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I.

To a greater or lesser extent, a war marks a turning point in the lives of people. The Civil War for Walt Whitman was no exception. Whitman was etching his literary career in his way, since he debuted as a poet with *Leaves of Grass* in 1855, several years before the War. His attitude towards the War was typical of Northern intellectuals[1]: the United States was facing the most serious crisis of splitting the country since it was founded; if the war were inevitable, they were willing to fight for the Union[2].

To lead the North to victory, Whitman played an active role as a journalist. The time of war is when history and culture are reconsidered. In addition to giving war and war-related information and analyses, Whitman energetically wrote such series as "Brooklyniana" in *Brooklyn Standard* and "City Photographs" in *New York Leader* [3]. His writing often collaborated with his interest in social reform activities, to which he devoted himself mostly in Brooklyn from the improvement of asylums to park planning to make the community more liveable. It was the time that rapidly growing New York was beginning to put infrastructure and improve urban functions.

As an American bard, Whitman heightened fighting spirits with his war poems. In "City of Ships," he affirms loyalty to America, the "City," saying that he has "rejected nothing" the city offered him and declaring, "In peace I chanted peace, but now the drum of war is mine." He indicates the city, his beloved hometown New York, a representative city of the United States, as highly commercialized and industrialized with vibrant "wharves and stores," contrasting to the rural land of the Confederate South whose industry is mainly agriculture. Now in wartime, the "mettlesome, mad, extravagant" urban city is symbolized

with strong military forces, “ships.” With invincible “tall facades of marble and iron,” the city stands as the pillar of the country. The city is ready to fight.

The representative city of the United States, Whitman says, is also the “city of the world,” which could be appropriate for New York after the Second World War, but not yet in the 19th century. It is his well-known way of exaggeration by lifting the subject to a higher position. He places the city not only in the center of the country map but that of the world, just when he calls himself, “kosmos,” something ultimate. Expanding the map to a global scale, Whitman tries to give an image that the crises of his country are not only theirs but the matter of the world because the city is contributed by “all races” from “[a]ll the land of the earth.” Accepting immigrants from the old world, New York was becoming one of the most cosmopolitan cities in the world in the late 19th century.

With whipping up war sentiment with gallant words and phrases, he creates a story that Americans, “we” the North with the city of ships, are representing the hopes and ideals in the world. In this way, Whitman fires up the self-esteem of Americans, people in the North, and encourages them to get together under the flag of “the City.” There is no hesitation nor reluctance, but exhilaration and determination to lift his compatriot’s spirit, and an optimistic, almost innocent belief to make his promising yet fumbling country an ideal one in the world.

II.

While making the most of his writing abilities, Whitman during the war volunteered nursing at field hospitals. Writes Whitman, “Soldiers, soldiers, soldiers, you meet every where about the city, often superb-looking men, though invalids dress’d in worn uniforms, and carrying canes or crutches.” (*Specimen Days*, 47). There he attended the wounded and diseased, as well as assisted doctors[4]. Whitman’s earnest devotion to soldiers during the Civil War came from his strong public-mindedness. His innate philanthropic nature, nurtured in the Quaker atmosphere in his early years, must have been even more strengthened by the hardships he had to go through because of his sexuality[5].

Although the most well-known of them is his clerk and nursing services in Washington D.C., even since in the 1850s, several years before the beginning of the war, Whitman visited New York Hospital known as the Broadway Hospital[6]. According to David Breckenridge Donlon, Whitman was interested in "the hospital itself as a scientific institution and in the human suffering he witnessed there," and accordingly established two kinds of relationships; one is with physicians, "who allowed him great freedom in the hospital, even occasionally permitting him to witness surgical operations" and the other with a "suffering stage driver" beside whom he sat with "a sincere and profound sympathy."[7]

Whitman's interest in acquiring knowledge on health and medicine coincides with the time when public health and hospitals were a growing concern in the last half of the 19th century[8]. Gaining the newest theories, and going to visit the sites where the theories were in practice, Whitman soon became a front-runner on the matter to the extent of giving the newest theories to young American men in a series of columns called "Manly Health and Training" in *New York Atlas* in 1858 under an alias, Mose Velsor[9]. Though some parts of the writings were pseudoscientific and based on inaccurate or prejudiced information because of the limitations of the era, much of his knowledge on health meets today's standard[10]. His advice is simple: good diet, proper exercise, cleanliness, and well-ordered good habits, all of which may as well appeal to 21st-century readers[11]. He had far more advanced ideas than his contemporaries: in the middle of the 19th century, he looked at the human being "as a perfect animal," the idea associated with Darwinism before reading *On the Origin of Species* ("Manly," 275)[12].

Whitman's passion for health issues in part came from his homosexual predilection. In the columns of "Manly Health and Training," Whitman declares that "*Beauty is simply health and a sound physique*" and urges the readers to be "live, robust American men" (253). He regards "the best specimens" as "the remains of ancient sculpture" and insists that fighting is one of the best ways to train the body and obtain ideal body structures, as they were created through "the public games and training exercises of the Greek and Roman arenas" (255)[13]. Whitman never hides his enchantment with young men's bodies. When he marks his fortunate moment he was "standing among a large crowd of these

sporting men," "the best collection of specimens of hardy and developed physique," his rapturous tones in describing the details of their appearances, features, and behaviors become heated and feverish as if he could write the scene eternally (263).

Aside from writing with an alias, Whitman showed his homoeroticism in public quite comfortably in "Manly." It was, however, not easy for him to get to this point. Considering the discrimination against social minorities including homosexuals in the everyday life of the 21st century, it is not difficult to imagine how harsh the situation was in the 19th century, when, according to Karen Karbiener, there was not even a term to describe sexual minorities in America: the first publication on gay rights was in 1869[14] and the term homosexual was first used in 1892 [15] ("Afterword," 146). Whitman looked for the term that described himself in vain, so he had to "create a language for what he was and felt" and introduce the words "friendship" and "adhesiveness" by himself, which must have been only possible by a person like Whitman who had a strong self-consciousness (Karbiener, "Afterword," 147).

Whitman's anguish of being gay and struggles to walk "in Path Untrodden" can be traced in the poems in "Live Oak, with Moss" together with Brian Selznick's drawings. The twelve autobiographical homoerotic love poems start with the scene in which the poet looks at a live oak tree in Louisiana in 1848. It is a large tree with exuberant foliage standing alone in an open land. The poet sees it as "solitary," "rude, unbending, lusty," identifying himself with it, but thinks it unbearable for him to be "without a friend, a lover." He plucks a twig from the tree.

Selznick's drawings depict a passionate affair between the poet and the tree. Whether it is the poet's reverie back in his room with the twig or not, he definitely received something from the tree; after that, he moves back to the city, where he walks around to look for a lover or lovers with whom he could establish "friendship" or "adhesiveness." In his actual life back in New York, Whitman frequented Pfaff's "almost every night" with "the notebooks he toted on his walks include lists of men's names, ages, addresses, and physical descriptions" (Karbiener, "Afterward," 148, 150)[16]. Selznick draws the scenes in Louisiana in black and white, and those in New York City in color.

Whatever the oak tree in "Live Oak, with Moss" is – whether it is a real tree in

Louisiana, someone he met and fell in love with, the relationship Whitman calls "friendship" and "adhesive," or a concept that combines them all –, it seems certain that the tree urged the poet to reflect on himself and get released from whatever he was bounded by.

The poet probably found things in common and different between the tree and him. The tree looks lonely because there is nothing around it, and which is its natural condition. Just like the tree, being gay is the poet's natural condition. There is nothing wrong with them. No creatures can choose where, when, and how they are created. Still, it is difficult for the poet to live as he is, because his sexuality contradicts the values then. They rule human behaviors in the form of norms, customs, orders, tradition, and even atmospheres, all of which are man-made. His dilemma is between the laws of nature and men, a similar predicament Huckleberry Finn gets into. While Huck Finn, a country orphan on the street with nothing but his genuine keen instincts, follows the natural law saying, "All right, then, I'll go to hell," the poet, far more mature and worldly, does the same without thinking of going to hell.

The poet literary walks out of his anxieties and accordingly the fear of solitude. While the tree is destined to be where it is rooted, nature created his body to walk with his will. He can move to a better place, walk, wander, run, and jump to anyone he wants. He knows where he should go. Back in the city of New York, where anyone can be themselves, he starts seeking *adhesiveness*, friendship, or love with his lovers and non-lovers. He must have gradually gained confidence and become self-actualized, which led him to the extent of identifying himself as "a Kosmos" in his debut work – he is the rules, so is anybody. Continues him, "of Manhattan the son," because he was reborn there, where freedom is. In *Leaves of Grass*, he kept adding poems on people whom "traditional" poets never referred to. In 1860, he was self-confident enough to publish "Calamus," his same-sex love poems, in the third edition of *Leaves*. Walt Whitman declared that gays too are Americans, just as he did for people on the street in the first edition.

III.

Whitman is a person who connects one interest to another and keeps broadening his world. He associates beautiful male bodies with wars and a nation-state, insisting that the health of a nation depends on the health of its individuals in "Manly Health and Training," the columns written a few years before the Civil War. Giving an example of Rome that was conquered "because they disdained the fierce encouragements to produce a race of men who could and would fight, not rote merely, but for the *love of fight*," he encourages the American youth to train themselves both physically and sexually to have "a deathless interest in these contests for physical superiority," whether in a large scale of the battle of a war or a smaller scale, "between two trained specimens of humanity in the prize ring," or "for the purpose of resisting the invasion of a foreign foe," saying "we believe in the necessity of those means that help to develop a hardy, robust and combative nation, and desire to see America in that list" (257-58)[17].

Soldiers, in this respect, are the ideal embodiments that satisfy his sexual and patriotic desires. It is more than natural for Whitman to serve the soldiers who were sent back from the battlefield. By the time he moved to Washington D.C. to devote himself at a battlefield hospital, he had already been a skilled caretaker. Nursing soldiers seemed the perfect way to gratify all his interest in health and public welfare as well as sexual predilection and patriotic feelings at the same time. The way Whitman self-devoted at the field hospital, where soldiers came for help and relief from the battlefield, was as if following that of the oak tree in Louisiana: it provides a place for anyone, whether they are passers-byes or animals, letting them stay out of whatever attacks them violently including sun, rain, and wind[18].

Whitman seemed to be walking the path of an American poet who represents all Americans, singing about those whose voices were neglected: he included people on street in Americans in the first edition of *Leaves of Grass* and added sexual minorities in the edition published just a year before the Civil War began. Many, including himself, might have expected his vigorous inclusiveness would expand more. It was the war to achieve equality after all. However, such did not happen. He did not cross the boundaries of race.

Moreover, Whitman started revealing a racist nature, which had been assumedly latent during the war against the South.

Hutchinson and Drews point out that Whitman had "internalized typical white racial attitudes of his time, place, and class" and his "attitudes to people of African descent must be distinguished from his attitudes toward slavery." Given that Whitman's primary concern before and during the war was to keep the country united, it is well assumed that, before and during the war, the Northerner took it his duty as well as his responsibility to sing for slaves to bring victory to the North. Considering slavery was not only morally wrong, but also it was the backbone of the South and the slaves were the victims of their system, the patriot poet sang about the inhumane situations of slaves and projected the image of the evilness of slavery from the bottom of his heart: In an episode in *Leaves* that Whitman let a runaway slave stay at his house, he is truly kind and warm-hearted, yet he describes the man as a slave in the frame of slavery rather than a person in slavery.

To put it the other way, once the victory of the North, his main purpose, was realized, Whitman no longer needed to sing for black people[19]. In the first place, they were the people he hardly had any association with, never knew much about, and never got interested in throughout his life. Like many other poets, he dared not sing for what he was not interested in. He even opposed black people's civil rights, saying, "blacks were stupid, shouldn't be allowed to vote, and didn't have a place in the future of America" (Porter)[20].

Whitman made noteworthy changes in the slave auction part of "I Sing the Body Electric" after the Civil War. In the 1855 edition of the *Leaves*, Whitman, a Northerner and an abolitionist, makes a humane objection against slavery in the South, where slaves were considered properties or livestock of slaveholders, deprived of all human rights. Calling a slave man "him," Whitman insists slaves are neither a commodity nor an animal but human being, who has the same body set with the same red blood running as "gentlemen" who see him as "curious creature"; who, like other human beings, has in his heart "all passions and desires," "all reachings and aspirations," all of which are natural human instincts.

Whitman calls a slave woman "her," focusing on the love and affection of human beings. In the South, it was not unusual for slave owners to rape their female slaves and

added the number of slaves who inherited his genes to their property. Calling slaves "he" and "she," Whitman assures they are not faceless collectivity like livestock but are individual social beings. Like white men and women, and their ancestors and offspring, black men and women, Whitman believes, have the right to succeed and pass along not only their bodies but their emotions and traditions. He sings they cannot accomplish it because they are socially split, and such is possible only when they connect with others as human beings.

1855 was the time when the abolitionist movement was heated, and the war between anti- and pro-slavery was becoming realistic. Slavery and auctions were ongoing realities. He too was ongoing: Whitman's anger, irritation, and despair are expressed in the exclamation mark in "A slave at auction!"; horizontal ellipses show his thoughts and imagination sometimes gushing out, wondering, and trembling in the face of cruel realities.

The ongoing atmosphere in the 1855 edition, however, is gone in the revised version. In the same auction scene, Whitman added explanatory comments in parentheses, and deleted emphasizing words such as "very." Now the same auction scene is presented in a quieter, more organized, and composed form with some distance. More importantly, he changed the pronouns for slaves: it was "he" or "she" before the war, but after the war, he started calling them "it." "It," needless to say, is not a common pronoun to refer to a person. "It" is often used when referring to an animal, a concept, an abstract, and a person not grown up such as a baby. Given the asexuality of "it," the poet no longer seems to hope for them and their offspring to carry on their histories, which he had dreamed of in the same poem before the war. "It" is their body. They were just bodies cut from the soul.

These changes he made may reflect his and the Northerners' disappointment at the realities of the South after the war – although slavery had been abolished, nothing changed in Southern society. The conditions of former slaves were much the same or crueler than before the war. Whitman might have added the image of the people who no longer are slaves, but not yet humans who are given full human rights. Since the Reconstruction led by the North was a total failure and the people in the North rapidly lost interest in the South and its victims, he must have seen no hope for former slaves to become a social

existence and pass on their heritages as when he described them as "he/she." "It," the pronoun Whitman uses, implies an image of a lonely and isolated substance rather than a specific living creature. Still, the word "it" suggests the poet's cold distance from black people.

As a reason why Whitman stopped hiding his racist feelings after the Civil War, Hutchinson and Drews give the influences of "racist pseudo-science that was proliferated among many white intellectuals in the post-Civil War era." Judging by the fact that the fake belief attracted a wide range of Northern intellectuals, not to mention the pro-slavery Southern whites, it follows that a large number of people were opposed post-war America to become a racially equal society. The pseudoscience was a convenient excuse to openly disdain black people and exclude them from the white-centered country, especially appealing to people like Whitman, self-acknowledged mania on up-to-date health science. The popularity of false science in the era shows how severely racism was penetrated in the U.S.

The experiences at field hospitals may have affected Whitman to change his attitude from the warm treatment of slaves to the merciless exclusion of black people. Since a field hospital was a place where life was not a matter of course – even that of a young and healthy man was unpredictable —, it is no wonder if Whitman came to live more honestly to his feelings, while he was alive[21].

It is noted that the field hospitals Whitman served at were most likely white men-only environment[22]. While He had no difficulty falling in love and having affairs with soldiers in and around the hospitals, but relationships with them must have been different from those in ordinary situations, considering the physical and psychological state of the soldiers there. His unique and intense time with each of the soldiers can be imagined from his letters to the families of perishing young men such as Erastus Haskell, a 19-year-old fife player who died of typhoid in 1863. Whitman introduces himself as "merely a friend," who could do but sit next to this dying man ("Letters"). The sentences connected with "&" are well-controlled, perhaps willfully suppressed, yet beautifully convey the young man's last period of life. In this "curious & solemn scene," Whitman "was attracted to him much." Without knowing the past life of "this dear young man close at hand lying on what

proved to be his death bed," Whitman looked at him as "a noble boy." Whitman beautifully creates a dramatic scene for the family to accept their precious son's death. In the calm and quiet night at the hospital, without any verbal communication available, Whitman was just quietly sitting by the deathbed of the young man and nurtured affection for him. Whitman received so much from young soldiers, from their bodies, but all he could do was watch their beautiful bodies, his favorites, damaged, destroyed, and perished next to him every day for more than two years. It may be explicable that the unique and intense relationships he established with beautiful young white men in ultimate situations led him to the state called white supremacist.

Whitman, "the poet of the body," believes body and soul are inseparable;

I sing the body electric, . . .
And if the body does not do fully as much as the soul?
And if the body were not the soul, what is the soul?
("I Sing the Body Electric")

The body and therefore the soul Whitman blissfully celebrates in "I Sing the Body Electric" does not mean the body and soul of everyone. They are limited to those of white men. Whitman feels the body of a white man and his soul. Whitman neither feels the body of a black man nor his soul. In this respect, referring to a black man with the pronoun "it" can be his pronouncement that he does not comprehend a black man. Therefore, his description of a black man is conceptual, which corresponds to that of a (white) woman, both of which come from his lack of interest. "A Woman Waits for Me" is an example that tells how he does not understand or try to understand those whom he is not interested in. Citing Elizabeth Cady Stanton's criticism that Whitman is "apparently ignorant of the natural fact" of women and that by others, Karen Karbiener notes the "rape-like scene" is seen "as further evidence that Whitman simply did not know how to describe a heterosexual love scene" ("Endnotes," 799). There described no joy between the two human beings which he blissfully expressed in homosexual love poems. As was not interested in women, he was not interested in colored men either physically or spiritually[23].

Yet his treatment of a (white) woman differs from black man according to his judgment on how much they are useful for the country. While he finds no value in black people so much as to deny their voting rights, he includes (white) women in the society, for the reason that a man can "pour the stuff to start sons and daughters fit for these States" and "graft the grafts of the best-beloved of [him] and America" ("A Woman Waits for Me"). He considers a woman valuable because she is worthy of a (white) man and America, looking at her as a kind of tool for a man's sexual outlets and a country's birth-giving machine. His androcentric idea in this poem is that a man contributes to the country, its sustenance, and prosperity *through* a woman, not *with* her[24].

The time Whitman started calling a black person "it" coincides with the time they became U.S. citizens. Before the war, Whitman, like many of his white contemporaries, probably had not regarded black people as Americans, based on the fact that blacks had been slaves, not citizens of the United States with a few exceptions[25]. Whitman, becoming more and more nationalistic in wartime, must have started judging people on how much they could contribute to his country. His genuine love for young and trained white men must have intensified his patriotism because they could become the most valuable soldiers for his country. When most of the black people were slaves and were not allowed to fight the war, Whitman just excluded them from the rights and duties of Americans. Once they became American citizens, and eligible for fighting, he started applying the same criteria to them. With fully understanding the stubbornly unchanging realities of the postbellum South, where their situations hardly improved if not became worse, Whitman labeled a slave "it" instead of "he/she" in the auction scene of "Body Electric," disdained them to the extent of insisting to deprive them of civil rights. Whitman's racism became stronger and more obvious combinied with his nationalism.

The Civil War possibly changed Whitman from a patriot to a nationalist. In his letter to the family of Erastus Haskell, a dying young fife player he nursed at the field hospital, Whitman asks the family if he could call him "son" and then addresses the dead young man. It is a commonly used justification in the country at war to call those who serve for the country the sons of the country, just as Whitman wrote in the letter, "He is one of the thousands of our unknown American young men in the ranks about whom there is no

record or fame, no fuss made about their dying so unknown, but I find in them the real precious & royal ones of this land, giving themselves up, aye even their young & precious lives" ("Letters"). It is noticeable that Whitman openly speaks from the standpoint of the country, where powers and authorities are. It is possible that Whitman too was suffering from the grief of the young man's death and trying to solace himself as he did to the family so that he could accept his death as an honorable one for the cause of the country. As long as he identified himself with the country, he could avert the cruel realities and avoid thinking objectively of what the country was doing to them. In the time of war "justice" is on the side of the country.

With his identification with the country, here emerges a different image of the American poet Whitman himself had been creating for himself. "Walt Whitman, a kosmos, of Manhattan the son" had kept including minorities into the "mainstream" Americans, introducing "many long dumb voices" of Americans and "the rights of them the others are down upon" through him (*Leaves*). He embraced white minorities but did not cross the boundaries of race. It is also a different image from that of the oak tree with moss, which freed Whitman from man-made laws filled with prejudices. The "rude, unbending, lusty" tree is independent, free from anything. Standing alone in the solid in the ground and an open sky, it is lonely, but not isolated. The tree lets anyone stay under the moss around the boughs while keeping some distance from them. It is self-independent, just like Whitman before the Civil War. Now, Whitman depended on the country and spoke very different words from what he used to use.

IV.

Whitman before the Civil War might have presumed that his love for the country and young men would work together and make both better and stronger, satisfying both his homosexual desires and patriotism. The realities, however, were far from what he had been dreaming. Every day, with his own eyes, he saw young healthy bodies perishing next to him. The war he believed for the cause of his dear America was hurting and destroying

the healthy bodies of its sons, forcefully depriving their futures. Without being able to do anything, he must have felt a sense of helplessness. He was limited in the realities he now lived in. Not able to do anything, he might have stopped challenging, which is self-contradictory for the person who had been overcoming difficulties throughout his life.

His frustrations and exasperation towards himself are projected in his poems. While those before the war are characterized as confident, optimistic, and energetic, those after are quieter, more critical, and reflective. In "O Me! O Life!", for instance, the poet does not hide his negative feelings, lamenting and complaining about other people and himself that life doesn't go the way he wants. He is negative and powerless, far from omnipotent. At a loss, wandering to seek ways out, and after a full of complaints, he asks the question, "What good amid these?" and declares, "answer." The answer he finds is not exactly the answer to the question but just another way to see the world. It is a phrase to console and encourage himself, if not the aversion from the realities he complains about.

The question-and-answer style in "O Me! O Life" reminds us of a cryptic dialogue of Zen Buddhism, a dialog between a Zen priest and his disciple – through the dialogue, the disciple tries to reach *satori*, or enlightenment. Getting enlightenment is not easy, and so is Zen dialogue, which is usually indirect, circulatory, evasive, and most of the time, not the answer at all[26].

Along with the form of Zen Dialogue, the content of the "answer" is Buddhist. It tells us that no matter whether you like it or not, you are in this world, so, just be as you are. The last line, "That the powerful play goes on, and you may contribute a verse," is similar to the Buddhist phrase, "Brighten the world at your corner – that is the world treasure," by Saicho, a Japanese Buddhist priest in the 8th century[27]. It reflects the days of Whitman who saw young soldies with futures dying, without doing anything at the field hospital. There, life and death, hope and despair switch places instantly; the boundaries of life and death, which are believed to be two opposites, blurring and merging. The experiences there led Whitman to explore new realms in his poems such as an endless bereavement in "Come Up From the Fields Father," and a reconciliation to glorification in "When Lilacs Last in the Dooryard Bloom'd."

Interestingly, Walt Whitman, "a kosmos, of Manhattan the Son" makes life less

tolerable with using almost the same guidance of life as a legendary Buddhist priest who lived some 1000 years before him. However, it is not a coincidence. Whitman admires Ralph Waldo Emerson, a leading figure of the Transcendentalist movement, who declares, "The Buddhist . . . is a Transcendentalist" (91-92)[28]. Emerson, whom Whitman addresses as "Master," believes each individual must achieve enlightenment by themselves, and so are Zen Buddhists. Buddha admonished to his disciples: "*Seek Within*, you are the Buddha." "Zen is a way of *self-discipline* and *self-reliance*" (my italics). As Yoshinobu Hakutani points out, the emphasis on self-enlightenment comes from their common belief that "an individual is taught to discipline themselves and look within because divinity resides not only in nature but in man" (434).

Both Transcendentalist and Buddhist influences can be found in the wordings of "O Me! O Life!" The phrase, "Of eyes that vainly crave the light" can be associated with Transcendentalist meaning as Emerson writes, "the over-soul is pervasive 'a light'" and "this light is so powerful that one becomes 'a transparent eyeball'" (263).

Though Whitman had learned Buddhist and Transcendentalist philosophies, his poems before the Civil War never revealed much of their influences. It was only after a long time of seeking within himself that he put these doctrines into his poems. What he went through in the war time no doubt is one of the occasions. Days at the hospital must have been a blissful yet cruel time for him. Whitman, who had been playing a model figure of Americans – positive, idealistic, and open-minded – , after the war allowed himself to show his real feelings including the negative ones such as helplessness and exasperation in his poems. He even marked racist comments and showed conformist aspects. Whitman no longer sang for everyone. No longer an inclusive poet.

It seems Whitman's attitude shined back the moment to moment of America. Before the Civil War, just as young America struggled to become an ideal state of the country, Whitman earnestly tried to become an all-American poet, who represents the country at the moment. Singing for America to become a full-fledged yet unique country, Whitman became the icon of differences and diversity of America, to be exact, white America. After experiencing the Civil War, eliminating slavery and reuniting states, America could have been more generous and inclusive. Postbellum America, instead, rather shifted to

exclusivism. Because stubborn racism prevented blacks from the rights they were supposed to have, they had to keep suffering and fighting for it for another century. Whitman is one of those who strongly opposed their civil rights. With the increase of new immigrants, America started closing its doors, applying strict and discriminatory laws on them. If these changes are called the advancement from the young immature nation to that of grown-ups, America surely stepped up to adulthood. Whitman, always the American poet, just reflected the state of postbellum America. Expressing its good and evil through himself, Walt Whitman truly represents America.

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[Notes]

1 Whitman, 42 years old, was not young enough to enlist in the Union Army when the Civil War started in 1861.

2 The idea that the war is a matter of course can be attributed to the fact that America was founded by fighting the Independence War. With the history of defeating the British, the country seems to have less hesitation to resort to arms than many other countries.

3 More were in *Brooklyn Eagle, New York Times, Brooklyn Daily Union* and others. Some were written unsigned or under pseudonyms. Emory Holloway discovered Whitman as the author of "Brooklyniana," unsigned. Charles I. Glicksberg first spotted Whitman's authorship of "City Photographs," signed Velsor Brush, Whitman's known pseudonym.

4 Most of the surgeries there were amputations.

5 As Suzan Day Dean argues, the Quakers' influence on Whitman is not small. He grew up near relatives and neighbors such as Elias Hicks, a radical Quaker in Long Island. Even though his parents were not the members of Society of Friends, they were both his admirers.

6 In December 1862, Whitman visited Virginia right after he found the name of his younger brother George Washington on a list of wounded soldiers in the Battle of Fredericksburg. George had hardly been hurt but Walt decided to move to Washington D.C. to serve the sick and wounded.

7 Whitman wrote several articles based on his experiences at the hospital in *New York Leader* under the pseudonym of Velsor Brush.

8 The Brooklyn City Hospital, founded in 1845 and later renamed the Brooklyn Hospital, was funded by private contributions. Whitman began volunteering around 1858 when Pathological Hall was built.

9 In 2016, Zackary Turpin, then a graduate student, discovered Walt Whitman is the author of the series.

10 In fact, in 2017, more than a century later of its first publication, *Walt Whitman's Guide to Manly Health and Training* was published with Matthew Allen's 21st-century taste of illustrations.

11 In some of his warnings and suggestions, Whitman was as if foreseeing the future youth; excessive dependence on medicines dose "a great deal more hurt than good" ("Manly," 250); after dinner "a glass of good ale or wine" rather than soda or "a strong cup of hot coffee" (247); the habits of sexuality with the correct knowledge of venereal diseases, which were rampant because of "ignorance" (252).

12 Charles Darwin's revolutionary theory of the time "first appeared in print in August 1858, just days before the publication of the initial installment of 'Manly Health and Training'" (Turpin, 167).

13 Whitman recommends such fighting sports as boxing.

14 A booklet by Karl-Maria Kertbeny.

15 In the translation of Charles Gilbert Chaddock from Richard von Krafft-Ebing's Psychopathia Sexualis.

16 Whitman was as meticulous on this matter as on other fields he was engaged in.

17 Yukio Mishima, a Japanese famed novelist, is also an admirer of ancient Greek statues, believing them as ideal bodies. Although Mishima is from an aristocratic family and grows up in a delicate elite, he shares the ideologies with Whitman in that he connects his homosexual desire to his country. Mishima trained his feeble body to that of a bodybuilder as well and he formed a small private military group consisted of mostly the youth of "understratum" to borrow Whitman's phrase. Whitman here uses "we" as "America," identifying himself with his country, which Mishima longed for in vain. Neither Mishima's military group nor his theatrical *seppuku* at the Japan Defense Agency, televised live, was favorably accepted by most people in Japan. Machoism is not so much penetrated in Japan as in America.

18 Even James Harlan, who dismissed Whitman "from a clerkship he had held for six months in the Department of the Interior," said of his conduct in his duties as "most exemplary" on the interrogation. "[S]ole and only cause of his dismissal" is because he considered *Leaves of Grass* "full of indecent passages" and the author "a very bad man," a "free lover." (O'Connor).

19 President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation during the war. Like Lincoln, Whitman was not a radical abolitionist.

20 Because of this statement, Timothy McNair, a black, gay graduate student in music at Northwestern University in 2013, over a century later, refused to perform a musical piece with lyrics from *Leaves of Grass*.

21 His personal experiences that a brother died and another was sent to a hospital also strongly affected him.

22 It is most probable that Whitman never nursed black soldiers, because they could not enlist U.S. army by a "Federal law dating from 1792 barred Negroes from bearing arms for the U.S. army" till the first authorized black regiments were pursued after Emancipation Proclamation and the Bureau of Colored Troops was established in May 1863 (Freeman). By the end of the Civil War, roughly 179,000 black men served as soldiers in the U.S. Army and another 19,000 in the Navy; Nearly 40,000 black soldiers died over the course of the war—30,000 of infection or disease (Freeman).

Considering racial prejudices, it was most unlikely for them to be taken to a hospital where someone like Whitman worked, no matter how seriously they were wounded or diseased.

23 Lavelle Porter mentions Whitman's racism was "not limited to black people, but also extended to Native Americans, Hispanics, and Asians."

24 Whitman certainly knows there is no such a convenient woman he describes in "A Woman Waits for Me" waiting for him. It is a fantasy he never dreams of.

25 Until the 14th Amendment gave them citizenship in 1868, the Naturalization Act of 1790 limited U.S. citizenship to whites only.

26 Because of this, the term Zen dialogue, *Zen Mondo*, also means an unproductive discussion.

27 The phrase could be translated in other ways such as "Bloom where you're planted" and "A good deed in a naughty world."

28 Whitman in many ways corresponds to "The poet" Emerson prophesied in his essay of the same title. Emerson sent him a supportive letter after reading the 1855 *Leaves*. In response to it, according to Ed Folsom, Whitman reprinted it in *The New York Tribune*, inserted copies of it into some of the later copies of the first edition, printed his twelve-page response to Emerson (addressing him as "Master"), and brazenly featured Emerson's name and endorsement on the spine of the 1858 edition: "I greet you at the beginning of a great career. R. W. Emerson." These episodes show Witman's self-producing abilities and exhibitionism as well as his upbringing.

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