

The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

WALT WHITMAN

Notebooks and
Unpublished Prose
Manuscripts

VOLUME III: CAMDEN

Edited by Edward F. Grier



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The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

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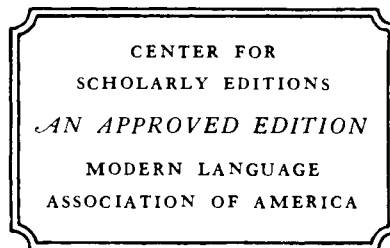
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The Collected Writings of Walt Whitman

IV. Camden.

The manuscripts in this section date from Whitman's move to Camden in June, 1873 to his death there March 26, 1892. As in Sections II and III they are arranged chronologically, although individual topics, for example his attempts at systematic journalism, are clustered together. Other clusters, like the trips to the West, to Canada, and to Boston fall more neatly in the sequence.

Despite his stroke, Whitman was as vigorous as ever. Although his poetic power slackened, he composed *Memoranda During the War* early in 1874 and continued writing almost without abatement until his last months. In quantity at least, the writing of the last period of his life has an impressive bulk. He of course wrote more letters than in earlier years, not only to keep in touch with his friends, but to respond to new friends and, of course, he was selling his own books. The "Daybooks" of 1876 to 1891 in *Daybooks and Notebooks* (ed. William White, 1977) record much of his life in these years.

Walt Whitman's Case—Paralysis.

Photostat in Pennsylvania (manuscript not found). Department of Justice letterhead. Possibly WW wrote this summary for a Camden or Philadelphia physician like Dr. Grier, whom he was visiting in 1874 ("June 2, '74 visited Dr. Grier"). The date is July or August, 1873.

Walt Whitman's case—Paralysis.

Age—in 55th year—

Habit—Full & florid—never been sick much—weight of late years 185 to 195 lb.—a good deal of mental application—thought—pondering—lambent—no great user of alcoholic drinks, or coffee tea &c. but always used them—don't use tobacco at all—I think no marked dissipations or lapses—(think there is apoplexy or paralysis in the family—although we are very healthy & long lived)¹

Case—was taken 23d of Jan. last—was not struck helpless—got around the room from the 2d day—Remember I have never been entirely prostrated—Mentality—in the way of clearness—never affected at all—except that I very easily tire—(the brain as it were easily gets fatigues & sore)— —Three or four² months³ ago, I seemed plainly to be getting better—then I had the very great affliction of the death of my mother, (23d May) but I stood it very well—for two months now—⁴ I hardly hold my own—at present,

[2] My leg is as much paralyzed as ever—locomotion not entirely impossible—but very slow⁵ difficult—⁶ after⁷ walking a couple of hundred feet, then⁸ very

1. There was a history of abnormality and illness in WW's immediate family. His brother Edward was a feeble-minded cripple; his brother Jesse had died in a lunatic asylum in 1870; his brother Andrew drank excessively, made an unhappy marriage, and died at the early age of thirty-six; his sister Hannah was emotionally unstable; and, most significant of all, his father had died in 1855, aged 66, afflicted with a "paralysis" of some sort. (See "Walter Whitman married"; Allen, 69, 292, 306-307, 419; and *Corr.*, II, 5-6.)

2. Two words inserted above "ee" in "three" and "mo" in "months"

3. This suggests July or August of 1873.

4. See *n* 3.

5. Inserted above "dif" in "difficult"

6. Deleted: "the feeling in a worse"

7. Deleted: "a"

8. Inserted above "very"

stiff⁹ especially at the knee,¹⁰ as if a bundle of strings, and all drawn tight, to a hard knot— —affected with rheumatism in the left shoulder, quite bad,¹¹ shoulder feels every bend—easy enough when I keep still. /

Nights rest generally from good to middling—half the nights sleep sound.

Appetite & digestion, from good to middling

—Eat meat & drink coffee in the morning— the rest of my my meals days are light, mostly of fruit, dry Graham bread &. /

The worst trouble is bad spells in the head—very irregular sometimes an hour or two & then let up—sometimes a whole day, & even two days—either a dull ache & distress, filling the head as it were, with spells pretty severe & tedious, (*not sharp, not agonizing, however*)—& then¹² intervals more or less short, in which, while sitting still I feel comfortable enough—with occasional hours of very near my normal condition—

9. Deleted: “, & as of [*illeg.*]” ; inserted above deleted [*illeg.*] and “at” : “especially”

10. Deleted: “knew”

11. Deleted: “sore, can”

12. Deleted: “spells times” ; inserted above “times” : “intervals”

Jun. 2 '74 Visited Dr. Grier.

Manuscript in Duke (42, #10). White wove paper, approx. 8¾" x 5¼"; somewhat irregular, torn top and bottom. Inscribed in black ink. Accompanying the manuscript are two prescriptions written by Dr. Grier, and a letter to Dr. Grier from Dr. William B. Drinkard, WW's physician in Washington, relating briefly the history of WW's illness.

Jun. 2 '74

Visited Dr. Grier¹ again today at 312 S. 12th st. Phil. for consultation.

He reiterated his theory that my sufferings, (later ones) come nearly altogether from gastric, stomachic, intestinal, non-excretory, &c. causes, causing flatulense, a very great distension of the colon, falling² of passages, weight on valves, crowding &³ pressing⁴ on organs, (heart, lungs, &c.) and the very great⁵ distress & pain⁶ I have⁷ been under in breast⁸ left side, & pit of stomach & thence to my head,⁹ the last month. Advised me by all means to begin the use of an injection syringe, (Fountain No. 2. tepid water for clysters)—¹⁰was favorable to my using whiskey—advised assafoetida[?] pills.^{?292}—Kneading the bowel [*illeg.*]¹¹

1. Dr. Matthew J. Grier was first mentioned by WW in a letter dated September 5, 1873, and he is referred to in several other letters during this period (*Corr.*, II, 238–240, 288, 289).

2. Written over "calling"

3. Word and ampersand inserted above "pressing"

4. Deleted: "up"

5. Preceding two words inserted above "distress"

6. Deleted: "generally"

7. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

8. Deleted: "&"

9. Preceding nine words inserted above "left side . . . the last"

10. Deleted: "favored"

11. Leaf torn.

Shall I Try a Couple.

Manuscript in LC (#67, sheets #339–340). Inscribed in black ink. On verso a letter from Walter Godey, WW's substitute in the office of the Solicitor of the Treasury (Allen, 460–461, and *Corr.*, II, passim), in which Godey acknowledges receipt of pay and sends "love and best wishes." Otherwise the letter, dated June 1, 1874, is quite formal.

Shall I try a couple of table spoonfuls of whiskey
 have more pain at night after going to bed, reching
 {2} general condition remaining unimproved—, if any thing¹ *worse*.
 gastric & dyspeptic symptom aggravated & ²more decided than ever—abdomen,
 distended,³ flatulence, &c
 worst feature—Distressing⁴ Pain in side (lumbar region) nearly continuous—⁵pain
 in breast, frequent & severe (diaphragm region)—appears to⁶ follow eating—
 (very pronounced indigestion) /
 Have⁷ taken the pills—⁸used pepane⁹ regularly—used buttermilk

1. Preceding six words inserted on two lines: "remaining unimproved—if anything" above "condition worse"

2. Preceding two words inserted above "m" "in "symptom" and "more"

3. Deleted: "&"

4. Preceding three words inserted on two lines above "Pain"

5. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

6. Deleted: "be" "d"

7. Deleted: "used" ; inserted above: "taken"

8. Deleted: "taken the" ; inserted above "taken": "used"

9. A check of several pharmaceutical reference books suggests that "pepane" is probably a misspelling of either "papain" or "pepana," both of which are digestants.

Even in the Old Attack.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in black ink on brown paper scrap obviously once a newspaper wrapper postmarked Cambridge, Mass., and addressed to WW at Camden. The stamp is a blue one-cent Franklin, which was issued in 1887. WW, his friends, and his medical advisors believed that his stroke of 1873 was the result of the strains of the war years. Allen (449) suggests the possibilities of emotional as well as physical strains.

even in¹ the old attack and 6th or 7th recurrence² of this my “war-paralysis”—
now³ threatening my further⁴ action head or body

1. Deleted: “the midst of an” ; inserted: “the” above “[del.] midst”
2. Preceding five words inserted above “attack of this”
3. Inserted above “thr” in “threatening”
4. Preceding two words inserted above “action head”

The Palestine Hyena.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white scrap, 5" x 6", badly tattered on right edge. Blue rules approx. ¼" apart. In upper right corner, in WW's hand, is "p. 63", possibly the page in which the hyena is discussed. According to LC *Catalog of Printed Cards*, Vol. 165, Rev. J. G. Wood, *Bible Animals*, was published in 1869 by Scribner's in NY and reprinted as *Wood's Bible Animals*, apparently with addenda on travel in the Bible Lands and Biblical research in Philadelphia, by Bradley, Garretson & Co. The date is 1875 or shortly after.

The Palestine Hyena ¹

WOOD'S BIBLE ANIMALS—100 designs from life—720 pages octave. Bradley, Garretson & Co., 66 n Fourth street Philadelphia.²

It was a happy thought of author & publishers to select the subject of *Bible Animals* and make a thorough history of each of them, localities in all,³ as has been done in this case. The following[?]⁴ (like all the sketches it [*illeg.*] investigations in the country, & [*illeg.*] best zoological knowledge) of that[?] interesting[?] brute, the hyena:

1. Deleted: "s"

2. Paragraph in hanging indentation. Indentation of following paragraph emphasized by "¶" .

3. Deleted: "we have in"

4. Deleted: "is"

Payments to Mrs. White.

Manuscript in LC (#37V). Inscribed in black ink on verso of white wove paper 10" x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. LC #68 is almost identical, the paper and a few words being different. On recto of LC #37 is a draft of "L. of G.'s Purport" (1891) in a large sprawling hand. Dr. George A. White was a chiropodist with home and office at 535 15th St. NW. WW lived with them from March 1, 1871. His payments after June 10, 1873 add up to a date of July, 1874. By this time WW knew he would never return to Washington from Camden, since he had been discharged from his clerkship as of July 1, 1874.

Payments to Mrs. White—\$298¹

Commenced March 1st 1871. Paid first month \$12—afterwards \$9 a month

Paid up to June 10² '73—\$236—when I left—(the bargain was that when away, absent, I was to pay only half price)

June 10, '73, gave up one room Kept the other at \$2.50 a month

have paid since June 10 '73

—Cash—\$25

{Cash} 10

{Cash} 5

{Cash} 2

Goods 20

\$62³

\$236 + 62⁴

Paid altogether \$298

June 10, '73, owed 20 rent 1 year after 30 [=] \$50⁵
so that I have really overpaid Dr. & Mrs. W. \$12.

1. Written over "292"

2. Deleted: "15" ; inserted: "10"

3. Preceding figures in column at left. Brackets indicate ditto marks and rule for the sum.

4. At right opposite preceding sum.

5. Figures in column. Bracket indicates rule for the sum.

Putrid Politics.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink and black pencil, as noted, on two scraps of paper: [1] white wove approx. 9¼" x 5¼"; [2] white laid 2⅝" x 7½", blue rules ⅜". On verso of [1] draft of letter to A. R. Butts, Dec. 29, 1873 (*Corr.*, II, 263–264). Possibly a preliminary draft of "Origins of Attempted Secession," *Prose* 92, II, 426–433, which originally appeared in *Memoranda During the War* (1875). Other apparent sketches for *MDW* follow.

Putrid¹ Politics—Symptoms—²the guilt just as much[?] North as South³

But what of some of the main premonitions of the war? I may contribute nothing very new on⁴ the point, but it is of measureless importance to have the point itself well-grounded⁵—which it is not yet—in the understanding of the American people, (who still⁶ assume the war to have been⁷ entirely or mainly the work of the South alone,⁸ which it⁹ was not at all.) . . . What of some of the immediate¹⁰ symptoms & causes of the upheaval? It is an immense topic, which I will but touch upon—seizing the occasion to ventilate one or two notions of my own upon it. Long, long hence,¹¹ when the grave has quenched many¹² hot prejudices and vitalities, and an entirely new¹³ class of thinkers & writers has come to the argument, the¹⁴ complex question, can perhaps be fairly¹⁵ weighed & decided.¹⁶

1. Inserted above deleted "Sym"

2. Deleted: "Precedents"

3. Title in black pencil.

4. Deleted: "this"

5. [*Illeg.*] punctuation deleted.

6. Deleted: "take it" ; inserted: "assume the war" above the deletion and "to" and "h" in "have"

7. WW did not delete "the" , which is here omitted before the insertion. Inserted: "entirely or mainly the" above "the work of the"

8. Deleted: "or mainly"

9. Inserted and deleted: "really" above "it was"

10. Deleted: "signs &"

11. Succeeding text on pasted-on scrap which shows signs of trimmed-off writing at the top and bottom.

12. Deleted: "fires" ; inserted: "hot prejudices" above "many" and the deletion.

13. Deleted: "generation" ; inserted: "class of thinkers and writers" above "new has"

14. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] vehement &"

15. Inserted above "be"

16. Deleted: "For these memoranda. I will [*ins.*] only give one or two [*del.*] points surface-causes, out of hundreds [*preceding four words ins.*] (out of hundreds,) that bear upon the war, & in my opinion [*preceding three words ins.*] led to it. All political influences"

More Broad & Simple.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #319V). Inscribed in pencil on white wove scrap with blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart on verso only. Possibly related to "The beginning of Attempted Secession." "Origins of Attempted Secession" appeared in *MDW* and *SD*. See *Prose* 92, II, 432–433. On recto is "Farewell my brethren," a note for "Song of the Redwood-Tree" (1873), ll. 6–8, 38–43 (see *LG* Variorum). The date is probably 1873–1874.

more broad & simple. That tragic curtain,¹ strange,² undreamed of, suddenly fell upon the³ closing⁴ the war the old spirit, closing all the chances of Feudalism in politics, Literature⁵—even in Thology.⁶ Thus as by great great grim definite milestones, or age-defying termini of events of war & death⁷ are marked the developing progress⁸ of man and Nations—the new starting point in the eternal strides of God's creative thought

1. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

2. Deleted: "expected not, of fell" ; inserted: "undreamed of"

3. Deleted: "New"

4. Deleted: "the old, closing" . The succeeding seventeen words are written in four lines indented approximately seven spaces.

5. Inserted and deleted: "[*illeg.*]"

6. Illegible deleted passage with insertions and deletions follows. WW began over, writing sideways, at the left in gap left by indentation referred to in *n*₄ above: "Thus by great great grim [*ins.*] definite milestones or age-defying termini of events of war & death"

7. Deleted: "is" ; inserted above: "are"

8. Inserted above "ing" in "developing"

A Gap Now.

Manuscript in LC (#284, no sheet #). Inscribed in black ink on two white laid scraps pasted together. Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Light corrections. "Ac D.R." in another hand at the top of the sheet seems to be a memorandum of acquisition. Accompanied by a photograph of WW. *LC Cat*, 40, describes it as a "[Discarded fragment originally intended for] *Memoranda During the War*. [Before 1875.]"

A gap now of over a Year.—

I suppose¹ you understand Reader dear, that² I do not propose to give any detail of the War, or its events as they transpired—only some³ transcripts from my Memoranda. Accordingly I here skip even any allusion to⁴ the checkered events of the next sixteen or seventeen months—with their⁵ lights, as we⁶ now know them, and the dark shades⁷ heavy & threatening enough at the time.⁸ I will only mention⁹ that¹⁰ two points without which¹¹ there can be no¹² realization¹³ of the last half of 1861,¹⁴ and all of '62, appear to be since¹⁵ forgotten, although they pervaded those¹⁶ years, & deeply tinged¹⁷ every thing in them: One, that the

1. Deleted: "the [illeg.]"

2. Deleted: "this is no" ; inserted: "I do not propose to give any" above deletion and "detail"

3. Inserted above wordspace between "only transcripts"

4. Preceding four words inserted above "skip the check" in "checkered"

5. Deleted: "big"

6. Deleted: "k"

7. Deleted: "[illeg.] &"

8. Beginning of second scrap. In right margin "(run in"

9. Deleted: "that" ; inserted above: "that"

10. Preceding six words inserted on a line above "[del.] Two" and "without which" . WW had originally written "Two" as the beginning of a new paragraph, but after deciding to run both paragraphs together and make an insert, he reduced the capital letter.

11. Deleted: "no one" ; inserted above: "there"

12. Inserted above "r" in "realize"

13. "realize" emended to "realization" and "of . . . of" inserted above "1861"

14. Last two digits written over [illeg.] . Deleted: "and [illeg.]" ; inserted: "and all of '62" above the deletion and "appears"

15. Inserted above "for" in "forgotten"

16. Deleted: "two"

17. Deleted: "them [illeg.] them" ; inserted above: "every thing in them"

Secession movement had a powerful and determined affiliation in a minority at the North, as slavery had—¹⁸ the Other, that for a long while the success of the National cause¹⁹ seemed²⁰ (at the time,) quite problematical

18. Preceding three words inserted above "North, — the" . Redundant inserted dash after "had" omitted.

19. Deleted: "was"

20. Deleted: "(at the time) no more than chance" ; inserted: "(at the time,)" above "[del.] chance"

For Note.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #'s 338, 329). Inscribed in black ink on two sheets of white wove paper, 9½" x 5½". Since they appear to form a continuous text, they are here placed together. Possibly they were intended as one of the "Notes" in *Memoranda During the War*, and they bear a slight resemblance to *Memoranda*, 5. The date is 1875.

for Note—/

{338}*¹ I² entertained a brief ambition of writing & compiling at my leisure, (³with what I thought the many advantages of⁴ having been on the entire⁵ scene⁶ sufficiently in the midst of⁷ and previous to it, and feeling that I could do justice in spirit to both sides)—& now that ten years have passed away, & about as much is known⁸ of the *onus* of it all as ever will be known,) the History of the War, in a great Volume, or several Volumes. . . . But a very few attempts & reflections thoroughly⁹ convinced me how futile, (from a high point of view,) are all¹⁰ efforts either at¹¹ a full statement of the War, in its origins, or for¹² writing¹³ with that vast complication of Civil and Domestic Diplomatic and Social¹⁴ by-play;—not less important its Military History.¹⁵ {329} *That*¹⁶ ambition was soon aban-

1. The asterisk probably referred to some MS now lost or unidentified.

2. Inserted and deleted: "too" "for [*illeg.*]" ; deleted: "even" "had" ; inserted: "entertained [*del.*] the a brief" above the line "I even had the ambition"

3. Deleted: "now that ten years have passed away and with [*ins.*] the" ; inserted: "with what I thought the" above "[*del.*] that ten years have"

4. Deleted: "being" ; inserted: "having been" above the deletion and "on"

5. Inserted above "sce" in "scene"

6. Deleted: "& feeling and" ; inserted: "sufficiently" above "[*del.*] and" and "in the"

7. Deleted: "the war" ; inserted above: "and previous to it"

8. Preceding two words inserted above "as much"

9. Preceding three words inserted above "attempts convinced me"

10. Deleted: "attempts" ; inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted following the deletion: "efforts"

11. Deleted: "fathoming" ; inserted: "a full statement of" above the deletion and "the W" in "War"

12. Inserted above "w" in "writing"

13. Deleted: "its history, not only its Military [*ins.*] History but what may be [*illeg.*] the infinite by-play of its Civ" ; inserted: "with that vast complication of" above "the infinite by-play"

14. Inserted: "Diplomatic and Social" in two lines in right margin

15. Deleted: "But I have felt"

16. Deleted: "has been" ; inserted: "ambition was soon" above "that [*del.*] has been" and "aban" in "abandoned"

doned. .but I have¹⁷ thought[?]¹⁸ a sort of Itinerary¹⁹ of my Hospital experience,
might²⁰ be worth while,²¹ from a Democratic point of view, & might even be
specially serviceable²²

17. Deleted: "felt" ; inserted above: "thought"

18. Deleted: "that"

19. Deleted: "giving" ; inserted following deletion: "of my Hospital experiences"
above "might be worth while"

20. Written over "may"

21. Deleted: "although the ambitious History scheme has been abandoned." Deleted
"giving" floats in the middle of the leaf.

22. Preceding twelve words added as two afterthoughts (breaking after "view,") at right side
of leaf.

For War Memoranda.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #315V). Inscribed in pencil, with blue pencil line on left margin, on white wove leaf from pocket notebook, 6¾" x 4¼", with an extension pasted on at bottom. Curved corners at upper left and lower left. Blue rules ¼" apart. The paper gives no assistance in dating. It seems probable that the note was intended for *Memoranda During the War* (1875).

for war memoranda

Note/¹

There were 2,063,391 formally enlisted men, rank and file,² in the Union army during the war; with perhaps half as many more in the same actual³ service, but not⁴ on the official rolls.

1. Deleted: "There were 2,063,391, [*ins. and del.*] form enlisted in the Union army, during the war"

2. Deleted: "enlisted"

3. Inserted above "me" in "same" and "ser" in "service"

4. Deleted: "off"

Make A Conclusion.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #323). Inscribed in black ink on a scrap of white wove paper. Blue rules $\frac{5}{16}$ " apart. Entries here run together. The beginning of *Memoranda During the War* is less theatrical than this suggestion; the conclusion is far more moving. The date is prior to 1875.

make a conclusion to the Memoranda/ the sight of homeward bound Armies at Wash'n ? & the Disbanding/ ? how about an *opening* also of the book?— describing the first onset & alarm & call

The Intellectual.

Manuscript in LC (66, sheet #314). Inscribed in black ink on gray-brown scrap (cf. "Note *A"). The very irregular writing suggests a late date. Note that WW implies that he was on the battlefield immediately after a battle (cf. "return my book"). For the topic see "*Full Tide and Ebb.*"

the¹ intellectual and emotional nature² would be at their best;³ Deaths were always easier and even⁴ medicines would have more effective when given them,
 The same influence⁵ same hour⁶ after⁷ great battles. I had once or twice⁸ the experiences of it on that field covered with dead

1. Deleted original opening: "The" ; inserted: "[del.] and the"
2. Deleted: "& non" ; inserted above: "would" ; deleted: "were" ; inserted and deleted above: "the"
3. Deleted: "and [illeg.] heal"
4. End of first scrap. Deleted: "and Even"
5. Preceding two words inserted above "The same hour"
6. Deleted: "the same influences"
7. Deleted: [illeg.]
8. Deleted: "some" ; inserted above: "the"

Camden, N. Jersey, & Delaware.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheet #132V). Inscribed in black ink with heavy emendations in black ink and vertical and horizontal doodlings in green, brown, blue, black, and yellow pencil. Set up as titles. On verso of "The thought of the." WW evidently planned at least to write a book or series of articles on New Jersey; see also "Old Time Gleanings," "MEMORANDA (Old & New)," and "West Jersey Letters." Indeed, almost everything he wrote might have been destined for print. In LC #49 are ninety-eight clippings from 1875 to 1880 dealing with the history, geography, commerce, and statistics of the state. The date of this MS is much later than that of the verso, probably in the late 1870s.

Camden, N. Jersey, & Delaware.

OLD TIMES.—No. 1

Brief¹ Reminiscence²-Gleanings of the past of the State,³ the Delaware river, Camden, &c. &c.

OLD TIMES GLEAN'D.—No. 1.

⁴Original settlements Revolutionary period The Delaware River—In and around Camden—& New Jersey generally.

1. Inserted above "Re" in "Reminiscence"
2. Final "s" deleted. Deleted: "Anecdotes, &c." ; inserted above: "Gleanings"
3. Deleted: "of"
4. Preceded by several deleted illegible words.

Old Time Gleanings.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheet #230V). Inscribed in black ink on verso of white wove sheet $9\frac{3}{8}$ " x $5\frac{5}{16}$ ". On recto experimental phrases and lines for a poem entitled "Union Union!" This was written after 1873.

OLD TIME GLEANINGS . . . No

Reminiscences. Gossip. Traditions, &c of the Delaware river, Camden and NEW JERSEY generally.

Memoranda (Old & New).

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheet #130). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white wove ledger paper 7½" x 4¾". A dummy for a title page, the inscription being in print and in printed script. The first four words are on a pasted-on scrap. "MEMORANDA" is deleted on backing-sheet above paste-on. Date is probably late 1870s.

MEMORANDA
(Old & New) of
CAMDEN
The Delaware River Region
& NEW JERSEY generally

West Jersey Letters.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheet #133). Inscribed in black pencil on square scrap of white wove paper. Evidently a note for one of his several journalistic projects about New Jersey. Kirkwood is southeast of Camden and was the post office for his friends the Staffords, whom WW had been visiting on and off since 1876. White Horse does not survive as a name except for the Whitehorse Pike (US 30) nearby. Charles I. Glicksberg, "Walt Whitman in New Jersey," *Proc NJ Hist Soc*, 55 (January, 1937), 44, prints the following, which is not now part of this MS: "*White Horse Notes* Maize [*sic*—Tassels As I look [*sic*] Come to me waking dreaming or [*sic*] with [*sic*] Im weaving in their silken thread of green and gold The sights and shows around me." (The editorial comments are Glicksberg's.) The date is after 1875. First printed by Glicksberg. For other journalistic projects see "*Camden, N. Jersey.*"

West Jersey Letters—No 1

By Walt Whitman

Camden County N J May 11

I write this down at White Horse (new fangled name Kirkwood) on the Atlantic City RR

To America.

Manuscript in LC (#63, sheet #278). Inscribed in black ink with pencil emendation as noted on verso of a letter dated April 28, 1875, from Frederic R. Marvin asking permission to reprint a poem. The date, as the writing also suggests, must be after 1875.

to¹ America, as² being a large factor,³ probably the largest one, in the original⁴ settlement & genesis⁵ of the New World, by the⁶ English, Dutch⁷ French and Spanish⁸ emigrants, and as⁹ giving character to¹⁰ that genesis.

1. Deleted: "the"
2. Deleted: "the"
3. Deleted: "if not" ; inserted above: "probably"
4. Inserted above "the" and "set" in "settlement"
5. Preceding two words inserted above "ment" in "settlement" and "of"
6. Inserted above "E" in "English"
7. Deleted: "and"
8. Preceding two words inserted in pencil above "French"
9. Inserted above wordspace.
10. Deleted: "its" ; inserted above: "that"

Talk with Mr Jo Reeves.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheet #131). Inscribed in black ink on torn leaf of a pocket ledger. The first steam ferry seems to have been the "Camden" in 1812. "The Twins" was placed in service in 1814. This was written in 1876.

talk with Mr Jo Reeves, (aged, resident of Woodbury N J)—he says the first steamboat bet Camden & Phil was *the Twins*, about ? 1814—looked a good deal like the little *Tom Smith* plying now (1876) between Smith Island & Walnut st. wharf. / June '76/

Jeff Mary Han.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in column on right half of the verso of a folded white laid scrap, 9" x 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". On recto, "Three verses" (see *LG Manuscript Variorum*). Jeff, Mary, Han, Baldwin, and Storms are ticked off. The left half has an illegible pencil note written lengthwise, evidently intended for a newspaper as a comment on his return to Pennsylvania Avenue after a three-year paralysis. The MS might have been part of a homemade notebook. This was written in November, 1875.

Jeff. Mary Han. O H.¹ 302 north 38th st. Joe Baldwin² Nelly³ 1015 11 th st Pete⁴ Mrs. Gilchrist⁵ 1 Torriano Gardens Camden road, n. w Prof. Dowden,⁶ 50 Wellington rd—Dublin W. M. Rossetti,⁷ 56 Euston sqr london n. w. Walter W. Storms,⁸ Paskack, Bergen Co. N. J. Marvin,⁹ R. Schmidt¹⁰

1. Not identifiable among WW's correspondents. In 1880 he considered sending a complimentary ticket for his Lincoln lecture to an Olive Harper (*DN*, I, 178).

2. WW received a letter from a J. C. Baldwin, July 17, 1875.

3. Possibly Ellen O'Connor, although her address was on O street near 11th, Washington. See "Addresses."

4. Peter Doyle?, then in Washington.

5. Anne Gilchrist. See "D. W. Wilder."

6. Edward Dowden, 1843-1913. Irish scholar who wrote "The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman," *Westminster Review*, NS 40 (July, 1871), 33-68, included in *Studies in Literature*, 1830-1877 (London, 1878). See "Is Walt Whitman's Poetry Poetical?," "Sent press of 22d," Blodgett, 42-57 and *Corr.*, II, III, passim.

7. William Michael Rossetti, 1829-1919. English man of letters who effectively introduced WW in England. See Blodgett, 12-41, and *Corr.*, II, III, passim; "Rossetti," "Introduction to the London Edition."

8. Walter Whitman Storms, son of George Storms, an omnibus driver with whom WW had often ridden. See "Omnibus Jaunts and Drivers," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 19 and *Corr.*, V, 215n. For record of correspondence between W. W. Storms and WW in 1875 see *Corr.*, III, 431-432.

9. Probably Joseph B. Marvin, journalist, Treasury Department employee, and enthusiastic admirer of WW. See "Addresses."

10. Rudolf Schmidt. See "WALT WHITMAN travels."

Any Thing Like.

Manuscript in LC (#63, sheet #300). Inscribed in black ink on the inside of part of an envelope addressed to WW in Camden. The MS is so stained as to be almost illegible. The date is obviously after 1875.

Any thing like [*illeg.*] and heart-felt response to it,¹ [*illeg.*] (though [*illeg.*]² a popular, however [*illeg.*] degree land in 1875. It was a critical [*illeg.*] of my personal and literary³ life. Let one turn [*illeg.*] book, that year

1. Inserted.
2. Preceding long parenthetical phrase inserted.
3. Preceding two words inserted.

Harry L Stafford.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil in column on a scrap of white wove paper with chainlines. The names and birthdates are those of the children of Mr. and Mrs. George Stafford, at whose farm at Kirkwood, NJ, WW belatedly recovered from his stroke of 1873, in part by bathing and sunning himself as he reported in memorable passages of *SD*. Harry was WW's last great attachment. WW met him in the fall of 1875 (Allen, 468) or early 1876 (*Corr.*, III, 4) at the printshop of the Camden *New Republic* to which he had early gravitated. Edwin Haviland Miller skillfully summarizes and analyses the relationship in *Corr.*, III, 3-9. See also "D. W. Wilder," "sent Press of 22d," "July 14, 1878," Will, 1891, "Daybook" (formerly miscalled "Commonplace Book"), December, 1876 [65] and July 20, 1877 [73], (*DN*),) and *Corr.*, III, IV, V, passim. If the typically cryptic passages in "Daybook," especially those of November and December (*DN*, 49, 51) 1876, refer to Harry, they indicate a "perturbation" similar to that against which WW warned himself even as he was in its throes in 1870 with Peter Doyle ("Epictetus"). The date is 1876 or later.

Harry L Stafford born March 23d 1858 Mont Oct 23 1862 Debbie June 13
1860 Ruth Aug 15 1866

Wealth of Poets.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 8½" x 8", blue rules ½" apart. A note across the top in red ink reads, "set solid—& bring in on 1st column 3d page when convenient" . There is evidence for a variety of dates. On August 26, 1871 "H.J.R.," in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, used WW and other poets as evidence that the government did support the arts. The firmness of the writing suggests a date before 1873. The "*London Magazine*" may be the *London Magazine of Light Literature*, which appeared 1875–1877. Bryant died in 1878. It probably bears some relation to the controversy about WW's poverty that he stirred up in 1876.

WEALTH OF POETS.—Few of the distinguished poets of the present¹ day, says the *London Magazine*, are wanting in worldly gear. All have coined their genius into substantial guineas, dollars, or francs. Tennyson and Victor Hugo are wealthy, from their writings, and Browning and Swinburne receive handsome and regular incomes; while, from the same source, in America, Emerson and Whittier are well off, and Longfellow and Bryant are rich. Walt Whitman alone keeps up the tradition of narrow means and wide afflatus. While his fame is fast filling Europe, he is unrecognized in his own country, works daily as clerk at three hundred pounds a year, lives on one third of that, devotes two-thirds to others, and has not yet, it is said, the first shilling of return from his poetic volumes.

1. Deleted: "time" ; inserted above: "day"

“The Serpent.”

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in two columns in black pencil on scrap of white wove paper approx. 2¼" x 8". WW's interest in stars was so strong in his later years that no firm date can be suggested other than after 1876 when he began to visit the Staffords in the country.

The Serpent Castor and Pollux Arcturus Capella and the Kids¹ The
Sickle Cassiopœa's chair (with its great W) Lyra thin and sickly the² moon
waned

1. Beginning of second column.
2. Deleted: "waning moon"

Sympathy.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on verso of part of an army-clothing issue form dated 1863. As part of the Livesay Collection, which descended from the Staffords, the date cannot be earlier than January, 1876. The writing supports this hypothesis.

Sympathy

Sometimes there come to¹ a man's or woman's heart, and fill² him or her from head to foot, such waves, floods of³ love, for our humankind. It is a solemn and⁴ wonderful, probably rare, experience; (most people will turn with a tinge of weariness⁵, or vacancy, or perhaps a curl of the lip, from⁶ this—but the consciousness⁷ of a few⁸ must specially⁹ conform and applaud¹⁰ the confession—perhaps¹¹ the weakness.) The Soul goes forth¹² with such¹³ fathomless yearning for all Humanity—such¹⁴ pensive anguish—such strange indescribable sympathy¹⁵ with all suffering, crime,¹⁶ ignorance, deformity

1. Deleted: "ones" ; inserted: "a man's or a woman's"
2. Deleted: "one as it were" ; inserted and deleted: "& radiate" above "ll" in "fill" and "[del.] one as" ; inserted following the deletion: "him or her"
3. Deleted: "sympathy" ; inserted and deleted: "abstract" "mortal" above "of" and "[del.] sympathy" . Following the deletions: "love, for our humankind."
4. Deleted: "indescribable" ; inserted: "wonderful, probably rare," above "[del.] indescribable" and "experience"
5. Preceding three words over erasures.
6. Deleted: "all"
7. Two preceding words over erasures.
8. Deleted: "will" ; inserted above: "must"
9. Deleted: "applause"
10. Deleted: "this"
11. Inserted above "—the"
12. Deleted: "towar"
13. Inserted: "fathomless" above "rth" in "forth" and "[del.] towar" ; inserted and deleted above "with such": "indescribable" "definite" ; deleted: "love" ; inserted: "yearning"
14. Deleted: "pain and" ; inserted: "pensive anguish—such [illeg. ins. and del.] strange indescribable" above the deletions.
15. Deleted: "at" ; inserted above: "with"
16. Deleted: "deception" ; inserted above: "ignorance"

Locust Whirring.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil in hanging indentation on scrap of white laid paper with blue rules $\frac{9}{16}$ " apart. Watermark 5" high with armed seated Britannia (?) in an oval frame with crown (?) at top. On verso is "Armies and navies" (see *LG Manuscript Variorum*). The writing is very loose and no other example of this paper has been found. The date is probably after 1876.

Locust whirring they come in July & are loud in August/

Sunflower —they bloom bright and large & fresh early in August & through that month into September

I Slowly Walk Alone.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap $3\frac{1}{2}$ " x $3\frac{3}{4}$ ". The first sentence suggests WW's walks at Timber Creek. The date would therefore be 1876 or later.

I slowly walk alone or lean by the edge of the woods,¹

The human relations of² every[?] Night—³such suggestions to the soul of space, of mystery of spirituality of the ideal—without words, without touch, yet⁴ beyond all words

1. Sentence seems to have been added later.

2. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "every[?]"

3. Deleted: "the" ; inserted following the deletion: "such" ; inserted and deleted: "mute" above "sug" in "suggestions"

4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

To Reduce Every Thing.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheet #129). Inscribed in black pencil on half-sheet of white laid paper, 8¼" x 5⅜". Watermark "RECO" in open capitals. Cf. "A Country Auction," which is on identical paper but with watermark dated 1877. LC connects this with the proposed article "Memoranda (Old and New) of Camden," but the last entry suggests it is one of a number of journalistic attempts WW made at this time (see "*Camden, N. Jersey*"). First printed Furness, 50.

*To*¹ *reduce every thing to the Spirit of Nature,*² *so*³ *sanely complacent, al fresco,*⁴ *& imperturbable*—(as as I sit here writing this—in the open air, down in the fields, alone, at White Horse,⁵ Oct 2, '76 the sun⁶ almost down the evening shades beginning & in my thoughts⁷ saturate every thing that happens Of my affairs, bothers, annoyances—a Thought—⁸ to said affairs with⁹ *that* imperturbable¹⁰ *Spirit*¹¹ is¹² the thought in my mind.¹³ *West Jersey Idylls*¹⁴

1. Fist at left of word.
2. Inserted and deleted: "al fresco" above wordspace between "Nature" and "so"
3. Deleted: "cool & equable so"
4. Preceding two words inserted above "complacent" . Inserted and deleted: "cool"
5. At the Stafford farm.
6. Deleted: "just setting" ; inserted below: "almost down" ; inserted: "the evening shades beginning" above "sun" and the deletion.
7. Preceding three words inserted above "& saturate"
8. Preceding seven words at top of leaf and inserted here on an arrow; deleted: "in my" ; inserted above: "to"
9. Deleted: "(in my thoughts)"
10. Inserted above "*that Spirit*"
11. Originally lowercase.
12. Deleted: "then" "a" ; inserted: "the" above "[*del.*] then"
13. Preceding six words written below as if an afterthought.
14. Preceding three words written below in lighter pencil on a separate line.

Drift & Bubbles.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #703). Inscribed in black ink (first title and subtitle) and black pencil (second subtitle and author's name). LC #78, sheet #698 is a variant, probably later, which reads: "BUBBLES & DRIFT / Out of a Hundred YEARS. / By Walt Whitman to commemorate 1876." There is still another, in LC #70, sheet #376V. This was written late in 1875 or early in 1876.

DRIFT & BUBBLES

Out of¹ a Hundred Years.

Bubbles and Drift

Out of a Hundred years²

By Walt Whitman

to commemorate 1876

1. Deleted in black pencil, with question mark over "Sea": "the Sea of"
2. Deleted: "to commemorate" above "by Walt"

Century Thoughts.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #657). Inscribed column in black ink, blue crayon and violet ink on scrap of wove paper, approx. 4½" x 8¼". Vertical blue rules 7/16" apart on recto only. Torn from larger leaf at left. Trial titles for *LGTR* (1876). Cf. "Centennial Song—1876" in *TR*. The date is probably 1875 or early 1876.

Century Thoughts {*Century*}¹ Notes (Centennial thoughts)² Notes Thoughts
Tokens Memoranda Mile-Posts Sign-Posts Note-Posts ((Notions))³ Voices
Echoes ?Marks⁴ (Items)⁵ Century Voices Century Song Century Carol
Century Chant (Century Verses)⁶ ? Century Notions—? Thoughts—
? Tokens ? Items⁷

1. Ditto mark.
2. Preceding entries at top of sheet and down right side in blue crayon.
3. Word circled and in double parenthesis, all in violet ink.
4. At right in blue crayon. Deleted in black ink: "Graphs"
5. Circled and in double parenthesis, all in violet ink.
6. Words circled and in parenthesis, all in violet ink.
7. Preceding five words crammed in at bottom in small hand in violet ink.

Preface.

Manuscript in collection of Rollo G. Silver. Inscribed in black ink with emendations in blue ink on white wove paper, 7³/₈" x 5¹/₈". At upper right a note in WW's hand "Song of the Redwood-Tree." At bottom "[The above Whitman MS is an unused preface for the "Song of the Redwood-Tree" pub in '76 ed.]—W.S.K." "W.S.K." is William Sloane Kennedy. Written possibly before February, 1874, for the poem appeared in *Harper's Magazine* that month, that is, before *LG* 1876.

Preface

Without deprecating at all the magnificent accomplishment & boundless promise of the Older States flanking¹ the Atlantic Shore, where I was born & grew,² I see³ of course that the Real America is⁴ at least just as much to⁵ loom up,⁶ expand and take definite shape with immensely added population, products, & originality,⁷ in the States drained by the Mississippi and in those⁸ flanking the Pacific.

1. Inserted and deleted: "and which" above "the"
2. Preceding six words inserted; also inserted but deleted: "up" ; deleted: "I think" ; inserted above: "I see"
3. Inserted and deleted in blue ink above "[del.] I think the" : "well enough" ; inserted: "of course that" above "the" and "R" in "Real"
4. Inserted: "at least just as much" above "America is to" ; deleted: "yet" above "is"
5. Deleted: "be in"
6. Deleted: "and take" ; inserted: "expand and take definite" above the deletion and "shape"
7. Preceding seven words inserted on a line above "in Mississippi"
8. Deleted: "[illeg.] facing" ; inserted above: "flanking"

(Late in Sept).

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on scrap of white wove paper approx. 2½" x 5¼". The writing is a mere scribble and in places almost illegible. A draft towards *SD*. This was probably written in the late 1870s.

(late in Sept)¹

I see some bees, & occasionally a humming-bird² and hear the whirr & cheery crescendo of the bumble & now two robins on neighboring trees, calling & answering to each other.³ The frost has been here with a touch:⁴ in the midst of the prevailing heavy green⁵ are some young ? beech⁶ trees, all⁷ aglow with foliage of clear light yellow

1. Set off in curved line at upper left.
2. Preceding four words inserted.
3. Preceding fourteen words inserted.
4. Deleted: "here"
5. Preceding ten words inserted.
6. Written above a space.
7. Deleted: "afame" ; inserted: "aglow"

Bring in the Thought.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #750). Inscribed on brown wove scrap in purple crayon. Paper and crayon indicate only a date after 1870, at best. It might be a memorandum.

bring in the thought of (allusion to) the late glowing sunsets

So Crudely, We Will Begin.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed on scrap of white wove paper approx. 5½" x 5¼" in black pencil. Marginal line at left in blue crayon. Possibly an early draft of "New Themes Entered Upon," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 119–120. This must have been written after January, 1876.

so crudely, we will begin with it all—nothing but suggestions, and a-b-c's—¹ the seeds, the babyhood,² the outsets, we will hope,³ leading⁴ to⁵ growth, leading to maturity.

1. Deleted punctuation before dash; deleted: "still"
2. Preceding two words and comma inserted above "seeds, the"
3. Deleted: "of"
4. Deleted: "the whole matter" ; redundant "to" at beginning of phrase, not deleted, not printed. Question mark stands in right margin opposite this and preceding line.
5. Deleted: "maturity, to"

Walt Whitman Centennia.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #704). Inscribed in blue crayon on white laid scrap in form of author's name and two proposed titles. The date is not long before 1876.

Walt Whitman Centennia: or *Century Thoughts for America* Century Leaves

Centennial Ed'n.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #722). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of faded and soiled white wove paper. Inscription set up as a title page or advertising copy. At left: “(\$10).” Almost identical scraps (not printed here) are in LC (#78, sheet #723) and Virginia. For WW's attempt at a London edition see “To getter up.” The date is probably 1876.

Centennial Ed'n—Two Vols:

Leaves of Grass

&

Two Rivulets

bound in half leather & Italian boards
containing Autograph
Portraits (three from life)
Personal memoranda Secession War
“Democratic Vistas” &c: &c:

In the Creative Fields.

Manuscript in LC (Feinberg #835). Inscribed in black ink and (as noted) black pencil on white wove half-sheet torn off at bottom, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 8". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. The reference to the Centennial indicates a date of 1876.

In the creative fields of Literature especially¹

Do not²

In my opinion, The United States under its their³ new and enlarged conditions, with⁴ their late important constitutional⁵ readjustments, embodying the experiences of⁶ their century of existence, require⁷ to-day, and for the future, an entirely new class of men, fitted to⁸ their new, readjusted and immensely enlarged conditions? Such men indeed—⁹ must¹⁰ be supplied, and must rehabilitate ? & re-vivify¹¹ the poetry¹² legislatures the¹³ executive[?] offices¹⁴ and the¹⁵ judiciary.¹⁶

Bring in the "Centennial" point

1. Preceding phrase scrawled across the top of the leaf.
2. Deleted in pencil: pencilled "Does n" ; inserted above in pencil: "Do not"
3. Inserted in pencil above "its"
4. Deleted: "its" ; inserted in pencil above "th" in "with" : "their"
5. Preceding word in pencil; preceding three words inserted above "[del.] its" and "readjustments, em" in "embodying"
6. Deleted: "its" ; inserted in pencil: "their"
7. Original final "s" deleted in pencil.
8. Deleted: "these" ; inserted above: "their"
9. Word and dash inserted in pencil.
10. Deleted: "gradually brought arise and" ; redundant "be" not printed.
11. Ampersand and word inserted in ink above "rehabilitate"
12. Inserted in ink above "leg" in "legislate"
13. Inserted in ink above "e" in "executive[?]"
14. Inserted in pencil above "and"
15. Inserted in pencil above "ju" in "judiciary"
16. Preceding sentence in pencil.

Whitman's Poems Summed Up.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black ink with black pencil emendations on four scraps of white wove paper, all but the third of which are approx. 8½" x 5½". This was written in 1876. It is obviously a publicity release, but no publication has been found. It has no markings for the printer. First published in *N&F*, 66–67 (Pt. II, #43; *CW*, IX, 26–28).

WHITMAN'S POEMS SUMMED UP.

"Two Rivulets," joined with "Leaves of Grass," may be summed up as the result of twenty years labor, & the attempt into a new unrhymed but rhythmical expression the events, & still more the spirit, of those years, with all their tremendous developements of war, peace, inventions, science—and the advent of America and republicanism. For such may be called the general aim of this author, although every thing in both volumes revolves around the central human personality. The Body and the Soul are one, & in the latter the former is immortal. Thus the principal underlying & elementary qualities of all Whitman's writings are, a powerful sense of physical perfection, size, health, strength & beauty, with great amativeness, adhesiveness, a wonderfully buoyant joyousness of spirit and of¹ immortality, not as an intellection, but as a pervading instinct. With these comes forward far more prominently in "Two Rivulets," than in the [2]² preceding volume, the moral law, the "inner light" of the Quakers, the pure conscience, rising over all the rest like pinnacles to some elaborated building. We have too the³ radical equality of the sexes, (not at all from the "woman's rights" point of view, however,) & the duties of these men & women as practical citizens, to the National, State, & municipal governments

[3]⁴Undoubtedly this book could never have been written—neither⁵ the prose or verse—except for the Secession war. We do not mean its mere material state-

1. Inserted in pencil in right margin.

2. A short scrap.

3. Deleted: "indestructibility of the Union, the"

4. Deleted in pencil: "Undoubtedly this book" ; inserted and deleted above in pencil: "[illeg.] never have" . The insertion was made first, and then it and the original opening phrase were both deleted.

5. Deleted in pencil: "its" ; inserted above in pencil: "the"

ments or themes, but in⁶ its spirit its tints & half-tints, its singular, almost gloating⁷ pride & patriotism & Nationality,⁸ the subtle *bouquet* palpable enough in every page to him or her who has⁹ palate & nostril¹⁰ to catch it; and even in that negative feature of the¹¹ masters which Schiller celebrates,

“Most¹² the great artist we behold,

In what his art leaves—just untold,”¹³

—the entire work is¹⁴ finally to be considered¹⁵ as, we understand, the author himself markedly claims it to be, from his point of view, the first characteristic literary result of the war.

[4]With this we take our leave of these utterances and their author. Their position in literature remains yet to be tried and established, for there is¹⁶ no denying that they are opposed to most of¹⁷ the literary and art-laws, & many of the decorums, established by the¹⁸ intellects of all civilized¹⁹ lands, all ages, yet they are perhaps²⁰ the²¹ most vitalised pulsations of living, loving²² blood yet thrown into literature, and their roots are democratic²³ and modern, far beyond any thing Known.²⁴ Their patriotism is of a vehemence²⁵ hitherto unknown in American authorship. Then Whitman has a fond confidence that he will yet²⁶ be absorbed and appreciated by his country. He says:

From my last years, last thoughts I here bequeath,
Scatter'd and dropt, in seeds, and wafted to the West,
Through moisture of Ohio, prairie soil of Illinois—through
Colorado, California air,
For Time to germinate fully.²⁷

6. Inserted above wordspace between “but” and “its”

7. Preceding two words inserted above “singular”

8. Preceding two words inserted above “iotism” in “patriotism” and “the”

9. Deleted: “the”

10. Preceding two words inserted above “late” in “palate” and “to”

11. Deleted: “great”

12. Original opening word deleted: “For” ; “Most” inserted above.

13. Source not found.

14. Deleted: “perhaps best” ; inserted: “finally” above “perhaps”

15. Deleted: “at as, we have understood, [preceding three words inserted above “as Walt Whit”]

Walt Whitman’s intimate friends, know it to be, *the result of the war.*”

16. Deleted: “not”

17. Preceding two words and deleted [illeg.] are inserted above “to”

18. Deleted: “best”

19. Inserted above “all”

20. Inserted above “are the”

21. Deleted: “hottest &”

22. Inserted in pencil above “ing” in “living”

23. Deleted: “American”

24. Preceding five words inserted in pencil above “an” in “[del.] American” and “and modern,” . Deleted: “There is no denying that patriotism”

25. Deleted: “yet not”

26. Inserted above “be”

27. “From My Last Years,” *Two Rivulets* (1876), 30; *LG CRE*, 616. The lines are printed on a pasted-on scrap probably cut from *Two Rivulets* or proof sheets.

(Is Any Preface Needed?).

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil, with emendations in pencil, black ink and blue ink, on white wove soft paper, approx. $4\frac{3}{4}$ " x $\frac{5}{16}$ ", perhaps from a memo pad. For similar paper and material see "for Preface to *Starry Night*." As the memoranda clustered at the top of the leaf indicate WW, thought of using it in *Two Rivulets* (1876). The original title, "Preface to *Starry Night*," is not helpful, for "*Starry Night*" is not identifiable as a separate work. The cluster title, "From Noon to *Starry Night*," in *LG* was added in 1881. No doubt the phrase pleased WW as a metaphor for serene old age just as did "candle-lighting time" and variants of it, which finally appeared in "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads" (1888). "Songs for good Measure" has not been identified. The mood of this MS is perhaps more that of Preface to *As a Strong Bird on Pinions Free* (1872). Since the MS in the Livesay Collection at Berkeley descend from the Stafford family, the date might well be early 1876 and very little later, but, on the other hand, Allen, 464, says that WW wrote part of the Preface on his fifty-sixth birthday, May 31, 1875. Thus this preliminary note might have been written in the spring of 1875 or later. WW may have left it at the Staffords the following year where he was finishing the Preface.

(is any Preface needed?)¹ ? *foot note*² (may do for Preface to *Voices in the dusk*)³ (? a foot note)⁴ (? for foot note to early page in *Rivulets*)⁵ ? *Songs for Good Measure*.⁶

When I had sent forth *Leaves of Grass*, my former and main Volume,⁷ the work spontaneously urging, perhaps compelling itself seemed done. But⁸ habit form'd,⁹ I¹⁰ keep on,¹¹ since—with the following pieces¹² for results—spinning

1. Across upper left corner.
2. In black ink at top of leaf above overwritten original black pencil title: "Preface to *Starry Night*"
3. In blue ink at top of sheet above overwritten original title.
4. In black ink, upper right corner.
5. In black ink at left side above "When I had" . Emphasized by a fist.
6. In black ink above "sent forth *Leaves of Grass*,"
7. Deleted: "my work" ; inserted in pencil: "the work spontaneously" ; inserted in black ink: "urging, perhaps" ; inserted in pencil: "compelling itself"
8. Deleted: "the"
9. Deleted: "and life continuing"
10. Deleted: "have kept" ; inserted: "keep"
11. Deleted: "and the" ; inserted: "since—with the"
12. Deleted: "are the" ; inserted: "for"

out¹³ what was already woven¹⁴ in the *Leaves*,¹⁵ carrying on my expression through the afternoon and¹⁶ *Early Candle* light¹⁷ of (¹⁸that first Volume was the flush Forenoon and noon¹⁹)

13. Deleted: "further"

14. Inserted and deleted in black ink: "at first blush"

15. Deleted: "and"

16. Deleted: "evening" ; inserted in black ink above "and" and "[del.] evening" : "*Early Candle* light of" ; inserted and deleted in pencil above "of" : "existence" "years"

17. Deleted in pencil: "life" . Redundant "of" not deleted, not printed here.

18. Deleted: "as"

19. Preceding two words inserted in ink above "enoon)" in "Forenoon)"

For Preface to Starry Night.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil, with emendations in pencil and black ink, on white wove soft paper, approx. 4¾" x 7⁵/₁₆", perhaps from a memo pad. See "(is any Preface needed?)" for comment on contents and date.

for Preface to Starry Night

For these too are *Leaves of Grass* — follow after,¹ and form parts of them — hindward² ships or boats in the fleet — or later parts in the procession —³ October's, even Novembers, sprouts — 'afterclaps,' to give good measure to⁴ summer's riant⁵ growth —

Also as much as any thing⁶ to show that the spirit of after, more deliberate seasons,⁷ does not go back on that earlier⁸ growth, but would reënect and confirm it.

1. Deleted: "it, perhaps as as" ; inserted above: ", and form [*over erasure*] parts of them [*over illeg.*]—"

2. Deleted: "b"

3. Deleted in ink: "Sep Ninth or Tenth Month sprouts" ; inserted: "October's, even Novembers, sprouts"

4. Deleted in ink: "spring's and"

5. Inserted above "gr" in "growth"

6. Preceding six words inserted in ink above "to show that"

7. Deleted: "wo"

8. Inserted above "growth"

July by the Pond.

Manuscript lacking. Text from *N&F*, 60 (Pt. II, #30; *CW*, IX, 14). Bucke suggests date of July, 1876, for a friend who was writing about LG. Bucke himself did not meet WW until 1877. First printed *N&F*. MS offered for sale in *The Prescott Collection. Printed Books and Manuscripts*. February 6, 1981. Prescott—III—5036, Lot 327 (Christie, Manson and Woods, International, Inc., NY, 1981).

July by the Pond. The same thoughts and themes—unfulfilled aspirations, the enthusiasms of youth, ideal dreams, the mysteries and failures and broken hopes of life, and then death the common fate of all, and the impenetrable uncertainty of the Afterwards—which Wordsworth treats his *Intimations of Immortality* Bryant in his *Thanatopsis* and in the *Flood of Years*, and Whittier often in his pieces, W. W. also treats in *Leaves of Grass*. But how different the treatment! Instead of the gloom and hopelessness and spirit of wailing and reproach, or bowed down submission as to some grim destiny, which is the basis and background of those fine poems. Instead of Life and Nature growing stale—instead of Death coming like a blight and end-all . . .

As I Couldnt and Cant
Rest.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil with black ink emendations on white laid soft-textured paper, approx. 4¾" x 7⁷/₁₆". Probably a draft for the opening paragraph of the Preface to *TR*. This probably was written early in 1876.

—as I couldnt and cant¹ rest,² during & since the war without chanting Nationality, the³ Union⁴ And now my whole⁵ Poems, such as they are,⁶ I give to identify essentially⁷ in our time, the same old Themes,⁸ all poems, only in Modern and Democratic Form,⁹ the Nineteenth Century.¹⁰—These States—¹¹Man¹² and Woman in them—the War of 1861–'65—keeping Passage to India for climax and close of all.¹³

1. Two words inserted in ink above "dnt" in "couldnt" . At top of sheet floats deleted: "—giving my of"
2. Inserted: "[*del.*] since during & [*ins.*] since the war" above "rest with" in "without"
3. Inserted above wordspace between "Nationality," and "Union"
4. Deleted in pencil and black ink: "all These States—[*ins.*] and ending with the pieces—and still rounding my songs with keeping [*preceding seven words ins.*] "Passage to India," for my concluding songs their climax and close [*preceding four words ins.*]"
5. Inserted in right margin following "my"
6. Inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] above "are"
7. Inserted above "identifying"
8. Deleted: "of"
9. Preceding twelve words inserted on a line following "essentially"
10. Deleted: "with all its special features—the Our" ; inserted: "—These" above "[*del.*] Our"
11. Deleted: "the"
12. Deleted: "or" ; inserted above: "and"
13. Two words inserted in black ink after "close"

Johnny Ludlow.

Manuscript in LC (#216, sheet #1841). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove notebook leaf, 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Traces of binding at left. William White identifies "Johnny Ludlow" as a novel by Mrs. Henry Wood in two parts, 1874 and 1880. (*DN*, I, 220n.)

Johnny *Ludlow* two parts 914 old Seaside Library[?] Geo [*illeg.*] Vandewater st
New York/ 612 north 8th street/ Mrs Whitman/

The Idea of All.

Manuscript in Yale. Top-opening pocket notebook 6¼" x 3½", commercially made, rounded corners, red-brown soft cardboard cover. Faded rules ⅜" apart. Written in light and dark black pencil and black ink. Many leaves cut out.

The bulk of the surviving leaves is used for three versions of a draft. The image of the nation as a maternal figure or a cohesive force was much in Whitman's mind in the 1870s. The lines certainly suggest "Thou Mother with Thy Equal Brood" (1872, 1881), but they were not used. A variety of dates in the 1870s is supported by Mrs. Gilchrist's address in Concord, which she visited in October, 1878, and by what seems to be a reference to Dion Bouccicault's *The Shaughraun*, a New York hit of 1874 and 1875, but the most probable date is 1878 or after.

{1}¹ the Idea of All, & of every single² one for All

The one Identity

{9; 2 *blank*; 3–8 *cut out*} The Mother, with her brood—America resultant,
The Mother of all, with her mighty brood,
Of All, and the Idea of All, and of³ each & every⁴ should need exist,⁵ one
unerringly for all,

The Aggregate⁶

Not of the now that I sang erewhile⁷ haughty Self, Not I or You⁸—that⁹ wide-
devouring Self¹⁰ silent withdrawn

These States, vast¹¹ & varied States¹² varied by One—¹³ realities, inventions¹⁴
Of these,¹⁵ & of my days, I, sing

1. Lower half of page cut off.

2. Preceding two words inserted above "of one"

3. Deleted in ink: "one" ; inserted above in pencil: "each &"

4. In ink. Deleted: "single"

5. Preceding three words inserted above the deletion and "one unerr" in "unerringly"

6. Deleted: "rules"

7. Deleted: "the"

8. Phrase inserted above and to right.

9. Deleted: "all" ; inserted above: "wide"

10. Deleted: "withdrawn" ; inserted above: "silent"

11. An erasure under "vast" seems to conceal "curiously"

12. Preceding four words inserted above "These States . . . realities"

13. Deleted: "My days" . Written at left margin. Possibly WW originally intended to begin a new line thus: "My days, realities inventions" . Note use of the phrase in following line.

14. Six blank lines intervene as if WW intended to expand this motive further.

15. Deleted: "a" ; inserted above: "& of"

[11; 10 *blank*] the white butterfly¹⁶

The Mother with her brood — America resultant
 Erewhile I sang The Single Self complete
 [15; 12 *blank*; 13–14 *cut out*] The¹⁷ Mother, with her brood,
 Of the¹⁸ Mother of All, with¹⁹ mighty brood;
 Of²⁰ the Idea of All,²¹ each²² every single²³ one,²⁴ unerringly for All,
 (Not You or I—not²⁵ now that haughty single Self I sang erewhile—that
 striding, loud-mouth'd Self, here²⁶ silent, bent,²⁷ withdrawn;)
 Of²⁸ America condens'd melanged—the general²⁹ Aggregate, comprehending
 all³⁰
 My³¹ vast and varied New World³² States as³³ a Single Identity only,
 While the strength of my voice holds out,³⁴ & the after-day holds out these and
 the thought of these,³⁵ I sing.³⁶
 [19; ³⁷16–18 *blank*]³⁸ Mother and³⁹ Brood,
 The⁴⁰ Mother of all, with mighty⁴¹ brood,
 The Idea of All, and of⁴² each & every⁴³ one unerringly for All,

16. Two blank lines intervene between this entry and the next.

17. In dark pencil over an erasure.

18. Two words in dark pencil over an erasure.

19. Deleted in ink: "her"

20. Deleted in ink: "All and"

21. Deleted in ink: "and of" ; inserted above and deleted in ink: "&" ; inserted: "each"

22. Deleted in ink: "each and"

23. Inserted in ink above "one"

24. Deleted in ink: "should need exist" ; inserted and deleted in ink: "promptly" above "[del.]
 exist"

25. Preceding four words inserted above "now that"

26. Inserted in darker writing above "sil" in "silent"

27. Inserted in darker writing over an erasure.

28. Inserted before "America"

29. Inserted above "Ag" in "Aggregate"

30. Entire line transposed upward two lines on an arrow by WW.

31. Deleted in ink: "These" ; inserted above in ink: "My"

32. Preceding two words inserted above "varied States"

33. Deleted in ink: "One realities inventions" ; inserted in ink: "a Single Identity
 only" above "ities" in "realities" and "inventions"

34. Preceding two words inserted above "voice" and into the right margin.

35. Deleted in pencil: "of my Days" ; inserted: "the thought of these" above deletion and "I"

36. The emendations are very complex. After "Single Identity only," or the deleted phrase it
 replaced, a new line began, "Of these and the thought of these . . ." . "Of" in darker pencil over
 an erasure was deleted, and the remainder of the line was joined to the end of "while the strength
 of my voice holds out . . ." which had originally *followed* it but was inserted above it on an arrow.
 The sequence of emendation is of course conjectured.

37. Entire leaf, except for emendations on [15], written in a darker pencil than that used on
 [13] and [15]. Deleted: "The"

38. Deleted: "The"

39. Deleted: "with her" ; inserted above: "and"

40. Deleted: initial "Of" ; original "the" capitalized.

41. Inserted above "h" in "with" and "brood"

42. Deleted: "each and" ; inserted, in a lighter or harder pencil: "each &" above "every"

43. Deleted: "single"

(Not⁴⁴ now that haughty single⁴⁵ Self I sang erewhile
 Not now that striding loud-mouth'd Self—not You or I now:)⁴⁶
 My vast,⁴⁷ compacted New World States,⁴⁸ as a Single⁴⁹ Identity only,⁵⁰
 The Aggregate entire—
 America condens'd—melanged—the varied, compact Whole—the Aggregate;⁵¹
 (While the strength of my voice holds out, and the after-day holds out,
 Of these,⁵² in the love⁵³ of these, I sing.
 [33; ⁵⁴ 20 *blank*; 21–32 *cut out*] a piece devoted to the advent of those who are to
 stamp the autochthonic & National heroic, emotional, artistic & moral traits
 [63; 34 *blank*; 35–62 *cut out*] A good place for a meal coffee &c / 30 S 13th /
 [68; 65–66 *cut out*; 67 *blank*] D J Parker car 104 market John [69] Dr Getchell
 1432 Spruce near Broad office hours 1 to 3 Mrs Gilchrist care of Mrs Chas
 Jackson Concord Mass:⁵⁵ shaugh-ran shóc(k)-ran shóh- augh⁵⁶-[72; ⁵⁷ 70⁵⁸–71
blank] Chairs 1224 Market Phil/ 72 [+] 56 [=] 128

44. Deleted: "You or I now—not"

45. Inserted above "hty" in "haughty"

46. The preceding phrase, part of which had been deleted from the preceding line, *may* have been inserted here, since it is in a somewhat lighter pencil.

47. Deleted: "and varied" ; inserted above: "compacted"

48. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted and deleted in succession: "as" "in" ; inserted: "as" above "a"

49. Capital over lowercase.

50. Line transposed upwards three lines according to WW's arrow and asterisks.

51. Preceding five words written in dark pencil over an erasure.

52. Deleted: "and" ; inserted and deleted above: "in" ; inserted: "in"

53. Written heavily over an erasure, possibly of "thought"

54. In light pencil. Bottom half of leaf cut off.

55. Mrs. Gilchrist was in Concord in October, 1878.

56. Possibly WW is noting the pronunciation of *The Shaughraun*, by Dion Bouccicault (1822–1890), a popular drama in New York in 1874 and 1875.

57. Six envelope faces of Baltimore and Potomac Railway and one from England attached, possibly as supplementary pages.

58. Attached is the face of an envelope of the Baltimore and Potomac RR Service, addressed to WW.

This Suits Very Well.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil and purple crayon on copy of *LG* (1855) frontispiece. The first sentence in black pencil is above the engraving; the second, in purple crayon, is below. The engraving appeared opposite p. 29 in 1876, 1881, 1882, 1884, 1888, 1889, and 1891. This MS probably concerns its publication in 1876.

this suits very well/
try & keep ab't
 the same color
 & clearness W. W./
to face page 29 in
 "Leaves of Grass"/

In These Impromptu Notes.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove paper, approx. 5½" x 8½", irregularly trimmed top and bottom. Possibly a draft for "New Themes Entered Upon," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 119–120, or a similar transitional paragraph. This was written in 1876 or later.

In these impromptu notes—just jotted down, as is my fashion¹ at the times² & on the spots mention'd—it has often³ been my fancy to⁴ treat the⁵ Nights as first and uppermost, & the Days⁶ as bases.⁷ For once at least let me reverse the usual method and⁸ bring the⁹ Starlight to the fore and let the¹⁰ Sunshine follow.¹¹ And though I give (of both Day and Night)¹² only¹³ primitive, costless and commonest points of contact and affinity with¹⁴ our human senses and soul, perhaps¹⁵ those points involve the whole matter—at any rate will do for¹⁶ starting points.¹⁷

1. Inserted and deleted: "on the spot &" above "fashion at"
2. Deleted: "and on the spots" ; inserted: "& on the spots" above "mention'd"
3. Inserted above wordspace between "has" and "been"
4. Deleted: "give" ; inserted above: "treat"
5. Deleted: "Days and sunshine [*two words ins. and del.*] Days and as [*ins.*] mainly bases for the Nights and all their myriad orbs[?] and [*two words ins.*] the Days as *following* not leading them."
6. Inserted and deleted: "and Sunshine" above "[*del.*] myriad orbs"
7. Preceding ten words inserted above "[*del.*] for the . . . orbs"
8. Preceding five words inserted above "let me bring the"
9. Deleted: "Nights" ; inserted above: "Starlight"
10. Deleted: "Day not lead" ; inserted above: "Sunshine"
11. Preceding five words inserted above "light" in "Starlight" and "to the fore and"
12. Parenthetical phrase inserted above "give only" and "[*del.*] some &"
13. Deleted: "some &" "the"
14. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "our"
15. Deleted: "they" ; inserted: "those [*del.*] common[?] points [*del.*] of" above "perhaps involve"
16. Deleted: "a"
17. Plural added.

Rec't for \$50.

Manuscript in Brown. Inscribed in light brown ink on scrap of white wove paper, approx. 3½" x 6¼". On verso is the actual receipt. Arnold was a Philadelphia printer, who had printed and bound *LG* (1876). WW was apparently paying his bill in installments. The date is March 31, 1877. I am indebted to Professor Stuart C. Sherman, John Hay Librarian, for the description.

rec't for \$50 from Jas Arnold March 31 '77 (leaves \$108 due)

White Horse—Winter.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed on verso of scrap 2 of "Only Reader dear." Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. On verso of scrap 4, written and deleted with paper turned round: "Cedar-Plums Like." WW was at White Horse between January 6 and 10, 1877 (*Corr.*, III, 74*n*).

white horse—winter

Jan 7. 8. 9—'77—Every thing here¹ in the garb of snow & winter now. A week ago we had the heaviest snow-fall for years, and² all out doors shows the signs of it yet. Cold enough³ Friday & Saturday⁴—rain⁵ the latter night (6th)⁶ and then and the next day, a thaw, the

1. Inserted above "ng" in "thing"

2. Deleted: "every thing" ; inserted above: "all"

3. Deleted: "Sat"

4. Deleted: "a thaw" ; inserted: "—"

5. Deleted: "Saturday" ; inserted and deleted above: "Saturday" ; inserted: "the latter" above "night"

6. "6" written over "7"

RR Jaunt Spring of '77.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheets #135-140). Inscribed in black pencil on half-sheets of white laid paper, approx. 8¼" x 4¾", cut at left. Watermark in open block capitals, "JOYNSON/1862," the length of the leaf. "Camden Glenwood" is on a leaf from the same batch. Note WW's use of old paper. He made a similar trip to Atlantic City, a popular seaside resort for many years, in January, 1879. See Herbert Bergman, "Walt Whitman on New Jersey. An Uncollected Essay," *Proc NJ Hist Soc*, 66 (October, 1948), 139-154. He went to Ocean Grove, NJ ("Viccissini Sav") and Cape May, NJ ("Sunday, Sept. 14 '84") in 1884 and possibly to other unrecorded locations. See "Camden, N. Jersey." First printed by Charles I. Glicksberg, "Walt Whitman in New Jersey. Some Unpublished Manuscripts," *Proc NJ Hist Soc*, 55 (January, 1937), 42-46.

RR jaunt Spring of '77/¹ April 14 1877² the Pines/³ chilly clouded fore day—
—afternoon some what better⁴ Berlin the fruit nice little fruit places grape berries/
much arid land piney branch cuts through banks white & yellow soil white pebbles/

Atco—(quite a place quite brisk the regular crowd on the platform fruit—
(young orchards) (glass factory at Jackson) (much like Long Island pines & brush)
good road—easy track

{2} 60 years ago the Indians were quite plenty⁵ (⁶a fragment of the Delaware tribe used to come round & work among the farmers—They had a settlement called Aitch-pillock⁷ in Burlington⁸ County—& there they used to winter/

There used to be an old Indian called Joe, he used to work around,⁹ also his wife,¹⁰ son & daughter —Joe¹¹ has descenda hereabout yet. They were good basket makers/

1. Inscribed across upper left corner.

2. Date at upper right.

3. The sandy southern part of New Jersey, which is covered with pines, is called the Pines or Pine Barrens.

4. Preceding eight words below date. Inscribed over [*illeg.*] erasures and deletions.

5. "were quite plenty" inserted at top of leaf above "60 years ago"

6. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

7. Preceding two words inserted above "in Burlington"

8. I.e., Burlington.

9. Deleted: "with"

10. Inserted above "son"

11. Inserted above "has"

darkey settlement (describe it) *Snow Hill* Centre township—Camden Co—a majority are darks

[3] *Waterford* (glass works cluster of nice little cottages) quite a village—some big piles of cordwood/ occasional cleared field,¹² some wheat or rye now & then—with much young fruit trees & vine yards—many more nice houses than you would suppose—not much what a northern man could call¹³ *timber*—

Winslow—flat—

Hammonton—quite a large town small houses more fruit—(the new road in sight)

[4] *Dacosta* village in the brush a little seedy

Elwood quite a village—*better soil*—some new buildings factories—flat—/

Egg Harbor largest place yet—business—(flat)—vineyards—wine region/

Pomona—some wood piles—vineyards—a fringe of pine brush a nice grove of woods cedar, pine, firs

[5]/¹⁴ Waiting in the station 40 minutes at Absecon—the lame, paralytic genteel, drinking-faced man, with a shawl & cane—the old¹⁵ faded sport in fur cap &¹⁶ white box coat, long worn & ragged—the young sports, with bright hats and large gilt chains the station tender—the¹⁷ different passengers—the ladies—/

Adco—Adco—now Atco the same as Atsion (the meadows)

[6]—at Absecon got off the train & rode some six miles over a good turnpike road to Leed's Point. The¹⁸ road well lined with comfortable houses, some of them¹⁹ quite stylish mansions. Many of the residents hereabout “follow the bay.” Nets were to be seen drying on the fences. Atlantic City & the waters of the ocean²⁰ in sight—the tall tower of the light house plainly visible./

12. Deleted: “and a”

13. Preceding six words inserted above “much *timber*” into right margin.

14. In another hand at top of leaf with rule under: “George Satterthwait Leeds Point Atlantic Co NJ”

15. Deleted: “fellow”

16. Deleted: “torn l”

17. Deleted: “ladies”

18. Capitalized over lowercase “t”

19. Deleted: “fine” ; inserted above: “quite stylish”

20. Preceding six words inserted above “Atlantic City in sight—”

(The Sky).

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on torn-out flyleaf of book with binding marks at top. Related to (but not identical with) "The Sky—Days and Nights—Happiness," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 133–135, which bears dates October 20—Early November, [1876?]. No doubt WW excluded this MS as repetitious.

(The Sky). July 14 '77 —How cheap & common & unfailing the superbest beauty is! There could not be any thing finer than the skies, all this day, from morning to night; yet the effects very simple. A spread of clear¹ blue, with occasional white clouds—these, & a wondrous quality of *light*—nothing more—yet how much! I have paused long and² looked up certainly two-score times during the fore & afternoon just to get the lights and³ shades

1. Inserted above wordspace between "of" and "blue"
2. Preceding three words inserted above "have looked up"
3. Deleted: "skies" ; inserted above: "shades"

Camden Glenwood.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheet #134R). Inscribed in column in black pencil on white wove half-sheet approx. 8¼" x 4¾", identical with "RR jaunt." The names are those of communities between Camden and the NJ coast and along the coast. Probably written in the late 1870s.

Camden Glenwood Haddonfield Ashland Whitehorse Atco 7mi¹
Waterford Hammonton Egg Harbor Absecom Atlantic mare & colts

1. Inserted over "8" : "7"

The Two Objections to Walt Whitman.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #744R). Inscribed on white wove paper watermarked "WESTON" in open face capitals, 5⁵/₁₆" x 8³/₁₆", in black ink with parenthesized directions to the printer in blue pencil. A deleted note written sideways on the left margin reads: "This is the study from life, latest dates." Joseph B. Marvin's article appeared in *The Radical Review*, I (August, 1877), 224-259, his short-lived periodical from New Bedford, Mass. Part III, to which WW refers, defends "his treatment of sex, and his form of expression." Date probably 1877. See "Addresses."

The two Objections to Walt Whitman.

In the new quarterly, the *Radical*, Joseph B Marvin has a long article on the author of "Leaves of Grass" and "Two Rivulets," of which the following is the concluding part: (extract from *Radical* pp 253, '4 '5, '6, '7, '8 & '9—as marked with blue lines)

Pitman Grove Aug 16 '77.

Manuscript in LC (#49, sheets #141, 142). Inscribed in black pencil on two leaves white laid letter (?) paper 7" x 9½", folded across the width and used as a booklet. The second "leaf" is thus facing the first. Pitman Grove, which had been the site of a Methodist Camp meeting since the Civil War, is 6 miles NW of Glassboro, NJ. WW was at Kirkwood from August 12 to September 10, 1877. Printed in Charles I. Glicksberg, "Walt Whitman in New Jersey. Some Unpublished Manuscripts," *Proc. NJ Hist Soc*, 55 (January, 1937), 46.

{141R}Pitman Grove

Aug 16 '77

Camp Meeting/

—A large enclosure ? acres mostly woods¹ surrounded with a fence, in which² on streets are lanes, temporary & rural, are little one-story & two-story houses, with tents interspersed—? houses—nearly all of them very comfortable, of two three or even³ four or five⁴ rooms with very good conveniences for⁵ cooking & sleeping, & for staying a while generally. In fact⁶ it⁷ is a fortnights change, from city life to tent or hut life in the open air & the woods, with the preaching & singing thrown in—A family owning or hiring⁸ one of these little houses comes down here young ones & all, & here⁹ with an entire change [*facing leaf*] of scene, & total absence of city surroundings

—The general¹⁰ praying,¹¹ preaching & singing are carried on¹² under a large open shed,¹³ sheltered partly¹⁴ by a¹⁵ permanent roof of shingles, & partly¹⁶

1. Preceding two words inserted above "surrounded"
2. Deleted: "are" ; inserted above: "on"
3. Inserted above "or"
4. Two words inserted above "rooms"
5. Deleted: "a"
6. Deleted: "the"
7. Deleted: "is all"
8. Deleted: "a" ; inserted: "one of these" above "[*del.*] a" and "little"
9. Deleted: "they"
10. Inserted above "praying"
11. Deleted: "&"
12. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
13. Deleted: "roofed" ; inserted above: "sheltered"
14. Deleted: "with" ; inserted above: "by"
15. Deleted: "perp"
16. Deleted: "with" ; inserted following: "by"

by tree branches, now brown & dead in leaf, & pleasantly rustling in the breeze. Many trees grow up in this vast shed & around is a prevailing green color & pleasant¹⁷ motley of light & shade¹⁸ chestnuts & oaks & pines¹⁹ The afternoon I was there (Aug 16) was partially children's day & a young woman, was²⁰ going [142R]²¹—at a²² pulpit in the middle the preacher stands & beats & buffets²³ the air with the usual buffet of words & echoes—& on a platform the singers—

17. Inserted above "motley"

18. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

19. "Many trees . . . & pines" inserted between lines and at bottom of the leaf.

20. Deleted: "tr"

21. On verso in black ink: "Kirkwood/Tuesday"

22. Deleted: "temp"

23. Preceding two words inserted above "ats" in "beats" and "the"

The Begining.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #310). Inscribed in black ink on verso of a letter from Edward D. Bellows ordering "complete works in two vols bound in half leather [*LG & TR*, (1876)] and a copy of Burroughs' *Notes*. . . ." WW filled the order November 20, 1877 (*Corr.*, III, 102-103). See "more broad & simple." Since "Origins of Attempted Secession" first appeared in *MDW* (1874), it is curious that this apparently related MS is of a later date.

The¹ begining of Attempted² Secession was incredible but the end of it was more incredible still

1. Preceded by three cancelled attempts written as separate paragraphs: "The end was [*illeg.*]" "The beginning of secession was" "The end was more incredible than the beginning" [*line across page*].

2. Inserted above "of" and "Secce" in "Secession"

Old Mr and Mrs M.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink, except for date, on inside of two envelopes approx. 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". [1] is blue with the address of James Arnold Blank, Books and Paper, Philadelphia, addressed to WW at 436 Stevens St. and readdressed to Kirkwood. Both are stapled together at the upper left. The "Daybook," *DN*, notes that WW took provisions to the Morgans during a visit to White Horse between November 14 and 17, 1877 [88] and they called on him between March 15 and 17, 1878 [106]. The MS seems to be for a newspaper item rather than for *SD*. See "*Camden, N. Jersey*" and *Corr.*, V, 313. No prior publication has been found.

Old Mr and Mrs M.

Aug 24 '77¹

As I walked out this morning for my sunrise walk I met² a little³ brown bright⁴ old woman,⁵ of seamed⁶ visage but⁷ very cheery & clean &⁸ neat with⁹ eyes undimmed, on her way (she is well toward 80 years of age)¹⁰ to her day's work in the field¹¹ to dig potatoes for a rich farmer in the neighborhood. She is an acquaintance of mine of over a year's standing now¹² & wanted me to stop & talk which of course¹³ I did,¹⁴ for there is something about her that pleases me, &, by¹⁵ means of a benevolent person in Philadelphia, I have for some time past been able to help her & her old man a trifle She is very poor, but always¹⁶ with

1. In black pencil.
2. Deleted: "an" ; inserted: "a little . . . bright" above "walk [*del.*] an"
3. Deleted: "bright"
4. Inserted. Inserted and deleted: "little" above "old"
5. Deleted: "of 75 or 6 [*ins.*] years" ; inserted and deleted above: "of small [*ins. above* "form"] thin form &" ; deleted: "then & brown & wri" ; inserted: "of"
6. Deleted: "& sunburnt"
7. Inserted above and before "very"
8. Preceding two words inserted above "neat"
9. Deleted: "un"
10. Parenthetical words inserted on a line above "her way to dig"
11. Preceding three words inserted above "k" in "work" and "to dig"
12. Preceding six words inserted above "mine . . . me now to" . "now" inserted under "standing"
13. Preceding two words inserted above "ich" in "which" and "I"
14. Remainder of sentence to "a trifle" written at foot of scrap and inserted here on an arrow and asterisks.
15. Deleted: "the kindnes gen"
16. Inserted in left margin and above "neat" . Deleted: "neat as a pin &"

an inexhaustable look of vitality and¹⁷ neat as a pin.¹⁸ She keeps¹⁹ her husband very neat too [2]²⁰ He is eighty three or four²¹ years old, & quite infirm They live in a little two room house, every thing cheap & meagre but sweet &²² tidy²³ Some one²⁴ a few years ago gave them the usufruct of a patch of ground, nigh the church, two miles east of Kirkwood Station, for²⁵ this hut & garden for life.²⁶

I am in the habit of helping them when I can. Who that reads this & is able, will sending me something for²⁷ this aged, worthy, needy, couple²⁸ (Mr & Mrs Morgan?)? A very little goes a great ways for them—they are of respectable American stock, & must not be²⁹ sent to the County House at Blackwoodtown.³⁰ Only a little while, & Death will³¹ stop all solicitations, & settle all charges.

17. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

18. Preceding five words inserted below “[*del.*] neat as a pin”

19. Deleted and inserted above “[*del.*] her husband”

20. Inserted: “He is” ; deleted: “An old couple very old, he” ; inserted: “eighty” above “thr” in “three”

21. Deleted: “& eighty” ; inserted above: “years old,”

22. Deleted: “clean” ; inserted above: “tidy”

23. Preceding nine words inserted on a line above “house . . . them” ; undeleted semicolon; deleted single parenthesis; “Some” capitalized over lowercase “s”

24. Deleted: “has given” ; inserted above: “a few years ago gave”

25. Deleted: “their” ; inserted above: “this”

26. Blank space of about three lines. In space an asterisk and circled “a”

27. Deleted: “them” ; inserted: “this aged . . . Morgan?” on a line above “sending” and “[*del.*] them”

28. Written over “[*illeg.*]” . Second part of parenthesis deleted.

29. Deleted: “allowed to go” ; inserted: “sent” above “[*del.*] to go”

30. Deleted: “But” ; inserted above: “Only a”

31. Deleted: “settle all”

Down by the Creek.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove paper 6¼" x 4¼" with rounded upper right and lower right corners, torn or cut from a side-bound notebook. Torn edges to left. WW inadvertently wrote on back of [3]. Versos blank except for [4]; "The [*del.*] scene [*ins.*] picture is rather a bleak one" deleted and inserted on [2]. Blue rules ¼" apart. WW mentioned the auction in a letter to Anne Gilchrist, February 22, 1878 (*Corr.*, III, 107), and see "A COUNTRY AUCTION."

Down by the Creek

Feb 20 '78—¹A country²? Jersey auction sale—Nothing is better than an auction sale, at a second or third class farm, to see characteristics, persons, life, manners,³ &c—I rode over with G S⁴ to-day, & am now writing these notes in the midst of⁵ such an auction.⁶ a small farm, & the owners, a German & his wife, are "selling off"⁷ their furnishings[?]⁸—It is pretty cold, & I have taken refuge in the house, by a window whence I⁹ get a full view of the scene,¹⁰ crowd¹¹ & people, whose portraiture I¹² now proceed to draw.¹³ Probably a hundred persons old & young farm folk mostly—describe persons—

—wagons farm implements, cows horses, household furniture—the¹⁴ crowd outdoors shifting from place to place¹⁵ the auctioneer talking¹⁶ the cloudy day; the rugged hearty look [2]—the meagre, tumble-down house, the good fire (of all the things in the world, nothing¹⁷ gives a cheer to life,¹⁸ to the spirit, to ? like a

1. Deleted: "An"
2. "? Jersey" written above "country"
3. Deleted: "comf"
4. George Stafford, Harry's father. "G" written over "Mr"
5. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "such an" above "of" and the deletion.
6. Deleted: "It is"
7. Written over [*illeg.*]
8. Preceding two words inserted above "—It is"
9. Deleted: "have" ; inserted above: "get"
10. Deleted: "There which I will"
11. Inserted above "& people"
12. Deleted: "will" ; inserted above: "now"
13. Deleted: "Some fifty" ; inserted above: "Probably a hundred"
14. Deleted: "meagre scene" ; inserted above: "crowd . . . talking"
15. Preceding five words inserted on an arrow above "horses, household"
16. Preceding three words inserted above "the cloudy"
17. Deleted: "glows up, and"
18. Deleted: "&"

good fire)—the¹⁹ barn, sheds, stock—the stoves, bedsteads, chairs utensils, in piles & heaps—²⁰ many standing around²¹ the edges of the crowd²² with hands in overcoat pockets—the studies in physiognomy—the queer looking old fellows

—yes²³ an auction is the place to see²⁴ behind the scenes,²⁵ the average of manners, the men any how as they really are—the picture is rather a bleak one²⁶—As always,²⁷ the women,²⁸ give a dash of relief, a suggestion of sunshine, poetry, to the whole affair

[3]²⁹ All the neighbors gather from miles round, old & young, a hundred or more, mostly men & young fellows, but a few housewives & young women—the³⁰ latter spruced up a little, the others in their ordinary clothes. Very well they look,³¹ too, in my opinion³²—not only handsome & open-eyed, and fresh & independent, with wit enough, movements a little sluggish, but none the less artistic³³ for that—always evidencing power—but with a certain heroic,³⁴ rugged element through all—the having to do with, and, as they grew,³⁵ absorbing the universal, Nature, the fields, trees, grass, horses and³⁶ [4] cows, & ever the open air. (I say to men,³⁷ these result in something, ahead of all the schooling & reading, and Latin or French, or grammar-talk, or nail-brushes, or clean shirts, in the world—though those are not to be despised either)—So I have³⁸ always liked³⁹ these gatherings, as here—or any of⁴⁰ their likes, in cities, or the West or South,⁴¹ or any times or spots where the average American, en-masse, collects. Or in mining camps, or gatherings of mechanics—or even the⁴² oceanic political meetings, preceding a big

19. Deleted: "auctioneer" ; inserted above: "barns, sheds, stock—"

20. Preceding four words inserted above "utensils" and "[del.] the" ; deleted: "the crowd" ; inserted: "many standing" above "[del.] crowd" and "ar" in "around"

21. Deleted: "in their overcoats"

22. Preceding five words inserted above and to the right of "around" on two lines.

23. Deleted: "a country" ; inserted above: "an"

24. Deleted: "the people"

25. Deleted: "the"

26. Preceding seven words inserted on a line above "really are—"

27. Preceding two words inserted above "The wo" in "women" . WW did not reduce the following "The"

28. Deleted: "as always"

29. At top of leaf: "the auction White Horse Feb 20 '78"

30. Deleted: "gentler sex" ; inserted: "latter" above "sex"

31. Preceding two words inserted above "well too"

32. Deleted: "a" ; inserted: "not only" above "[del.] a" and "han" in "handsome"

33. Deleted: "to the sense that can appreciate, and" ; inserted: "for that—" above "[del.] the sense"

34. Deleted: "pure"

35. Preceding three words inserted above "and" and "absorb" in "absorbing"

36. At foot of leaf: "(go back two leaves" . There is no indication of a transposition on [1].

37. Inserted and deleted: "all"

38. Inserted above "al" in "always"

39. Inserted above "these"

40. Preceding two words inserted above "their"

41. Deleted: "or mining camps"

42. Deleted: "noisy" ; inserted above: "oceanic"

election. I do not care to pick out the few⁴³ points that can be turned into caricature or⁴⁴ cynicism, but prefer to dwell on the main things, the alertness, the freedom, good humor, comradeship,⁴⁵ manly pride, and the⁴⁶ immense physical, moral or[?] intellectual possibilities so certain & so plenty here

43. Deleted: "things"

44. Deleted: "slang" ; inserted above: "cynicism"

45. Inserted above "mor" in "humor" and "manly"

46. Preceding two words inserted above "imm" in "immense"

A Country Auction.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black pencil on stiff white laid paper, 7⁷/₈" x 6⁶/₈", with watermark. "CORD 1877" in open face capitals. On verso in black ink is the beginning of a letter: "431 Stevens Street Camden New Jersey Dec 12 My dear friend as the holidays come on I would like to make from 40 to 50". Evidently the draft of a newspaper article about the auction he had taken notes on. See "Down by the Creek"; thus, this was written sometime after February 22, 1878. For other journalistic projects, see "*Camden, N. Jersey.*"

A COUNTRY AUCTION.

If you want to see manners, persons, & characteristic life & ways, out in the country,¹ attend an² auction sale. I went to one in Camden county lately—rode over with my farmer-friend³ G. S.,⁴ and⁵ the following notes are written in the midst of the scene:⁶

¶ It is a small farm, and the owners, a young German and his wife, after due advertisement⁷ are now "selling off." Pinched by the cold, I have taken refuge in the house, by a window, whence I get a full view of the crowd, individuals and aggregate, whose portraits let me draw. Probably a hundred persons old and young,⁸ are gathered around in groups.

1. Preceding four words and comma inserted above "ways attend"
2. Deleted: "country"
3. Preceding two words inserted above "with G. S."
4. I.e., George Stafford.
5. Deleted: "indeed"
6. No indentation in MS, but ¶ in margin.
7. Preceding three words inserted above "his wife, are now"
8. Deleted: "farm-folk mostly" . Comma not deleted, not printed here.

But Only Pond-Babble.

Manuscript in LC (#50, sheet #241). Inscribed in black ink and black pencil on a scrap of white paper. On verso is the beginning of a draft letter, not in *Corr.*, Thursday, March 28, 1878, complaining of his health. Possibly, since his name is after the title (*n*3), this is a draft for a newspaper article, possibly a draft for *SD*. See "Only Reader dear." For Mulleins, see "for Dem Vistas" and "Mulleins and Mulleins," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 148–149. For journalism about NJ, see "*Camden, N. Jersey.*"

¶ But¹ Only pond-babble—² *Only Mulleins & Bumble-Bees* ?like³ by W Wh⁴
A fair Warning—⁵ Yes, that's all you are likely to get, Reader dear, out of⁶ these
preface pages—only some⁷

1. Inserted in pencil above "O" in "Only"
2. Preceding three words and dash inserted in pencil above "*Only Mulleins*"
3. Inserted in pencil above "s" in "bees"
4. Scrawling to indicate his name, centered under italicized title.
5. Preceding three words and dash inserted above deleted "Prefatory—*May 3, 1878*"
6. Deleted: "these [*illeg.*] paragraphs [*ins.*] following" ; inserted and deleted: "the following" ; inserted: "these[?] [*ins. in pencil*] preface pages—"
7. Inserted.

Only Reader Dear.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil and black ink on five pasted-together scraps of white wove paper approx. 2" to 3" long and varying from 7" to 9" wide. On verso of [2]: "white horse—winter." Scraps 1 and 5 are in black pencil, 2, 3 and 4 in ink. See "But Only pond-babble."

Only¹ Reader dear (I must tell you frankly, lest you still have lingering hopes that way)²—dont expect³ you are going to get any thing deep or fine in⁴ this following Pond-⁵Babble—(or in⁶ the pieces that⁷ supplement it).

Only some⁸ winter ice-crystals⁹ Mulleins and Bumble¹⁰-Bees.— at¹¹ any rate nothing better.¹² I only hope I could ever¹³ give you¹⁴ as good. I only hope¹⁵ I¹⁶ can hum and flit in my way—¹⁷can¹⁸ expand & sprout up as broadly¹⁹ and gracefully²⁰ & vitally—as they do in their ways. . . . Perhaps it²¹ ought

1. Original opening deleted: "As fair warning" ; inserted and deleted: "First though" "Only first" "Only first" ; inserted: "Only" ; inserted and deleted: "in advance" ; above the line inserted and deleted "summer and winter" cannot be placed.

2. Parenthetical statement inserted in top margin on arrow.

3. Deleted: "something" ; inserted: "you . . . deep or" on a line above "expect . . . in"

4. Deleted: "the following" ; inserted and deleted above: [*illeg.*]; deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted: "this following" above the deletion and "Pond—"

5. Deleted: "Notes—" ; inserted above: "Babble——"

6. Inserted above wordspace between "or . . . the"

7. Deleted: "follow" ; inserted above: "supplement it"

8. "Only some" repeated in ink on last rule of first scrap not reproduced here. Succeeding four words written on joint of first and second scrap in black ink in a cramped hand. Deleted: "crystal[?]" ; inserted above: "winter"

9. [*Illeg.*] descender from word cut off from second scrap not reproduced here. For "Mulleins and Bumble Bees" see "for Democratic Vistas."

10. Ink stain.

11. Over lowercase.

12. Deleted: "I only hope"

13. Inserted above "could" .

14. Preceding eight words inserted above "better." and "[*del.*] I only hope" . Deleted at end of insertion: "them"

15. Six or seven [*illeg.*] words inserted and deleted.

16. Deleted: "could" ; inserted above: "can"

17. Deleted: "or"

18. Deleted: "lay out my leaves" ; inserted above: "expand & sprout up"

19. Following two words written on next blue line below.

20. Deleted: "& [*illeg.*] with such fresh soft" ; inserted: "&"

21. End of second scrap. Third scrap entirely pasted over last few (blank) lines.

to be confessed that besides the Mulleins and Bumble-Bees and ice crystals and snow flakes²² there are two King fishers quietly²³ in reserve. But²⁴ I have no story to tell about them; I wish I had. They²⁵ merely give a momentary²⁶ circling flash, a souse of water-spray,²⁷ & a²⁸ spirited harsh chirrup or two to my lines.²⁹ Yet probably I am a little vain of them.³⁰

Yes, indeed—only mulleins and[?]³¹ bumble bees and some [*illeg.*] stars are [*illeg.*] and winter ice, [*illeg.*]³²

22. Preceding six words inserted above "Bees . . . King-"

23. Inserted above "rs" in "fishers" and "in"

24. End of scrap three.

25. Deleted: "only" ; inserted above: "merely"

26. Inserted: "[*del.*] and circling" above "entary" in "momentary"

27. Preceding four words inserted above "& a . . . harsh"

28. Inserted.

29. Deleted: "notes." ; inserted and deleted above: "piece.[?]" ; inserted above the second deletion: "lines." Deleted: "But [*ins.*] that I consider a [*del.*] good [*ins.* above "good"] great deal."

30. Sentence inserted in pencil. Fourth scrap here pasted on bottom of second and third scraps. In pencil.

31. Blot.

32. Preceding nine words in a cramped hand; bottom of scrap irregularly torn.

Go On.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil and black ink on two scraps of white laid paper pasted together, approx. 8" x 4". Possibly written around 1878 because the paper is identical with *Evening sights*, which is dated that year. Facsimile of slightly variant version in Traubel, I, 26, and a MS in Feinberg which is possibly that in Traubel.

Go on, my dear Americans¹—whip² your horses to the utmost ³ excitement! energy! money! politics!—cram your brains—open all the valves, & let her go, hit or miss⁴—stuff the very girls & boys by rote, till their poor⁵ little⁶ heads crack—swing,⁷ whirl,⁸ with the rest — you will soon get under way, and then you can't stop.

Only make⁹ provision betimes,¹⁰ old States and new States,¹¹ for several thousand Insane Asylums—for¹² I think you are in a fair way to¹³ create a whole Nation of Lunatics

1. Deleted: "cram your brains make"
2. Deleted: "up"
3. Preceding three words inserted in black ink above "horses—[del.] open" . Deleted: "open all the valves and let her go, hit or miss" . WW did not delete a preceding dash.
4. Preceding eleven words inserted in black ink on a line above "your brains . . . girls"
5. Beginning of second scrap.
6. Inserted above "heads"
7. Inserted and deleted above "ng" in "swing" and "[del.] in" : [illeg.] ; deleted: "in the"
8. Deleted: "the dance" . Comma not deleted.
9. Deleted: "better"
10. Inserted above "old"
11. Inserted and deleted: "for the future" above "for sever" in "several"
12. The preceding fifteen words written at bottom of the leaf and brought up on an arrow.
13. Deleted: "make" ; inserted above: "create"

Evening Sights.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on lower two of three white wove scraps pasted together, approx. 4" wide. The paper seems the same as "Preface '(Foot-steps)'" and "Go on my dear Americans." Some emendations and the last two sentences are in heavier lead pencil. On the top scrap is an early almost verbatim draft of the last sentence of "Mature Summer Days and Nights," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 202–203. This passage refers, however, to August 4, 1879, whereas the present MS is dated 1878 and suggests the conclusion of "Distant Sounds", *ibid.*, 150, which in the text refers to August or September 1877. See also "July 14 '78 Sunday."

¶*Evening sights.*¹ Slowly & silently rises the moon² unusually swelled and large, round as a dollar, of³ blood-red⁴ hue, slightly hazed⁵—and close by—the planet Jupiter,⁶ in⁷ conjunction. They rise indeed⁸ almost together. (Venus now ushers the sunrise, Mars attends the sunset, and Jupiter heralds the moon.)⁹

1. Marked for paragraphing in WW's hand. Title written in heavy black pencil over erasure. Deleted under "S" in "Slowly": "78" ; inserted above the deletion and "the moon" : "Slowly & silently rises"; "The" reduced to lowercase with heavy pencil.

2. End of scrap two. Deleted: "rises, vast, expanded, round, a clear"

3. Deleted: "a clear" ; lowercase "b" on "blood" in heavy pencil over [*illeg.*].

4. Deleted: "color" ; inserted above: "hue"

5. Deleted: "—and near at hand" ; inserted: "—and close by" above "[*del.*] and near"

6. Inserted in a space between "planet" and "in"

7. Deleted: "near"

8. Inserted.

9. This parenthetical phrase also appears in a deleted passage in "July 14 '78 Sunday," *n3*.

Visit to N Y '78.

Manuscript in Duke (50, #40). Inscribed in black ink with emendations in black pencil and purple crayon on irregular white wove paper approx. 7¾" x 4⅞". Letterhead parallel with right edge on verso: "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, House of Representatives, . . . 187—." Vertical blue rules recto and verso approx. ⅜" apart. At the upper right "[55]" is written in blue pencil. The MS appears in *WDC* on 55. The "proof" referred to is probably of "A Poets' Recreation," *NY Tribune*, July 4, 1878 (*Prose* 92, I, 329-330), part of which WW used in "Death of William Cullen Bryant," *SD*, *ibid.*, I, 165-166. WW visited NY in 1877, 1878 (see "New York visit" and LC-Feinberg), 1879 (see "Sunday '79" and LC-Feinberg, #753), 1881 (see "NY Mott Haven" and LC-Feinberg, #753) and 1887. First printed *WDC*, 55.

visit to N Y '78

July 3—Visited the *Tribune* newspaper office¹ to² read 'proof.'³ Up, up, up, in the elevator⁴ some⁵ eight⁶ nine⁷ or ten stories, to the top of the tall tower.⁸—Then the⁹ most wonderful expanse & views! A living map, indeed,—¹⁰all New York and Brooklyn, and all¹¹ the waters and lands adjacent, for twenty miles,¹² every direction. My thoughts of the¹³ beauty and amplitude of¹⁴ these bay & river surroundings confirmed. Other thoughts also confirmed—that of a fitter name, for

1. Inserted in purple crayon.
2. Deleted: "look at the"
3. Deleted: "I went to have a letter printed." Following sentence carried up to "proof" on an arrow.
4. Following six words inserted above "vator" in "elevator" and "top of"
5. Deleted: "seven or" in the inserted line.
6. Deleted: "or"
7. Following two words inserted above "nine . . . stories"
8. Deleted: "fo some eight or nine stories high." The *Tribune* building, which was designed by Richard Morris Hunt in 1873 and 1874, was nine stories high and was one of the first tall buildings to be equipped with elevators.
9. Preceding two words inserted above "most" . Original beginnings: "The" ; inserted and deleted: "There"
10. Word and comma inserted in ink, dash in black pencil above "p" in "map" and "[del.] of" . Deleted in black pencil: "of"
11. Inserted above wordspace between "and . . . the"
12. Deleted: "in"
13. Deleted: "bay"
14. Deleted: "the water" ; inserted: "these . . . river" above the deletion and "sur" in "surrounding"

instance.¹⁵ *Mannahatta*—“the place around which there are hurried and joyous waters, continually”—(that’s the sense of the old aboriginal word). . . .¹⁶—was treated with much courtesy by Whitelaw Reid,¹⁷ the editor, who placed his cab at my disposal.¹⁸ Had a pleasant evening drive through the Park—it being on¹⁹ my way home.

15. Preceding eleven words inserted on a line above “*Mannahatta* . . . around”

16. Deleted: “[*del.*] I Read [*cap over lowercase*] my proof”

17. 1837–1912, journalist and diplomat.

18. Deleted: “[*illeg.*] I”

19. Deleted: “our” ; inserted above: “my”

New York Visit.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in column in black ink on white wove notebook leaf, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", with rounded corners upper right and upper left, torn from binding on left edge. Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. In upper right is written "1878" in red ink. Like "visit to N Y '78," WW used this in of "A Poet's Recreation," *NY Tribune*, (July 4, 1878) (*Prose* 92, I, 329-330) and *SD*, *ibid.*, I, 167-171. First printed *WDC*, 54-55. WW wrote this sometime between June 25 and July 4, 1878.

New York visit

Came on to N Y June 13 '78 to 1309 Fifth av. 2d door south of 86th st.¹—at Mr Bryant's funeral at the church in 4th av: June 14th '78—²/ up the Hudson river to West Point to Mr & Mrs Bigelow's³ Sunday June 16th/ Wm H Taylor, policeman, 959 Fifth av.⁴ house south of 85th st. Alonzo Sprague, 33 years of age western—been 2 years with Frank Aiken⁵ the actor/ visit to Watson Gilders evening of June 14⁶ Modjeska⁷—Wyatt Eaton⁸—Chas De Kay.⁹ 20—24th June (in-

1. Residence of John H. Johnston, a jeweller, whose son, Albert, accompanied WW on his visit to John Burroughs.

2. WW had been a friend of Bryant's in his newspaper days, although few details are known, and admired the older poet as one of the founders of American poetry (*SD*, *Prose* 92, I, 267). The *NY Sun*, June 15, 1878, in its long account of the funeral devoted a paragraph to "the man most looked at . . . Walt Whitman."

3. John Bigelow (1817-1911), co-editor with Bryant of the *Evening Post* (1848-1861). He was consul-general and minister to France between 1861 and 1866, and an author.

4. A policeman who lived down the street from the Johnstons. Entry bracketed in left margin. WW had known an omnibus driver of the same name (*Corr.*, V, 215*n*; "D. W. Wilder"; "Addresses").

5. A minor actor who was playing in NY in 1878 and 1879.

6. Richard Watson Gilder (1844-1909) was a poet, assistant editor of *Scribner's Monthly* (1870-1881), and editor of the *Century*. WW had met him at the Johnstons' in 1877 and considered him one of his supporters among the NY literati. The Gilders' evenings were famous for many years. See Traubel, I, 126-127, 170; II, 117-119.

7. Helena Modjeska (1840-1909), Polish actress who had made her first hit in NY in *Camille*, January 1878. She was deeply impressed by WW's appearance. See her *Memories and Impressions* (NY, 1910), 372.

8. Wyatt Eaton (1848-1897), portrait and figure painter, organized the Society of American Artists in 1877.

9. Charles DeKay (1848-1935), literary editor of the *NY Times* (1877-1894), art critic and minor poet for whose verse WW did not have a high regard. See Traubel, I, 164-165, 171; II, 167.

clusive) visit at John Burroughs's Esopus¹⁰ (Smith Caswell)¹¹ 25th June, down the bay with Sorosis¹² party

10. Esopus is 78 miles north of NYC. WW visited John Burroughs there after his visit with the Bigelows.

11. One of Burroughs' hired hands to whom WW took a liking. See *SD, Prose* 92, I, 329 and *Corr.*, III, 141-179 and "Kansas & Colorado Trip '79."

12. The first important women's club, founded 1868.

July 14 '78—Sunday.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on two leaves, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", on heavy white wove paper. Traces of paste on irregular left edge. Probably fly leaves. WW had written "H.S." (Harry Stafford) from NY, July 6–7, 1878, hoping for a visit such as he describes here (*Corr.*, III, 126–127). He visited the Staffords between July 14 and 17. See "Harry L. Stafford" and "Evening Sights."

July 14 '78—Sunday—Preceded by Venus, half an hour ahead, the miracle of the sunrise—¹ever the same, yet ever indescribably ²different.³
 . . . A delightful day, warm but breezy. Had much comfort with H. S., we two all day together, lazily lounging around, shady recesses,⁴ banks by the brook [2] where the slight but coolish west wind set in—having long talks, interchanges, cheery and loving confidences, with vacant intervals.⁵

Soothing, human, emotionally-nourishing, most precious hours, costing nothing simple and ⁶cheap and near as air.⁷ Why should they be ⁸such rare oases?⁹ Why will we run off, frantic, at vast outlay, for that spirit¹⁰ of blessedness (and don't get it) which hovers invisibly at hand?¹¹

1. Deleted: "the eternal miracle,"

2. Inserted above "ever" and "differ" in "differently"

3. On a pasteover, paragraph deleted: "(Venus [*ins. and del.*] now ushers the sunrise, Mars attends the sunset, and Jupiter heralds the moon)" This parenthetical phrase also appears in "Evening Sights."

4. Deleted: "and"

5. Pasteover, inscribed in a lighter pencil than the bulk of the MS. In "Soothing," uppercase "S" over original lowercase.

6. Preceding two words inserted in heavy pencil like that of most of the MS above "hing" in "nothing" and "cheap"

7. Deleted in heavy pencil: "Strange that they should" ; inserted in heavy black pencil: "Why should they" above "that they should"

8. Deleted: "st"

9. Query inserted in heavy pencil. Deleted: "Strange that folks" ; inserted and invading the pasteover: "Why will we" above "[*del.*] that folks"

10. Inserted above "of"

11. Comma deleted; query inserted; deleted: "& costs nothing without"

Oct 21 '78 Sky.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove side-bound notebook paper, approx. $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{16}$ " with blue rules $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart, top margin $1\frac{1}{16}$ ", rounded right corners, cut out at left. For same paper see "Sky Oct 19 '78" and "Autumn leaves" (both Berkeley). Neither MS is published here since both are almost identical with published text. At top of leaf is a cancelled note in WW's hand: "Present condition physically shattered—complication of troubles rupture of blood vessel A late spell of illness—with rheumatism [*illeg. del.*]" This was written on October 21, 1878.

Oct 21 '78¹ Sky²

In all the manifold shows of the Universe, is there any thing³ like the Sky to define that⁴ latent eligibility in human Souls⁵ for vastness, the⁶ sense of freedom, space, unconfinedness?⁷—of⁷ exquisite uniform'd, unlined spiritual beauty? of⁸ something nearest kindred to the Soul itself, full of depths, beyond eloquence, beyond art, baffling statement⁹ unbabbling, plum- [2] metless?⁹—religious—in one's profoundest hours beyond all that art or literature can do—silently making them, & the best of them, inferior, & in the way?

To-day, from this field, the whole forenoon my Soul is calmed & expanded beyond description by a clear-blue, arching over all, cloudless, nothing particular—no special beauty, nothing extra—only the Sky & the Daylight. They are enough. (I suppose it is because I myself am in good tune.) I see sky unspeakable breadth and placidity, with the earth and trees, for a[?] fringe to *it*

1. Blue crayon.
2. Blue crayon. Text begins with deleted: "Can [*del.*] there the soul have"
3. Inserted above "any"
4. Written over "the"
5. Deleted: "to" ; inserted above: "for"
6. Inserted and deleted above "the" : "that"
7. Inserted above first "e" of "exquisite"
8. Deleted: "something" ; inserted above: "something nearest"
9. Preceding two words inserted above "art, baffling"

Sunday '79.

Manuscript in Duke (50, #34). Inscribed in black ink, [1], and black pencil, [2, 3], on three scraps of paper: [1,3] white wove, 4¾" x 7¼"; [2] yellow wove 5½" x 7¼". With it is a clipping from the Camden *Post* quoting a NY newspaper on his visit, according to Trent *Cat.*, 50, in 1877. WW has edited the clipping, which contains a reference to a projected work, "Far and Near at 59," probably *SD*. (See "Far and Near at 59.") First printed *WDC*, 56-57.

*Sunday '79.*¹—Took a slow walk forenoon to-day. (Easter-Sunday—the chick is breaking the egg)—along Fifth-avenue where it flanks the Park,² from 85 to 90th street. I rest my note-book, to write this, on the roof-shaped coping of the wall. All round this vast Pleasure Ground, has been built a costly, grim, forbidding stone fence, some parts 7 feet high, others lower³ capped with⁴ heavy⁵ bevelled rough marble—in my judgment a nuisance, the whole thing.— There [?]⁶ ought to be no such fence—the grounds ought to be open, all 'round—(both the spirit of the matter, and the visible fact and convenience,⁷ are important, and require it.⁸)

Perhaps, (though I am not sure,) the general⁹ planning, designing and carrying out of this Park, from its original state to the present, are¹⁰ successes, and the results good. But the same¹¹ ideas,¹² theories,¹³ (by the same person, I under-

1. Year inserted in pencil.
2. Preceding five words inserted above "from 85 to 90th"
3. End of first fragment. Following text in black pencil.
4. Deleted: "a"
5. Deleted: "bev"
6. End of second fragment.
7. Deleted in black pencil and black ink: "of the matter"
8. Comma and preceding three words inserted in black ink above "important" . Deleted in black ink: "¶ I will here say that" ; inserted in black ink: "¶ Perhaps, (though I am not sure,)" above the deletion and "the general"
9. Deleted in black pencil: "designing" ; inserted in black pencil, deleted in black ink above: "conception"
10. Inserted and deleted in black ink: "probably" above "succ" in "successes"
11. Deleted in black pencil: "theory a"
12. Deleted in black pencil: "and"
13. Deleted in black ink: "mind-eyes,"

stand)¹⁴ applied to Prospect¹⁵ Park, Brooklyn, have in my opinion¹⁶ done their best to¹⁷ spoil that incomparable hill and¹⁸ ground¹⁹—in some respects the grandest site for a Park²⁰ in the world. The same error²¹ in Capitol²² Hill, at Washington—²³exploiting the designs of²⁴ ingrain carpets,²⁵ with sprawling curves and meaningless lines.

14. Deleted in black pencil: [*illeg.*] . The designer of both parks and of Capitol Hill was Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903).

15. Deleted in black ink: “Hill”

16. Inserted in black ink: “[*del.*] undoubtedly in my opinion” above “their”

17. Deleted in black pencil: “spoil”

18. Deleted in black ink: “magnificent” ; inserted in black ink: “incomparable hill and” above the deletion and “gro” of “ground”

19. Comma deleted.

20. Preceding four words inserted in black ink above “est” in “grandest” and “in the”

21. Deleted in black ink: “the”

22. Deleted in black ink: “grounds” ; inserted above: “Hill”

23. Deleted in black ink: “the” ; inserted in black ink: “—exploiting the” above “[*del.*] the” and “designs” . Redundant dash not deleted, not shown.

24. Deleted in black ink: “the”

25. “s” added in black ink.

(?Preface "Footsteps.")

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil, blue crayon, and black ink on a scrap of white woven paper approx. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4". Probably a draft towards *SD*. See "(? to conclude "Footsteps")." Possibly "Footsteps" was a tentative title for *SD*. On August 8, 1879 WW wrote Mrs. Gilchrist that he was working on a book of "memoranda down at the Creek" to be called "*Idle Days and Nights of a half-Paralytic*" (*Corr.*, III, 161). The last entry in the MS must date about 1879, but the first entry may be earlier.

(?preface¹ "Footsteps"²

Only the undulations of my Thought,³ beneath the Night and Stars — or⁴
at mid-day, looking⁵ out upon the Sea.⁶

NOTES FROM THE *Days & NIGHTS of a half-Paralytic*⁷

1. Blue crayon. Enclosed by curved line. Query above.
2. In the upper right corner.
3. Preceding three words inserted above "ations" in "undulations" and "[del.] floating" . Deleted: "floating idle and capricious in presence of" ; inserted and deleted: "under" above "[del.] presence" ; inserted: "Beneath" above "[del.] in"
4. Deleted: "looking"
5. Inserted above "dday" in "midday"
6. Separate entry in black ink deleted: "*Only Some Days & Nights of a half-Paralytic at 60*"
7. Separate entry. Black ink.

(? To Conclude "Footsteps").

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black ink with emendations in blue ink on a scrap of white wove paper approx. 5" x 11". On verso is a cancelled conclusion to a letter requesting an autograph. Blue rules ½" apart on verso. Probably a draft towards *SD*. See "(?Preface "Footsteps")." This probably was written before 1879.

(? to conclude "Footsteps")¹

As I loiter, amid a scene,² I find³ that to just pencil⁴ down something about it while⁵ its facts are palpable to the eyes, and⁶ the spirit absorbs⁷ their presence, does not mar my satisfaction, but⁸ fits-in⁹ with, defines and ripens¹⁰ all. (Mere memoranda,¹¹ I mean, like these, not to elaborate, or¹² go too far, or philosophize.¹³ I tried¹⁴ something of that last but quickly discarded it.) In serene hours, to the Soul, of a fine day or night,¹⁵ Nature seems to look¹⁶ even on the best Poetry and Art as something¹⁷ foreign, some thing¹⁸ almost impertinent.

1. The preceding is in a smaller hand and is enclosed by a curved line.
2. Preceding three words inserted above "loiter I"
3. Deleted: "it adds confirms" ; inserted and deleted above: "fits-in &" ; inserted "that" following the deletion.
4. Deleted: "id"
5. Deleted: "its the scene is before my" ; inserted above: "facts are palpable to the"
6. Deleted: "my" ; inserted above: "the"
7. Deleted: "its" ; inserted above: "their"
8. Deleted: "delicately"
9. Deleted: "ripens &" ; inserted: "with," above the wordspace between "fits-in and [del.] ripens"
10. Deleted: "it" ; inserted above: "all."
11. Deleted: "To" [*cap. over lowercase*]; inserted: "I mean, like these, not to"
12. Deleted: "narrate[?] or" ; inserted above: "go [*del. and ins.*] too far or [*del.*] try to"
13. Deleted: "or go too far anyhow any fine writing attempted, [*preceding five words ins. and del.*] spoils all."
14. Deleted: "it, and" ; inserted: "something of that last but" above "tried" and "[del.] it, and"
15. Deleted: "Night"
16. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: "even"
17. Deleted: "intrusive, something"
18. Deleted: "intrinsic" ; inserted above "some" and "in" of deleted "intrinsic": "thing"

May 10 '79.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on tan (faded white?) laid paper, 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ ", with chainlines.

May 10 '79¹ Sunny and fine, but moderately cool; the season a little backward. Lilacs out in leaf, and a rich, pure, tenderest green from the horse chestnuts. The grass thickly dotted with golden dandelions/

Albert E Johnston, 1309 Fifth ave N Y²

Hands all Round³

Nat Bloom,⁴ 473 Broadway

1. WW was a guest of John H. Johnston, 1309 Fifth Avenue, New York City from May 3 to June 8, 1879. See "New York Visit."

2. John H. Johnston's son. See *Corr.*, III, passim. See "New York Visit."

3. Possibly a note for a poem.

4. An old friend from the days of the "Fred Gray Association" at Pfaff's before the war. Bloom operated a fancy-goods store. See "Mrs H. J. Wright."

N.Y. Tribune.

Manuscript in LC (#76, sheet #596). Inscribed in black pencil on scrap of white laid paper, 8¹/₁₆" wide. Blue rules 3/4" apart. The movement of former slaves ("Exodusters") into Kansas was much commented on in 1879. The NY *Tribune* article quoted is headed "Adding Insult to Injury" and reports an emigration convention in New Orleans. There are two other reports on "refugees." The date is May, 1879.

N. Y. Tribune, May 1.

¹The slaves are stampeding at a great rate from Western Missouri—swarm across the line in droves taking wagons, horses cattle, & one sort of truck & another. Sometimes they make a real procession (would be mighty good for an artist to paint.) In three weeks in April, 300 ran away from Lafayette county alone; they went to Kansas

1. In loop at right: "Seems reliable"

Astor House.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #758). Inscribed in column in black pencil on tan laid scrap, approx. $4\frac{3}{4}$ " x $7\frac{9}{16}$ ", torn upper right corner. Of the identifiable buildings WW mentions, the newest is the A.T. Stewart mansion at 34th St. and 5th Avenue, built in 1873. The Equitable Insurance Building (1868–1870) was five stories (but 130') high, one of the tallest buildings in NYC, and one of the first to show the practicability of passenger elevators in tall buildings. WW had shown similar interest in city architecture in "Wicked Architecture" (1856), *NYD*, 92–102, and on his 1860 visit to Boston, "English runic." The date is after 1873, possibly from one of WW's visits to NYC between 1877 and 1881.

Astor House City Hall Equitable Insurance Building A T Stewarts house 5th
av. Egyptian Tombs Bank in Bleecker st

405 Stevens St.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #739). Inscribed on a white wove scrap 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Marks of a fold and small holes at extreme left suggest it was torn from a small notebook. First entry is in black ink, second in faded red or violet. Underneath in black pencil, "Geo. C. Potter," another name now illegible, and "Mass." The address is unidentifiable. WW lived at 431 Stevens St. until 1884 when he moved to 328 Mickle.

405 Stevens st. Camden now 323.
(Clausen 1428 St.)

Aug 9 '79.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on a half-sheet of white laid note-paper. On the verso is a draft of a letter, August 9, 1879 (*Corr.*, V, 306). WW was apparently in Camden on August 9. First published, apparently from a different MS, possibly that mentioned in [Charles E. Feinberg] *An Exhibition of the Works of Walt Whitman . . .* (Detroit, 1955), 24, in *WDC*, 57. See "Daybook," August 9, 1879, n714a, *DN*.

Aug 9 '79¹

As I walk the suburbs² of my³ town,⁴ the great⁵ Sun⁶ Flowers⁷ bend their tall and stately discs in full bloom in silent salute⁸ to the⁹ day-orb. The Roses of Sharon are out — both the white ones and the red. Then the tawny¹⁰ Trumpet-Flower, in¹¹ rich-deep orange-yellow,¹² on copious vines,¹³ in the¹⁴ back yards, and on the gables of old houses.¹⁵

1. *WDC* adds "Gorgeous Flowers"
2. *WDC* substitutes: "of a town in which I am temporarily staying" for succeeding three words.
3. May be: "any"
4. Preceding eight words brought down from top of leaf on arrow. Deleted: "I not" "The" ; inserted: "the"
5. Deleted: "stately"
6. Capital added.
7. Capital added.
8. Preceding three words inserted above "bloom . . . to"
9. Deleted: "sun" ; inserted above: "day-orb" . *WDC* adds: "many other gorgeous blossoms"
10. Inserted above wordspace between "the trumpet"
11. Inserted and deleted: "rich" ; inserted: "rich-deep" above "orange"
12. Deleted: "its"
13. Deleted: "on" ; inserted above: "in"
14. Deleted: "few"
15. *WDC* adds: "Great balls of the blue hydrangeas are not uncommon. I stop long before a tall clump of the Japanese sunflowers."

? Echoes & Drift.

Manuscript in LC (# 78, sheet #670). Inscribed in blue crayon and black pencil on tan laid scrap. Seems to be a note for the title of what became "Collect." This was written in 1879. Other, similar titles are also in LC, *Cat.*, # 78.

?*Echoes & Drift*¹ ECHOES of a Life of the 19th Century in the New World²/

Aug 26 '79 — After all I doubt whether I shall find any more satisfactory name than *Democratic Vistas & other Pieces*

1. In black pencil at top of scrap.
2. In blue crayon. Following rule and note in black pencil.

New World.

Manuscript not found. Text from facsimile in Oscar Lovell Triggs, "The Growth of 'Leaves of Grass'", *CW*, X, 122. The "[:]" indicates a brace behind which the nouns appear in column. A vertical line to the left of "Inaugurations . . . Flanges." Triggs (123) says it is a series of trial titles for *SD*. The date is thus before 1882.

New World [:] Outlines Sketches Memoranda Pencillings Tracings
Drawings Voices Radications Suggestions Intimations Indications Inau-
gurations Flavors Flanges

J W F Remark'd.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black pencil on verso of an army record form for issue of military supplies and equipment (cf. "America! Thee Formulating," LC #40, in *LG MS Variorum*). JWF is identified on the MS in W. S. Kennedy's hand as Colonel John Wien Forney (1817–1881), politician and journalist, whom WW had known in Washington as editor of the *Daily Morning Chronicle*. He returned to Philadelphia in 1871 and in 1878 founded a weekly magazine, *Progress*. In 1879 he invited WW to accompany him to Lawrence, Kansas, where he gave an address at the 25th anniversary celebration of territorial status. See *Corr.*, II, 34ⁿ; III, 150, 163ⁿ, 164, 165, 166, 213, 256, 433, 434; "G. W. Childs," "Missouri Kansas trip," "D. W. Wilder," "Wm J Gurd." The date must be between 1873 and 1881. First published in *WDC*, 72.

J W F¹ remark'd in the course of our talk this evening, "If I were ask'd to put my finger on the name of any² eminent official in this great city—and I³ know nine-tenths of them—as⁴ of undoubted honesty and integrity, I could not do it." (F., who has been in public life for forty years, and knows everybody—especially the Philadelphians—is not a sour man either—is quite lenient, human, tolerant.)

1. Deleted before initials: "Col"
2. Deleted: "consp"
3. Deleted: "ni"
4. Deleted: "are" ; inserted above: "of"

Missouri Kansas Trip.

Manuscript in Newberry. Inscribed in black pencil on white (faded to yellow?) wove scrap, approx. 6½" x 3⅞". Paper stained as if by raindrops. Pasted on verso of flyleaf of *N and F*, copy 118. Pinholes. Words possibly trimmed off at bottom. "Missouri" is diagonally upper left of "Kansas." WW had been invited to travel to Lawrence, Kansas, by his friend, Colonel John W. Forney, editor and publisher of the Philadelphia *Progress*, who was to deliver an oration at the Quarter Centennial Celebration of Kansas Territory in September, 1879. WW had been a Free Soiler, as Forney knew, and had known various Kansans and Kansas supporters in the East, including James Redpath, the Boston publisher, T. D. Thacher, in 1879 editor of the Lawrence *Daily Journal*, D. W. Wilder, a well-known Kansas journalist, and his brother, A. C. Wilder, one-time Representative from Kansas. D. W. Wilder was one of an escort of honor which accompanied Forney and his party from Kansas City, Missouri, to Lawrence. Another friend, the journalist Col. Richard Hinton, (see "Addresses") who had been active in the territorial struggle, had had something to do with the appearance of "The Mystic Trumpeter" in the *Kansas Magazine* for February, 1872, and, at WW's request, had planted there as his own composition, WW's "Walt Whitman in Europe" in December of that year. WW had also known Judge John P. Usher, Secretary of the Interior under Lincoln, and in 1879 counsel for the Union Pacific Railroad. Forney and WW were guests in Usher's house, which still stands at 1425 Tennessee St. WW was expected to deliver a poem, but he had agreed, according to an interview in the St. Louis *Globe-Democrat*, September 16, only to sit on the platform. He did so on the 15th, although he remembered the celebration later as having taken place in Topeka, some twenty miles away ("The Prairies," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 207). Because of the great heat on the 16th he did not attend that day, but by his own account spent the day with Usher's sons, then in their twenties. According to the *Kansas Tribune*, September 18, his absence caused "great disappointment" when "loud calls for Walt Whitman" were not answered. On the 17th the party went to Topeka, where Forney was scheduled for an address. They were handsomely entertained with a sham battle, a parade and an evening reception. On the 18th Forney returned to Philadelphia, but WW went on to Denver, not by himself but with the three other Eastern journalists who were members of the party. They reached Denver on the 20th, and returned by a southern route through Pueblo, reaching Kansas City on the 25th. WW went on to St. Louis to visit his brother Jeff, but fell ill there and did not return to Philadelphia and Camden until January 5. Walter H. Eitner, *Walt Whitman's Western Jaunt* (Lawrence, KS, 1981), presents the documents, including the hitherto unknown reports of the accompanying journalists. Eitner makes it clear that WW was as devious on this occasion as in his other attempts to publicize himself, for he barely mentions the fact that he had companions throughout and intimates vigorously that he made the difficult trip to the mines at Leadville, Colorado. I am in-

debted to Professor William Epperson of Oral Roberts University for his research in Missouri and Kansas newspapers.

Missouri

Kansas trip

Sept '79

Arrived in St Louis Friday Sept 12, about 10½ a m—Planters Hotel, good breakfast—three hours here—gentlemanly and brotherly kindness of Mr Stickney the¹ supervising proprietor of this large & substantial old hotel, (with the Astor in New York, and the St Charles in New Orleans, making a superb² trio, well known to old travelers

1. Deleted: "managing"
2. Inserted above "a trio"

The RR We Go On.

Manuscript in Duke (50, #38). Inscribed in black pencil on faded white wove scraps of irregular shape and various sizes. They contain many pinholes. Although the paper sizes vary and the comparison of the paper was not possible, it seems very likely that these scraps were once pinned with "Wapalingua Chief" also written on irregular scraps and recording his observations over the same territory. First published *FC&I*, 58-60.

{1}¹ the RR we go on (Sept 13 '79) from St. Louis (to Lawrence is the (northern)² *St Louis and Kansas City RR*, 275 miles (from St L to K C) right through the (northern)³ centre and natural beauty and richness of this great State. Crossing the Missouri river on the bridge at the pretty town {2}⁴ of St Charles, we enter upon the finest soil show (on a loose, slip-shod scale)⁵ trees, beauty, eligibility for tillage of crops⁶ and general look of open air⁷ health, picturesquenes that I⁸ ever saw, and continue⁹ all day on the same enchanting¹⁰ nearly three hundred miles—ahead of any thing in Pennsylvania or New York States, good as these are.

{3}¹¹ they raise a good deal of tobacco in these counties of Missouri, you see the light greenish-gray¹² leaves pulled and¹³ now [*illeg.*] (Sept 13 '79)¹⁴ in great patches on rows of sticks or frameworks, hanging¹⁵ out to dry—looking like¹⁶ leaves of the mullein, familiar to¹⁷ eastern eyes.

1. An irregular scrap, inscribed across the width, 7⁵/₈" x 4".

2. Inserted above "the *St.*"

3. Inserted above "centre"

4. An irregular scrap, inscribed across the width, 6⁵/₁₆" x 4".

5. Parenthetical phrase inserted above "st" in "finest" and "soul show" . Deleted: "trees"

6. Originally written after the parenthesis, brought down to this position on an arrow.

7. Preceding two words inserted above "of heal" of "health"

8. Deleted: "have"

9. Deleted: "in" ; inserted: "all day on" above the deletion and "the" and "s" in "same"

10. Deleted after space: "for three"

11. An irregular scrap, inscribed across the width, 6⁵/₁₆" x 4". Used in "Missouri State," *SD*, *Prose* 92, I, 207.

12. Preceding three words inserted above "the . . . light greenish" ; "light" written over erasure.

13. Deleted: "hanging"

14. Deleted: "on" ; inserted: "in great patches on" above the deletion and "rows of" on the next line.

15. Originally: "hand" ; inserted in right margin: "out" ; deleted: "to"

16. Deleted: "m"

17. Deleted: "northern" ; inserted above: "eastern"

[4]¹⁸ Yet, fine as it is,¹⁹ it isn't the finest part of the State, (There a bed of impervious clay and hard²⁰ pan every²¹ where down below on this line, that holds the water—"drowns the land in wet weather, and bakes it in dry," as some one harshly said.) South are some²² rich counties; but the beauty spots of Missouri are²³ the north-western portions.

[5]²⁴ Missouri mules (first) oxen, horses—products on the largest scale—everything all varieties and no stint—cattle,²⁵ wheat,²⁶ maize, hay hemp, tobacco, corn wine²⁷ wool²⁸ fruits—

[6]²⁹ Kansas

—every where products and people and energy and practical³⁰ ? —every where towns going up, provided or being provided with the best, water, pavements,³¹ gas, parks, police, printing office—everywhere the³² Railroad equipped with the best.

[7]³³ Wednesday Sept 17 '79 Topeka Kansas/

the ride about Topeka (driven by William Muroe)³⁴ fine hard smooth roads miles and³⁵ miles of them³⁶—over a³⁷ flat & unbroken surface,³⁸ stretching in every direction as far as the eye could see—the Capitol, (only one fine wing of it,³⁹ the rest to be)—the Governor—Chief Judge Horton,⁴⁰—other Judges

[8]⁴¹ abt Sept 20 '79⁴²

How unexpressively magnificent and ample it is! The contrast—the alterna-

18. An irregular scrap, inscribed across the width, 7⁵/₁₆" x 4". Deleted: "A" . Used in "Missouri State," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 206.

19. Preceding four words inserted above "et" in "Yet" and "[*del.*] this" and "it isn't" ; deleted: "this" ; inserted: "it"

20. Deleted: "pan"

21. Inserted and deleted: "on" above "wh" in "where"

22. Deleted: "fine" ; inserted above: "rich"

23. Deleted: "in"

24. An irregular scrap, inscribed across the width, 2¹/₂" x 4¹/₄".

25. Inserted above the dash.

26. Inserted and deleted: "and beef" above "[*del.*] hay" ; deleted: "hay, maize,—silver and gold, oil &" ; inserted above: "maize [*ins.*] hay hemp, tobacco,"

27. Inserted: "[*del.*] and wool" above "wine"

28. Deleted: "and"

29. Irregular scrap 4³/₈" x 4¹/₈".

30. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

31. Inserted above "water"

32. Deleted: "mighty" ; "Railroad" capitalized over lowercase.

33. Irregular scrap, inscribed across the width, 7³/₄" x 4". Date and location written in three lines.

34. Parenthetical phrase inserted on a line above "fine hard smooth" and "r" in "roads"

35. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

36. Deleted: "topography"

37. Inserted above wordspace between "over flat"

38. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

39. Parenthesis deleted.

40. Albert Howell Horton (1837–1902), Chief Justice of the Kansas Supreme Court.

41. Irregular scrap, 6³/₄" x 4". Used in part in "Art Features," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 214.

42. In ink, on two lines at upper left.

tion!⁴³ After these⁴⁴ easy-peaceful and fertile prairies of a thousand miles area, corn & wheat & h⁴⁵ start up the grandest mountains of the globe, with many a savage canon and cloud piercing peaks by hundreds!—and⁴⁶ spots of terror & sublimity Dante and Angelo never knew

[8V]⁴⁷ [*illeg.*] going east, after we leave Sterling Kansas,⁴⁸ the sun is up about half an hour—every thing fresh and beautiful—the immense area flat as a house floor, visible for 20 miles in⁴⁹ every direction in the clear air, The grass all autumn yellow and reddish tawny. Little houses, farms, enclosures, stacks of hay, dotting the landscape—the prevailing hue a rich [*illeg.*]

43. Deleted: "From" ; inserted above: "After"

44. Deleted: "flat" ; inserted: "easy-peaceful" above the deletion and "and" and "f" in "fertile"

45. Preceding five words inserted above "a" in "area" and "start up the" ; deleted: "[?]"?

46. Deleted: "scenes" ; inserted above: "spots"

47. Inscribed over erased inscription written sideways at left of leaf: "Walt Whitman is doing the [*illeg.*] Mountains" . Traces of clipped-off writing. Cancelled with vertical line. Used in part in "A Silent Little Flower—the Coreopsis," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 218.

48. WW left Sterling, September 25.

49. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

Two Men.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in pencil on a white wove scrap. The manuscript may date from WW's Western trip in 1879.

two men, apparently father & son, a foot—the indescribable *sentiment* of lessening light on this plains, and the far circles of the horizon

Kansas & Colorado Trip '79.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Homemade notebook on white wove paper, approx. 6⁵/₁₆" x 3⁷/₁₆", blue rules 3/8" apart; [7,9] embossed at the upper left with a sphinx; [29-34] white wove unruled. Self covered, held by pin in center fold and glue or paste, with backstrip pasted on. Entries divided by horizontal lines as indicated by slashes. Many cards and separate memoranda pasted in, usually on versos. The notebook was evidently kept at least from WW's visit to Topeka, on September 17 and 18, as names of various leading Topekan in a variety of scripts indicate. That of Governor St. John [31] is an autograph. It has not been possible to identify the writer of the five Usher names on [33]. It also provides a spare chronicle of his stay (between September 1879 and January, 1880) in St. Louis with his brother at 3018 Lucas Ave. Some of the notes about payments for LG were clearly made after his return to Camden. As usual, many of the names which appear are unidentifiable in local directories, but this journal is remarkable for the number of local notables WW met. As with his other notebooks he made entries somewhat at random. First published in part in Rena V. Grant, "The Livesay-Whitman Manuscripts," *WWR*, 7 (March, 1961), 9-13.

[Cover] Kansas & Colorado Trip '79¹ *St Louis Mems*: Oct & Nov '79² at Kenosha Memorandum³ started from Phila Sept 10—'79—returned Jan 5 '80 / gone not quite 4 months.⁴ [Inside front cover]⁵ Herman Beckurts—prop: Denver *Tribune* / fare \$22.75 leaves in morning 7.30 [leaves in] evening 6.45 36 hours run⁶ Bender, hatter 211 Race st. Phil. [3; 1-2 torn out] Mems from St Louis/* Sent the two Vols. from Camden by Express. cod to Nestor Sanborn bank of North America 44 Wall st N Y City \$10 due⁷/**L of G. to Charles⁸ Scribner's Sons 743 Broadway N Y about Oct 25 '79 returned \$3.50 due⁹ / *the P O order

1. In red ink, large letters.
2. Preceding words in black ink, large letters.
3. Preceding three words in blue pencil.
4. Preceding fourteen words in blue ink but with a very broad-nibbed pen. At left, a fist pointing upward.
5. In another hand on pasted-in scrap: "* Charles C. W. Post. With B. D. Buford & Co Kansas City Mo:"
6. Pasted-in scrap. The fare and train schedule probably refer to WW's trip home, for in *SD* (*Prose* 92, I, 206) he says that the running time between Philadelphia and St. Louis is thirty-six hours.
7. Preceding two words and asterisk in blue pencil.
8. Inserted above "to" and "Scr" in "Scribner's"
9. Preceding three words and initial asterisks in blue pencil. "13.50" is marked through.

from Alice R Alexander, the Palace¹⁰ Derry Ireland \$10 due¹¹ / ans. F Leypoldt—catalogue¹² / Oct 24—wrote to Hannah¹³ / [Oct] 25 [*wrote to*] Mrs & Jim Scovel¹⁴ ans by J M S / Oct 30 wrote to Robt U Johnson Ed: rooms S Mag¹⁵ 743 Bdway N Y / [*wrote*] Fred Rauch¹⁶ / address Thos J Hall, care Cella & Hall lock box 2419 Jos: W Hall Fruit dealers Leadvill, Col / Oct 31 wrote to W R Wood, 443 Kaigh's Pt av. Cam / [*wrote to*] Ed Cattell Glenolden Delaware co:¹⁷ / Nov 1 [*wrote to*] Lou & George¹⁸ / [Nov 1] — Hannah / [Nov 1]—Mary¹⁹ / [Nov 1]—Clarry Whitaker [4]²⁰ rec'd letter from Alice R Alexander the Palace, Derry, Ireland (p o order for me \$10—at Camden) [5] *remember to send book to Dr Bucke for *Alfred Withers* (\$5 pay rec'd by me in St Louis)²¹ / wrote to John Hardie, 6 Finnart st Greenock Scotland / Nov 4—wrote to Smith Caswell²² / [Nov] 5 [*wrote*] Pete Doyle²³ / [5 *wrote*] Ed: Lindell²⁴ / [5 *wrote*] Nat Jones / [5 *wrote*] Charley Woods²⁵ / Nov 6 (Thursday) visit to Crystal City Plate Glass works, (by Iron Mountain RR)—Swash creek / [Nov] 8th wrote to Mrs Gilchrist—sent map²⁶/*remember to send *Dem Vistas & Memoranda* to Joseph Wm. Thompson Goldsmith Building Temple London Eng: (p o order sent) book sent sent from Camden²⁷ (p o order sent) / Nov 12 sent letter to Marvin²⁸—Wash'n

10. Preceding five words inserted.

11. Two preceding words and two initial asterisks in blue pencil.

12. Probably Frederick Leypoldt (1835–1884), founder of *The Publishers' Weekly*, *Publishers' Trade List Annual* and *The American Catalogue*. Cf. *Corr.*, III, 92, by which WW sends a catalogue.

13. His sister.

14. James M. Scovel, a Camden lawyer and, at one time, publisher of the Camden *New Republic*.

15. Robert Underwood Johnson (1853–1937), editor of the *Century Magazine*, active in copy-right legislation. At this period he was with *Scribner's Magazine*. See *Corr.*, III, 167.

16. Ferryman on Camden ferry. See below, [7]; *SD, Prose* 92, 1183 and "GW Childs."

17. Possibly Ed Cattell, a farmhand and friend of the Stafford family, with whom WW had a close friendship for a time (*Corr.*, III, 76–77). The address, however, is not in New Jersey but probably Delaware County, PA, just south of Philadelphia.

18. His brother and his wife.

19. His sister.

20. A Camden friend ("D. W. Wilder"). Three calling cards pasted in. Stephen F. Smart, General Traveling-Agent, Kansas Pacific Railway, endorsed "Joe Hull says gone to Europe" by WW. Smart had been one of WW's hosts in Topeka, Kansas. Mentioned also in "(I had just before been." Ed. Lindsey, endorsed "Sterling Rice Co: Kansas" by WW. Lindsey was a Civil War friend of WW's whom he visited in Sterling. W. T. Harris, Sup't Public Schools, St. Louis. Harris (1835–1909) was editor of *The Journal of Speculative Philosophy* and leader of the "St. Louis Hegelians." See *Corr.*, III, 166–167. Lindsey is not mentioned in the surviving Civil War notebooks. See *SD, Prose* 92, I, 218n, 219 and *Corr.*, III, 168.

21. Marked at left with fist. Asterisk in blue pencil.

22. John Burroughs' farmhand (*Corr.*, III, 141) and "New York Visit."

23. See *Corr.*, III, 167–168.

24. Employed on the Camden ferry. See *Corr.*, III, 182–183, 185; Traubel, I, 129, 130, 359, 426, II, 164, 356, 478, III, 362, *SD, Prose* 92, I, 183.

25. Listed in "Wm J Gurd." Otherwise unidentified.

26. A marked railroad map showing all WW's travels. See *Corr.*, III, 169, [7] below, and n 38.

27. Preceding five words and the asterisk in blue pencil; first two words at right, last three at left.

28. Joseph B. Marvin, an enthusiastic admirer. See "Addresses."

with piece to Noyes²⁹—sent map / [12] rec'd letter from Ed: Lindell / [12] sent letter to Dr Bucke declining his kind offer of \$100³⁰ / 16th sent letter to G W C³¹ (rec'd ans Nov 24) / 17th rec'd letter from Chas Heyde³² / 20th³³ postal to Lou & paper, with map / [20th] letter & piece to H L Bonsall³⁴ / [20th] papers to Han [6] St Louis swell[?] Episcopal Minister Hegelian—going to Chicago³⁵ / J C O'Connor—the Indian agent I met with the Sioux chiefs in Washington 8 or 9 years ago care of Landsberger & Co: Wine Merchants—San Francisco³⁶ / Geo: F. Neale (the Superintendent) Plate Glass Works Crystal City—Missouri / Henry C. Brokmeyer (the Lieut Governor St Louis Mo [7] Nov 20 (Thursday) Snow in N Y city & London Nov 21—letter & piece to J B M'C / *Copy of L of G to Heyde³⁷ / 22d visit to Anheuser's Brewery / 23d Sunday letter to John Burroughs with Mrs G's & Gilder's letters & map³⁸ / [23d] papers to Mary / *24th sent L of G. through Lou to Honora E Thompson Redlands Bridgewater Somersetshire England (p o order in Camden) [illeg.] recd paid³⁹ / 24 to G W C in acknowledgement / [24] Joe Hall⁴⁰ here at 2316 to see me sent a few lines to Tom / [24] letter to Geo & Lou asking to send book as⁴¹ above / 27th on St L Bridge / *28th sent (by request to Lou,)⁴² by express c.o.d. L of G & T R⁴³ \$7 to E Steiger 25 Park Place N Y City recd paid⁴⁴ / sent card to Honora E Thompson Eng: see above / also to Jos Wm Thompson Eng promising books / 29th cards & books to Ida Johnston⁴⁵ / [cards & books] Fred Rauch⁴⁶ [8] Michael Healy Olive st cars Cin-

29. Crosby Stuart Noyes (1825–1908), editor of *Washington Star*, 1867–1908. "A Poet's Western Trip" appeared November 15.

30. He did, however, accept a Christmas present of \$100 from James T. Fields given anonymously through John Burroughs. Bucke had met WW only two years before, although he had been reading *LG* for almost a decade.

31. Probably George W. Childs, owner of the *Philadelphia Ledger*, one of WW's Philadelphia patrons and friends. See "Wm J Gurd."

32. Husband of WW's sister Hannah.

33. Deleted: "letter"

34. Since WW knew both Henry L. Bonsall, Sr., and Henry L. Bonsall, Jr., it is not always possible to identify the Bonsall spoken of. This is probably Bonsall, Jr., who was editor of the *Camden Daily Post*.

35. On a pasted-in card, with "R. A. Holland" in another hand. Other cards are those of Isaac Sharp, Attorney at Law, Council Grove, Kansas; Henry C. Brokmeyer (in another hand, endorsed by WW, "(the Lieut Governor St Louis Mo)". Brokmeyer was also an Hegelian. Horace Howard Furness, 222 West Washington Square, Philadelphia. Furness (1833–1912), editor of the *New Variorum Shakespeare*, liked WW, but did not admire his poems. See *Corr.*, III, 175–176 and "Sent Press of 22d."

36. See "D. W. Wilder" and "Real American Red Men."

37. In blue pencil. Deleted at the beginning: "Remember to send"

38. Mrs. Gilchrist's card is inserted at [28]. Gilder is Richard Watson Gilder (1844–1909), editor of *Scribner's*. See *Corr.*, III, 170–171 and "New York Visit." Map reproduced in Barrus, 188.

39. The asterisk and last two words are in blue pencil.

40. Possibly his fruit-dealer acquaintance from Leadville, Colorado. See above.

41. Preceding two words inserted above "nd" in "send" and "above"

42. Deleted: [illeg.]

43. *Two Rivulets*.

44. Two preceding words and initial asterisk in blue pencil. Words written on leaf sideways.

45. Probably daughter of Col. John R. Johnston, a Camden artist, sister of Jack Johnston (*Corr.*, III, 85, 88–89).

46. See above, [3].

cinnati (Maryland by birth) been with shows—(left home at 14) / Mrs Fanny Raymond Ritter⁴⁷ 103 S Hamilton Street Poughkeepsie, N Y kind letter Nov 23—(I sent no answer) / Order from G P Putnam's sons to send L of G to R F Wilkinson Poughkeepsie N Y & bill to Putnam / Mrs Fannie L⁴⁸ Taylor 1810 Olive Street St Louis Missouri / James⁴⁹ E Mills room cor 5th & Olive Streets St Louis [9] Dec 2—get Haswell's Engineers' & Mechanics Pocket Book Harpers 1868 680 pp bound in flaps—/ Dec 4 p card & papers to Han with map / [Dec 4 p card & papers to] Mary [with map] / *Dr Hunt bo't two Vols of Lou \$10 / Dec 9—sent "The best I see in thee"⁵⁰ to Erastus Brainard for *Press*⁵¹ (also ¶ for Personal in answer to request) / Dec 7. 8. 9 10. 11 '79⁵² *very bad spells*, unable sometimes to walk a block. (Sometimes tho't it all nearing the end) 11th letter to Lou (J B's baby's picture)⁵³ / [11th letter] & paper to Han / 15th rec'd letter from Herbert⁵⁴ wrote postal c to [Herbert] / 17th wrote to T & J W Johnston & Co 535 Chestnut st Phila / to Hannah 5 (rec'd) [to] Mary 5 / 18 wrote to Lou—rec'd letter from Mrs Gilchrist[?] / 17th piece in Phil: *Press* "What best I see" &c / 19th letter to Harry Bins / [illeg.] to Dr. Bucke [11; 10 blank] Dec 27—rec'd letter from Dr Bucke \$45—send books (*books sent*⁵⁵ [29; 12–27 blank; 23 top torn; 28⁵⁶]) Money due when I get back to Camden \$10 Express c.o.d. from Nestor Sanborn 44 Wall st N Y. paid 10.20 p o order from Alice R Alexander, the Palace, Derry, Ireland paid 5.10 p o order from Honora E Thompson Redlands, Bridgewater Somersetshire Eng paid 7 Express c.o.d. Steiger 25 Park Place N Y City paid 2.67 p o order from J W Thompson Goldsmith Building Temple London Eng: 10 from Dr Hunt friend of Dr Bucke's, for a set⁵⁷ / (remember Dr Bucke's books) two TR⁵⁸—seven L of G one seven⁵⁹ besides [remember] orders from G P Putnam's Sons N Y / [remember] T⁶⁰ & J W Johnston & Co 535

47. Wife of Professor Frédéric Louis Ritter of Vassar College, who had composed a setting for "Dirge for Two Veterans." WW had visited them in April, 1879. See *Corr.*, III, 153, 174, 349, 431; "A Visit to the Opera."

48. The entry is inserted. Mrs. Taylor ran a boarding house at 1218 Olive St., St. Louis.

49. Deleted: "W" ; inserted above: "E"

50. Actually "What Best I See in Thee," in praise of General Grant, who had returned from his world tour in September. Cf. "The Silent General," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 226.

51. The Philadelphia *Press*. See below.

52. "'79" inserted above "10.11" . WW used periods instead of commas between the days.

53. Probably John Burroughs' baby (*Corr.*, III, 162).

54. Herbert Gilchrist, son of Anne Gilchrist (see *Corr.*, III, 171).

55. Preceding two words in blue pencil.

56. Postcard from Mrs. Gilchrist pasted in: "[inserted at top] Bee comfortably settled at Bern Dear Friend Settled for the winter I hope in very comfortable quarters—1 Elm Villas Elm Row Heath St. Hampstead London. Love from us all A. Gilchrist" Mrs. Gilchrist and her family had returned to England June 9. See *ante* and *Corr.*, III, 170–171. Pasted-in slip in another hand: "Nathaniel G. Jones No. 152 Bridge. ave Camden. N.J"

57. All six of the preceding entries are marked "paid" (some twice) written sideways.

58. *Two Rivulets*. Entry twice marked "Sent" sideways in blue pencil.

59. Written above "one"

60. Deleted: "w"

Chestnut Phila / \$5 from Phila *Press* paid⁶¹ / {31⁶²; 30⁶³} O H Rothacker Ed
Tribune newspaper Denver Col {33; 32⁶⁴ *blank*} {35; 34 *blank*} Old Elisha Whit-
man Meadville Crawford Co: Pa / daughter keeps the Colt House Meadville⁶⁵

For the Eternal Ocean an [*illeg.*]

These dual⁶⁶ surges, streams of Life & Death [*back cover blank*]

61. Word in blue pencil, written sideways.

62. In another hand: "John P. Usher, John P. Usher Jr Arthur P Usher Linton J Usher [*endorsed by WW*: "Fairmount Leavenworth co"] Samuel C. Usher" and in WW's hand: "Lawrence Douglas Co. Kansas Sept 14, 15 & 16 '79" . Arthur and Samuel Usher were also sons of John P. Usher.

63. A pasted-in scrap in another hand: "G. L. McKean with Heckman Trunk M'f'g Co. 309 N. 3d St. Room Cor 11th & Olive" (he was a bookkeeper); Calling card: Willie T Elder, endorsed at top by WW: "Dec 12 '79" and at bottom: "3303 Olive Street City St Louis Missouri" ; clipped letterhead: T. & J. W. JOHNSON & CO. 585 Chestnut Street, PHILADELPHIA, Pa

64. In other hands: "[*illeg.*] J. Glaspell Tefft Hotel, Topeka Kas." ; "John. P. St John Topeka Ks. [*endorsed by WW*: "the Governor (given at the Capitol)"]" ; "MH Case Topeka Kas" ; Thomas J Hall Leadville Colo [*endorsed by WW*: "box 2419"]. Case was mayor of Topeka. WW's party stayed at the Tefft Hotel.

65. In another hand: "E. C. Devereux Topeka Kas" . Devereux was agent for the Kansas Pacific Railroad. He entertained Colonel Forney and WW at the Palace Hotel, Topeka, on September 18. Following lines of verse written sideways at left of leaf.

66. Deleted: "ripples"

Wapalingua Chief.

Manuscript in Princeton (Philip Ashton Rollins Collection, [1, 2, 3, 5, 7]). The Rollins MSS are mounted in silk and bound in a volume, but it is clear that they were not originally together. "Return" [11] and "Returned" [17] lack the pinholes found on the others. "Missouri Kansas Trip" (Newberry) is on the same paper as "Returned" but has pinholes. Although some are combined here as single items, the mounting and binding made close comparison of paper and such refinements as matching pinholes impossible. All Rollins MSS, except [16], were published as "Walt Whitman's Notes of His Western Trip," *Biblia*, I (June, 1930), 1. I am indebted to Professor William Epperson, Oral Roberts University, for important information on the Kansas portion of WW's trip. Page [3] in facsimile in Carolyn Wells Sale Catalogue, Anderson Galleries, #1760, 1923, in Francis and Lozynsky, 60.

[*illeg.*]¹ Wapalingua Chief died 2 years ago 116 years of age a brave blind Indian never spoke English / The squad of Indians at Topeka²/—³Mr Smart on the Indians —Jack Usher⁴—not many blacks[?] [*illeg.*]

{2} a[?] purple[?] sunset three beautiful sunsets⁵—over an hour each time, One in Illinois, west of Columbus; one at Tower ? Park, St Louis, and one crossing west Missouri. The golden⁶ & light blue clouds

{3}⁷ Friday Sept 19 '79

on *the Plains* (western edge of Kansas, on to Colorado)—plains—plains—plains the dug-outs antelope the Prairie-dog *⁸ emigrant wagons camped for the night the vast stretching plains hundreds of miles area the buffalo grass the yellow wild

1. Inscribed in black pencil on tan wove paper approx. 5¼" x 3¼". The top has been trimmed, destroying several words. The writing is extremely irregular.

2. A band of Potawatomis who were watering their horses on September 18.

3. Deleted: "the" . Smart was general agent for the Kansas Pacific Railroad.

4. Son of WW's host in Lawrence, Judge John Usher (1816-1889), mayor of Lawrence in 1879 and attorney for the Union Pacific Railroad. He had been Secretary of the Interior under Lincoln, 1863-1865.

5. Deleted: "two" ; inserted above: "over an"

6. Deleted: "sun" ; inserted: "& light blue clouds" above the deletion and into the right margin.

7. Inscribed in black pencil on paper identical with [1-2], but 6¼" x 4⅞". WW used some of this material in "The Prairies and Great Plains in Poetry," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 219.

8. Purple pencil.

flowers⁹ the¹⁰ clear, pure, cool, rarified air (over 3000 ft above sea level) the dry rivers {5; 4 blank} the ant¹¹-hill the buffalo wallow —the cow boys (“cow punchers”)¹² to me a wonderfully interesting class.—clear¹³ swarthy complexion¹⁴ —with broad brim’d hats —their loose arm always slightly raised & swinging as they ride¹⁵ —their splendid eyes —(Fra Diavolo & his¹⁶ men in the opera¹⁷) —a herd of horses numbering 200

{7; 6 blank}¹⁸ Tongahocksa¹⁹ Monotony/ Eagle Tail after a chief²⁰ Mirage see mirages, train of cars Agate²¹ signs of fires/ a cedar woods, ridge the long furrow, for fire-guard, an occasional corral

9. See “A Silent Little Flower—the Coreopsis,” *SD, Prose* 92, I, 218–219.

10. Deleted: “rare”

11. Paper as above: 5⁷/₈” x 3⁷/₈”.

12. Deleted: “are”

13. Inserted above wordspace between “class.—and swarthy”

14. Inserted above “rthy” in “swarthy” and “with”

15. Preceding three words inserted above “swinging —”

16. Preceding two words inserted above “their”

17. In *Fra Diavolo*, a popular opera (1830) by Daniel Auber (1782–1871), which WW discussed in the *Eagle*, April 19, 1847 (*GF*, II, 335), Fra Diavolo leads a troop of banditti.

18. Inscribed in pencil on white wove paper approx. 7¹/₄” x 4”. WW used some of this material in *SD, Prose* 92, I, 219.

19. Possibly Tonganoxie in Leavenworth Co., KS, northeast of Lawrence and off the main Kansas Pacific route.

20. Monotony, Eagle Tail: small towns on KPRR respectively 370 and 362 miles west of Topeka.

21. Mirage and Agate are small towns in eastern Colorado.

Under Personal.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. First printed by Holloway, "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook," *AS*, 2 (May, 1933), 278. Possibly the "Personal" sent to the *Philadelphia Press* December 9, 1879 ("Kansas and Colorado Trip.") This was written in 1879.

under *Personal* (? *Men & things*) head—any day

Walt Whitman still remains¹ in St Louis, Missouri² his health³ quite infirm. When he gets out,⁴ there are two different ways he is fond of⁵ spending an hour. One is to go down and loafe on the East St Louis Bridge; the other is to visit⁶ a neighboring kindergarten, where he is sure to be⁷ received tumultuously by the children, always telling them a story, "the Two Cats taking a Walk,"⁸ or something of that kind

1. Deleted: "west, most of the time"

2. Inserted above "uis" in "Louis" and "his"

3. Deleted: "fluctuating" ; inserted above: "quite infirm" . Redundant comma not deleted, not printed. Deleted: "He spends his well days exploring the city thoroughly"

4. Deleted: "he"

5. Preceding three words inserted above "of" and "sp" in "spending"

6. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "a neighboring" above "kinderg" in "kindergarten"

7. Preceding three words inserted above "is" and "recei" in "received"

8. Eitner, *Walt Whitman's Western Jaunt*, 76, notes WW's explanation that one cat discovered wonders on the stroll, the other only horrors.

(Back) through Pennsylvania.

Manuscript at Princeton (Rollins [13-16]). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scraps approx. 7½" x 4½". Pinholes. [14] is blank, but on [16] is a cancelled draft of a letter: "I think I give voice to the in general and best social elements, men and women, in this part of the State (and I certainly do to my own feelings and convictions in the matter—) in asking at your hands the re-appointment of GSW to the Judicial Supreme Bench of the First District (hitherto so creditably occupied by him With the greatest respect." "GSW" is George S. Woodhull, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey between 1866 and 1880 (*Corrs.*, V, 311). WW had left St. Louis January 4, 1880.

(back)¹

through Pennsylvania Jan 5 '80,² by the RR from Pittsburgh to Altoonah, Harrisburgh/ the fertile broken country,—the mining & coal interests every where—the³—the beautiful Conema and the³ Juniata rivers—Altoonah—the⁴ wooded & rocky land, so healthy & pure-air'd, with creeks or ragged threads⁵ rivulets every where—the perpetual clusters of houses, in shelter'd places, along the mountains [2; *IV blank*]—the paths, fences,⁶ orchards,—at long intervals, a grave yard—horse-shoe curve—school houses not so plenty, as far west— —some of the mountain scenery, very bold and⁷

—Pennsylvania,

⁸land of amplitude and varied industries

land of mountains and health & pure air

—land of coal & iron & railroads⁹

1. At top of leaf, enclosed by a curved line above "gh" in "through"

2. Deleted: "f"

3. Preceding three words inserted above "utiful" in "beautiful" and "Juniata"

4. Deleted: "rocky &"

5. Deleted: "of"

6. Deleted: "go as"

7. Deleted: [*illeg.*]. [*illeg.*] letter before "very"

8. Deleted: "state" ; inserted above: "land"

9. The preceding four lines might well be a poem-sketch.

*(I Had Just Before.

Manuscript in Princeton (Rollins [9]). Inscribed in pencil on white wove scrap 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart on recto. Verso blank. Possibly some relation to *SD*.

*(I had just¹ before been² for a time in Kansas—some days at Lawrence, as guest of Judge Usher³—and⁴ at Topeka indebted to⁵ Mayor Case,⁶ Stephen F Smart,⁷ and the Governor, St John⁸ for⁹ many[?] kindnesses)¹⁰

1. Inserted above "had"

2. Deleted: "some days" ; inserted and deleted above: "a while" and "some" ; inserted: "for a time" above the deletions.

3. See "Wapalingua Chief."

4. Inserted above "at" . Redundant dash not printed here.

5. Deleted: "M"

6. See "Kansas & Colorado trip." Deleted: "and"

7. See "Kansas & Colorado trip."

8. Preceding five words inserted above "Smart for [*ins.*] many" . See "Kansas & Colorado trip."

9. Deleted: "much" ; inserted above: "many"[?].

10. "es)" added; redundant parenthesis not printed here.

Out West Not Long Since.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inserted in *CW* (Author's Manuscript Edition, No. 31.). Inscribed in dark brown ink on two fragments: [1] white laid paper 4¼" x 4¾" with blue rules ⅜" apart; [2] yellowish (faded) wove paper, verso of an envelope addressed to WW with British stamps and illegible postmark. The writing is irregular, and the date is certainly after 1881. This is one of WW's few admissions that the West was not Edenic.

out¹ west not long since, I thought² the wand of future prosperity, future³ empire,⁴ must soon⁵ surely be⁶ wielded by St. Louis, Chicago, beautiful Denver,⁷ perhaps San Francisco—but I see the said wand invisibly stretched out⁸ just as⁹ decidedly in Boston, with just as much certainty of *staying* Evidences¹⁰ of Copious¹¹ "Capital"—indeed no centre of the New World ahead it, (half the big railroads in the west are built with¹² Yankees' money¹³ and they take the dividends—)—old Boston with its zig-zag¹⁴ streets¹⁵

1. Word indented and seemingly preceded by a long dash, although the paper is torn. Signs of writing on top edge.
2. Preceding two words inserted above "nce" in "since" and "the"
3. Preceding three words inserted above "empire" and "[*del.*] was"
4. Deleted: "was"
5. Inserted in right margin: "soon"
6. Inserted and deleted: "mainly" above "wi" in "wielded"
7. Deleted: "and"
8. Deleted: "in"
9. Deleted: "much" ; inserted and deleted above: "unerringly" ; inserted: "decidedly" above "t" in "just" and "at"
10. Deleted: "continually"
11. End of first fragment.
12. Deleted: "wealth" ; inserted above: "Capital—" ; deleted: "and business activity"
13. Deleted: "Boston"
14. Deleted: "it's gray st" ; inserted: "and they take the dividends—" above "money—" and the deletion.
15. Deleted: "little"

Trip to Kansas &c.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap approx. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Verso has letterhead of Philadelphia *Progress*. On verso is "G W Childs." A pasted-on scrap reads: "*-arise in the [*illeg.*] of ten million farms." In the same folder in Berkeley is the following draft of a letter, probably of October, 1879: "St. Louis To the Editor Let me give you some flying impromptu notes confessedly all too meager (a hiatus every where) of my journey starting three months since from the Atlantic Coast and so railroading through New Jersey, Penn, West Virginia, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin over Kansas and the Great Plains into the very heights and heart Rocky Mountains Them reserve for a special letter with the canons, parks and Peaks. Returning to Denver for a few days, then by the southern road to Pueblo, over the Plains, to Kansas City stopping there a while. *Then through Missouri again to St Louis, where I have been spending a month." No information has been found about this project. WW's memory played him false. A map in a Missouri Pacific Railroad Timetable in the University of Kansas Library, marked in purple ink by WW, shows his trip beginning in Atlantic City and passing no nearer Wisconsin than Indianapolis. This was written between 1879 and 1880.

Trip to Kansas &c

left West Phila depot at 9 10 p m Sept 10 '79 that night all through Pennsylvania from east to west—Harrisburgh at Pittsburgh Thursday morning to breakfast Pretty good view of Pittsburgh and Birmingham,— fog and damp, smoke, coke, furances, flames, wooden houses, discolored & grim—vast collections of coal barges presently a fine region through West Va—the Pan Handle then crossing the Ohio —yellow flowers *thick* everywhere, clear light yellow—what are they? Sept 11 hills, woods rocks—trains meeting us everywhere the night in the sleeper.

(Return) Glints.

Manuscript in Princeton (Rollins [11-12]). Inscribed in blue ink on grayish wove scrap, approx. 2½" x 5⅞". "(Return)" is in pencil at upper left. No pinholes. [12] blank.

(Return)

Glints and flashes

The¹ swift-passing sights and flashes, (as swiftly while the cars were rushing by)—the bits,² names, incidents told me, passing the localities

1. Written over [*illeg.*]
2. Deleted: "words"

I Did Not Go.

Manuscript in Princeton (Rollins [11]). Inscribed in black ink on inside face of envelope, bearing letterhead of a tailor in Philadelphia and addressed to WW in Camden with postmark October 5.

I did not go through to San Francisco, though I hope to do so one of these days. Indeed I have a good deal of travel laid out; (among the rest Tennessee and Alabama)

Returned.

Manuscript in Princeton (Rollins [17-18]). Inscribed in blue ink, except for last four words in black pencil, on brownish wove scrap, approx. 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Cf. "Walt Whitman's Impressions of Denver . . .," *Prose* 92, I, 343-344, for use of blue ink (MS in Doheney). The writing is quite regular as compared to preceding MS.

Returned from my four months trip, (started Sept. 10, '79, and got back Jan. 5, 80,) through Illinois Indiana Ohio, &c Stores with exhaustless recollections—

Notes in St Louis.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, approx. 4" x 7¾", with blue rules ⅜" apart. Date and heading in black ink. The Mercantile Library was then on Fifth St. and John N. Dyer was librarian. The photograph of Poe seems to have disappeared, but the bust of Thomas Hart Benton (1782-1852) by J. Wilson McDonald (1824-1908) is preserved, as is the bust of Henry Shaw (1800-1889) by H. S. Kretschmer. Shaw was a wealthy merchant who donated the Shaw Botanical Garden and Tower Grove Park to St. Louis. First printed in *WDC*, 56.

Notes in St Louis¹

Oct., Nov. &c. '79—² In the Mercantile Library on Fourth street (where I used to go for an hour³ daily to read the New York and Philadelphia papers, by courtesy of Mr Dyer,) they have a very good photograph from life of Edgar Poe and a bust of Thomas H Benton, the best life-likeness. Also a colossal clay figure, very good, of Mr Shaw,⁴ a rich philanthropist here, and donor of a handsome park and botanical garden to the city

1. Added in black ink.
2. Inserted in black ink diagonally above space at left and "In the"
3. Deleted: "almost"
4. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "a"

G W Childs.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white wove paper 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{5}{8}$ ", with letterhead of Philadelphia *Progress* vertically along left edge (original top). Paper folded vertically to make four columns. Entries here blocked by column. On recto is "trip to Kansas &c." "Brooklyn . . . glittering and beautiful bays." cancelled by a vertical stroke. The personal names are those of WW's correspondents or family; the newspapers probably those he planned to write for. The paper and the inscription on the recto suggest a date of the winter of 1879 and 1880, and he wrote most of these people after his return early in January ("Daybook" [157ff.], DN). But if he wrote the whole list in St. Louis, it is not clear why he wrote Jeff. If he was announcing his arrival in Camden in January, why write George and Lou? It is striking also that no member of the Stafford family is named.

G W Childs*¹ N Y Tribune* Phil Times* St L Globe-Dem* Cin: Com:*
 Boston Herald* Col Forney*² Camden Post* Lou & Geo*³ Han*⁴
 Mary*⁵ Mrs John* Harry Gasprell* Mrs. Johnston N Y*⁶ Fred Rauch*⁷
 Eugene C*⁸ Macpherson* Jeff:*⁹ Thos. Newton Johnson*¹⁰ Hilliard Store
 Pete Doyle*¹¹ John P Usher Jr* Linton Usher*¹² Dr Bucke¹³ M H Case*¹⁴
 Mrs Scovel*¹⁵ John Bur*¹⁶

Boston Baltimore Phila¹⁷ New Orleans Washington Cincinnati Chicago

1. Philadelphia newspaper owner. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip."
2. WW's host as far as Lawrence, Kansas. See *ibid.*
3. WW's sister-in-law and brother in Camden.
4. WW's sister in Burlington, Vt.
5. WW's sister on Long Island.
6. Wife of his jeweller friend in NYC. See "New York visit."
7. Camden ferryman. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip."
8. Also a ferryman. See "D. W. Wilder." Written over [*illeg.*].
9. WW's brother in St. Louis.
10. A self-styled philosopher in Alabama. See "D. W. Wilder."
11. The great friend of his Washington years. See "Epictetus."
12. The two sons of his host, John P. Usher, in Lawrence, Kansas.
13. His Canadian biographer and editor.
14. Mayor of Topeka, Kansas. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip" and "(I had just before.)"
15. The wife of a Camden lawyer. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip."
16. Probably John Burroughs.
17. Deleted: "Wa"

Brooklyn of the hills My own New York,¹⁸ not only the New World's, but the worlds City,¹⁹ surrounded by its glittering and beautiful bays.

travelers merchants, Leadville-folk.²⁰

Capt A B Frazee*²¹ Dr [?] Zimmerman*²² Gen W J Sewell* Smart Joseph Adams* Ed Cattell*²³ Clarence Whittaker²⁴ Thos J Hall*²⁵ C S Noyes*²⁶ Smith Caswell*²⁷

18. Deleted: "the"

19. Deleted: "with" ; inserted: "surrounded by" above "[del.] with" and "its"

20. Preceding three words written sideways between first two columns.

21. Superintendent of the Camden ferry. See *Corr.*, III, 434, and "Scenes on Ferry and River—Last Winter's Nights," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 183.

22. Possibly D. M. Zimmerman. See "sent *Press* of 22."

23. A friend of the Staffords. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip."

24. See "D. W. Wilder."

25. Possibly a fruit dealer from Leadville, Col. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip." WW sent him one known letter in January, 1880 (*Corr.*, III, 434).

26. Editor of the *Washington Star*. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip."

27. John Burroughs' farmhand. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip."

I Have Found.

Manuscript in Newberry, fastened on recto of flyleaf of copy #119 of *Notes and Fragments*. Inscribed on white wove scrap, approx. 4" x 6". Vertical blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Note at bottom in hand of W. S. Kennedy: "[from the Denver Diary of W.W.]." Cf. "An Egotistical Find," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 210-211, and "Spirit That Form'd This Scene" (1879).

I have found my authority here, I was singularly comforted all that day. —
Here is *my* art/

devote a part of my piece to the spiritual affinities I run foul of

Dec 22 '79.

Manuscript in LC (#112, sheets #1313-1314). Inscribed in black pencil, except as noted, on white wove pocket-notebook paper, 6⁷/₁₆" x 4", blue rules 3/8" apart. Leaves show signs of original binding on the left. The trial titles are probably intended for *Specimen Days and Collect* (1882). Many of them are also on scraps in LC *Cat.*, #78.

[1313R] Dec 22 '79—St L—I don't know after all as there is any thing better than Notes from the Days & Nights of a half[?] Paralytic¹[?]/ Reconnoiterings²/ Notes as the wild bee darts³ Or waves capricious flow/ ? only the⁴ Stray Notes Taking Breath Notes and Pauses⁵ Loitering⁶ Steps⁷/ Latter-Day Notes of a half-Paralytic/ Notes after writing a Book—At vacancy with Nature

[1313V] Missouri RR Co 3301 Olive St

[1314R] Recalls

?Footsteps⁸

Only Some Outdoor Notes⁹ ?Outdoor Notes of a half-Paralytic/ Outdoor-?Halting ?Loitering¹⁰ Footsteps of a half-Paralytic Notes away from Books after writing having written one¹¹ Memories¹² Loafing Notes¹³ of a half-Paralytic/ Latter Day Loiterings of a half Paralytic/¹⁴ Patrick Richard Hartnett Nov & Dec '79 St Louis 75car 3301 Olive st Office Missouri Car Line/ Mrs Fanny L. Taylor 1810 Olive st St Louis

1. Two preceding words are mere squiggles, only "h" and "P" being legible.
2. In black ink.
3. Deleted: "And the" ; inserted: "or" above "[del.]" and"
4. Preceding two words inserted above "Stray"
5. "Notes and Pauses" appears to have been inserted between entries.
6. Marked by a fist below pointing toward word.
7. Followed by a fist pointing down.
8. Followed by fist pointing down toward word.
9. Title written over erased entry.
10. Written above "?Halting"
11. Entry in ink, apparently inserted between entries.
12. Printed.
13. Two words in blue crayon.
14. At this point WW turned the notebook upside down.

The Truce.

Manuscript lacking. Text from LC photostat (#111, sheet #3403). Inscribed on two facing pages turned upside down, as indicated by thumb index, R to Z, on {3403L}. LC *Cat* gives dimensions 18½ x 12 cm. Another photostat {3401} shows a marbled cover. Furness, 204–206, describes the contents of the lost original. The principal contents were fifteen poems, variously altered, in holograph, clipped from printed sources or in galley, including six by WW. He used these for readings after his Lincoln lecture. Another photostat {3402} contains the printed text of Anacreon's "The Midnight Visitor," probably as translated by Thomas Moore. WW made several alterations, the most important of which is of "'O gentle sir," the young one said, / 'In pity take me in thy shed'" to "'O Sir' with tearful voice and thin / The young one said, 'O take me in.'" This was written after 1879.

{3403L} The truce

The theory that soldiers?¹ from different factions met & had an evening's supper drink and friendly interview²—before they part, they sing the following song, taking each other by the hand—

{3403R} The Truce Comrades all
 Hand in hand Hand in hand for *once*³
 Every one⁴ the rest combining
 All the rest⁵ that one entwining
 ?Hand in Hand! O its hand in hand!⁶
 Now & here⁷

Soon⁸ we part our paths each roaming⁹

Some¹⁰

1. Question mark above the word.
2. Deleted: "—as" ; inserted above: "—before"
3. This and the preceding line seem to be four alternate titles written on more or less two lines. "Comrades all", which is centered and not aslant, was probably the original choice.
4. Deleted: "all" ; inserted and deleted above: "to"
5. Deleted: "for" ; inserted and deleted above: "to"
6. Deleted: "O" on a separate line above "N" in "Now"
7. Three or four line space left as if for filling in.
8. Written above deleted "We w"
9. Three or four line space left as if for filling in.
10. Three or four line space left as if for filling in.

Each his way¹¹

Hour of¹² friendship will remember¹³

All

Through all else

Hours of friendship we'll?¹⁴ treasure
?remember

11. Three or four line space left as if for filling in.

12. Deleted: "hearts" ; inserted: "friendship" , "frien" above "[del.] hearts" and "dship" in
wordspace before "will"

13. Three or four line space left as if for filling in.

14. Query above word.

Ever the Dawn!

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #609). Inscribed in blue crayon and black pencil on verso of message form from Camden Post office dated August 13, 1879 about the missing money order referred to in "Daybook," August 9 (*DN*, I, 152). These phrases may possibly be titles, although the first entry suggests a typical exclamatory line. The phrases were used in the cluster-title "From Noon to Starry Night" of 1881. See "When I had sent forth."

Ever the Dawn!

the¹ Noon!

*Ever the Starry Night!*²

Only from Dawn of Day to Starry Night³

1. Written over "and"
2. Preceding phrases in blue crayon with hanging indentation.
3. Phrase in black pencil with hanging indentation.

Feb: 9 '80.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in purple ink on half-sheet of white wove notepaper 8" x 5¾" with blue lines ¼" apart. Indecipherable embossed stamp at upper left corner.

Feb: 9 '80

Loafing around for a couple of hours this fine sunny crispy day—cross'd the Delaware—walk'd up Chestnut st— —every thing lovely— —look'd in at my friend Col: Johnston's studio¹— The sun shining bright, & I feeling all right

Walt Whitman

1. Colonel John R. Johnston, an artist who lived in Camden and kept a studio in Philadelphia. WW often was a regular Sunday evening visitor at the Johnston home. He describes one occasion in "A Contralto Voice," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 235. The friendship declined after the scandal of the 1881 *Leaves*. See also *Corr.*, II, 256, 322; III, 39, 85, 89, 119, 177, 354.

At the Ferry Houses.

Manuscript in LC (#113, sheet #s 1315a-1332). Inscribed in black pencil, blue crayon, and black ink, as noted, in a top-opening notebook 6⁷/₁₈" x 4". Many blank leaves and stubs preserved. Publication dates of books cited and the jottings toward "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads" (and, possibly, "A Clear Midnight" or "Supplement Hours") suggest a date of 1880. Probably WW wrote this after he returned from Canada late in September or early in October of that year.

[1315Ra]¹ *At the Ferry houses*

—all sorts of² happenings at these places—among the rest, every once in a while,³ births of children, (at the Camden Ferry house, some three or four such births⁴ of late years.)

Lizzie⁵

—bargains, sales—Courtships marriages, divorces elopements, robberies & other crimes⁶ plann'd.

[1315R; 1315Va blank] Nadescha poem from the Swedish of Runeberg \$1.50 Boston (I think Houghton)⁷/ Krider cor: 2d & Walnut taxidermist (a character) *John Emery*⁸ Vocal Physiology & Hygiene Pub. by Presley Blakiston Phila:⁹

[1316R; 1315V blank]¹⁰ Wing & Wing

Wing-and-Wing

and other pieces

1. The covers are also numbered [1315(a)].
2. Deleted: "Things"
3. Deleted: "children are"
4. Deleted: "since I have"
5. Written well to the right.
6. Preceding three words inserted above "ries" in "robberies" and "plann" in "plann'd"
7. Johan Ludvig Runeberg (1804-1877), *Nadescha. A Poem in Nine Cantos*. Trans. from Swedish by Marie A. Brown (Boston: M. A. Brown, 1879).
8. Not listed as a title or author in Wright.
9. 1880 American edition of an 1879 English book by William Gordon Holmes.
10. In blue crayon.

Wing-and-Wing

write a piece about wing-and-wing

to lead off

—The name comes from the two wings of a bird expanded

—in a schooner the well know spread of the sails

—in a fleet of ships as for battle, the V shape

—in Egyptian temples the two wings¹¹

{1317R; 1316V blank}¹² for Peter Baynes criticism / 27th Vol Contemporary Review¹³ / get “Great Singers” by Geo T. Ferris Appleton N Y¹⁴ / Howard Kemble new young man in P O

{1318R; 1317V blank} for a cord for the hat No 9 South 13th Phila¹⁵

{1319R; 1318V blank}¹⁶ Sweeten it as we may,¹⁷ or ward it off with outward¹⁸ plausible words, denials, explanations,¹⁹ to all²⁰ sharpest²¹ mental²² inward perception here,²³ this²⁴ lifeless blank, this barren void, exists

{1320R; 1319V blank} (this means far far more than appears at first)²⁵

11. An unfinished project. See “Dem Vistas,” and “Thos Nelson & Sons.” Sketch of the Egyptian figure WW had in mind was drawn after “two wings”

12. Entries more or less with hanging indentation.

13. Peter Bayne, “Walt Whitman’s Poems,” *Contemporary Review*, 27 (December, 1875), 44–69. An English attack.

14. Two vols., 1880–1881.

15. A sketch of a five-petalled flower unidentifiable to botanists.

16. Entire entry cancelled by vertical slash. Deleted at beginning: “[*illeg.*] The barren void”

17. Deleted: “plausible” ; inserted above: “or ward it off”

18. Inserted above “plau” in “plausible”

19. Deleted: “in” ; inserted above: “to”

20. Deleted: “the”

21. Deleted: “Western &”

22. Deleted: “vision here” ; inserted: “inward” above “re” in “[*del.*] here” and “per” in “perception”

23. Deleted: “acknowled”

24. Deleted: “vast and void”

25. A photostat of this page in *Ten Notebooks*, 30, shows that this entry refers not to the surprising statement on {1319R} but to the hilarious cardboard butterfly which WW held posed on his finger in the frontispiece of *LG* (1889). The butterfly was first identified by Esther Shephard (*Walt Whitman’s Pose*, 250–252, illustrations facing 212 and 228). She describes the inside as being lettered in gold and having a dull red border. The outside is blue, green, and red with yellow spots. There was a fine wire loop. The text in small capitals, by John Mason Neale, is: (left wing) “The first begotten / of the dead / For us He rose, our / Glorious Head. / Immortal Life / to bring.” (right wing) “What though the saints / like Him shall die, / They share their Leader’s victory, / And triumph with their King.” The lineation is that of the butterfly.

[1322V; 1320V, 1321V blank;²⁶ 1321R, 1322R²⁷] In other countries, in feudal Europe for instance, the best is to be looked in the gentry and aristocracy, the special classes,—but in the United States the best is always in the range of American born men & women, not rich or educated or conventionally refined, nor poor enough to know the degradation[?] ²⁸

[1323R] Sundown Songs²⁹

[1324R; 1323V blank] Specimen Hours of a half Paralytic³⁰ / Johnson Love McFetridge/

[1325R; ³¹ 1324V³²] (*Names* ³³

Little Loafings of a half-paralytic away from books (after writing one)

Little Loafings away from Books (after writing one)³⁴

[1326R; 1325V blank] Notes & Joys of a half Paralytic ? outdoors³⁵

for Preface Gossip at early Candle light³⁶

[1327R; ³⁷ 1326V blank] My³⁸ Little Loafing Notes³⁹ of the last year or two

? Some⁴⁰ Little Loafing Notes of the last year or two⁴¹

Sands & Drift⁴² of a life in the Nineteenth Century in the New world⁴³

26. In another hand: "Jonathan H. Norton"

27. Inprints or stains of two unidentifiable leaves of a plant. See n31 below.

28. WW wrote: "degra"

29. In red ink lengthwise on smaller slip, which appears to be the lower third of a notebook leaf.

30. In blue pencil.

31. In between [1234] and [1325] six oval leaves from an unidentifiable plant 2½"-3" long.

32. In another hand: "George F Wardle/ Office 3/ South Water St Phillda/" The address may be in WW's hand.

33. In blue crayon. Parenthesis indicates a loop at the left and beneath.

34. In blue crayon.

35. In blue crayon.

36. Cf. "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads", *Prose* 92, II, 712.

37. Entries in hanging indentation.

38. Inserted above and to left over an erasure.

39. Deleted: "of" ; inserted above but not deleted: "from" ; deleted: "my last two years" ; inserted above: "of the last year or two"

40. Deleted: "My" ; inserted above "?Some"

41. Preceding five words written over an erasure.

42. Inserted under "Sands" and above "of": "Little" . Perhaps erased. Cf. "Drift Sands" for other uses of this title.

43. Preceding four words in a cramped hand as if inserted later at edge of page and in space between lines above "the Shores"

Sands on the Shores of my latest years,

? of my⁴⁴ middle & old age

? of a life in the New World

{1328R; 1327V blank} Little Memorandums
of a half-Paralytic⁴⁵

At vacancy with Nature;⁴⁶

The sun by day—the starry night—the outdoor, present hours⁴⁷

And over the past oblivion⁴⁸

At vacancy with Nature⁴⁹

Enjoying the hour, the present⁵⁰

And over the past oblivion

The⁵¹ present Hour—the

—⁵²road, the quiet nook, the sun by day, the⁵³ starry night

{1329R; ⁵⁴ 1328V blank} Little Loafings of a half-Paralytic
A Half-Paralytic Outdoors

*Latter-Day*⁵⁵ *Loafings*

Latter-Day Driftings

only ?⁵⁶ Some little Loafings

My Little Loafings the last two years

44. Inserted above “m” in “middle”

45. Deleted: “outdoors”

46. This and the three lines following are linked by a single parenthesis at right. The entire poem appears to have some connection with “A Clear Midnight” (written 1880), or “Supplement Hours” (1891–2), especially through the deleted line “Away from houses, reading, art” (see below) which is almost identical with l. 2 of “A Clear Midnight” and l. 4 of “Supplement Hours.” See *LG CRE*, 487*n*, 579. There are also trial pages in Feinberg (Cat. #136) which use the line.

47. “The sun by day—the starry” written over an erased line.

48. Written above an erased line. Succeeding line deleted: “Away from houses, reading, art” . There is some possibility that what is described above (n46) as a single parenthesis is an arrow to carry the line to the head of the poem. Nevertheless the line is deleted in the MS.

49. Written above an erased line.

50. Deleted beginning of line: “Out”

51. Original beginning of line deleted: “O”

52. Deleted between “—” and “road” : “The”

53. Preceding four words inserted.

54. Entries in hanging indentation.

55. A fist points down to “-Day”

56. Query and word inserted above “so” in “some”

Only My Little Loafings of the last [*illeg.*]

[1330R; ⁵⁷ 1329V *blank*] Notes & Rounds of a half-Paralytic⁵⁸

Notes & Notions

Omnes-Drift⁵⁹

Notes and Joys of a half-Paralytic

[1331R; ⁶⁰ 1330V *blank*] Notes and Oddments of a half-Paralytic

? & Loafings

Loafings & of a half-Paralytic

Latter-Day

My⁶¹ Little Loafings⁶² the last two years of a half-Paralytic

Latter-Day Loafings of a half-Paralytic

[1332R; 1331V *blank*]⁶³ ? Outdoor Negligé's of a half Paralytic out in the air in the open air

Notes Negligé.⁶⁴

Only some⁶⁵ Notes & Oddments of a half-Paralytic

Outdoor Notes & Oddments of a half-Paralytic

Negligé's of a half-Paralytic out in the air

Notes of a half-Paralytic [1332V *blank*]

57. Entries in hanging indentation.

58. Deleted: "Little Nature"

59. In black ink.

60. Entries in hanging indentation.

61. Inserted in the left margin.

62. Deleted: "of"

63. Entries in hanging indentation.

64. In black ink.

65. Two words inserted above "Notes &"

It Is Generally Supposed.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap. The writing suggests a late date. First printed in "Unpublished Notes and Letters," *Wake*, 7 (1948), 17.

It is generally supposed that the special features of a face give it its beauty or ugliness; but artists are aware that charm lies in the general build and make up of the countenance rather than in pretty eyes, nose, or mouth; to be pleasing the features must be set well.

(Specimen Days) Grisi.

Manuscript at Duke (35, #27). White wove scrap 2¾" x 7½", possibly clipped to this size by a dealer. Inscribed in column in black ink, with title in red ink and query in pencil. Writing small but loose. WW considered various titles for his prose book until he settled on *Specimen Days*. Unfortunately that date he made his choice cannot be determined. In August, 1879 he was thinking of "Idle Days and Nights of a half-Paralytic" (*Corr.*, III, 161). The first datable use of "Specimen Days" is in a letter to Osgood and Co., March 21, 1882 (*ibid.*, 169). The other uses of the title: "? a ¶ for *Specimen Days*" and "good prefatory passage" must also be after August, 1879. However, the contents of this MS suggest an early stage in the planning of the book. The writing, paper, and ink suggest only that it was written about 1880. First printed *WDC*, 64.

(Specimen Days)

Grisi and Mario¹ arrived in NY Aug 19. 1854—I heard them that winter & in 1855
the *cholera* in N Y in 1855²
— the *Crimean War* (qu?) 1854–5³

1. Giulia Grisi (1811–1869) and Giuseppe Mario (1810–1883), tenor and soprano, husband and wife, who constantly sang together. They sang only one season in the United States. Grisi was especially famous for her Norma (she had sung Adalgisa in the first performance). See also "A Visit to the Opera."

2. There were three serious outbreaks of Asiatic cholera in New York, in 1832, 1854, 1873 (as well as several minor ones).

3. The Crimean War extended from 1853 to 1856. Whitman's query is above the line in pencil.

Kossuth in America.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). White wove scrap. Inscribed in black ink. Printed in *WDC*, 64, with "(Specimen Days) Grisi."

Kossuth¹ in America in 1851—I saw him make his entree in N Y² latter part of 1851 riding up Broadway/

N Y Exposition.³ (Crystal Palace) 6th av. 40th to 42d st. opened July 14. 1853—(I go for a year.)—the great heat August that year—400 deaths in three or four days in N Y from it

1. Louis Kossuth (1802–1894), a hero of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848, visited the United States between December 6, 1851, and July 14, 1852. Although he was tumultuously received and was successful in raising funds, he failed to persuade the government to intervene. WW refers to Kossuth in "Broadway Sights," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 17, "Death of Abraham Lincoln" (*Collect*, *ibid.*, II, 500), "Old Poets" (*ibid.*, 660), "Talk to an Art-Union" (*CW*, VI, 89). He also thought of him as subject of a sequence on "old ages of eminence" ("Subject for Poem").

2. Deleted: "in December" ; inserted above: "latter part of 1854"

3. The Exhibition of the Industry of All Nations was held in what is now Bryant Park in New York in the summer of 1853. As the popular name suggests, it was an imitation of the great Crystal Palace Exhibition in London in 1851. WW describes his visits in "A World's Show" (*Collect, Prose* 92, II, 681). See also Charles E. Feinberg, "A Whitman Collector Destroys a Whitman Myth," *PBSA*, 52 (1952), 88.

? A ¶ for Specimen Days.

Manuscript in Duke (48, #31). Inscribed in purple pencil, black pencil, black ink and red ink as noted on two scraps of white laid paper pasted together, approx. 6¹/₁₆" x 3¹¹/₁₆". Blue rules 3/8" apart. Both leaves from a pocket notebook; top scrap has rounded bottom corners. The date is probably 1880 or 1881. See "(? Preface)." First printed *WDC*, 70.

? a ¶ for *Specimen Days*¹

For there is Something² in concrete Nature itself in all its parts—³ a quality an identity apart from and superior to⁴ any appreciation of the same through realism or mysticism (the very thought of which involves abstraction)⁵, or through literature or art.⁶ This something belonging to⁷ the objects themselves⁸ not only lies⁹ beyond all the expressions of literature and art,¹⁰ but seems disdainful of them &¹¹ fades away at their touch¹²

1. Leaf numbered "75" at left, probably by W.S. Kennedy. In black ink, deleted, to left of heading: "What?". Heading in red ink.

2. Deleted: "a quality and an identity,"

3. Deleted in black pencil: "that is not" ; inserted in black pencil: "—a quality an identity" above "[del.] is not" and "apart from"

4. Preceding three words inserted above "any" and "apprec" in "appreciation"

5. Parenthesized words inserted on two lines above "realism or mysticism"

6. Preceding five words inserted in black ink above "This something belonging"

7. Deleted: "positive"

8. Inserted and deleted in black ink: "&" ; deleted in black ink: "seems to" ; inserted in black ink above: "not only"

9. Added in black ink: "s"

10. Deleted in black ink: "as if" ; inserted above in black ink: "but is [del.] seems"

11. Inserted and deleted in black ink: "but"

12. Preceding six words and deletion (in *NTI*) inserted in black ink above "disdainful of them"

Good Prefatory Passage.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black ink, black pencil, and blue ink across bottom a quarter of a folded sheet of letter paper. Blue rules perpendicular to writing $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Probably a draft of an introduction for *SD*. This was written after 1876, possibly in 1880 or 1881.

good *prefatory* passage¹ ? for * note bottom of first page²

Specimen days, here and there, Casual notes, with no order or finish, or consecutiveness, or chronology, capricious,³ jumping backward or forward in⁴ date⁵ and subject⁶, and only⁷ tied together⁸ by⁹ being[?] all from the same identity¹⁰— radiating[?]¹¹ drops¹² out of the same one-¹³flowing stream, different times,¹⁴ moods, circumstances¹⁵ under no law¹⁶ yet¹⁷ faithful memoranda of passing scenes and moods.

1. Black pencil.
2. Blue ink in right margin below "passage" and above "there"
3. Deleted: "but" ; inserted above: "capricious"
4. Deleted: "da their"
5. Deleted: final "s"
6. Deleted: final "s"
7. Inserted above wordspace between "and tied"
8. Deleted: "by only" "by the" "as" ; inserted: "by" above "as"
9. Inserted and deleted: "all"
10. Deleted: "and—" , "[*illeg.*]" . Preceding six words and deletions inserted between lines.
11. Inserted above "drops"
12. Deleted: "now and then"
13. Inserted above wordspace between "same flowing"
14. Deleted: "[*illeg.*]" ; inserted above: "moods"
15. Diagonally at random, deleted: "full" "probably" "owing" "little" "no"
16. "under no law" written diagonally under the deletions (in *n15*).
17. Inserted.

Written at 431 Stevens.

Manuscript in Walt Whitman House, Camden N. J. Inscribed in black ink on one sheet of faded (?) white paper, 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Framing made it impossible to inspect the paper closely. Emendations are not available. In upper left in red ink: "See other side later." The second sentence of paragraph 1 is inserted. "See other side" in the first paragraph is in red ink followed by a red fist pointing to the right. The italicized passage at the end of paragraph 2 is also in red ink. The lot at 460 Royden Street, Camden, was bought for \$450 shortly after WW lost his position in Washington (*Corr.*, II, 630). The 1880 document was witnessed by A. B. Frazee and S. H. Browning. In December of 1882 WW had a balance in the National State Bank (Camden) of \$3678.64. On March 17, 1892, he had a balance of \$7379.02 (bank book at Walt Whitman House). Date, June 1, 1880, shortly before WW left for Canada. For other wills see "The last will."

written at 431 Stevens street Camden, New Jersey June 1 1880 (My signature, and witnesses, written at Ferry office, foot of Federal street, Tuesday afternoon, June 1, 1880) (I depart for Canada in a couple of days) See other side

My most valuable property I consider to be my copyrights of *Leaves of Grass* and *Two Rivulets*—(If seen to, there will be a good income from them) *later—see other side*

I have about a thousand dollars in the Brooklyn Savings Bank—(see bank book)

I have about eight hundred dollars in the National State Bank cor 2d & Market sts. Camden. (See bank book) My valuable electrotype plates are in charge of S W Green's Son, printer, 18 Jacob st New York city

I hereby make my brother George W Whitman and his wife my executor and executrix, *with complete & actual power*. (I leave the carrying out of these devises and directions fully to their discretion)

I wish all I leave, in money, copyright, *and every thing else to be divided in value in sevenths*—of which I devise four sevenths to go to my youngest brother, Edward Whitman, to be managed under entire control & direction of aforesaid George W and Louisa Whitman

I devise one seventh to my sister Mrs Mary E. Van Nostrand of Greenport Suffolk county, New York.

I devise one seventh to my sister Mrs Hannah Louisa Heyde, of Burlington, Vermont—

I devise one seventh to be equally divided between my neices Mannahatta and Jessie Whitman, of St Louis, Missouri
 Witnesses¹ Walt Whitman

{2} *Later*—September 29, 1882—Camden N J—

I confirm the separation of the value of the entirety of my estate into sevenths, and its division and bequest as afore written—My personal property at this date, consists of money in National State Bank of Camden, and in Brooklyn Savings Bank—also, Copyrights of “Leaves of Grass,” and “Specimen Days”—also electro-type plates of “Leaves of Grass,” my sole property, now stored at Sherman & Co’s: printing office cor: 7th and Cherry Streets Philadelphia—My contract (which see) with Rees Welsh & Co: (David McKay, their successor, same) is that they are to have the use of my plates of “Leaves of Grass” to publish the same, (which they have done, 1882, and are doing) and are to pay me thirty five cents royalty on every copy sold—this contract to run two years—(expires Sept: 22, 1884). They are to publish “Specimen Days & Collect,” (my prose volume,) and pay me twenty two cents on every copy sold—this contract (Specimen Days) runs five years—(expires Sept: 22, 1887.) My real estate is a lot of ground 20 x 100 feet, 460 Royden street, Camden, N. J.

Walt Whitman

my deposit in Brooklyn Savings Bank must be between 1000 and \$1100 [*my deposit*].² Camden Bank nearly \$2000—Rees Welsh & Co. must owe me nearly \$1000 (*have paid 300*)³

1. Witnessed by A. B. Frazee and S. H. Browning.
2. MS has ditto marks.
3. Inserted in pencil above and to the left of signature.

London—1880.

Manuscript in Duke (50, #37). Inscribed in black pencil on white laid paper, approx. 8¼" x 4¾", watermarked Gothic "N." Leaves [1, 7, 8, 9] have heading "Asylum for the Insane, London . . . 18" vertically along right edge of recto. WW obviously tore large sheets of letterhead horizontally. WW visited Dr. Bucke at the latter's invitation from June 4 to September 1, 1880. Although respectable opinion in London had been outraged in February and March by Bucke's public implication (before a teachers' convention) that *Leaves of Grass* was a moral guide superior to the New Testament, the London newspapers printed friendly interviews. (Artem Lozynsky, "Walt Whitman in Canada," *ABC*, 23 (July–August, 1973), 21–23. See also *WDC*.) First printed in *FC&I*, 60–63.

London—1880¹

Then about drinking habits.

My² observations and goings around here pretty freely indoors and out,³ note, so far, a singular scarcity of cases of intemperance;⁴ I have seen no drunken man (nor drunken woman.)—have run across⁵ no besotted or low or filthy quarters of the town either. I should say it was⁶ an unusually temperate city. Here for a thousand people⁷ at the Insane Asylum,⁸ no⁹ alcohol-beverage is used—not a pint a week. The head physician, Dr Bucke, never prescribes it; some of the assistants at rare intervals. Dr B. tells me he thinks it needless, and can get along just as well without it, or even better, under any circumstances.

[2] London Canada June 1880¹⁰

for London
Dufferin College
Huron [*College*] for theology

1. In a smaller hand at upper right.
2. Deleted: "goings" ; inserted: "observations and goings" above the deletion and "around"
3. Deleted: "afford" ; inserted: "note, so far," above the deletion and "a"
4. Deleted: "h"
5. Preceding three words inserted above "an" in "woman" and "— no besotten" . Extra dash after "woman" not printed here.
6. Deleted: "a" ; inserted: "an unusually" above "was" and "tempe" in "temperature"
7. Preceding four words inserted above "re" in "here" and "at the Insane"
8. Deleted: "with a thousand people"
9. Deleted: "liquor" ; inserted: "alcohol-beverage" above the deletion and "is" and "us" in "used"
10. At the upper right opposite following three entries.

a good high school

—the Savings and Investment Society offers money to farmers & others at 7 and 7½ per cent, with privilege of paying interest or principal in instalments¹¹

—a good yellow brick, made here is plentiful and cheap—many fine mansions with gardens, some of exceptional size and elegance—on¹² Dundas and Richmond — streets, the principal¹³ rows of shops, offices, banks /

— Queen's and Dufferin¹⁴ avenues for fine residences also¹⁵ Ridout street, old & fine, backing the river

{3} many handsome churches—a large and fine Revenue Office building, also Post Office, also several Bank Buildings, also some large Hotels, the Tecumseh House¹⁶ and many four-story houses in rows, with stores on the ground story¹⁷

Some of the streets Queen's avenue,¹⁸ very wide either their whole length or in part, and agreeably parked with grass and trees

—London stands mainly on high ground in the fork between the north & south branches of the river Thames {4} over the south fork is Westminster {*over the*} north {*fork is*} Petersville

The¹⁹ Thames river winds its twirling and shallow, but very pretty, waters to the²⁰ of the main body of the town, and on the²¹ side are clusters of comfortable houses, mostly one or two storied, quite democratic, with now and then a costlier one. I saw on the river²² several small-sized steamers, neat-looking, hawsered, waiting for passengers, or steaming up or down, with the British colors flying.

Of banks and banking houses there are²³ nine or ten, some 20 churches {5} The population is 25,000 There are several lines of horse-railways. I occasionally saw members of the police patrol, with helmets and white gloves—all I saw were fine-looking young fellows. (the pavement question some concrete) By what²⁴ I am told London would²⁵ show finely to my eyes in September, from the great annual fair, when there is a gathering²⁶ of the farmers²⁷ and their families, men

11. Deleted between entries: "can put in"

12. Inserted above dash before "Dundas". Extra dash not printed here.

13. Deleted: "places"

14. Preceding two words inserted above "en's" in "Queen's" and "avenues"

15. Inserted above "R" in "Ridout"

16. Approximately the equivalent of two lines left blank.

17. Approximately the space of one line left blank.

18. Approximately the space of one line left blank.

19. Originally lowercase.

20. Space for about seven characters left blank.

21. Space for about seven characters left blank.

22. Preceding three words inserted above "w" in "saw" and "several"

23. Deleted: "eight o"

24. Preceding two words inserted above "I am"

25. Inserted above "sh" in "show"

26. Deleted: "for several days"; after "of" a deleted [*illeg.*] letter.

27. Deleted: ", men"

and women, especially the young people—altogether many thousands, and the streets all alive with them for several days [6] On this occasion one would get a direct view of²⁸ the average²⁹ People, the *humanity* of this part of Canada (the main thing of every country.) By what I am told I am sure this average would please me much, and would be a very high

There are two large³⁰ and live daily papers here, the *Advertiser* and *Free Press*
the RR's

[7]³¹ Hellmuth College³² superior & extensive school for young ladies /
the Asylum is the show place of London, it and its handsome grounds being
always visited by journeyers.

The land all about³³ fertile³⁴ lying well, too³⁵ hardly any where rocky or with
chasms.

a scarcity of black persons

[8] produce³⁶

hay wheat oats barley potatoes small-eared corn (little or no rye) [*little
or no*] flax *wool* is quite important

fruits

apples plums cherries all the small fruits in great³⁷ perfection & plenty no
peaches from the cold no pears from blight/ grapes moderate, but they do well /

[9] Of German³⁸ stock here in and about³⁹ London in⁴⁰ & perhaps through On-
tario. English largely⁴¹ preponderates /

London is perhaps 50 years old—40 years ago some twelve or fourteen houses
beef cheese horses⁴²

28. Deleted: "what"

29. Inserted above "the" and "P" in "People". Capital letter in "People" emphasized by triple underline.

30. Deleted: "and"; inserted above: "and live"

31. Deleted: "Helm" Final "l" superimposed. Entries in hanging indentation.

32. Deleted: "for ladies"; inserted between lines: "superior . . . for"

33. Deleted: "is superior and"

34. Deleted: "a"

35. Deleted: "few roc"

36. Entries in columns.

37. Deleted: "plen"

38. Originally lowercase.

39. Deleted: "here"; inserted: "London" above the deletion and "in"

40. Inserted: "& perhaps through the {*del.*}" above "Ontario"

41. Inserted above "ish" in "English"

42. In column.

(For Ottawa Lecture).

Manuscript in Duke (21, #12). Inscribed on flimsy white wove paper approx. 7" x 4", in black pencil with emendations in red and blue crayon. The paper is identical with that of "Canada lecture" but not with that of "It is best if I," with which it is bound. It is obvious that all of these notes were written at some unknown time or times when WW was in Canada in 1880 in hopes of an invitation to lecture. Bucke (*N&F*, 65) says he was unaware of WW's intention, but WW hinted at a lecture to a reporter on his first arrival in London (Artem Lozynsky, "Walt Whitman in Canada," *ABC*, 23 [July–August, 1973], 21–23) and again in "Letter from Walt Whitman," London (Ont.) *Daily Advertiser* (August 26, 1880). The notes printed here fall in three groups, e.g. (1) general: "It is said," "It is best"; (2) U.S.-Canadian relations: "If my address," "and of a perfect"; (3) "Business": "for Ottawa lecture," "*Canada lecture*. In Modern." It is possible that all three are notes for one lecture. MS first printed *N&F*, 65–66 (Pt. II, #42; *CW*, IX, 25–26).

(for Ottawa lecture)¹

For thousands of years, in the history of² the masses of humanity, why does it seem³ as if that history was all dominated by one word⁴ War?⁵
 —all too⁶ necessary to the progress, civilization, the interaction[?]
 —now *Business* does it all,—opens up⁷ China, Japan, Africa, colonizes, builds roads, penetrates, communicates
 —lines from poems Is there going to be but one heart to the world

1. At right in red pencil, "1" possibly in WW's hand.

2. Deleted: "of nations the"

3. Deleted: "as" ; inserted above: "as if"

4. Inserted above "war" which was not deleted.

5. In the right margin, surrounded by loop, in blue crayon: "Ottawa lecture"

6. Preceding two words inserted above "nece" in "necessary"

7. Deleted: "distant and" ; inserted above: "China, Japan,"

It Is Said.

Manuscript in Duke (22, #15). Inscribed in soft black pencil, with hard black pencil as noted, on a scrap of flimsy tan paper with a glazed surface, approx. 8¼" x 6¾". All corners clipped. On verso in blue crayon is a rough map of WW's Canadian trip endorsed: "My journey in Canada in blue line below (1000 [*corner clipped*])." It is probable that the recto is a note for his projected Canada lecture. The date is probably 1880. First published *WDC*, 71.

—¹It is said perhaps rather quizzicaly that I bring civilisation politics, the topography & even the hydrography[?] to one final test, the capability[?] of producing, favoring and maintaining a fine crop of children, a² magnificent race of men and women.

I must confess³ I look with comparative indifference on lauded triumphs of the greatest⁴ manufacturing,⁵ exporting, gold-and-silver producing nation people⁶ in comparison with a race of really fine physical perfectionists

1. Deleted: "It is well known among my friends" ; inserted: "It is said [*illeg. del.*] perhaps rather quizzicaly [*preceding three words ins.*] by one of my friends" on two lines above "[*del.*] It is well known among"

2. Preceding five words inserted above "magnificent race" ; "crop" written over [*illeg.*]

3. Deleted: "all the greatest and much" ; inserted in hard black pencil: "I look with [*ins.*] comparative indifference on" above "[*del.*] and the"

4. Two preceding words inserted in hard black pencil above "manuf" in "manufacturing"

5. Deleted: "largely"

6. Two preceding words in hard black pencil; "people" above "nation"

It Is Best.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #12). Inscribed in black pencil on irregular white laid paper approx. 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". Although the pinholes match those of "For Ottawa lecture," the text is not continuous. "2" perhaps is in WW's hand, in red ink at right. The date is, of course, 1880. First published in *N&F*, 62 (Pt. II, #42; *CW*, IX, 25-26).

It is best¹ if² I should dare confess³ to you to night⁴ my friends, I should perhaps rude as it might seem—honestly⁵ own up—⁶ that⁷ it is more with the wish to put in shape, for my own sake,⁸ the⁹ brief experiences¹⁰ of a late trip on the line of the St Lawrence and the Lakes,¹¹ and touches at the great cities¹² with some thoughts arising out of them, than from any hope of pleasing you¹³ that I am now speaking.¹⁴ I shall certainly not only be unable to tell you any thing new, but may very likely prove that I have only caught surface & present surface impressions. Still [2] as the Frenchman¹⁵ Taine¹⁶ says in premising his fine ensemble of the¹⁷ letter & spirit of Eng: Lit, it is worth something to see how these things seem to a new comer & a stranger

1. Preceding three words inserted.

2. Uppercase in MS.

3. Deleted: "honestly"

4. Preceding two words inserted above "u" in "you" and "my"

5. Preceding six words inserted on a line above "I should perhaps own"

6. Deleted: "to you [*ins. and del.*] that rude as it might seem,"

7. Inserted above wordspace between "[*del.*] seem," and "it"

8. Preceding four words inserted above "ape" in "shape" and "sake" ; deleted: "my own"

9. Inserted above "[*del.*] own"

10. Deleted: "and"

11. Preceding three words inserted above "St. Lawrence"

12. Deleted: "and" ; inserted above: "with"

13. Preceding seven words inserted on a line above "out of . . . I am"

14. Deleted: "to you"

15. Preceding two words inserted above "as Taine"

16. WW had written a twenty-page "*abrégé*" of Hippolyte Taine's *History of English Literature* sometime after the English translation appeared in 1871 and before his resignation from the Department of Justice in 1873. The "*abrégé*" is now in LC (Feinberg). See Roger Asselineau, "Un Inédit de Walt Whitman: 'Taine's History of English Literature,'" *EA*, X (Avril-Juin, 1957), 128-138. As Asselineau points out, Taine's theories of national literature powerfully reinforced those held by WW which he had expressed in *Democratic Vistas* at about the same time.

17. Deleted: "spirit"

If My Address To Night.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #11). Inscribed in black pencil on flimsy white wove paper, approx. 6" x 4", identical with "Canada lecture" and "and of a perfect" with which it is bound. See "and of a perfect." This was written in the summer of 1880.

If¹ my address to night has any reason, and excuse for being it is indeed
—to state emphatically this good will fraternity and perfect equality that
exists

1. Deleted: "I have" ; inserted: "my address to night indeed has" above the deletion and "any reason and"

And of a Perfect Equality.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #11). Inscribed in black pencil on flimsy white wove paper, approx. 6" x 4", identical with "If my address" and "Canada lecture." This is the third MS in this dealer's binding. The text suggests "A Zollverein between U. S. and Canada," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 240-241. See also "If my address." This was written in the summer of 1880.

and¹ of a perfect equality in² rights, interests, freedom and the fields of the world. Leaving all³ those points of trade, tariffs and the debate or

I will not hesitate to speak decidedly on this other point I feel that I have a right too

1. Deleted: "of" ; inserted above: "of a"
2. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "of"
3. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "those"

Canada Lecture.

Manuscript in Duke (21, #11). Inscribed in black pencil on three leaves of flimsy white wove paper approx. 6" x 4". At the upper left of [1] is "72)," the page in *WDC* on which this appears. Each leaf is numbered at the upper right, possibly by WW. In the same binding are "If my address" and "and of a perfect" which are also in pencil and on the same paper. With the MS. is the card of Barton Wine Co. On the verso is a note in another hand that WW had tasted three wines of the vintage of 1873. First published in part in *WDC*, 72-73.

Canada lecture

In modern times¹ the new word *Business*,² has been brought to the front, & now³ dominates⁴ individuals and nations, (always of account, in all ages, but never before confessedly leading the rest, as in our⁵ 19th Century

[2]—Business, not a⁶ mere sordid, prodding?⁷ muck-and-money-making mania but an immense and noble attribute of man,⁸ the occupation of nations and individuals (without which is no happiness)—the progress of the masses—the tie and interchange of all the peoples of the earth—[3]—ruthless⁹—war and arrogant dominion—conquest was the ideal¹⁰ of the antique and mediaval¹¹ hero—Business shall be, nay is, the word of the modern hero

I know the dread which¹² good men have this devouring

1. Deleted: "a" ; inserted above: "the"

2. *OED*, I, 1206a, def. 21, gives "Trade, commercial transactions or engagements" as a specialized meaning and citations from 1727, 1823, 1847, 1862 and 1884. *DA*, 228a, cites combinations beginning in 1837, but most citations are later.

3. Deleted: "contra"

4. Deleted: "the affairs of" ; inserted above: "individuals and"

5. Deleted: "democratic"

6. Inserted above the undeleted: "the"

7. Question mark above "r" in "prodding"

8. Preceding two words inserted above "ribute" in "attribute"

9. Inserted above "—war"

10. Inserted above "ideal" : "?word"

11. Deleted: "man"

12. Deleted: "many"

Dr. Bucke's Travels.

Manuscript not found. Text from *N&F*, 179 (Pt. IV, #137; *CW*, X, 36). Since WW met Bucke in 1877, the date is later.

Dr. Bucke's travels, work and experiences 30 to 36 years ago (1854 onward) in a letter from him to an uncle in England.

Sparrows—Swallows.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil, blue crayon, and black ink on an irregular half-sheet of white wove paper with Asylum for the Insane letterhead on verso. The last entry may be later than the initial date of July 27, 1880. For other notes on his Canada trip, see "London—1880."

Sparrows — Swallows¹

Toronto July 27 '80,—in the bookstore in King street reading Bairds' book on Birds Birds of North America Little, Brown & Co. Boston 1880²/

make a piece about *the Swallows* (Sparrows?) see the above book Vol 1 page 339³/

bank swallows at⁴ Timber Creek see page 353⁵/

extract from the *Odyssey*⁶/

? (the singing[?] wren at Pardees, Sarnia & at Dr Buckes/

the Swallows? Sparrows⁷ at the ferry house Camden The scene of 1000 swallows on the lawn at Dr Bucke's Summer of '80⁸

1. Blue crayon.

2. Spencer Fullerton Baird, T. M. Brewer and R. Ridgeway, *A History of North American Birds*, 3 vols. (Boston, 1874). No 1880 printing has been located, but the reprint of 1905 seems to be identical with the first edition of 1874 with the exception of the bindings and title page date. Reprints may have been issued between 1875 and 1905.

3. An account of the Barn Swallow.

4. Deleted: "the c"

5. An account of the Bank Swallow or Sand Martin.

6. Book XXII. See "Swallows on the River," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 204 dated September 3, [1879] for use of the episode in the *Odyssey* in which Minerva as a swallow watches the slaughter of the suitors.

7. Written above preceding word.

8. Sentence in black ink.

Wm J Gurd.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in column in black ink and (as noted) black pencil on verso of sheet of Asylum letterhead, 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 5". With the exception of the August 1 letter to his brother Jeff, this correspondence is unrecorded. This was written in August, 1880.

Wm J Gurd Miss Matilda A Gurd Mrs Jessie M Bucke (Dr's wife) Robt S Gurd¹

Dr T Sterry Hunt 70 McTavish street Montreal Canada²

July 29 wrote to Lou [July 29]³ sent paper

Dr W G Metcalf⁴ Medical Supt: Rockwood⁵ Asylum Kingston Canada

Aug 1—wrote postal card⁶ from Lakes of the Thousand Islands⁷ to Sister Hannah⁸ Jeff Eugene Crosby⁹ Al Johnston Elmer Pete Doyle Lou

1. Four names in black pencil in a column. William Gurd, who was Mrs. Bucke's brother, was involved for years with Bucke in developing a water meter. Matilda was his sister. Robert S. Gurd was possibly a brother. See Artem Lozynsky, *The Letters of Dr. Richard Maurice Bucke to Walt Whitman* (Detroit, 1977) in which the whole Bucke and Asylum circle is mentioned.

2. In black ink. Hunt, a mineralogist, first brought WW to Bucke's attention (*WDC, DD, III, 632n*).

3. WW used dittos.

4. In black pencil. Metcalf owned the steam yacht on which WW made his tour of the Thousand Islands between July 29 and August 24. (*WDC, DD, III, 628-631; Corr., III, 184-185*).

5. Inserted above "Asylum"

6. Preceding two words inserted above "wrote to"

7. Preceding six words in pencil at left of following list of names in column.

8. Deleted: "twice", enclosing parentheses not deleted.

9. Crosby was a Delaware River ferryman who helped WW aboard ("Scenes on Ferry and River—Last Winter's Nights," *SD, Prose 92, 183*). See "D.W. Wilder." Al Johnston was the son of J. H. Johnston, WW's NY jeweler friend. Elmer is not known.

Aug 4¹⁰ from Montreal to Geo W Childs¹¹ Mont¹² Col Forney¹³ Lou (twice)
John Burroughs Jeff Mary¹⁴ Mrs Gilchrist Charley Woods¹⁵ Sister
Hannah /

from Toronto Aug 12 to Lou Han Whitelaw Reid¹⁶/

Aug 14 from Hamilton to Camden Post and Phil Press

10. Written to left of column of names.

11. Childs (1829–1894). was a publisher and philanthropist, owner of the Philadelphia *Ledger*. See “My Native Sand and Salt Once More,” *SD, Prose* 92, I, 273, “Some Personal and Old-Age Jottings,” *GBMF*, *ibid.*, II, 700; “G. W. Childs,” “Names of Great Givers,” “Kansas & Colorado Trip,” “Jo Swinton”; *Corr.*, III, IV, V *passim*; Traubel, I, II, IV, V *passim*.

12. Montgomery Stafford, Harry’s brother (*Corr.*, V, 308–310).

13. John W. Forney was publisher of the Philadelphia *Progress*, who had invited WW to Kansas the preceding summer. See “JWF.”

14. His sister, Mary Van Nostrand. Beginning of second column.

15. Mentioned in “Kansas & Colorado Trip.”

16. Whitelaw Reid was owner of the NY *Tribune*.

Dr W G Metcalf.

Manuscript in LC (#216, sheet #1844). Inscribed in black pencil on two faded white wove scraps pasted together after "Metcalf." Irrelevant sum on verso. Metcalf was one of WW's hosts in Canada ("sent *Press* of 22d," "Wm J Gurd.") The two women are unknown. The date must be fall, 1880 or later.

/¹Dr W G Metcalf Insane Asylum Kingston Ontario Canada
Miss Marey Lorenzen/ Miss M Mary D'Erviex
Col'-lec-tā-ne-a

1. Rule above entry.

Other Names of Venus.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in black pencil on torn-out leaf, approx. 4" x 6½", of top-bound notebook, white wove paper, blue rules 5/16" apart. Edges red. Cf. "Leo contains the sickle" and "mention talk." The alternate names of Venus are in column. To their right are some undecipherable marks. See "The shower of meteors." Written after 1880, the date of the Canadian trip, but not used in *SD*.

Other names of Venus Phosphor Vesper, (at evening) Lucifer (at morning)

(¹in my Canada notes "already Polaris seems higher in the heavens"²)

the "*harvest moon*" is along in September or thereabout—it rises for a number of nights about the same time—it does the same in October & then it is call'd "*the hunters moon*"

the great meteoric shower was in 1833 commenced at midnight and at its height about 5 a m

—the big comet (Donatis) 1858

1. Large parenthesis at left encloses entire phrase.
2. Quotation not found.

Leo Contains the Sickle.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on torn-out leaf approx. 4" x 6½" of top-bound notebook, white wove paper, blue rules 5/16" apart. Edges red. Paper and handwriting similar to that of "Other names of Venus" and "mention talk," but pinholes do not match. Very slight pencil emendation. Probably written in 1880, but not used in *SD*.

Leo contains the Sickle—mention Leo—Regulus is the big star of it (in the sickle handle)

—Hydra, the long straggly serpent, Hydra, ("the head is marked by a rhomboidal figure of four stars of the fourth magnitude lying near Procyon")

Procyon (in¹ the little Dog, a bright star not far to the left of Betelgeuse in Orion

mention the semicircle of "the Cup" (? part of Hydra) and² near by "the Raven"
Bootes, the Bear Driver Arcturus in his knee

1. Inserted above "the"
2. Deleted: "the"

Mention Talk of an Old Mariner.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on torn-out leaf, approx. 4" x 6½", of top-bound notebook, white wove paper, blue rules 5/16" apart. Edges red. Paper and writing similar to that of "Other names of Venus" and "Leo contains," but pinholes do not match. Probably written in 1880, but not used in *SD*.

mention talk of an old mariner from the Southern Seas, told me of the great Cross¹ and the Centaur and² the constellation Argo³ with bright Canopus,—and the two strange⁴ dark clusters the Magellan clouds,⁵

1. Inserted above "ross" in "cross" "and" and "[*del.*] Cassiop" : "and the Centaur"
2. Deleted: "Cassiop"
3. Deleted: "and the Centaur"
4. Deleted: "star" ; hyphen not deleted, not printed; inserted above: "dark"
5. Deleted: "and the"

See. "W Davenport Adams's Dictionary."

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white wove paper with letterhead of Asylum for the Insane, London [Ontario]. The MS probably dates from WW's visit.

See. "W Davenport Adams's Dictionary of Eng: Lit."—Cassell, Petter and Galpin, Pub's. London, Paris & New York
 "Whitman cannot be recognized as a poet at all". . . . p. 487¹

CHANTS ABAFT

Sun-up & Noon & Starry Night

Mother & Brood

Songs of Sixty-two & after

?Songs after Sixty

²?After Sixty/³

it was in 1842 (sure) that I saw Dickens, & Mrs. D. at Mitchell's Olympia Theatre, Broadway near Grand street New York⁴/

Wm and James Anglin Rockwood Asylum Kingston Canada

1. WW was indulging his paranoia. The quotation, a full sentence, is from the article "Poetry in England." (p. 537), but the separate article, "Whitman, Walt" (p. 753), is thirty-one and a half lines long and consists almost entirely of the laudatory conclusion to Robert Buchanan's essay of 1867. Whittier received only fourteen and a half lines; Longfellow, however, received fifty-nine and a half, or seven-eighths of a column. Tennyson received four columns. Adams' book is dated 1878 [?] by LC. Paragraph in hanging indentation.

2. A pointing fist at left.

3. Trial titles. Line across leaf.

4. Dickens made his first triumphant visit to NY between February 14 and March 6, 1842. His presence at the Olympia cannot be verified. Although WW was editor of the *Aurora*, possibly as early as late February, it was probably not he who was responsible for the remark on February 15 that Dickens was probably meeting more good society in Boston and NY than he ever had or would in England. See William Glyde Wilkins, *Charles Dickens in America* (London, 1911), 117. This entry first published in *Wake* 7 (1948), 17. Entry in hanging indentation.

Autumn Nights.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on three sheets of gray wove paper: [1] 9½" x 6¾", [2] 9⁹/₁₆" x 6⁵/₁₆", [3] 9" x 6⁵/₁₆". Each seems to have been carefully torn off at the right from a larger sheet. [1] lacks the upper right corner. [2] is numbered 243[?] in blue crayon by WW, partly trimmed off; [3] is clearly 244. Titles are in red ink. The MS is notably clean of emendation (for WW), which suggests that it is final copy.

Stovall (*SD, Prose* 92, I, 245*n*) reports that the printer's MS for "Cedar-Plums Like—Names." which follows WW's account of his Canada trip in *SD* consisted of clipped proof sheets numbered by WW 242–246. He also notes (*ibid.*, 235*n*) the use of gray paper in the autograph pages of *SD* as well as titles in red ink. [2] is almost identical with "The sanity and esthetic beauty" (Berkeley, not printed here) which is dated October 10 to 12. His original intention of writing poems is expressed in "Final confessions—Literary Tests," ll. 13–17, *SD, Prose* 92, I, 293 and "These notes are all diverted." It would seem that this MS is a draft of a "homecoming" section (WW returned about October 1) which he discarded in favor of the "Cedar-Plums Like" section, possibly because there are other such meditative passages in *SD*. On the 9th of October he was at Kirkwood, where he stayed until the 13th. (Nevertheless he wrote Thomas Nicholson on the 14th that he had been at the seashore for five days [*Corr.*, III, 188–190*n*].) See "As Always I turn upon myself" (Berkeley, not printed here) for what seems to be an earlier version. This was written in October, 1880.

*Autumn nights.*¹

Oct: 10, 11, 12, 80.² Home again—down in the country, absorbing perfect nights and days. I put the nights first, for somehow lately they come to the fore in my reflections, observations, and best enjoyments. A pure sky, a temperature just right, the moon³ past her half—every thing bathed with indescribably lumi-

1. In red ink.

2. The date is preceded by directions to the printer across the upper left corner: "Side [?] ital" Three dashes, one above the other, follow the period. Deleted original opening of paragraph: "I believe I commenced my notes (years have elapsed since, with varied changes and experiences, sickness, ups and downs, a little travel, &c.) with an October noon. Now I have come to October nights. Down now" ; inserted above "[del.] Down now" : "Home again—down" . The date is brought down on an arrow.

3. Deleted: "between first quarter and full—" ; inserted: "past her half—" above "[del.] een" in "between" "first" and "qua" in "quarter"

nous light, tempered by the just-palpable haze of autumn. A good week⁴ here in the fields and woods. It is the Indian summer of the year— Is it not also the Indian summer of my life? I am now past sixty-one. The paralysis long numbing me has been lulled, or at least the worst of it has⁵ for two years.⁶ The⁷ esthetic beauty {2} and moral nourishment of⁸ such October nights first led me to memorandize their scenes and impressions,⁹ in notes¹⁰ originally jotted down as bases for sonnets or a poem.¹¹ As usual I turn upon myself, and where the present, like a connecting¹² bridge, looks one way to the past and¹³ the other to the future.¹⁴ How indolently, sweetly, half-dreamily, all goes with me (many hours, I should say half the time,) these mellow days and nights, smelling of corn and apples, and where I am now¹⁵ the slight aroma of oak.¹⁶ At early candle-light¹⁷ I watch departing Venus half an hour high in the west,¹⁸ not refulgent, yet clear-sparkling, and before she goes throwing out a sort of special light—yellow twinkle or two, may-be directed to me;¹⁹ as if to say ‘I am not at my best and brightest just now from your point of view—neither {3} am I by any means on my decay—I endure—every thing endures—I shall be as lustrous as ever in due time—perhaps more lustrous.’²⁰ At the same moment from the other side, the east,²¹ rises transcendant Jupiter more like some²² night-sun than a star, casting shadows as the twilight deepens. Soon after,²³ Saturn;²⁴ and bright Capella follows²⁵ more to the north, and on meridian the Pleiades. Arcturus slowly descends the west; and the moon, past her half, rides high and bright in heaven.²⁶

4. Deleted: “down”

5. Inserted above “it”

6. Deleted: “(I still call myself a half paralytic.)”

7. Deleted: “sanity{?”

8. Deleted: “these” ; inserted above: “such”

9. Deleted: “to better define and retain. My” ; inserted above “[del.] my” : “in

10. Deleted: “were”

11. Deleted: “Gradually I got into making them other times, and in the days—and do so now [illeg.] quite involuntarily.”

12. Deleted: “brief”

13. Deleted: “one way” ; inserted above: “the other”

14. Deleted: “[illeg.]”

15. Deleted: “a” ; inserted above: “the”

16. Deleted: “behind all” ; deleted paragraph beginning: “Oct: 11” ; inserted direction to printer: “(bring in” with line connecting to preceding sentence.

17. Deleted: “these evenings”

18. Deleted: “pale,”

19. Deleted: “a faithful observer and affinity (who knows?)”

20. Original paragraph division marked “(run in” with an arrow for the printer.

21. Deleted: “mounts” ; inserted above: “rises”

22. Deleted: “rising”

23. Deleted: “follows”

24. Deleted: “And” ; inserted above: “and” ; period after “Saturn” probably corrected to semicolon.

25. Inserted above “more”

26. Deleted: “I slowly walk alone, or lean by the edge of the woods.”

October 11 '80—Glendale.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white wove paper, approx. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " roughly cut or torn at left. Paper like that of "Gossip at Early Candle Light Glendale October Nights." In "Death of Thomas Carlyle" (February 10, 1881) *SD*, *Prose* 92, I, 252, WW notes that Venus has been "shorn and languid for nearly a year." WW visited the Staffords between October 9 and 13, 1880.

October 11 '80—Glendale

Oct 11 '80¹—At early candle-light, these² evenings, I³ watch departing Venus half an hour high in the west, pale, not refulgent,⁴ but clear⁵ sparkling,⁶ and before she goes throwing out a sort of⁷ special light-yellow twinkle, (⁸ may-be directed to me, as⁹ a faithful observer and affinity—who knows?¹⁰) as if to say 'I¹¹ am not at my best and brightest just now,¹² from your point of view¹³—neither am I by any means on my decay—I endure—every thing endures—I shall be as lustrous as ever in due time—perhaps, more lustrous.'

1. Original beginning deleted: "Early in the" ; date inserted.
2. Deleted and inserted above.
3. Deleted: "see Venus the evening star Venus pale twinkling" ; inserted: "watched" above "[del.] see" and "departing" above "[del.] kling" in "twinkling" and "V" in "Venus"
4. Preceding three words inserted above "in the west"
5. Inserted: "clear and [del.] above "sparkling"
6. Deleted: "light-yellow, and" ; inserted above: "and before she goes" ; inserted and deleted: "giving down" above "a sort" ; inserted: "throwing out" above "giving down"
7. Deleted: "peculiar" ; inserted above: "special"
8. Deleted: "seemingly" ; inserted above: "may-be"
9. Deleted and inserted above.
10. Preceding two words and query inserted above "affinity"
11. Inserted and deleted: "Know I" above "am not"
12. Inserted and deleted: "I know," above "from"
13. Inserted and deleted above "view" : "I k" ; deleted: "—but I am not going to decay—by any means—" ; inserted above the deletion: "neither by no means [preceding three words del.] am not [del.] I by any means on my decay —"

¶ At the same moment¹⁴ in the east ascending, mounts transcendant Jupiter,¹⁵ more like some¹⁶ rising night-sun than a star,¹⁷ casting shadows, as the¹⁸ twilight deepens.

14. Original beginning: "But" ; preceding four words inserted on two lines above the deletion and "in the" . Paragraphing indicated by WW's symbol.

15. Preceding three words inserted above "nding" in "ascending . . . more like" Deleted: "like" after "ascending"

16. Deleted: "new" ; inserted above: "rising"

17. Deleted: "mounts transcendant Jupiter—how haughty, calm, not dazzling, but unprecedently luminous!"

18. Deleted: "night" ; inserted above: "twilight"

Gossip of Early Candle Light.

Manuscript in California. Inscribed in black pencil on four scraps of white wove paper. They are not necessarily part of the same MS. WW was at Glendale between October 9 and 13, 1880.

*Gossip of Early Candle light*¹
Glendale October Nights &c&c

Oct 10, 11 and 12 '80

Down in the country (Camden county, New² Jersey)³ absorbing perfect nights and days. I put the nights first, for somehow⁴ lately they⁵ come to the fore in my reflections⁶ observations, and⁷ best enjoyments. A⁸ pure sky, a temperature just right, the moon between⁹ first quarter and¹⁰ full, every thing bathed with that indescribably luminous¹¹ light, the just palpable¹² haze¹³ of autumn night.¹⁴

A good week down here in the fields and woods, and stopping as usual with my friends the S's.¹⁵ It is the Indian Summer of the¹⁶ year — Is it not also the Indian Summer of my life? I am now¹⁷ past sixty-one—the paralysis¹⁸ so long

1. In blue crayon on pasted-in scrap. WW was fond of this phrase, which he eventually used in an early version—"My Book and I" (1886)—and the final version of "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads" (*NB* [1888], *Prose* 92, II, 712). See also "*October Nights*."

2. Inserted above wordspace between "county" and "Jersey"

3. Deleted: "enjoying the" ; inserted above "[del.] "enjoying" : "absorbing"

4. Inserted above "for lately"

5. Deleted: "have"

6. Inserted: "[del.] and" and "observations" above "ctions" in "reflections" and "and"

7. Deleted: "in my"

8. Deleted: "clear" ; inserted above: "pure"

9. Deleted: "her"

10. Deleted: "fulness, the luminous" ; inserted: "full" above "[del.] fulness"

11. Erased: "ness" from "luminousness" ; deleted: "and" ; inserted: "light,"; inserted and deleted above "[del.] and" and "just" : yet with" ; inserted above "just" : "the"

12. Inserted and deleted above "le" of "palpable" : "night"

13. Deleted: "that makes"

14. Deleted: "twilight" ; inserted above "autumn" : "night"

15. Sentence inserted above "[del.] twilight" and "It is the Indian Summer" and marked with ¶. The "S's" were the Staffords.

16. "year" erased and rewritten; "annual round—" inserted and deleted.

17. Deleted: "in my sixty-second year" above "in my sixty-sec" (in "second"); inserted above "[del.] in my sixty-second" : "past sixty-one—" . Redundant dash not deleted, not printed here.

18. Deleted: "of seven or eight years since feebling and" ; inserted above "of seven" : "so long"

numbing me¹⁹ has been lull'd²⁰ for over a year (I [2] still call myself a Half-Paralytic, but I have many good hours:)

Away from Books, away from Art.

The lesson—now for the Day and Night themselves!

Now for the Sun and Stars.²¹

[3] I slowly walk alone, or lean by the edge of the woods.

The human relations of advancing Night—such suggestions to the soul of space, of mystery, of spirituality, of the ideal—without words, without touch, yet beyond all words

[4] Soon after, follows²² Saturn—and bright²³ Capella more to the north,—and on meridian the Pleiades. Arcturus²⁴ slowly descends the west in perfect beauty.²⁵ The moon,²⁶ past her half, rides high and bright in heaven²⁷

19. Deleted: "so long seems to be"

20. Deleted: "now for" ; inserted above: "for"

21. A draft of "A Clear Midnight" *LG* (1881).

22. Inserted above "r" in "after" and "Sa" in "Saturn"

23. Deleted: "and" ; inserted above: "more to the north—and on meridian" above "pella" in "Capella", the deletion, and "the Pleiades"

24. Deleted: "sinks on" ; inserted above: "slowly descends"

25. Preceding three words inserted above "west" and into the right margin.

26. Deleted: "is"

27. Traces of writing on bottom edge.

In Highest Noon.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on irreg. white wove scrap, approx. 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Corrected by heavy erasure; reading of first word may be "On" . Cancelled with two vertical slashes. On recto is "nights by a peaceful" (not printed: draft of "A Happy Hour's Command," *SD*). "From Noon to Starry Night" is an 1881 cluster in *LG*. This MS suggests WW's preliminary intentions to issue a group of poems possibly beginning with "Thou Orb Aloft Full-Dazzling" (1881) together with *SD* as a separate publication. The date must be late 1880 or early 1881.

In highest Noon I sing & Starry Night /
with other Pieces & Specimen Days

Oct 12.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in heavy black pencil on stiff white wove paper with watermark "RECORD" in open capitals perpendicular to writing. In the left margin there is a vertical line in blue crayon. Probably written in 1880, since WW spent October 9 to 13 with the Staffords (*Corr.*, III, 188*n* 54), although the paper may date back to 1876 or 1877 (see "A COUNTRY AUCTION").

Oct 12—Calmer & sweeter and less of a cool breeze to-day. I am wandering, or rather *lingering*, my usual¹ two or² three hours by the creek. The colors of the foliage grow richer & richer. The sky, without a cloud, is a clear gray. I see the moon, near her half, just past the meridian. (It is not uncommon to see Venus, & one or two other of the great stars, these times, by daylight)³

There was a real frost last night—left a white sugary⁴ glaze on every thing, which, of course, the sun soon disposed of.

1. Deleted: "three" ; inserted above: "two"
2. Deleted: "four" ; inserted above: "three"
3. Preceding two words and parenthesis inserted above "There was"
4. Deleted: "touch" ; inserted above: "glaze"

Nov: 26 1880 R Worthington.

Manuscript in Duke (42, #9). Inscribed in purple ink on two leaves of heavy white wove paper 9½" x 7¾". When WW decided to take action against Worthington he apparently made several copies of the document, two of which he sent to Richard Watson Gilder of the *Century* and to John Burroughs (*Corr.*, III, 196*n*). A rough draft and final copy which are at Yale vary only in detail from this copy, except that in the rough draft, the next to last paragraph reads: "But as much as any thing I want Worthington taken hold of, if possible, on criminal proceedings—he has so acted the part of a treachery furtive thief, & sneak which he undoubtedly is. (I understand they call him 'holy Dick' in the trade.) [Emendations not noted.]" Neither the Gilder nor Burroughs MS is printed here. The present MS is from the collection of A. Edward Newton, who notes that the MS was bought by him in 1919 for \$4.00 from one "G.W."

Despite the indignation WW felt when he found copies of Worthington's pirated reprint of the *LG*(1860) in the Porter and Coates bookstore in Philadelphia, he did not pursue the matter as diligently as this MS suggests and did accept royalties from Worthington. The story is straightened out by Edwin Haviland Miller, *Corr.*, III, 196–197*n*.

For a later statement by WW see "Facts in the Matter of Worthington." This was written in 1880 and first printed A. Edward Newton, *A Magnificent Farce* (Boston, 1921, 152. Facsimile of [2] in Newton Sale Catalogue, Part III, Parke-Bernet Galleries, 1941, in Francis and Lozynsky, 392.

Nov: 26 1880

R Worthington 770 Broadway New York about a year ago bo't at auction the electrotype plates (456 pages) of the 1860-'61 edition of my book *Leaves of Grass*—plates originally made by a young firm *Thayer & Eldridge* under my supervision there and then in Boston, (in the spring of 1860, on an agreement running five years.) A small edition was printed and issued at the time, but in six months or thereabout Thayer & Eldridge failed, and these plates were stored away and nothing further done—till about a year ago (latter part of 1879) they were put up in N Y city by Leavitt, auctioneer, & bought in by said Worthington. (Leavitt, before putting them up, wrote to me offering the plates for sale. I wrote back that said plates were worthless, being superseded by a larger & different edition—that I could not use them, the 1860 ones,¹ myself, nor would I allow them to be used by any one else—I being the sole owner of the copyright.)

However it seems Leavitt did auction them, & Worthington bo't them (I

1. Preceding three words and comma inserted above "them, myself"

suppose for a mere song)—W. then wrote to me offering \$250 if I would add something to the text & authenticate the plates, to be published in a book by him. I wrote back (I was in St Louis at the time, helpless, sick) thanking him for the offer, regretting he had purchased the plates, refusing the proposal, & forbidding any use of the plates. Then and since I thought the matter had dropt. But I have to add that about September 1880 (I was in London [2] Canada at the time) I wrote to Worthington,² referring to his previous offer, then³ declined by me, and asking whether he still had the plates & was disposed to make the same offer; to which I rec'd no answer. I wrote a second time; and again no answer.

I had supposed the whole thing dropt & nothing done, but within a week past, I learn that Worthington has been slyly printing and selling the Volume of *Leaves of Grass* from those plates (must have commenced early in 1880) and is now printing and selling it. On Nov: 22, 1880, I found the book, (printed⁴ from those plates,) at Porter & Coates' store, cor: 9th & Chestnut sts. Philadelphia. P & C told me they procured it from Worthington, & had been so procuring it off & on, for nearly a year.

First I want Worthington effectually stopt from issuing the books. Second I want my royalty for all he has sold, (though I have no idea of ever getting a cent.) Third I want W. taken hold of, if possible, on criminal proceeding.

I am the sole owner of the copyright—& I think my copyright papers are all complete— —I publish & sell the book myself—it is my sole means of living— what Worthington has done has already been a serious detriment to me.

Mr Eldridge, (of the Boston firm alluded to) is accessible in Washington DC —will corroborate first parts of the foregoing—(is my friend)

Walt Whitman 431 Stevens Street
Camden New Jersey

2. See letter to Worthington, *Corr.*, III, 186.

3. Inserted above "de" in "declined"

4. Inserted above "from"

The Violin.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black ink on a dark tan scrap, 3¼" x 8⅞". A cataloger's note dates it 1880. Despite the apparent clarity of the identification of "W. C.," no such bandsman was found on the rolls of the 6th Regiment, NJ National Guard, from 1870 to 1880.

THE VIOLIN—*talk with W.C., musician, N.J.*¹ *6th Reg't. Band.*— He said "the violin was one of the easiest instruments to begin on, and the hardest² to finish with, in all music." He spoke of some sensitive player who said an instrument badly out of tune "tore the very flesh off his bones." The first E-flat cornet generally leads the band.³

1. "N.J." inserted above comma.
2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
3. Deleted: "Does the first violin lead"

Why Is It.

Manuscript not found. Text from *UPP*, I, 112*n*. Rollo G. Silver in "Whitman and Dickens," *AL*, 5 (January, 1934), 370-371, identifies it as a close paraphrase of a plaintive remark by Dickens in a letter of 1857 printed in John Forster's *Life of Charles Dickens* (NY, 1880), 323. WW probably heard in it an echo of his own inner loneliness. First printed *UPP*, I, 112*n*. The date is 1880 or later.

Why is it that a sense comes always crushing on me, as of one happiness I have missed—life, and one friend & companion I have never made?

May 17 '81—Glendale.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white wove paper, 6/8" x 3¹⁵/₁₆". Lightly emended. Between "this size" and "round hard" a sketch of a cedar apple 2" in diameter. Cf. "Cedar Apples," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 126, written April 26, [1876]. WW wrote this in May 17, 1881.

May 17 '81—Glendale

the *Cedar apples* are on the trees in *May*—(now May 17) about this size¹ round, hard, nutty balls,² cover'd³ with⁴ thick⁵ coarse short⁶ yellow-brown⁷ hair-like outgrowth./

The little blue plums or berries of the cedar are another product altogether different

1. Sketch of cedar apple here.
2. Deleted: "with"
3. Deleted: "thick"
4. Inserted and deleted: "an outgrowth of" above "th" in "with" and "coarse"
5. Inserted above "[del.] wth" in "outgrowth" and "[del.] of"
6. Inserted above "yel" in "yellow"
7. Deleted: "hair"

May 16, 17, '81.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on white wove paper approx. 7¾" x 5½", possible from a top-bound notebook since the lower corners are slightly rounded and the top is irregularly cut or torn. There are resemblances in phraseology to the first and last phrases of "Sunday Morning, early May, 84" (*WDC*, 62 [MS LC Feinberg]), which may possibly be a revision of this MS, but, although in fact WW was at the Staffords between May 13 and 26, 1881, there is no record of his having been there in May, 1884. WW rearranged chronology freely in *SD*. This was written on May 16 or 17, 1881.

*May 16, 17, '81 Glendale*¹

the² round brown³ knobs of the cedars⁴ apples

—⁵ the vocal shuttle of the whip-poor-will⁶ plying long and long

—the profuse pink-and-white of the wild honeysuckle—

—the⁷ creamy blossoming of the dog-wood in the woods the faint earth-odors⁸
after a rain—

1. Deleted: "the cedar apples"

2. Inserted above the wordspace between "[del.] apples" and "round"

3. Inserted above "kn" in "knobs"

4. Deleted: "of"

5. Original opening: "the call" ; "call" deleted: "the" not printed here.

6. Deleted: "continued" ; inserted above: "plying"

7. Deleted: "white" ; inserted above: "creamy"

8. Deleted: "along the woods"

May 13 to 26 '81.

Manuscript in Duke (46, #24). Inscribed in black pencil on two leaves of white laid paper 3½" x 2¼" with blue lines ¼" apart and vertical chain lines. It was once part of a pocket notebook, for it has rounded lower corners and was torn out of binding at the top. Since there are a number of slight revisions, WW probably was planning to use it in *Specimen Days*. Cf. "May 16, 17, '81" and "May 17 '81—Glendale." First printed *WDC*, 58.

May 13 to 26 '81

Down in the country—mostly¹ in the woods—enjoying the early Summer, the bird music, and² the pure air. For³ interest and occupation I busy myself three or four hours every day, arranging, revising, cohering, here and there slightly rewriting, (and sometimes cancelling,)⁴ a new⁵ edition of L of G,⁶ complete in one volume. I do the main part of the work out in the woods.—I like to try my pieces⁷ by negligent, free, primitive Nature, the⁸ sky, the sea-shore, the [2] sunshine, the plentiful grass, or dead leaves (as now) under my feet, and the song of some cat-bird, wren, or russet thrush within hearing⁹—¹⁰like (as now) the¹¹ half-shadowd, tall-column'd trees, with green leaves and branches in relief against the sky. Such¹² is the library, the study, where (seated on a big log) I have sifted out and given¹³ some finishing touches to this edition¹⁴. (J. R O.¹⁵ publisher 1881)

I take a bout at it every day for an hour or two — Sometimes twice a day.

1. Inserted above deleted "& {?} largely"
2. Inserted above the wordspace between "music" and "the"
3. Deleted: "occu"
4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
5. Deleted: "and complete"
6. Deleted: "in"
7. Deleted: "by the" ; inserted: "by"
8. Deleted: "words" ; inserted: "sky"
9. Punctuation, possibly a colon and a comma, deleted.
10. Dash written over erasure.
11. Deleted: "strange"
12. Deleted: "are the"
13. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "some"
14. Deleted: "1881"
15. Another hand, possibly Kennedy's, has inserted above "pub" in "publisher" : "[sgood]"

Rec'd Back To-Day.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white wove paper, 2½" x 3½". Blue rules ¼" apart. The "piece" is "Thou Orb Aloft Full-Dazzling" (*LG*, 1881), published as "A Summer Invocation" in the *American*, June 4, 1881. *Scribner's Monthly* was founded in 1870 and became the *Century Magazine* in 1881. It was sometimes called "Holland's" after Josiah Gilbert Holland (1819-1881), its popular editor. Since Holland's taste was very conventional (he had denounced *LG* as "smut" in 1860), it is difficult to imagine his accepting anything by WW. The date must be late spring, 1881. First printed in *WDC*, 58-59.

Rec'd back to-day the ms¹ of² the little piece of "A Summer Invocation" which I had sent to H's [Harper's]³ magazine. The editor said he returned it because his readers wouldn't understand any meaning to it

Put it in Holland's [Scribner's]⁴

1. Written over an erasure.
2. Deleted: "my"
3. Inserted above "magazine" . Brackets are WW's.
4. Brackets are WW's.

First Paying.

Manuscript in LC (#39, sheet #77V). Inscribed in black pencil on faded white wove scrap approx. 4¼" x 6¾", torn off at bottom. Cancelled by slanting strokes. On recto draft for poem "Supplement Hours" (*LG*, 1892). Improbably related to "(I can call up." WW's handwriting is that of his later years; perhaps it was written fifteen years after 1866, that is, 1881.

First paying¹ my Washington friends² the affectionate regards I³ fervently hold⁴ & shall hold to my dying day—the⁵ vivid and peculiar⁶ memories of old—(how can any one who passed through those whirling⁷ ages condensed in⁸ five short⁹ years¹⁰ of Washington life¹¹ from 1860 to '66 ever forget them?)—skip-
ping lightly¹² over the 15

1. Deleted: "my" ; inserted above: "my"
2. Deleted: "my" "my" ; inserted: "the" above second "[del.] my"
3. Deleted: "really" ; inserted and deleted: "shall always" ; inserted above: "fervently"
above "[del.] really"
4. Deleted: "for years" ; brought down from above by WW's asterisks: "& shall hold to my
dying day—" . Redundant dash not printed.
5. Inserted.
6. Preceding four words inserted. Redundant dash not printed.
7. Inserted above "o" in "who"
8. Preceding four words inserted above "passes through those"
9. Inserted above "years"
10. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "of"
11. Inserted above wordspace between "Washington from"
12. Inserted above "over"

Outdoor Breaths.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on top-bound notebook leaf $5\frac{1}{2}$ " x $3\frac{9}{16}$ " with blue? rules $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart. Blue crayon line down leaf at left margin. This MS and two others on identical paper are unused drafts for "How I Get Around at Sixty and Take Notes," 2, *Critic*, April 9, 1881, a series which appeared from January to July, 1881 and in July, 1882 and was absorbed with changes into *SD*. "Some might think," which was originally pinned to the present MS, was used in the *Critic* with added date of April 4, 1881 but not in *SD*, and is reprinted in *Prose* 92, I, 119n. "There is no consecutiveness" is included here, as is "These notes are all diverted," which is also part of the group. Despite the date of April 4 in the *Critic* version of "some might think" WW was working on this material early in March (*Corr.*, III, 216).

Outdoor Breaths & Bits

—If my title is a little raspy¹ to² you reader dear,³ so much⁴ nearer is it⁵ the first taste of⁶ genuine shore and plain and breeze—but you soon get used to it. (The witty⁸ critic-writer, you must have heard of—apologizing for⁹ want of interest in a long¹⁰ review of a ponderous tome, announced as his reason and defence, that by so doing he gave the truest effect and rapport of the book under statement.)

I give this for contrast—not simitry—[?]¹¹
follow with prefatory from MS¹²

1. Deleted: "(even raw,)"
2. Inserted and deleted: "the" above "con" in "[del.] conventional" ; deleted: "conventional" ; inserted above "[del.] conventional"; "you"
3. Inserted above the wordspace "between "reader so"
4. Deleted: "the"
5. Preceding two words inserted above "the"
6. Deleted: "real" ; inserted above: "genuine"
7. Deleted: "Some" ; inserted: "The" above "me" in "[del.] some"
8. Deleted: "criticism" ; inserted in black ink: "critic-writer you must have heard of—" above "[del.] criticism" and "apologizing for"
9. Deleted: "his"; "prosing[?]"
10. Deleted: "ar"
11. Line in black ink.
12. Scrawled at bottom.

There Is No Consecutiveness.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil on top-bound notebook paper 5½" x 3⁹/₁₆" with blue? lines ¼" apart. A line along left margin in blue crayon. Like "Outdoor Breaths & Bits," which is on the same sort of paper, it is an unused draft for the *Critic* series, "How I Get Around at Sixty and Take Notes," 2. WW wrote this in the spring of 1881.

There is no consecutiveness in the dates. I take from¹ my notes, as they come, without² particular selection. all were pencilled in the open air and at the time and place

1. Written over {*illeg.*}
2. Deleted: "much"

These Notes Are All.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black ink on verso of letter dated February 7, 1879 on purple letterhead, 8½" x 5½", from James M. Scovel, one of WW's Camden friends. It appears to be part of an unused early draft of *SD*, like "Outdoor Breaths and "There is no consecutiveness." This probably was written in the early spring of 1881.

These notes are all diverted from their first purpose.¹ My plan was originally² to make a Nature-³poem, consecutive and intact, that should⁴ carry⁵ one's experiences⁶ for a few hours, commencing at noon-flush and so through the after-part, of the day,⁷ ending with night—(I suppose led to⁸ such idea by the fact that⁹ my¹⁰ own life's afternoon has arrived¹¹)— But I¹² find I can move with more ease¹³—indeed careless & slip-shod, which this piece avowedly is—by extracting verbatim¹⁴ from¹⁵ my fresh-written notes just mentioned at various times various seasons¹⁶—interspersing¹⁷ the¹⁸ verses composed¹⁹—and by *melanging* the whole thing—which I²⁰ now proceed to do.)²¹

1. Sentence inserted.
2. Inserted above "was to" and "m" in "make"
3. Inserted above "a poem"
4. Inserted and deleted: "merely" above "car" in "carry"
5. Deleted: "through the" ; inserted: "one's" above "[del.] the"
6. Deleted: "of one afternoon" "a half day" "fro" "beginning" ; inserted: "for a few hours," above "s" in "experiences" and "[del.] of one" ; "commencing" above "[del.] beginning"
7. Deleted: "and" [*WW omitted to delete comma after "after-part", not printed*]; inserted: "of the day," "[del.] and" above "of" in "part" and "[del.] "and"
8. Deleted: "the" ; inserted above: "such"
9. Inserted and deleted on two lines: "as LEAVES OF GRASS gives my forenoon" above "the fact that" ; deleted: "thi book represents"
10. Deleted: "own after" ; inserted: "own" above "[del.] after"
11. Preceding two words inserted above "afternoon"
12. Deleted: "found" ; inserted above: "find"
13. Deleted: "and fulness" ; inserted: "[*not printed*]"—[del.] probably—indeed careless slipshod which this piece avowedly is—" on two lines above "more ease" and [del.] and fulness"
14. Inserted "citing" in "extracting"
15. Deleted: "my" ; inserted: "the fresh-written" above the deletion and "notes"
16. Preceding five words and dash inserted above "ned" in "mentioned" and "interspersing" ; redundant dash not printed.
17. Deleted: "a" ; inserted: "the"
18. Deleted: "few afternoon"
19. Inserted in blue crayon above "rses" in "verses" and "—an" in "and"
20. Deleted: "this" ; inserted: "now" above "pr" in "proceeds"
21. Beginning of parenthesis not in MS.

Riddle (Rough Draft).

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheets # 683, 684). Inscribed in black ink on brown wove scrap pasted to a white scrap. Writing on both, but scraps have separated. On verso of white scrap fragment of an unrecorded letter from Ford Madox Brown acknowledging receipt of *LG* and *TR*, which he bought in 1876 (*DN*, I, 46). On the brown verso is the name and address of Rafe Leycester (or Laycaster), an Englishman, who also ordered books in 1876 (*ibid.*, I, 19, 26; *Corr.*, V, 305). Possibly WW was planning another volume. "Riddle," "To the Man-of-War Bird," and "As at Thy Portals Death" suggest a date in the late 1870s or early in 1880.

Riddle (rough draft)¹ Elias Hicks² Graphic Christmas Garland article³ Words Silver & Salmon Tint⁴ Gold & Lilac⁵ Ideal Heroes of the Poets⁶ Charge at Gettysburgh theme (Elias Hicks) [*illeg.*]⁷ Maize-Tassels Kindlings—Vestibules name "Leaves of Grass" *Christmas Garland* [*illeg.*]

1. Preceded by two deleted entries: "[*illeg.*] Center piece", "As at thy Portals Death" ("As at Thy Portals also Death" [1881]). The "rough draft" may be for "A Riddle Song" (1880).

2. *NB* (1888).

3. *N. Y. Daily Graphic* (Christmas, 1874).

4. *Ibid.* (November 29, 1873).

5. "Halls of Gold and Lilac," *ibid.*, November 24, 1873.

6. Deleted: "Man of War bird"

7. End brown scrap.

October Nights.

Manuscript in Berkeley. Inscribed in black pencil (last entry in blue crayon) on scrap of white wove paper, approx. $7\frac{1}{2}$ " x 7". The reference to commencing with October noon is obscure. The last entry is one of the various titles WW proposed for *SD*. Date is probably late 1870s or prior to publication of *SD*.

*October Nights*¹ As I commenced with October noon, let me finish with notes and a supplement of² October Nights. Years have elapsed, with varied changes, and experiences, travel, sickness, ups and downs—but the round of the seasons/
the Indian Summer of my life³
Gossip⁴ at⁵ Early Candle light⁶

1. In upper left corner on two lines above "As"
2. Preceding five words inserted above "sh" in "finish" and "with October"
3. Spaced at some distance below the preceding.
4. Deleted: "and notes"
5. Deleted: "Notes of"
6. Entry at foot of leaf.

On to Boston.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #345). Inscribed in black pencil on white laid scrap watermarked ". . . CORD" in open block capitals. Although most MS notes of WW's visit to Boston between August and October, 1881, are in LC #69, a few are in LC #73 and #79 as noted. The LC #69 MS are accompanied by an envelope postmarked October 19, addressed to WW at the Hotel Waterston, Bulfinch Pl., and inscribed by WW "Harbor Maps Boston" (black ink), "Boston Notes" (blue pencil), and on verso "Walt Whitman Boston 1881" (purple pencil). The maps are three balloon views of the areas between Provincetown and Boston, Boston Harbor, and Cape Ann to Boston, published by J. H. Daniels, 1879. WW made this trip to Boston to oversee the printing of *LG* (1881). He had visited Boston earlier in the same year to deliver his Lincoln lecture on April 15 (Allen, 491-492). Manuscript records are scanty. It is possible that some of the notes in LC #73 and #79 date from that visit, as indeed may some of those in LC #69, but all seem to be the result of the longer visit. The only identifiable souvenirs of the April visit are the notes in "Daybook" [195], *DN*, and five sketched heads in blue crayon on a single sheet by the Boston artist, Frank Hill Smith, inscribed in black ink (by Smith?) "Walt Whitman April 17 '81," reproduced as #58, Catalog 193, "Original Prints and Drawings," Howard S. Mott, Inc. (Sheffield, Mass., 1975), 25, and *WWR*, 21 (June, 1975), back cover.

Two MS from the second visit are in LC (Feinberg): "Diary Notes 26 September" (#275) commenting on the death of President Garfield, and "think of the glints we get" (#497), on "Hellenic" qualities in Boston. "Lafayette in Brooklyn" was written as a result of this visit. See also "If the following" for a Boston note used later.

on to Boston

Aug: 19 '81 — On from New York (8.05 a m train) to Boston, by the shore route.¹ Cloudy, damp day, pleasantly cool after the hot days past two weeks I specially enjoyed skirting the shore along the smells of sea air

1. Deleted: "am writing" . "I" not deleted, not printed.

WALT WHITMAN SOLDIER'S. Library of Congress, LC 99, pp. [1109-11121]. See pp. 603-604.

EPICLETUS. Library of Congress, LC 10o, p. [931. WW's use of the "164" code for Peter Doyle and his change of the pronoun "him" to "her." See p. 887.

EPICTETUS. Library of Congress, LC I 1o. P. -951. WW's use of the "164" code for Peter Doyle and his change of the pronoun "him" to "her." See pp. 888-889.

I Am Writing.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #348). Inscribed in black pencil on scrap of white laid paper, 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", watermarked ". . . INEN" in open block capitals. Written either en route to or returning from Boston.

I am writing this at Providence, where there is a long wait.

In Bloom.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #349). Inscribed in black pencil on white laid paper, 5³/₈" x 4", watermarked ". . . N RECO . . ." in open block capitals; obviously this is the same paper as that in "on to Boston" and "I am writing," the complete watermark probably being "LINEN RECORD." The density of the inscription is the same. All these scraps have pinholes, although, because they have been mounted, an overlay was impossible. Evidently written en route to Boston.

in bloom, plenty of sun-flowers, the¹ my favorite little yellow² colcopsis every where, pond-lilies, the gladiola,³ the blood-red cones of the sumach, golden rod, the white blossoms of the wild carrot, a profuse⁴ tall-growing weed with big rose-colored blossoms, beds of motley leaved coleas,⁵ fields of buckwheat in flower, the hickory and horse-chestnut with their ripening fruit

1. Deleted: "hart"[?]; inserted above "the [*del.*] hart yellow" : "my favorite little"
2. Deleted: "little"
3. Preceding two words inserted above "d" of "pond" and "lilies the"
4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
5. Preceding five words inserted above "blossoms fields"

Aug. 7. '81

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Inscribed in blue ink on white wove scrap, 2½" x 8". The actors referred to are Gustavo Modena (1803–1861), Tomasso Salvini (1829–1916) and Ernesto Rossi (1827–1896). In October, before leaving Boston, he saw Rossi, who was on an American tour in *Romeo and Juliet* (*Corr.*, III, 249).

Aug. 7. '81—How¹ deeply I was touched, just now,² reading in the account of the famed Italian tragedian and manager, Modena, that, he had succeeded in "founding a school of acting with *Liberty* as its Keystone³ and motto."⁴ With that inspiration he seems to have brought forward Salvini and Rossi.

1. Deleted: "much" ; inserted above: "deeply"

2. Deleted: "by"

3. Deleted: quotation marks

4. Deleted: "He" ; inserted: "With that inspiration he" above the deletion and "seems to have"

Aug: 20 '81.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #347). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, 7¼" x 4¾". Minor corrections in red ink, which WW seems to have used when correcting for the press. Although he published an account of this visit in the *Critic* (*Prose* 92, I, 76, 347-348), he did not include this material.

Aug: 20 '81—I am writing this on the Common. Traversing Tremont and other streets, I am continually noticing the shows of cut flowers in the windows, especially¹ lilies² & gladiolas &c.
—It is a cloudy day, coolish, the busy city in full action as I write (10 a m) with its hurrying crowds, the tinkling bells of the street-cars,

1. Inserted in red ink above "ws" in "windows" and "likes"

2. Deleted in red ink: "(many hues)"; inserted and deleted: "or"; inserted: "&" above "g" in "gladiolas"

Boston with Its Rich.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #341). Inscribed in black pencil on verso of letter of August 30, 1881 from John Boyle O'Reilly on letterhead of the Boston *Pilot*, a Catholic newspaper of which he was editor. O'Reilly withdraws a theatre invitation because he must go with his family to the White Mountains and returns the "Mulvaney Article." O'Reilly had been instrumental in bringing WW to Boston the preceding April to give his Lincoln lecture. The Mulvaney article is probably WW's "Custer's Last Rally," which had appeared in the NY *Tribune* August 15. John Mulvaney's painting had been shown in Boston and New York, where WW had seen it en route to Boston (*SD, Prose* 92, I, 275-276; Robert A. Taft, "The Pictorial Record of the Old West," IV, "Custer's Last Stand," *Kansas Hist Q*, 14 (November, 1946), 368-377). There are also a number of calling cards enclosed. First printed in Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 367.

Boston¹ with its² rich and varied shows of goods (every thing you can mention, and of the best,)³ and buyers and shoppers and countless⁴ human currents, of Tremont, Washington, Court, West, Winter and School streets, and Temple place; and then⁵ the solid commission and wholesale regions of Summer, Milk, Franklin and Bedford streets and Post Office square

With all its old people—and they are pretty numerous—Boston looks very young—take⁶ a walk Saturday evening, in some of the most frequented streets⁷ and you will see⁸ the brightest,⁹ handsomest, young men and women in the world, by hundred and¹⁰ thousands.¹¹ They are out for a promenade, for a change, at the end of the weeks¹² work. (But indeed¹³ I notice the same custom in most of our American cities.)

1. Written as a heading, but continuous with text. "Boston" is also written sideways in ink at upper left.

2. Deleted: "animated crowds and"

3. Parenthetical statement inserted above "goods shoppers"

4. Inserted above "and" and "hu" in "human"

5. Inserted above wordspace between "and the"

6. Preceding six words in larger hand comprise one indented line attached to "Boston" by an arrow.

7. Preceding seven words inserted above "walk and"

8. Deleted: "see"

9. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

10. Preceding two words inserted above "ld" in "world" and "by" and "thou" in "thousands"

11. Deleted: "and" . Preceding period probably corrected from comma.

12. Deleted: "daily"

13. Inserted above "but I "

The Swell Streets.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #353). Inscribed in black pencil on folded white wove paper, 7³/₁₆" x 4³/₁₆", which seems to be identical with that of "In[?] Boston" and "Boston Aug 28 '81," with very slight variations in size. All three have pinholes. First published in Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 367.

the swell streets [?] of Boston residences¹ are Beacon street and Commonwealth and Columbus avenues — All the wealth and progress of growing Boston spread out toward the Back Bay.— A great Park² is in process of formation here—will contain acres.

The old elms on the Common, especially³ edging Beacon Street, are in full vigor, though sedate and a little thin.

1. Inserted above "on" in "Boston" and "are"
2. Deleted: "a great" . The preceding seventeen words are inserted above "Park is in"
3. Inserted above "on" in "Common" and "edg" in "edging"

Retail Busy.

Manuscript in LC (#73, sheet #452). Inscribed in black pencil on tan wove scrap approx. 4" x 4". Although this, like "Face to the front," has been separated from the Boston MS, it refers to either of the 1881 trips. The street names, which are in columns, are all Bostonian. First printed by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 366.

retail busy [:] Court West Winter Temple Place School/
Summer
Jobbers [:] Milk Franklin Bedford
(Post office Square

Boston Street Cars.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #343). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, 5³/₈" x 4³/₈". WW's interest in horsecars is a little puzzling, for he must have been familiar with them since the 1850s. See "walk your horses," "Face to the front," "then on the red," "the horse-cars," and "Boston Aug 28." First printed by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 366.

Boston Street Cars¹/

Boston Aug 22 '81

I often ride out fine afternoons in the Harvard Square open cars, through Cambridge street² across the long stretch of the back ?³ bay, and so on to the end ? , four miles.

The whole route, a lively and varied contribution—⁴the sniffs of salt and sedge from the bay, the half-rural dwellings, the plentiful shrubbery & fine elms, the fine old mansions of Cambridge and the College buildings

1. In red ink at upper left on a diagonal before "Boston" and "I often"
2. Preceding three words inserted above "re" in "square" and "across"
3. Question mark above "back."
4. Word and dash inserted above "ried" in "varied" and "—the"

“Walk Your Horses.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #351). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, 2½" x 4". First printed by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 366.

“walk your horses on curves & switches”

“no talking with the driver”

“do not get off this car while in motion”

Face to the Front.

Manuscript in LC (#73, sheet #453). Inscribed in black pencil, except for the last entry in blue, on brown wove paper, 7¼" x 4". Lines across leaf. The last entry is probably WW's impressionistic attempt to note down Chinese names. There are in fact three laundries of similar names in the 1881 Boston Directory: Fong Kee, Kee Hop, Kee Sing. See "In [?] Boston." First printed by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 366.

Face to the front when you get off this car/
Marching through Georgia/
John Brown's Body/¹
tong-tong & kee-kee

1. Rule across leaf.

Then on the Red.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #350). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, 7¼" x 4¼". See "Boston Street Cars." First printed by Furness, *NEQ*, I, 366.

Then on the red¹

!

in, out and around—turning angles and curves—not long² monotonous straight lines like Washington or Philadelphia

1. Furness, *NEQ*, I, 366, adds "cars."

2. Deleted: "stretches"

—The Horse-Cars.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #344). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, 4¼" x 4¾". See "Boston Street Cars." First printed by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 366.

—The horse-cars form one of the great institutions and puzzles of Boston. I ride in them every day—of course get in the open ones—go¹ out to Harvard Square often

1. Deleted: "to"

In{?} Boston.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #354). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, 7¼" x 4¼", which matches "Boston Aug 28 '81" and "the swell streets." WW deleted "Slam Bang" after "Liu Foo," possibly as too gross a parody. None of the sixty-seven Chinese laundries in the 1881 Directory bears these names. See "Face to the front." The Chinese professor was Ko Kun-hua, language instructor from 1879 to 1882. First printed by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 367.

In{?} Boston

There is quite¹ an irruption of Chinese, a mostly running laundries. You see their signs, Chi Wang, or Liu Foo,² Ah Duee, or the like, every few blocks³

I saw the Chinese professor at Cambridge, dressed in his native costume, walking about the streets.

1. Deleted: "a plentiful [*illeg.*]"

2. Deleted: "or Slam Bang"

3. Preceding eight words inserted by a line from the foot of the leaf.

Boston '81.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #355). Inscribed in black pencil on a faded white wove scrap. Left edge appears to have been trimmed after inscription. WW had set up headquarters at Ticknor and Osgood, but moved to Rand and Avery's on August 22. See "*All about a proof reader.*"

Boston '81

Aug 23—In the printing office (Rand & Avery, 117 Franklin street) most of the day. I have, nearly altogether to myself¹ a nice little room, with table and big chair; and the constant kindness of Mr. Clark who has charge of the book-printing department, and whom I find invaluable in his experience, suggestions² good nature and patience

1. Preceding four words inserted above "have a nice little"

2. Deleted: "and [*illeg.*]"

Aug 24 '81.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #356). Inscribed in black pencil on faded white wove scrap, 4" x 4½". Lightly emended. First printed by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 368.

Aug 24 '81—The first batch of page-proofs of the new volume, to-day. We are compacting the space,¹ no white lines or padding, or dashes or leads—all solid matter—all run in. I like the type, long-primer

1. Deleted: "solid type"

Boston Aug 28 '81.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #352). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove faded scrap, 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{16}$ ", which matches that of "the swell streets" and "In[?] Boston." First paragraph published by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 366, and the second paragraph, *ibid.*, 367.

Boston Aug 28 '81

The ride out on the Cambridge cars, upon the broad and stately North Avenue, with its old elms and¹ pleasant mansions, embowered in shrubs² and vines.

Brookline is hard to match in its rural beauty, maturity,³ its great second growth of trees, its picturesque winding roads, everywhere well-kept,⁴ hard and smooth

1. Deleted: "for[?]"
2. Deleted: "and [*illeg.*]"
3. Deleted: "the rolling" ; inserted: "its" above "[*del.*] the"
4. Deleted: "and"

All This While.

Manuscript in LC (#91, sheets #242-243). Inscribed in black pencil on folded sheet of white laid paper, 8¼" x 4⅞". Watermark "RAND AVERY & Co BOSTON," with openfaced small caps. The paper seems to be identical with that of "*All about a proof reader*," which was also written in Boston.

WW had met and liked the then-Congressman James A. Garfield in January, 1864. Pete Doyle recalled Garfield's fondness for hailing WW on the street with the cry, "After all not to create only" (this hail would have been used after 1871) and buttonholing him for a talk. Garfield was shot July 2, 1881, six months after his inauguration as president and died September 19. WW also wrote "The Sobbing of the Bells" (*Boston Globe*, September 27), which was reprinted in *The Poets' Tribute to Garfield* (Cambridge, Mass., 1881) and collected in *LG* (1881). Since Garfield was moved from Washington to his summer home at Elberon, on the New Jersey coast, on September 6, this note must have been written before that date.

All this while (Aug

the silent, clouded half-light through which almost¹ every thing else is seen, is the condition of President Garfield² lying low on his bed, there at the White House,³ with death lurking stealthily⁴ nigh,⁵ and sometimes almost showing his grisly visage—⁶ while⁷ as gallant a⁸ struggle as was ever made against him⁹ is¹⁰ dauntlessly kept up day and night¹¹ by the surgeons and doctors, to say nothing of the splendid endurance of the patient himself.

¹² Besides the personal and technically political¹³ points of this whole affair, I¹⁴ often think of it in its bearings upon the American people, the whole fifty {2}

1. Inserted above "every"

2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

3. Preceding five words and comma inserted above "low with"

4. Inserted; deleted under: "near"

5. Deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted above: "and"

6. Deleted: "at there at the White House" . Dash not deleted, not shown here.

7. Deleted: "the most" ; inserted: "as" above "most"

8. Inserted above word-space between "gallant" and "struggle"

9. Preceding two words inserted above "made is"

10. Deleted: "carried maintained"

11. Preceding three words inserted above "sly" in "dauntlessly" and "kept up"

12. Deleted: "I am"

13. Deleted: "bearings" ; inserted above: "points"

14. Deleted: "am" ; inserted above: "often"

millions of them—giving them a common¹⁵ centre, essentially human, eligible to all, where they can all and each agree, and where the warmest and best emotions of the heart¹⁶ are identified with abstract patriotism, union, nationality, and made one.

15. Deleted: “point and”

16. Preceding three words inserted above “otions” in “emotions” and “are”

Boston Art Museum.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #346V). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, 3¼" x 4⅝". Lightly emended. The Museum had been opened only in 1876. The statue is shown in William Ellery Curtis, *Christopher Columbus. His Portraits and Monuments*, Part II, (Chicago, 1893), 46. Monteverde's dates are 1837–1917.

Boston Art Museum

Sept 7 '81 Statue

first inspirations of Columbus (Giulio Monteverde Rome 1871,¹ (youth of 18, the pedestal a strong bulwark post—the figure, a youth of 18, sitting, bending, ruminating² with one leg crossed over the other, *with hands clasped, and one foot in a big hanging ring.*

1. Heading inscribed in a somewhat random fashion.

2. Written over [*illeg.*] ; deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted above: "with"

Sept '81.

Manuscript in Duke (49, #34). Inscribed in black ink and blue crayon, as noted, on two pasted-together scraps of white paper (top very soiled), with pink scrap pasted on. All pasted on backing-sheet (by a bookseller?). Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Two MS clippings annotated by WW from the Toledo (Ohio) *Journal*, June, 1882 of a favorable review of *LG* (1881), and "A Poet's Supper to his Printers and Proof Readers," Boston *Daily Advertiser*, October, 1881, are included. First printed *FC & I*, 54-55.

Sept '81¹/ Copy of *Leaves of Grass* Set up, Cast, & printed Boston Aug: 22-Sept: 29-'1881 at office of² (1881)/
Henry H Clark³/
superintendent Book Department/
J R Osgood & Co: 211 Tremont st: publishers of book/
(it is to be \$2 retail—& I am to have 25cts a copy royalty)/
I was in Boston from Aug: 19 to Oct⁴ /
Dan Rogers—the boy messenger/
boarding place, Mrs. Moffitt's, Hotel Waterston 8 Bulfinch place

1. Across upper left corner in blue crayon.
2. Printed address on a pasted-on pink scrap: "RAND, AVERY & CO/PRINTERS No. 117 Franklin St. BOSTON.
3. For Clark see: "all about a proof reader." In right margin in black ink: "(1881)"
4. WW left Boston on October 22.

'81 ('Leaves of Grass').

Manuscript in Duke. [1] is Trent *Cat.*, 44, #17, inscribed in blue ink with emendations in black ink and red ink on gray wove paper, torn at bottom, approx. 8 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". [2] is listed as a separate item in Trent *Cat.*, 44, #15. It is inscribed in black ink on gray wove paper approx. 7" x 6". Although Miss Frey evidently considered them to be separate MS, they seem to belong together. With [1] are two clippings, one an interview with WW in the Boston *Globe*, August 24, 1881, in which he advances the claim that *LG* (1881) is the *LG* which he had in mind from the beginning. The other is an undated editorial from the NY *Tribune* commenting on WW's visit to Boston and warmly praising his poetic integrity. A version of [1] and [2] with different emendations is in Berkeley. (Inscribed in black pencil on two leaves of a top-bound pocket notebook, approx. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ " x 3 $\frac{15}{16}$ ", blue rules $\frac{5}{8}$ " apart, edges of paper dark red. This is possibly the actual version WW wrote in the railway station.) The date is 1881. First printed *WDC*, 60-62.

'81 ('Leaves of Grass' finished)¹

Boston, Oct. 22, '81.² 8.30 a. m.—I am³ pencilling this in the N. E. and N. Y. depot, foot of Summer⁴ street, waiting to start west in the 9 o'clock train. Have been in Boston the last two months seeing to⁵ the "materialization" of my completed "Leaves of Grass"⁶—first deciding on the kind of type, size of page, head-lines, consecutive arrangement of pieces, &c;⁷ then the composition, proof-reading, electrotyping, &c. which⁸ all went on smoothly, and with sufficient rapidity. Indeed I quite enjoyed the work,⁹ (have felt the last few days as though I should¹⁰ like to shoulder¹¹ a similar job once or twice every year.) The printing

1. Text in blue ink. Parenthetical loop in red ink. Date in black above.

2. Year and period inserted.

3. Deleted in blue ink: "writing" ; inserted above in blue: "pencilling"

4. Capitalized over lowercase.

5. Deleted in black ink: "the" ; inserted in black ink: 'the "materialization" of' above "ing" in "seeing . . . my"

6. Deleted in black ink: "at last" . WW did not delete dash after "Grass"

7. Deleted in blue ink: "Then" ; inserted above in blue ink: "then" ; inserted and deleted in blue ink: "following" above "the co" (in "composition").

8. Preceding two words inserted in black ink above "ing" in "electrotyping," and "all"

9. Deleted in blue ink: "and" ; inserted above in blue ink: "(have"

10. Deleted in black ink: "well"

11. Preceding two words inserted in black ink above "ke" in "like" and "a sim" (in "similar").

office, Rand & Avery's,¹² is a fine one, and I had the very genial and competent aid throughout of Henry¹³ H Clark, principal proofreader {?} and book-superintendent [*illeg.*] concern{?} [2]¹⁴ And so I have put¹⁵ those completed¹⁶ poems in¹⁷ their permanent type-form at last. And of¹⁸ the present prose volume—are not¹⁹ all²⁰ its items—(“ducks and drakes” as the boys term²¹ the little pebble-flats²² they²³ send at random, to skip²⁴ over the surface of the water, and²⁵ sink in its depths)—is not,²⁶ the preceding fitful collection mainly²⁷ an attempt²⁸ at specimen samples of the bases and²⁹ arrieres³⁰ of those same³¹ poems? often unwitting to myself at the time.

12. *WDC*, 61, has “[corner Franklin and Federal streets]”

13. Deleted in blue: “N.” ; inseted in blue: “H”

14. In red ink above first words: “(run in)” . Deleted in black ink: “So” “I” ; inserted above in black ink: “And so I”

15. Deleted: “the” ; inserted above: “those”

16. Deleted: “‘Leaves’ ” ; inserted above in black ink: “poems”

17. Deleted: “the” ; inserted above: “their”

18. Deleted: “this” ; inserted: “the present” above “prose”

19. Preceding six words and deletions inserted above “at last. [*del.*] Are all [*del.*] the”. Deleted: “Are” ; inserted and deleted: “not” above “all”

20. Deleted: “the preceding” ; inserted: “its” above “ing” in the deleted word.

21. Deleted: “those loose pebbles and” ; inserted: “the little” above “[*del.*] those loose”

22. Deleted: “flakes” ; inserted above: “flats”

23. Deleted: “throw” ; inserted above: “send”

24. Deleted: “and”

25. Deleted: “fall” ; inserted above: “sink”

26. Deleted: “this whole [*ins.*] preceding” ; inserted above the lines: “the preceding” following “[*del.*] preceding”

27. Inserted above “an”

28. Deleted: “to resume in a sort, some samples at any rate” ; inserted: “at some [*del.*] specimen samples” above “[*del.*] at any rate” and “of the”

29. Deleted: “origins of primary atmospheres”

30. Inserted. above “of” and “th” in “those” . Inserted and deleted: “often unwitting to myself at” above “of those . . . often”

31. Inserted above “se” in “those”

NY Mott Haven.

Manuscript in Duke (49, #34). Inscribed in black pencil with black ink emendations, on white paper, 13¼" x 3⅞", with blue lines approx. ¼" apart. Pasted to mount. First printed *FC&I*, 55.

NY Mott Haven¹

Nov 3 '81

I am writing this at Mott Haven station, waiting for the downward cars—going² back to Camden, after³ an absence of three months. The last twelve days,⁴ stopping at the hospitable house of Mr. and Mrs. J H J. here,—⁵ having an easy & restful time.⁶

1. On the Harlem River, the summer home of his friends, J. H. Johnson, a jeweler, and his wife. He had stayed with them early in August en route to Boston as well as with an unidentified Edgar Smith, a secretary. "Daybook" [249ff], *D*.

2. Deleted in black ink: "home" ; inserted above in black ink: "back"

3. Deleted in black ink: "an" ; inserted and deleted in black ink above: "my" ; inserted in black ink: "an" before [*del.*] my"

4. Comma inserted in black ink; deleted in black ink: "I have been"

5. Deleted in pencil: "taking"

6. Deleted in black ink: "Sent 'My Long Island Antecedents' to North American Review. Just read a most live, [*del.*] and affectionate, and [*del.*] *dr* criticism on the new L of G. in last Sunday's Boston *Herald* by "Sylvan." WW's article was apparently rejected. The review by Sylvester Baxter, appeared in the *Herald*, October 30, 1881.

All About a Proof Reader.

Manuscript in LC (#69, sheet #s 357, 358, 342, 343, #79, sheet 378). Paper described in notes. Inscribed in black ink with insertions and corrections in black ink or blue pencil as noted. Since the verso of [342] is, in part, a letter to WW dated November 4, part or all of this essay must have been written after he left Boston about the middle of October. See "Boston '81 Aug 23." First published by Furness, *NEQ*, 1, 368-369.

[357R] *All about a proof reader.*¹

I have the good luck, here in the printing-office to fall in the hands of Henry H Clark,² for the³ putting my "copy" through⁴ all the steps and stages that result at last in the⁵ finished, and bound book, ready for all purchasers, at so much a copy. Mr C. is quite a veteran at making books⁶—not the mental or spiritual, but the concrete, the typography of them I mean,—which is much more important and difficult than is⁷ generally supposed

[738R]⁸ For many years⁹ Mr C. was principal proof-reader, and afterward¹⁰ in charge of book-department for such¹¹ establishments as Riverside Press, Cambridge,¹² and of late years here¹³ at Rand and Avery's. Was proof-reader in the Government printing office at Washington [358R]¹⁴ Mr Clark has had to do

1. White laid paper, 8¼" x 5⅞"; watermarked "Rand Avery & Co Boston" in open face capitals. Identical paper used for [358] and "All this while." Title in blue ink. Verso blank.

2. Name in blue ink.

3. Deleted by horizontal and two vertical strokes: "arrangement, [*del.*] management [*ins. and del.*] composition, proofs, and all relating to all the stages between [*del.*] of [*ins.*]"

4. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "all the" above "gh" in "through" and the deletion.

5. Deleted: "completed"

6. Deleted: "the" ; inserted in blue pencil: "—not the . . . concrete, the" above the deletion and "typography . . . e"

7. Inserted in blue ink above "g" in "generally"

8. LC #79, item #338R; inscribed in black ink on a small white scrap with faint 3/16" quadrilling. Verso blank. This scrap, like several others relating to the second Boston visit of 1881, has drifted from LC #69 to another item in LC. It is clearly related to the LC #69 material and fits (although not inevitably) at this place.

9. Deleted: "he ha" ; inserted above in blue ink: "Mr. C."

10. Deleted: "book"

11. Deleted: "offices" ; inserted above: "establishments"

12. Deleted: dash.

13. Inserted in blue ink above word-space between "years . . . at"

14. Paper identical with [357R]. Verso blank. Deleted: "He"; inserted in blue ink: "Mr. Clark" above "has"

with all the distinguished authors of New England, and has been in quite¹⁵ intimate personal relations with many of them; sometimes^{15a} for instance in his printing office¹⁶ room Emerson, Longfellow, Mrs. Stowe, and Lowell, being present. If the first-named had heard the half-hour's string¹⁷ of respectful and printerial and personal items about himself¹⁸ told me¹⁹ by Mr C., ending with²⁰ an affectionate eulogium of E. as a man among men, I think he would have felt more refreshed²¹ than at all the more literary admiration [*illeg.*] day[?]²²

[342, 343a and b]²³ All this, not only to²⁴ show my obligation to Henry Clark, but in some sort, as a tribute to all proof-readers every where—²⁵to a class of men, seldom mentioned, but to whom all²⁶ the hundreds of writers, and all the millions of readers, are unspeakably²⁷ indebted. More than²⁸ one literary reputation, if not made is certainly saved, by no less a person than a good proof-reader. The²⁹ public, that sees these³⁰ neat,³¹ consecutive, fair-printed books on³² counters or³³ centre-tables, little knows³⁴ the mass of³⁵ chaos,³⁶ bad spelling and grammar, frightful (corrected) excesses or balks³⁷ or hiatuses, and frequent messes of illegibility, and tautology³⁸—out of which they have been extricated[?]³⁹

15. Inserted in blue above "intim" in "intimate"

15a. Inserted above "for"

16. Preceding two words inserted in blue ink above "his . . . room"

17. Deleted: "personal item and printing house" ; inserted in blue: "respectful and printerial and personal" above "[*del.*] printing house" and "thems"

18. Preceding two words inserted in blue ink above "told me"

19. Deleted: "about himself"

20. Deleted: "the respectful and" ; inserted: "an" after deleted "the"

21. Deleted: "that"

22. Lower right corner torn off.

23. Three scraps pasted together: 1)[342R], verso of request for autograph dated Nov 4, 1881. 2)[343aR], (3) [343bR] Rand and Avery laid paper as in [1] and [3]. Blank verso.

24. Deleted: "repay" ; inserted in blue ink: "show" above "ay" in "repay"

25. Preceding five words inserted in blue ink above "at a tribute . . . to a"

26. Deleted: "the moral and world of thought[?, *paper torn*] and all the best range of all literary people and all[?] the readers a [*preceding seven words previously del.*]" ; inserted in blue ink: "all" above wordspace between "whom . . . [*del.*] the"

27. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

28. Beginning of [343a]. Inscription is darker, possibly because the paper has an absorbent texture, there being show-through from verso.

29. Inserted above wordspace between "-reader . . . public"

30. Beginning of [342b].

31. Deleted: "and consecutive and"

32. Deleted: "the"

33. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

34. Deleted: "kn, recks of" ; inserted: "knows" above "[*del.*] racks"

35. Deleted: "c"

36. Deleted: "and bad sp"

37. Preceding two words inserted in blue ink above "ses" in "excesses"

38. Preceding two words inserted in blue ink above "lity" in "ability" and "out"

39. Bottom of leaf torn.

Among My Special.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in black ink on two scraps of white wove paper (that describing Kennedy is ca. 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 5") pasted on a larger sheet. Description of Kennedy in column. On backing sheet a note in Kennedy's hand: "[Found among the papers of Walt Whitman by Horace Traubel, one of his executors. It is in Whitman's handwriting, & was written in 1881. Given to me by Traubel at the dinner in Boston of the Walt Whitman Fellowship Association on Walt's birthday, May 31. 1896, at Hotel Bellevue.]" Kennedy (1850–1929), a literary journalist and man of letters, wrote biographies of Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Burroughs, as well as *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman* (1896) and *Fight of a Book for the World* (1926). Although he was from Massachusetts, he had met WW in 1880 while he was on the staff of the *Saturday Evening Post* in Philadelphia. In "A Study of Whitman" (*The Californian*, February, 1881) he had objected to the sexual parts of *LG* (Allen, 490–491). WW found his later treatment more satisfactory ("I suggest inquiringly.") He submitted the MS to WW in August, 1886 (*Corr.*, IV, 40). WW did not rewrite it as extensively as he did Bucke's *Walt Whitman* (if this and the following MSS are adequate evidence), but he obviously wanted to supervise what was said about him. First printed *FC&I*, 64. Probably written in the early 1880s.

Among my special [*illeg.*] young men *littérateur* friends are W S Kennedy 7 Waterhouse street Cambridge, Mass: A young college chap— —Greek, Latin &c— —Accepts L of G,—yet bolts at the sexual part— —*but I consider Kennedy as a real & ardent friend both of self & book*

So Long.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13, W. S. Kennedy Scrapbook). Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap, approx. 2½" x 4". Blue rules ⅜" apart. Cf. "So Long" (1860), but the very unsteady writing suggests a much later date. Kennedy must have received it from WW after 1880. First printed by Kennedy, *The Fight of a Book for the World* (West Yarmouth, Mass., 1926), 110.

So long, a salutation of departure, greatly used among sailors, sports, & prostitutes—¹ the sense of it is—*'till we meet again*—conveying an inference that somewhere,² some how, they³ will doubtless⁴ so meet,—sooner or later

1. Preceding eleven words and two terminal dashes written on three lines at the top and inserted by a caret. Redundant terminal dash not shown.

2. Deleted: "some how" ; inserted above: "some now"

3. Deleted: "shall"

4. Inserted above "will so"

How Would It Do.

Manuscript in LC (#73, sheet #429). Inscribed in black ink, blue crayon and red ink on white wove letter paper. On verso, letter from the Century Club, in NY, requesting a receipt for payment, dated December 29, 1880. The suggestions are inscribed down the leaf as separate entries. The last entry was probably written first, after which WW turned the paper around and began listing titles. See the group of MS below devoted to Words. The date is 1881 or after.

How would it do to make the subject of the piece

Names and Slang¹

About Names

*and Slang*²

merely ?³ (not words & langage—at least not much)⁴

Names and Slang

*in America*⁵

*Names & Slang*⁶ in

*America*⁷

1881 outsetting⁸

We talk of 1881 the just-begun year

1. Inserted in red ink.
2. Set up in two lines as a title. Original first word deleted: "gossip" ; "about" capitalized.
3. New entry.
4. Parenthesized words written in four lines at right.
5. New entry. On small pasted-on slip. Marked by fist in blue crayon at left.
6. Preceding two words inserted above "es" in "Names" and "in"
7. Entry marked by fist in blue crayon at left.
8. This and following line are in black pencil at bottom of the leaf written upside down.

Self-Memoranda.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #686 R and V). Inscribed on verso of a business card of Boston Stereotype Foundry, Boston. Set up as a title head, main title in ink, subtitle in pencil. The Boston Stereotype Foundry printed *LG* (1860), but the writing and the conscious use of garrulity indicate a date in the 1880s. Cf. "After the Supper and Talk" (1887) and "Sounds of the Winter" (1891).

Self-Memoranda

In Three Garrulous letters to a
friend.—Letter 1

Though The Spare Hours.

Manuscript in LC (#71, sheet #377). Inscribed in black ink on verso of book order from Chicopee Falls, Mass., June 10, 1884. These notes are accompanied by MS copies of three of Burns' poems, only "O Whistle and I'll Come to You" being in WW's hand. There are also seven newspaper clippings about Burns, dating from March 25, 1836 to August 9, 1890. Although "Robert Burns as Poet and Person" was published in the *Critic*, December 16, 1882, WW revised and expanded it for *Democratic Vistas and Other Papers* (London, 1888) and the *North American Review* (November, 1886). These notes are probably unused notes for this revision or perhaps for a later one.

Though the spare hours of¹ his young life² were mostly occupied "in making love to rustic maids, where his big black eyes could come in to play," he seems to have read the following-named books diligently, most of them before he was 21 years of age: Life of Hannibal History of Sir William Wallace Derham's Physics and Theology Stackhouse's History of the Bible³ Adventures of Telemachus French Dictionary⁴ Shakspeare Pope's Homer Spectator Allan Ramsay

And along not much later: Blair's Sermons Robertson's History of Scotland Hume's History of the Stewarts Idler . . . Adventurer Mirror . . . Lounger Observer . . . Chrysal Man of the world Man of Feeling⁵ Don Quixotte Joseph Andrews Fergusson's Poems Zeluco

1. Preceding four words inserted above "gh" in "through" and "his young"
2. Deleted: "was" ; inserted above: "were"
3. Deleted: "Telemach"
4. End of first column.
5. End of first column.

(Burns) His Worldly.

Manuscript in LC (#71, sheet #378). Inscribed in purple crayon on page from a commercially produced, top-bound notebook, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ ". The date is in the 1880s.

(Burns)

his worldly and poetical fortunes were mainly dependent on *patrons*, (such as the Earl of Glencairn and others)—(following in that respect¹ those examples of the British² authorship of the preceding two centuries, even Shakspeare's³—(⁴ which hang and dangle all over the sumptuous literature⁵ of⁶ those times, a profusion of obsequious and flunkey tasselage) a curious enough⁷ feature especially to the modern and American eyes the same sort{?} of fulsome and{?} [*illeg.*]) quite{?} as{?} in Burn's letter, &c.)

1. Preceding three words inserted above.
2. Inserted above.
3. Deleted: "and giving to the [*illeg.*]"
4. Deleted: "and hanging the" ; inserted above: "which hang and dangle"
5. Deleted: "ature of those ages"
6. Deleted: "Britain" ; inserted: "those times"
7. Inserted above. The remainder of the text is almost illegible.

(Burns) "God Knows.

Manuscript in LC (#71, sheet #379). Inscribed in black ink and black pencil. On verso in childish hand, in pencil: "thomas M. Morris son of Gorge B Morris" . The date is in the 1880s.

(Burns)¹

"God Knows I am no saint," he says in one of his off-hand letters to a friend, "I have a whole host of follies and sins to answer for; but if I could—and I believe I do it, as far as I can—I would wipe away all tears from all eyes." letter to Mr. Hill bookseller²

1. Loop around name.
2. Preceding six words in pencil.

It Will Seem Strange.

Manuscript in LC (#71, sheet #380). Inscribed in purple crayon on brown wove paper, 9⁵/₈" x 6³/₁₆". The date is in the 1880s.

It will seem strange, at first, to be [*illeg.*]¹

Still it is² unquestionably[?] true, that what was the broad and³ inclusive object of Rabelais—⁴celebrating, even glorifying⁵ the animal appetites, lusts, bibulousness—is, though he has much else⁶ the⁷ principal underlying, (doubtless natural, involuntary)⁸ impetus of Robert Burns

1. Right corner torn.
2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
3. Deleted: "declared theme" ; inserted above: "inclusive object"
4. Deleted: "the"
5. Written over: "glorification" ; deleted: "of"
6. Preceding five words inserted above "lusts . . .—is"
7. Deleted: "largest" ; inserted above: "principal"
8. Parenthetical statement inserted above "underlying . . . of"

(Burns.

Manuscript in LC (#71, sheet #381). Inscribed in red ink, black ink, and purple crayon on brown wove paper, approx. 7¼" x 6⁵/₁₆". The date is in the 1880s.

(Burns

the simple¹ incident of² his first acquaintance with Jean Armour, afterward Mrs Burns³—(then “a sonsie lass” of seventeen, who “lived next door at the Cowgate”)—⁴ as told by herself many years afterward, is⁵ a characteristic one of B’s whole life and manners: “His dog had scampered across her linen-webs on the bleaching green, and he apologised so handsomely (“the sleest pawkie thief”)—phrase of B’s⁶ that she took another look at him.”

1. Inserted above “the in” in “incident”.
2. Preceding two words inserted above.
3. Preceding three words inserted above “Armour . . . by”
4. Parenthetical phrase and dashes inserted in red ink. Parentheses in purple crayon.
5. Deleted: “[*illeg.*] about a representative”
6. Preceding seven words and parentheses inserted, by asterisks, from foot of the leaf.

Plato Said.

Manuscript in LC (#71, sheet #382). Inscribed in black pencil on yellow-brown wove paper, approx. 6¼" x 7¼". The date is in the 1880s.

Plato said, long ago,¹ that² a touch of insanity was required to complete the poet.³ Consistent admirers of Burns,⁴ I discover, find his crowning merit in⁵ that element⁶ of disease and inflammation⁷ with which his whole vigorous nature was entwined.

1. Preceding two words and comma inserted above.
2. Deleted: "that the"
3. Deleted: "The" ; "C" written over "c"
4. Deleted: "will" ; inserted above: "I discover,"
5. Deleted: "his the" ; inserted above: "that"
6. "t" written over [*illeg.*]
7. Deleted: "wh"

Burns Says.

Manuscript in LC (#71, sheet #383). Inscribed in purple crayon on a brown wove scrap, approx. 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The date is in the 1880s (?).

Burns says in one of his letters to Thompson: "All my earlier love-songs were the breathings of ardent passion—and though it might have been easy in after-times to have given them a polish, yet that polish, to me, whose they were, and who perhaps alone cared for them, would have defaced the legend of my heart, which was so faithfully inscribed on them. Their uncouth simplicity was, as they say of wines their *race*."

Burns Unused{?}.

Manuscript in LC (#71, sheet #384). Inscribed in purple crayon and blue crayon with emendations in red ink on a brown wove scrap, approx. 6³/₈" x 6³/₁₆". The date is June 1890.

Burns

unused{?}

June 89¹

even his platitudes have a special dash in them,² "Little does the fond mother think," he writes in a letter, as she hangs delighted over *the sweet little leech at her bosom*, where the poor fellow may³ hereafter wander, or what may be his fate.⁴

1. Preceding four words in blue crayon.
2. Deleted in red ink: colon, parenthesis; comma inserted in red ink.
3. Deleted in red ink: "after"
4. Parenthesis deleted in red ink.

—Perhaps Even Bequeathing.

Manuscript in Texas. Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap, $3\frac{1}{2}$ " x 5". Blue lines $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. The writing suggests a late date.

—perhaps even bequeathing a doubled stimulus to the subtler national soil & strata—a sort of moral potassium—to be evidenced, a long time to come,

If the Following Presents.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #741). Inscribed in black pencil on a gray-brown scrap. In another hand on verso: "Mr. J. C. Jourdain, 6 Peabody St. Ward 22 next street to Francis St. Roxbury Boston." Endorsed at left by WW, "189 to 194 inclusive ." At right, "call'd on me at the printing office Boston Sept. '81 ." The date is after 1881.

If the following¹

presents the favorable side, I² admit³ in advance that I am an admirer,⁴ while aware

1. Deleted: "letter"
2. Deleted: "would"
3. Deleted: "seeing"
4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

Excerpts &c Strike.

Manuscript in Duke (70). Inscribed in red ink on white laid scrap (proof paper?), $3\frac{5}{8}$ " x $3\frac{3}{4}$ ". The date is before 1882. First printed *FC&I*, 67.

Excerpts &c Strike & Tramp question

(Fo Tramp & Strike).

Manuscript in Duke (70). Inscribed in black pencil on white laid scrap, approx. 4½" x 7½". The date is before 1882. First printed *FC&I*, 67.

(fo tramp & Strike)¹

I find a large class of our talkers & writers,² probably the largest class, always taking for granted that plenty of active manufactures, plenty of money and foreign markets,³ and a demand by⁴ factories, stores, &c. for millions of employés,⁵ are the crowning result and triumph of a nation

1. Curved line, left, below and right.
2. Deleted: "always"
3. Deleted: "dem"
4. Deleted: "th"
5. Second "e" in last syllable deleted; deleted: "form the varied by"

Tramps.

Manuscript in Duke (70). Inscribed in black ink on a white laid scrap, approx. 3⁵/₁₆" x 8". On verso is a cancelled draft of letter to an unidentified bookbinder (Oldach?).

Tramps

I shall only be too happy if these¹ black prophecies & fears can be attributed, (as of course they will be,) to my old age and sickness & a growling temper

1. Deleted: "gloomy"

In America the Dangers.

Manuscript in Duke (70). Inscribed in black pencil with black ink emendations on a white wove scrap, approx. $3\frac{3}{16}$ " x $4\frac{5}{8}$ ". Pasted below text are two clippings: *Philadelphia Chronicle*, August 28, 1878, deploring "the perniciousness of the trade union principle," and a reprinted item from the *NY Sun*, January 1881, deploring the tendency of the population to gather in great cities. The date is 1881 or later. First printed *FC&I*, 67.

In America the dangers are, (or shall I say, have been?) from the existence of Slavery¹ Slaves, owning nothing, & from the huge collections of² ignorant &³ non-owning persons, generally immigrants, in the great cities

1. Inserted in black ink: "[*illeg. del.*] Slaves, owning nothing"
2. Deleted: "po"
3. Deleted in black ink: "homeless"

Tramp & Strike Question.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil on scrap of top-bound notebook paper $3\frac{3}{8}$ " across. Blue rules $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart. Fists at the left point to the last two entries. Transcript does not note emendations. The date is before 1882.

Tramp & Strike question

The most important bearings of this questo on the fact that humanity in the U S is being divided merged more and more definitely into two marked divisions, the vast masses of employed persons, poor, ignorant, desperate, & dissatisfied/

& the luxurious rich describe them without gloves/

The class, middle class, American men, good stock—are growing less and less.

The Tramp & Strike Question.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in pencil on a white wove scrap. The transcript does not note emendations. The date is before 1882.

The tramp & strike question

The U S are confessedly the constructors of the most wonderful, massive, ingenious & perfect steam engines, locomotives, & trip hammers, The great International exhibitions of the last 25 years hav proved

—But all the steam engines in the world will not make up for deterioration

—the great point (perhaps) is that instead of a *homogeneousnes* of race, & a common platform to start from, we are rapidly dividing off into two densely colored classes, the few the capitalists, the great companies & owners, very hoggish with enormous advantages (in finance & privilege) & the bulk of the p

For The Strike and Tramp.

Manuscript in LC (#70, sheet #366). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap, 8" x 5". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. A version of these lines appears in Furness, 56. The date is before 1882.

for The¹ Strike & Tramp questions/

. . . . Then² for there is something not only more important that Arts and Literature³ & the mighty Factories &⁴ great Architecture of cities, & ships at the wharves, and bank-safes⁵ stuff-fill'd with coin,⁶ or mints with bullion,—⁷Of which, rather, these are⁸ not of the least slightest⁹ worth except as conducing to this result—a¹⁰ race of perfect men,¹¹ women & children, grandly develop't in body, emotions, heroism & intellect—not a select class so develop't but the general population so¹²

1. Inserted above wordspace between "for Strike"
2. Inserted above "for"
3. Inserted and deleted: [*illeg.*] above "rat" in "literature"
4. Preceding three words inserted above "the great" and "Arch" in "Architecture"
5. Deleted: "stuff"
6. Deleted: "or"
7. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
8. Deleted: "only"
9. Inserted as alternate above "least"
10. Deleted: "great"
11. Deleted: "&"
12. Deleted: "develop't"

I Would Consider.

Manuscript in LC (#70, sheet #368). Inscribed in blue ink on gray-brown soft wove scrap, approx. 5½" x 6½". The paper and ink are unusual. The text does not seem to relate to the tramp and strike notes with which it is filed in LC. No date can be assigned.

I would consider¹ the subject² not separately,³ or as confined to itself, but with⁴ reference to the entire character,⁵ as important coloring and element of the ensemble of⁶ life and being, material and moral.

1. Deleted: original beginning: "He" .Inserted: "I would" above the deletion and "consider" ; "considers" altered to first person. Deleted: "this whole" ; inserted: "the" above "wh" in "whole"

2. Deleted: "we"

3. Deleted: "and with reference to itself and" ; inserted: "or as" above "[del.] and"

4. Deleted: "the most important"

5. Deleted: "and as" ; inserted above: "as a most [two preceding words del.]."

6. Deleted: "a"

Here in America.

Manuscript in LC (#70, sheet #370). Inscribed in black pencil on a faded white wove scrap, approx. 5" x 8³/₈". The three clauses are written as separate entries in a column with hanging indentations. Although this MS is filed in LC with Tramp and Strike MS its relationship is not immediately clear. From the writing the date might be in the late 1870s.

Here in America is *the home of Man* not only more activity, more money, more to¹ eat and drink, but—more brotherhood, more heroism, higher & plentier² ideals

1. Deleted: "more"

2. Preceding two words inserted above "gher" in "higher" and "id" in "ideals"

Tramps & Strikes.

Manuscript in LC (#70, sheet #372). Inscribed in black pencil on faded white laid scrap, approx. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ", torn from another piece on left edge. The date must be before 1882.

Tramps & Strikes

—Through the selfish¹ greed & unprincipled² wiliness of the politicians, for the last 60 years & at the present hour³ arranging for the offices & really pulling the wires of legislation,—and through the same qualities in nearly all the corporations; Railroad & other transportation managements & in all the great & little constructors⁴ In the labors of business manufacturers employments products & commerce⁵ a vast gap has formed and is every year growing wider & more definite, between
 *⁶—but⁷ the⁸ precious wheat all⁹ goes to¹⁰ a few to not one hundredth, while the chaff is dispensed to the bulk of the laborers

1. Inserted above "the"

2. Inserted above "wiliness"

3. Preceding ten words inserted in two lines above "& arriving"

4. Deleted: "?The grain of" ; inserted and not deleted: "In" above "T" in "[del.] The" ; deleted: "In [illeg.] departments of" ; inserted: "In the labors of" above "partments" in "[del.] departments" and "[del.] of"

5. An illegible pair of entries, neither of which is clearly part of the text or clearly deleted. More or less on the line: "the grain is washed" above "the American grand duty" . Evidently WW was trying to work in the grain metaphor, which he had used in "Song of Myself," sec. 42, 1073–1074, in 1855.

6. Function of asterisk not known.

7. Inserted and deleted: "all" above "but"

8. Deleted: "grain" ; inserted above: "precious"

9. Inserted above "g" in "goes"

10. Inserted and deleted: "nearly altogether"

For Tramp & Strike.

Manuscript in LC (#70, sheets #374, 372, 371). Inscribed in pencil on three faded white laid scraps, approx. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The date is 1879 or 1880. First printed in Furness, 56-57.

for tramp & Strike question

[374] In the midst of all this eager and stately talk about¹ leading the world in trade—these decisions of the Treasury and the great Bankers about Currency and Silver and Gold—the meetings² of Chambers of Commerce—these ardent aspirations of so many good³ Americans that our country should be filled with myriads of rich trading⁴ cities and productive⁵ Factories—let me launch the thought for simple, independent, proud, sane unrich,⁶ hardy, manhood. Broad I would [372] have it, and general—all the States, each after its kind—South, North, West, East. Dare I to say that I distrust the excessive growth of these Commerical, Manufacturing theories and practices All the Commerce and Wealth⁷ of the world—⁸vast ganglions? of bankers and merchant princes—⁹what were they in comparison with the general prevalence through the bulk, the torso of These States of¹⁰ sound men women and children, of simpler wants [371] owners of their own homes, of natural tastes, untainted with this sick-madness which we see

1. Deleted: "ruling the"
2. Deleted: "and"
3. Deleted: "pl"
4. Inserted above "rich"
5. Deleted: "manu"
6. Inserted above "ne" in "sane" and "ha" in "hardy"
7. Deleted: "and"
8. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
9. Space for several words. Deleted: "will [*illeg.*]"
10. Deleted: "a"

The Communists.

Manuscript in Duke (70). Inscribed in black ink on inside of envelope addressed to WW at 431 Stevens St. from Camden. No year in postmark. The date is probably the 1870s. First printed *FC&I*, 67.

The Communists of France—the radicals & of the British Islands—the Socialists ? of Germany—the of the United States —(Tramp & Strike question)

Sent Press Of 22d.

Manuscript in LC (#216, sheets #1846, 1847, 1848). Inscribed in a column in black ink with red ink and blue pencil annotations on irregular gray wove paper, 10½" x 6¾". The list is more interesting than it might seem at first sight. Early in March, 1882, WW had been approached by Osgood & Co. about changes in *LG* (1881) to satisfy the demands of the District Attorney of Boston, and by April 5 he had broken with Osgood. It seems probable that soon after the first intimation of his difficulties he began the composition of "A Memorandum at a Venture," his defense of sexuality in art, which he sent to the *North American Review* as a general periodical of considerable prestige which was friendly to him. At any rate, he sent the MS to the *Review* on April 8 (*Corr.*, III, 274ⁿ). The Philadelphia *Press* published an editorial defending him on May 22, which was reprinted by the Camden *Post* the same day. The recipients are the group of friends and opinion-makers that one might expect, but it is interesting that he also sent copies to his family, the Staffords, and Peter Doyle, with whom he did not usually discuss his writing. Possibly he knew that these simple folk would hear that their brother and friend was accused of indecency and would be bewildered and hurt without some sort of reassurance. The date must be after May 22, 1882.

sent[?] *Press* of 22d (& *Post* 22d[?]) to those marked—¹

"Memorandum"

those marked * *sent* —Mrs Leggett² Detroit —Dr Bucke (6 copies 2) all three³ —Wm O Connor (4 copies 2) all three —J H Johnston⁴ —Whitelaw Reid⁵ —John Swinton⁶ Sister Hannah⁷ all three Jeff⁸ Mary⁹ all three (with

1. A blue pencil tick rather than the asterisk WW mentions. Hyphens preceding names represent blue pencil ticks in MS. Deleted: "Names for" before "Memorandum"

2. The grandmother of the boy artist, Percy Ives, who sketched WW in Boston. *Corr.*, III, 239ⁿ, 434, 436, 445, 448.

3. All endorsements like the preceding five words in red ink.

4. A NY jeweller whose family WW visited when in NY after 1877. See *Corr.*, III, IV, V, passim. See also entries for Alma Calder Johnston, Amelia Johnston, Bertha Johnston, Grace Johnston, Katherine Johnston, Albert Johnston.

5. Editor of the NY *Tribune*. See "Addresses." WW's letter was marked "Not answered" in the *Tribune* office (*Corr.*, III, 281).

6. An editor on the NY *Times*. See "D. W. Wilder."

7. His sister in Burlington, Vt.

8. His brother in St. Louis.

9. His sister, Mary Van Nostrand, on Long Island.

other papers) —Sylvester Baxter¹⁰ sent *Mem.* Fred C Guernsey¹¹ —Thomas Kinsella¹² —Linn B Porter¹³ Cambridge Mass sent Mem Mrs A B Drake¹⁴ 35 G street South Boston —Chas F Dillingham¹⁵ 678 Broadway N Y P H D Bagenal¹⁶ St James Gazette newspaper London England Henry H Clark¹⁷ Rand & Averys Edward Carpenter¹⁸ Bradway, near Sheffield England [1847R] [*illeg.*] Washington[?] [*illeg.*] David[?] [*illeg.*] —Chas. A Dana¹⁹ Rossetti²⁰ sent all three all five M D Conway²¹ all three all five H J Bathgate²² all three — W S Kenedy²³ all three Col. Frank E Howe²⁴ (Sent Tribune May 25 to London Academy [*London*] Atheneum²⁵ Walter Lewin²⁶ Helen E Price²⁷ Rev Henry Scott Jefferys (sent Mrs Stafford²⁸ all 3 [*sent*] Harry²⁹ also [*all* 3] May 28³⁰ Rome brothers³¹ Josiah Child³² all five Prof. W. T. Harris³³ —F B

10. A newspaperman on the Boston *Herald*, which supported WW at the time LG (1881) was suppressed. See "Mrs. Grosh."

11. Probably Frederic R. Guernsey, a colleague of Baxter's on the *Herald*. See *Corr.*, III, 237, 283, 289, 447; Traubel, II, 318, 392.

12. Editor of the Brooklyn *Eagle*. WW called on him August 16, 1881 ("Daybook," DN 253).

13. Editor of the Cambridge (Mass.) *Chronicle*, which defended LG (*Corr.*, III, 295n).

14. Possibly wife of A. B. Drake to whom WW sold books January, 1885 (*Corr.*, III, 438, 451).

15. Dillingham apparently ordered a book in September, 1879; WW wrote him in April, 1881 (*Corr.*, III, 444, 436). See also "Addresses."

16. See Traubel, I, 399; II, 38.

17. Proofreader at Rand and Avery on LG (1881). See "All about a proof reader."

18. English sexual and social idealist (1844-1929). Visited WW in 1877 and 1884. See *Corr.*, III, IV, V, passim; Traubel, I-V, passim.

19. Former Brook Farmer, editor of the NY *Tribune* to 1862 and NY *Sun* after 1867. He printed Emerson's famous letter in the *Tribune* and included six poems from LG in his *Household Book of Poetry* (1882). *Corr.*, I, 40, II, 332, III, 272, 353; Traubel, I, 397, II, 79, 467, 468, IV, 355.

20. Probably William Michael Rossetti, WW's English editor. See "Introduction to the London Edition."

21. The intermediary between Rossetti and WW. See "Introduction to the London Edition."

22. Friend of John Ruskin, who forwarded Ruskin's order for LG and his comments to WW in February 1880 (*Corr.*, III, 174, 305, 405, 434, 444, 445; Traubel, IV, 42-43).

23. William Sloane Kennedy, newspaper man and fervent admirer. See "Among my special"

24. A Boston friend.

25. Preceding written at right with straight lines on three sides.

26. English literary man. Had some connection with *Cope's Tobacco Plant*. See *Corr.*, IV, 103n.

27. An old family friend. See *Corr.*, I, 42, 300, 301, II, 26, 43, 66, 80, 83, 123, 200, 206, 242, III, 62, 221-222, 234, 252, 304-305, 436, IV, 65, V, 339; "Baily D Damon."

28. Susan Stafford, NJ farm wife, mother of Harry Stafford. See *Corr.*, III, IV, passim.

29. WW's young friend. See "Harry L. Stafford."

30. Written at right with straight lines on three sides.

31. Printers of LG (1855).

32. Child handled WW's sales in London through Trübner. See *Corr.*, III, 132, 136n, 137n, 140-141n, 157-158, 255, 319, 340, 432, 433, 435, 437, 445; Traubel; V, 6.

33. Hegelian philosopher whom WW had met in St. Louis (*Corr.*, III, 166-167, 171, 187-188). They had also met in Concord the previous September. See "Other Concord Notations," *SD*, *Prose* 92, I, 281.

Sanborn all three³⁴ Rudolf Schmidt³⁵ Edward Dowden³⁶ Archie[?] Bremner
 London Ontario [illeg.] Bemer [London] [Ontario] [illeg.] [1848R] D M
 Zimmerman³⁷ W J Linton³⁸ Pete Doyle³⁹ Horace Howard Furness⁴⁰ 222
 West Washington Sq. Mrs Mary Wager Fisher⁴¹ Bryn Mawr Mrs F R Ritter⁴²
 Poughkeepsie all three Symonds⁴³ Lord Houghton⁴⁴ Travellers' Club Pall Mall
 London Hon T B Pardee⁴⁵ Sarnia Ontario Canada Dr Metcalfe⁴⁶ Insane Asy-
 lum Kingston Canada Charles⁴⁷ E Shepard Long Islander[?] office Hunting-
 ton[?] Springfield Republican Mrs Kate B Sherwood Journal office Toledo[?]
 Ohio [illeg.]

34. Sanborn (1831–1917) was an author, abolitionist, journalist, philanthropist. When he was tried in Boston in 1860 for aiding some of John Brown's followers WW was in the courtroom. WW had stayed at his house in Concord the previous September (ibid., 278). See *Corr.*, III, 30, 40, 185, 244–245, 280, 288, 316, 436, 437, 445.

35. A Danish admirer. See "WALT WHITMAN travels."

36. A British admirer. See "Jeff Mary Han."

37. Secretary and treasurer of the Camden and Atlantic Railroad, who sent WW a pass (*Corr.*, III, 207, 431, 436, 441).

38. Wood engraver who had printed eight of WW's poems in his *Poetry of America* (London, 1878). See "Addresses."

39. WW's young friend in his late Washington years. See "Epictetus."

40. Founder of the Variorum Shakespeare. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip."

41. In 1878 and 1881 she had published articles on WW. See *Corr.*, III, 235*n*, 435.

42. Wife of the musician, Frédéric Ritter. See "Kansas & Colorado Trip."

43. John Addington Symonds, British enthusiast. See "D. W. Wilder."

44. Man of letters and collector of celebrities. See "J T Trowbridge has called."

45. Commissioner of Crown Lands. WW had met him on his visit to Canada in 1880. See *Corr.*, III, 183.

46. One of WW's hosts in Canada. See *Corr.*, III, 185; "[Walt Whitman's Diary in Canada]," passim *DN*; "Dr. W G Metcalf."

47. Deleted: "shep"

To Make Two Vol-Collections.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #611). Inscribed on the recto of a letter to WW dated May 9, 1882. Red ink to the rule; remainder in black ink. A trial title for a two volume *SDC* which, in fact, was published in one volume in the fall of 1882.

To make two Vol-Collections
one
Specimen Days
& one
Drifts and Cumulus
Drifts &
Cumulus.
from a Life in the 19th Century
in the New World

In Fancy Picture In Harpers.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #735). Inscribed in purple crayon on white wove scrap. The phrase "fancy picture in" is inserted. A wood engraving, "Caught in the Act" signed H. Wolt (or Wolf), which illustrates William Hamilton Gibson, "The Squirrel's Highway," *Harper's*, 64 (May, 1882), 872, shows an old fisherman with broad brimmed straw hat, flowing hair and beard. On the verso is a curious hand-drawn map, possibly of Burroughs' place at West Park, N.Y.

In fancy picture in *Harpers Magazine* for May 1882, page 872, see curiously apt portrait & likeness of WW

Mrs V O Coburn.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #228). Inscribed in column in black ink ("all three" in red) on verso of request for autograph dated May 11, 1882. WW had written Mrs. Coburn on February 9, 1882 (*Corr.*, III, 437); John Fraser was editor of *Cope's Tobacco Plant*, in which "Three Young Men's Deaths" (*SD*) was published in 1879; Josiah Child was associated with Trübner and Co., WW's English agents (see *Corr.*, III, passim). The *Academy* (London) published five reviews of WW between 1882 and 1892. This must have been written after May 11, 1882.

Mrs V O Coburn Skowhegan Maine
John Fraser care of Josiah Child
London Academy (all three) all three

WW Is to Be the Sole Owner.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black ink on two white wove scraps pasted together. Total dimensions approx. 5" x 4½". The bottom scrap is the larger and on verso has part of a letter to WW of June 7, 1882. The MS is probably a memorandum for WW's agreement with Rees Welch and Company of Philadelphia, which published *SD* in 1882.

W W¹ is to be the sole owner of the Copyright of Specimen Days.²

W W to have 25 copies of the first 1000 of³ Specimen Days, without charge.

1. In upper left corner "W" smeared.
2. End of first scrap.
3. Preceding five words inserted above "copies *Specimen*"

Rees Welsh & Co: to Publish.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black ink on a half-sheet of white wove notepaper, approx. 8 $\frac{1}{8}$ " x 5". On verso is a letter dated November 24, 1880 from David Hutcheson of Washington, who had ordered books. This is a draft of the contract for the first Philadelphia reprinting of *LG* (1881). Although WW wrote O'Connor announcing the contract on June 26, 1882 (*Corr.*, III, 294), the contract to publish both *LG* and *SD* was not signed until July 22. (See "Dated July 22".) The date of this MS must be near June 26, 1882.

Rees Welsh & Co: to¹ publish Leaves of Grass,² (in a style as good as the³ Osgood issue) from WW's electrotype⁴ plates⁵ to retail at \$2.—to pay WW a royalty of 35cts on every copy sold. This agreement to remain in force⁶ blank and⁷ as much longer as both parties mutually⁸ agree. R W & Co. to have the privilege of⁹ purchasing from WW¹⁰ the¹¹ plates of L of G, with the steel engraving & the wood¹² cut, for the sum of¹³ 400, cash. After so purchasing WW's royalty to be at 25cts a copy

1. Deleted: "print"
2. Deleted: "from WW's plates"
3. Inserted and deleted: "late" above "the"
4. Inserted in black pencil above "W's" in "W W's" and "plates"
5. Preceding four words inserted above "to retail at \$2"
6. Deleted: "five" ; inserted below and deleted: "years" ; inserted above in pencil: "blank"
7. Inserted and deleted: "continue" above "as much"
8. Deleted: "desire." ; inserted above: "agree." Deleted: "Rees W & Co to have the privilege of purchasing the [*del.*] full electrotype plates of L of G."
9. Deleted: "publ"
10. Preceding two words inserted above "chasing" in "purchasing" and "the"
11. Deleted: "electrotype"
12. Deleted: "engraving," ; inserted above: "cut,"
13. Preceding three words inserted above "for 400"

Rees Welsh & Co: to Electrotpe.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper approx. 8" x 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ ". Vertical blue rules recto and verso $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. WW announced the agreement to O'Connor on June 26. The contract to publish *LG* and *SD* was not signed until July 22. (See "Dated July 22".) The date of this MS is probably near June 26.

Rees Welsh & Co:¹ to² electrotpe in the best at their sole expense, & publish³ WW's prose Writings, *Specimen Days* (now mostly in MS)⁴ as a companion volume to⁵ *Leaves of Grass*, to be of about the same size[?]⁶ in equally good type, paper & style to retail at \$2—⁷to pay WW a royalty of 22 cents on every copy sold—⁸said R W & Co. to have the sole right to publish *Specimen Days* for five years, and as much longer as mutually agreed

1. A false start deleted above "Rees and W"
2. Inserted: "electrotpe [*del.*] &c in the best manner [*preceding four words ins.*] at their sole expense, &" on a line above "to publish WW's prose"
3. Nothing on the caret inserted here.
4. Parenthesis inserted.
5. Deleted: "about the same size as"
6. Preceding seven words inserted above "of Grass in equally"
7. Inserted in ink and deleted in pencil: "R W & Co" above "to"
8. Deleted: "That They" ; inserted above: "—said R W & Co."

A Special Edition of Leaves of Grass.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap approx. 8" x 5", torn on a fold at left. On the verso is the top half of a letter from the Philadelphia *Progress*, Col. Forney's weekly magazine, dated June 1 soliciting an article on Camden. William White, *Walt Whitman's Journalism*, does not list this article as published. The text is almost identical with the second item in the contract with Rees Welsh & Co. of July 22, 1882.

A¹ special edition² of Leaves of Grass for holiday presents in handsome binding, (say³ half calf, gilt) may be published, price \$5. For these W W's royalty⁴ to be 87½ Cts a copy.

1. A false start deleted: "A holiday"
2. Deleted: "for [illeg.] of [illeg.]"
3. Inserted above "ha" in "half"
4. Deleted: "shall" ; inserted: "to" above last "I" in "shall"

Dated July 22 1882.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black ink by WW on the outer fold of the contract in a copyist's hand dated July 22, 1882 and signed by David McKay and Walt Whitman. See Appendix to this MS.

*Dated July 22 1882.*¹

Contract with Rees Welsh & Co: Philadelphia to publish *Leaves of Grass* from my plates for two years & two months (expires Sept. 22, 1884) also to print & publish *Specimen Days* for five years & two months (expires Sept 22 1887)² ? Nov '84

1. Preceding written in a smaller hand above.
2. In pencil: "? Nov '84" below "expires Sept 22"

APPENDIX

This agreement made this Twenty second day of July 1882 By and between Rees Welsh & Co. Publishers Philadelphia Pa Party of the First Part and Walt Whitman author of Camden N. J. of the other part Witnesseth that Walt Whitman owner of the copyright and electrotype plates of the book "Leaves of Grass" 382 pages, empowers Rees Welsh & Co. of Philadelphia to print and publish said Leaves of Grass from said plates for the term of Two Years and two months from date and after that as much longer as both parties mutually agree. Print, paper, binding &c. to be as good as the Osgood Boston edition the retail price at \$2.—Rees Welsh & Co. to pay Walt Whitman a royalty of 35¢ on every copy sold.

A handsomely bound edition of "Leaves of Grass" at \$5.— a copy retail for holiday presents to be issued by Rees Welsh & Co., Walt Whitmans royalty to be 87½ a copy

Rees Welsh & Co. to have the privilege of purchasing from Walt Whitman the electrotype plates of "Leaves of Grass" with the steel engraving and brass dies for cover, paying Four Hundred (\$400.—) Dollars, Cash for the lot after so purchasing Walt Whitman's royalty to be Twenty-five cents a copy

Rees Welsh & Co. to electrotype and print in the best manner at their sole expense, and publish a book to be called *Specimen Days and Collect*, written by Walt Whitman, to make from 350 to 400 pages, to be about the same size of "Leaves of Grass" same style of binding to retail at \$2.— and to form a companion volume to Leaves of Grass, being Walt Whitmans Prose Works, Rees Welsh & Co. to pay Walt Whitman a royalty of Twenty-two cents on every copy of *Specimen Days* sold and they are to have the sole right of issuing and publishing *Specimen Days* for Five years and two months from date of publication and as much longer as may be mutually agreed at the end of that period. Walt Whitman to have without charge Twenty-five bound copies of the first thousand of *Specimen Days* printed and Twelve copies out of every succeeding thousand It is distinctly understood that the copyright of both *Leaves of Grass* and *Specimen days* is the sole property of Walt Whitman

It is understood that Walt Whitman retains the clear right to personally sell or dispose of copies of a certain autograph edition of "*Leaves of Grass*" in one volume for (\$3.—) Three Dollars and a certain Centennial 1876 Edition in two volumes at \$10.—Ten Dollars per copy Rees Welsh & Co. will furnish Desk room for Walt Whitman personally in their store without charge as long as they publish his books, or any of them

It is agreed by Walt Whitman that no Charge shall be made for personal services given by him in advising, handing over orders, suggesting &c. such services "if any" to be altogether voluntary and at his convenience, in the expectation of larger amounts to his royalty—Payment of Walt Whitmans royalty to be made 1st of December and 1st of June Every Year Any further points with the consent and wish of both parties may be added to this agreement and become a part of it It is agreed that in the composition of "*Specimen days*" any expense of extra alterations in proofs or plates or cancellation of matter Amounting to over fifty Dollars \$50—Shall be born by Walt Whitman. [Signed by David McKay and Walt Whitman]

2d Vol Specimen Days.

Manuscript in Duke (48, #31). Inscribed in black ink with title underlined in blue crayon. WW was beginning to think of a sequel to *SD* (1882), which eventually appeared as *NB* (1888). See “Dem Vistas,”? “Specimen Days,” “April 8, ’84,” “(Specimen Days),” “2d Volume *November Boughs*.” Date, late 1882 or later. First printed, *WDC*, 70–71.

2d vol Specimen Days¹

After reading² the pages of *Specimen Days*,³ do you object⁴ they then are a great jumble, every thing scattered, disjointed,⁵ bound together without coherence, without order or⁶ system?⁷ My answer would be, So⁸ much the better do they reflect the life they are intended to⁹ stand for.

1. At upper right in a blue curved line. Deleted: “If” “Do you say [*illeg.*] ”. “after” capitalized.

2. Inserted: “[*del.*] these the pages of” above “ing” in “reading” and “*Specimen*”

3. Inserted and deleted: “from my life”

4. Preceding three words inserted down right margin.

5. Preceding four words inserted. Deleted: “discursive out” ; inserted above: “[*del.*] thrown bound together”

6. Preceding two words inserted above “system”

7. Deleted: “or order” . Redundant question mark not deleted, not shown here.

8. Capital written over lowercase and triple underlined.

9. Deleted: “suggest and”

Dem Vistas.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #692). Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap. The titles are evidently for a projected gathering of his prose after he had published *SD*. See "Vol. II Specimen Days." WW used "Wing and Wing," or a variant, in several other titles (LC *Cat*, 41, 78). See "At the ferry house." He was probably familiar with its nautical meaning of a vessel with sails spread running before the wind. Possibly he thought of his work as a ship or ships. Cf. the later "Sail Out for Good, Eidolon Yacht" (1871). The date is after 1882.

Dem Vistas
Days out doors (Specimen Days
Wing-and-wing
all odds & ends

Echoes Voices of Latter Years.

Manuscript in Manuscript Division NYPL. Inscribed in black ink and black pencil in column on verso of top of cardboard shoebox, 9" x 5". On recto: "for *Sequella*." The date is after 1882.

Echoes Voices[:]¹of latter years

November Boughs

Echoes & Supplements

Latter years Time² Voices

Latter Time[:]Echoes³

1. Two preceding words in column to left of bracket.
2. Inserted in black pencil above "Year"
3. Two preceding words in column to left of bracket. Entire entry in black pencil.

For Sequella.

Manuscript in Manuscript Division, NYPL. Inscribed in black ink on the top of a cardboard shoebox, 9" x 5". A sketch for *NB?* After "for," the text laid out as three titles or title and subtitles. On verso "Echoes Voices." The date is after 1882.

for
Sequella
for future edition
Specimen Days Added Recollections
&c—

? Added Memoranda,
&c &c.

Mrs Grosh.

Manuscript in Yale. Top-opening pocket notebook, 6½" x 3⅞", bound in red-brown glazed paper, wove paper leaves, faded rules ca. ¼" apart. Inscription in black pencil except as noted below. Laid-in bookplate of John Quinn, the collector and patron of Eliot, Joyce, Pound and other Modernist writers. The notebook is item 11044, *The Library of John Quinn . . . to be sold . . . Pt. V . . .* (N.Y., 1924), 1098. Many leaves survive only as stubs. WW seems to have used the notebook on the rectos to [199], at which point he began to go back in the versos. Entries have been arranged on the assumption that he followed this sequence, which is more clearly demonstrable in earlier notebooks. WW used this from at least as early as June, 1883, [3], to May, 1887, [144].

[1]¹ Mrs Grosh 105 E Hunting 3d St Car white car / Studies in Literature 1789-1877 by Edward Dowden Paul & Co Paternoster Row 1878 London² / Mrs Rogers [?] North 6th

[3] great primer English pica sm pica June 5—'83 Robert Hart driver 78 Market Car 4072 Mary street Philadelphia west.³

[7; 5 cut out]⁴ Spectator for July 21, '83 criticism on "Specimen Days"⁵

[9] at⁶ Wilmington Manager⁷ Tel: J N Kates (Mont's⁸ boss) young man({illeg.} &c like Tasker I meet coming to train Allan Middleton Freiligrath⁹ "No prophet is acceptable in his own country." Luke 4-25¹⁰

[11]¹¹ from lower B¹² b flat up to F ft —) Sent Santa Fe letter to W T Walthall Biloxi Mississippi [?]¹³

1. Lower third of page cut off. The Philadelphia directory for 1883 lists a Margaretta T. Grosh, Milliner, 405 E. Huntingdon. In 1884 she is listed as a widow.

2. Dowden (1843-1913), Professor of English Literature in Trinity College, Dublin, author of "The Poetry of Democracy: Walt Whitman," *Studies in Literature* (London, 1878).

3. Address in black ink.

4. Lower two-thirds of page torn off.

5. Volume 56, pp. 933-935.

6. Deleted: "Chester tel:" Chester is south of Philadelphia.

7. Written over {illeg.}; deleted: "where"

8. Probably Montgomery Stafford, son of George and Susan and brother of Harry.

9. Ferdinand Freiligrath (1810-1876), German poet, translated some of WW's poems in "Walt Whitman," *Allgemeine Zeitung* (May 10, 1868).

10. Actually Luke iv, 24.

11. Bottom of leaf torn off. In another hand: "Darius H. McKnight"

12. Deleted: "#"

13. Probably a copy of the *Philadelphia Press* (August 5, 1883) or *Critic* (August 11, 1883)

{13}¹⁴ in Harpers 59 lines to a page 13, 14, 15¹⁵ words across (two cols) the page.¹⁶ 767 words to a (two column) page

{21; 15–19 *cut out*}¹⁷ John Murray 2222 14th St nw Washington D C

{23}¹⁸ in the In¹⁹ death, in waning {?} light

{29; 25–27 *cut out*}²⁰ Col. R P Deckert

{41; 29; 31–39 *cut out*} *Entering rivers & bank—and

{47; 42 *blank*; 43–45 *cut out*}²¹ picture sent / Pete Doyle 1739 Bainbridge Phila²²

{53; 49–51 *cut out*}²³ you must²⁴ excuse the liberty I take in introducing the²⁵ young man who will hand you this

a conductor on the W P²⁶ City RR & a particular friend of mine—who will explain the reason of his call. Pray listen to what he has to say.²⁷

{55}²⁸ *Burial of Red Jacket*

Like an old tree

Like a great Lake

{123; 57–67 *cut out*; 69–97 *blank*; 99 *cut out*; 101–121 *blank*} Robt E Woodward Ellisdale²⁹ Monmouth Co N J

{200; 125–127 *blank*; 129 *cut out*; 131–145 *blank*; 147–177 *cut out*; 179 *blank*; 181–195 *cut out*; 197–199 *blank*} Zell's Enc: 226 So 7th / J M Scovel³⁰ US Appraisers Building 134 So 2nd office Entrance Dock St. la Légende des Siècles³¹

{198} work—121 So 3d all kinds of hardware findings & notions 732 Market

printing of "The Spanish Element in Our Nationality" (July 20, 1883) written for the Tertio-Millennial Anniversary Celebration of Santa Fe, *Prose* 92, II, 552–554.

14. Bottom of leaf torn off.

15. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

16. In column WW has multiplied 13 x 59 = 767. See "Daybook," [220], *DN*.

17. Bottom of leaf cut off.

18. Purple pencil. Possibly verse. Written in three lines. Lower three-quarters of leaf cut off. Deleted: "O [*illeg. ins. above*] death"

19. Deleted: "pensive"

20. Lower three-quarters of leaf cut off.

21. In another hand: "Geo. F. Wardle 3 South Water St Philadelphia Send picture" . The next entry is WW's endorsement.

22. Purple pencil. Doyle had moved to Philadelphia, but saw WW infrequently. See "Epic-tetus."

23. Written lengthwise on the leaf. Deleted: "Will"

24. Inserted above.

25. Deleted: "bearer" ; inserted on a line above: "young . . . hand"

26. Possibly "West Philadelphia."

27. Deleted: "I am sure you again" . Possibly for Peter Doyle whose work had been either street railways or railways but more likely WW's attendant, William Duckett. See [70V] post.

28. In purple pencil. The phrases, which are written lengthwise at the right, do not appear in "Red Jacket (from Aloft)," which first appeared in the *Philadelphia Press* (October 10, 1884)

29. A village about thirty miles NE of Camden.

30. A Camden friend. WW stored unsold copies of *LG* at his house and often ate Sunday breakfast there. Scovel collected some royalties from Worthington between 1880 and 1885 for the pirated *LG* (1860).

31. Poem (1859) by Victor Hugo, d. 1885. See "Victor Hugo's Année Terrible."

Walt Whitman's Reception?³² during life Life Reception Walt Whitman His Life-Reception

Mont's birthday is Oct 23—born 1862 (John Montgomery Stafford) Mrs S's birthday April 4—(1832)³³

{196³⁴; 194-190 *cut out*} gnomic [:] sententious of single detached tho'ts hedonist[:]the sole idea of pleasure

Evans & Chrystal 128 north 8th merino socks 25cts gloves

{188}³⁵ Wilson & McCormick Saint Vincent street Glasgow³⁶

{180; 186-182 *cut out*}³⁷ The testimony of his unflinching resolution for nearly thirty

Though for twenty-five years³⁸

. . . . a wild

William C Best

Chatham PO

Chester Co Pen^{39/}

boy Frank

{168; 178⁴⁰; 176-170 *cut out*}⁴¹ for Dr B's book {150; 166-152 *cut out*}⁴² for my criticism on [*Buckes ?*] book

{146; 148 *cut out*}⁴³ of our Political Potter publisher 617 Sampson

{144} Sir Feeling that I am competent & determined to give satisfaction I hereby apply for an appointment under you on the road W H Duckett May 6 '87⁴⁴

{132; 142-134 *blank*} Humphry G Ward London Times⁴⁵

{10; 130 *cut out*; 128-102 *blank*; 100 *cut out*; 98-70 *blank*; 65-58 *cut out*; 56-54 *blank*; 52-50 *cut out*; 48 *blank*; 46-44 *cut out*; 42 *blank*; 40-32 *cut out*; 30 *blank*; 28-26 *cut out*; 24-22 *blank*; 20-14 *cut out*; 12 *blank*}⁴⁶ Rhen & Clark commercial photographers N.E. Cor 5th & Walnut 3 & 4 floors/

32. Above "Reception"

33. WW's friends at Timber Creek. On the inside back cover, which faces this leaf, is pasted WW's printed address "Walt Whitman Camden N.J."—clipped from an envelope.

34. Lower two-thirds cut off. Inserted in the notebook at this point is the calling card of W.D. Frace, possibly a woman, since the card is decorated with a printed kitten and spray of flowers.

35. Bottom two-thirds of leaf torn off.

36. British publishers of *LG*, *SD* and Bucke's *Walt Whitman* (1883).

37. Black ink. Possibly related to [198] ante. Deleted: "After"

38. Deleted: "a" . Next entry on new line.

39. About thirty miles west of Philadelphia.

40. Lower three-quarters of leaf cut off. In black pencil, not in WW's hand, "Leaves of Grass — To be left at D J Holland Front & Market St Philadelphia Pa for R H Eaton NW Corner."

41. On a stub. Bucke's *Walt Whitman* was published in 1883.

42. A stub.

43. In purple pencil. Deleted: "of our Political"

44. In WW's hand, sideways on leaf in purple pencil, signature in blue pencil. William Duckett, a teenage boy who boarded with WW's housekeeper, acted as WW's escort and driver from 1885 to 1889.

45. Journalist and husband of the novelist, Mrs Humphry Ward.

46. Probably in WW's hand

[4; 8⁴⁷-6 *blank*] Press copies sent Dr Bucks WW Phil Press Critic Boston Herald Sylvr Baxter⁴⁸ Eve. Post Tribune [2]⁴⁹

47. A stub, to which is attached trimmed-down used envelope addressed to WW in another hand.

48. Clearly 1883. Sylvester Baxter (1850-1927) a Boston journalist whom WW had met on his first visit in 1881. He supported *LG* (1881) when it was suppressed, started a move to get WW a pension from Congress, and also raised a fund of \$800 from private sources in 1886. See "sent[?] *Press* of 22d," "A Poet's 68th Year," *Corr.*, III, IV, V, *passim*; Traubel, *passim*.

49. Four newspaper advertisements, for woven wire mattresses, glass shades, silver-plated ware, and roach exterminator, pasted on.

How Little Posterity Really Knows.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on two scraps of white wove paper on verso of a letter or letters from Bucke, June 20, 1883, on Asylum letterhead. The larger is also the backing-sheet. Under the flap formed by the pasted-on leaf (beginning "If my poems survive"): "Copy of Letter sent (by WW) in resp to inv of Anniversary 'Tertio—Millennial' [*illeg.*] at Santa Fe New Mexico [*illeg.*]." Bucke's *Walt Whitman*, which included O'Connor's *The Good Gray Poet*, was published in June, 1883. The unrelated essay "The Spanish Element in Our Nationality," addressed to a committee in Santa Fe, was dated July 20, 1883 and appeared in the Philadelphia *Press* August 11. First printed *N&F*, 65 (Pt II; #41; *CW*, IX, 24–25). The date is probably late August, 1883.

How little posterity really knows¹ about² the facts a far-back person or book in his or its own time!³ If my poems survive, it is certain that⁴ this⁵ work of Dr Bucke—⁶ with Mr O'Connor's⁷ contribution—⁸ will some fair{?} day be brought forward,⁹ as unanswerable proof how strong¹⁰ were contemporary eulogy and support of them. Alas! we who¹¹ know the exact¹² state of the case,¹³ perceive¹⁴ in it a little, exceptional¹⁵ half-submerged rock, breasting¹⁶ alone¹⁷ a vast and¹⁸ angry sea of cross winds &¹⁹ refusal.²⁰

1. Inserted, deleted, inserted on lines above the wordspace between "posterity knows"

2. Inserted: "the [*del.*] real facts" above "ut" in "about" and into the right margin at the top of the leaf.

3. End of scrap. New paragraph deleted: "Popularity{?} indeed!" Large question mark above succeeding text, which was originally a separate paragraph, but brought up on an arrow.

4. Preceding four words inserted above "ive" in "survive" and "[*del.*] this"

5. Deleted "book" ; inserted above: "work"

6. Deleted: "and" ; inserted above: "with"

7. Deleted: "letters" ; inserted: "contribution" above "or's" in "O'Connor's" and "[*del.*] letters"

8. Deleted: "will probably" ; inserted above: "[*del.*] may will [*del.*] certainly some fair{?} day"

9. Deleted: "in future time, to prove" ; inserted and deleted above: "some day" ; inserted: "as unanswerable proof" above "[*del.*] to prove"

10. Deleted: "was the" ; inserted: "were contemporary" above the deletion and "eulogy"

11. Deleted: "see" ; inserted above: "know"

12. Inserted and deleted: "and current" above "exact" and "s" in "state"

13. Deleted: "sees in th realize"

14. Inserted and deleted: "that it{?}" above "eive" in "perceive"

15. Preceding two words inserted above "half" and "(submer" in "-submerged"

16. Inserted above "alone"

17. Deleted: "amid"

18. Deleted: "stormy"

19. Preceding three words inserted above "refusal"

20. Deleted: "and cross-winds"

Two or Three Memories.

Manuscript in LC (#53, sheet #248). Two scraps of white paper (upper laid, lower wove), 2⁵/₈" x 7³/₄" and 2¹/₄" x 7³/₄". The lower has blue rules. The upper is part of a printed form headed "International . . .," which has something to do with newspapers. Inscribed, with emendations, in black ink. See "Specimen Days, Grisi," "*Camden, N. Jersey.*"

Two or three Memories

NOTES AND¹ MEMORIES,

By Walt Whitman

Dec. 13, '83.—The cable-news² this morning³ announces the death of Mario, the singer. His name⁴ calls up long past reminiscences.⁵ I heard him in New York and elsewhere many times,⁶ about 1853[?].⁷

1. Deleted: "GARRULITIES" ; inserted above: "MEMORIES,"
2. Inserted and deleted: "budget" above "news"
3. Deleted: "dris [?] brings us" ; inserted: "announces" above "[del.] brings us"
4. Deleted: "bring back [illeg.]" ; inserted above: "calls up"
5. Preceding sentence inserted on a line above "the singer . . . New York"
6. Deleted: "in" ; inserted above: "about"
7. WW had heard Mario's farewell recital in Washington in 1873 (*Corr.*, II, 191).

The Incident of the Blowing Up.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #761). Inscribed in black ink on blown wove scrap 7" wide. The *Fulton* was blown up June 4, 1829, and the catastrophe was reported in *Niles Weekly Register*, 36 (June, 1829), 252. WW told the story in "Brooklyniana," No. 10, *UPP*, 265-266, and in *WDC*, 6. Brown wove paper appears in WW's later years. See, for example, the notes on Robert Burns. The date of this MS is probably in the 1880s.

The incident of the blowing up of (the *Fulton*?) one of the original steam-boats at Brooklyn Navy Yard—must have been about 1830.—I remember it. I was at school & remember the *thud* through the building

The Wreck of the "Mexico."

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #760R). Inscribed in black ink on a half-sheet of white wove notepaper, 8¼" x 5¹/₁₆". On verso is heading, "4653 Germantown Avenue / Philada. Pa.," the address of Robert Pearsall Smith, whom WW met in December 1882. The *Bristol* was wrecked in November, 1836; the *Mexico* in January, 1837. WW mentions the latter as of 1840 ("Paumanok, and My Life on It as Child and Young Man," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 10) and says it is alluded to in "The Sleepers" (Sec. 4). This must have been written after December, 1882.

The wreck of the "Mexico" and the "Bristol" 1836

At Rockaway, L. I., is a burial ground where a monument marks the graves of 139 shipwrecked people from the vessels *Mexico* and "Bristol," which came ashore in the winter of 1836

Viccissini Sav.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Homemade self-bound notebook of wove soft white ruled paper, 6 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". Inscribed in black pencil except as noted. Foliation on first fifteen versos in another hand is here omitted. Here foliated from first recto and includes stubs. Leaves [1-4] are not conjugate, but appear to be folded and glued around the spine; other leaves conjugate.

The earliest date mentioned is September 26, 1883; the latest October 1, 1883. A few of the entries on [1-2] may be slightly earlier, since they suggest plans for a trip to Ringtown, Penna., but the bulk of the entries relate to WW's visit to Ocean Grove, NJ, with John Burroughs, described by WW in Traubel, I, 406, II, 220 and IV, 38 and by Barrus, 244-45. They later develop into "With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!" which first appeared in *NB* (1888).

WW, as the use of the first person and the reference to "My friend J B" suggest, probably began his entries with an eye to one of his personal items in a friendly newspaper. Although his imagination obviously quickened, he approaches verse only once in this notebook ([31]). A manuscript draft of the poem in the letterhead of the Sheldon House, "By Thine Own Lips, O Sea" (1884), is in Feinberg (now LC), and LC #73, sheet #473 is a draft of the last four lines on paper rubber-stamped with WW's address. Further history of the poem can be traced in Barrus. First printed in Traubel, IV, 38. See also "Walt Whitman in the Oscar Lion Collection" *BNYPL*, 58 (1954), 219. A complete working draft with a postmark of Oct., 1888 on five joined scraps was offered in *The Prescott Collection. Printed Books and Manuscripts*, February 6, 1981. Prescott—III—5036, Lot 328-9. (Christie, Manson and Woods, International. NY, 1981). Facsimile facing p. 141.

I am much indebted to Studienrat Reinhard Frenzel of the Gauss Gymnasium, Worms, Germany, who made basic contributions to the notes.

[1] Viccissini¹ Sav [*illeg.*] Rtafia² // Mrs N M Johnson 506 Twelfth Street n. w Washington D C³ Chas W Eldridge⁴ care Chas W. Slack Collector Internal Revenue Boston. Mass: / trains leaving Ocean Grove for Phila. 7.47 12 49⁵

1. Upper right corner torn off.

2. Squeezed in at top of page in small handwriting, as if added later. The meaning of this inscription has not been found in the vocabularies of law, medicine, pharmacology, botany or zoology, nor in the general vocabularies of Latin and Italian. Ratafia is a fruit liqueur, usually flavored with bitter almond.

3. A friend of WW in his Washington days. She is listed at this address in the Washington directory for 1883. According to *Corr.*, II., 268, he mentions her and her sister anonymously in the second of his N.Y. *Weekly Graphic* articles, "Tis but Ten Years Since" (February 7, 1874): "Anent of Bull Run." The two ladies are possibly the "two aged ladies, beautiful, the first in the city for

[3; 2 blank except for Oscar Lion bookplate] Mrs. A M Parks Sheldon House Ocean Grove⁶/ Ringtown⁷/ get Reading RR 13th &⁸ Callowhill/train starts at 9.45 a m gets to⁹ Ringtown¹⁰ abt 3 p m¹¹ hotel a mile from the RR depot/ RR ticket agent there Mr Hughes¹² // Whitman Conklin¹³ 195 Prospect St Brooklyn

[5;4 blank] Sept 20 '83/ a sixty mile trip to the sea shore¹⁴ Down¹⁵ and across New Jersey from Camden to Barnegat bay, and thence northerly, right along the beach. ? miles to Ocean Grove,¹⁶ by the new Philadelphia and Long Branch Railroad¹⁷ after¹⁸ The ? to ? miles from Tom's River, along near or through Barnegat Berkeley, Mantoloking Bay Head, Point Pleasant,¹⁹ Manasquan (skip to *2 [15]²⁰*2) Sea Girt, Spring Lake, Ocean Beach, and so to²¹ Asbury Park. I enjoyed wonderfully. The whole of this²² distance²³ (first crossing Barnegat bay, the track apparently right on the water,²⁴ really only three or four

culture, and charm" who provided food and drink for the Union troops fleeing into Washington. See *SD, Prose* 92, I, 28, based on the *Graphic* articles. See also *Corr.*, II, 272, 304, 311, III, 25, 32, 33, 440.

4. WW's Boston publisher in 1860 and 1861.

5. Deleted: "7:30" "1:02" and "5:31" ; inserted at right: "12:49" The times approximate those in the October, 1883 *Traveller's Official Railway Guide*.

6. WW's prospective landlady at Ocean Grove. Burroughs had already been there for about a week. Written in a cramped hand at the top of the page as if inserted later.

7. Separated from preceding and following entries by lines.

8. Ampersand written over an erasure.

9. Written over an illegible word, possibly "at"

10. WW may have been planning a mountain holiday in this Schuylkill County, Penn., village before deciding to join Burroughs at Ocean Grove.

11. Again, the times closely approximates those in the October, 1883 *Traveller's Official Railway Guide*.

12. The personnel records of the Philadelphia and Reading Company prior to 1910 have been disposed of.

13. A Jacob W. Conklin is listed in Brooklyn directories at this address from 1877-1878 to 1883-1884. It is possible that he was a Civil War veteran who, like others, named his son after WW or he may have been an untraced relation by marriage.

14. Inserted on two lines in a cramped hand as a sort of title.

15. WW originally wrote "started down to {illeg.} New Jersey . . ." . He then erased the illegible word and wrote "through." He then deleted everything but "down," which he capitalized.

16. WW originally wrote after "Ocean Grove" : "Where I am quartered at the Sheldon H . . ." which he deleted and inserted the present reading above: "by the new . . . after".

17. The Philadelphia and Long Branch Railway had been completed in 1881 to connect Philadelphia with the then-fashionable resort of Long Branch, north of Ocean Grove.

18. Deleted: "The {illeg.}"

19. Deleted: "Manasq"

20. Inserted according to WW's directions.

21. Inserted above "Asbury Park" and deleted: "Ocean Grove &" . WW was approaching from the south, and the communities named are on the mainland coast of N.J. Although Asbury Park is north of Ocean Grove, it is immediately adjacent and, as the larger of the two towns, was the railroad stop.

22. Preceding two words inserted above "di" in "distance"

23. Deleted: "as it goes we are" deleted: , "skirt or, are in the midst" ; inserted above "[del.] skirt . . . midst" in a very small hand and deleted: "on the water which {illeg.}." The same horizontal line cancels the two last entries. Inserted: "(first crossing . . . apparently right" on a line above "[del.] as it goes . . . skirt or are in"

24. Deleted: "which is"

feet deep) we skirt or move amidst²⁵ lagoons, sand Salt meadows²⁶ and Seashore. [9; 6 *blank*; 7–8 *cut out*] Sept 28 '83 *New Jersey Sea Coast—Ocean Grove*.—I write this on the beach²⁷ the husky surf rolling²⁸ and beating a little way from my feet—the sun²⁹ half an hour risen,³⁰ a round red ball,³¹ up in the heavens right³² before me,—east³³—³⁴the long³⁵ line of sand³⁶ and beach and beating surf as far as I can see³⁷ on either hand, north or south³⁸ I have come down here to be with my friend J B.³⁹ and for a sea change⁴⁰

[11; 10 *blank*] Every thing is soothing, monotonous, refreshing,⁴¹ a⁴² slight saline smell, the music of the rolling surf, undulating⁴³ the⁴⁴ gold-shine of the sun on the water⁴⁵ starting in⁴⁶ brightness⁴⁷ near me and gradually broadening the⁴⁸ track leading away out to sea,⁴⁹ and expanding there. Several⁵⁰ sails⁵¹ in the distance⁵² A fishing boat⁵³ with three⁵⁴ men just comes in and lands close by*⁵⁵

[19; 12 *blank*; 13–14 *cut out*; 15⁵⁶; 16 *blank*; 17–18 *cut out*] Oct 1 '83 Ocean Grove N J Still here. J B has just left for New York. I walk long on the beach. A partial tempest of wind, from north, following a heavy rain storm last

25. Deleted: “the sea-meadows”

26. Preceding two words inserted above “and seashore”

27. Deleted: “steady” ; inserted above: “husky”

28. Deleted; “in” ; inserted: “and beating” above “rolling [*del.*] in”

29. Inserted and deleted: “half an hour.” above “sun . . . round”

30. Preceding three words inserted above “red” “[*del.*]rising”; deleted: “after rising”

31. Deleted: “just”

32. Inserted above “ens” in “heavans”

33. Inserted above dash after “me”

34. Deleted: “a” ; inserted above: “the”

35. Deleted: “stretch” ; inserted above: “line”

36. Deleted: “and hummocks”

37. Deleted: “in [*illeg.*]”

38. Marginal note, “over x” circled by a loop. The verso, however, is blank.

39. John Burroughs.

40. The tone of this passage, especially the last sentence, suggests that WW, the indefatigable promoter, was sketching a personal item for a newspaper.

41. Deleted: “the”

42. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

43. Inserted above “f” in “surf,” and “the”

44. Deleted: “golden” ; inserted above: “gold-”

45. Deleted: “like a” “before me like”

46. Deleted: “a”

47. Deleted: [*illeg.*]. The deletion and the preceding three words are inserted above.

48. Inserted: “the” . The word is in a heavier hand than the surrounding words and is written a little below the line, possibly over “a” . WW’s intention at one point appears to have been: “sun on the water before me like a track”

49. Deleted: “broadening as it[?] out there and coming to a point near me.” Inserted: “and expanding there” above “[*del.*] broadening as it[?]”

50. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

51. Deleted: “are”

52. “Several . . . distance” inserted above “A fishing boat [*del.*] just”

53. Deleted: “just comes in”

54. Deleted: “men one”

55. No related passage has been found.

56. Placed in order of inscription after [5] according to WW’s indication.

night⁵⁷ The waves rolling and dashing and combing. An unusual show of foam and white froth not only on shore, but out⁵⁸ every where as far as you can see. Not a sail in sight. I am having a capital week—eat well and sleep well. Good generous⁵⁹ quarters, this Sheldon House.

[21; 20 *blank*] the sea-beach & surf its myriad ranks/⁶⁰ myriads of furious⁶¹ white maned racers,⁶² urged⁶³ by⁶⁴ demoniac emulation to the⁶⁵ goal the shore and[?] ⁶⁶ is breaking there & dissolving⁶⁷ there—&⁶⁸ ever other myriads⁶⁹ pressing from beyond and driving in the same⁷⁰ ever the⁷¹ husky⁷² guttural of the sea and⁷³ ever its muffled distant lion roars (tr up)⁷⁴ I sometimes go down at night and walk the beach⁷⁵ for hours sometimes quite late⁷⁶.

[23; 22 *blank*] the sea-beach and the surf by day or night.⁷⁷ The countless⁷⁸ furious ranks of white maned racers urged⁷⁹ by demoniac emulation to the goal, the shore⁸⁰ to fall there and dissolve—and ever other myriads pressing from beyond and driving in the same. The ceaseless persistence—as if the great creature had something that must be told⁸¹ Sometimes I go down at night and if the temperature allows⁸² walk or sit till quite late—have the whole⁸³ performance to

57. Preceding seven words inserted above and to the right of “of wind, from north,”

58. Inserted above “e” of “everywhere”

59. Deleted: “A” ; “good” capitalized; inserted: “generous” above “od” in “good” and “quar” in “quarter”

60. Preceding three words inserted below “sea-beach and surf” in smaller hand. This line separated from the following by a short rule beginning at left margin. Deleted: “Come [*emended to* “coming”] in like” ; inserted above “[*del.*] in like” : “myriads of”

61. Deleted: “runners” ; inserted: “white maned” above the deletion and “rac” in “racers”

62. Cf. “With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!” l.5

63. Deleted: “emulous to get ahead the pressing” ; inserted: “urged” above “[*del.*] pressing”

64. Deleted: “on by [“onward” *ins. and del. above*] some” ; inserted: “by”

65. Deleted: “of”

66. Preceding three words inserted above “goal is”

67. Originally: “dissolve”

68. Deleted: [*illeg.*] ; inserted above: “ever”

69. Deleted: “panting following driving in”

70. The preceding twenty-four words (“to the goal . . . some”) written in a cramped hand down the right side of the page and separated from what follows by an irregular line.

71. Deleted: “with” ; inserted above: “ever the”

72. Deleted: “utterance with” ; inserted above: “guttural of the sea”

73. Deleted: “now and then [*illeg.*] long resl[?] low roars as of distant lions”

74. WW gives no indication of where this sentence is to be placed.

75. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: “for”

76. “With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!” l. 16

77. *Ibid.*, l.2

78. Inserted above “furious”

79. Deleted: “by” ; inserted and deleted above: “in” ; inserted: “by” above “de” in “demoniac”

80. Deleted: “and [*previously del.*] br falling and dissolving there” ; inserted above: “to fall there and dissolve”

81. The preceding fourteen words inserted in two lines above “the same. Sometimes I” in a cramped hand. See “With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!” ll. 12–23.

82. The preceding four words inserted above the line in a cramped hand above “all operas . . . vocalism”

83. Deleted: “thing” ; inserted and deleted: “shore” above “whole” and [*del.*] thing” “sea-edge”; inserted above “myself” “performance”

myself—beyond all operas⁸⁴, or⁸⁵ finest⁸⁶ vocalism or band.—⁸⁷*dashed by the⁸⁸ whistling wind and hiss of spray⁸⁹—*ever⁹⁰ that endless sulking guttural of the sea, as if⁹¹ to me its wrongs and toils⁹² in confidence⁹³—ever those muffled distant lion roars.

{27; 24 *blank*; 25–26 *cut out*} dashed by the whistling wind and hiss of spray,⁹⁴ that endless⁹⁵ sulking guttural of the sea as if to me in confidence⁹⁶ its tale of toils and wrongs.⁹⁷ Those muffled distant lion roars Some vast soul like a planet, stoppt, arrested, tied⁹⁸—some mighty freedom pent, denied—some cosmic rights withheld.⁹⁹

{29; 28 *blank*} adverbs, adjectives &c suggested by the sea surf menacing harassed & desperate irrepressibly determined & urgent a high-rigged wave far-out & rolling in /¹

Colors green or bronze blue gray dark turbid /²
 the³ far off long stretch'd crescent⁴ line of the water and the horizon
 the⁵ plenteous creamy froth and foam and snowy liquid lace spread on the bosom of the sand. /

the distant shadowy sails⁶

{31; 30 *blank*}⁷ the ospreys, quite frequent. Once a⁸ sea-eagle unusually large dark

84. Written over an erasure.

85. Inserted over an erasure.

86. Written over an erasure. Deleted: "bands or"

87. Inserted above "endless sulking"

88. Deleted: "piping &"

89. The preceding nine words are written at the bottom of the page preceded by a single parenthesis and an asterisk. They are moved here on the authority of WW's asterisk preceding "ever" .

90. Deleted: "ceaseless" ; inserted: "endless"

91. Deleted: "it"

92. Preceding four words inserted above "me in confi" in "confidence" .

93. Deleted and reinserted above: "—ever" . Redundant dash not printed here.

94. Deleted: "ever"

95. Inserted above "sulking"

96. (*Preceding two words inserted above "as if to"* . Deleted successively: "its" , "that" "tale" ; inserted: "its tale" above "of tails"

97. Deleted: "in confidence—ever indistinguishable" written over erasure; inserted above the deleted lines: "those muffled distant lion roars" ; "those" amended to "Those"

98. Preceding nine words written over an erasure. Deleted: "roars—some proud soul pent [*inserted and deleted*] cap [*inserted and deleted*] caged and bound— [*illeg.*]"

99. Deleted: "—Those muffled distant lion roars" See "With Husky-Haughty Lips, O Sea!"

LL. 12–13.

1. Preceding five words or phrases in column. Cf. "Sorrow" for another example.

2. Preceding five words or phrases in column; "dark turbid" side by side.

3. Deleted: "long edge ; inserted above "edge" : "far off"

4. Written above "crescent" , not deleted, not printed.

5. Deleted: "fro" ; inserted: "plenteous creamy" above "the" and [*del.*] "fro"

6. None of this material appears in the poem.

7. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

8. Deleted: "great"

brown & snowy white balancing in the air⁹ soaring around many minutes—the most impressive¹⁰ spectacle of the kind I ever saw/

Sometimes¹¹ the¹² sheeny sun¹³ in distant patches on the sea

The changing light and hues¹⁴ and glorious sunsets

[43; 32–36 *blank*; 37–42 *cut out*¹⁵] Courtland Van Buren Boyden 55 West 33d N.Y.¹⁶ / father Elias W Boyden / Son Washington

[70¹⁷; 44–66 *blank*; *binding string between* 47–48; *slight traces of writing*¹⁸ on 68; 69 *blank*] 18.3 + 18.1 / highest[?] / 196 / over—195

9. Of the preceding eleven words, the first seven (“unusually . . . white”) are inserted above the line. The last four (“balancing . . . air”) are written at top of page preceded by asterisk. An asterisk in main body of text indicates point of insertion.

10. Deleted: “s”

11. Inserted above “the [*del.*] daz” in “dazzle”

12. Deleted: “dazzle”

13. Deleted: “in dist”

14. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

15. Cut out before entries were made, for the short purple crayon strokes at the left which separate each entry mark all the stubs. Entries in purple crayon.

16. The NY address is that of his upholstery shop. His house was in Westfield, N.J. In another hand: “Bishop Edward Wilson Ottawa, Canada” . Wilson’s being at Ocean Grove, a Methodist religious community, suggests he belonged to that church, but he cannot be identified.

17. Notebook turned upside down; inscription in black pencil.

18. Possibly “Naghead”

? Specimen Days.

Manuscript in Duke (40, #5). On verso of a letter from James M. Scovel dated Oct. 15, 1883. Scovel was a Camden lawyer at whose house Whitman frequently had Sunday breakfast. In 1888 Traubel reported that Scovel had told Kennedy certain suspicions about WW's private life which Traubel did not explain further (Traubel, I, 278). In his "Walt Whitman as I Knew Him" (*National Magazine*, 20 [May, 1904], 165-169) Scovel said that WW "let his two boys grow up in Washington." See "(2d vol Specimen Days)." First printed *WDC*, 66.

? Specimen Days¹

All through young and middle age, I thought my heredity-stamp was mainly decidedly from my² mother's side; but as I grow older, and latent³ traits come out, I see my⁴ father's also.⁵ As to loving and disinterested parents, no boy or man ever had more cause to bless and thank them than I.⁶

1. Blue crayon.

2. Inserted and deleted: "dear" above wordspace between "my mother's"

3. Inserted above "and" and "tr" in "traits"

4. Deleted: "dear"

5. Deleted: "I never cease to bless and thank m For"

6. Deleted: "always had" . Period after "I" inserted; original final period not deleted, not shown here.

See p 81— The Booths.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #732). Inscribed in pencil on a scrap of white paper. Verso, letterhead of Mayor's Office, Chicago. The page numbers are from Asia Booth Clarke, *The Elder and the Younger Booth* (Boston, 1882), a gift of Edwin Booth to WW in 1884 (*Corr.*, III, 376). They refer to Junius Brutus Booth (1796–1852). Page 81 tells of his triumph as the Second Actor in *Hamlet* in 1831 after giving the title role to Charles Kean. Page 84 quotes an account of him by James E. Murdock. Page 105 reproduces the playbill of his last part, probably used for "The Old Bowery," *NB, Prose* 92, II, 591–597. See "Plays and Operas Too" and "Seeing Niagara to Advantage," *SD*, *ibid.*, I, 20, 236; "The Perfect Human Voice," "Old Actors, Singers, Shows, &c in New York," *GMF*, *ibid.*, 674, 694, 698. Traubel, I, 456; IV, 286, 476; and "Lafayette Aaron Burr." Date is 1884 or after.

See p 81—*the Booths* /
see p 84 was a strict vegetarian) /
last performance see p 105 death p 106

Camden, March 19, 1884.

Manuscript in Walt Whitman Foundation (Camden). Inscribed on white wove paper, 11" x 8½". First paragraph in black ink; second in purple pencil. On verso WW has docketed it "Rec't & agreement with R J Hare." WW's emendations not noted.

Camden, March 19, 1884, Received sixteen dollars from Mrs Lay¹, the rent in advance for house in Mickle st. It is understood that if Mr. Whitman before the end of April buys the house, this \$16 is to be deducted from the price \$1800.

R. Jennie Hare

I agree to sell Walt Whitman the premises 328 Mickle street for seventeen Hundred and Fifty Dollars cash instead of 1800 dollars.

R. Jenni Hare

1. Mr & Mrs Lay had been living in the house at the time WW bought it. See Allen, 515-516.

April 8, '84.

Manuscript in Duke (18, #4). Inscribed in purple crayon on two scraps of poor-quality white wove paper pasted together. The overall dimensions are 15" x 10½". A note by W. S. Kennedy on the verso reads: "Apparently for a projected 2 vol. ed. of his Works.—W.S.K." See "(2d vol Specimen Days)." Published in *FCI*, 18, which points out WW's intentions for a two-volume edition of poetry and prose in 1884 and further points out the similarity to "Additional Note, 1887, to English Edition 'Specimen Days'" (*Prose* 92, I, 598–599).

April 8, '84—

I have been living here in Camden now for nearly eleven years¹. Came² on from Washington in the Summer of '73, after my paralytic-stroke, and the death of my dear mother.³ Continued for three years⁴ in quite a bad way,⁵ not strength enough to walk any distance—⁶ stomach and head miserable. In '76 began to get⁷ better—about that time—went boarding down in the country and⁸ lay in the open air, as described in the preceding volume. From the fall of '76 to the present writing⁹ (April, '84) I have been well enough to go around most of the time, with occasional¹⁰ spells of sickness¹¹—one of which,¹² (over¹³ two months,) I am just now recovering from.

1. Deleted: "Was"

2. Deleted: "here, early" ; inserted: "on from Washington" above "me" in "came" and "[del.] here early"

3. Deleted: "For &" ; inserted: "Continued for" above "r." in "mother" and "For"

4. Deleted: "held on"

5. Deleted: "feeble [*illeg.*]"

6. Deleted: ", and" ; inserted and deleted above: "—with"

7. Deleted: "more comfortable strength—spirit a great deal of the" ; inserted: "better" above "more" ; "inserted and deleted: "boarded good" above "[del.] spirit a great deal" above; inserted: "about that time" "went boarding" above "[del.] of the" and "time"

8. Deleted: "lived in" ; inserted above: "lay in"

9. Inserted, deleted, and inserted on two lines above "present"

10. Inserted above "with spells"

11. Deleted: "at intervals"

12. Deleted: "lasting" ; inserted and deleted above the deletion: "continuing"

13. Inserted above "two"

Walt Whitman's Birthday.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black ink on three leaves of soft dark tan wove paper, which the ink has penetrated. At top, above title, in red ink: "*to go in paper of Saturday, May 31.*" The paper varies slightly in size, but is approximately 8¼" x 6½". The date is 1884. No publication has been located. For other autobiographical statements see "I. Family Notes and Autobiography."

Walt Whitman's birthday

To day is Walt Whitman's 65th birth-day, as he was born at Huntington, Long Island, May 31, 1819. He grew up in Brooklyn and New York cities, and by the sea-shore, received merely a child's¹ common school education, and worked in a printing-office as boy and young man. He commenced his famous "Leaves of Grass" in 1855 and thenceforward adding new instalments every few years, completed it in 1882. He engaged in the Secession War as a volunteer nurse of the army wounded, working² practically and ardently, (but "on his own hook,") on the battle fields and in the hospitals for over three years. It was³ from that overstrained labor and the excitement of those⁴ times,⁵ he derived the paralysis that now and since afflicts him.

[2]⁶ Besides the poems of "Leaves of Grass," he has written and published a book of prose, "Specimen Days and Collect," whose nature and contents are indicated by the name. A detailed biography of Whitman, and analysis of his poems,⁷ by Dr. Bucke, a Canadian, was issued simultaneously here and in England about a year ago. At the end of the volume,⁸ Dr B. collects a curious and ample budget of the diverse views and arguments, for and against Whitman, covering twenty five years, from all parts of the world.⁹

The poet now lives in a little old house he has lately bought near the Dela-

1. Inserted above "a" and "c" in "common"

2. Deleted: "pa[?]"

3. Deleted: "in" ; inserted: "from"

4. Deleted: "years"; inserted: "times"

5. Preceding six words and comma inserted above "ained" in "strained" and "labor he observed"

6. Paragraph symbol, in addition to indentation.

7. Deleted: "written"

8. Preceding three words inserted above "end Dr"

9. Following paragraph indented and marked by paragraph symbol.

ware river, in Camden. Though crippled permanently from his war-paralysis,¹⁰ appearing at first sight much older than he really is, and averaging two or three pretty bad spells of sickness every year, he writes a [3] little all the time, retains his buoyancy and cheeriness without the least diminution, is thankful for every¹¹ word and¹² deed of kindness, from his friends,¹³ loves the open air and the sights of active life, and manages to get out in them almost every day. He sells his books himself ("to keep a certain animal from the door," as he expresses it,) sending them by mail, on application, with his autograph.

10. Deleted: "looking" ; inserted: "appearing"

11. Deleted: "good"

12. Deleted: "bit of help from"

13. Preceding three words and comma inserted above "ndness" in "kindness" and "loves"

For Hospital Article.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black pencil and purple crayon (“Hospital article”) on inside of envelope postmarked August 6, 1884. The page numbers in column are from *SD* in *SDC* (1882–1883). WW worked on the article from 1884 to 1886 (*Corr.*, III, 373, IV, 38). The article is “Army Hospitals and Cases,” *Century*, 36 (October, 1888), 825–830 (*NB, Prose* 92, II, 614–627). Not all the items appeared in the article. This must be an early note written in 1884.

for Hospital article 46 48–9 52–3 67 68 74 80–81[:] Specimen Days
(Hospital article)

Sunday, Sept. 14, '84, Cape May, N. J.

Manuscript not found. Text from *WDC*, 62–63. Cape May was a popular summer resort at the southern tip of New Jersey. Possibly these were notes for an article.

Sunday, Sept. 14, '84, Cape May, N. J. I am writing this on the beach at Cape May. Came down this morning on the West Jersey R. R.; had a good ride along the shore, then a sail, beating about in a fine breeze for over an hour; then a capital good dinner (a friend I met insisted on my having some champagne). After dinner I went down alone and have had two soothing hours close by the sea-edge, seated on the sand, to the hoarse music of the surf rolling in.

After Sixty-??Five.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in blue crayon (main title) and black pencil (subtitle) on verso of scraps of a letter dated 1884. Laid out as title and subtitle. Question marks above "*-Five*". On another verso scrap of the same letter is inscribed "*Supplement-Sands* (also Texas, not printed). Date 1884. See "Spec Days 2d Vol."

After Sixty-??Five

a Sequel to "Specimen Days
& Collect"

My House and Lot 328 Mickle Street.

Manuscript in Trent (43, #13). Inscribed in purple pencil on white wove paper, 10 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{7}{8}$ ", with partial watermark, "LINEN LEDGER," in open face capitals along right edge. Since WW bought the house on Mickle St. in 1884, the document must be of that year or later. For other wills see that of 1891.

My¹ house and lot 328 Mickle street Camden New Jersey—and all my² money in³ bank and all other estate and property in books or any property whatever—I give and bequeath and devise⁴ to my brother Edward L. Whitman (now boarding at the farm of Mr and Mrs Goodenough,⁵ near Moorestown New Jersey) —As the said Edward L. Whitman is mentally incapacitated, I appoint⁶ and specify⁷ the hereinafter executrix and executor⁸ —to have sole possession and management and ownership of all my property and money for the use and service of the said Edward L Whitman⁹

1. Deleted heading: "The last will of Walt Whitman"
2. Deleted: "property and"
3. Deleted: "bank"
4. Preceding four words inserted above "give to"
5. WW at first wrote "Goodfellow" then corrected the last two syllables.
6. "appointed" changed to "appoint"
7. Preceding two words inserted above "[del.] ed" in "appointed" and "the"
8. Probably George and Louisa Whitman. Ed died November 30, 1892, aged fifty-seven.
9. Deleted: "And I hereby specify that I do not require that"

The Filth, Deviltry.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #325). Inscribed in purple pencil on white wove scrap with the watermark "LINEN LEDGER, [in open face capitals]." Andersonville was the notorious Confederate prisoner-of-war compound in Georgia which was opened in February, 1864. Since the paper is identical with the preceding draft will, also in purple pencil, written after WW bought the Mickle Street house in 1884, this MS is probably of or close to that year. See "My house and lot." Printed by Glicksberg, 181, who believed it to be a sketch for a poem. See also "Releas'd Union Prisoners from the South," *SD, Prose* 92, I, 100-102.

The filth, deviltry at Andersonville prison pen¹
Men changed by thousands and become

1. Deleted: "Man" ; inserted above: "men"

(Specimen Days) [for New Ed?].

Manuscript in Duke (28, #39). Inscribed in purple crayon with minor emendations in black pencil on a scrap of white wove paper approx. 12½" x 8", with red-blue-red margin 1⅜" from the left. Blue rules ½" apart. The square brackets are in the MS. On verso is a draft letter to Dionysius Thomas, October 13, 1867 (*Corr.*, I, 344). On the paper see "Carlyle Vol. 1." The election was between Blaine and Cleveland, the issues protective tariff and Chinese exclusion. The attached clipping is the interview from the *Philadelphia Press*. WW told the reporter that he intended to vote for James G. Blaine despite his objection to tariffs and his admiration for Grover Cleveland. He praised Blaine's Latin American policy. See "(2d vol Specimen Days)." First published *WDC*, 73.

(Specimen Days)

[for new Ed?]¹ Oct 31 '84
["Election day November 1884"]

Presidential Election

Oct. 31 '84—The political parties are trying²—but mostly in vain—to get up some³ fervor of excitement on the pending Presidential election. It comes off next Tuesday. There is no question at issue of any importance. I cannot 'enthuse' at all.⁴ I think of the elections of 30 and 20 years ago. Then there *was* something to arouse a fellow.⁵ But I like well the *fact* of⁶ all these National Elections—have written a little poem about it (to order—published in a Philadelphia daily "If I should need to Name, O Western World," *Press*, Oct 26,⁷ of 26th instant. One of the⁸ papers interview'd me early in the week, and⁹ printed the following yesterday:¹⁰

1. The brackets are WW's.
2. Deleted: "to"
3. Deleted: "ex" [?]
4. Preceding sentence inserted above "of any importance"
5. Preceding sentence inserted above "years ago . . . the"
6. Deleted: "this" ; inserted above: "all"
7. Preceding twelve words brought from bottom of leaf on asterisk. The poem's later title is "Election Day, November, 1884."
8. Deleted: "reporters has" ; inserted: "papers" above "[*del.*] reporters"
9. Deleted: "his"
10. Clipping follows.

Give Phrases, Names.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper, 8¼" x 5³/₁₆". Paper folded horizontally in three, inscription in hanging indentation on top panel, clipping on second panel: "*Walls that Talk: a Transcript of the Names, Initials and Sentiments, Written and Graven on the Walls, Doors, and Windows of the Libby Prison at Richmond by the Prisoners of 1861-65.* 16 mo. paper, pp. 19. Richmond (Va.). 1s. 6d." The book was published in 1884. Third panel blank. First printed by Emory Holloway, "Notes from a Whitman Student's Scrapbook," *Am Schol*, 2 (May, 1933) 273. Date 1884.

give phrases, names, despairing sentiments on the walls of hospitals

The Tide Perceptibly Turns.

Manuscript in LC (#54, sheets #249-251). Inscribed in black pencil on three scraps of flimsy, faded, tan wove paper. [249] 3^{13/16}" x 8^{1/4}", [250] 3^{13/16}" x 8^{1/4}", [251] 4" x 8^{1/4}"; blue rules 3/8" apart; double red lines 1" from left edge. Undoubtedly a projected letter to a newspaper. The "long letter" of July 23, 1875 is probably the six articles, "'Tis but Ten Years Since" NY *Weekly Graphic*, January 17-March 7, 1874, which was cannibalized for *MDW* and *SD*, *SD*, *Prose* 92, I, 23-39, 41-45, 52-53, 56, 64-67, 68-69, 72-74, 76-77, 81-82, 85-89, 93-98, 106, 108-109, 112-113, 115-118. The date is therefore 1884 or 1885.

The tide perceptibly turns

[249] The¹ long and dismal² ebb however is followed by a turn in the tide, which, very moderate at first, has continued in a sort, ever since,³

[250]⁴ I wonder how many of your present readers will remember the long letter⁵ of mine⁶ on this⁷ topic, ten years⁸ since, published July 23, 1875.⁹

[251] It was¹⁰ truly a crucial period,

1. Inserted and deleted: "d" above "The"
2. Preceding three words inserted above "ebb" and "how" in "however"
3. End of first scrap.
4. MS has "¶" as well as indentation.
5. Deleted: "I [*illeg.*]"
6. Deleted: "pu"
7. Deleted: "same"
8. Deleted: "ago" ; inserted above: "since"
9. End of second scrap.
10. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

Jan. 11, '85. At J. M. S's.

Manuscript not found. Text from *WDC*, 63. Kennedy expands the "S's" to "Scovel's," one of Whitman's Camden friends. Hinds has not been identified. First published *WDC*, 63.

Jan. 11, '85. At J. M. S's Hinds' army reminiscences as he told them by the wood fire in S's parlor. The scenes of May, '64, as witnessed at Fredericksburg; that whole old town glutted, filled, probably 15 to 20,000 wounded, broken, dead, dying soldiers, sent northward from Grant's forces on their terrific promenade from the Rapidan down to Petersburg, fighting the way, not only day by day, but mile by mile—sent up from the battles of "the Wilderness"; groups, crowds, or ones or twos, lying in every house, in every church, uncared for; the hundreds and hundreds dying; the other hundreds of corpses of the dead; the fearful heat of the weather; the many undressed wounds filled with maggots (actually more than one thousand, and more than two thousand, such cases).

At Night as the Engineer.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in blue pencil on a white wove scrap approx. 3" x 4". The word "continually" is inserted above "blows." The shaky writing is after 1873 and the railroad noise he is describing suggests a date after 1884, when he bought the Mickle Street house, which was within earshot of the railroad.

at night as the engineer/continually blows his steam whistle/it sounds like the
exagerratted fluctuating drone of some gigantic bumble bee

Picture.

Manuscript in LC (#74, sheet #561V). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white wove paper. On recto in another hand: "Nature is so whole so compact without sweet flaw." Asher B. Durand (1796-1886) and Daniel Huntington (1816-1906) were both well-known New York painters. A page-by-page check of *Scribner's Magazine* from its beginning in 1881 to WW's death in 1892 has not turned up the engravings he refers to. They are not mentioned in Poole's *Index*. Probably WW made a slip of the pen. The date must be between 1881 and 1892.

Picture/

Who¹ engraved those portraits in wood of Durand & Huntington in Scribner's Mag for May

1. Deleted: "made" above "engra" in "engraved" following; inserted: "engraved"

Miss Harriett H Swallow.

Manuscript in LC (#114, sheets #1333-1354). Commercial top-bound pocket notebook with red-brown cardboard covers, 6⁷/₈" x 4³/₁₆". Blue rules. Described in *LC Cat* as "[27] p. on 54 l. (33 blank)." Many blank leaves and stubs preserved. Inscribed in black pencil and blue and purple crayon. It seemed of no importance to rearrange entries in order of inscription. Dates given indicate that the notebook was used in March, April, and October, 1885.

[1333R]¹ Miss Harriett H Swallow 433 Arch Phila² [1333V]³ Hats — March '85 Wallace Bros 154 N 5th Phila/ Harry Kayser 10 So 2d Phila/Belle Leake⁴ 2441 North 10th st Phila called March 19 '85. [1334V⁵; 1334R⁶] Brass Bedsteads Brass⁷ Furniture Co 3 E 14th St New York Oct. '84 (*Century*)⁸ [1335R]⁹ Milton Crowe WJRR¹⁰ young fellow scarr'd in face¹¹ [1335V]¹² Cohen shoes—Oxford Ties mens 7 & 9 n 8th st Phila [1336R] "Facts are divine things" was a favorite

1. Front cover is also numbered [1333].
2. Written sideways in black pencil. In purple crayon, sideways above, deleted: "On the contrary, the "old gray" is a regular voter—is one" . No Harriet H. Swallow, nor any Swallow was listed at this address in the Philadelphia directories for 1884 to 1886, but see *DN*, 369.
3. Blue crayon.
4. Arabella Leake, widow.
5. Purple crayon.
6. Purple crayon, deleted: "The gray poet is one of [*del.*] many [*ins. and del.*] the [*ins.*] thousands [*ins.*] of genuine Democrats and free traders [*preceding three words ins.*] that made started forward [*preceding two words ins.*] the Republican party in 1859 and have since [*preceding eight words ins.*] [*del.*] and voted [*del.*] for [*del.*] steady duly voted [*preceding two words ins.*] for Lincoln, Grant and Garfield 'for reasons.' Those reasons no longer exist. As far as any [*del.*] principle important principle is now at stake, the [*preceding twelve words del.*] The principle now and hence forth [*ins. and del.*] most at stake"
7. Initial "B" written over [*illeg.*]. WW's interest in brass beds (see [1345V]) may arise from his having purchased 328 Mickle St. the preceding winter.
8. Possibly *Century* magazine.
9. In black pencil, marked by a single parenthesis at left, deleted: "page 93, Lewes' Life of [*del.*] Goe Goethe/extinct" G. H. Lewes, *The Life and Works of Goethe*, 2 vol. (Boston, 1856), I, 93, describes Goethe's beauty as he entered Strassburg. See "These I believe are Goethe's" for another reference to Lewes' *Goethe*. WW had also preserved an early newspaper clipping which quoted this passage ("Schiller—born 1759"). In another hand: "P G Doyle 409 Hoffman St" . Probably Pete Doyle.
10. West Jersey Railroad.
11. Purple crayon.
12. Black pencil.

maxim of Frederic the Great¹³ [1337R; ¹⁴ 1336V blank] Abraham Townsend Robert Slater [1338R; 1337V blank] *Beware of a fixed idea.*¹⁵ [1339V; 1338V, 1339R blank] Robert Pearson boy of 13 sandy Milliette's¹⁶ printing office, April 30 (boat)/George, 30 hostler/Zeke Lukens driver 15/Ben Watson driver 2¹⁷ [1340R] Mrs J H Townsend East Island Glen Cove¹⁸ [1341R; 1340V blank] *Fancies at Navesink & Parting Memoranda*¹⁹ [1341V] Harriett H. Swallow 433 Arch st Phila²⁰ [1342V; 1342R blank] *Fancies at Navesink with other pieces Some Parting Notes*²¹ [1344V; 1343R and V, 1344R blank] Daniel Lelkens German birth Orphan 16—born in Baltimore/ Stove Making 111 North 2d Phila/ Borden's Stove factory 130 North 2d/ Boston letter in NY Tribune March 29 85 Col. Charles Fairchild & Mrs. F of Lee Higginson & Co Commonwealth av²² [1345V; R²³ blank] Brass Bedstead R Kelso 225 So: 2d²⁴ [1346V; R blank] Write a poem ?Some length to be called *Yonnonidio* get Indian acct's & books.²⁵ [1347V; R blank]²⁶ to the soul/after a certain interval—after the doing of the actual fact is away back there²⁷ settled and done²⁸ [1350V, R blank; 1348 V²⁹, R blank; 1349 V³⁰, R blank] a good phrase the correlation of the arts³¹ "we seldom recognize a truth when we first see it" says Bacon³² [1351R] Send L of G to F W Perry Office Fruit Jar Factory Cor: Gaul and Adams Sts Phila;) book sent/dont forget Edward

13. Written lengthwise. Purple crayon. At bottom of leaf rough outline of ship's hull from above sailing to left. Underneath: "larboard ie left side"

14. Purple crayon in another hand: "Wm Leonard Horner" ; in black pencil in another hand: "Isaac S. Jaggard 409 Hoffman"

15. Blue crayon, written lengthways.

16. Milliette was a Camden printer. See *DN*, II, 301.

17. Black pencil.

18. Black pencil, written lengthways.

19. Blue crayon, written lengthways. "Fancies at Navesink" was published in *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1885.

20. Blue crayon, written lengthways in lower right corner with framing lines at left and below. See n 2.

21. Black pencil, written lengthways. See n 19.

22. All in black pencil. The *Tribune* article mentions a reception given by the Fairchilds for his brother, General Fairchild. WW had met a Colonel and Mrs. Fairchild in Boston in 1881 (*Corr.*, III, 354). See *DN*, II, 385n, 424n.

23. In another hand in black pencil: "F. W. Perry Cor Gaul and Adams sts Phila" . See [1351R].

24. Black pencil, upside down at foot of leaf.

25. Blue pencil. William Henry Cyler Hosmer (1814–1877) had already published *Yonnonidio, or Warriors of the Genessee: A Tale of the Seventeenth Century*, a narrative poem, NY, 1884. See WW's lyric "Yonnonidio" (1887), *LG*, 524.

26. Deleted: "after the [*del.*] actual actual fact [*del.*] is is over with its"

27. Preceding three words inserted above "after a"

28. Written sideways on length of leaf. Black pencil.

29. In another hand. In black pencil: "(Stoves" ; in purple crayon: "F M Borden 130 n2 Phil" . Written lengthways.

30. In other hands: "Tho's Sinclair & Son #508 North St." "Francis Dane Bailey 124 East 28th St. New York."

31. In purple crayon, written lengthways. In black pencil, deleted in blue crayon: "Yet [*del.*] the [*ins. and del.*] my soul dearest leaves—the hardiest and the last"

32. Blue crayon lengthways.

Dudley³³ [1351V] Harpers page 14 words to a line across 59 lines in a page³⁴ [1353R; 1352 V³⁵, R blank] Shakespeare 8 Vols in 4 John E Potter & co:³⁶ 617 Sansom St³⁷ [1353V] to get a straw hat made Parish Jr ?38 to 42 North Fifth st Phila³⁸/Straw braid 239 Market/(hats—James Marlor 13 n2d Phila Harry Kayser 10 S 2d Phila³⁹/for *slang* or words a “job” means a logging camp in the lumber regions (Adirondack & I suppose) elsewhere north.⁴⁰ [1354R and V]⁴¹

33. Possibly a Camden lawyer. See *DN*, I, 177.

34. Purple crayon. Preceding ten words written across the top and up the side of a rectangle drawn on the leaf.

35. In another hand, purple crayon lengthways on leaf: “Elijah Copeland Working Man’s Club Nelson Street Newcastle-on-Tyne England”

36. Purple crayon.

37. Purple crayon.

38. Black pencil. Both Marlor and Kayser were hatters. This and the preceding entry were perhaps written in early summer.

39. Blue crayon.

40. Definition not given in *NED*, *DA*, *DAS*.

41. Envelope addressed to WW postmarked Washington, March 7 on front, March 5 1885 on back. Formerly attached inside front cover.

July 30 1885.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in red ink on tan wove scrap, approx. 3½" x 5⅞", torn off at left, trimmed with scissors top and bottom. Accompanied by WW's calling card with address: "Camden, N. Jersey, U.S. America" in his hand. Date July 30, 1885.

July 30 1885

David McKay called & paid me \$22. cts 06¹ (twenty two dollars, six cents)² for royalty³ my two Vols: *Leaves of Grass* and *Specimen Days* for last six months

1. Written over "06"
2. Deleted: "as my" ; inserted: "for" above "[del.] any"
3. Deleted: "from"

Received, November 5, 1886.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap, $3\frac{7}{8}$ " x $7\frac{3}{4}$ ", blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Signed in another hand "Maggie B Goodenough." On verso endorsed in red ink across end at top by WW, "Mrs. Goodenough's rec't for Ed's board for Oct. 1886 (rec't up to date)." Edward Whitman died November 30, 1892.

Received, November 5, 1886, Sixteen Dollars, in full for board of Edward Whitman, up to date—

Jo Swinton.

Manuscript at Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in a column in pencil on a torn scrap of white wove paper. The editors of *FC&I* suggest that it was sent to W. S. Kennedy to be included in the list of possible subscribers to *his* book. Probably most of WW's mailing lists were drawn up for publicity purposes. Fig. "sent[?] *Press* of the 22d". The date is probably 1886. First printed *FC&I*, 64-65.

Jo Swinton¹ 21 Pk Row/ C. O. B. Bryant, Lafayette Hotel/ Edwd Howland Hammonton N. Jersey/ Wm M. Singerly Ed Record²/ H H Furness³ 7th & Locust/ Geo H. Boker⁴ 1720 Walnut/ Geo. W. Childs.⁵ 2128 Walnut/ Horace H Traubel 140 S. 8th 11⁶ John Swinton 21 Park Row/ Wesley Stafford⁷ Kirkwood N. J/ Geo Stafford,⁸

1. See "D. W. Wilder."
2. Probably the Philadelphia *Record*.
3. (1833-1912), founder of the *New Variorum Shakespeare*.
4. (1823-1890), poet, playwright, diplomat.
5. See "Wm J. Gurd."
6. Deleted: "Knortz 540 155 st."
7. Harry Stafford's cousin.
8. Harry Stafford's father.

At the Close of the War.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #324). Inscribed in pencil on cocoa-colored paper which WW used in the 1880s and later (see "Burns unused June '89"). *The Personal Memoirs of U.S. Grant* were published in 1886. Printed in Glicksberg, 144.

At the close of the war, the expenses of it, purchases of supplies, pay of men, &c, were about a million dollars a day,

Grant's Memoirs

The Relation Between.

Manuscript in Duke (36, #28). Inscribed in black pencil and, as noted, black ink on three white wove scraps cut from top-opening pocket notebook with rounded lower corners approx. [1] $3\frac{3}{4}$ " x $3\frac{5}{16}$ "; [2] 3" x $3\frac{5}{16}$ "; [3] $2\frac{1}{2}$ " x $3\frac{5}{16}$ ". Horizontal blue rules $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart. All pasted on a gray wove scrap, approx. $9\frac{1}{8}$ " x $5\frac{1}{8}$ ". WW used this sort of notebook (as compared to small pocket ledgers of the 1850s) after 1860. The contents suggest a date in his late years. First printed *N&F*, 142 (Pt. III; #180; *CW*, IX, 188–189).

The¹ relation between the² mass of employ'd³ persons on one side and the employers (capitalists, factories, RR organizations⁴ owners &c) on the other side, is one the vast complicated, unsettled problems of⁵ America to-day—one⁶ of the problems⁷ to which, although I think it will be solved, I confess I do not yet see any solution or indications of solution. There are⁸ to be sure plenty of reforms & panaceas offered—but like some of the⁹ Sciences (Chemistry for instance)¹⁰ though it cannot be said that we have either got it, or see its resultant & absolute structure, we are working—thousands of good men are faithfully working—toward that resultant & absolute structure

1. In ink on backing-sheet.
2. Deleted in ink: "great"
3. WW deleted the final "e" and inserted the apostrophe in ink.
4. Preceding two words inserted in ink above "ists" in "capitalists" and "factories"
5. Deleted: "Th"
6. Deleted: "and"
7. Deleted: "of" ; inserted above: "to" . End of first scrap.
8. Deleted: "ple"
9. Preceding dash and five words inserted in ink above "panaceas offered" . End of second scrap.
10. Deleted: "it"

I Suggest Inquiringly.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap, 4¼" x 4⅞". When W. S. Kennedy projected a book about WW in 1886, like Bucke, he sent his MS to the Master for approval or correction. The references may be to the MS of *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman* (1890) or of *The Fight of a Book for the World* (1926). At the beginning of Chapter 1 of *Reminiscences* appears the following line from "Recorders Ages Hence": "Publish my name and hang up my picture as that of the tenderest lover." See "Among my special." First published *FC&I*, 64.

I suggest inquiringly¹ whether it wouldn't be well to put this—adding perhaps what is also marked with red ink on MS page 31²—what I have marked on the edge of the sheet with red ink—on the very first page of the text, or introduction—or even on a page by itself at the beginning?

—Sort of Motto³

1. Inserted in pencil above "est" in "suggest" and "wheth" in "whether"
2. Preceding thirteen words inserted in black ink above "this . . . marked"
3. Preceding three words and dash inserted in pencil below "the beginning"

Doubtful ab't.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in black pencil on a white wove scrap, 1¼" x 7½". Blue rules ½" apart. No dedication appears in *Reminiscences*. First published *FC&I*, 65.

doubtful ab't the "Dedicated to:" &c on p 1—probably *better leave* it out

Pages 26 '7 '8.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in black pencil on a white wove scrap, 1¼" x 7½". Blue rules ½" apart. "Printer omit" in red ink in another hand. Kennedy says on the mounting sheet that the reference is to his discussion of the sex poems. Published *FC&I*, 65.

pages 26 '7 '8 '9 &c please & satisfy me well

—The Writers in the Tribune.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in black ink on a white wove scrap, approx. 1 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ ". At the top in another hand (Kennedy's?): "Springfield Republican Nov. 10th (fine)." The text begins well to the right and before it, in another hand (possibly the same as above): "New York Tribune Nov 19th (indecent)." Below the line after the text in probably the same hand: "*Overland Monthly*, February." Despite the friendliness of Whitelaw Reid, the owner of the *Tribune*, George Ripley, and Bayard Taylor were consistently hostile in its columns. They were especially hostile in 1882 when *LG* was suppressed in Boston. The date is probably 1886.

—the writers in the Tribune, Bayard Taylor,¹ Ripley,² Whitelaw Reid and little Willy Winter,³ have been the most malignant of persistent enemies of WW and L of G. from the beginning and throughout./

1. (1825–1878). One of the mediocrities who dominated American poetry after the Civil War. He had been a friendly acquaintance during the war, but turned against WW later. His parody, "Camerados," in *The Echo Club* (1876) was both clever and savage. As a final blow, he was the official poet of the 1876 Centennial Exposition.

2. George Ripley (1802–1880), Transcendentalist, regular critic on the *Tribune* after Margaret Fuller left in 1849.

3. William Winter (1836–1917), drama critic on the *Tribune*. He had been assistant to Henry Clapp on the *Saturday Press*, but apparently he and WW disliked each other from the start.

For Motto—Don't Like.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in black pencil on a scrap of white wove paper, 3⁵/₈" x 7¹/₂". Blue rules 1/2" apart. The three stanzas printed in *Reminiscences*, v, are not in E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, *The Works of John Ruskin*, II (London, 1903). First published *FC&I*, 65.

for *Motto—Don't like Ruskin's lines*—they are not fitting at all—the other line beginning "Allons'," is all right

Page 45 MS.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in black pencil on white wove scrap, 10" x 7½". Blue rules ⅜" apart. Emended in pencil and red ink. The only reference to Gilder in Kennedy's *Reminiscences of Walt Whitman* is a complaint of a rejection, June 18, 1890 (p. 64). "Father Taylor (and Oratory)" and "Army Hospitals and Cases" appeared in the *Century* in February, 1887 and October, 1888, and Gilder was quite friendly. First published *FC&I*, 66.

Page 45 MS/

R W Gilder, the now editor of "Century" is a warm admirer of L. of G. & personally markedly¹ friendly to W W—² The "Century" of Sept. '86, is to contain a short article "Father Taylor (& Oratory)" by W W—Furthermore the "Century" has just³ taken & handsomely paid for "Army Hospitals & Cases," by W W, & will publish it in due time. see p. 237 your Ms.⁴

I have my doubts ab't pages 50 and 51—I *would leave them out*

1. Inserted above "ally" in "personally" and "fr" in "friendly"
2. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
3. Inserted above "has"
4. Preceding five words inserted in ink above "due time"

Seems To Me.

Manuscript in Duke (53, #13). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 7⁵/₁₆" x 4¹/₂". Blue rules ³/₁₆" apart. Left margin suggests that it is half a sheet of note paper. Scovel is probably James Matlack Scovel, publisher of the Camden *New Republic*. His remarks are in *Reminiscences*, 11-13, 16-17. Ballou is probably W. H. Ballou, a journalist. His interview is *ibid.*, 13-15. It had appeared in the Camden *Daily Post* June 28, 1885. See *Corr.*, III, 398-399. First printed in *FC&I*, 66.

Seems to me this letter of Scovel's is better than Ballou's¹ the one in the Book commencing p. 248²—reads better, & gives more desirable information. If you should think so too, substitute it in place of the one Ballou's³ now in the Book (the MS)—I dont like the latter pages 248 to 255 in Book⁴ at all—

1. Inserted in black pencil above "the"
2. Preceding three words inserted in black ink above "Book" and "—le" in "—leads"
3. Inserted in black pencil above "one" and "n" in "now"
4. Preceding six words inserted in black ink above "latter at all—"

With Results.

Manuscript in LC (#66, sheet #327). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap with vertical blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart on recto only. On verso, deleted: "tremendous events & then the Murder." [Lincoln's ?] Possibly a draft for *NB*.

with¹ results of greatest importance, for scores, centuries of years to come²—but I have become accustomed to think of the³ whole of⁴ the Secession war⁵ in its⁶ emotional artistic,⁷ & literary relations—those which

1. Preceded by deleted "but" ; followed by deleted "effects"
2. Redundant dash at end of line after "come" not printed.
3. Deleted: "Attemp" ; inserted above: "whole" ; deleted: "war"
4. Deleted: "Attempted" ; inserted on next line above "S" in "Secession": "the"
5. Inserted above wordspace between "Secession . . . in"
6. Deleted: "indirect" ; inserted above: "emotional"
7. Deleted: "imaginative" ; inserted above: "& literary"

2d Volume November Boughs.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink, brown crayon, and red ink on verso of a fragment of a letter which is pasted to a fragment of another letter dated January 24, 1884, as a backing sheet. Laid out like a title page. The first line is in black ink, second in brown crayon, third and fourth in black ink, "NOVEMBER BOUGHS a melange . . ." in red ink. In the last line, "62nd" has been written over "61st." *NB* was published in 1888. See "(2d vol Specimen Days)." The date is 1887 or 1888.

2d Volume
November Boughs
Specimen Days
& Collect
November Boughs
a melange of verses and
prose. from my 62d to
68th
year—

Spec Days 2d Vol.

Manuscript in Duke (48, #31). Inscribed in pencil and black ink on what looks like wove proof paper, ca. 6¼" x 4". First printed in *WDC*, 71. The date is probably 1887 or 1888. See "(2d vol Specimen Days)" and "after sixty-?? five."

Spec Days 2d Vol¹

Though I would not² have dared to gather the various³ pieces of the following book in a single volume,⁴ with a⁵ generic name, unless⁶ I felt⁷ the strong inward thread of spinalty running through all the pieces⁸ & giving them affinity⁹—purpose, I yet realize that¹⁰ the collection¹¹ is indeed a melange, &¹² its cohesion & singleness of purpose¹³ not so evident at first¹⁴ glance.

1. Blue crayon.
2. Deleted: "of dare" ; inserted above and into right margin: "have dared"
3. Deleted: "following"
4. Deleted: "book" ; inserted above in black ink: "volume" ; deleted: "under" ; inserted above in blue crayon: "with"
5. Deleted: "common" ; inserted above: "generic"
6. Inserted above erasure.
7. Deleted: "in them a [*del. in black ink*] certain" ; deleted: "sure" ; inserted in pencil: "the" ; inserted in black ink: "strong inward" above "[*del.*] certain" and "thread"
8. Preceding two words inserted above "gh" in "through" and "all"
9. Deleted comma; inserted dash.
10. Deleted: "it is only after absorb"
11. Deleted: "looks indeed"
12. Deleted: "the" ; inserted: "its"
13. Preceding seven words inserted above "melange" and deletion; deleted: "& that that the"
14. Deleted: "sight" ; inserted above: "glance" . Cancelled with vertical stroke: "However I feel [*ins. above* "feel . . . that"] certain that all tend to a [*six words del.*] of the various parts may need common centre & concentrate there, and will turn out to the reader, the absorber [*preceding fourteen words ins. above preceding deletions and insertions*]
 "The ["T" over "t"] table is set [*preceding four words del.*] I have set my table [*preceding five words ins. above the deletion and* "with"] with several & [*ins. above* "dishes"] varied dishes, who the and varied, ones [*preceding five words del.*] but the nourishment [*del.*] f is one." Marked with blue crayon line at left.

Payments Made.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black ink and blue crayon on a white wove sheet, 8¾" x 7". Entries arranged in column. At foot of the sheet at right, under the last total: "300" in blue crayon above "9[00?]." As an employee of Reese Welch and Company, David McKay had arranged in June, 1882, to take over the plates and publication of the banned *LG* 1881. A few months later he set up his own firm. This was written between 1882 and 1887.

Payments made by David McKay
Royalties on *Leaves of Grass*
& *Specimen Days*¹

September 26 1882—\$300 (270)²
 Oct. 4th & 5th [1882]³—300 (270)
 Nov 13 [1882]—100 (94)
 December 1 [1882]—570 78
 June 8—1883— 200
 Dec 5⁴ [1883]— 102 51
 June 2 (July 12) 1884—\$91.41 91 41⁵ (in same bill 21.96 for over-charge—
 making \$91.41)⁶
 Dec. 10 1884— 71.63
 June 1 1885 (*D. McK call'd July 30 & paid*) 22.06⁷
 Dec 1 1885— 20.71
 Dec 19, (18) 1886 for both Vols for⁸ the year viz, for June 1, '86 & Dec 1 '86 ^
 —120.21⁹
 Sept 21 1887—both Vols—76.91¹⁰

1. Preceding three entries written as a three-line centered heading.
2. The meaning of the parenthesized figures is not known.
3. Ditto marks in original.
4. This and succeeding entries up to "Dec 1 1885" marked with a line at left and memorandum: "both Vols"
5. Written above cancelled "69.45"
6. In blue crayon.
7. See "July 30 1885."
8. Preceding three words inserted above "for the year"
9. Entry in blue crayon.
10. Entry in blue crayon.

Facts in the Matter.

Manuscript in Huntington (6710). Inscribed in black ink in a loose hand on three leaves of white wove paper, 9 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Blue rules $\frac{3}{8}$ " apart. Dated in brackets, possibly by another hand, "1889." It is characteristic of WW's inaccuracies that he does not mention that in 1880 he was willing to accept Worthington's 1879 offer ("Nov: 26 1880"). Since Charles Eldridge moved to California in 1886 or 1887 (*Corr.*, IV, 79), the MS must be of those years or later.

*Facts in the matter of Worthington
illegally publishing "Leaves of Grass"*

Leavitt the auctioneer in New York City in the latter part of 1879 sold to a Mr Williams (bookseller still in the trade in NY) the electrotype plates (456 pages) of the Boston 1860-'61¹ edition of my book "Leaves of Grass"—plates originally made by *Thayer & Eldridge* a firm of young Boston booksellers, under agreement with me to make & publish the book for five years from then date, 1860?'—'61²—An edition was printed and sold—but the Secession War came on—Thayer & Eldridge failed—& these plates, becoming the property of Mr Wentworth a creditor of T & E. were stored away & locked up for many years in Boston³—eventually (as said above) sent on by Wentworth to NY. & sold at auction to Williams, who makes them over to Worthington. (Leavitt before putting them up wrote to me from NY I was then in St Louis, sick,⁴ offering me the first purchase privilege—I wrote back [2] to him that the plates were superseded & worthless—there being a new, different and larger edition—& that I could not use the said plates myself, nor would I allow them to be used by any one else—(I being the sole owner & controller of the copyright)—

Afterward, on the purchase of the plates as above described, Worthington writes to me (see letter marked A.)⁵ offering me \$250 to write something additional & authenticate the book. I immediately wrote back refusing the offer & forbidding the printing from the plates.

1. Inserted: "—'61" above "o" in "1860"

2. Inserted: "?-'61" above "60" in "1860"

3. Preceding two words inserted above "ears" in "years" and the dash following.

4. Preceding seven words and commas inserted above "m" in "from" and "NY offering me"

5. In Yale, dated Sept 29, 1879.

In 1881 (or 1880) I personally called at Worthington's store & saw him & forbid him issuing the book—Mr Williams was present at the interview.

Worthington has sent me (paid me) at one time \$50, & another \$25—\$75 in all.

C W Eldridge (of Thayer & Eldridge) is now located at Los Angeles California & will doubtless corroborate the five years item alluded to.⁶

{3} The point is that Worthington has for the last eight or nine years been making issuing & selling against my express prohibition & to my great loss & injury—& putting into the market by his traveling salesmen & “drummers”—a printed book of mine, from plates the right to issue which run out twenty years ago & over

Walt Whitman
328 Mickle street
Camden New Jersey

6. Meaning not clear.

—Though a Big Certificate.

Manuscript in LC (63, item #301). Inscribed in black ink on scrap of white laid paper. Writing blurred in spots, as if by water. The significance of the asterisks is not known. A deleted date seems to be "188-." WW and Tennyson had been in correspondence since 1871, but it was not until 1887 that the clearest "certificate" arrived. See Herbert W. Bergman, "Whitman and Tennyson, *SP*, 51 (July, 1954), 493.

—though a big certificate came early from Emerson*¹ an equally strong one, now of late, appears² from Tennyson*

¶First pages, in 1876

1. Deleted: "[*illeg.*] an an" ; inserted: "an"

2. Inserted above "fr" in "from"

A Poet's 68th Year.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink on three leaves of white wove paper, approx. 9" x 7". At upper right is a pasted-on scrap which extends above the top edge, inscribed in black ink "(for Sunday paper of May 29 send proof to 328 Mickle st Camden)." A number of inserted paragraph signs are in pencil. A few deletions and corrections are also in pencil. On the second leaf is a deleted "2" at the top of the leaf in WW's hand. The original page 2 may be missing, for there is a hiatus in diary entries between August 3, 1886, at the foot of page [1] and January 12, 1887, at the top of page [2]. WW's "Daybook" (*DN*, II, 424) notes that the essay was rejected by *The Critic* and that it was sent to the *Philadelphia Press* and "5 papers." It did not appear in the *Press*. The quotations "from his journal or loose memorandum-book for the last year" are slightly edited entries from the "Daybook." The date is 1887. Printed in Traubel, IV, 511-513.

A Poet's 68th year.

Walt Whitman, 68th year is about¹ completed, as he was born May 31, 1819. This article is intended to give a realistic, authentic account of the period and the poet.² He still lives in Mickle street, Camden, in his little old wooden house, not far from the Delaware³ river; and Mrs. D.,⁴ continues to cook and housekeep for him, as for some years past. He is⁵ jolly in spirit as ever,⁶ and keeps up his usual⁷ mentality, giving out an occasional poem, and more frequently an essay or prose composition or reminiscence; but is a paralytic, badly wrecked in body.⁸ The just concluded⁹ year of his life has not been¹⁰ an eventful one. He wrote the two-column piece,¹¹ "How I made a Book, or tried to," and sold it to the New York

1. Inserted above "com" in "completed"

2. Sentence inserted on two lines above "he was born . . . He still"

3. Inserted above "river"

4. Mrs. Mary Davis.

5. Deleted: "still"

6. Two words and comma inserted above "t" in "spirit" and "and"

7. Inserted above "men" in "mentality"

8. Preceding seven words inserted above "mposition" in "composition" and "or reminiscence; but" ; deleted: "and" following "body." . Deleted on next line: "The 68th" ; inserted above the deletion and deleted: "The last"

9. Preceding three words inserted above "year of his life"

10. Deleted: "at all"

11. Preceding three words inserted above "wrote How I"

newspaper syndicate for \$80, last June. A shorter¹² companion piece "My Book and I," (\$50)¹³ appeared in Lippincott's Magazine lately.¹⁴ Together they lead into, and explain much of his¹⁵ writings,¹⁶ peculiarity and intentions.¹⁷

¶We are permitted to extract from his journal or loose memorandum-book for the past year:

¶"June 16th¹⁸—drove by myself down to Clementon to see Walter Borton (third time)—he is dying—consumption."

¶"June 26—paid back-taxes of 1884, \$23.43."

¶"July 3^d to 7th—went down to Sea Isle City, on the Jersey Coast, 64 miles from Camden, at invitation of J. O. Bentley—had a good time."

¶"July 26—Sent Hospital article to *Century* magazine—accepted—p'd \$150."¹⁹—

¶"Aug. 3: Sent "Burns as Poet and Person" to *North American Review*. Accepted and paid for, (\$70.)"—²⁰

[2]²¹ ¶"Jan. 12, '87—Cold—ground cover'd with snow. Good sleighing all ab't here. Went out a couple of hours midday yesterday, with horse and wagon; went to Brown Bro's, bankers, Chestnut st. Phila., to cash the New Year's present, £ 81:6:6, (\$393.61) sent over to me so kindly by *Pall Mall Gazette* people, England; went to bank to deposit money and checks.²² Am very feeble, especially in walking power; don't go out doors to walk at all; pretty fair appetite; sit here in the little front room, well bundled up this weather; read and write rather aimlessly. How considerate, gentle and generous my British friends are!"

¶"Jan. 19: Still cold. Yesterday's papers' Congressional proceedings say Mr. Lovering, of Mass., introduced a bill for a pension to me, \$25 a month. A month or so ago, I wrote to Sylvester Baxter,²³ Boston, a friend of Lovering's, positively declining to apply for such a pension, and that I did not deserve it. (²⁴But it was very kind of Mr. L. and my New England²⁵ friends. The Pension Committe

12. Inserted above "com" in "companion"

13. Inserted above "ap" in "appeared"

14. Possibly the first title is "How Leaves of Grass Was Made," which appeared in the *NY Star* in 1885 (not located) and, as "How I Made a Book," in the *Philadelphia Press* (July 11, 1886). "My Book and I" appeared in *Lippincott's*, 39 (January, 1887). Both essays were used for "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads." See *Prose* 92, II, 711n and Sculley Bradley and John A. Stevenson, *Walt Whitman's Backward Glances* (1947).

15. Deleted: "intentions"

16. Deleted: "and"

17. Preceding two words inserted above "liarity" in "peculiarity" and into right margin.

18. Deleted: "went" ; inserted: "drove by myself" above the deletion and "down"

19. Deleted: [illeg.]; inserted below: "\$150." See "Army Hospitals and Cases," *Century*, 36 (October, 1888), 828-830, and "Last of the War Cases," *Prose* 92, II, 614-626.

20. A revised version of an essay first published in *The Critic*, 2 (December, 1882). The revision was published in *North American Review*, 143 (November, 1886). See *Prose* 92, II, 558-568.

21. Deleted at upper left: [illeg.]; at center: "2"

22. See Allen, 525.

23. A journalist on the Boston *Herald* who had met WW when the latter visited Boston in 1881. He was an enthusiastic supporter. See *Corr.*, III, 236-237, 251-252, 289, 308-309, 391-394.

24. Deleted: "It" ; inserted: "But it" above "was"

25. Preceding two words inserted above "my friends"

U. S. H. of R. reported in favor of the bill, but it did not pass, and nothing at all²⁶ came of it.)”

¶“Feb. 22: Went over to the Contemporary Club, Philadelphia; read the “Mystic Trumpeter,” and (against my will) “A Word Out of the Sea.” Horace Traubel, Dr. Brinton,²⁷ and the cab-driver, Mark Elder. I was paid \$20.”

¶“24th: Sick to-day—brain like a lump of heavy dough. Indeed half-sick, or more than half, most of this month. Bad, sulky weather; cold. O’C’s illness and journey to Southern California; a gloomy affair.”²⁸

¶“Feb. 25: Am I not having a *happy hour*, or as near an approximation to it, (the suspicion of it) as is allowed? See p. 92 Specimen Days.²⁹ Is it not mainly a really good condition of the stomach, liver, and excretory apparatus? I was quite ill yesterday. How quickly the thermometer slides up or down.”

¶“Saturday afternoon: went over to {3}³⁰ Philad. to see ‘Clito’—Wilson Barrett³¹ and Miss Eastlake. Young Kersley and Dauncey came for me in a carriage at 1, and bro’t me back at 5; enjoy’d the ride, the play, the acting, and every thing. Mary Davis went with me.” “March 8; sent MS. preface to English ed’n ‘Specimen Days’—two pages print.” “April 13th, went on to New York City—R. P. Smith³² my convoyer and host—to Westminster Hotel, Irving Place.³³ Evn’g., Stedman, Johnston, Gilder and John Burroughs.³⁴ Next afternoon, April 14th, read my ‘Death of Abraham Lincoln’ piece at Madison Square Theatre. Good audience. Next day, 15th, sat to G. C. Cox,³⁵ photographer, and Dora Wheeler,³⁶ portrait painter. Good time. Felt middling well; rather overwhelm’d with friends, and gadding about³⁷ and pulling and talk. R. P. S. very kind, faithful and liberal. W^m Duckett with

26. Preceding two words inserted above “ca” in “came”

27. Daniel G. Brinton (1837–1899), an anthropologist and professor at the University of Pennsylvania.

28. W. D. O’Connor died after a long illness in 1889.

29. “The Sky—Days and Nights—Happiness,” *SD, Prose* 92, I, 133–134.

30. Numbered “4½” (“½” in pencil) at top center.

31. Wilson Barrett, an English actor who toured the United States with his own company in 1886 and 1887 with an eccentric production of *Hamlet*. *Clito* was a pseudoclassical spectacle put together by Barrett and Sidney Grundy.

32. Robert Pearsall Smith, a wealthy Quaker glass manufacturer and father of Logan Pearsall Smith and Mary Whittall Smith Berenson. WW visited them often in Germantown, a Philadelphia suburb, after 1882.

33. Dash deleted.

34. Edmund Clarence Stedman (1833–1908), a genteel poet, editor and critic, but friendly to WW; J.H. Johnston, a New York jeweler, the organizer of the lecture; Richard Watson Gilder (1847–1909), genteel poet and critic, editor of the *Century* and friendly to WW; John Burroughs (1837–1921), nature essayist and author of *Notes on Walt Whitman as Poet and Person* (1867).

35. See photograph in *LG CRE*.

36. Dora Wheeler Keith (1857–1934), known as a painter of portraits, particularly of literary men. See Traubel, II, 194.

37. Preceding three words inserted; inserted and deleted: “and” . All above “nds” in “friends,” and “and pulling”

me.³⁸ A 'grand ovation' to me Thursday evening³⁹—two to three hundred⁴⁰ friends call'd—Westminster Hotel. Parlors fill'd with them. Return'd to Camden, April 16th, every way satisfied. My lecture netted me over \$600. Andrew Carnegie paid \$350 for his seat."

¶"April 22: to 1307 Arch st. Phila. to R P Smith's."

¶"28th; To W^m Thompson's, Gloucester, N. J., to a noble dinner of baked shad and⁴¹ good champagne galore. T. B. Harned.⁴² Drove down and back with Nettie."⁴³ "Here is a bit from an Italian poem ab't an old warrior:

'Age does not chill his valour—no;
'His helmet sits on locks of snow.' "

38. A teenage boy who was WW's attendant from 1885 to 1889. See Traubel, IV, 64–66, for WW's account of him.

39. Deleted: "friends"

40. Deleted: "of them" ; inserted above: "friends"

41. Deleted: [*illeg.*]; inserted above: "good"

42. WW met Harned, a Camden lawyer and one of his three literary executors, in 1884. He dined regularly with the Harneds on Sunday.

43. Probably WW's horse.

The Following.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white wove scrap approx. 1 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 7 $\frac{9}{16}$ ". At upper right deleted: "WW." Although the writing is ragged and late, the reference is not identifiable.

The following are but¹ casual fragments² to serve and eke out³ the lank and blank pages of what I commenced unwittingly two months ago

1. Inserted and deleted: *{illeg.}* above "t" in "but" and "ca" in "casual"
2. Deleted: "and I allowed them needed and gives [?]" [*preceding three words ins. above* "out" and "[*del.*] what"] to" ; inserted words brought down by arrow: "to serve and" above "out" and "[*del.*] what"
3. Deleted: "what [*illeg.*] seem too" ; inserted: "the" above "[*del.*] too"

There Is Not Only.

Manuscript in Yale. Inscribed in black ink in pasted-together scrap of bright blue laid paper with indistinguishable watermark and scrap of dark gray wove paper. At bottom, in a hand probably not WW's, "1888." The reason for this date is not clear.

There¹ is not only the great red-spotted clover-field, so proud a sight to the farmer—so fragrant afterward² in the barns, on the stuffed mows—but also the³ little modest sturdy white clover,⁴ best food for the honey-bees. Then the pretty, still smaller yellow clover (Snail's foot,) comes last of all.⁵

1. Written on both scraps. Succeeding twenty-eight words on blue scrap.
2. Inserted above "grant" in "fragrant"
3. Remainder written on gray scrap.
4. Deleted: "rarest and"
5. Deleted: "May." Inserted above and following the deletion: "all."

Last Will & Testament.

Transcribed from facsimile in Traubel, I, frontispiece. The facsimile is on one long leaf, 31½" x 8¾". It is docketed on the front fold in W's holograph: "Last Will & Testament of Walt Whitman in his own handwriting properly witnessed June 29, 1888." Another facsimile is printed in *The Prescott Collection. Printed Books and Manuscripts*, February 6, 1981. *Prescott—III—5036*, Lot 329 (Christie, Manson, and Woods, International, NY, 1981), facing p. 143. Mrs. Mapes was Mrs. Davis's helper. Witnesses were Mary O. Davis and Nathan Baker. Traubel, I, 310-312, gives an account of its signing. In Feinberg (LC) a memorandum lists some of the bequests from that to Susan Stafford to the end, and adds the bequest of the horse and rig to Dr. Bucke and \$10 to a Mrs. Mary Brown, which were deleted by WW from the will. For other wills see "The last will."

Last Will & Testament of Walt Whitman in his own handwriting properly witnessed June 29 1888

The last will of Walt Whitman written by himself June 29th, 1888, at, Camden, New Jersey.

I give one thousand dollars to my sister Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Van Nostrand of Greenport, Suffolk county New York state, to be paid to her by my executrix or executor within six months of my death

I give one thousand dollars to my sister Mrs. Hannah Louisa Heyde of Burlington Vermont—the time and payment thereof to be left to the discretion of my executrix and executor. I also give one hundred dollars additional to be immediately paid to Mrs H L Heyde to be handed over if she feels do so, to her husband Charles L. Heyde.

My house and lot 328 Mickle street Camden New Jersey—and all my furniture—and all my money in bank whatever—and all estate and property—I hereby give bequeath and devise to my brother Edward L Whitman (now boarding at the farm of Mr. and Mrs. Goodenough near Moores town New Jersey).—As the said Edward L Whitman is mentally incapacitated,¹ I appoint and specify the hereinafter executrix and executor—to have sole and legal ownership, sale, direction, &c. for the fullest possible manner in the said spoken of property and money.

I wish the Executrix and Executor of² my will should be my sister in law Mrs. Louisa Orr Whitman and my brother George W Whitman (now resident at

1. What WW actually wrote is difficult to reproduce. The original entry was "incapitated" He struck out the "p" and inserted an illegible letter between the "a" and the second "c"

2. Deleted: "of"

Burlington New Jersey, husband and wife)—these two I wish possessed whole and several ownership and legal control of all my effects, money, of my house & lot 328 Mickle street—Also that my said executrix, under this will, is hereby comprised as sole and complete executrix as and whenever she thinks proper. I mean in my name to empower in all means for this money and property as trustee and executor by her the said Mrs. L O Whitman for the use of said my brother Edward L Whitman.

I also give and bequeath two hundred and fifty dollars (\$250) to Mrs. Susan Stafford wife of George Stafford, now of Glendale, Camden county, New Jersey.

I give and bequeath two hundred and fifty dollars (\$250) to Mrs Mary O Davis, now of 328 Mickle street Camden New Jersey. I give to my brother George W Whitman the portraits of my father and mother (two small oil paintings and one framed photograph) and one old large Dutch portrait—four altogether—for said G W Whitman. Also the big mahogany table to said George W Whitman.³ I give to Thomas Donaldson the big⁴ chair presented to me his children. I give to Harry Stafford of Marlton New Jersey my gold watch. I give my friend Peter Doyle the silver watch.⁵

I desire that my friends Dr R M Bucke of London, Ontario, Canada, and Thomas B Harned,⁶ Camden, New Jersey, and⁷ Horace L Traubel, of Camden, New Jersey, shall be absolute charged of my books, publications and copyrights, and to manage and control the same—and make such use as they decide on my literary property and copyrights—any profits arising therefrom to be paid⁸ to my executrix or executor as before specified

I give to Al Johnston Jeweler of New York City, my second arm chair, ratan seated. I give Mrs. Mapes, twenty dollars (\$20). I give Mrs. Nancy Whitman, my brother Andrew's widow, fifty dollars, (\$50).⁹ (all the above in Walt Whitman's hand writing)¹⁰

In sign of my writing, my name
In testimony of the following witnesses present

3. Deleted: "I give to Dr. R M Bucke of London, Canada, to my horse and waggon."

4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

5. The entries pertaining to watches for Stafford and Doyle are crammed in.

6. "Harned" written over illegible name.

7. Deleted: "of"

8. Deleted: "to be paid"

9. Deleted: "I give to Mrs Mary Brown ten dollars (\$10)" . Preceding paragraph crammed in.

10. At left in box open at left.

The Head.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, II, 479. The portrait in question, described as the "title portrait," is presumably the beautiful profile medallion on the title page of *Complete Poems & Prose of Walt Whitman* (1888), which does show what might be called a top knot. The note was to be read by Traubel to Brown, the photoengraver. This was written on October 14, 1888.

The head is generally satisfactory and even fine—the main *mar* is "*the top-knot and Romeo Italian curls*" (as a cynical person here calls it all) at the crest of the head and towards the forehead—Can this be *combed* out (so to speak) more in consonance with the copy?—*Some hair should be left there brushed back*—but *not* in a top knot or Italian curls—which are not now and never were worn there in that way—If remedied, corrected, *it should be done with great delicacy*—not to spoil it as existing. W. W. leaves it to you muchly—and thanks you all for the taste and care and success already achieved.

328 Mickle St.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, II, 516. One of four documents, possibly drafts, given Traubel by WW on October 22, 1888. Two letters are printed in *Corr.*, IV, 225, the other is "Memorandum Philadelphia." *Corr.*, IV, 225, explains the transaction, including the binding, but errs in saying that WW was to have fifty editors' copies. As "Memorandum Philadelphia" shows, McKay was to have these. This was written on October 22, 1888.

328 Mickle St Camden New Jersey Oct: 22. 1888. David McKay Dr to Walt Whitman. Copies of November Boughs (1000 copies are furnished) 950 at 33 cts \$313.50 Received payment

Memorandum Philadelphia.

Manuscript in Pennsylvania. Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, approx. 5" x 7¼". It is in WW's hand with the exception of the signature of David McKay. See "328 Mickle St." First printed Traubel, II, 516. The date is October 23, 1888.

Memorandum¹

Philadelphia, Oct: 23 1888.

I have agreed with Walt Whitman to buy from him nine hundred and Fifty copies of "November Boughs" printed book, for Three Hundred and Thirteen dollars, fifty cents, (\$313.50)—which I agree to pay said WW on January 10, 1889. I am to have the privilege of printing further copies of said "November Boughs" from WW's plates during the years 1888, 1889 and 1890 on giving him twelve (12) cents royalty a copy as sold.² Of the present batch (one Thousand copies)³ of 1000⁴ I am to have fifty (50) copies free for editor's copies.

1. Pencil at upper left.
2. Preceding two words inserted in wordspace between "copy" and "of"
3. Parenthesis brought up from below by arrow.
4. Preceding two words inserted above "I"

Any Thing Like a Full.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in purple pencil on three scraps of cancelled letters, one dated 1884, and on scrap of white wove half-sheet of notepaper with an embossed circular stamp at the upper left and blue lines $\frac{5}{16}$ " apart on recto. All pasted together. Probably a draft for "Army Hospitals and Cases," *Century*, 36 (October, 1888), 825-830 (*NB, Prose 92, II, 614-627*).

Any thing like a full, minute¹ exhaustive History of the Army Hospitals 1861-'65, and of what concentrates² in³ the subject of the⁴ Sick and Wounded of⁵ the Civil War[?]⁶ and radiated from them?it,⁷ North and South *note 1⁸ would be impossible. Even to satisfactorily⁹ approximate, or¹⁰ schedule or summarize,¹¹ is out of the question, on such a theme. (It¹² is like the¹³ Deluge, or "the weather.") The best to be done will be to give¹⁴ representative cases[?] with one's individual experience¹⁵ and brief¹⁶ outlines of some of¹⁷ the Hospitals themselves. The latter were of all sorts and sizes.¹⁸

In 1864 they¹⁹ dotted²⁰ every city and town of the Atlantic seaboard, and

1. Deleted: "or"
2. Originally: "concentered"
3. Deleted: "them"
4. Deleted: "wounded and"
5. Deleted: "the [*not del.*] the War"
6. Preceding eleven words inserted above "of what . . . and" before "radiated" beginning the next line.
7. Inserted: "fit" above "m" in "them"
8. See final scrap for WW's note. "* note 1" in a smaller hand. Inserted and deleted: "—or even an approxim" above "would be impossible."
9. Inserted above "to" and "appro" in "approximate"
10. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
11. Deleted: "is" ; inserted above: "is" ; inserted and deleted: "were" above "[*del.*] is" and "out"
12. Deleted: "is" ; inserted and deleted: "would" ; inserted: "is" above deleted "is"
13. Deleted: "De"
14. Deleted: "a few"
15. Deleted: "a few"
16. Deleted: "sights" ; inserted above: "outlines"
17. Preceding two words inserted above "e" in "the" and "Hos" in "Hospitals"
18. End of first scrap.
19. Deleted: "were scattered over" ; inserted and deleted: "spotted" ; inserted: "dotted" . All above the deletion.
20. Deleted: "whole land United States; all the great cities," ; inserted: "every city and town" above "[*del.*] cities" and "of the"

well²¹ inland,— many of them managed²² on a large scale.²³ At Washington were some Hospitals²⁴ of 2000 or more²⁵ inmates, respectable sized towns, or camps, with all the organization of armies. Countless lesser rills and radiations²⁶ permeated every State—literally every county, every township. How take into account, now, this vast background and overshadow of the war—but at the time it made, with what it²⁷

Note 1 *Of course the Hospitals and the wounded and sick of the Southern Soldiery Armies²⁸ would form a part of any sufficient²⁹ statement of this theme. I hope some competent authority or authorities will yet give such a statement.

21. Deleted: "pretty"

22. Inserted above "them on"

23. Deleted: "Lesser" "I" "Countless" . End of second scrap.

24. Inserted above "me" in "some" and "of"

25. Preceding two words inserted above "2000"

26. Deleted: "were"

27. End of third scrap.

28. Written above "soldiery" as alternate reading.

29. Deleted: "history"

? Bring in from.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, $6\frac{7}{8}$ " x $4\frac{15}{16}$ ". Large redundant question mark centered at top of leaf. The loose, awkward writing suggests a very late date.

? Bring in from the miscellaneous & casual scraps here

Books to Be Had of.

Manuscript in Boston. Inscribed in black ink on white wove sheet, 11" x 8", much crumpled as if it had been retrieved from a wastebasket. Hanging indentation of each entry. At upper right is: "a bold conspicuous display page" in WW's hand. Since he refers to it as a "page," it may have been intended for insertion into *Complete Poems and Prose of Walt Whitman* (1888), here referred to as WALT WHITMAN COMPLETE, or as a poster. It does not appear in the single copy of *Complete Poems and Prose* examined. Cf. poster of 1872 in LC (#1006a). The date is 1888.

Books to be had of

DAVID MCKAY, Publisher and Bookseller 23 South 9th st. Philadelphia.

LEAVES OF GRASS—poems—¹including *Sands at Seventy*, (the Annex² pieces of 1888.)
Price \$2

SPECIMEN DAYS AND COLLECT—prose—a Biography—memoranda of the Secession War, and Army Hospital labors,³ at the⁴ time and on the spot—⁵with many Essays (including *Democratic Vistas*;) &c. &c. Price \$2.

NOVEMBER BOUGHS—including *A Backward Glance* ⁶*o'er Travel'd Roads*—*Sands at Seventy* (Annex to Leaves of Grass)—and *Notes on Elias Hicks*—&c. &c.—Price \$1.25

WALT WHITMAN COMPLETE a large Volume of 900 pages, containing the three books mention'd⁷ above—being all W W's works, poems and prose complete;—portraits from life, and autograph.⁸—Price \$6

Dr. R M Bucke's Volume "WALT WHITMAN"—a Biography and Essay. Price \$2.

1. Word and dashes inserted above a deleted dash following "GRASS" and "inc" in "including"
2. Deleted: "Poems" ; inserted above: "pieces"
3. Preceding four words inserted above "War at the [*del. illeg.*] time"
4. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
5. Deleted: "the collected" ; inserted: "with many" above "the" ; "many" above "lected" in "[*del.*] collected" on the next line.
6. Deleted: "at" ; inserted above: "o'er"
7. Deleted: "preceding" ; inserted above: "above—"
8. Preceding five words inserted above "and prose complete"

[*illeg.*] Words in Page.

Manuscript in LC (#79, sheet #757). Inscribed in black ink on an irregularly torn scrap of gray wove paper, heavily stained at the upper left. On verso writing in another hand. WW's handwriting is with a broad-nibbed pen and appears to be that of his later years. No more precise date can be assigned. For similar material see "Mrs Grosh," "Day-book," *DN, II*, 285.

[*illeg.*] words in page [*illeg.*] Réview,
the articles are signed at title heading

Walt Whitman the Generally Called.

Manuscript in Huntington. Inscribed in purple pencil on backing sheet of white wove paper, 10¼" x 7⅞". The second leaf is apparently a proof of "Autobiographic Note. From an old remembrance copy." Horace Traubel, ed., *Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia, 1889), 4. In the last sentence of paragraph two of the proof, WW inserted marginally after "worked" : "for several years in that city and Brooklyn." At the end of the last sentence, tenth paragraph, he deleted the comma before "since," inserted marginally "ever," placed a period after "since" and cancelled the remainder of the sentence. In the last paragraph, after "Canada, to" he inserted marginally: "the cities of Washington or." The date is late 1889 or early 1890. See "*Walt Whitman to-day.*"

*Walt Whitman*¹

The generally called "old gray poet" has to-day nearly finished his 71st year. He² lives in Camden New Jersey,³ near the Delaware river in a little old cottage of his own,⁴ superintended⁵ as housekeeper and cook, by Mrs. D.,⁶ a sailor's widow, and good friend and helper of the old poet.⁷ Whitman has been paralyzed for nearly 20 years, the bequest of⁸ the Secession War, from⁹ three years' too intense and persistent labors at Washington and "in front"¹⁰ among the army¹¹ wounded and sick northern and southern during 1862, '3 and '4.¹² He was badly¹³ struck down with this paralysis at the close of the war, and it¹⁴ has of late years¹⁵

1. At top left: "(follow the quotations carefully)"

2. Space of about ten characters at beginning of line. First scrap begins here; descenders of trimmed-off words show.

3. Deleted: "in a little old cottage of his own"

4. Preceding eight words inserted on two lines above "superintended"

5. Deleted: "now and for some years past" ; inserted: "as . . . cook" above "ded" in "superintended" and "[del.] now and for some"

6. Mrs. Mary Oakes Davis.

7. Deleted: "Walt"

8. Deleted: "strenuous labors in"

9. Deleted: "the [illeg.]" ; inserted and deleted above the illegible entry: "his" ; inserted: "three years" above "[illeg.]" and "too"

10. Preceding five words inserted above "labors among the"

11. Deleted: "sick"

12. Preceding five words inserted above "southern. He was"

13. Inserted above "str" in "struck"

14. Inserted above wordspace between "and" and "has"

15. Inserted above "ma" in "made"

made him almost entirely disabled bodily. Yet¹⁶ he retains,¹⁷ through all and now, “ab’t¹⁸ the same mentality as ever” as he himself¹⁹ drily expresses it. He has of late²⁰ printed his²¹ poems and prose in volumes which he sells himself. He writes poemets²² still, keeps good spirits,²³ said to a friend lately “Every season lets²⁴ me down a leg lower, and the last *let* will probably not be long off.”

But²⁵ a fuller account of Mr Whitman will probably be found in the following “autobiographic note” from the late²⁶ complimentary dinner proceedings:

16. Uppercase “Y” written over lowercase.

17. Deleted: “upon the whole” ; inserted above: “through all and now”

18. Second scrap begins.

19. Inserted above “he” and “dr” in “drily”

20. Preceding two words inserted above “s” in “has” and “pr” in “printed”

21. Deleted: “prose poetr” ; inserted: “poems” above “[del.] poetr”

22. Inserted above “writes” and “s” in “still”

23. Deleted: “says”

24. Deleted: “out” ; inserted: “me”

25. Paragraph marked “¶”

26. Deleted: “[illeg.] of his the”

Carols Closing Sixty-Nine.

Manuscript in Trent (12, #27). Inscribed on irregular white scrap, approx. 10" x 7¹¹/₃₂" in black ink, light purple pencil, and aquamarine pencil as noted. Cancelled with an aquamarine slash. On verso in black pencil: "SANDS AT SEVENTY." Deleted in aquamarine: "for ANNEX to the preceding." Bucke (*N&F*, 179) identifies as trial titles for *NB*; Frey in *Trent Cat.* as for the *NB* poems later called "Sands at Seventy" in First Annex, *LG* (1889). The date is 1888–1889. First printed *N&F*, 179 (Pt. IV, #138; *CW*, X, 36). I am indebted to Mr. John L. Sharpe III, Curator of Rare Books, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University, for the description. There are many variants in LC (#s 22, 40, 41, 78) and in Texas (Hanley).

Carols Closing Sixty-Nine

&c. &c. for Annex-Leaves

to the preceding.¹

Carols at Candle-Light

&c. &c. . .² for³

*Sands on the Shores of Seventy*⁴

Annex-⁵

Leaves⁶

to the preceding⁷/

*Carols at Entering*⁸ *Seventy*⁹/

Carols at Candle-Light

&c &c¹⁰ for

ANNEX-LEAVES

to the Preceding¹¹

1. Light purple pencil. Aquamarine pencil entry deleted in light purple pencil: "Halcyon Days and other Pieces (1884-5)"

2. Light purple pencil.

3. Aquamarine pencil.

4. Black ink.

5. Word and hyphen in aquamarine pencil.

6. Light purple pencil.

7. Aquamarine pencil.

8. Capital "E" written over lowercase.

9. Black ink. First in black ink below points to "Entering"

10. Deleted in light purple pencil: "and other pieces"

11. Entire entry in light purple pencil.

A ¶ of Specific Mention.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on white laid paper, approx. 4⁷/₈" x 8", torn at bottom from larger sheet. Date unknown, but the writing is, however, cramped and irregular.

a ¶ of specific mention and acknowledgment to special Champion friends

Attached to.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, V, 83. WW was sending copies of the "Butterfly Portrait" to be bound in the "Pocketbook Edition." The date is April 26, 1889.

Attached to

This is the size of the leaf and the page—cut your paper to the size of the leaf—mount the photo on abt the same thickness &c as this card—of course the photo has not to exceed the printed page size—if necessary trim it to keep in for that purpose (it may be required a little)—

Of course I shall expect you to make a good handsome little job of it

W W

Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass.'

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, V, 161-162. Hanging indentation except as noted. WW is sending portraits to be bound in the "Pocketbook Edition." The date is May 10, 1889. Possibly the MS described in Feinberg *Cat.*, #99.

Walt Whitman's 'Leaves of Grass' for the Binders/
to be bound pocketbook form green real morocco, gilt edged all round

trim off the edges as closely as they will admit— use your own taste and judgement—I like a little more white margin at bottom both in print pages and pictures
six altogether¹

put the pictures as in sample herewith—see to this carefully—face them carefully as requested.

(I hope the stitching will be first-rate and strong—the big book you bound for me seems to be first-rate²)

Duplicate sample of pictures herewith numbered

No. 1—the frontispiece 2 to face page 29 3 [*face page*]³ 132 4 [*face page*] 214 5 [*face page*] 296 6 [*face page*] 383

1. Very deeply indented.

2. The "big book" is *Complete Poems and Prose of Walt Whitman* (1888).

3. WW used dittos.

20 Autograph First Sheets.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, V, 343. Hanging indentations. A label and instructions to the binder for a variant issue of the "Pocketbook Edition." WW remarked of it, "'purely an experiment,' adding—'Perhaps I shall like it—perhaps not: I have no idea at all.'" The date is July 3, 1889.

20 *Autograph First Sheets* for Bindery for 20 copies L. of G. bound in green morocco ordinary mode (*without* the pocket book flap trimmed close—full gilt)

Suggestions.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, V, 345. WW had been looking over the material for *Camden's Compliment to Walt Whitman*, ed., Traubel (1889). The date is July 4, 1889.

Suggestions

same sized page ab't as "Specimen Days" type Bourgeois leaded run the letters, telegrams, &c: the pages—not block'd out pretty thick paper

*(Print 200 Copies.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, V, 412. On August 6, WW selected the cardboard he wanted: "I prefer the white card (thickest of all 'samples') marked * in the little book." See "Send me a sample." WW wrote this on August 4, 1889.

*(print 200 copies each card)—size of this white paper *this sized card*—

card not very thick,—you are to *adhere to this sized card through all the prints* (as you will have several)

Use yr own judgement ab't color and other technicalities—make a *good job* of course

print the $\frac{3}{4}$ standing figure same—(same sized card)

(They are all (will be 6 or 7 or 8 of them) to be collected together & put in a very handsome strong proper-sized mail envelope label'd in gilt, & sold as *pictures from life of W W*—

(perhaps made in a small album)

Send Me a Sample.

Manuscript not found. Text from Traubel, V, 482–483. Hanging indentation except as noted. WW was still working on his project of a set of portraits (see “*(print 200 copies)”, which apparently was not carried through. The date is September 4, 1889.

Send me a sample proof first & tell me how much price for 100 [*how much price*] for 150 [*how much price*] for 200¹

make large envelopes *White or light handsome* cream colored—or some handsome light color what they call undecided color, light blue light rose or something of that kind—*strong and first class in material and appearance*—²

Size on the piece of brown paper enclosed mark'd*

Style—with a handsome eyelet—bag-form'd (as sample herewith) (intended to tied, bound by a string of floss silk)

(the intention of the envelopes is to hold (to be sent by mail, or otherwise) 8 or 10 cards, pictures—want a handsome job—envelopes will be printed on—must be pretty *strong paper*—Some will go in the European or California mail)

1. According to Traubel, the preceding entry was written in block paragraph on an envelope which was enclosed in a white sheet, on which were written the following entries. A brown sheet of the size WW wanted and a sample of the type of envelope were also enclosed. On the sample envelope was written “Eyelet here” and “This is not the size— is sent as a sample (bag-fashioned envelope) I want something and handsome and strong—to go through wear and tumbling and the mail and across the sea—”

2. Varied indentations of following paragraphs.

The Men North or South.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black ink on white paper watermarked "Whiting Paper Co.," 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Blue rules on verso. Lower left corner torn off. On verso is a fragment of a letter in an unknown hand. Writing cramped and irregular. The contents possibly refer to the annual encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic at Boston in 1890.

The Men North or South¹ that have come on to the current days² from service in the Secession War—there is quite a crop of them left—quite a sprinkling of old or elderly men, and a larger sprinkling of men well-on in middle age.* *(For³ the very⁴ young fellows in⁵ city and country, in all the middle and eastern States and still more⁶ especially, through the West, volunteer'd⁷ by tens of thousands in '61, '2, and '3;⁸ and though subsequent⁹ death, wounds, sickness hardship, the infernal Southern military prison-pens and other causes of course,¹⁰ thinn'd¹¹ them largely,—¹²and the¹³ last 25 years have¹⁴ taken¹⁵ many since,—there are¹⁶ thousands left.)¹⁷ Of the northern or National soldiers there¹⁸ was a big collection and show in Boston

1. Preceding three words inserted above "that have" and "c" in "come"
2. Preceding four words inserted above "on from" "the" originally "these[?]", final letters struck out.
3. Capital "F" over lowercase.
4. Inserted above "e" in "the" and "y" in "young"
5. Deleted: "all the"
6. Preceding two words inserted above "and" and "espec" in "especially"
7. Deleted: "freely"
8. Preceding five words inserted above "ands" in "thousands" and "and though"
9. Inserted above "death,"
10. Preceding two words and comma inserted above wordspace between "causes" and "thinn'd"
11. Inserted above "thinn'd" and deleted: "the"
12. Word and punctuation inserted above "them" and "a" in "and"
13. Deleted: "interval since" ; inserted above: "last 25 years"
14. In MS "has" with "ve" inserted above.
15. Deleted: "much[?] a good"
16. Deleted: "almost sev"
17. Parenthetical sentence written below and brought up by WW's asterisks.
18. Deleted: "has"

Walt Whitman To-Day.

Manuscript in NYPL (Lion). Inscribed in pencil with many alterations on the inside of two used envelopes. Leaf {1} is on a Treasury Department envelope postmarked San Francisco, October 8, 1889. Leaf {2} is on the inside of an envelope from *Munyon's Illustrated World*, 1017 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia, postmarked March 1, 1890. *Munyon's* published "The Perfect Human Voice" (*Collect, Prose* 92, II, 673-674) in October, 1890. The sketch was probably written in May, 1890. This is the second notice WW wrote of his approaching seventy-first year. (See "*Walt Whitman* The generally called.")

Walt Whitman to-day

The "old gray poet" having been born May 31, 1819¹ will soon enter on his 72d year. His physical² fortunes seem to be as strange as his poetical ones. The close of the³ Secession War left him paralyzed,⁴ and he has⁵ never recovered from that condition since⁶ but gradually declined, until now he is⁷ completely disabled and wrecked⁸ body,⁹ remaining¹⁰ mentally the same as ever, in good flesh, looking ruddy, weighing 190 pounds,¹¹ keeping¹² buoyant spirits, and still throwing¹³ out little poems and prose essays. He lives at Camden New Jersey¹⁴ in a democratic manner¹⁵ in a small two-story house of his own by the Delaware river, with a housekeeper-cook to see to him.^{16*} He gets out fair days propelled¹⁷ in a stout

1. Preceding six words inserted above "ay" in "gray" and "poet will soon"
2. Deleted: "destinies" ; inserted above: "fortunes"
3. Preceding three words inserted above "Secession"
4. Inserted and deleted: "soon after the close," above "alyzed" in "paralyzed" and "and"
5. Inserted above "he"
6. Preceding four words inserted above "recovered" and down right margin; deleted: "but has" ; inserted: "but" above "[del.] but"
7. Deleted: "an altogether bodily wrecked and" ; inserted: "completely" above "[del.] altogether"
8. Preceding two words inserted above "abled" in "disabled" and "b" in "body"
9. Deleted: "but" ; inserted and deleted above: "though"
10. Deleted "to-day"
11. Preceding eight words inserted above "mentally the same as ever"
12. "s" altered to "ing"
13. "s" altered to "ing" . Deleted: "of"
14. Preceding four words inserted above "essays. He lives"
15. Inserted and deleted: "with his housekeeper cook" above "ocratic" in "Democratic" and "sm" in "small"
16. Preceding seven words inserted above "his own . . . river." Deleted: "Camden, New Jer-

wheel-chair, and loves to¹⁸ loiter in the sunshine and get to the shore.¹⁹ In-doors he²⁰ has his second story room, 20 by 20 feet; like²¹ some old²² ship's cabin, in which he sits in a great heavy-²³timbered ratan-seated chair,²⁴ (a Christmas present some years ago²⁵ by Tom Donaldson's children, Philadelphia.²⁶ Winter weather, he has an oak wood fire,²⁷ and a broad wolf-skin is spread over the chair²⁸ back.²⁹ He has *massages* twice a day, ("salvation" he calls them) maintains fair appetite, digestion and sleep During the lulls of paralysis³⁰ he³¹ has printed his complete works (sells the volumes himself), and contemplates a small new³² publication either as annex to³³ "November Boughs," or as a book by itself

sey" . Succeeding four sentences, to "digestion and sleep", inserted from [2] according to WW's asterisks.

17. Inserted above: "days in"
18. Deleted: "bask"
19. Preceding five words inserted.
20. Deleted: "has a great" ; inserted: "has [*del.*] a his exercises himself in a [*preceding four words del.*] second story"
21. Deleted: "a ya"
22. Inserted above wordspace.
23. Deleted: "sparred" ; inserted: "timbered"
24. Deleted: "(presented to him for [*ins. and del.*] as"
25. Preceding three words inserted above "sent" in "present" and "by Tom"
26. Deleted: closing parenthesis. Deleted: "He" ; inserted: "winter weather, he"
27. Deleted: "winter weather,"
28. Inserted above wordspace.
29. Deleted: "of" . Preceding period probably inserted.
30. Deleted: [*illeg.*]
31. Preceding six words inserted on two lines above "has printed his"
32. Deleted: "Volume" ; inserted: "publication"
33. Deleted: "his last book"

During 1863, '4 and '5.

Text from Glicksberg, 163–164. No location given. Glicksberg notes: “This is from a loose manuscript scrap, of which I give but a part as the writing is extremely difficult to make out. Cf. the note to the poem, ‘An Ended Day’ . . .” The latter poem is dated 1891. See also “‘He went? out with the tide.’”

During 1863, '4 and '5

Nor is it merely a versifier's conc.—In the Secession War visiting the Army hospitals through 1863, and '4 and so on, I early formed the habit and continued it to the end of specially going among them the latter part of the day.

How Many Deeds.

Manuscript in NYPL (Berg). Inscribed in black pencil on [1] olive green wove scrap, approx. $2\frac{5}{8}$ " x $4\frac{5}{16}$ ", [2] white wove scrap, approx. $1\frac{3}{16}$ " x $5\frac{1}{8}$ "; pasted over junction of [1] and [3], olive-green wove scrap, approx. $1\frac{3}{16}$ " x $5\frac{5}{16}$ ". First printed *N&F*, 147 (Pt. III, #197; *CW*, IX, 199). No date can be assigned.

How many deeds of moment—(I have been thinking that old thought lately)—how¹ many² process-causes of³ future great results⁴—How many quiet⁵ solid lives entirely⁶ unfanfaronaded,⁷ unknown, unnoted by the public talk or telegrams, or newspapers—*often unsuspected by neighbors and friends*—⁸ are transacting dem⁹

1. End of first scrap.
2. Deleted: "long and connected"
3. Deleted: "grandest" ; inserted: "future great" "of" and the deletion.
4. Deleted: "long afterward"
5. End of second scrap.
6. Deleted: "unnoted"
7. Deleted: "unn"
8. Preceding six words inserted above "telegrams, or newspapers"
9. Preceding three words in *N&F*, but not in *MS*.

“He Went? out with the Tide.

Manuscript in LC (#66, item #326). Written in black ink on scrap of cocoa-colored wove paper, approx. 6¾" x 6⅜". The paper is characteristic of the early 1880s (“The incident of”), but the writing is that of his last years. At the top of the sheet is deleted: “Irritation [*illeg.*] An old woman-attendant in one of the hospitals, a natural nurse.” With a change from “soldier” to “sailor” WW used this as “Another Note” to “An Ended Day” (1891). See “*During 1863, '4 and '5.*” Printed in Glicksberg, 163.

“He went?¹ out with the² tide and the sun’s set³” was a phrase I heard from a surgeon, descriptive of an old officer’s death,⁴ under peculiarly gentle conditions,

1. WW originally began “To go . . .”
2. Deleted: “sunshine”
3. Deleted: “shine” ; inserted: “set” . In the right margin opposite the quotation is a large question mark.
4. Originally: “a soldiers easy [*illeg.*] death” . “old” was inserted last.

Matthew Vassar.

Manuscript in LC (#216, item #1843R). Inscribed in a column in black ink on the inside of an envelope postmarked Bolton (England). The names overlap those of "Enoch Pratt" and "*Names of great givers,*" with the exception of that of Baroness Burdett-Coutts (1814-1906), heiress of the Coutts Bank fortune, who was deeply involved in English philanthropy. As early as the 1850s WW had been concerned with great personalities ("Language"). Although the date on the envelope is illegible, WW received his first letter from Dr. John Johnston and James W. Wallace of "Bolton College" in May, 1887 (*Corr.*, IV, 94-95). The MS must be after that date.

Matthew Vassar Commodore Vanderbilt Leland Stanford Baroness Burdett
Coutts

Enoch Pratt.

Manuscript in LC (#216, item #1842). Inscribed in column in black ink on verso of fragmentary letter on letterhead of Roberts and Perkins, Grocers, Burlington, Vt., Feb. 23, 1886, about Han's health. Apparently WW had found a way of getting more objective reports on his sister than he could get from her or her husband. See "*Names of great givers*" and "Matthew Vassar." The manuscript, however, probably dates from 1890 or later, for it was not until Fayerweather's death in 1890 that his philanthropies became known.

Enoch Pratt,¹ of[?] Baltimore Nicholas Brown² John Rockefeller³ Andrew Carnegie⁴ Drexel⁵ Lick⁶ Dan'l Fayerweather⁷

1. Pratt (1808-1896) was a merchant and donor of the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore.

2. Nicholas Brown (1769-1841) was a merchant and benefactor of Brown University.

3. John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937) was an oil refiner and distributor. Although Rockefeller's great benefactions were made later, he had in 1890 richly endowed the University of Chicago. Deleted: "Vassar" ; Matthew Vassar (1792-1868), a brewer, was founder of Vassar College.

4. Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919) was a steel manufacturer. He published "The Gospel of Wealth" in 1885 and devoted much of his fortune to philanthropy.

5. Anthony Drexel (1826-1893) was a banker and coowner, with WW's friend G. W. Childs, of the Philadelphia *Ledger* and founder, in 1893, of the Drexel Institute for technical education. Deleted: "Vanderbilt" ; "Commodore" Cornelius Vanderbilt (1794-1877) had endowed Vanderbilt University. His grandson, also Cornelius (1843-1899), was well-known for his gifts to hospitals and to educational and religious institutions.

6. James Lick (1796-1876) was a merchant and donor of the Lick Observatory.

7. Daniel Fayerweather (1822-1890) was a merchant and at his death left gifts to number of American colleges.

Great American Personalities.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in pencil on scrap of white wove notebook paper, rounded corners at bottom, blue rules $\frac{1}{4}$ " apart. William Learned Marcy 1786–1857) was Secretary of State, 1853–1857, and issued the famous "Dress Circular" of 1856. See "Col. Parker's squa." Edward Bates (1793–1869) resigned as Attorney General because he felt that Lincoln was under the control of professional "scallywags." In a conversation on March 30, 1869, WW and Assistant Attorney General Ashton agreed that Bates, who had lately died, had been perfect in every respect ("Forenoon — Mar 30" [LC Feinberg]). The date of this is difficult to determine. Although the writing is regular, it seems to relate to WW's interest in great personalities in his last years. See "La Fayette Aaron Burr."

great American Personalities Lincoln (at the head) Sam Houston Wm L
Marcy Edward Bates, Attorney General

Names of Great Givers.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink in sprawling hand on scrap of white wove paper. Blue rules $\frac{1}{2}$ " apart. On verso is a fragment of an unidentifiable letter in another hand. The names are written in column. The writing of this MS suggests a very late date.

Names of great givers {?}¹

Peabody² Girard³ Peter Cooper⁴ Johns Hopkins⁵ Isaac Williamson⁶ Geo: W. Childs,⁷ Ezra Cornell,⁸ {illeg.}⁹

1. "s" {?} in "givers" cut off.

2. George Peabody (1795–1869) was a merchant and financier. He was a donor of libraries, museums, and working class housing in the U.S. and England.

3. Stephen Gerard (1750–1831) was a merchant and financier and the donor of Gerard College and other benefactions in Philadelphia.

4. Peter Cooper (1791–1883) was a manufacturer and inventor. He founded the Cooper Union in NY.

5. Johns Hopkins (1795–1873) was a merchant and donor of the Johns Hopkins university and hospital.

6. Isaac Williamson, unidentifiable in *DAB*.

7. See: "Wm J Gurd." Deleted: "Senator Stanford" . Leland Stanford (1824–1893) was a railroad builder and politician. He was the donor of Stanford University.

8. Ezra Cornell (1807–1874) was a capitalist and donor to Cornell University.

9. Leaf trimmed.

La Fayette Aaron Burr.

Manuscript in LC (#216, item #1850). Inscribed in purple crayon and black ink in two columns on stained white wove paper, 11 $\frac{3}{8}$ " x 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ ". The names of presidents Garfield, Taylor, and Tyler are in purple crayon. The second column begins with Lincoln. The names seem to be those of notable personages whom WW had seen during his life. They are still recognizable, except for Silas Wright (1795–1847), Jacksonian Democratic governor of NY, Elias Hicks (1748–1830), Quaker leader, whom WW heard preach in 1830 (NOTES . . . *founded on Elias Hicks* [Prose 92, II, 626–653]), Marietta Alboni, mezzo-soprano ("A VISIT TO THE OPERA"), J. B. Booth (1796–1852), tragedian and father of Edwin and John Wilkes Booth, and Fitz Greene Halleck (1790–1867), Knickerbocker poet. The irregular writing suggests a late date.

La Fayette Aaron Burr Fenimore Cooper W C Bryant John Jacob Astor Gen.
Andrew Jackson Silas Wright Elias Hicks Marietta Alboni Edwin Forrest J B
Booth Longfellow Martin Van Buren Gen. Grant President Garfield President
Z Taylor President T Tyler Abraham Lincoln R W Emerson E A Poe Fitz
Greene Halleck

Summers & Winters.

Manuscript in private collection. Inscribed in black ink with a broad-bed nib pen on two scraps of greenish gray paper described by the owner as "neither woven nor laid." Each scrap is made up of two scraps and measure overall approx. $8\frac{3}{8}$ " x $7\frac{3}{4}$ " and $7\frac{3}{4}$ " x $7\frac{7}{8}$ ". The writing is the irregular writing of WW's later years. His original intention was possibly to write something about the distinguished Pinckney family, but he shifted to fiction. No "*Pinckney's Memoirs*" by a grandson of the memoirist has been located.

Summers & winters were¹ wise² alternations of healthy work (mostly on the farm but³ "dickering" now & then⁴) with some amusement, more study, and always attention to health and [?]⁵ cheerfulness. They drest well, kept a⁶ fair table, had a good horse, and occasionally made⁷ small jaunts⁸ from home. There was[?] no show of sentimentality about their⁹ affection, but it was¹⁰ well known by¹¹ the neighbors, that, in an emergency, either would have unhesitatingly risked[?] his life for the other.

A¹² *Connecticut Damon and Pythias*

In the just published *Pinckney's Memoirs* [?]¹³ from his diary, are many interesting anecdotes¹⁴ with not a little wisdom¹⁵ involved in them. The book de-

1. Deleted: "a"
2. Deleted original beginning: "Their lives were an" ; preceding five words inserted above deletion.]
3. Deleted: "some"
4. Preceding three words inserted above "dickering"
5. Inserted in right margin, which is torn.
6. Deleted: "good" ; inserted above: "fair"
7. Deleted: "a" ; inserted above: "small"
8. Deleted: "away"
9. Deleted: "love" ; inserted above: "affection"
10. Deleted: "thought" ; inserted above: "well known"
11. Deleted: "the"
12. WW may be beginning another article. Deleted: "Connecticut" ; inserted above and deleted: "Carolina Virginia" ; inserted below: "*A Connecticut*" ; redundant "A" not printed.
13. Deleted: "by his grandson [*ins.*] largely"
14. Deleted: "of relatives with and not a little" ; inserted above "with and not a" : "with not a little"
15. Inserted; deleted: "of reflection" ; inserted above "isdom" in "wisdom" and [*del.*]: "[*illeg. del.*] involved in them"

scribes scenes & characters in a¹⁶ county town in¹⁷ Connecticut:¹⁸ Among the rest the life & death of¹⁹ Jonas Pinckney, a relative &²⁰ near neighbor is²¹ mentioned:²² [2] We²³ used to call them Damon and Pythias

As I remember²⁴ the whole incident now, it was very beautiful & very strange.²⁵ The novels²⁶ and plays²⁷ are always based on²⁸ passionate love of man for woman & vice versa, but this²⁹ was at least as profound³⁰ deep.³¹ twenty-five years, (They were³² never separated in life—and not long in Death.³³ Abel, though the youngest,³⁴ went first. When about 45, he³⁵ died, quite suddenly, of a bronchial affection

Jonas, though³⁶ at the time, the heartiest of old men,³⁷ drooped and as it were, wilted away silently³⁸ away, from the day³⁹ the neighbors gathered to bury his friend He did not⁴⁰ complain in the primitive country fashion⁴¹—but⁴² thenceforward the something was⁴³ gone that made⁴⁴ existence desirable.⁴⁵ In less

16. Deleted: "large"

17. Preceding four words inserted above "racters" in "characters" and "in" and "[del.] North Carolina:" ; inserted above "ina" in "Carolina" : "Connecticut:"

18. Preceding twelve words brought up from bottom of leaf on an arrow and asterisks. Deleted: "His elder brother is spoken [ins.] other [illeg. ins.] His nearest neighbor a relative"

19. Preceding seven words inserted above.

20. Preceding two words inserted above.

21. Deleted: "thus"

22. Deleted: "in a"

23. Over [illeg.]

24. Deleted: "it" ; inserted: "the whole incident"

25. Preceding sentence inserted.

26. Deleted: "are full"

27. Deleted: "are" ; inserted above: "are"

28. Deleted: "the"

29. Inserted and deleted: "love"

30. Inserted.

31. Deleted: "It lasted over thirty years" ; inserted above and deleted: "In life for" ; inserted above: "twenty-five"

32. Inserted.

33. Preceding seven words inserted above.

34. Deleted: "went" ; inserted above and deleted: "died" ; inserted above: "went"

35. Deleted: "went had a bronchial"

36. Deleted: "in hea hale" ; inserted above: "at the time, the heartiest"

37. Deleted: "at the time, pined drooped w"

38. Inserted above.

39. Deleted: "of the burial." ; inserted above: "the neighbors gathered to bury [del.] him his friend [preceding two words ins.]"

40. Deleted: "say much did not"

41. Preceding five words inserted above.

42. Inserted: "[del. and ins. below] but thenceforward the"

43. Inserted above and deleted: [illeg.]

44. Deleted: "all the rest of"

45. Deleted: "good." ; inserted above: "desireable." Deleted: "but [illeg.]" ; inserted: "And so in [illeg. del.]" . Uppercase written over lowercase "i" in "In" . Redundant sentence opening "And so" not printed.

than a year⁴⁶ the same neighbors gathered again⁴⁷ to⁴⁸ perform the old man's⁴⁹ burial.⁵⁰

46. Deleted: "Uncle Jonas"

47. Inserted above: "again"

48. Deleted: "perform the like" ; inserted above: "perform"

49. Inserted above and deleted: "simple"

50. Inserted above and deleted: "also."

Camden Nov. 6 '90.

Manuscript in Bayley Collection, Slocum Library, Ohio Wesleyan University. Inscribed in black pencil on 3¼" x 5¾" scrap of printed calendar notebook page. Lines 3/16" apart. The bracketed entry is printed. "Billy" is not identifiable. By 1890 WW was not capable of driving himself.

Camden Nov. 6 '90 noon¹

I think of driving over with Billy to-morrow, to be with him from 1 to 4., if the weather is favorable.

November Friday 7 1890.²
Rained.

1. Recto.
2. Verso.

(I Can Call Up.

Manuscript in LC (#39, sheet #77V). Inscribed in black pencil on a tan wove scrap, 4" x 6¼". Cancelled by slanting shashes in blue and black pencil. On recto is a draft for poem: "Supplement Hours." (LG, 1892). The reference to streets in Philadelphia suggests that WW wrote this after 1873, possibly as late as 1891 or 1892.

(I can call up their thronged trottoirs, splendid stores and goods, plate glass, crowds of finely drest ladies and gentlemen, vehicles, street-cars, excitement even here)¹

In scenes very different from your² Chestnut and³ Arch and Eighth⁴ streets— or from the Delaware with its⁵ ferries and broad⁶ low shores, and crowded human⁷-marine life—

1. Parenthesized words in a small hand, cramped at top of leaf, overrun first four words of second paragraph.

2. Inserted above "m" in "from" and wordspace following.

3. Deleted: [*illeg.*]

4. Preceding two words inserted above "Arch" and "st" in "streets"

5. Deleted: "marine life" ; inserted above "life" and "b" in "broad": "ferries and"

6. Deleted: "f"

7. Word and hyphen inserted above "wded" in "crowded"

A Quartet of Opinions.

Manuscript in LC (#78, sheet #613). Inscribed on verso of ruled letter paper. On front fold of recto letter from an autograph post dated October 16, 1890. Set up as a title page. Names of countries in column. After "France," "Germany" is smeared, possibly deleted. The opinion from France is probably that of Gabriel Sarrazin, "Poètes Modernes de l'Amerique, Walt Whitman," *Nouvelle Revue* (May 1, 1886); from Ireland that of Edward Dowden, "The Poetry of Democracy" (1871). The American opinions might be those of Burroughs or O'Connor, possibly of Edmund Clarence Stedman in "Walt Whitman," *Scribner's*, 21 (March, 1880). The German opinion might be that of Ferdinand Freiligrath (1868), Karl Knortz, various essays in German printed in US between 1882 and 1886, or Eduard Berz, "Walt Whitman zu seinem siebzigsten Geburtstag," *Deutsche Presse* (1889).

A Quartet of Opinions

ab't Leaves of Grass & Walt Whitman

f'm

France¹

Germany

Ireland

& America/

(how w'd it do to make the title

A Quintet

& include Emerson's Letter?

1. Word below blacked out.

(In Notes If Convenient).

Manuscript in Trent (42, #12). Inscribed in black ink on white wove paper, 4¹⁵/₁₆" x 8". Diagonally in upper left corner, is an entry in what appears to be another hand: "24 Feb. 1891." On verso is a fragment of a letter dated February 27, 1891. No contemporary publication has been found. First printed *FC&I*, 51.

(In¹ Notes if convenient)

Walt Whitman's bad spell, (the *grippe*,² combined with chronic bladder and gastric trouble) continues yet gravely.³ He keeps in harness however. The *March North American Review* has an essay by him.⁴ The *March Lippincott's* has a reminiscence⁵ and also⁶ some poetical "old age echoes."⁷ Whitman's⁸ little 2d Annex, "*Good-Bye my Fancy*," is in the printers' hands. It is intended to complete *Leaves of Grass*.

1. Deleted: "No" (blotted).

2. Deleted: "and" ; inserted: "combined with" above the deletion and "chronic"

3. Deleted: "The"

4. "Have We a National Literature," *NAR*, 152 (March, 1891), 332-338 ("American National Literature").

5. "Some Personal and Old-Age Memoranda," *Lippincott's Monthly Magazine*, 47 (March, 1891), 377-381. "The Old Man Himself," *ibid.*, 389.

6. Inserted above word-space between "and" and "some"

7. "Old-Age Echoes," *ibid.*, 376.

8. Deleted: "completing and" ; inserted: "little" above "ting" in "[*del.*] completing"

Horace L Traubel.

Manuscript not found. Text from photostat in NYPL (Lion). Photostat of leaf is 10½" x 13".

Horace L Traubel & Annie Montgomerie¹ [:] Married in WW's room Mickle street Camden New Jersey

May 28 1891 Evn'g:

Present:²

1. Names to left of brace. Following nine words to right of brace.

2. John L. Clifford was the officiating minister. The following persons signed the certificate: Walt Whitman, M M Traubel, Kate L. Traubel, Thomas B. Harned, Jr., Anna A. Harned, Agnes Lychenheim, Augusta A. Harned, Morris Lychenheim, Francis O. Harned, Warren Fritzingler, Mary O Davis, Mrs Hannah Reid, Maria L. Button, Thos. R. Blackwood, Jas. W. Banner, Harry N. Fritzingler, Pauline M. Traubel.

Corrections in Plates.

Manuscript in Boston. Inscribed in black ink through "390 bad s" on white laid paper, 8¼" x 6½"; remainder in purple pencil on back of an envelope addressed to WW postmarked New York, Sept. 14, [1891]. The closely related "P287" is on paper dated September 10, 1891. Because of the closeness of dates and the overlap of contents, both MS can conveniently be discussed together.

Both are corrections for *LG* (1891-'2) and overlap, although assuming that they were written in September, it is not necessarily the case that WW was correcting proof. It is more likely that he was looking over one of the Camden or Philadelphia reprints of 1888 and 1889, for the broken letters he notes do not appear in *LG* (1881), whereas the true misprints do. It is striking, however, that a misprint, not in *LG* (1881), occurred in *LG* (1888), which was printed, like 1891-'2, from 1881 plates (see *n11*).

These notes also raise questions about the number of issues of *LG* (1891-'2). Both MS have been collated with five copies of the text, as detailed below. Copies 1, 2, and 3 are of the accepted second issue or state; copies 3 and 5 seem to be of a third issue (Carolyn Wells and Alfred L. Goldsmith, *A Concise Bibliography of the Works of Walt Whitman* [Boston, 1922], 28-29). Obviously this collation is inadequate for definitive bibliographical identification, but inconsistencies among the copies are evident. Notes 4, 5, 6 show Copies 1 and 4 uncorrected. Copies 2, 3, 5 are corrected. However, notes 8 and 10 show copies 1 and 4 to be corrected, but copies 2, 3, and 5 uncorrected. Evidently, there are more issues or states than Wells and Goldsmith identified. The deletion of hyphens (*n1*) and of "it" (*n17*) raise further editorial questions of WW's intentions.

The date of both MS is probably September or October, 1891, before *LG* (1891-'2) went to press.

Corrections in Plates

page 4 erase hyphen¹

[page]² 70 a point ⊙ down page³

[page]79 [a point ⊙ down page]⁴

1. Table of contents. Hyphens in "Live-Oak", "Prairie-Grass", "Labor-Saving", "Fast-Anchor'd", "Broad-Axe", "Redwood-Tree". WW was inconsistent in hyphenating "fast anchor'd" in *LG* (1876) and *LG* (1881).

Uncorrected in all copies.

Deleted: "[page] 15? [erase] 'it'". No apparent wrong "it" in any copy. See "P 287 wrong accented e"

2. Unenclosed ditto marks in MS.

3. "Song of Myself," sec. 43. Points seem to be in place in all copies.

4. End of "Song of Myself" and the beginning of "Children of Adam." Points seem to be in place in all copies.

- [page] 114③⁵
 [page] 127 four lines f'm bottom bad b⁶
 [page] 185 change o to u (suns)⁷
 [page] 206? 286 bad parenthesis mark 2/3d down⁸
 [page] 287 wrong accented é⁹
 [page] 313 8th line f'm top take out i f'm "lustrious"¹⁰
 [page] 376 wrong accent in e¹¹
 [page] 388 take out i f'm "freshier"¹²
 [page] 390 bad s¹³

5. "Salut au Monde!" , sec. 4, l. 59: "Nagusaki." The misprint goes back to 1876.

Copy 1. Uncorrected.

Copy 2. Uncorrected.

Copy 3. Uncorrected.

Copy 4. Corrected.

Copy 5. Corrected.

Copy 6. Corrected.

6. "Song of the Open Road," l. 185.

Copy 1. Uncorrected.

Copy 2. Uncorrected.

Copy 3. Uncorrected.

Copy 4. Corrected.

Copy 5. Corrected.

Copy 6. Corrected.

7. "Pioneers," l. 74. Misprint in *LG* (1881).

Copy 1. Uncorrected.

Copy 2. Uncorrected (heavier impression than adjacent type).

Copy 3. Uncorrected.

Copy 4. Corrected (heavier impression than adjacent type).

Copy 5. Corrected.

Copy 6. Corrected.

8. "On the Beach at Night," l. 26. (p. 206).

Uncorrected in all copies. There are no parentheses in the text of p. 286 ("This Compost").

9. "To A Foil'd European Revolutionnaire," l. 16. No misprint in *LG* (1881) or *LG* (1888).

Copy 1. Corrected.

Copy 2. Corrected.

Copy 3. Corrected.

Copy 4. Uncorrected.

Copy 5. Uncorrected.

Copy 6. Uncorrected.

10. "Proud Music," l. 93. Misprint in *LG* (1881).

Uncorrected in all seven copies.

11. "Song at Sunset," l. 54. No misprint in *LG* (1881).

Copy 1. Corrected.

Copy 2. Corrected.

Copy 3. Corrected.

Copy 4. Uncorrected.

Copy 5. Uncorrected.

Copy 6. Uncorrected.

Copy 7. Uncorrected.

12. "Halcyon Day," l. 5. Misprint in *NB* and *LG* (1888).

Uncorrected in copies 1-6.

Copy 7. Corrected.

13. "And Yet you Not Alone," l. 5.

Corrected in all copies. In Copies 2 and 4 the "s" in "offsetting" is noticeably lighter than adjacent letters. Cf. *n*6.

"Backward Glance"

p 6 11th line f'm bottom sh'd be mèleé¹⁴

p 11 line 3 least not last¹⁵

p 11 —arrière¹⁶

p 15 "it" sh'd be deleted¹⁷

14. "A Backward Glance," *LG* (1891-1892), is paged continuously throughout. "p 6" is p. 426. The word is in the eleventh line rather than the thirteenth (*LG CRE*, 563, l. 54). Misprint in *NB* and *LG* (1888).

Corrected in all copies.

15. "A Backward Glance." Misprint in *NB* and *LG* (1888). Actually p. 431. Cf. *n* 14.

Corrected in all copies. Lighter type, less space before and after in copies 1-6.

16. "A Backward Glance," p. 431, cf. *n* 14. Misprint not in *NB* or *LG* (1888). No misprint in any copy.

17. "A Backward Glance." There is no "it" on the fifteenth page (p. 438) which could be deleted. On p. 435, which is p. 15 in *NB* and *LG* (1881), *LG CRE*, 571, ll. 341-345, is:

As for native American individuality, though certain to come, and on a large scale, the distinctive and ideal type of western character ([thirty-three word parenthesis]) it has not yet appeared.

The expletive "it" could be deleted without harm to syntax or sense. See "P 287—wrong accented é."

Retained in all copies.

Copies Consulted

University of Kansas copies are in the Kenneth Spencer Research Library. University of Pennsylvania copies are in the Charles Patterson Van Pelt Library and were generously collated by Mrs. Neda Westlake, Curator, Rare Book Collection.

1. University of Pennsylvania. Gray paper wrappers, no label. McKay address: 23 South Ninth Street. Inscribed by WW to J. W. Wallace. 811W/1891.3.
2. Library of Congress (Rare Book Division). Gray paper wrappers, yellow label on spine. McKay address: 23 South Ninth Street. Thomas B. Harned's copy. PS/3201/1891/copy 4.
3. University of Kansas. Green cloth over boards. McKay address: 23 South Ninth Street. C 1340.
4. University of Kansas. Rebound copy. Title page now missing but originally with McKay address: 1022 Market Place. n.d. 811.38/M/1891.
5. University of Pennsylvania. Green cloth over boards. McKay address: 23 South Ninth Street. AC85.W5964.8551.1891.
6. University of Pennsylvania. Gray-green paper wrappers printed: "Leaves/ of GRASS / Walt Whitman [reproduction of signature] / Price 50 cts. D. McKay." 811W/1892.
7. *Comprehensive Reader's Edition* (New York University Press: NY, 1965). (Later states may exist.)

P 287—Wrong Accented é.

Manuscript in Boston. Inscribed in purple pencil, emendations in black ink on wove white paper, 9½" x 7¹¹/₁₆". On verso is a letterhead of Henry Romeike, 110 Fifth Ave., New York, with form letter requesting permission to send press clippings. See "*Corrections in Plates*" for an analysis.

P 287 —wrong accented é or else cut off the accent.¹

P 376 wrong accent on e 9th line f'm top²

P 388 take the i out "freshier"³

P 390 bad s⁴

P 313 8th f'm top take out i f'm lustrious⁵

P 70 a point ⊙ down page⁶

P 276 ?286 206 bad parenthesis m'k ⅓d down page⁷

P 185 change o to u (suns)⁸

P 4 erase hyphen⁹

P 70 a point ⊙ down page¹⁰

P 114 ⊙¹¹

P 127 four lines f'm bottom bad b¹²

P 15 "it" sh'd be deleted¹³

1. See "*Corrections in Plates*," n9.

2. See *ibid.*, n11.

3. See *ibid.*, n12.

4. See *ibid.*, n13.

5. See *ibid.*, n10.

6. See *ibid.*, n8.

7. "By Blue Ontario's Shores," secs. 19–20.

Copy 1. Corrected.

Copy 2. Corrected.

Copy 3. Heavier type.

Copy 4. Heavier type.

Copy 5. Heavier type.

For 286 and 206 see "*Corrections in Plates*," n8.

8. See *ibid.*, n7.

9. See *ibid.*, n1.

Deleted in black ink: "P 376 é in finale shd be è" . See *ibid.*, n11. No accent at all on "e" in

LC Deathbed ed. Copy #6.

10. See *ibid.*, n3.

11. See *ibid.*, n5.

12. See *ibid.*, n6.

13. See *ibid.*, n17.

It Is Probably a Spasm.

Manuscript at Harvard. Inscribed in black ink on upper inside half of envelope with letterhead of Probate Judge, Perry Co., New Lexington, Ohio. Received at Camden December 16, 1890.

It is probably a spasm of temper but one sometimes wonders whether we are our America is¹ not² capable of some of the lowest, meanest, pettiest official³ behavior⁴ known to⁵ nations—for instance⁶ the deliberate rejection (Dec: 1890) of the little⁷ appropriation for the tomb of the Brooklyn Prison ships—the current legal⁸ author-stealing under the deliberate absence of copyright—and the miserable organized⁹ post-office tax on books¹⁰ sent here from foreign donors.

1. Preceding three words inserted above.
2. Deleted: "the"
3. Inserted above.
4. Deleted: "of any"
5. Inserted above.
6. Preceding dash and two words inserted above.
7. The "l" is written over "a"
8. Preceding two words inserted above; deleted: "[*illeg.*] the[?]"
9. Preceding two words inserted above.
10. Deleted: "mailed" ; inserted above: "sent"

Saturday 18th Apr.

Manuscript in Texas (Hanley). Inscribed in black ink on inside of unused envelope addressed in another hand to "H.P.R. Holt, Treasury Department, 4th Auditor's Office, Washington, D.C." April 18th fell on a Saturday in 1874, 1885, and 1891, and the looseness of the handwriting and the recording of bowel movements suggest that this was written in 1891.

Saturday 18th Apr. /¹ Fred: water bowel action—restricted—viscid formed²—light clay color 12 noon³—took pill 4th prescription drank cup of hot cocoa ¼ to 5 a pill 4th pres: (have taken all the three previous prescriptions)/⁴

Sunday 19th Apr.: / Fred water: light breakft a little farina pill bowel movement—middling 12½ pill⁵ 4¼ pm⁶ pill (3d to-day) sweating—belly uncomfortable perturbed great lassitude weakness

1. Rule across leaf.
2. Inserted above dash between "viscid" and "light"
3. Inserted above "12"
4. Rule across leaf.
5. Entire note inserted.
6. Inserted above "4¼"

The Last Will and Testament.

Manuscript in Virginia (Barrett). Although the document was obviously phrased by a lawyer, probably Thomas B. Harned, and is not in WW's hand, it is his effective will and has not been completely published. Augusta Harned certified before the Surrogate of Camden County, N. J., April 8, 1892, that she and Elizabeth Keller saw WW sign the codicil. The will was admitted to probate the same day. At the time of his death, WW had \$7379.02 in the bank (Will, 1880). Published in part by William Sloane Kennedy, *The Fight of a Book for the World* (West Yarmouth, Mass., 1926), 289-291. Other wills are of 1872, "Washington, D.C."; 1873, "Will of Walt Whitman."; 1880, "written at 431 Stevens street."; 188?, "My house and lot."

The last will and testament of Walt Whitman of Camden New Jersey.

1. I order all my just debts and funeral expenses paid as soon as conveniently can be after my decease.
2. I give one thousand dollars to my sister Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Van Nostrand of Greenport Suffolk County, New York State.
3. I give one thousand dollars to my sister Mrs. Hannah Louisa Heyde of Burlington Vermont.
4. I give two hundred and fifty dollars to Mrs. Susan Stafford wife of George Stafford of Glendale Camden County New Jersey.
5. I give one thousand dollars to Mrs. Mary O. Davis now of 328 Mickle Street Camden New Jersey
6. I give to Mrs. Mapes twenty dollars
7. I give to Mrs. Nancy Whitman my brother Andrew's widow fifty dollars.
8. I give to my brother George W. Whitman the portraits of my father and Mother (two small oil paintings and one framed photograph) and one old large Dutch portrait—four altogether—Also the big mahogany table.
9. I give to Thomas Donaldson the big arm chair presented to me by his children.
10. I give to Harry Stafford of Marlton New Jersey my gold watch
11. I give to my friend Peter Doyle my silver watch.
12. I give to J. H. Johnston Jeweler of New York City my second arm chair ratan seated.
13. I hereby appoint my friends Dr. R. M. Bucke of London Ontario Canada, Thomas B. Harned of Camden New Jersey and Horace L. Traubel of the same place, my literary executors, and immediately upon my decease I direct that they shall take absolute charge and possession of all my literary effects of every

kind whatever including my library, manuscripts, letters, correspondence, also all my books in stock or otherwise, publications, copyrights, plates, and to manage and control the same, and the future publications of my writings, and make all and every use of the aforesaid property as in their judgement they deem proper—provided and subject to only one restriction, to wit, that they pay over from time to time to my Executrix any profits arising from the publication of my books.

14. All the rest and residue of my property of Every Kind and description, including the house No 328 Mickle Street Camden New Jersey where I now reside, I give, bequeath and devise to my brother Edward L. Whitman absolutely forever.

15. As my said brother Edward L. Whitman is mentally incapacitated I hereby appoint Mrs. Louisa Orr Whitman, wife of my brother George W. Whitman, his sole guardian of his person and property, and I direct that no bonds shall be required of her, in her discharge of said guardianship.

16. I hereby appoint the said Louisa Orr Whitman, wife of my brother George W. Whitman, Executrix of this my last will and testament, and I direct that she shall not be required to furnish bonds.

17. I give to Warren Fritzinger (my nurse) two hundred dollars

18. I order and direct that Mary O. Davis be permitted to occupy my said house No 328 Mickle Street Camden for one year after my decease free of rent, provided however, that she pay the taxes for said year on said premises

The last two items are written after the apparent conclusion of my said will but I direct that said items shall have the same force and effect as if they were written before the residuary clause.

In witness whereof, I have hereto set my hand and seal, this twenty-fourth day of December Eighteen hundred and ninety-one.

Walt Whitman

Signed, published and declared by the said Walt Whitman to be his last will and testament, in the presence of us, who were present at the same time, and subscribed our names as witnesses in the presence of the testator.

Henry Hollinshed Jr.

Thomas B. Hall Camden N. J.

This is a codicil, to be added to the last will and testament of me, Walt Whitman, which will bears date the twenty fourth day of December Eighteen hundred and Ninety-one. I do hereby ratify and confirm my said will in all respects save so far as any part thereof shall be revoked or altered by this present codicil.

I give to Mrs Susan Stafford two hundred dollars instead of two hundred and fifty dollars.

I give to Mrs. Mary E. Van Nostrand two hundred dollars instead of one thousand dollars

I give to Walt Whitman Fritzinger (a new born son of Harry Fritzinger) the sum of two hundred dollars, to be invested for him.

I give my Gold Watch to Horace L. Traubel instead of to Harry Stafford.

I give my Silver Watch to Harry Stafford instead of to Peter Doyle.
Dated. January 1st 1892.

Walt Whitman

Signed, published and declared by the said Walt Whitman as a codicil to his last will and testament, in the presence of us who were present at the same time, and subscribe our names as witnesses in his presence.

Augusta A. Harned
Mrs. Elizabeth Keller.

A Crude Notion.

Manuscript not found. Text from Daniel Longaker, "The Last Sickness and Death of Walt Whitman," *In Re Walt Whitman* (Philadelphia, 1893), 396. Dr. Longaker, who attended WW in his last illness, says it is representative of a series of daily notes he was given by WW when he arrived to visit him. He comments to the closing question, "A great deal, I was obliged to confess." The date is sometime in the spring of 1892.

A Crude Notion

My great corpus is so like an old wooden log. Possibly (even probably), that slow vital, almost impalpable by-play of automatic stimulus belonging to living fiber has, by gradual habit of years and years in me (and especially of the last three years), got quite diverted into *mental* play and *vitality* and attention, instead of attending to normal play in stomachic and muscular and peristaltic use. Does this account for the stomachic non-action, non-stimulus? Or what is there in this, if anything?