now know it to have been written by the Maryland poet and schoolmaster Richard Lewis. In fact, Lewis published a number of poems in English periodicals, and his authorship might very well have been recognized by readers at the time in spite of not being specifically identified.

61. Berry 126. For his extended discussion of "luxury" in the eighteenth century, see 126–76.

62. I do not mean to suggest here that earlier discussions ignored the issue of luxury but, rather, that the issue of luxury was represented very differently in these earlier debates and operated on and was organized in relation to a different set of assumptions.

63. For a discussion of chinoiserie in America specifically, see Denker; C. Frank; Leath. For a discussion of interest in what might be called "the China taste" in the latter half of the eighteenth century, see Blaszczyk and Tchen, especially xv–59.

64. Landa, "Pope's Belinda . . ." 234.

65. *Ibid.*

66. In contrast to my reading of the word "India" as a reference to the East, Shields

reads the line “savage India” as a playful twist on its Eastern referent that aims to call our attention to Oglethorpe’s sympathetic relationship with the local Indians. For a thorough discussion of the history of the colony’s relationship with local native populations, see J. Sweet.

67. Shields offers a different reading of the closing lines of the poem. He reads these lines as an “exercise in wishful projection.” What is “revealed” in these lines, he argues, “is the global consciousness that mercantilism had engendered.” Rather than seeing Georgia here figured as a substitute for the East, he argues that it has been “transmuted into the world in the poet’s imaginings.” As in his reading of “savage India” as referring to the land of the American Indians, Shields argues that “Indian Groves” refers to the local orchards. Once these orchards have been “cleared,” Shields continues, they “will . . . mix the cultivars of the several continents” (*Oracles* 51–52). He makes a similar reading in “Literature of the Colonial South” 183–84.

68. Ralph 37–38.

69. Laura Brown 118.

70. This is one reason, I would suggest, that the poem could be printed on both sides of the Atlantic without any changes being made.

71. I think it is important to add that such in a figurative system, women not only, as Laura Brown points out, bear responsibility for the imperial acts that result in the importation of silk into Great Britain but also bear the burden of an entire culture’s imagined deficiencies. I say this because the logic of this figurative system depends on British women being deficient in and of themselves, and because British women are here not merely figures for their gender within the nation but, in fact, figures for the nation as a whole. So while it is true that the system grants women representative status by placing the figure of the woman as the sign for British culture writ large, it does so by casting largely male acts of violence as the products of what it casts as specifically feminine desire while holding this very desire responsible for the ills of an entire nation.

72. Greene, “Travails,” *Imperatives* 116.

73. Oglethorpe 1. 2, Wesley, *Georgia*, “Tomochachi,” 1. 24; Oglethorpe 1. 34, Wesley, “Georgia,” 1. 157; Oglethorpe 1. 47, Wesley, “Georgia,” 1. 83; Oglethorpe 1. 79–80, Wesley, *Georgia*, “Georgia,” 1. 196; Oglethorpe 1. 95, Wesley, “Georgia,” 1. 203 and 205.

74. *Reasons* appeared in at least three separate printings. Six hundred copies were printed in March 1733, followed by six hundred more in April as a petition for additional funds in support of the colony was making the rounds of Parliament with the stipulation by the Trustees that “one of them be deliver’d to Every Member of Both Houses of Parliament.” A second edition with further changes and additions appeared later in the same year. For a discussion of the various issues, see Crane, “Promotion Literature” 289–90.

75. The reference to Pope occurs in each of the three printings of *Reasons*. As for why Martyn chose Pope’s poem from among the many possible works on luxury he might have cited, his relationship with Pope might have influenced his choice. We know that Pope and Martyn were, at best, acquaintances. The two worked together, for instance, to raise funds for a monument to Shakespeare in 1737–38, but there is even speculation that they co-authored Martyn’s play *Timoleon*, performed in January 1730 to some acclaim and published in the same year. For a discussion of Martyn’s life, see Alexrod; and Reese, “Benjamin Martyn. . . .” Since at least the nineteenth century, the consensus among critics has been that Pope did not contribute to *Timoleon*. See, for instance, Griffith, who includes

Timoleon in his bibliography of Pope's writings but notes, "Probably nothing here by Pope" (292). In the most distinguished biography of Pope to date, though, Mack chooses to qualify but not dispute Pope's claim to co-authorship when he writes that Martyn "is thought to have received contributions by Pope." See Mack 925.

76. "The Uses of Riches" was first published in London in 1732. For a discussion of the history of the poem's printing, see Griffith 215–16 and Mack 522. For a modern edition of the first printing of the poem that reproduces the original spelling and punctuation, see Wasserman. Given their relationship, it might be that he had access to Pope's poem even before it was published, since Pope might have completed it a year before having it published. See Mack 522.

77. Many previous commentators on Georgia have remarked on what seems to be the discrepancy between the colony's philanthropic goals of helping those in debt and its focus on producing the very luxury items that, some would say, had led to an increase in such debtors in British society in the first place. Shields, for instance, says the "irony of the philanthropic myth was that the commodities the colonists would be producing in Georgia were in many cases the luxuries that fueled temptation in the Old World" (*Oracles* 51). To take another example, Greene reads the colony's philanthropic effort as a sign of the feelings of "guilt" on the part of elite members of society whose efforts to acquire more wealth and luxury items might have, they felt, also contributed to the growth of Great Britain's indigent poor (*Imperatives* 119–20).

78. Nicholson makes a similar case for the way in which Pope figures paper money. In Pope's poem, Nicholson argues, paper forms of payment "substituted a material insubstantiality for the dimensions of the commodities they thereby circulated" (144). The "shift," he continues, "from perdurable quantities of metal specie to the promissory note of paper money signifies a powerful threat to once-solid foundations for trade and commerce," which, in turn, "constitutes a clear and present danger to wealth-sustaining landed property and its associated virtue" (144–45).

79. For discussions of the relevance of postcolonial theory to the study of early American literature specifically, see Hulme; Schmidt and Singh; Schueller and Watts; and Watts, *Writing and Postcolonialism* and *An American Colony*.

CHAPTER 3

1. *Benjamin Franklin: Writings* 1084.

2. *Ibid.*, 1084–85.

3. Franklin's reference to China in a letter that has become rather well known to historians has itself received relatively little attention. Olson connects the rhetorical strategies that Franklin employs in the opening of the letter to criticize the membership requirements of the Order of Cincinnati with Franklin's objection to the bald eagle as the symbol for the Great Seal, but he does not mention the reference to China.

4. *Dragon and Eagle* 25.

5. Quoted in *ibid.*

6. See Aldridge for the most detailed treatment of each of these interests. Tchen, too, provides a brief discussion of Franklin's interest in using Chinese practices as models for American behavior (17).

I have not included in this list Franklin's references to the British Empire and, later, the Confederation as "China Vase[s]" that I mentioned in the introduction. The figure of the China Vase in these instances differs from those on which this chapter focuses. Indeed, I suspect that an examination of Franklin's use of this phrase deserves its own, independent analysis, one that would begin by investigating just what "China Vase" refers to. After all, the term was used at the time to denote Chinaware produced not simply in China or even in Europe, and it appeared at precisely the time when British Americans began in earnest their own attempts to produce Chinaware in the colonies. These attempts allowed the phrase "China Vase" to resonate in ways that called to mind issues of the value of tasteful goods in the colonies in relation to the production of those same goods abroad. Franklin himself was intimately involved in these efforts. Frelinghuysen provides a brief discussion of Franklin's involvement (8–9). Beurdeley provides a brief description of early U.S. interest in porcelain (130–34), which includes a brief history of the society of Cincinnati's commissioning of an emblem on a china service, to be made in China, in the society's honor (134). Barber provides an excellent collection of selections from eighteenth-century newspapers, primarily advertisements and announcements, in *Pottery and Porcelain*; these collections demonstrate the extent of American interest in Chinaware. Mudge offers a thorough discussion of the importation of porcelain in eighteenth-century British America, while Frelinghuysen thoroughly explores attempts to produce porcelain in the eighteenth-century British colonies and the new United States. Klamkin shows that in the final years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the century following, Americans demonstrated a great interest in having their china adorned with patriotic displays.

7. "The Ephemera," published as a bagatelle on Franklin's press in Passy in 1778, might also qualify as an Oriental tale. The didactic goals of the story about a man coming to understand the vanity of human political achievements when he overhears a conversation among flies parallel those of the standard form of the Oriental tale of the time, but the lack of references to the Orient or to "Oriental" characters has excluded it from the genre. E. W. Pitcher has demonstrated, though, that the story might have started as an Oriental tale. Pitcher has identified a work, "The Walk of Al Raschid, the Arabian Philosopher," published in the *New York Weekly Museum*, xv, No 29 [whole No. 768] (July 16, 1803), that bears such similarities to "The Ephemera" that it must be considered either an "Orientalized" plagiarism of Franklin's work or a "translation of an original used by Franklin for his work" (236). If "The Walk of Al Raschid" represents a translation or reprint of an unknown source for Franklin's essay, this would seem to indicate that Franklin's story might very well represent his attempt to, as it were, de-Orientalize his story.

8. None of the works has been the subject of much scholarly analysis. "Sidi Mehemet Ibrahim" has drawn the most attention, no doubt because of its focus on slavery. Allison provides a brief analysis of the tale (103–6), and Baepfer discusses the story in his introduction to *White Slaves, African Masters* (8). Also see Marr 142–43; Peskin 85–86; Schueller 48–49; Waldstreicher 238. "An Arabian Tale" was the subject of an essay in *PMLA* in 1942; see Pitt. Berman mentions the tale (5), as does Schueller (26). "A Turkish Apologue" has never received sustained literary analysis.

9. Outram 1. For a discussion of "reason" in *The Enlightenment in America* in particular, see May.

10. Mott 42.

11. Mott provides the most extensive discussion of each of these magazines in *A History of American Magazines*. See Kirsch for a discussion of *Massachusetts Magazine*, and R. H. Brown for a discussion of *American Magazine*.

12. I have used Pitcher's list of fiction in early American magazines as the basis for estimating that one in ten works published in American magazines before 1800 was an Oriental tale. I came to this estimate using the following figures. Pitcher lists approximately 2,880 tales, 215 of which he further classifies as "Oriental." Pitcher provides no general subject index of the stories, though he does provide an "Author, Signature, Special Subject" index of his catalog. The three "special subject" categories are "Indians," "Slavery," and "Oriental." Of these three subjects, "Oriental" contains 215 entries, compared with only 68 for "Slavery" and 56 for "Indians."

13. Pitcher cites the publication date of "The Meditation" as 1727. In the catalog entry that this chronological list cites, A1653, though, Pitcher lists the first publication date as 1746, the same date Mukhtar Ali Isani assigns the tale in "The Oriental Tale." Pitcher's note to catalog entry A1653, however, cites Bruce Granger as crediting Mather Byles with having first published this tale in the *New-England Weekly Journal* of September 1727. If one takes a broader definition of the Oriental tale than Pitcher does, though, some of Cotton Mather's discussions of Asia in his various writings might qualify as even earlier British American instances of the genre.

14. The chief rival to *The Turkish Spy* for first to attain popularity in America would seem to be Anton Galland's *The Arabian Nights*, first published in translation in London in 1704. We will examine the history of this text in the next chapter when we consider Poe's spoof of the collection of tales.

15. July 2, 1722 issue (No. 48) of the *New England Courant*, quoted in T. Wright 187.

16. Quoted in L. Wright 319.

17. *New York Magazine* 5 (September 1797): 533.

18. Ibid.

19. Kamrath 3 and 4.

20. Quoted in *ibid.*, 7.

21. Bourdieu, *Distinction* 6.

22. Tchen 13.

23. Ballaster, "Narrative Transmigrations" 76.

24. Baepler discusses Franklin's letter, for instance, in the introduction to his collection of Barbary narratives, *White Slaves, African Masters* (8).

25. Histories of the various conflicts that took place between the United States and North Africa during this period abound. Allison provides the most thorough discussion of the relations between the Barbary states and the new United States. See also Baepler's introduction to *White Slaves, African Masters*, as well as Lambert and Leiner. Peskin explains how information about Barbary slavery, including narratives of captivity, circulated in the early United States, and he discusses the impact this information had on the formation of ideas about national identity in the new republic. For a very brief history of the early U.S.–Barbary relations set within the much larger context of a history of the Barbary Coast at large from 1500 to 1800, see Wolf 311–13. Hayes provides a very interesting discussion of the way Jefferson's reading of the *Koran* played a role in his negotiations to free Barbary captives in 1786. Hayes, "How Thomas Jefferson Read the *Qur'an*" 256.

26. *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 31, 310. Subsequent passages from this story are

taken from the same page.

27. See Baepler's introduction to *White Slaves, African Masters* for a discussion of the fear expressed by colonial and early national Americans that they might convert to Islam. He extends this into later time periods in "The Barbary Captivity Narrative in American Culture." For a discussion of an earlier instance of the fear of "turning Turk," see Vitkus.

28. Stephen L. Carr calls it a "commonplace" that Blair "was the most widely published rhetorician of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" (75). Blair's *Lectures* were, Carr tells us, especially popular in America. They "far outpaced the circulation of any comparable rhetoric," he writes, "up through the 1820s" (83). See Tennenhouse for a discussion of the popularity of Blair's writings and their significance in understanding the history of American literature in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, esp. 35 and 137n31.

29. Blair 379–80.

30. All references to "An Arabian Tale" are from *Papers of Benjamin Franklin*, vol. 31, 309.

31. Lovejoy 201. Arthur Pitt points out this contradiction as well when he remarks, "The reasoning employed by Belubel amounts to a scientific demonstration of the goodness, greatness, and wisdom of God, and therefore allows one to cherish a happy faith in the ultimate goodness and rightness of things" (165).

32. Lovejoy makes a similar point when he discusses the evidence used by a wide variety of eighteenth-century writers in support of their belief in the Great Chain of Being: "[T]he notion of a Chain of Being, with the assumptions on which it rested, was obviously not a generalization derived from experience, nor was it, in truth, easy to reconcile with the known facts of nature" (183).

33. Douglas 122.

CHAPTER 4

1. Quoted in Lawson-Pebbles 221–22. For a thorough discussion of Poe's reaction to Transcendentalism in general, see Casale. For a discussion on the same topic that is more specifically directed at Poe's views on Emerson's writing, see Carlson.

2. Quoted in Lawson-Pebbles 218.

3. *Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, with Annotations*, ed. Edward Waldo Emerson and Waldo Emerson Forbes, vol. 4, 1836–38, 190.

4. Poe's use of the term "Arabesque" has received considerable attention from scholars. See, for instance, Cecil. For the most comprehensive discussion of Poe's use of the term, see Thompson, *Poe's Fiction*. See also Hoffman; Irwin 276–77; and Rippl 124–26. For a discussion of the terms "grotesque" and "arabesque" in literature in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, focusing on Europe, see Kayser. Naddaff offers a discussion that focuses on the significance of the "arabesque" in relation to the *1001 Nights*. Hansen and Pollin provide a brief but informative discussion of how Poe uses the term to fend off charges of "Germanism."

5. Emerson, vol. 9, 253–54; vol. 2, 31.

6. Emerson vol. 2, 31–32.

7. Cecil provides a thorough and convincing analysis of the considerable "impor-

tance” of the *Arabian Nights*’ “literary influence” on Poe’s writing. Indeed, Cecil goes so far as to say that Poe’s late works show a “preoccupation with the Arabian tales” (61 and 62).

8. Mabbot makes the case that this reference to Montgomery constitutes one of the sources for Poe’s “The Thousand-and-Second Story of Scheherazade” (1150).

9. Poe produces an almost identical entry in *Marginalia* 19.

10. Said discusses the way in which Pickering’s address suggests, in subtle ways, America’s imperial ambitions in the East. See *Orientalism* 294.

11. Berman 3–4.

12. Pickering 5.

13. Scholars have recently examined nineteenth-century American literature in relation to Orientalist discourse. See, for instance, Lee; Obenzinger; and Obeidat. Scholars have also examined nineteenth-century American literature in relation to Asian religion. See, for instance, Dimock; Versluis.

Scholars have paid some attention to Poe’s Orientalism in particular. In *Literary Culture and U.S. Imperialism*, for instance, Rowe argues that the “Orientalist fantasy” one finds underlying much of Edgar Allan Poe’s work serves an explicitly “racist and imperialist” function. Erkkila explores in *Mixed Blood and Other Crosses* “the ways Orientalism intersects with Africanism and a whole series of social subordinations . . . in the formation of Poe’s poetics of whiteness” (126). Schueller finds Poe “a particularly interesting” writer of the period to study in terms of his representation of the East, for in his work one finds, she argues, “a parodied Orientalist discourse, critical of imperial nationalism” that “intersects with raced discourses on Southern nationalism, resulting in epistemological crises of gendered and raced hierarchies of imperialism” (110). Trafton discusses Poe’s work in relation to the mid-nineteenth-century Egyptology craze. Lyons analyzes the “American Pacific Orientalism” in *Pym*.

14. I do not offer a detailed reading of any of the translations of the *Nights*. Instead, I focus my analysis on Poe’s use of the work in his story. For readings of the *Nights* in their eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English contexts, see Ballaster, esp. 101–13; Mahdi 127–63; and Sallis 108–42.

15. For a discussion of Galland’s role in the emergence of what Said has famously called an “orientalist discourse,” see Said 63–65. Mahdi provides a thorough examination of Galland’s translation methods (11–50).

16. For a discussion of the controversy over the first publication of an English translation of the *Nights* in England, see MacDonald.

17. Caracciolo 6. Indeed, the nineteenth-century *Nights* differed from its eighteenth-century forebears in that, among other reasons, new translations appeared based on so-called more authentic material than Galland used in making his translations. The early nineteenth century saw several new translations, most notably one by Edward Lane that emphasized a more scholarly approach and considered the tales more as windows into life in the Arab world than as fantastic stories whose direct relationship to Arabian cultural practices was ambiguous at best. For a discussion of four different editions from the nineteenth century that claim to be translated from more “authentic” sources, see Mahdi 87–126. For a discussion of various English translations from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Sallis 43–64.

18. Sallis 44.

19. Quoted in Ali 42.

20. Ali 3.

21. *Ibid.*, 69.

22. For a thorough discussion of the critical reaction to the *Nights* in nineteenth-century England, see Ali. For a brief discussion of the importance of these tales to English writers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Caracciolo, “Introduction.” See also the essays in *The Arabian Nights in English Literature*. Irwin examines the influence of the *Nights* on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century English and American literature; see especially 237–92.

23. Timothy Marr sees the American reaction to the *Nights* differently. He argues that the “negative tradition of islamicism had long been conditioned by the counterstrain of romantic exoticism, which arose from the imaginative opulence of the hugely popular *The One Thousand and One Nights* (known as *The Arabian Nights’ Entertainments*)” (13).

24. For a discussion of the interest of nineteenth-century American readers in narratives relating to the Middle East as well as to the “East” more broadly conceived, see B. Harvey. For an analysis of nineteenth-century Americans’ interest in materials dealing specifically with Islam, see Marr.

25. For a discussion of the influence of Melville’s reading of *The Arabian Nights* on Melville’s writings, see Finkelstein 26–41.

26. *Ibid.*, 289.

27. *Literary World* (May 13, 1848): 284.

28. English commentators shared this view of the *Nights*. See Ali.

29. On the question of the way that the *Nights* taught Americans about Arabian culture and, in particular, about Islam, Marr calls the “book as important as the Qur’an for its influence on Western attitudes toward Islam” (13).

30. Nance argues, in fact, that Americans imagined themselves as Arabs with such frequency and in such a way before the 1930s that works such as *The Arabian Nights* can be said to have played a crucial role in Americans’ self-understandings.

31. “The Thousand and One Nights,” *American Review* 6 (December 1, 1847): 613.

32. *Ibid.*, 614.

33. For a detailed discussion of the movement for literary nationalism in the United States, see McGill 187–216; Miller, *The Raven and the Whale*; Spencer; Widmer.

34. Hawthorne 3.

35. Simms 1.

36. Spencer 74.

37. Duyckinck believed the situation for American authors to be so dire that he spent three years working to convince a publisher to establish a series devoted solely to works by native authors; in 1845 he finally found a publisher willing to take the risk of issuing books that would be called the “Library of American Books,” described by Ezra Greenspan as “the most important series of original works of American literature ever published to that date or since” (678).

38. Poe, *Selected Writings* 632.

39. *Ibid.*

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Ibid.* For a provocative, informative, and insightful reading of Poe’s relation to the “Young America” movement that argued for a national literature, and with whom Poe was arguing in the passage I have cited, see McGill 187–217.

42. Denuccio argues that the story interrogates not the American literary scene in particular but the fate of the author in general. He equates, for instance, “[t]he fate of Scheherazade” with “the fate, in other words, of both author and story” (369). The story, in Denuccio’s reading, has less to do with the particular historical moment at which Poe was writing, and more to do with the relation between author and reader in fiction in general.

43. Mabbott 1151. Further references to this text are parenthetical and are indicated by “M.”

44. *Collected Writings of Edgar Allan Poe*, vol. 2, 8–9.

45. See “The Prose Writers of America,” in Headley 284–98.

46. I have chosen not to discuss the personal animus that might also have driven Poe’s rather odd reference to Griswold’s work here. The relationship between Poe and Griswold has long been the subject of much analysis, especially given Griswold’s behavior as Poe’s literary executor. Their rivalry with and dislike for one another—and their attempts to undermine each other’s work—are well documented. In this particular instance, I think it is important to note that Poe and Griswold were in the midst of a bitter exchange of letters about whether Poe would be included in an anthology of American prose writers then being compiled by Griswold.

47. Even so sensitive a critic as Denuccio can make a slip at precisely this issue. He claims, for instance, that Poe “summarizes the usual version of the *Arabian Nights* tales in which Scheherazade . . . stays the executioner’s hand for one thousand and one nights, thereby inducing the king to repeal his vow to marry and have killed the next morning the most beautiful young women in his kingdom” (365–66). I have found no translation that Poe might have read that describes the king’s vow as one in which he promises to execute “the most beautiful women in his kingdom.”

48. Scott translation, 31.

49. *Ibid.*

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*

53. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*, 34.

55. *Ibid.*, 31.

56. *Ibid.*

57. Marr also reads the story of the more conventional translations in family terms. He writes, “After the despot witnesses the three sons whom Scheherazade had borne [*sic*] during the telling of the tales, he acknowledges her as a queen—an act that reconstitutes a stable family structure, redeeming both the brutal violence of the fraternal despots and the sensuality of their former wives” (45).

58. Poe, *Selected Writings* 680.

EPILOGUE

1. Scholars have begun to investigate the connections between sexuality and the East in relation to the Oriental tale in eighteenth-century American writing. See, for instance, Battistini; Kamrath, “An ‘Inconceivable Pleasure’ and the *Philadelphia Minerva*”;

and Schueller, *U.S. Orientalisms*.

2. For work that begins to examine figures of the East in early American writing in relation to specifically American imperial and expansionist modes of thought, one might look at Schueller.

3. Marr's work, for instance, points in precisely this direction.

4. See C. Frank.

5. Transatlantic approaches to early American literature have come to dominate the field. Indeed, transatlantic approaches are so numerous that it would take far too much space to list them all here. For a list of instructive examples, see Slauter 180n2. Dimock's notion of "deep time" leads her to argue for a "planetary" approach. Burnham and Shapiro each argue for the applicability of Wallerstein's "world-system" theories to early American literature. For essays that focus specifically on hemispheric and various forms of global approaches to the study of early American literature, see "Special Issue: Projecting Early American Literary Studies," *ALH* 22. For studies that investigate the implications of hemispheric, global, and transnational approaches in American literary history more broadly, see *Hemispheric American Studies*. See also Arac; Boelhower; Doyle; and Giles. For a provocative discussion of the possibilities of global studies of early American history, see Coclanis.

