

## *The Sublime in American Romanticism*

Cassandra Falke

Roderick Nash's classic study *Wilderness and the American Mind* (1967) tells the story of the United States' transition from a frontier mindset, in which "taming the wilderness gave meaning and purpose to the frontiersman's life," to a pervasive "Romantic mood" in which "Sublimity suggested the association of God and wild nature."<sup>1</sup> "Nature", as Ralph Waldo Emerson phrases it, offers "sanctity that shames our religions...and judges like a god all men who come to her".<sup>2</sup> The influence of English romantic poets, especially Byron and Coleridge, on this shift is well documented. Less well-known is the converse influence of American naturalism on English and European Romantic writers. In 1791, William Bartram published an account of traveling through the American southeast that enchanted Wordsworth, Coleridge and Chateaubriand. Coleridge was reading Bartram's *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws* (1791) when he composed "Kubla Khan" (1816) in 1797-8 as was William Wordsworth when writing "Ruth" (1802) in Germany in 1799.<sup>3</sup>

In his book-length argument that the America "favors more drastic sublimities than Europe," Harold Bloom draws on the work of Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Emily Dickinson, Walt Whitman, and Herman Melville.<sup>4</sup> Compared to these more well-known American authors, Bartram's sublime evokes less drastic imagery and greater continuity between human life and the ecosystems we inhabit. His focus is not on the subjective experience of being imperiled or unable to cognitively subsume all of a view, but rather on the fecundity of the land he moves through. Bartram's intervention in the discourse of the

sublime, however quiet compared to Melville or Whitman, is important because it preserves “ecocentric principles” latent in the natural sublime in a less anthropocentric model.<sup>5</sup> This chapter discusses Bartram’s description of the sublime in his *Travels*, both as an historical influence on later Romantic representations of the sublime and as a philosophically distinctive model of experiences in wild ecosystems. It unfolds in three parts. I begin by introducing Bartram and positioning him in reference to the longer history of eighteenth- and early-nineteenth century conceptions of the sublime in America. I then articulate what is unique in Bartram’s understanding of sublimity. Finally, I consider Bartram’s influence on and differences from Coleridge and Wordsworth.

### **Bartram and the American Context**

In the words of his biographer Thomas Slaughter, Bartram was “the first American to devote his life to the study of nature.”<sup>6</sup> Bartram grew up under the shadow of his father, John, a prominent early American naturalist, friend of Benjamin Franklin and Royal Botanist to King George III. Born and raised in Kingsessing, now a neighborhood of Philadelphia, William traveled with his father as a boy and followed him into botany after failing in several other ventures. In 1768, he obtained the patronage of John Fothergill, a doctor and medical researcher in London. He had apparently written to the doctor implying a desire to travel in Florida collecting seeds and documenting plants and animals; Fothergill found it “a ‘pity that such a genius should sink under distress’”.<sup>7</sup> He agreed to support him for two years at fifty pounds a year beginning in 1773. Almost two decades later, the report that Bartram sent to Fothergill became the basis for his revised and published *Travels*. After his travels, Bartram settled into a quiet life out of the public eye. A contemporary satire portrays him wandering up and down the banks of the Schuylkill River, grumbling, in Rousseau-esque fashion, about

the “unnatural state of civilization” that “continues to corrupt the natural innocence and cramp the native freedom of man.”<sup>8</sup> He was invited to teach at the University of Pennsylvania, but declined. He even declined an invitation to travel with Lewis and Clark on their expedition to explore the lands west of the Mississippi River. He preferred to devote his time to maintaining the eight acres around his home, which John Bartram had converted into the United States’ first botanical garden in 1728. An accomplished botanical illustrator, William gained some recognition for drawings in Benjamin Barton’s *Elements of Botany* in 1803, but for the most part, he settled into gardening. As Slaughter writes, if he went “more than a day’s journey” from his house between his return from Georgia and Florida in 1777 and his death in 1823, “there is no record of the trip”.<sup>9</sup>

It is hard to know which philosophical explorations of the sublime Bartram had read when he departed on his journey south in 1773. He attended the recently founded Philadelphia Academy from the ages of 12 to 17. Benjamin Franklin, the Academy’s first president, designed the curriculum and specified that students should read in “History, Rhetoric, Logic, Moral and Natural Philosophy” in Latin, as well as “the best English Authors [...] Tillotson, Milton, Locke, Addison, Pope, Swift, [and] the higher Papers in the *Spectator* and *Guardian*”.<sup>10</sup> As a schoolboy, then, Bartram would have mused on Joseph Addison’s description of that “rude kind of magnificence which appears in many of these stupendous works of nature”. Writing in *The Spectator* (1712), Addison suggests that “We are flung into a pleasing astonishment at such unbounded views, and feel a delightful stillness and amazement in the soul at the apprehension of them”.<sup>11</sup> That stillness and amazement comes through in the pace of Bartram’s writing, as he lingers over the diversity of species in a forest or an expanse of mountaintops. He would certainly have known *Longinus* and probably also Burke’s *Enquiry* (1757), which was published just as Bartram was finishing school. Because it was offered for sale at a book auction in 1769, we know *Enquiry* was

being read in Bartram's milieu at the time.<sup>12</sup> Immanuel Kant's *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (1790), reached the US too late to influence Bartram's *Travels*, but it remains significant for the discourse shaping the reception of the *Travels*.

The vocabulary shaping Bartram's perception of the natural world reflects the scientific and aesthetic thinking of his age, but the overall relationship between humans, non-human nature and the sublime implied by the *Travels* is unique. In both Europe and America, there is a shift in the late eighteenth-century away from a focus on *producing* the sublime through art or rhetoric and toward a *discernment* of the sublime as it already exists in nature. In her history of *The Sublime in Modern Philosophy*, Emily Brady coins the term "empirical sublime" to describe the growing assumption that sublimity exceeds human perception because it pre-exists the perceiving act.<sup>13</sup> Bartram participates in this shift, but he finds sublimity in unexpected places – not only in the "unbounded views" Addison and others, including Burke in *Enquiry* II vii, praised but also in the bounded richness of the forest. The loamy soil, birdsong and plant life astounded him. "[S]portive vegetables," he exclaims on finding a Venus fly-trap; "Astonishing production!"<sup>14</sup> Whereas for Burke, the sublime is associated with terror and terror with death (see *Enquiry* II ii), for Bartram it is life in its infinite variety that expresses boundlessness. The diversity of living things speaks to him of more-than-human creativity. "This world, as a glorious apartment of the boundless palace of the sovereign Creator, is furnished with an infinite variety of animated scenes, inexpressibly beautiful and pleasing, equally free to the inspection and enjoyment of all his creatures".<sup>15</sup> Readers who are not botanists may become frustrated with Bartram's lists of plants and animals, usually noted by their Latin names in the recently created Linnean system (he names forty-seven plants in his first three pages) but Bartram's lists reinforce his wonder at the plentitude and connectedness of life. Life in the "self-moving" bodies of plants, he argues, partakes of the same "vivific principle of life" as animals.<sup>16</sup> And non-human animals are not

as different from humans as “the general opinion of philosophers” implies.<sup>17</sup> When a hunter he is traveling with shoots a mother bear, Bartram records that the cub “approached the dead body, smelled, and pawed it, and appearing in agony, fell to weeping and looking upwards, then towards us, and cried out like a child”.<sup>18</sup> This is evidence, for him, that the “filial affections [...] sensibility and attachment” are as “active and faithful” in non-human animals “as those observed to be in human nature”.<sup>19</sup> Bartram’s portrayal of ursine sensibility could hardly differ more from Burke’s presentation of predators as the instruments and image of sublime terror, which “comes upon us in the gloomy forest, in the howling wilderness, in the form of the lion, the tiger, the panther, or rhinoceros” (*Enquiry* II v). Whereas Burke’s focus on terror implies the innate goodness of protecting human life, Bartram’s fondness for “sportive” vegetables and sensible cubs points toward what Christopher Hitt calls an “ecological sublime”, characterized by humility and responsibility toward all forms of life.<sup>20</sup>

Bartram’s writing is situated near the beginning of a long tradition of American writing on sublimity. Chandos Michael Brown breaks early American contributions into three categories. The “ideological sublime,” which corresponds with the post-1700 provincial era, arises from the merging of English empiricism, especially the writings of John Locke, and North American Protestantism. The epistemological underpinnings of the ideological sublime support the possibility of discovering a nation in its geology and fauna. Unique and spectacular, American nature foreshadows the newness of a great nation-to-be. Between the revolutionary decades of the 1760s and 70s and the early years of the republic, Brown suggests a new “nationalist sublime” emerged. The success of the American Revolution meant that the new nation could be more of a cause, less of an effect of the remarkable landscape. The “first American sublime,” a category subsuming and exceeding the other two, lasts, according to Brown until the mid-1800s.<sup>21</sup> By that point, he argues, the sublime was retreating, spatially westward, temporally into an imagined past. Bartram’s *Travels*, written in

the 1770s, but published in 1791, straddles Brown's first two periods. He shares an intellectual heritage with the ideological sublime although, as a Quaker, he believed in direct revelation more than the New England Protestants Brown has in mind. Chronologically, Bartram might fit in the frame of a nationalist sublime, but *Travels* attends to local politics and ecosystems much more than a national political imaginary, which makes his concept of the sublime politically and epistemologically unique. His account of the Treaty of Augusta in 1773 reveals this well. The treaty ceded two million acres of Cherokee and Creek land to pay off debts to "the merchants of Georgia".<sup>22</sup> Bartram participates in the survey to determine the boundaries of the land to be transferred. He recounts "a remarkable instance of Indian sagacity" in which a Cherokee chief and a colonial surveyor argue over the best course for reaching a particular confluence of the Savannah River seventy miles away.<sup>23</sup> The surveyor relies on his compass, the Chief on prior knowledge of the land. The Chief, being proven correct, is granted leadership of the surveying party forthwith. He insists the compass be thrown away. The epistemological tension here is not between empiricism and either theology or rationalism, but between a machine-dependent empiricism current among the colonial upper classes and knowledge reliant on emplaced and embodied lived experience. Bartram favors the latter. In consequence, his writings on sublimity do not struggle with the bounds of quantifiability so central in Kant, but as primarily empirical, neither do they rely on an assessment of affect like Burke.

The nationalism underlying many US accounts of sublimity reads "American" greatness into specific landscapes while ignoring others. In his widely-cited "Essay on American Scenery" (1836), painter Thomas Cole implies that affection for the wilderness is a national duty. Scenery:

is a subject that to every American ought to be of surpassing interest; for, whether he beholds the Hudson mingling waters with the Atlantic, explores the central wilds of

this vast continent, or stands on the margin of the distant Oregon, he is still in the midst of American scenery--it is his own land; its beauty, its magnificence, its sublimity--all are his; and how undeserving of such a birthright, if he can turn towards it an unobserving eye, an unaffected heart!<sup>24</sup>

Note the regions Cole equates with American scenery: New York, the “central wilds” of the inland west, and Oregon in the Pacific Northwest. By the time Romanticism really took hold of American letters in the 1830s and 40s, the rural South Bartram enthuses about posed a problem. In travel literature depicting the areas Bartram had walked, local populations were portrayed as incapable of achieving the expansionist ideal of taming the wilderness, but their habitations sprawled across the mountains in a way that interfered with the pure wilderness increasingly associated with *American* sublimity. “Wildness,” is identified by Cole and others as “the most distinctive, and perhaps the most impressive, characteristic of American scenery” because “in civilized Europe the primitive features of scenery have long since been destroyed.”<sup>25</sup> The consolidation of American ideas about the sublime around the dichotomy of wild vs. civilized worked to exclude the forms of ecologically-attuned living which Bartram admired. For him, the sublime bears witness to the creativity and universal provision of God, not a national “birthright.” Ignoring the US national framework other writers were quick to impose, he writes of moving through the Cherokee, Creek and Seminole nations, of visiting a Quaker village and “the Floridas.” The only discernable moment of pride in *Travels* that could be called nationalistic is a paean to “our turkey of America,” which are “exceedingly splendid” and three times as big as those in Europe or Asia.<sup>26</sup>

### **Bartram’s Sublime Descriptions**

Bartram's first description of the sublime begins fairly typically. It is April of 1773, and he has just departed from Cape Henlopen in Delaware on his way to Charleston. After beginning with a "prosperous gale," he encounters two days of severe storms. Bartram reflects that "There are few objects out at sea to attract the notice of the traveller, but what are sublime, awful, and majestic: the seas themselves, in a tempest, exhibit a tremendous scene, where the winds assert their power, and, in furious conflict, seem to set the ocean on fire".<sup>27</sup> When describing terror as "the ruling principle of the sublime," Burke, too, turns to the ocean and also credits "raging storms" with sublime magnitude (see *Enquiry* II ii and xvii). But unlike Burke, Bartram's attention does not remain on the ocean tempest or the terror it caused. Already in the next sentence, he finds the moon, animals, and colors, even smells that strike him as competing with the storm in sublimity:

On the other hand, nothing can be more sublime than the view of the encircling horizon, after the turbulent winds have taken their flight, ...the gentle moon rising in dignity from the east, ...the prodigious bands of porpoises foreboding tempest, that appear to cover the ocean; the mighty whale, sovereign of the watery realms, who cleaves the seas in his course; ...the water suddenly-alive with its scaly inhabitants; squadrons of sea-fowl sweeping through the air, impregnated with the breath of fragrant aromatic trees and flowers; the amplitude and magnificence of these scenes are great indeed, and may present to the imagination, an idea of the first appearance of the earth to man at the creation.<sup>28</sup>

What Bartram sees, when he sees himself at the center of a perceptual act at all, is its horizon. The sea maybe boundless, but it returns him to his finitude. Mortal finitude, which limits us spatially and temporally, provides the basis for sublime experience. The trees, flowers and porpoises to him are not only "magnificent" as an aesthetic experience, but also meaningful



in appearing ontologically miraculous. The sublime, for him, is to perceive something as though neither he nor anyone else has ever seen it before.

There is one other description of sublimity in *Travels* that reflects a commonplace of aesthetic discourse, but here too Bartram's approach is unique. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mountains, along with storms at sea, become so closely associated with the aesthetic of sublimity that their appearance in poetry, novels and paintings functions as a symbolic reference to sublimity itself. In *Landscapes of the Sublime*, Duffy writes that mountains consolidate "a variety of ostensibly unrelated forms of elevation: moral, political, epistemological, aesthetic – as well as religious" in what he calls a "discourse of ascent."<sup>29</sup> It is therefore not surprising to find Bartram ascending a peak in the Jore (Nantahala) mountains to find "with rapture and astonishment, a sublimely awful scene of power and magnificence, a world of mountains piled upon mountains".<sup>30</sup> However, comparing Bartram's mountain descriptions to those of his contemporaries is telling. Describing the White Mountains in New Hampshire, Jeremy Belknap wrote in 1793 that here "A poetic fancy may find full gratification amid these wild and rugged scenes" because "Almost everything in nature, which can be supposed capable of inspiring ideas of the sublime and beautiful is here realized"<sup>31</sup> There is a category of natural objects that equate sublimity, and he finds them, ergo the view is sublime. For Thomas Cole, whose writing and paintings become a foundational part of what Andrew Wilton calls "an indigenous American pictorial language," writing about mountains requires the comparison with previously approved sublime landscapes in Europe: "It is true that in the eastern part of this continent there are no mountains that vie in altitude with the snow-crowned Alps," but "Snowdon in Wales, and Ben-Nevis in Scotland, are not more lofty," and New Hampshire has "been called the Switzerland of the United States."<sup>32</sup> Bartram's writing simply does not reveal this anxiety to

justify his perception of sublimity in terms of pre-ordained categories of objects or paradigmatic landscapes.

More than any other natural feature, it is the forest Bartram regards as sublime.<sup>33</sup> Eighteenth-century engagements with the sublime often associate forests with unseen threats: mountains or ocean storms achieve sublimity through their indifference to human fates, but forests seethe with hostility. For Burke, as noted, the sublime “comes upon us in the gloomy forest” (*Enquiry* II v). Individual oaks or elms are “awful and majestic,” but an ecosystem of “darkest woods” connotes obscurity and death (*Enquiry* II xvi, iii). The association of forests with primeval threats was preserved in American nineteenth-century discourse because the wildness that uncut forests represented was seen as a distinguishing feature of the new world. Cole portrays forests as “primeval,” their gloom peopled by “savage beasts, and scarcely less savage men.”<sup>34</sup> Bartram, in contrast, discovers in their variety a purposiveness almost resembling the “form of purposiveness of an object [...] without representation of an end” that Kant associates with beauty (*COPJ* §17 120). He describes entering a “sublime forest” that has been “thinly planted by nature with the most stately forest trees”.<sup>35</sup> It is not sublime because of what hides from knowledge or threatens him but because it has been “planted by nature” with “mighty trunks” of “seemingly of an equal height,” which together create the impression of “superb columns.”<sup>36</sup> The orderliness suggested by the forest does not cancel out its sublimity because it does not suggest the possibility of human understanding, only human appreciation. The order is itself superfluous, a gift.

Foregrounding the forest as sublime, as opposed to fields of ice or sea or desert, affects the perceptual orientation implied by Bartram’s descriptions. Many travel writers during the period compose in painterly scenes with landscape features described at a distance from the viewer.<sup>37</sup> Bartram tends to write from within a scene. This implies a significant shift in the human relation to sublime experience because it does not position the human viewer as

the organizing perceptual angle. Like Burke, Bartram contemplates sound, touch and smell, rather than just vision, and this too has a tendency to de-center human perceptual control since we cannot direct these senses in the way sighted people direct vision. Bartram hears “the plunging and roaring of the crocodiles, and the croaking of the frogs” on all sides of him.<sup>38</sup> He records turkeys, which he describes as “social sentinels,” “saluting each other...in an universal shout”.<sup>39</sup> Bartram perceives animals and plants as communal creatures, whose sociality can beneficially instruct humankind. “How cheerful and social,” he writes, “is the rural converse of the various tribes of tree frogs”.<sup>40</sup> Sighting clouds of ephemera mayfly, Bartram begs “the reader’s patience whilst we behold the closing scene of the short-lived Ephemera, and communicate to each other the reflections which so singular an exhibition might rationally suggest to an inquisitive mind”.<sup>41</sup> The community that begins with mayflies extends to include not only Bartram but also the reader. Their number is “greater than the whole race of mankind that have ever existed since the creation;” their “frame and organization is equally wonderful, more delicate, and perhaps as complicated as that of the most perfect human being”.<sup>42</sup> Bartram feels small in relation to the possibility of discovery on every side of him. He writes as though the community of nature takes him in, rather than positioning himself, on the edge of a precipice taking in a sublime view. Nature itself has “a pulse,” a “universal vibration of life insensibly and irresistibly” moving, which fills “the high lonesome forests with an awful reverential harmony, inexpressibly sublime”.<sup>43</sup> The sense of sublimity arising out of pervasive life is awe inspiring, but not terrifying.

### **Bartram and the English Romantics**

Bartram was not, like Burke or Kant, a theorist of the sublime so much as a promoter. His occasional conflation of the beautiful with the sublime is just the sort of indiscriminate

enthusiasm that would frustrate a Kantian like Samuel Taylor Coleridge, but his enthusiastic descriptions of sublime encounters fired the imaginations of English romantic poets.<sup>44</sup>

Viewing Salt Springs in central Florida, Bartram describes an “the enchanting and amazing crystal fountain, which incessantly threw up, from dark, rocky caverns below, tons of water every minute”.<sup>45</sup> As Lowes points out, not only the image, but even the language appears in “Kubla Khan”:

A mighty fountain momentarily was forced:  
 Amid whose swift half-intermitted burst  
 Huge fragments vaulted like rebounding hail,  
 Or chaffy grain beneath the thresher's flail:  
 And 'mid these dancing rocks at once and ever  
 It flung up momentarily the sacred river.<sup>46</sup>

Similarly, Wordsworth draws on Bartram when writing “Ruth.” The narrator describes the young man Ruth marries as pining for Georgia woods he has left behind. The landscape has given him “So much of earth—so much of Heaven.” In constructing an exoticized wilderness with dolphins, panthers, strawberry fields, savannahs and magnolias, Wordsworth merges ecosystems that the scientific Bartram documents as distinct, but as Lowes notes all the imagery comes straight from Bartram.<sup>47</sup> Wordsworth even credits him in a footnote.

What Coleridge and Wordsworth do with Bartram’s imagery is interesting. Where Bartram finds life and food and beauty in the seasonal changes of southern wilds, Wordsworth imagines danger. The uncontrolled ecosystem communicates its tendency toward undisciplined extremes to Ruth’s future husband:

Whatever in those Climes I found  
 Irregular in sight or sound  
 Did to my mind impart

A kindred impulse, seem'd allied  
 To my own powers, and justified  
 The workings of my heart.

Nor less to feed unhallow'd thought  
 The beauteous forms of nature wrought,  
 Fair trees and lovely flowers....<sup>48</sup>

Why the orchards and “houseless woods” around Tintern Abbey would impart to the poetic speaker “that blessed mood” in which we “become a living” and harmonious “soul,” but the “fair trees and lovely flowers” of the south would promote “irregular” impulses and “unhallow'd thought” is quite mysterious. It has to do, not with the trees or flowers but with what Duffy calls the “classic ground” of the sublime. The Alps, the desert, polar expanses and the groves of antiquity (Italy and Greece) were all already colored by the discourse of sublimity, “the essential claim” of which, as Thomas Weiskel writes, “is that man can, in feeling and in speech, transcend the human.”<sup>49</sup> Tintern Abbey was hallowed ground, and Wordsworth’s reception of that blessed mood or sublime gift repeats an act of receiving more than human inspiration ritualized by the Abbey’s late residents. Wordsworth treats the American South as unhallowed. The “cultural blankness” of Carolina and Georgia veil the area in the obscurity associated with sublimity, but not with blessing.<sup>50</sup>

Coleridge stays closer to Bartram in the precision of description. He also preserves the sense of the sacred, but in “Kubla Khan” measurement (five miles) is associated with circumscription and enclosure and placed in contrast to the “measureless” sublime. Following Kant, Coleridge equates the sublime with “a standard...which is not usable for any logical (mathematically determinate) judging of magnitude, but only for an aesthetic one” (*CPJ* §25 249) In contrast, Bartram combines the scientific rigor of measurement and species

designation with the language of wonder and mystery with no sense of tension between them. Being “struck with a kind of awe” at cypresses does not prevent him noting the depth of water in which they grow or the height and diameter of cypress knees.<sup>51</sup> Foregrounding an emphasis on objectivity, Bartram rejects rhetoric that might foster in readers the kind of awe he describes feeling himself. “To keep within the bounds of truth and reality, in describing the magnitude and grandeur of these trees, would, I fear, fail of credibility; yet, I think I can assert, that many of the black oaks measured eight, nine, ten, and eleven feet diameter five feet above the ground”.<sup>52</sup> Being measurable does not make the trees less amazing. To return to the example of the Cherokee Chief and white surveyor, Bartram values tools of empirical measurement for describing lived experience, but makes no claim that measurements or concepts could capture experience. For Bartram, the south is not unhallowed. He blithely declares sublimity where he finds it with little regard for what counts as sublime for others. There is so much of the universe for him that we can never see and yet remains sublime: “If then the visible, the mechanical part of the animal creation, the mere material part is so admirably beautiful, harmonious and incomprehensible, what must be the intellectual system? that inexpressibly more essential principle, which secretly operates within?”<sup>53</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Late twentieth- and twenty-first century conceptions of the American sublime have turned away from nature, toward capital and technology. Rob Wilson argues that many Americans experience “large-scale displacements of the natural sublime by megastructures of capital.”<sup>54</sup> According to David Nye, Americans have a penchant for a “technological sublime” which “sees new structures and inventions as continuations of nature” and “experience the dislocations and perceptual disorientations caused by this reconstruction in terms of awe and

wonder.”<sup>55</sup> Bartram’s forest wanderings may seem quite removed from these more recent understandings of sublimity. But Bartram’s willingness to marvel at the complexity of what is not human-made continues to be important, not just for aesthetic history, but for epistemology and environmental ethics because it is not predicated on a sense of mastery. William Spanos argues for the ongoing value of the concept of sublimity on the basis of its ability to counter “the spectacle’s reduction of the fully human being to a mere spectator.” He associates sublimity, in contrast, with “an active wonder, the alienated (ek-sistent) faculty of the human that, in humility before its immensity, mobility, and variety asks questions about being rather than, as in the Western tradition, imposes answers on its ontological indeterminacy.”<sup>56</sup> Bartram’s early American sublime joyfully resigns certainty and expressibility as a goal, in favor of “an active wonder.”

### **Suggestions for Further Reading**

Bloom, Harold, *The Daemon Knows: Literary Greatness and the American Sublime*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015.

Brady, Emily, *The Sublime in Modern Philosophy: Aesthetics, Ethics, and Nature*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

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87.

Slaughter, Thomas, *The Natures of John and William Bartram*, New York, Knopf, 1996.

Wilton, Andrew, and Tim Barringer, *American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States, 1820-1880*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2002.

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<sup>1</sup> Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1982, 40, 60, 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Nature" in *Essays and English Traits*, ed. Charles W. Eliot, New York: Collier and Son, 1937, 223

<sup>3</sup> John Livingston Lowes documents Coleridge's reading of Bartram in detail in *The Road to Xanadu*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1927, 367-70.

<sup>4</sup> \*Bloom, 6.

<sup>5</sup> \*Hitt, 607.

<sup>6</sup> Thomas P. Slaughter, "The Nature of William Bartram", *Pennsylvania History* 62, 1995, 429-51 (429).

<sup>7</sup> Frances Harper and William Bartram, "Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-74: A Report To Dr. John Fothergill", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 33, 1943, 121-242 (126).

<sup>8</sup> Benjamin Silliman, *Letters of Shahcoolen*, Russell and Cutler, 1802, 139.

<sup>9</sup> Slaughter, "William Bartram", 429.

<sup>10</sup> Benjamin Franklin, "Idea of the English School, [7 January 1751]," *Founders Online: National Archives* (<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Franklin/01-04-02-0030>)

<sup>11</sup> Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, vol. 3, ed. by Donald F. Bond, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1965, 540 (No. 412, 23 June 1712).

<sup>12</sup> \*Brown, 147-170.148, fn. 4.

<sup>13</sup> Emily Brady, *The Sublime in Modern Philosophy*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, 13.

<sup>14</sup> Bartram, "Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Territories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, and the Country of the Chactaws," in *Travels and Other Writings*, ed. Thomas Slaughter, New York, Library of America, 1996, 3-426 (17).

<sup>15</sup> Bartram, 13.

<sup>16</sup> Bartram, 19.

<sup>17</sup> Bartram, xxv.

<sup>18</sup> Bartram, xxvi.

<sup>19</sup> Bartram, 20.

<sup>20</sup> \*Hitt, 603-23 (607).

<sup>21</sup> \*Brown, 148.

<sup>22</sup> Bartram, 52.

<sup>23</sup> Bartram, 57.

<sup>24</sup> Thomas Cole, "Essay on American Scenery" *American Monthly Magazine* (January 1836). Reprinted in *The Native Landscape Reader*, ed. by Robert E. Grese, Amherst, University of Maryland Press, 2011, 27-36.

<sup>25</sup> Cole, 30.

<sup>26</sup> Bartram, 36.

<sup>27</sup> Bartram, 28.

<sup>28</sup> Bartram, 28.

<sup>29</sup> Cian Duffy, *The Landscapes of the Sublime 1700-1830*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2013, 30.

<sup>30</sup> Bartram, 362.

<sup>31</sup> Jeremy Belknap. *The History of New-Hampshire*, 3 vols., Boston, 1792, vol. 3, 51.

<sup>32</sup> \*Wilton Barringer, 11; Cole, 30.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Bartram, 55, 162, 165, 193, 256, 28, 309, 316, 341, 368-9.

<sup>34</sup> Cole, 30.

<sup>35</sup> Bartram, 55.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup> Edward Cahill, *Liberty of the Imagination*, Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012, 106-7.



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- <sup>38</sup> Bartram, 92.
- <sup>39</sup> Bartram, 88.
- <sup>40</sup> Bartram, 162.
- <sup>41</sup> Bartram, 88.
- <sup>42</sup> Bartram, 82.
- <sup>43</sup> Bartram, 161-2.
- <sup>44</sup> See Dorothy Wordsworth's account of Coleridge growing frustrated at a tourist's imprecise use of "majestic," "beautiful," and "sublime" in Ernest de Selincourt (ed.), *Journals of Dorothy Wordsworth*, 2 vols., New York, Macmillan, 1952, vol. 1, 223-4.
- <sup>45</sup> Bartram, 150.
- <sup>46</sup> Samuel Taylor Coleridge, "Kubla Khan, or a Vision in a Dream", lines 19-24; quoted from *The Complete Poems*, ed. William Keach, London, Penguin, 2004, 251. See Lowes, 368-70.
- <sup>47</sup> See Lowes 455 n.28.
- <sup>48</sup> William Wordsworth, "Ruth" (1802), lines 73-80; quoted from Fiona Stafford (ed.), *Lyrical Ballads 1798 and 1802*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, 244-5.
- <sup>49</sup> Thomas Weiskel, *The Romantic Sublime*, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins University Press, 2019, 3.
- <sup>50</sup> Duffy, 10.
- <sup>51</sup> Bartram, 93-4.
- <sup>52</sup> Bartram, 55.
- <sup>53</sup> Bartram, 19.
- <sup>54</sup> Rob Wilson, "The Postmodern Sublime: Local Definitions, Global Deformations of the US National Imaginary", *Amerikastudien / American Studies*, 43, 1998, 517-27 (519).
- <sup>55</sup> David E. Nye, *American Technological Sublime*, Cambridge, MA, MIT Press, 1994, 282.
- <sup>56</sup> William Spanos, *Redeemer Nation in the Interregnum*, New York, Fordham University Press, 2016, 10, 7