

# “This Mighty Convulsion”

WHITMAN AND MELVILLE

WRITE THE CIVIL WAR

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UNIVERSITY OF IOWA PRESS, IOWA CITY

THE IOWA WHITMAN SERIES

*Ed Folsom, series editor*



MELVILLE AND THE LORD OF HOSTS:  
 HOLY WAR AND DIVINE WARRIOR RHETORIC  
 IN *Battle-Pieces*

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One of the most common roles for God in the Old Testament is as a divine warrior, the Lord of Hosts, a role in which Yahweh ensured Israel's triumph over its enemies. In the sermons, speeches, journalisms, and poetry of the American Civil War—a war fought between peoples of fervent, predominantly Protestant religiosity—one finds pervasive invocation of this same rhetoric of holy war, which posited God as a divine warrior providing support for either the Union or the Confederate Army, depending on one's Northern or Southern sympathies. It is thus not surprising that in his 1866 collection of Civil War poetry, *Battle-Pieces and Aspects of the War*, Herman Melville included a similar depiction of the Judeo-Christian god of war in a number of poems, showing the poet's civic commitment to the righteousness of the Union cause. Yet his use of these allusions was ultimately a rhetorical strategy in which he gave voice to popular patriotism while qualifying its overall effect through various forms of compression, disjunction, equivocation, and juxtaposition in order to emphasize the tragic cost of war in human suffering for the reunited nation as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

Before exploring these issues in Melville's Civil War poetry, we must first examine the relationship of God and war in the Christian Bible. The Old Testament has long been viewed as authorizing the legitimacy of so-called holy war in the actions of Yahweh as champion and defender of his chosen people during the Exodus and the Conquest. In their initial struggle for freedom from Egyptian oppression and then in their battles to gain possession of the land of Canaan, the Israelites invoked the aid of their divine protector and interpreted

their successes and defeats in the light of his divine favor and rebuke. As a military leader, Yahweh appeared under the title of the Lord of Hosts (Sabaoth) and was thought to be enthroned among the cherubim on the Ark of the Covenant that served as a symbolic locus of the Israelites' faith and accompanied them into battle during the Conquest. The title Lord of Hosts, describing God and his heavenly army (or the forces of divine power generally), is found 279 times in the Old Testament, principally in the major and minor prophets, where the term implies the moral righteousness of God backed by his supreme power to execute justice.

Although it is most salient in the Old Testament, the metaphor of the divine warrior is found throughout the Christian Bible, for the battles against tangible external enemies in the Hebrew scripture are often transferred to more abstract demonic enemies in the New Testament. Biblical scholars Tremper Longman and Daniel Reid have accordingly identified five general categories of divine warrior rhetoric in the Christian Bible: first, God's role as guarantor of victory for the Israelites during the Exodus and the Conquest; second, God's battles against the Israelites for failing to follow his commands during the Conquest and then under the monarchy; third, the creation by the prophets of a tradition of a future Day of the Lord when God would seek vengeance against his enemies; fourth, Christ's and Saint Paul's assimilation of holy war rhetoric in their fight with the sword of the spirit against demonic or political opponents; and fifth, the extensive use of battle symbolism in the book of Revelation to dramatize the final conflict between godly and diabolical powers in the universe.<sup>2</sup>

Arguing that the Civil War was "the 'holiest' war in American history," George Rable has aptly noted: "Never before and likely never again would so many ministers, churches, and ordinary people turn not only to their Bibles but to their own faith to explain everything from the meaning of individual deaths, to the results of battles, to the outcome of the war itself."<sup>3</sup> Because religion played a critical role in the Civil War, the recurrent biblical ideas of holy war and God as a divine warrior were essential features of the conflict, with both sides often casting themselves as antitypes of Old Testament Israel. Both North and South accordingly enlisted God in the righteousness of their cause and demonized their enemy, while religious faith sustained both soldiers' and civilians' dedication to fight in the unprece-

ented series of bloody battles, with their mass casualties over the four-year span of the conflict.

Both sides interpreted the progress of the war as confirmation or disconfirmation of divine support, with official days of national thanksgiving or fasting and prayer commemorating each. Both sought and received theological justification for their war efforts in churches of varied denominations; both assigned chaplains to military units; both oversaw distribution of Bibles and other religious literature to soldiers; and both experienced periodic religious revival movements in their armies. In both North and South, too, the events of the war were reflexively related to their most relevant biblical prototypes. The roles of Abraham, Moses, Joshua, Gideon, David, and Christ were affixed to generals and politicians, with Stonewall Jackson and Abraham Lincoln, for example, becoming Moses figures for their exemplary leadership and premature deaths and Lincoln being transformed into a Christ figure because of his assassination on Good Friday.

In the North, there was widespread belief that the South's act of secession was a rebellion akin to the revolt of Satan and his rebel angels against godly authority, an allegorical scheme based on the book of Revelation and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. It was only appropriate, then, that the unofficial anthem of the Union Army, Julia Ward Howe's "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," composed in the fall of 1861, gave an already familiar tune new lyrics drawn from biblical prophecy beginning with the triumphant return of a militant Christ as evoked in the book of Revelation. It was similarly appropriate that on the day before the fall of Richmond on April 3, 1865, General Marsena Patrick, the white-bearded provost marshal for the Army of the Potomac, led prayers for the conquest of the Confederate capital in which, as a contemporary soldier reported, the general "took it for granted that the Almighty regarded the cause of Jeff Davis and that of Satan in the same light, and he prayed for the complete overthrow of the rebel army, and their utter annihilation."<sup>4</sup>

As Melville noted in his preface, most of the poems in *Battle-Pieces* were composed following the fall of Richmond and were meant to reflect the varied moods, broad geographical range, and historical evolution of the war as well as its immediate aftermath. Writing from the perspective of Union victory, Melville used parts of the twelve-volume *Rebellion Record* for historical background; he also drew on

the Bible, Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and Shakespeare's tragedies and histories as important literary sources. He evoked scenes from Exodus, the Conquest, and the Apocalypse as his main biblical proof texts in keeping with similar preferences in the religious culture of the Union. In the following analysis, I will focus on five poems in *Battle-Pieces* containing some of the most significant holy war and divine warrior rhetoric: "The Battle for the Mississippi," "Gettysburg," "The Swamp Angel," "The Fall of Richmond," and "A Canticle."<sup>5</sup>

Describing events taking place in late April 1862 more than a year after the start of the war, "The Battle for the Mississippi" is premised on the analogy of the Union Navy's successful passage up the Mississippi River, led by Admiral David Farragut, to the passage of the Israelites through the Red Sea and the drowning of Pharaoh's army, the archetypal demonstration of God's power as holy warrior in the Old Testament. Surviving the shelling from two Confederate forts, St. Philip and Jackson, on opposite sides near the mouth of the Mississippi and cutting the cable meant to block ships from entering the river, Farragut took his fleet of seventeen vessels upriver and overcame a force of sixteen Confederate gunboats just below New Orleans in a night battle on April 24, taking control of the city on April 29 after losing only one ship, the *Varuna*.<sup>6</sup> Melville's poem based on these events begins by alluding to the victorious "Song of the Sea" of Exodus 15:1-21 (sometimes called the "Song of Moses"), as sung by Moses and the Israelites while the prophetess Miriam and the Israelite women played the tambourine-like timbrels and danced:

When Israel camped by Migdol hoar,  
Down at her feet her shawm she threw,  
But Moses sung and timbrels rung  
For Pharaoh's stranded crew.  
So God appears in apt events—  
The Lord is a man of war!  
So the strong wing to the muse is given  
In victory's roar.<sup>7</sup>

Re-creating the biblical scene near Migdol, where God had told the Israelites to camp while pursued by Pharaoh (Exod. 14:2), the poet envisages the escaping Israelites throwing aside their oboe-like shawm for exultant vocal celebration, while the jubilant exclamation

of Moses, "The Lord is a man of war" (Exod. 15:3), becomes the key-note for attributing the Union victory to the aid of the Old Testament divine warrior. Yet the last two lines of the stanza slightly qualify the unfettered triumphalism of the initial biblical allusion by claiming that the poet's muse has been temporarily exalted to make such claims by the contagious roar of victory.

Indeed, in the ensuing description of the battle, the poet implicitly makes clear that it was the bravery of the Union Navy and its commander, not the miraculous hand of God, that led to victory. Evoking the chaotic scene of the night battle on the river as the "shock of ships" colliding amid the fiery spectacle of "flaring fire-rafts, glare and gloom," the poet compares such a form of warfare to that of "Michael's waged with leven [lightning]" (47), an allusion to the war in heaven depicted in book 6 of *Paradise Lost*. In the poem's evocation of the battle, the battered Union fleet sinks the Confederate ironclad *Manassas* and sails past the two forts, appearing at dawn in "scarred yet firm array" (48). The last two stanzas evoke the scene of grateful prayer on the Union ships, whose guns now "Hold the lewd mob at bay" (48), an apt description of a city that, according to historian James M. McPherson, was "filled with burning cotton and cursing mobs brandishing pistols against the eleven-inch guns trained on their streets."<sup>8</sup> Ignoring the rancorous mob, the captain and crew in Melville's poem give thanks to God and mourn their dead, who merit a glorious after-life for their heroism: "There must be other, nobler worlds for them / Who nobly yield their lives in this" (48). In contrast to its triumphalist biblical beginning invoking a key salvific event of the Old Testament, the poem ends on a more tentative note of hope for the afterlife of the dead Union sailors, in accordance with New Testament doctrine.

By evoking an archetypal scene in Exodus that was repeatedly used by Union and Confederate political and religious commentators to support their own interpretations of the events of the Civil War, Melville is paying homage in "The Battle for the Mississippi" to one of the most powerful and versatile proof texts in the Bible to support the notion of God as a holy warrior. While his use of the story of the Israelites' passage through the Red Sea bears some manifest resemblances to the Union fleet's defeat of the Pharaoh-like forces of the Confederates, Melville nevertheless tempers the claim that God fights on the Union side. For as the poet points out in the second stanza, Farragut's

victory on the Lower Mississippi was only the beginning of a long campaign to control the length of the river, for when he subsequently sailed upstream to Vicksburg, he was repulsed by a Confederate iron-clad in another fierce contest: "Dully through din of larger strife / Shall bay that warring gun" (47). The "larger strife" thus anticipates the long and grueling campaign against Vicksburg over the coming year. In like manner, the Israelites faced a long ordeal of testing in the wilderness before they reached their Promised Land. "The Battle for the Mississippi" nevertheless celebrates the Union's hard-won victory on the Mississippi below New Orleans, as the poet pays tribute to the divine warrior who embodies or operates along with the Union forces.

In "Gettysburg," subtitled "The Check," the poet celebrates the decisive Union victory in the battle on the first three days of July 1863 that permanently halted the threatened Confederate invasion of the North and represented a major turning point in the war—at the combined cost of some 50,000 casualties. Here again we find the North associated at the beginning of the poem with the righteousness of God and the South with satanic rage and defiance. The first stanza compares the check to the Confederate Army at Gettysburg to the symbolic defeat of the Philistines by Israel:

O pride of the days in prime of the months

Now trebled in great renown,

When before the ark of our holy cause

Fell Dagon down—

Dagon foredoomed, who, armed and targed,

Never his impious heart enlarged

Beyond that hour; God walled his power,

And there the last invader charged. (62)

Just as the Lord of Hosts was imagined to be enthroned above the cherubim on the ark bearing the two tablets of the law, the constitutional "ark" of the Union's "holy cause" defeated the militarized forces of "Dagon," the Philistine (or Confederate) idol that twice fell on its face, as if in worship or submission, when the captured Hebrew Ark of the Covenant was brought into the idol's temple at Ashdod; the second time it fell, it was dismembered: "And when they arose early on the morrow morning, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and

both the palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him" (1 Sam. 5:4). Following this mysterious providential event, the Israelites regained their captured ark. So, too, in "Gettysburg" it is allegedly due to God's power as a divine warrior that Lee's invading forces are now defeated and "walled" out of Union territory.

In the second stanza, the Southern foe is characterized, like Milton's Satan, as having "charged, and in that charge condensed / His all of hate and all of fire" in his attack. This concentrated, enraged "charge" could serve as a general description of the aggressiveness of Confederate assault during the battle or, more particularly, of Major General George Pickett's famous failed "charge" on July 3 against Cemetery Hill, after which the Confederate Army acknowledged defeat by withdrawing to Virginia. The poet conveys an impression of the terrifying chaotic sounds that accompanied the onslaught of Confederate troops in this supreme battle of the war, with its three days of heavy combat:

Before him went the shriek of shells—

Aerial screamings, taunts and yells;

Then the three waves in flashed advance

Surged, but were met, and back they set. . . . (62)

Ultimately, the key to the Union victory for the poet lay in the impregnable justness of its cause: "Pride was repelled by sterner pride, / And Right is a strong-hold yet" (62). If the Confederate foe is characterized by infernal and unholy "hate" and "fire" like the armies of Satan in book 6 of Milton's epic, the Unionists are able to stop them because "Right is a strong-hold" as powerful as the Israelite Ark of the Covenant. In the third stanza, the poet uses a nautical metaphor to compare the lines of mangled bodies of Confederate dead to the wreckage of ships strewn on beaches following a storm:

Before our lines it seemed a beach

Which wild September gales have strewn

With havoc on wreck, and dashed therewith

Pale crews unknown— (62)

The storm metaphor implies that, unlike the fierce human hatred that motivated the Confederates, the Union Army acted more like a force of nature in defeating its adversary, while imagery of the piles of

Southern dead looking like bodies washed up on a beach also evokes the famous photography of Mathew Brady and others immediately after the battle. The poet concludes the stanza by hinting at the pathos of the Confederate dead in an image that also captures the ultimate defeat of their cause: "The evening sun / Died on the face of each lifeless one" (63).

Finally, in the fourth stanza, the poet pays homage to the Union dead who fought at Cemetery Hill and were killed while defending this hallowed ground at the center of the three days of fighting; as a result, now "over these a glory waves" (63). Cemetery Hill gets its name from Evergreen Cemetery located there. During the fighting, the Union troops that held it flattened some of the graves to preserve them and also used them for protection from enemy fire; inevitably, the cemetery was severely damaged by the battle. In a reversal of the initial image of the fallen idol Dagon, an overturned tombstone in Evergreen Cemetery that marked the grave of a Union officer killed in the Peninsular Campaign in 1862 (as Melville explains in a note) will rise up with added significance, thanks to the creation of the new cemetery for the fallen:

The warrior-monument, crashed in fight,  
Shall soar transfigured in loftier light,

A meaning ampler bear;

Soldier and priest with hymn and prayer  
Have laid the stone, and every bone

Shall rest in honor there. (63)

As in the biblical Transfiguration (Matt. 17:1-9), when Jesus climbed a mountain and became radiant with light as he received God's blessing in the company of the patriarchs Moses and Elijah, the battlefield tomb in Melville's poem will attain "loftier light" in the ensuing civil religion of the Union cause, as memorialized by Lincoln's famous address on November 19, 1863, consecrating the new Union cemetery for the fallen.

Yet the poem's final historical reference is not to the now-famous ceremony at which Lincoln made his address but, as Melville clarifies in his note to the poem, to the later ceremony of July 4, 1865, laying the cornerstone to the Soldiers' National Monument at the center of the new Gettysburg National Cemetery. The predicted "loftier

light" of the soldier's resurrected tombstone makes possible allusion to the future sixty-foot column, topped by a statue of a female Liberty, that was eventually dedicated on July 1, 1869. The individual "warrior-monument" in Melville's poem becomes synonymous with all the Union dead at Gettysburg, whose graves now have an "amplifier" meaning with the civic rituals ("Soldier and priest with hymn and prayer") performed at the national cemetery to honor their sacrifice for the preservation of the Union. Overall, the victory commemorated in "Gettysburg" reaffirms the popular Northern faith in the divine righteousness of its cause by comparing the Union to ancient Israel during the Conquest, but it should be noted that the poem's divine warrior rhetoric is implicitly qualified by its placement before the ensuing poem, "The House-top," which evokes the New York City Draft Riots that immediately followed the victory at Gettysburg and, ironically, required veterans of the recent battle to quell the unrest.

In "The Swamp Angel," the poet evokes the Union bombing of the city of Charleston by the huge Parrott rifle emplaced nearby in the summer of 1863, now represented as an act of retribution by a black angel of death and destruction pitted against the city that led the Secession movement and launched the war with the bombardment of Fort Sumter in April 1861. This lethal dark angel is thus symbolically allied with the angelic host that accompanied Yahweh as the Lord of Hosts, while the gradually demolished city futilely calls upon the angel giving its name to Charleston's oldest and most prominent church, St. Michael's, to defend it. However, the angel has unexpectedly switched sides, and the city is doomed like the apocalyptic Babylon (Rev. 18).

In order to understand "The Swamp Angel," we must make a brief excursus to explore the historical circumstances that shaped the poem. In July 1863, at about the same time he ordered the well-known attack of African American troops on Fort Wagner, Union General Quincy A. Gillmore commanded that a battery be constructed in the swampy area between Morris and James Islands in Charleston Harbor in order to install a massive Parrott rifle capable of bombarding the city with incendiary shells (so-called Greek fire) from the unprecedented range of five miles. In a remarkable feat of engineering, soldiers under Colonel Edward Serrell were able to create a heavily sandbagged and timbered parapet and a foundation that could bear the 24,000-pound weight of the gun and its carriage, all constructed on a narrow strip of

mud. Alternately called the Marsh Croaker, Mud Lark, and Serrell's Folly, the gun received its most distinctive nickname when one of the Union soldiers working on its elaborate foundation remarked: "We're building a pulpit on which a Swamp Angel will preach."<sup>9</sup>

Shooting a 150-pound shell from an eight-inch bore, the Parrott rifle commanded by Lieutenant Charles Sellmer was first fired on Charleston at 1:30 a.m. on August 22, using the steeple of St. Michael's Episcopal Church as a range finder. From then until dawn, a total of sixteen shots were fired on the city, ten of which were incendiary shells, destroying a number of buildings and terrorizing the inhabitants. Following a daylong hiatus for the withdrawal of noncombatants, shelling resumed on the evening of August 23. On the sixth round of firing that night, the cannon moved in its breech band and a makeshift arrangement was used to secure the gun until, on the twentieth shot, the breech exploded and the gun became inoperable. Not long thereafter, General Gillmore established another four-gun battery on Black Island from which more shells were rained on Charleston. The redoubtable Swamp Angel fired only thirty-six shells on the city over the space of two nights, but its unprecedented range and incendiary effects made it a historically significant agent of retribution against the spiritual heart of the Confederacy.

In the first stanza of Melville's "The Swamp Angel," the speaker personifies the huge new gun as a "coal-black Angel / With a thick Afric lip" (78) breathing out destruction on the city that had led the South in its defense of slavery and move toward secession. The "angel" "dwells (like the hunted and harried) / In a swamp where the green frogs dip" (78). In a manifest irony, the black gun is placed in a remote swamp, a place where fugitive slaves might go for temporary refuge; it is also associated with frogs, one of the plagues of Egypt (Exod. 8:6). It is important to note that the racial resonances of the poem may be enhanced by the reader's knowledge of the historic attack on July 18, 1863, by African American soldiers of the Fifty-Fourth Massachusetts Infantry, commanded by Robert Gould Shaw, against the Confederate-held Fort Wagner not far from where the Swamp Angel would soon be employed. In Melville's poem, the retributive power of the huge black gun thus formed a symbolic confirmation of the pioneering involvement of black troops in the war against their Southern oppressors.<sup>10</sup>

In the second stanza of "The Swamp Angel," the speaker goes on to

describe the nocturnal bombardment of "the City" as the shell soars into the air like a "star" or "meteor" before falling with its terrible impact (78). The image of the shell's hanging in the air like a star is appropriate for the remarkable range from which the Parrott rifle fired and the incendiary nature of many of the shells, which rained fire on their targets when they exploded. In the third stanza, the fall of the destructive shell assumes an implicitly religious significance by means of a simile relating it to Christ's Second Coming, which was alleged to occur like "a thief in the night" (Matt. 24:43, 1 Thess. 5:2, 2 Pet. 3:10, Rev. 16:5). The appearance of a shell "comes like the thief in the gloaming; / It comes, and none may foretell / The place of the coming—the glaring." The unpredictable fiery explosions of the nocturnal shelling cause the inhabitants to live in a "sleepless spell" that "wizens, and withers, and whitens" their faces and bodies as "The Swamp Angel broods in his gloom." As a divine angel of destruction, the Swamp Angel sends out rapid aerial "messengers"—the literal meaning of the New Testament Greek word *angelos* or "angel"—with extended intervals between shots throughout the night, so that the traumatized city dwellers are constantly forced to move away from "their crumbling walls" (78-79).

In the face of this ruinous assault from the sky, the speaker rhetorically asks, "Is this the proud City? the scorner / Which never would yield the ground? / Which mocked at the coal-black Angel?" (79). Once the home of the South's most violent and unyielding proponents of slavery and secession, Charleston is now the victim of a gun that symbolizes the forces of nemesis and is a retributive response to the humiliation of the fall of Fort Sumter. The city of Charleston thus invokes the aid of Saint Michael, based on the name of its most historic and architecturally prominent church, but ironically the heroic angel that fought the dragon in Revelation 12 is now on the side of the Swamp Angel:

Vainly she calls upon Michael

(The white man's seraph was he),

For Michael has fled from his tower

To the Angel over the sea. (79)

In the war in heaven, the archangel Michael and his fellow angels fight against the dragon and his angelic allies, after which the latter

were cast out of heaven (Rev. 12:9); in Melville's poem, by contrast, the archangel ironically deserts the city to join the retributive black angel sending out destruction from a swamp where terrorized slaves might have hidden.

In the final quatrain, the poet insists that whoever weeps for "the woeful City"—like those who wept for the fallen Babylon (Rev. 18:9–19)—should weep for humanity in general, while whoever feels joy at the city's despair should learn compassion from "Christ, the Forgiver" (79), whose Lord's Prayer specifically enjoined the need for mutual forgiveness. The poet extends compassion even to those inhabiting the spiritual heart of the Confederacy, for all Americans share in the guilt of slavery. The invocation of "the woeful City" and "Christ, the Forgiver" in the last stanza might also suggest the example of Christ lamenting over the doomed city of Jerusalem in Matthew 23:37–45, as Brian Yothers notes: "Charleston is an antitype of both Babylon and Jerusalem in this poem: a city to be condemned like Babylon, but also to be wept over, like Jerusalem."<sup>11</sup>

In "The Fall of Richmond," subtitled "The tidings received in the Northern Metropolis," Melville portrays the joyful reception in New York City of the news of the fall of Richmond on Monday, April 3, 1865. With bells pealing and cannons firing, the crowds in the first stanza celebrate the approaching end of the Confederacy after the conquest of its capital. Under imminent threat from Union regiments to the south and east, the Southern capital was evacuated by the Confederate Army and government and its tobacco warehouses, bridges, military depots, and other strategic assets were burned by retreating soldiers, but the massive fires unexpectedly consumed much of the city's business district in a symbolic holocaust. In Melville's poem, the speaker initially juxtaposes New York and Richmond, the victorious and fallen cities, as paired in a striking antithetical alliteration: "A city in flags for a city in flames" (99). The antithesis is historically apt, for as historian Nelson Lankford notes of New York City at the time: "The rage for flags exhausted the supply. The Stars and Stripes festooned every public building and most private ones. Miniature flags bedecked railway cars and horse-drawn wagons and carriages. Ferries draped their railings with bunting. From the waterfront to the hotels along Broadway, and on to the mansions of the rich farther up Manhattan, red, white, and blue fabric covered the city."<sup>12</sup>

In another historically astute image, the poet in "The Fall of Richmond" goes on to evoke the symbolism of Revelation when remarking that "Richmond goes Babylon's way" (99). The Northern identification of the defeated Confederate capital with the apocalyptic Babylon was pervasive, with its fall prophetically anticipated by the angel in Revelation 14:8: "Babylon is fallen, is fallen, that great city, because she made all the nations drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication." Thus a contemporary handbill announced, "Babylon has Fallen! . . . Richmond, the proud, the defiant stronghold of treason and head-quarter of traitors has been humiliated." The jubilant African Americans who greeted Lincoln during his daring visit to the city only a day after its capture sang "Babylon Is Fallen!," a popular 1863 song by the abolitionist songwriter Henry C. Work. On April 6, 1865, the antislavery New York weekly *The Independent* similarly rejoiced over the fall of Richmond, calling it "Babylon the Great, Mother of Harlots and Abominations of the Earth." Finally, the *Richmond Evening Whig*, now a pro-Union newspaper, declared in a poetic image on April 21 that "Babylon falls, and her temples and towers / Crumble to ashes before us."<sup>13</sup>

In the second stanza of "The Fall of Richmond," the speaker invokes the persistence through "weary years" of the determination to resist "The helmed dilated Lucifer," diabolical head of the infernal army finally beaten here (99). As a symbol of the rebel cause, Lucifer is "dilated" with pride, in keeping with Milton's archetypal characterization of Satan and the original biblical image of Lucifer in Isaiah 14:12–17. In the third stanza, the poet insists that it was "the faith we firmly kept" that resisted "the Terrors that trooped from each recess / When fainting we fought in the Wilderness, / And Hell made loud hurrah" (99). The terrible Battle of the Wilderness of May 1864, fought in the woods northwest of Richmond near Fredericksburg, had involved enormous casualties—17,500 Union soldiers in two days of fighting—and intense anxiety in the North; these were "fearfully critical anxious days" in which "the destinies of the continent for centuries" would be determined, as the New York diarist George Templeton Strong wrote at the time.<sup>14</sup>

The original biblical wilderness, of course, was the realm in which the Israelites wandered and had their faith tested for forty years. The Union having kept faith in its cause through such fearsome trials, the

poet now confidently declares that "God is in Heaven, and Grant in the Town, / And Right through might is Law" (99). In short, the God of the North controls the supernatural realm and the supreme Union commander controls the ruined capital of the Confederacy, leading to the poet's assertion of the justice of the Union cause. Melville in effect reformulates Robert Browning's famous lines from "Pippa Passes" — "God's in his Heaven / All's right with the world" — while putting Grant into the position of a semidivine warrior next to God. As in a covenantal relationship, the God of the Union has rewarded the North because of its battle-tested faith and the righteousness of its cause in the elimination of slavery. Now that the apocalyptic battle is over and Babylon has fallen, the poet depicts the Lord of Hosts as deserving psalm-like praise in three liturgical, italicized refrains after each stanza: "*Sing and pray,*" "*Bless his [Grant's] glaiwe,*" and "*God's way adore.*" The poet thus commemorates the key victory leading to the Confederate surrender six days later by structuring the poem as a de facto prayer-and-response.

Placed between "The Surrender of Appomattox" and "The Martyr" (describing Lincoln's assassination on April 14, 1865), "A Canticle" — subtitled "Significant of the national exultation of enthusiasm at the close of the War" — expresses the collective sense of joy, gratitude, and euphoria at the formal conclusion of hostilities, combined with a hymn of thanksgiving to the Lord of Hosts for victory. A canticle is, of course, a biblically based song of praise and thanksgiving used in various Christian liturgies, similar in form and content to the Psalms. The traditional Anglican and Episcopal *Book of Common Prayer*, two copies of which Melville owned, features twenty-one canticles used in morning and evening prayer services; one of these canticles, designated for use in morning services in the Easter season, is taken from the "Song of the Sea" of Exodus 15. Because Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomattox took place on Palm Sunday, Melville's implicit use of Exodus 15 for his own canticle celebrating a final victory for the Lord of Hosts is both historically and liturgically appropriate.<sup>15</sup>

In Melville's adaptation of the form, the poet uses three main motifs to convey the euphoric national mood at the end of four years of hostilities, namely, the fall of the rebel angels in *Paradise Lost*, the pictorial iconography of Niagara Falls, and the Israelites' deliverance from Pharaoh's army at the Red Sea. If, as implied by "The Conflict of Con-

victions" at the start of *Battle-Pieces*, Milton's war in heaven acts as a poetic model for the Civil War, with the South cast in the role of the rebel angels, the initial images of "A Canticle" would seem to rehearse this cosmic event in Melville's imagery of the "precipice Titanic / Of the congregated Fall, / And the angle oceanic / Where the deepening thunders call —" (101). By the same token, the image of a giant waterfall over a "precipice Titanic" is also evocative of Niagara Falls, long considered a consummate symbol of North American nature and an icon of the national sublime. Repeatedly depicted in the art of the antebellum era, notably in Frederic Church's 1857 *Niagara*, Niagara Falls typified the sense of religious awe and overwhelming power conveyed by the idea of the sublime as defined by Edmund Burke and others.

The first stanza of "A Canticle" presents an image of the giant waterfall as a sublime spectacle juxtaposing heaven and hell — "the Gorge so grim, / And the firmamental rim!" — with huge volumes of water passing over the precipice: "Multitudinously thronging / The waters all converge, / Then they sweep adown in sloping / Solidity of surge" (101). The aquatic imagery here typifies the unity of purpose of the victorious Northern Army and people as they have completed a supreme test of will, with the ordeal of civil war first conveyed as a terrifying plunge into the abyss reenacting the fall of the rebel angels (or rebel soldiers), followed by the nation's coming together in a "Solidity of surge" as the re-United States.<sup>16</sup>

The second stanza, a responsive antiphon, is a more direct statement of the praise for divine aid in victory indicated by the title of the poem. We find here a mystical image of the emotional "impulse" of the "Nation," which moves "Mysterious as the tide, / In emotion like an ocean" and is as "deep in her devotion / As humanity is wide" (101). The coming together of the people to celebrate the victory is synonymous with thanks to the divine warrior who has led them to victory:

Thou Lord of hosts victorious,  
The confluence thou has twined;  
By a wondrous way and glorious  
A passage Thou dost find —  
A passage Thou does find:  
Hosanna to the Lord of hosts,  
The hosts of human kind. (101)

The “confluence” brought about by God hints at either the unanimity of purpose that motivated the Northern war effort or the final rejoining of North and South into one nation again as a result of Confederate defeat. The ensuing “passage” that the Lord of Hosts has found recalls the miraculous passage through the Red Sea as celebrated by Moses in Exodus 15, with its bold exclamation that “the Lord is a man of war” (Exod. 15:3). The word “Hosanna” as an indication of joyful praise, on the other hand, occurs in the Bible only in reference to Christ’s entry into Jerusalem (Matt. 21:9, Mark 11:9-10, John 12:13), which is appropriate in the context of “A Canticle” because of Lee’s surrender on Palm Sunday, but it is revealing that the poet’s praise in the last two lines is directed at both the divine “Lord of hosts” and the “hosts of human kind”—the Union Army that ultimately won the war. Melville’s use of the word “Hosanna,” implicitly recalling the Palm Sunday greeting to the messianic Christ, would imply a quasidivine status for the Union Army.

In the third stanza, the poet returns to the image of the Niagara-like waterfall to describe a rainbow, “Iris,” appearing in the mist generated by the falls. “The Iris half in tracelessness / Hovers faintly fair” (102) suggests the rainbow that God designated as a symbol of a new covenant of peace with humanity following the Flood (Gen. 9:11-17). Despite heavenly winds that interrupt its appearance, “The Arch rekindled grows” until it becomes “the Glory perfect there,” implying that God is physically present in his luminous “glory” (Hebrew *kabod*), as on the top of Mount Sinai or in the Hebrew tabernacle or temple (102). Despite the official declaration of peace in the nation, however, as symbolized by the rainbow, the poet points out in the next stanza that the hellish features of the huge cataract are still present—“But the foamy Deep unsounded, / And the dim and dizzy ledge”—while an unnamed “Giant of the Pool / Heaves his forehead white as wool” (102). The Giant here is almost certainly akin to the Miltonic fallen angel Satan, who remains a symbolic threat to the newly reunited country within the unrepentant but defeated South; the image of the Giant’s “forehead white as wool” ironically borrows language from biblical images of both God and Christ (Dan. 7:9, Rev. 1:14) while hinting at the creature’s white racial identity. The image of the Giant hidden in the foaming pool at the base of the falls accordingly

evokes the description of the fallen Satan in book 1 of *Paradise Lost* and reiterates a common Miltonic interpretation of the war:

Thus Satan talking to his nearest Mate  
With Head up-lift above the wave, and Eyes  
That sparkling blaz’d, his other Parts besides  
Proned on the Flood, extended long and large  
Lay floating many a rood, in bulk as huge  
As whom the Fables name of monstrous size....<sup>17</sup>

Just as Satan remains a potential menace to the heavenly order in Milton’s epic, the submerged Southern Giant of Melville’s poem remains a threat to the fragile rainbow of newly won peace in the nation—a vindictive monster that was initially (and erroneously) imagined to be responsible for the assassination of Lincoln on Good Friday, but a creature that would more dangerously emerge to menace the fruits of Northern victory during Reconstruction.

In the penultimate stanza of “A Canticle,” the poet turns again to the image of the waterfall as a symbol of humanity, except now it represents “The Generations pouring / From times of endless date” as “Humanity” moves perpetually “Toward the fullness of her fate” (102). If the poet is implicitly evoking the perfected future of “Ages of endless date” as proclaimed by the angel Michael to Adam at the end of *Paradise Lost* (7: 549), the reference to “fullness” in the final line of the stanza recalls Saint Paul’s well-known use of the same word to describe the “fullness of the Gentiles” at the end-time when Israel shall be saved (Rom. 11:25). In the last stanza, the poet again pays tribute to the “Lord of hosts victorious” by asking that God providentially “Fill the end designed” (102). The rest of the stanza repeats the second half of the second stanza celebrating the salvific “passage” that God has found for the people, through the Red Sea and through the Civil War, while again saying “Hosanna” to the hosts of God and “human kind” (103).

“A Canticle” is a noteworthy expression of Northern victory in that it displaces the concrete realities of Union triumph into a symbolic natural setting while conflating Miltonic fallen angels, a sublime representation of Niagara Falls, and an archetypal Red Sea passage. Ultimately, the poem expresses thanks to God as a divine warrior, as in

Moses's "Song of the Sea" in Exodus 15, while avoiding any explicit demonization of the South except to note an unnamed satanic Giant that remains submerged within the abyss of national history.

Published sixteen months after the end of hostilities, Melville's poetic *Battle-Pieces* included a prose "Supplement" in which the author noted that he was tempted to "withdraw or modify some of them, fearful lest in presenting, though but dramatically and by way of a poetic record, the passions and epithets of civil war, I might be contributing to a bitterness which every sensible American must wish at an end" (183). As critics have noted, in his Civil War poetry and his prose "Supplement," Melville showed his patriotic identification with the Union while largely avoiding a punitive moral righteousness toward the defeated South, leading him to embrace a tone of moderation and compassion.<sup>18</sup> As he insisted, "the glory of the war falls short of its pathos—a pathos which now at last ought to disarm all animosity" (184). If some of the poems in *Battle-Pieces*, as we have seen, invoked several well-known biblical proof texts relating to the ideas of holy war and a divine warrior, the overriding argument of the prose "Supplement" was a New Testament-inspired plea for a Lincolnesque forgiveness toward the South to further reconciliation and avoid Old Testament models of retribution. The critical and popular failure of *Battle-Pieces*, Melville's first published book of poetry, was symptomatic of a Northern public that was in no mood to forgive its recent enemy or to read war poetry that offered complexity and ambiguity instead of unalloyed patriotism and sentimental piety.<sup>19</sup>

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"NEARER TO US IN NATURE":

THE SOUTH AND MELVILLE'S  
LITERARY LOST CAUSE

TIMOTHY MARR

In October 1857, Herman Melville was invited to lecture in a slave state. The Literary Association of Clarksville, Tennessee, flattered Melville by assuring him of an appreciative audience: "there are many amongst us who have delightedly perused your productions, and who are eager to render personal, that charming acquaintance they have formed with you through the medium of your genial pen."<sup>21</sup> With three weeks to travel to his Tennessee gig from his prior lecture in Detroit, Melville journeyed five hundred miles by coach through the winter mud of Ohio and Indiana and then two hundred miles down the Ohio and up the Cumberland Rivers to Clarksville. His January lecture on the statues of Rome was, according to a local paper, "one of the events of the season. The spacious Hall was crowded with a large and fashionable audience."<sup>22</sup> Melville was paid the most he had ever received for a lecture, and a local critic wryly observed "a striking congeniality between ... [his] quiet manner and those mute forms that stand still and silent amid the venerable ruins of 'ancient Rome.'"<sup>23</sup> Melville's excursion into Tennessee offering classical ideals in exchange for money—wearing a new hat and neckerchief he had purchased in Nashville—reprised in personal performance his recent and final published novel about travel down the Mississippi River, *The Confidence-Man: His Masquerade*, and contrasted with his youthful journey back up the Ohio River as a twenty-year-old in the summer of 1840 before he became a literary man.

The South for which Melville is most renowned is the South Seas. His focus on figuring the more proximate region of the U.S. South—which during his writing life was undergoing the throes of resistance, secession, and Reconstruction—has received less critical attention. Similar

"*Drum-Taps*: Revisions and Reconciliation." On the circumstances surrounding the composition of *Drum-Taps*, see also Roy Morris, Jr., *The Better Angel: Walt Whitman in the Civil War*, 184-185, 215-221, and David S. Reynolds, *Walt Whitman's America: A Cultural Biography*, 413-447.

5. Walt Whitman, *Prose Works 1892*, 2: 731, 434.
6. Whitman, letter to William D. O'Connor, January 6, 1865, in *The Correspondence*, 1: 246-247, emphasis mine.
7. Michael Warner, "Civil War Religion and Whitman's *Drum-Taps*," 84, 86.
8. Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass: A Textual Variorum of the Printed Poems*, 2: 455; hereafter cited parenthetically as *Leaves*; Walt Whitman, *Memoranda During the War*, ed. Peter Covello, 148.
9. Warner, "Civil War Religion and Whitman's *Drum-Taps*," 84.
10. See Cheryl Wells, *Civil War Time: Temporality and Identity in America, 1861-1865*, 9, 5.
11. Whitman, *Memoranda During the War*, ed. Covello, 8.

12. Matthew Brown, "BOSTON/SOBNOT": Elegiac Performance in Early New England and Materialist Studies of the Book," 322. The poem's regularity is also stressed by Helen Vendler, who describes the meter and rhyme as "a form of populist expression"; Betsy Erkkila, who notes Whitman's "artistic control" and desire to keep "Lincoln's death distant, contained, and safe"; and Ed Folsom, who underscores its "repetitive stability and predictability." See, respectively, "Poetry and the Mediation of Value: Whitman on Lincoln," 16; *Whitman the Political Poet*, 238; and "Lucifer and Ethiopia: Whitman, Race, and Poetics before the Civil War and After," 54.

13. See Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, 3: 23. The aesthetics of such photographic poems are also bound up with the aesthetics of war itself, since as Shirley Samuels points out, "the difficulty with war and photography alike is that the repetition of singular acts of appearance and identity blurs the singularity of choice" and conjures up the problem of a given experience's repeatability (or lack thereof). See *Facing America: Iconography and the Civil War*, 6.

14. Martin T. Buinicki also notes that information itself acquires a warlike quality in the poem, since it "is not imparted so much as it is deployed as if for battle": other than the word "columns," the "entire structure [of the opening lines] suggests someone observing the field of combat, [and] considering the divided forces." See *Walt Whitman's Reconstruction: Poetry and Publishing between Memory and History*, 93.

15. Max Cavitch, *American Elegy: The Poetry of Mourning from the Puritans to Whitman*, 239. On these efforts at quantifying the war, see also James Dawes, *The Language of War: Literature and Culture in the U.S. from the Civil War to World War II*, 24-68.

16. Whitman, *Memoranda During the War*, ed. Covello, 102-103.

17. See Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America*, 3.

18. See Morris, *The Better Angel*, 130; Robert Leigh Davis, *Whitman and the Romance of Medicine*, 71; and Kerry Larson, *Whitman's Drama of Consensus*, 234.

## 8. MELVILLE AND THE LORD OF HOSTS

1. See William H. Shurr, *The Mystery of Iniquity: Melville as Poet, 1857-1891*, chap. 1; Joyce Sparer Adler, *War in Melville's Imagination*, chap. 8; Stanton Garner, *The Civil War World of Herman Melville*, chap. 9; David DeVries and Hugh Egan, "Entangled Rhyme: A Dialogic Reading of Melville's *Battle-Pieces*"; Randall Fuller, *From Battlefields Rising: How the Civil War Transformed American Literature*, chap. 9; Faith Barrett, *To Fight Aloud Is Very Brave: American Poetry and the Civil War*, chap. 6; and Juana Celia Djelal, *Melville's Antithetical Muse: Reading the Shorter Poems*, chap. 3.

2. See Tremper Longman III and Daniel G. Reid, *God Is a Warrior*, and see also Marion J. Benedict, *The God of the Old Testament in Relation to War*, and Susan Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence*.

3. George C. Rable, *God's Almost Chosen People: A Religious History of the American Civil War*, 397. See also James H. Moorhead, *American Apocalypse: Yankee Protestants and the Civil War*; Randall M. Miller, Harry S. Stout, and Charles Reagan Wilson, eds., *Religion and the American Civil War*; Steven E. Woodworth, *While God Is Marching On: The Religious World of Civil War Soldiers*; Terrie Dopp Aamodt, *Righteous Armies, Holy Cause: Apocalyptic Imagery and the Civil War*; and Robert J. Miller, *Both Prayed to the Same God: Religion and Faith in the American Civil War*.

4. Marsena Patrick, quoted in Nelson Lankford, *Richmond Burning: The Last Days of the Confederate Capital*, 64-65. On the composition of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," see Aamodt, *Righteous Armies, Holy Cause*, 81-86.

5. On Melville's reliance on *The Rebellion Record* for some twenty poems, see Frank Day, *Melville's Use of "The Rebellion Record" in His Poetry*. On *Battle-Pieces* and *Paradise Lost*, see Robin Grey, "Annotations on Civil War: Melville's *Battle-Pieces* and Milton's War in Heaven."

6. On the Battle of the Mississippi, see James M. McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era*, 418-422. On Melville's use of *The Rebellion Record* for this poem, see Day, *Melville's Use of "The Rebellion Record" in His Poetry*, 36-39.

7. Herman Melville, *Published Poems: Battle-Pieces, John Marr, Timoleon*, ed. Robert C. Ryan et al., 47. This edition of *Battle-Pieces* will hereafter be cited parenthetically in the text. All quotations from the Bible throughout this essay are from the King James Version.

8. McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom*, 420.

9. On the assault by African American Union troops on Fort Wagner, see Stephen R. Wise, *Gate of Hell: Campaign for Charleston Harbor, 1863*, chap. 4. On the ensuing attack on Charleston, see chaps. 6-7. Frank Day notes that Melville got his idea for the poem from another poem of the same name by a writer identified only as "T.N.J." in *The Rebellion Record*; see *Melville's Use of "The Rebellion Record" in His Poetry*, 54.

10. See Garner, *The Civil War World of Herman Melville*, 260-261.

11. Brian Yothers, "Melville's Reconstructions: 'The Swamp Angel,' 'Formerly a Slave,' and the Moorish Maid in 'Lee in the Capitol,'" 65. An antithetical view of

the bombing of Charleston as depicted in "The Swamp Angel" can be found in a poem of the native South Carolinian William Gilmore Simms, "The Angel of the Church," which attacks the Union artillery's targeting of St. Michael's Church using religious imagery comparable to that found in Melville's poem: "Each impious hand that lights the torch / Shall wither ere the bolt shall fall; / And the bright Angel of the Church, / With seraph shield avert the ball!" See Simms, ed., *War Poetry of the South*, 290-294.

12. Lankford, *Richmond Burning*, 150. See chaps. 8-12 for an extended description of the fall of Richmond.
13. Anonymous handbill, quoted in *ibid.*, 151. On the liberated slaves of Richmond singing "Babylon Is Fallen!," see Miller, *Both Prayed to the Same God*, 77. *The Independent*, quoted in Moorhead, *American Apocalypse*, 172. *The Richmond Evening Whig*, quoted in Lankford, *Richmond Burning*, 146.
14. George Templeton Strong, quoted in McPherson, *The Battle Cry of Freedom*, 731.
15. Of Melville's two copies of the Protestant Episcopal Church's *Book of Common Prayer*, one was purchased in New York in May 1849 and the other given to him by his aunt Mary Melvill in September 1850. See the catalog (Sealts nos. 409 and 410) of Melville's books at [www.melvillemarginalia.org](http://www.melvillemarginalia.org).
16. On the Miltonic imagery in "A Canticle," see Henry F. Pommer, *Milton and Melville*, 77-79. On Niagara Falls and the national sublime, see Elizabeth R. McKinsey, *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime*.
17. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, 1: 11-12 (ll. 192-197).
18. See John P. McWilliams, Jr., "Drum Taps and *Battle-Pieces*": The Blossom of War"; Robert Milder, "The Rhetoric of Melville's *Battle-Pieces*"; Garner, *The Civil War World of Herman Melville*, 410-417; Ralph E. Hitt, "Melville's Poems of the Civil War Controversy"; and Paul M. Dowling, "Melville's Quarrel with Poetry."
19. See Barrett, *To Fight Aloud Is Very Brave*, chap. 6, and Alice Fahs, *The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South, 1861-1865*.

9. "NEARER TO US IN NATURE"

1. Herman Melville, *Correspondence*, 656.
2. Herman Melville, *Piazza Tales and Other Prose Pieces, 1839-1860*, 520.
3. Hershel Parker, *Herman Melville: A Biography*, 2: 370.
4. Melville, "Authentic Anecdotes of Old Zach," *Piazza Tales*, 221.
5. Melville, *Piazza Tales*, 250, 324.
6. Herman Melville, *Published Poems: Battle-Pieces, John Marr, Timoleon*, ed. Robert C. Ryan et al., 7. This edition will hereafter be cited parenthetically in the text.
7. C. Vann Woodward, "The Irony of Southern History," in *The Burden of Southern History*, 193-194.
8. Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History*, 16.
9. In *Mardi*, King Media announces that he wishes to be buried with his spear

on one side and his pipe on the other: "so shall I be ambidexter, and sleep between eloquent symbols" (377). In a letter to James Billson on October 10, 1894, Melville suggests that his description of *Clarel* as "eminently adapted for unpopularity" was "ambidexter" as it might "intimidate or allure" (483). *Billy Budd* refers to an insane person's apparent use of reason as "an ambidexter implement for effecting the irrational" (28).

10. David W. Blight, *Race and Reunion: The Civil War in American Memory*, 2.
11. Melville, *Clarel*, 461.
12. See Drew Gilpin Faust, *This Republic of Suffering: Death and the American Civil War*.
13. Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass* (1860-61), 389; "toplofticality," quoted in Andrew Hudgins, "Walt Whitman and the South," 93. See also the special double issue on Whitman and the South, *Walt Whitman Quarterly Review* 29 (Fall 2011/Winter 2012).
14. William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character*, 8.
15. Stanton Garner, *The Civil War World of Herman Melville*, 451.
16. Herman Melville, *White-Jacket; or, The World in a Man-of-War*, 141. In *White-Jacket*, Dick Dash is "a chivalric young gentleman" with an "ardent Southern temperament" (348), another naval officer from Virginia is "good-natured" (119), and the Purser is described as a "jovial" southern "gentleman" (200).
17. Herman Melville, *Moby-Dick; or The Whale*, 107, 106, 16.
18. Russ Castronovo and Dana D. Nelson, "Fahrenheit 1861: Cross Patriotism in Melville and Douglass," 345-346.
19. Melville, *Clarel*, 403.
20. Gideon Welles, "Lincoln and Johnson"; Melville, "Lee in the Capitol," *Published Poems*, 165.
21. *Boston Traveler*, September 8, 1866, quoted in Parker, *Herman Melville*, 2: 617.
22. See also *Published Poems*, 59, 65, 82, 112, and 119.
23. "Blame not, then, the North; and wisely judge the South. Ere, as a nation, they became responsible, this thing was planted in their midst" (*Mardi*, 534).
24. Melville, "Supplement," *Published Poems*, 182, 184; "Bejal's wily plea" is from "The Armies of the Wilderness," *Published Poems*, 70.
25. Nathaniel Hawthorne, letter to Horatio Bridge, May 26, 1861, in *Tales, Sketches, and Other Papers*, 12: 543.
26. Abraham Lincoln, "Inaugural Address."
27. "Feudal fidelity" is from "The Armies of the Wilderness," *Published Poems*, 70.
28. Walt Whitman, "I saw in Louisiana a Live-Oak Growing," *Leaves of Grass* (1867), 134. In *The Confidence-Man*, Melville describes a denizen of a "houseless landing" by the riverbank of the Mississippi as having emerged from the "dusk, matted foliage" with "his beard blackly pendant, like the Carolina-moss, and dank with cypress dew" (85). The destruction of manliness by violence in *Battle-Pieces*