The Syntactic Pair *Heaven and Earth* in Nineteenth-Century Literature

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The syntactic pair heaven and earth *can be traced from its historical roots in early religious texts all the way to the modern day. The phrase* heaven and earth *is much more than the sum of its parts; however, most dictionaries do not adequately define the pair functioning as one lexical item. In fact, semantic pairs often do not merit their own dictionary entries. In this article,* heaven and earth *is defined as one constituent by using corpus data to analyze the pair in a nineteenth-century context, yielding nine definitions for* heaven and earth.

Introduction

In the history of the English language, the set phrase *heaven and earth* (and variants that include plurals and articles) has early instantiations, especially in translations of the Bible and in other Christian texts. For example, the word pair describes the divine and human nature of the baby Jesus in "There is no rose of such vertu," a fourteenth-century anonymous Christmas carol: "For in this rose conteinèd was Heaven and earth in litel space." This syntactic pair also appears in the first verse of the King James Version of the Bible: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth" (Genesis 1:1). In this case, the complementary antonyms of the conjoined pair create a notion of semantic totality: "in the beginning God created everything"[1] (Watkins, 1995). Not surprisingly, the syntactic formula *heaven and earth* appears in the works of nineteenth-century authors who were immersed in biblical language at church, at school, or in family scripture study at home.

This paper explores the meanings of the phrase *heaven and earth* in the works of nineteenth-century writers. Separate definitions of the words *heaven* and *earth* from the *Oxford English Dictionary,* Noah Webster's 1844 *American Dictionary of the English Language*, and other dictionaries are not adequate for defining this combination of words as a set phrase. Therefore, the definitions I have set forth below are based only on *heaven* and *earth* functioning together (i.e., *heaven and earth*) rather than individually, and the words are often used figuratively.

1. Both divine and human nature; or, all people in the celestial and mortal realms.
2. Metonymy for Christ.
3. Everything; all things in creation (See Genesis 1:1).
    a. Move heaven and earth: to go to great lengths.
4. All nature.
5. Exclamation of surprise, disbelief, or distress.
6. Used for oath-making.
7. Everywhere besides hell.

8. Two complementary rather than antonymic entities.

9. The kingdom of God.

These entries, given in no particular order, will be illuminated in the following article as I provide examples and explanations for each given definition. I have italicized *heaven and earth* in each excerpt. Examples are taken from texts quoted in the *OED*, the Corpus of Historical American English (COHA),[2] and Davidson and Derr's collection *Eliza R. Snow: Complete Poetry*.[3]

(1) Both divine and human nature; or, all people in the celestial and mortal realms

To illustrate the first part of the definition, "both divine and human nature," consider the Longfellow quote, "Were they not, likewise, sons of *Heaven and Earth*?"[4] Since the people spoken of are "sons of Heaven and Earth," they are mortal—born on earth—but their spirits came from heaven, suggesting that heaven is their true home and indicating their potential to return to the heavenly place. The first part of the definition could also read "divine potential and human nature."

Regarding the second part of the definition, "all people in the celestial and mortal realms," consider the words of Thomas W. Jenkyn: "Of whom the whole family in *heaven and earth* is named."[5] The collective noun *family*, particularly when paired with the word *whole*, indicates fullness or inclusiveness, hence "*all* people in heaven and on earth," not just some. Here it takes on a more figurative sense than definition 1, so while all people in heaven and on earth may not actually be related, the syntactic pair—especially when collocated with *family*—includes every person in existence in the unit. Another example of all heavenly and earthly people is from Edward Hitchcock's *Emancipation of Europe*: "What shall I do? If I proceed, both heaven and earth will rise / In judgment 'gainst my soul."[6] This again refers to all beings, but this time it does not use the family metaphor.

(2) Metonymy for Christ

The fourteenth-century carol mentioned in the introduction ("There is no rose of such vertu") is a great example of this metonymy. There are similar examples throughout the King James Version of the Bible, but *heaven and earth* as messianic metonymy appears to be less common during the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, James Rees penned the following lines in his long poem "The Dwarf" that employ this metonymy:

> Venice, trampled down by tyrants
>
> Endures their curse no longer. The great "Ten,"
>
> The boasting "Forty," and their dread tribunal,
>
> Whose secrets *heaven and earth* alone can know,
>
> Must be abolished[7]

Depending on the interpretation of this passage, the above usage of *heaven and earth* could also exemplify definition 1—perhaps all people in heaven and on earth know the tribunal's secrets. However, if the passage is suggesting that no one but God knows the secrets, then the metonymic classification is appropriate.

(3) Everything; all things in creation

One way this definition often manifests itself, according to examples from COHA and the *OED*, is when the pair *heaven and earth* is used to speak directly about God as the creator of all things that exist, such as in this line by Eliza R. Snow: "Thou God that form'd *the heavens and earth*."[8] If this were not the intended definition, God may not be directly named—at least not within the immediate vicinity of the set *heaven and earth*. However, note that any time this syntactic pair signifies creation, God as the creator is at least implied (especially in a time period where most people were at least moderately religious). We see this again in *Emancipation of Europe*: "Join *heaven and earth*, both great and small, / To hail man ransomed from his second fall."[9]

Aside from *heaven*'s natural implications, some usages of *heaven and earth* seem altogether removed from the idea of God, as we see below in Harriet Beecher Stowe's *We and Our Neighbors*:

> Miss Dorcas rapped her snuff-box, sat back in her chair, and took snuff with an air of antique dignity that seemed to call *heaven and earth* to witness that she only tolerated such fooleries on account of her sister, and not at all in the way of personal approbation.[10]

Here, *heaven and earth* does refer to all of creation, but in an even more exaggerated and metaphoric way than the syntactic pair's already-hyperbolic sense. The woman wants anyone at all who will pay attention, human or angelic, to know that she tolerates the perceived foolishness only for her sister's sake.

(3a) Move heaven and earth: to go to great lengths

This phrase does actually have its own subentry in the *OED* under "heaven," but it is an interesting use of *heaven and earth* that is worth noting in this discussion. This usage actually appears frequently, not only in historical corpora but in modern usage as well, suggesting a certain timelessness of this syntactic pair and its variants. The following are some historical examples from COHA:

> His relations are *moving heaven and earth* to prevent his marrying Miss Light[11]
>
> Billy *moved heaven and earth* to get asked out on the same days[12]
>
> He was to die for forgery, though *heaven and earth* had been *moved* in his behalf[13]

Also hyperbolic, *move heaven and earth* still recalls the idea "all of creation." In the first instance above, for example, the subject's family would do anything—even move every creation in heaven and on earth if they could—to keep him from marrying Miss Light.

The phrase *move heaven and earth* has even carried into modernity, with twenty-five hits on the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)—hits as recent as 2012. There are also *OED* citations as recent as 2001. The fact that *move heaven and earth* has a fairly nonreligious usage might explain why it survived through the gradual secularization of modern society.

(4) All nature

Heaven and earth, when assuming the definition "all nature," often refers to anything the speaker can immediately see. Emily Dickinson employed this in at least one of her poems: "An awful Tempest mashed the air . . . / A Black - as of a spectre's cloak / Hid *Heaven and Earth* from view."[14] When used to refer to everything in sight, the phrase generally connotes nature (land, water, sky) rather than, for example, anything seen inside a man-made structure (it would seem odd to say from inside an office, "With the lights off and door closed, heaven and earth are hidden from me!").

"All nature" may also have a scientific sense, examining natural and physical phenomena, represented thus in an 1831 edition of the *North American Review*:

> Dr. Franklin's experiments, by which, within our own atmosphere, the phenomena of *the heavens and earth* are brought together into actual contact[15]

Through experimentation, Franklin is studying natural forces at work in *the heavens and earth*—in other words, in all of nature.

(5) Exclamation of surprise, disbelief, or distress

Heaven and earth is often used as an exclamation and appears several times in COHA (this definition is perhaps second-most frequent after Definition 3):

> Help! Oh, *Heaven and earth*![16]
>
> *Heaven and earth*, man! you must not put it off[17]
>
> *Heaven and earth*, Mr. Worth, did you ever hear anything like that?[18]

This expression may have been considered blasphemous at the time; it may have been akin to swearing or taking God's name in vain. Some people in the Victorian era, though mostly focused on propriety, etiquette, and education, started to shed some of the

ultra-religiosity of the past off of its present society, thus explaining why such "blasphemies" (though they may seem tame today) found their way into literature. Think about Oscar Wilde's works: *The Importance of Being Earnest* and his other plays were known for their irreverence. This allowance of such vulgarity might explain why this usage of *heaven and earth* as an exclamation occurs so frequently in nineteenth-century literature, according to COHA data.

(6) Used for oath-making

Again we have another example from *Emancipation of Europe*:

> Now lift my hand and swear
>
> By *heaven and earth*, to wage eternal war
>
> Against Napoleon's blood reared throne[19]

Using *by heaven and earth* to swear an oath might relate to why definition 5 was used as a curse. In the Bible, characters swear oaths on the name of God, their lands, their lives, and so forth. That was how they gave their word, and it was a very serious matter to do so. If one could swear blasphemously on heaven and earth, then certainly the opposite could be true: one could make a solemn pledge on heaven and earth.

(7) Everywhere besides hell

Faust (in the edition translated by Percy Bysshe Shelley) uses *heaven and earth* in a way that offers a striking contrast to our previous definitions, with this unpleasant scene: "What glimmering, spurting, stinking, burning, / As *Heaven and Earth* were overturning."[20] We assume that heaven and earth are overturning in favor of hell's dominion. In contrast to definition 3, where heaven and earth represent basically everything, here we define *heaven and earth* as *only* heaven and earth—the celestial world and the mortal world, not the underworld. Defining *heaven and earth* thus is more specific, as in the example above where there is an implied third element aside from heaven and earth.

(8) Two complementary rather than antonymic entities

Tennyson pens these lines: "Men at most differ as *Heaven and earth*, / But women, worst and best, as Heaven and Hell."[21] In basic Christian theology, heaven and earth are of course different in most respects. However, this passage tells us that heaven and earth are not nearly as different or as opposed as heaven and hell. Heaven and hell have opposite goals and functions. Earth, however, is a place where people strive for a level of righteousness that will merit their acceptance into heaven; thus, a tie is forged between the functions of heaven and earth. We could say that earth and heaven are both focused on salvation—either by helping humans toward it or by acting as the reward for a righteous life—so they function together as semantic complements.

(9) The kingdom of God

This definition occurs infrequently. In fact, the only instance of *heaven and earth* defined as the kingdom of God from my data (about sixty examples) comes from Eliza R. Snow's "Song for the Camp of Israel": "Let us go . . . / Where the Priesthood again will exhibit its worth / In the regeneration of heaven and earth."[22] As a Latter-day Saint (LDS, or "Mormon"), Snow would have believed in what is called the Restoration, an LDS term referring to when Heavenly Father and Jesus Christ appeared to Joseph Smith to restore Christ's original church to the earth, the church as it was in the days of Christ's mortal ministry. The word *regeneration* calls to mind the word *restoration*, so the "regeneration of *heaven and earth*" suggests the restoration of Christ's original church, or God's kingdom, to the earth. Further research could be done on whether any other nineteenth-century writers (or writers of any time period) use *heaven and earth* to mean "kingdom of God." It would be especially enlightening to look at it with an LDS versus non-LDS lens: Is using *heaven and earth* to mean "kingdom of God" common in the LDS Church? Have other LDS writers used it? Have any non-LDS writers used it in this way? Based on such research, one could identify Snow's role in the timeline of this particular usage of *heaven and earth*.

Analysis

The way the syntactic pair *heaven and earth* is used may hint at how each nineteenth-century writer viewed either entity (heaven or earth). For example, the interconnectedness of heaven and earth suggested in definitions 1, 2, 3, 8, and 9 (and possibly others) could suggest that the writers viewed earth as a heavenly gift. Definitions 3 and 4, which deal with creation and nature, could either suggest that the earth's care is a stewardship of humanity mandated by God or simply that it is a place for human use—or perhaps a combination of the two. On the contrary, the irreverent use of *heaven and earth* in definition 5 could represent earth as a vain and sinful place when heaven is demoted by its correlation with earth. Snow's poetry often uses the word *earthly* in this way, suggesting that mortal pleasures are lower than heavenly treasures. (As the adverbial forms of *heaven* and *earth* are out of the scope of this paper, this would be another topic for further research.)

Heaven could be considered from a traditional perspective—as a paradisiacal reward for the righteous and the place where God resides—or in a more metaphorical sense: perhaps any place on earth that is a happy, peaceful place. The latter offers an interesting overlap of the two entities. Or, divergent from all of these perspectives, heaven may not be viewed in a solemn, pious way, but rather in a playful, irreverent way, as we see in definition 5.

Based on which definition(s) of *heaven and earth* writers employ, we can compare the writers' worldviews and religious beliefs to the views of other people within their own culture, or even with people from other time periods or cultures. By analyzing the syntactic pairing *heaven and earth* in its linguistic contexts, broader cultural and historical perspectives on religion and society begin to unfold before our eyes.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study could be expanded by identifying and defining more usages of *heaven and earth* based on a larger literary sample. Alternately, any number of variables in this study could be modified for a different approach: time period, American versus British literature, different types of literature (e.g., LDS versus non-LDS),

the language in which the pair is written, the actual lexical items of the pair (e.g., *truth and righteousness* instead of *heaven and earth*), *heaven* and *earth* used as different parts of speech (such as the adverbials *heavenly* and *earthly* mentioned above), and so forth.

This paper focuses solely on the syntactic pair *heaven and earth*, including articles and the plural *heavens* (i.e., *the heaven and the earth*, *the heavens and the earth*). A similar study on the reverse, *earth and heaven*, and its variants (e.g., *the earth and the heavens*) could also be conducted, looking at the pair's frequency and function in nineteenth-century English literature.

Other possible areas of research include the following:

- a similar study of *heaven and earth* as prepositional phrases (*in heaven and on earth*) or with adjectival modifiers
- *heaven and earth* as a *semantic* pair rather than *syntactic* (i.e., not rooted to the positions *heaven* + *and* + *earth*)
- other religious word pairings, such as *truth and righteousness* or *heaven and hell*
- sets with more than two elements, such as *heaven and earth and sea* or *heaven and earth and hell*
- any combination of these

Any of these research possibilities could be examined in this same time period (the nineteenth century), in earlier time periods using the Early English Books Online (EEBO) corpus [23] or other historical corpora, or even compared to modern usage using COCA [24] or other modern corpora. This same study (or similar studies) could also focus on specific sources, such as the Bible or other scripture, or any other historical writings, religious or not.

Syntactic and semantic pairs are underdocumented in English lexicography, leaving the richness of English semantics little explored and less accessible to the masses. To non-native English speakers, a dictionary or database of common English syntactic or semantic pairs or both could prove enormously helpful to those struggling to master the idiosyncrasies of English semantics and pragmatics. Such a dictionary or database could also prove useful to linguists, particularly scholars of English semantics or any other

language. We would be fortunate indeed if a scholarly institution such as Oxford or Cambridge assumed such a massive undertaking of compiling a dictionary of English syntactic and semantic pairs—an undertaking that should perhaps be seriously considered in academia. The logistics and considerations of such a project could be grounds alone for yet another avenue of research.

Appendix

Date	Author, Title	Citation	Primary definition	Other meanings	Source
1839	*H. W. Longfellow, Hyperion*	Were they not, likewise, sons of Heaven and Earth?	1	2	COHA
1815	*Edward Hitchcock, Emancipation of Europe*	What shall I do? If I proceed, both heaven and earth will rise In judgment 'gainst my soul	1	3	COHA
1815	*Edward Hitchcock, Emancipation of Europe*	Yes, victory's mine! And I defy the power of heav-en and earth To snatch it from me	1	3	COHA
1889	*J. Ruskin, Præterita III. iv. 162*	The Voice is the eternal musical instrument of heaven and earth, from angels down to birds.	1	3	OED
1815	*David Low Dodge, War Inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ*	all executive power in heaven and earth being given to him as Mediator	1		COHA
1817	*Francis Augustus Cox, Female Scrip-ture Biographies, Volume I*	voices from heaven and earth precede the infliction of merited vengeance	1		COHA
1837	*Thomas W. Jenkyn, On the extent of the Atonement in its relation to God and the universe*	Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named	1		COHA
1839	*Epes Sargent, Velasco*	To execute the law of Heaven and earth—Of Deity and mortal—blood for blood!	1		COHA
1839	*James Rees, The Dwarf*	their dread tribunal, Whose secrets heaven and earth alone can know	2	1	COHA
1815	*Edward Hitchcock, Emancipation of Europe*	It seemed like that dread hour foretold, when all / The elements shall melt, and heaven and earth / Depart like folding scroll.	3	4	COHA
1833	*H. Martineau, Tale of Tyne ii. 40*	He reviled heaven and earth when he saw his wife sinking from want.	3	1	OED

1815	*Edward Hitchcock, Emancipation of Europe*	O God! Look down and bless the deed. Smile heavens and earth, auspicious of a reign Of justice and of peace!	3		COHA
1815	*Edward Hitchcock, Emancipation of Europe*	Join heaven and earth, both great and small, To hail man ransomed from his second fall	3		COHA
1819	*John Neal, Battle of Niagara*	whose countless myriads fill All heaven and earth	3		COHA
1837	*Thomas W. Jenkyn, On the extent of the Atonement in its relation to God and the universe*	Jesus Christ himself says, "All power is given to me in heaven and earth" Matt. xxviii. 19	3		COHA
1844	*E. Snow, Complete Poetry, D&D 127:1*	Thou that created the heavens and the earth	3		D&D
1848	*P. J. Bailey, Festus (ed. 3) 216*	The bright universe, The double tabled book of Heaven and earth.	3		OED
1852	*E. Snow, Complete Poetry, D&D 221:9*	Thou God that form'd the heavens and earth	3		D&D
1855	*C. Kingsley, Westward Ho! xxvii*	As Cary said to him once, using a cant phrase of Sidney's, / all heaven and earth were 'spaniolated' to him.	3		OED
1860	*E. B. Pusey, Minor Prophets 78*	The Lord of Hosts, i.e. of all things visible and invisible. . . of all things animate and inanimate, which, in the history of Creation, are called, the host of heaven and earth, the one host of God	3	1	OED
1863	*C. Walworth, Gentle Skeptic xviii. 197*	He created heaven and earth by animating with a warm breath that matter which in the beginning of ages was only a vast abyss without form	3		OED
1875	*Robert Browning, Aristophanes' apology*	May I, the ephemeral, ne'er scrutinize Who made the heaven and earth.	3		OED
1875	*H. E. Manning, Internal Mission of Holy Ghost iii. 71*	God has revealed the fact that He made the heaven and the earth.	3		OED

1875	*Harriet Beecher Stowe, We and Our Neighbors*	and took snuff with an air of antique dignity that seemed to call heaven and earth to witness that she only tolerated such fooleries	3		COHA
1886	*J. Pulsford, Infold. & Unfold Div. Genius 13*	With childlike unsophistical affections, let us love 'the Maker of Heaven and earth'.	3		OED
1889	*Quarterly Review, Apr. 350*	He [Goethe] venerates the Cross: but thinks it unworthy of a philosopher to refer the whole scheme of Heaven and earth to 'that contignation'	3		OED
1838	*North American Review July 1838 (pp. 56–73), Milton*	it were an injury and sullenness against nature, not to go out and see her riches and partake in her rejoicing with heaven and earth	4	1	COHA
1857	*F. W. Faber, Poems (ed. 3) 483*	Heaven and earth in awe sublime Stayed to receive . . . new permissions to delight The race of men with day and night.	4	1	OED
1816	*Byron, Childe Harold: Canto III lxxxix. 49*	All heaven and earth are still—though not in sleep.	4		OED
1819	*John Neal, Battle of Niagara*	The shaking cascade—and the merry rill Are hushed to slumber now—and heaven and earth are still	4		COHA
1819	*John Neal, Battle of Niagara*	No chargers in array Scatter thro' heaven and earth their fiery spray	4		COHA
1831	*Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution*	Dr. Franklin's experiments, by which, within our own atmosphere, the phenomena of the heavens and earth are brought together into actual contact	4		COHA
1832	*Sumner Lincoln Fairfield, The Last Night of Pompeii*	All awful sounds of heaven and earth met now	4		COHA
1836	*E. B. Browning, Poet's Vow in Seraphim 94*	I thought . . . That looking on the heaven and earth Did keep us soft and low.	4		OED

1837	*Louisa J. Hall, Miriam*	I will watch no more The heav- ens and earth with dim and aching eyes	4		COHA
1861	*E. Dickinson, Poems of Emily Dickinson, Franklin 224*	An awful Tempest mashed the air - . . . / A Black - as of a spectre's cloak / Hid Heaven and Earth from view	4		EDL
1810	*Isaac Harby, Gordian Knot*	Heaven and earth! believing in my guilt!	5		COHA
1812	*Alexis Eustaphieve, Alexis, the Czarewitz*	Heaven and earth! What dread discovery Dawns on my startled soul!	5		COHA
1815	*David Humphreys, The Yankey in England*	Help! Oh, Heaven and earth!	5		COHA
1830	*Catharine Maria Sedgwick, Clarence; or, A Tale of Our Own Times, Volume 1*	Heaven and earth, man! you must not put it off	5		COHA
1832	*John Pendleton Kennedy, Swallow Barn; or, A Sojourn in the Old Dominion, Volume 2*	"Heavens and earth! had he the rashness to question my motives?"	5		COHA
1838	*F. S. L. Osgood, A Wreath of Wild Flowers*	Or did I dream she loved me! Heaven and earth! Have I been wasting heart	5		COHA
1870	*James De Mille, The Lady of the Ice*	Say? Heavens and earth, man! what could I say?	5		COHA
1876	*Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte Southworth, Ishmael in the Depths*	"Heaven and earth!" "What is the matter?"	5		COHA
1876	*Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte Southworth, Ishmael in the Depths*	"Heaven and earth, Mr. Worth, did you ever hear anything like that?"	5		COHA
1815	*Edward Hitchcock, Emancipation of Europe*	Now lift my hand and swear By heav- en and earth, to wage eternal war Against Napoleon's blood reared throne	6		COHA

1822	*Shelley tr. Goethe, Scenes from Faust ii. 213*	What glimmering spurting, stinking, burning, As Heaven and Earth were overturning.	7		OED
1859–74	*Tennyson, Merlin & Vivien*	Men at most differ as Heaven and earth, But women, worst and best, as Heaven and Hell.	8		OED
1848	*E. Snow, Complete Poetry, D&D 156:28*	Let us go . . . Where the Priesthood again will exhibit its worth In the regeneration of heaven and earth	9		D&D
1830	*John Neal, Authorship: A Tale*	though heaven and earth had been moved in his behalf	3a		COHA
1865	*H. C. Adams, White Brunswickers x. 167*	Billy moved heaven and earth to get asked out on the same days	3a		OED
1876	*Henry James, Roderick Hudson*	His relations are moving heaven and earth to prevent his marrying Miss Light	3a		COHA
1894	*Bull. (Sydney) 3 Feb. 13/1*	Formerly, the grasping 'trap', hurrying to get rich and own his little terrace, moved heaven and earth to get on to a 'Chow' beat.	3a		OED

Footnotes

[1] Calvert Watkins, *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 46.

[2] Mark Davies, Corpus of Historical American English, http://corpus.byu.edu/coha.

[3] Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson, eds. *Eliza R. Snow: Complete Poetry*.

[4] Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Hyperion: A Romance* (1839).

[5] Thomas W. Jenkyn, *On the extent of the Atonement in its relation to God and the universe* (1837).

[6] Edward Hitchcock, *Emancipation of Europe; or, the Downfall of Bonaparte* (Greenfield, MA: Denio and Phelps, 1815), II.v.98–99.

[7] James Rees, *The Dwarf* (New York: F. Saunders, 1839), 9–10.

[8] Eliza R. Snow, "Song of Praise and Thanksgiving," *Eliza R. Snow: Complete Poetry*, ed. Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson (1852), 221:9.

[9] Hitchcock, *Emancipation of Europe*.

[10] Harriet Beecher Stowe, *We and Our Neighbors* (J. B. Ford & Company, 1875).

[11] Henry James, *Roderick Hudson* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1875).

[12] Henry Cadwallader Adams, *The White Brunswickers* (London: Routledge, Warne, & Routledge, 1865), 167.

[13] John Neal, *Authorship: A Tale* (Boston, MA: Gray and Bowen, 1830), 263.

[14] Emily Dickinson, "224," *Poems of Emily Dickinson*, ed. R. W. Franklin (1861), 102.

[15] "Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution," *North American Review* (1831): 449–84.

[16] David Humphreys, *The Yankey in England* (Boston: 1815).

[17] Catharine Maria Sedgwick, *Clarence; or, A Tale of Our Own Times, Volume 1* (1830).

[18] Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte Southworth, *Ishmael in the Depths* (1876).

[19] Hitchcock, *Emancipation of Europe*.

[20] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, "Scenes from the Faust of Goethe," *The Complete Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley, Volume 3*, trans. Percy Bysshe Shelley (1822), ii:213–14.

[21] Alfred Lord Tennyson, *Merlin & Vivien* (1859–74).

[22] Eliza R. Snow, "Song for the Camp of Israel," *Eliza R. Snow: Complete Poetry*, ed. Jill Mulvay Derr and Karen Lynn Davidson (1852), 156:28.

[23] Mark Davies, Early English Books Online, http://corpus.byu.edu/eebo.

[24] Mark Davies, Corpus of Contemporary American English, http://corpus.byu.edu/coca.

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